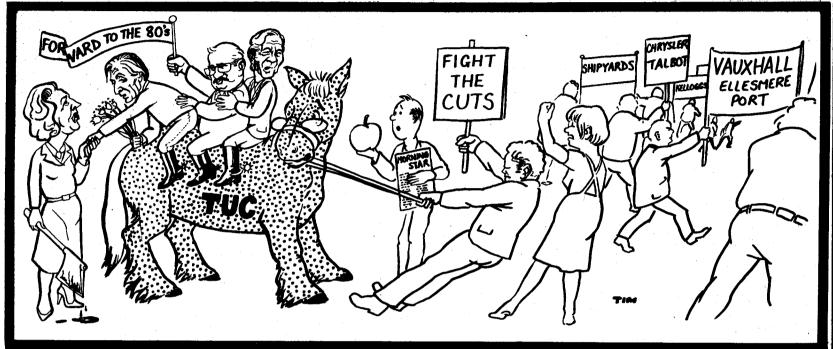
SOCIALIST

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BEHIND ZIMBABWE **TALKS**

Page 4 Non-aligned conference.....page 2



TUC BLOCKS The TUC Congress last week set its face firmly ANTI-TORY mobilising mass action to defeat and bring down the job-slashing Tory

ahead with talks with the Tory government, to maintain the reactionary voluntary restrictions on trade unionists em-bodied in last winter's Concordat, and to throw out even FIGHT a token campaign of regional demonstrations against Tory policy. In short, the stage was set for another year in which union leaders will attempt to prevent



Manoeuvres

independent struggles by their millions of members against the

attacks on jobs, social services and living standards waged by

employers and by the govern-

collaboration with the anti-working class policies of right

wing Labour governments under

Wilson and Callaghan, TUC leaders plainly have not the

After four years of open

against

government.

Decisions were made to press

A milk and water motion of against Thatcher's package of anti-union legislation (which is to be put through Parliament A milk and water motion this winter) called in the vaguest

terms for the TUC to "resist vigorously"!

But, after pre-Congress manoeuvres had silenced two motions and an amendment calling for an end to talks with the Tories, the door was deliberately left open for continuing meetings with Employment Sec-

retary James Prior.
Indeed the Tories were offered the carrot of TUC enforcement of the Concordat. Print union leader Joe Wade

declared openly that:

"If the Tories are not prapared to accept the voluntary principle [1] in respect of industrial relations, then it will be on their shoulders that the blame will lie for a return-to the destructive confrontation policies of 1971 and 1974." TUC deliberately

Murray

campaign clearly designed to persuade the Tories that union leaders can control members better than the courts.

confined itself to a 'propaganda'

As the Financial Times pointed out: "Government observers in the half interpreted . . . [the mood of the debate] . . . as a sign that the rank and file were

not in the mood for a fight. . . Of course, with possibly a mere handful of exceptions, the rank and file were entirely absent from the bureaucratic forces assembled in the Congress. But as an assessment of the mood of union officials, and their reluctance to fight the Tories this is undoubtedly an accurate estimate.

Similar opposition to a fight was reflected in the fate of one of the 'radical' amendments that survived the pre-Congress strongarm work by the General Council-the call by FTAT for mass demonstrations against the Tories' economic onslaught on the working class.

Wafer-thin

Even this modest amendment was vigorously opposed by Len, Murray who argued for delegates to "trust your General Council", and for their absolutely toothless propagenda campaign ('Forward to the Eighties, not back to the Thirties') to be adopted without commit-ment to any form of action.

In the event the amendment was rejected—though by the wafer-thin majority of 61,000

out of 12 million votes.

A vague NALGO call for a campaign against the cuts including "for example, a national day of action" was carried, however, since it was seen to commit union leaders to nothing at all.

Lingering

Any lingering hopes that the Congress might match its periodic spouts of 'left' rhetoric by some steps to break from its deadly alliance with Labour's right wing leaders were rudely shattered on the final day.

An ASLEF motion calling

lobby of the TUC supported by the Liaison Committee for the Defence of Trade Unions and about 500 Right to Work marchers. Union leaders have set their faces resolutely against any serious struggle against the

A gauge of this rising tide of

confrontation and militancy was the large number of union

banners on the 1,500-strong

Tories. But workers continue to embark on these struggles and to seek out leaders capable of defending their jobs and living

Conference

It is in this situation that a revolutionary leadership and a programme for action is crucial to the working class.

In fighting to construct such a leadership the Workers Socialist League urges workers and labour movement bodies to support and attend the November 3 Conference of the Campaign for Democracy in the Labour Movement, to be held in Digbeth Hall, Birmingham. The conference is called to

discuss a fight in the labour movement for an end to talks with the Tories, preparation to force them out and the removal of those Labour and trade union leaders who won't fight.

As such it offers a unique opportunity to discuss a prog-ramme and perspective for the mass struggles that are immediately on the agenda for the working class—and which be bureaucratically cannot wished or manoeuvred away be TUC leaders.

(CDLM conference-see p. 10) O'Fishall p.11



on future Labour governments

to carry out Labour Party policy was manoeuvred out

without a vote when Clive Jen-

kins of ASTMS moved 'next

manipulated the agenda and formulated demagogic but vacuous speeches for the rostrum in their efforts to hold

back the working class, outside

the conference hall the Tories

pressed ahead on the offensive,

and workers stepped up their

BL management and British Shipbuilders were putting fini-

shing touches to plans for thou-

sands of sackings; local authorities were spelling out new

rounds of spending cuts; two

engaged in an escalation of their pay battle, and a growing

number of workers looked for

leadership in the fight to defend

engineering workers

Yet while union leaders

business'.

million

TUC Delegates-not a rank and file member in sight

First casualty shipyard jobs

The first major industry to suffer the full brunt of the Tories' job cuts and the TUC policy of collaboration in these attacks is shipbuilding.

The decision of the recalled delegate conference of shipyard unions at Blackpool last Tuesday to abandon the fight to save 6,000 jobs in the industry marks a major betrayal

for shipyard workers. By deciding to lift the ban overtime which had been immediate response by workers to the employers' cut-backs, and allow the ships which are part of the Polish order to be launched, they have dropped all pretence of a struggle to retain the threatened

Hostility

That deep-seated hostility to this maneouvre is present among shipyard workers was expressed in the anger of the delegates from the Robb Caledon yard in Dundee who stormed out of the meeting vowing to continue the sanctions, and the subsequent mass meeting vote to do just that.

Right wing Boilermakers leader John Chalmers, who was instrumental in selling the deal, admitted afterwards that the 6,000 jobs might still go.

Indeed, whatever window dressing Chalmers and other union leaders may create, there is no hiding the fact that the jobs have been ditched. Chalmers himself has appealed for an improvement in voluntary redundancy payments -to minimise the numbers that are compulsorily sacked by British shipbuilders.

Impassioned

In an impassioned pies on behalf of the employer to the Robb Caledon workers to end their resistance, Chalmers, last week declared:

" I appeal to Dundes to lift restrictions on the Polish ships or, by God, we [le. British shipbuildersi] are in very serious trouble".

that British shipbuilders have the measure of such leaders, they will certainly ruthlessly proceed to implement the full 10,000 cut in the labour force they aim at by the end of next year. Spurred on by the demands

of the Tory Government that the shipyards must break even the next 18 months, they will swing the axe with a vengeance

now,
All the talk of placing Scotstoun Marine and Scott Lithgow facilities at Bowling

Continued page 11

- INTERNATIONAL

General

The tempo of the long struggle against the Madrid government to secure national rights in Euskadi (the Basque country) has again quickened in the last ten days.

On September 1 a 16-year old militant was killed by the armed police during a demon-stration in San Sebastion (in Guipuzcoa province).

The demonstration was in protest against recent moves made by the French government exiled Basques against

The radical nationalist forces associated with ETA (military) issued a call for a general strike for Monday September 3rd which was followed by the enormous majority of workers the Basque provinces ecially Guipuzcoa and (especially Biscay).

Such was the strenth of feeling among the masses that even the right wing nationalists of the Basque Nationalist Party (PNV) along with the Socialist Party (PSOE) and the CP were forced to join the pro-ETA forces (whom they normally revile) in calling for the immediate removal of the Madrid-appointed civil governor of Guipuzcoa province.

The (PNV) head of the Basque General Council appealed to Madrid to "share" control of the forces of law and order now with "responsible" local political forces.

His desperate tone reflects growing fears within the Basque ruling class and their reformist and Stalinist friends that the boycott of the October 24th referendum, supported by the pro-ETA forces and various left-wing organisations, will be

The referendum is to decide whether to accept the Statute for Basque "autonomy" recently agreed between the Suarez regime in Madrid and the right-wing nationalist, reformist and Stalinist forces.

As we go to press, reports continued mass demonstrations, and clashes with the armed police indicate that the Statute—a mockery of self-determination—has not had the anaesthetic effect it was intended to have on the national

Basque Castro notches up win Strike for Brezhnev



Not quite a knockout-but the old champ Tito was certainly down for the count when the bell rang to open Havana's "non-aligned summit" of over 90 countries.

Fidel Castro bounced the ring like around Mohamed Ali at his most confident.

In what by his standards was an almost monosyllabic keynote address (a mere 11/2 hours) Castro revealed that the source of his championship form was not ginseng, anabolic steroids, nor the Koran, but the foreign policy of the Soviet Union the natural ally of the non-aligned".

Castro punched nimbly away at the imperialists in such a way as to suggest

Successful trainer-Brezhnev "non-aligned" that opposition to the Soviet connection would be the

same as imperialism itself. China And constantly placed in the same boat as the USA.

Castro denounced the Chinese for supporting Chilean Dictator Pinochet, South Africa in Angola, the Shah in Iran and reaction in general.

Ringside

And as if to prove the point, the Chinese observer walked out along with his US counterpart.

It was by all reports a tirade to please most of the ringside-many of whom had of course been wooed for a long time by Cuba's aggressive diplomacy of the last few years.

So it was a tired opponent who stepped into

the ring the next day.

The eighty-seven year old Tito managed only thirty minutes of morose but low key insistence that the nonaligned movement should not be dependent on any great power.

Diplomatic

Nyerere of Tanzania put up a more vigorous defence of the anti-Soviet position. but Tito had to recognise that aside from a few minor concessions diplomatic made by the Cubans, this was Castro's conference-a diplomatic and political triumph for the Cuban Stalinist premier and thus also for his backers, the Soviet leadership Moscow.

Castro sidestepped the most potentially contentious issues by in effect agreeing to postpone them.

This applies to the representation of Kampuchea.

Neither of the two delegations present in delegations present in Havana (the deposed Pol Pot regime and the puppet Heng Samrin regime) were



even mutiny in its own ranks.

Today the army has become

one of the main props of the

Khomeini's rule, holding him up

in his drive to impose absolute

dictatorship on the masses of

Iran.
At the same time, it still

represents a dangerous threat to his power, ready to step in if

Khomeini proves unable to

establish the authority of

Islamic reaction and preserve

Iran as an area of profitable

exploitation for capitalism.

seated.

And the proposed expulsion of Egypt was shelved for two years.

The Havana Conference has proved the immense importance of Cuba's role as Moscow's winged diplomatic Mercury.

While in complete accord with the Soviet leadership, the Cuban Stalinists are able to intervene in all kinds of situations and countries where a direct Soviet presence would have been more provocative to the imperialists, or more embarassing to a governor more ment in a semi-colonial country.

Effective ally

Since Castro's important defence of the Soviet invasion of Czecheslavakia in 1968, there have been no significant t public foreign policy differences between the leaders in Havana and Moscow.

And especially in Africa and Latin America the two bureaucracies have divided their labour but acted as

Castro has Moscow's most effective ally because, unlike the Eastern European bureaucracies, he has been able to maintain an "independent" and "left" image (helped along by the illsions peddled by such left wing forces as the United Secretariat of the Fourth International, especially the American SWP.

Muscles

Since 1972, Cuba has been a member Comecon, the Moscowdominated international

economic alliance. But it has not been part of any formal military alliance with the Soviet Union, and so remains entitled to membership of the conference aligned nations.

of this The power position has been very plain during the week-long Havana conference when, having disposed of Tito's opposition, Castro was given the opportunity to show off his muscles in front of 90 or more countries against an unexpected attack from the imperialist giant itself.

In what looks like yet another diplomatic blunder, the Carter administration decided to attempt to discredit Castro's position in the non-aligned conference "discovering" Soviet combat troops in Cuba.

presence Their finally given away to the US spy sattelite, it seems, by their soccer pitch!).

It is almost certain that these troops have been in Cuba for the last ten

Carter-another gaff years.

The USSR has not denied their presence. And it is equally certain

that the US administration has known about them for most of that time.

Carter's decision to use knowledge probably strengthened Castro's position in the nonaligned conference and landed Carter himself in new problems.

US Secretary of State Vance has taken the line that the 3,000 Soviet troops are "not a menace to the security of the United States" but that their presence is nevertheless "very serious".

Castro and Brezhnev have more or less ignored the US fulminations: but members of the US Congress have converted the presence of the troops into a new pretext for not ratifying the SALT 2 nuclear arms control treaty.

SALT 2

A few of them managed to engineer a wave of hysteria which forced Carter onto national TV to say that this was not another 1962 missile crisis and that SALT 2 should be ratified regardless of the troops issue-which was a question to be solved separately.

So Carter's plan to deflate Castro seems to have badly backfired.

But despite its apparent nonchalence, the Kremlin also stands to lose from these developments.

In its anxiety to get SALT 2 ratified it has so far shown strong signs of readiness to adopt the treaty on the lines demanded by the right-wing

US senators. It will be more difficult for the Kremlin bureaucrats now publicly to bow before the demand to withdraw its

troops. So, although Carter and Brezhnev are not exactly eveball to eyeball, it looks as if they will both have to go through some elaborate posturing if they are to rescue the collaborationist plans embodied in SALT 2.

But if all that is a headache for Brezhnev, his junior colleague in Havana has meanwhile certainly advanced the interests of the international Stalinist partnership in its global strategy of securing diplo-matic footholds in the semicolonial countries within the framework of "peaceful coexistence" imperialism and opposition to independent revolu-tionary struggles by the

oppressed masses.

KURDISTAN CRACKDOWN

Khomeini's army has now deeper moved Kurdistan to extend the hold of reaction over Iran.

But the advances made this by the armed forces do not mean that the Kurdish rising has been crushed.

Although all the Kurdish towns are now in the hands of the army, these gains were not the result of military victory over the Kurdish fighters.

In Mahabad and the other towns, Kurdish forces offered only token resistance to give cover for a major withdrawal of their armed fighters.

Exodus

As the Iranian army rolled in, Kurdish inhabitants moved out in one mass exodus after another, heavily depopulating every town. In particular, armed militants pulled out to re-gather in rural areas and continue the struggle with their conventional methods guerilla warfare.

And a five-day arms amnesty in Kurdistan brought a grand haul of only six firearms handed in to the government forces!.

These new conditions give opportunities khomeini's hangman, the Ayatollah Khalhali. Defying calls to return to Tehran, Khalhali is deepening his reion.



Firing squad in action in Kurdistan

of black terror in Kurdistan, with more executions of mili-tents from the Kurdish Democratic Party and other forces.

At the same time, the wave of reaction has produced attacks by armed gangs on Kurdish villages, with 46 people massacred in one such pogrom

at Garneh. The development of the war Kurdistan so far has shown quite clearly the strength of Khomeini's army, Battered and demoralised by the revolutionary struggles which

led to the overthrow of the Shah's dictatorship, the Shah's was never massive army disbanded and destroyed.

At the first opportunity, Khomeini himself sought to rebuild a unified weapon of reaction from the scattered fragments.

His success can be judged by the campaign in Kurdistan, where the army machine was able to operate in a co-ordinated and efficient manner despite guerilla attacks from Kurdish forces and disaffection and



Khomeini

-INTERNATIONAL

CHILE: THE SPIR Dettie Clinton reviews 'The Spiral', a new film on Chile, to be shown for 3 weeks at

the ICA Cinema, The Mall, London SW1 as of September 14.

The film can be hired in 16mm from The Other Cinema – fee £35.

There are 2 major weaknesses in The Spiral-which is an extremely good film about the events which preceded the Chilean coup 6 years ago, bringing General Pinochet to

The film, at 2 hrs 25 minutes is too long. This makes it impossible to use the film as the introduction to a discussion in a meeting. This problem links in with the film's other weakness which is the failure to pin-point, let alone draw out, any lessons of the betrayals of the Popular Unity government of Allende and the criminal positions of the CP leadership.

The blurb put out with the film describes it as the 'definitive' film of the situation leading up to the coup. In many respects this claim holds true. The role of imperialism, working through such companies as ITT, is traced; so are the moves of the right in Chile, and the machinations of the army; and so too are the responses in the working class and the mobilisations of the petit-bourgeoisie. But the Labour leaders are not dealt with in their contradictory role between workers and capital.

The film however makes a good starting point from which to draw out the lessons of the Popular Frontism in Chile which led to the massive defeat of this organised, combative working class.

The film opens with Allende speaking his prophetic words in

December 1970:
"They will have to riddle me with bullets to stop me fulfilling the programme of the people."

This speech was delivered in the stadium which was to become in September 1973 a concentration camp.

CIA

Jubilant scenes are shown on the election of the Popular Unity government in 1970. The criminally tragic slogan of "The people united will never be defeated" rings out through the streets.

The film is divided into 7 parts which grind on to the coup and the military junta taking over.

Part 1: The plot shows the attempts by the right-wing in collusion with the CIA, the International Telephone and International Telephone and Telegraph Company and the Kennicot/Anaconda Copper Company to destabilize the government through planned economic sabotage to try and stop the confirmation of Allende as the president by parliament on October 24.

A mass exodus of money abroad creates chaos and a new right-wing group "Fatherland and Freedom" is formed.

Political assasinations begin with the most notable being General Schneider

Imperialism justifies its intervention by arguing the need to safeguard American capital investments.

El Mercurio

Kissinger caustically states that we (imperialism) won't allow a country to go commu-nist because of the "stupidity" of the people.

The CIA use El Mercurio, the paper it finances, to pump out its propaganda.

These are of course in the days before the crushing defeat of the US in Vietnam when it





felt able to overthrow governments, dispatch troops and crush workers anywhere in the world with impunity.

In fact some of these interventions are shown in Part 2 he Game-in Cuba, the Bay of Pigs invasion, in Santo Domingo and in Saigon.

The massacres in Chile were coldly calculated over a period

Games

In 1965 the game 'Politica' was devised by the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy in Cambridge, Massachusetts.

The game uses the government, the major political parties, the urban oligarchy, the middle class, the proletariat, foreign capitalists, local embassies and the armed forces in an imaginary country with a industry as a model to explain how to engineer a coup d'etat in a country during a period of class confron-

Chile was the working out in

practice of this 'game'.

The history of first British then US domination is also sket-

ched out. The Chilean government is shown to be well aware of the machinations of imperialism. Allende makes an impas-sioned speech at the UN shortly after his election, telling of the aggression perpetrated against

the economy.

This is increased, as we see in Part 3 (The Front) when the government nationalises the copper industry and a total of

major companies. Using Swiss business men, an attempt is made to flood the market with copper and force the price to rock-bottom on the

London metal markets. The World Bank cuts credit

to Chile. The newspapers and the television, which was still controlled by the Christian Democrats because of a law safeguarding jobs, swing into full support for

Land Reform

anti-government

wing

47% of the land was unused but when reforms were proposed to end this the landowners - destroyed machinery and crops, set up road blocks and moved cattle to Argentina.

Farm workers did not sit back. They organised strikes and occupations of the land.

They set up communal

Demonstrate!

SOLIDARITY WITH THE CHILEAN

WORKING CLASS!

* Down with Popular Frontism: for united

working class action against Pinochet!

regime! * Dock and transport workers must black

all trade with Chile!

Assemble Clerkenwell Green 1.00pm,

SUNDAY SEPTEMBER 16

No recognition for the Chilean butcher

ment who continually attacked their haste' and 'impetuousness' and tried to legally hold them

Throughout the life of the Popular Unity government the developed organisations.

Minister

The left wing group the MIR were shown to be organising the peasants to take over land.

This became harder after Mias, a CP member, was made Minister of the Interior.

He reversed the previous positions on pushing shead with land reform and coined the slogan "Consolidate to move

The urban workers, too, strengthened organisations.

They set up cordons which included also non-unionised sections, including women in the communities.

The squators living in slums in the outskirts of the cities developed their own administra-

tions and militias.

During the shopkeepers' strike, when the workers at the government distribution agen-

WORKERS SOCIALIST

LEAGUE

LONDON

Public Meeting

CHILE: HOW LONG

CAN PINOCHET SURVIVE?

Monday September 17,

7.30pm,

Conway Hall

Red Lion Square

cies took control of distribution, workers committees to hunt out and prevent hoarding were set up. Left wing students put their labour at the disposal

the working class.

Meanwhile the flotsem and jetsom of political life were being mobilised.

The famous pots and pans demonstration of housewives blazed the trail for the right. 80% of women did not work outside the home. The CD

made great play for them. Right-wing students occu-pied Saritiago university and demonstrated

government. 3000 Chileans were 'educated' in the Institute for Free Labour in Virginia.

An association of professionals CUPROACH claiming 50,000 members was formed and ex-President Eduardo Frei came to the fore again.

Castro visited Chile in 1971 to try to bolster the govern-ment's tettered image but is condemned in the film for giving the fascists a cause round which to organise. More and more youth were

gathered together by the fas-

All this is displayed in Pert 4 (The Move) leading up to the Blow in Pert 5, the truckowners strike, in October 1972.

The US fleet was conven-lently off Chile at the time. The shopowners joined the strike and \$200 m to keep the strikes going was made available by the four main business confederations.

When the government enected a law to order the shops the to be opened, this was ignored. Eventually the small chain

stores were broken into. This followed in the wake of the strike of supervisors in the copper industry, paid in \$ and owing their allegiance to imper-

Violent anti-government demonstrations took place, So-called attempts to pull in the weapons by strengthening the powers of the police was as usual only used against the left and workers organisations—never against the right.

When a carabinero brutally murdered a young worker. all

Allende could say was "We are the government but we do not hold all the power."

The Weapon' being forged

in Part 6 shows the history of the Chilean Army and Kennedy's counter-insurgency training programme for South America.

The machiavellian influence of General Viaux grinds away in the background.

Finally the right closes ranks to form the 'Democratic Confederation.'

In June 1973, an army unit attacks Santiago. This is the dress rehearsal.

"Loyal Forces"

Allende calls on the 'people' "rely on the loyal forces". The working class leadership still put forward no policies to defend the independent strength of the working class eg. workers and peasant milities. Their slogan is 'Soldier, friend, the people are with you'. The Church leads the attack on the Educational Reform Plan

and railies support for the right. A new government is on 9th August which includes 4

military men.
The "Fatherland and Freedom" group call for sabotage and over 250 attacks on government property are made, particularly on the communications systems.

General Prets resigns and Pinochet takes over.

Pinochet takes over.

By this time inflation is et 424%. A copper strike takes place for a 41% increase in wages on top of the 100% promised to all workers.

The truckowners strike again, A purge of all government avanables as in the new is

sympathisers in the nevy is carried out.

On the 3rd Anniversary of the Popular Unity government 1 million people demonstrate in the streets. Counter demonstra-

tions and assesinations follow. The scene is set.

Collaboration

On 10 September 1973 the air force bombed the Presidential Palace and the military junta Although the film-makers

sey that they reject the view that the brutal outcome in Chile was a tragic inevitability, it often seems to be presented as Even to say:

"the implicit message is that the spiral of reaction and terror could have been halted, but only if the organised forces of the Left had united around a revolutionary programme."
misses out the crucial point.
The real problem was the way that the Socialist Perty and

Communist Party leadership tied the Chilean working class to the treacherous class collabora-tion of the Popular Unity and sabotaged attempts to forge an pendent revolutioner



ZIMBABWE TALKS BID TO PROP UP **CAPITALIST RULE**

The constitutional talks on Zimbabwe being held in London this week represent a crucial attempt by imperialism to bring to a head its efforts to secure colonial solution.

The rapid decline of any support that Muzorewa once had, and the continued escalation of the war, indicate clearly that the 'internal settlement' as it stands is unable to provide the political stability for which imperialism is desperate.

In a move orchestrated through the recent Commonwealth Conference, and relying on the imperialist-dependent Frontline states to put pressure the Patriotic Front leadership (itself already enmeshed in secret dealings with imperialism) Thatcher is now looking for some major breakthrough-by discrediting the PF leadership or drawing at least sections of it more extended colonial solution.

As the leader of the senior party of British imperialism, Thatcher is hardly concerned with the basic needs of the

Zimbabwean people.
Indeed, one of the problems Thatcher reactionary position adopted by some whites in the face of any imperialist attempt to modify system of racial privilege which has developed through imposition of colonial rule.

all imperialists, Like however, Thatcher is much conconcerned by the political instability in Zimbabwe-which, as Socialist Press has pointed out, adds to the challenges to capitalist rule already occuring throughout C Southern Africa. Central

Neo-colonial

While imperialism frantically contrives schemes aiming as a neo-colonial solution, the neo-colonial solution, Zimbabwean masses suffer an ever-increasing unemployment level and inflation rate and a further decline in their already meagre living standards.

This is accompanied by the denial to them of even minimal participation in decsions affecting their day-to-day lives and by an escalating human toll from the war.

No alleviation of these hardships can be expected within a capitalist Zimbabwe.

The GDP (in 1976 estimated at US \$3560m) which expanded by an average of 6,9% from 1965 to 1974, has been declining every year from 1975 a rate which has now accelerated to a negative growth rate of about 8% per annum.

The most dramatic collapses have occurred within the manufacturing, tourism and black agricultural sectors.

Per capita income fell by 27% in the years between 1974

Epidemics

In the Tribal Trust Lands (the black rural areas) a stag-



died this year from various epidemics. Per capita production of maize, the staple diet, declined from 350 lbs in 1962 to 231 lbs in 1977.

This is not purely the result of disruption caused by the Patriotic Front guerrillas, as the bourgeois press makes out.

The Smith/Muzorewa regime have herded 750,000 people in so-called 'protected villages', subjected the villagers to curfews and pursued a scorched earth policy in the areas where the guerrillas are most active.

the black rural areas, production on white capitalist farms has reached record levels-much of it subsequently exported.

Enterprises

However, only the larger agricultural enterprises remain profitable. Only 60% of whiteowned farms paid income tax in 1976, 52% of the tax being paid by only 271 of a total of 6682 farms.

Because of the political as well as economic importance of the white farmers to the regime



Thatcher



Muzorewa

they receive large subsidiesamounting to £49m last year.

Also crucial to the government is the mining industry. Although it accounts for the 8% of the GDP, 90% of its product is exported, providing, along with the agricultural exports, foreign exchange with which to buy military hardware.

The real cost of the war though, is paid by the increased rate of exploitation of the urban and rural workers, often to the point of their starvation.

Bourgeois

Much energy has been expended by bourgeois propagandists propounding the myth that the appalling conditions of the Zimbabwean people are simply the outcome of war conditions, economic sanctions and intransigent racism.

In reality, racism and war are the direct result of the development of capitalist relations in Zimbabwe, not some irrational aberration.

Even before the present acute phase of international

capitalist crisis and the escalation of the war, the absolute gap between black and white wages in Zimbabwe was rising.

In 1974, when the country was at its most 'prosperous white wages averaged £4500 per annum, black urban wages £572 and black rural wages less

Surveys accepted even by the Rhodesian Ministry of Labour concluded that poverty in 1974 was "at least as widespread as it was in 1957"

The comparatively extensive and diversified capitalist development that has taken place in Zimbabwe has been achieved through a system of labour reserves, ultra-exploitation and vicious racist repression which shows most features of capitalist-apartheid state South Africa.

While the urban and rural workers of Zimbabwe are forced to depend on selling their labour power and engaging in subsubsistence farming for survival, and are there to be drawn upon and exploited; while they can be rendered redundant and forced into starvation according to the profitability of capital, their material condition will be little altered whether the face of the government is black or white, whether its rhetoric is openly radical

Mobilisation

It is only through their mobilisation, under the leadership of the working class. around a programme expressing the independent class interests of the proletariat that the mass oppressed can build a solution.
In the struggle to do this

they will come up against not merely Smith and their erstwhile radical leaders Sithole and Muzorewa, but all those bureau-crats within the Patriotic Front who are tied to the interests of Stalinism and imperialism.

As the conflict intensifies the need is ever more clearly posed for the formation of a Trotskyist Party which alone can provide principled leadership in the struggle to defeat Smith, expose reformism and destroy once and for all the capitalist relations production in Southern Africa.



Nkomo

Pig Earth

18/8/79

Dear Comrades, In his interesting and generous review of my last book *Pig Earth*, Terry Eagle-

ton made one slip and, in a way, it is a revealing.

He said that I have been it is a revealing one. living amongst the peasants, of

whom I write, for two years. fact, as said several times in the book, it has been for four, now almost five,

slip is revealing The because it suggests that he may underestimate how long such a task takes. Or at least takes me.

It took me four years to begin to understand, not my own, by the peasants' "materialist imagination". (It is a term which describes their mode of thinking very well.).

And it took me that long to try to learn to write in a narrative style that could be faithful to peasant experience.

The style of Pig Earth has little to do with that of G for

This question of trying to learn to write in a new way was not an aesthetic "stylisstic" one; it was a question of trying to achieve a certain truthfulness. Which takes time, a long time.

Eagleton is right when he says that the book lacks a political overview.

He is also probably right when he says that a deeply political work of fiction about peasants today would have to escape the confines of a "realist" narrative.

I hope one day to be able to write such a book. It may the third volume of the trilogy of which Pig Earth is

The fact that I have not yet achieved this (and may never) has little to do, I think, with what Eagleton choses to call my "Stalinist formation".

It has to do with the extreme difficulty of the task and the time that it takes to

The political theories of the left, Trotskyist as well as Stalinist, have mostly account of peasant reality.

What has to be worked through is experience beside peasants and a new political

Nobody could do that in two (or five) years! A lifetime might not suffice.

Fraternally, John Berger.

SEND US A LETTER! We welcome letters

from readers on any topic. Those longer than 400 words may be abridged for publication. Let us hear about your struggles, your views, your disagreements!

London

Comrades. As a worker in a large engineering plant in West London I have been involved in the recent industrial action in pursuit of the Confed claim.

Naturally enough there has been a great deal of discussion among workers in the plant and a number of issues have been raised including the lack of democracy in the unions.

It has become apparent to that the bureaucratic manner in which the union leadership operates can often drive workers into the arms of anti-union forces who the press portray as offering a more "democratic" alternative.

I have noticed that it is not only workers that are "modeballots would avoid the need for them ever to take any action at all) that are attracted to this idea, but also people who are genuinely concerned about the power wielded by the bureaucracy over the membership.

Socialist Press campaigns for more democracy in the Labour movement and I think that it is important that socialists sharply differentiate themselves from a from a reactionary standpoint.

In particular we should be against the use of secret ballots as opposed to voting openly at ss meetings.

The capitalist class constantly seeks to break down the working class into a collection of individuals.

The importance of the secret ballot for them is that it changes decisions in the workers movement from collective ones into individual ones.

Rather than voting in a mass

meeting having heard a discussion where the views of the meeting can be aired the worker votes in his or her own home in isolation from workmates and subject only to the influence of the capitalist media.

Fight secret ballots!

We fight for the bureaucracy to be accountable to the membership not to the Daily Mail and the other bosses' propaganda sheets in Fleet Street.

As more and more people are forced to take action in order to defend their living standards the union leaders will increase their use of undemocratic methods so they can contain the movement.

It is essential that we take up

the question of democracy otherwise we leave the field open to the Tories, employers and their agents who want to undermine the independence of the working class.

Not only this, but we will be hamstrung by a feadership that has no stomach for the fight to get rid of this government.

I welcome the CDLM conference in November which will provide policies to fight the Tories and the bureaucracy. I will certainly be trying to get workers from this factory along

> Yours fraternally, Gerry Hawkes.



Class strength in mass meetings



Drive fascists off-Liverpool streets

Recent weekends have seen a number of clashes with British Movement fascists in Liverpool's city centre shopping-area.

The Left have sold their papers on Saturday afternoon for several years and have periodically had to clear the streets of fascists through physical confrontation.

In the period before the formation of the Anti-Nazi eague it was the Anti-Fascist Committee—largely consisting of the Left groups—that carried this out.

It had the merit of having had no illusions about the necessity for physical action, and was a dependable, reliable

This is no longer true. The formation of the Anti-Nazi League has introduced pacifist, liberal elements who cannot be depended on to combat fascist

This expresses itself in a rejection in practice of the slogan "No platform for fascists," although the recent ANL conference adopted this slogan.

Illusions

It is clear that many ANL supporters, particularly the middle class dilletantes who were attracted by the pacifist, non-violent, "civil disobedience" tactics that the ANL leadership promoted at Brick Lane still have gross illusions in this approach and will not engage in physical confrontation against fascists on the streets.

But this view extends also to some of the erstwhile militants now in the ANL who, at a recent meeting of representa-

tives of the various left groups decided on a future policy of not attacking fascists unless they attack the Left.

This meeting took place in the SWP's Liverpool offices just after a particularly vicious fight with the British Movement.

But members of the IMG also later defended the same line, claiming that they abhored brawls" in the streets because it "alienates public opinion"

Reprisals

"It only results in reprisals" they argued denouncing those prepared to drive fascists off the streets as "adventurists", substituting themselves for the 'mass movement''.

The WSL has consistently argued-often against IMG calls restricted to "black self-defence"—that work must be carried out in the mass myement to establish workers defence squads wherever fascist violence shows itself.

We oppose suicidal attacks without the superiority of forces. But the fact remains that fascists cannot be simply left to intimidate blacks and workers on the street; they must be confronted and driven off by all those willing and able to do so, every possible occasion.

It is clear that the SWP and IMG leadership are still finding themselves pulled rightwards by petty-bourgeois "public opi and run for cover behind the ANL's respectable facade of the liberals, clerical leaders, do-Labour bureaucrats

and Tribunites.
It is to be hoped that in Liverpool and elsewhere where the fascist threat is ever-present that the most serious SWP and IMG forces will reject the adaptationist line of their organisa-tions, and take up the fight for workers' defence squads to drive the fascists from the streets.

Any hint of democracy appearing in the Labour Party would be enough to persuade extreme right

winger Shirley Williams to

with-hold her services as a

Labour MP in future.

Appealing as this promise may appear at first sight, it emerged last week in the midst of a viciously reactionary speech in which Williams denounced moves by Labour left wingers to institute a system of automatic reselection for MPs.

Intimidation

Any move to make MPs the slightest bit answerable to the Party members who secure their election would spell doom for the kind of politics so dear to Williams' heart.

"If that system is introduced there will never be a Labour government in office for a full Parliament . . . It is an invita-tion to intimidation by constituency party officials".

For Labour's right wing, of course though they revel in the title "social democrat", any attempt by Labour's rank and file to ensure that democratic decisions are implemented by their supposed representatives and leaders is regarded as a threat, as "intimidation" of the worst kind.

Allegiance

In Williams' view, indeed the pre-requisite for the leader of the Parliamentary Labour Party has nothing to do with an allegiance to the policies decided upon by the Party—rather she thinks that the task is to select the best "parliamen-

And she rejects out of hand any move that would give the Party's NEC final say over the policies to be carried out by Labour MPs.

Of course, given the structure and political line of the Labour Party, such a position has a certain logic to

Reforms

The Labour Party was constructed from the very outset as a purely reformist, parliamentary party which would hopefully defend the parliamentary unions against legal attacks and through parliamentary legislation to acheive reforms and eventual nationalisation of

Williams slams into democracy

This illusory perspective of parliamentary transformation to has continuously used as the cover behind which Labour MPs have in reality been sucked into the apparatus of the bourgeois state machinery, while the demands of rank and file party members have been jettisoned in opportunist manoeuvres.

For all of the bluster and

demagogy now paraded by Labour's so-called 'left' wing; and for all their talk of 'democratising' the Party and of radical policies in opposition to those of the right wing Callaghan-Healey leadership, they offer no genuine alternative to such a perspective.

Parliament

Benn, Heffer, Skinner and other 'left' figureheads remain

committed first and foremost to seeking reforms and change through Parliament.

This is why they have mounted no campaign against Callaghan's determined stand opposing industrial action to stop or bring down the Tory government.

Williams is of course con-

scious of and supports, the complete separation between the rigmarole of Labour's
"policy making" conference and the policies carried out by MPs in Parliament.

But the 'lefts'-who in practice failed to fight back on a single occasion when Callaghan or Wilson in government flouted Party policy-continue to peddle the illusion that the Labour Party can impose a discipline over the bourgeois careerist and opportunist elements that make up the ranks and leadership of the PLP.

In reality of course, while even tentative moves towards Party democracy should be supported, the 'lefts' themselves have neither the policies necessary to defend the working class, nor any grasp of the need to mobilise independent working class action to bring down the Tories and carry through a socialist programme of nationalisation, without compensation under management. workers'

Only a new revolutionary leadership can fight for such a perspective in the Labour and trade union movement.

Prentice gets stuck

RELEASED FROM the need even to pretend an interest in the working class or temper his hostility to the trade unions, Williams's former right wing Labour stable-mate Reg Prentice s now romping with a will onto his new job in the Tory govern-

Following his now famous speech insisting that blind people take their full share of the cuts. Prentice has emerged in his post of Minister of Social Security as a key figure in formulating Tory anti-union strategy.

He will toy with such ideas as withholding tax rebates from strikers, taxing supplementary benefit to strikers' families, and making benefits into loans recoverable after strikers return

His Manifesto Group colleagues must be green with envy.



PRESS

YOUTH IN STRUGGLE must be opposed. Full support

For five weeks the Metro Club in Notting Hill has been occupied by black youth in response to the local education authority's (ILEA) attempts to close it down.

Here they will stay until all proposed closure threats are withdrawn and progressive discussions take place. On the 28th August a

meeting was finally arranged. Here it was disclosed that due to 'noise' complaints the Club would have to use alternative nighttime premises.

ILEA further stated that the Metro would reopen, for daytime activities only.

Indeed, it seemed as if some headway had been made and the occupation committee conditionally accepted this offer with the understanding that the authorities would find suitable accommodation for evening ses-

They also demanded that ILEA should produce a formal statement to this effect.

Unfortunately, when the letter it contained little more than vague proposals.

Furthermore, on the 4th September the occupation was issued with a court injunction.

The youth were enraged by the realization that while socalled negotiations had been taking place, ILEA had in fact already taken legal steps to smash the occupation!

Court

Meanwhile they have been ordered to appear in court on the 11th September.

Not surprisingly, the youth have no illusions about winning the case and ILEA's totally deceitful actions have only stengthened their determination to fight against the club's

However, it is absolutely crucial that the Metro youth do

not conduct this fight alone This is but one example of the anti-working class cuts in the social services, and as such; must be given! Trade union branches should

applaud this action taken by the Metro in defence of their rights and call for the immediate withdrawal of closure threats.

Local Labour Parties should call for a public statement of support and those with repre-sentatives on ILEA must be pressurised to take action.



Red Youth available (15p inc postage) from SYL, 31, Dartmouth Park Hill, London NW5 1HR.

According to the Sunday People there is a plot to blow up the Pope!

Good news as that is, it must this week take second place to the thrilling announcement of the Rt. Rev. Robert Runcie as the next Archbishop of Canter-

bury.
'The Peoples Primate' the Guardian called him-on the arounds that he had been selected by the new Crown Appointments Commission, But Runcie is not just any old Arch-

As the Telegraph so eloquently put it:

"War hero will be Arch bishop of Canterbury."

Modest

A modest, unassuming man, the new Archbishop is in reality a working class hero. As the Observer pointed

"Although he looks like a typical member of the Anglican establishment—public school, Oxbridge, Scots Guards, married to the pianist daughter of a Cambridge don-he started at Coronation Road Council

School, Liverpool,"

His past is so shrouded in doubt (hardly any Sunday School!) that one of the journalists at the Press conference this modest, unassuming etc., gave for a few hours, was persuaded to ask him whether he was sure he had been baptised. He has, of course, admirably overcome his humble past. The Observer again:

"He is a tall, thin striking man. He wears the full purple and has an easy command of ceremonial. He is intelligent, elegant, confident, with exqui site manners and a good memory for names and faces: He ka Luton Town.

Devotees

Despite the fact that his army of faithful devotees dwindles by the day, the Press has discovered a mystical relationship between the Pastor and his

The Observer said;

"In an inarticulate way however little practical support the general public demonstrates, there is a demand that the Church of England should exist.

"Roman Catholics and Free Church ministers often help people from other denomina-tions, but only the Church of England vicar has a legal, past-oral responsibility for all who happen to live in his parish." (!)

His wife is supposed to be contemptuous of Pomp ("Too much religion makes me go off pop") and had been quoted as saying she would only leave St. Albans "feet first". Apparently

she now recents this heresy. Guardian because he will deal with the evangelical militants in the ranks (likened by the Guardian to 'activists' inside Labour Party

The Observer likes him because bishops play an important part at funerals of dead

The Press likes him in general because his appointment revives the fiction of the church at the centre of society and demonstrates once again that however serious the setbacks for capitalist rule there is still room at the altar for an upstanding member of their class.

The pig-loving bishop has shown they can still bring home the bacon.



Runcie

THEORETICAL PROTHAT MUST BE RE

At the end of the previous article we criticised the attempt by the SWP to say in effect that all inter-bureaucratic wars must be manifestations of the world wide struggle between the capitalist class and the working

We attacked their view that material conflicts between national bureaucracies play no role as an independent cause of such

This, we argued, was an aspect of a general feature of the SWP's view of Stalinism— a refusal to acknowledge the bureaucracy as a powerful material force in society.

At every point the power of the bureaucracy is belittled by the SWP, to the point where it appears to be simply a layer which responds to pressures either from imperialism or from the working class.

Parasitic

This makes the SWP unwilling to admit the possibility that inter-bureaucratic rivalries can themselves be a cause of war.

In particular it leads them to dismiss the notion that there could be any economic element in motivating the bureaucracies towards agression.

This would violate their "orthodox" view that workers' states are exclusively defensive in their behaviour.

Yet we must question this "orthodoxy". The bureaucracy is after all a parasitic caste which maintains its privileges by feeding off the toiling masses. But at the same time bureaucratic rule is an obstacle to the development of the forces of production in the workers' states, and thus cramps the economic base on which the bureaucracy rests.

So why cannot this contradiction lead to expansionist tendencies on the part of the bureaucracy which flow from a need to augment the surplus value available to one bureaucracy through simple expansion of the territorial base from which it is appropriated?

Why should not Stalinist bureaucrats who feed off the labours of their own working classes seek to ease their internal problems by imposing some form of 'tribute' on weaker bureaucracies in other countries?

Comecon

It cannot be denied that there was an element of this in the expansion of the Soviet Union into Eastern Europe after the Second World War.

And in the subsequent period the economic arrangements within Comecon have been such as to benefit the Soviet Union at the expense of the other countries.

the other countries.

Only more recently



Kampuchean refugees flock into Thailand

perhaps, have there been some changes in this as concessions have had to be made to the growth of anti-Soviet feeling in the other states of Comecon — feelings which the Moscow bureaucrats recognise as magnifying the pressures towards political revolution

Indebtedness

And in any case, Soviet aid—or rather the situation of massive indebtedness which arises from it—has undoubtedly been an element in curbing any independent ambitions of the Cuban bureaucracy and ensuring that it does not deviate from the path chosen by the bureaucracy in Moscow.

We pose these questions not in order to give any final answer to them here but rather to insist that they are real questions which demand an answer from Trotskyists and which cannot be dismissed by an appeal to some "orthodox" theory which argues that the bureaucracies pose no threat of war.

Examine

Ernest Mandel, unlike the SWP, does at least begin to discuss some of the pressure towards war that is inherent in the conflicting national interests of the Stalinist bureaucracies.

But when he comes to possible economic motives for war, he dismisses them without discussion. (ICP April 9, 1979, p345)

Such lines of inquiry demand to be followed up by Trotskyists. Mandel however retreats into the same kind of "orthodoxy" as the SWP.

There is, asserts Mandel,

"no basic economic reason for wars between workers states."

states."
The "ruling bureaucracy can profit from plundering foreign countries . . but this is in no way structurally linked to the nature of the workers' states' economies".

As an example, he says that:

"it is preposterous to believe that China needs 'colonies to exploit' when it is desperately lacking the resources to exploit 80% of the natural resources known on its own native soil."

(ibid.p345)
So the conclusion is that
"the roots of these potential
conflicts are political and not
economic".

Though not fully developed, Mandel's argument on this point seems to be based on some very important theoretical errors which once

again involve the belittling of the counter-revolutionary nature of the Stalinist bureau-

It is assumed that there is a virtually absolute separation between politics and economics in the deformed workers' states. In Mandel's view what is deformed is the political workings of the state and not the functioning of the economy.

omy.

This is not only an unwarranted conclusion from the contradictory nature of a deformed or degenerated workers' state, but it also underestimates the way in which the rule of the bureaucracy distorts the development and operation of the economy from that which would prevail under a workers' democracy.

Bureaucratic economic planning is not a less efficient version of a truly socialist



Castro fetes Mengistu, the Ethiopian butcher, in Havana

economy.

It makes a qualitative difference.

Mandel, however, seems to assume: that the deformity of Stalinist-worker states applies only to a compartmentalised political element.

Mandel assumes also that the bureaucracy is capable of rationally developing the economy—hence his argument that the Chinese bureaucracy could not possibly want colonies because it hasn't developed its own natural resources.

Conflict

But Mandel does not even begin to consider the possibility that, although not capitalist, Stalinist-ruled states could contain contradiction, which also create behaviour that from an economic standpoint appears irrational.

In developing his purely political theory of inter-bureaucratic conflict, Mandel therefore goes on in his own way to create illusions in the ability of the Stalinist bureaucracy to act rationally in the interests of preserving socialised property.

Because the Stalinist bureaucracy rests upon nationalised property, therefore, argues Mandel, it will act to defend that property.

If inter-bureaucratic wars should occur, the national bureaucracies will be able to keep them under control. And, he suggests, they can control the consequences of their collaboration with imperialism. (Intercontinental Press/ Inprecor April 16, 1979 pp 346-7).

In reply to this, SWP spokesmen Clark, Feldman, Horowitz and Waters (CFHW) ask "can we really be so sure" that inter-bureaucratic wars will be as limited as Mandel believes?

Challenge

Their challenge appears correct, until its basis becomes clear. What really worries CFHW about Mandel's argument is not that he so signally fails to explain the source of war between workers' states, but that he makes even tentative steps towards admitting that such wars can arise from interbureaucratic conflict.

"If Comrade Mandel's vision of the future is accurate", say CFHW, "then the prospects for humanity are not so bright as the Fourth International has expected up until now". (ICP, July 16, 1979, p 715).

They go on to dismiss out of hand the danger of such wars because, they argue, the bureaucracy will be prevented from entering them by the strength of the working class.

CFHW's denial of the manifest danger is therefore the outcome of their denial of the importance of the material role of the Stalinist bureaucracy.

It flows from their failure to grasp the contradiction

between the property for workers state bureaucratic

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is the difference between a healthy and degenerated or deformed workers state? What is the historical role of the Stalinist bureaucracy?are all questions which have concerned the Trotskyist movement since its inception.

We do not take the position that final definitive positions have been reached on all these questions.

Restorationist

One particular problem yet to be fully tackled is the mechanism by which deformed workers' states are created, and the laws of motion which govern the behaviour of degenerated and deformed workers' states.

Another is to define in what manner the Stalinist bureaucracy is restorationist.

We believe that one condition for the reconstruction of the Fourth International as an authoritative and cohesive revolutionary leadership is that theoretical progress should be made on these issues.

But theoretical progress is impossible without the most profound and theoretical discussion.

The USFI however is an organisation which was founded partly on an agreement to impose a moratorium on potentially divisive discussion.

Obstacle

And this is one of the senses in which the USFI has continued to act as an obstacle to the theoretical clarification which must go hand in hand with the

reconstruction international.

Indeed it is only an extreme political difference within the USFI leadership (implying support different sides in a war) that has made the reopening of a theoretical discussion on issues in Ernest Mandel's "unavoidable"

As we said in opening this series of articles, we welcome the fact that such a discussion is taking place.

We do not approach it in any spirit of gloating that such a sharp discussion is developing in the USFI.

But we must, nevertheless, make some highly critical comments on the kind of debate which is taking place.

We see continual evidence that the USFI leadership, far welcoming from theoretical debate as a precondition for theoretical clarification, is once again taking steps organisationally to limit and curtail that

One way in which this shows up is in relation to Cuba. It was the position of the USFI at its foundation in 1963 that Cuba was a workers' state which had not degenerated and was not bureaucratically deformed from the outset.

Today the SWP leadership explicity endorses that position-indeed it uses selective reference to certain actions of the Cuban bureaucracy-which are in our opinion ever more counter-revolutionary to "prove" that the Castro leadership is consistently a 'revolutionary' one.

It is clear that the theoretical questions which are raised by the recent events in Indochina can be resolved only by a disussion which also includes the

SWP leaders have complained about the extreme reluctance of Ernest Mandel, or anyone else who supports the USFI majority resolution on the Indochina wars, to discuss the question of Cuba.

But what explains this reluctance? Surely it is the that to reopen theoretical discussion on Cuba would reveal, even more

clearly than the present the theoretical foundations on which the rickety political edifice of the USFI rests. So, on the question of Cuba, it seems that Ernest Mandel at least would like to extend the moratorium on

Uncritical

debate.

Within their own party, however, the SWP leaders have not been able to hold back a growing pressure to debate the party's position of virtually uncritical support for the Castro leadership.

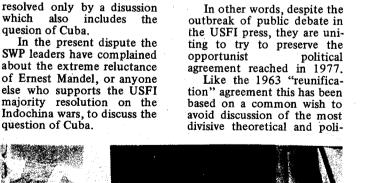
This has now reached the position where the SWP whitewashes the role of Castro in support of the genocidal policies of the Ethiopian military dictatorship.

For SWP members and supporters "information" about the "progress" of the Cuban masses is provided in the pages of the SWP's weekly paper The Militant via the reprint without comment of the statements of a member of the Cuban bureaucracy (See The Militant, August 3, 1979).

Opposition within SWP to these policies of adaptation to Castro has existed for some time and has now begun to emerge in public.

'Unity'

In Socialist Press we will soon be publishing some articles which take up and comment on this debate in the SWP, at which the rest of the USFI seems still to be merely looking on in embarassed silence.





Anti-war protest in Peking during the invasion of Vietnam

This is the final article in a six-part seies on the major political and theoretical crisis in the United Secretariat of the Fourth International which has been exposed by the recent wars in

The main sources which have been referred to in the articles are the following:

Fred Feldman, "Behind the Fall of the Pol Pot Regime", Militant Jan. 19, 1979, reprinted in Intercontinental Press/Inprecor, Jan 22, 1979.

Fred Feldman, "Socialist Revolution in Vietnam", Intercontinental Socialist Review April 1979, reprinted in /P// April 9, 1979.

Steve Clark, "Imperialism vs. Workers of the World", Militant March 23, 1979, also reprinted in IP/I April 9, 1979.

Ernest Mandel, "Behind Differences on Military Conflicts in Southeast Asia" /P// April 9, 1979.

Steve Clark, Fred Feldman, Gus Horowitz and Mary-Alice Waters, 'War and Revolution in Indo-china - What Policy for Revolutionists?" /P// July 16, 1979.

For further background on the positions of the Workers Socialist League on the post-war evolution and world role of Stalinism see the book Communists Against Revolution (£2.00 inc post and packing from Folrose Books, 31, Dartmouth Park Hill, London NW5 1HR) and the document The Poisoned Well (30p inc p&p from the same address).

> tical issues in the interests of a fake 'unity'.

Today, as in 1963, such moves can only damage the prospects of reconstructing the Fourth International on a principled basis as an authoritative world revolutionary organisation.
The WSL will continue to

resist these moves to inhibit the necessary theoretical rearmament of Trotskyism.

That is why we have produced these articles which we hope both inside and outside the USFI will help to break the bounds within which the USFI leadership would like to confine the





SWP leader Barnes

The purpose of the articles is not to lay down a final position on the questions it raises but to stimulate further discussion of them.

To this end the columns of Socialist Press are open to both members and nonmembers of the WSL. We wish to encourage readers to make written contributions which take up aspects of these articles or of the dis-pute within the USFI.

In our view the starting point for any theoretical development on the questions raised in the present dispute must remain Trotsky's analysis of the degeneration of the Soviet Union, set out in The Revolution Betrayed

and In Defence of Marxism. But in the post-war epoch

these documents, fundamental as they are, no longer remain sufficient for the understanding of Stalinism. Trotsky himself regarded

them as having something of a provisional character in terms of their conclusions.

In particular the post-war period has faced the Trotskyist movement with the challenge of understanding situations in which capitalist property relations were overthrown without the intervention of a proletarian revolutionary party-a problem which Trotsky had only begun to consider.

Open wars

More recently we have witnessed bitter conflicts between Stalinist-ruled states. now escalating into open wars -a problem which Trotsky, writing when the Soviet Union was the only non-capitalist state, did not, of course, have to deal with.

The emphasis of Trotsky's writing on the Soviet Union under Stalin was that, although a social counterrevolution had not taken place, the Stalinist bureaucracy was a vast material force which, despite its defence "by methods of its own" of the social conquests achieved, represented a pro-found threat to those conquests.

It is necessary to advance beyond those positions in order to understand the nature of Stalinism in the post-war period.

Its extent and power has grown vastly since Trotsky was writing.

"Orthodoxy"

Both sides in the current dispute within the USFI hold the view that they are defending Trotskyist "orthodoxy" But when put to the test

their "orthodoxies" turn out to be unequal to their task. If orthodox Marxism involves following the footsteps of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky, then one of its characteristics must surely be the capacity to extend and develop theoretical and political positions to cope honestly with new realities. rather than clinging forlornly and abstractly to inadequate past positions which dignified by being attributed to the dead.

Concluded

Beginning in Socialist Press 167: a series of articles replying to the main texts before the USFI XIth World Congress this November.

Workers Partyyet to break As we indicated in our from Healyism

first article, the comrades of the Workers Party have not yet grasped the concrete problems of intervention in the working

These problems can only be approached by seeing the struggle for programme as a between workers' present consciousness and

questions of party organisa-tion and the struggle for an international closely parallels

and again they in practice bow to spontaneous developments

tuous wave of the hand to dismiss the difficult problems of confronting and dealing with the numerous fragments which like themselves claim adherence to revolutionary

The Workers Party have reacted to the complete lack of democracy in Healy's WRP by abandoning altogether the necessary struggle to maintain he balance between democracy and centralism.

We in the WSL also faced the same lack of democracy within the WRP, but have fought since to allow democratic internal discussions, real differences to be expressed at conferences etc..

Spontaneity

We have not, however bowed so far to expressions of spontaneity as to allow branches or individuals to express different opinions publiclylet alone to carry them out.

ding to deal with problems of action in the working class.

sectarianism among struggle to futile hairsplitting and endless discussions.

ing from a tiny group into a party are not the same as those of fighting to develop a mass organisation.

well-stocked shoe store,

'As regards new leader ship, the choice is very limited. Only gradually on the basis of new experience through several stages, can the broad layers of the masses become convinced that a new leadership is firmer, more relible, more loyal than the old." (The Class, the Party, and

the leadership' in *The Spanish Revolution* (1931-39) Path finder p 362)

Development

Thus, in the early stages, workers are only won in ones and twos, and are developed as cadres through the fight within the party against spon-

the organisational means of ensuring the necessary political development. However, as Trotsky himself explained:

'I do not think I can give

all' would eliminate misunder standings and false interpret-

(Writings 1937-8 pp89-90) He went on to explain that organisational arrangements vary according to the relative



Bolshevik workers in a factory committee meeting

development of a party and its line, and the particular cirum-stances of time and place:

'Democracy and centralism do not find themselves in an invariable ratio to one another . Before a conference, when the problem is one of formulating a political line for the next period, democracy triumphs over centralism. When the problem is political action, centralism subordindemocracy to itself.

The problem to comrades of the Workers Party is that they have chosen to emphasise only the side of this balance which they themselves prefer. Through this they have given in to spontaneity.

Thus in their document dealing with the WRP, they quote from Trotsky's Writings

1930-31 (p155) as follows: Whoever is acquainted with the history of the Bolshevik Party knows what a broad autonomy the local organisations always enjoyed; they issued their own papers, in which they openly and sharply, whenever they found it necessary, criticised the actions of the Central Committee'

Apparently in line with this view, the constitution of the Workers Party has adopted this clause:

their disagreements with party policy or with decisions of the party bodies at any level of the party and circulate their differences to other members in any form. Members and organisations may also their differences with party policy or decisions of party bodies with full factional rights in the party press and other party public-

They go on to say that 'all right to publish their own propaganda'.

Such an attitude can only lead to accepting and glorithe spontaneous consciousness of the Workers Party workers and petty bourgeois layers. If will do nothing to develop a party consciousness or authoratitive leadership.

Consciousness

Rather than struggling to ensure that their leadership advocates the correct policy, branches can merely substitute their own point of view.

But party consciousness can only be achieved by means of democratic internal debate on policy questions in dispute and by agreement that until changed, the line of the majority will prevail in propaganda and in practice.

This was the position of Trotsky also, and the one he adopted after 1933 when the proven total degeneration of the Stalinist Comintern led him to decide to fight to build a new International.

This necessarily began with development of small cadre groups.

The quotation used by the WP comrades from before that time refers to very different circumstances, when the Left Opposition was still a faction within the Communist International, an organisation of mass parties. Clearly the later period is more relevant to us.

Trotsky himself was well aware of this change, as he showed during his joint struggle with James P. Cannon against the petty bourgeois opposition in the American SWP in 1939-40.

He dealt with very similar examples from the history of Bolshevism which were used by the petty bourgeois opposition:

Schachtman finds. better to say invents, historprecedents'. In the **Bolshevik Party the opposition** had its own public papers etc. He forgets only that the party at that time had hundreds of thousands of members, that the discussion had as its task to reach these hundreds of thousands and to convince

them. Under such circumit was not easy to the discussion internal circles. On the other opposition papers was mitigated by the fact that the opposition abundant.'

Founded on July 15 of this

year, the Workers Party has been

formed by forces recently ex-

pelled from Gerry Healy's Workers Revolutionary Party.

issues of their Bulletin, number

5 of which includes a number of articles attacking the positions of

the Workers Socialist League.

and final part of a reply to those

points: but the issues raised are also of more general interest to

those wishing to understand rev-

olutionary principles of organ-

This article is the second and

They have now produced six

against the opposition having 'their own public paper or magazine', since this would provide 'a means not to convince the party, but to appeal to the external world against the Party

He had taken this position ever since 1933, and in the articles in The Crisis of the French Section (1935-6) strongly attacked the idea of the opposition having its own press and presenting different positions.

The argument on such organisational questions is very much at the centre of the political differences in that

These positions were argued more fully by James P. Cannon in The Struggle for a Proletarian Party, which was

establish as the normal procedure the right of a minority to contradict the party line in the public press.

We are on the eve of the convention which

'Equally fraudulent is the reference to 'many similar sor, the antagonistic programmes.

This was when the two French sections had the same programme but differences over the tactic of entry and so were "talking to different

others for 'subjective idealism'

can itself be very one-sided when it comes to considering the history from which they come, the WP comrades react to a short-term view of their recent past with organisational views which seem most unlikely to give them a longterm future.

Problems

But a similar methodology as well as a propensity to brush aside problems with a wave of the hand informs the

James P. Cannon wrote in Struggle for a Proletarian Party (p144) that: The first question for

every revolutionist is the question of international affiliation. Without a close union of co-thinkers on an international scale a revolutionary movement in our epoch is unthinkable.'

objective tasks. In this article we propose

to show how their attitude on

Again they refuse to confront the real problems involved in party building; in the working class.

We see the same contemp-

By suggesting that branches should be able to act in this way, the Workers Party comrades show that they have not yet developed the historical and theoretical understan-

Nor have they recognised the real problem of fighting bourgeois elements within the ranks of revolutionary orga-nisations who will be drive by their isolation from the class

The problems of develop-

It is not, as Trotsky put it, 'as if the proletariat were in selecting a new pair of boots'.

Democratic centralism is

formula on democratic centralism that 'once and for

> Party members and local party organisations may voice

hand the danger of co-existence of the Party and the final decision depended upon hundreds of thousands of workers and not upon two small groups. The American Party has only a comparatively small number of members [c. 2,500 at this time] the discussion was and is more than (In Defence of Marxism, Pathfinder p.161) Trotsky went on to argue

particular struggle.

strongly praised by Trotsky (see especially p122f).

He argued against the opposition who were:

pressing all the time to

He went on to explain shevik methods of organising making points amongst others:

conclude the discussion with a decision. From that we shall proceed to discipline in action on the basis of the decision. That is the real tradition of Bolshevism. The 'tradition' which the opposition wishes to invoke are those of Menshevism, of pre-war social democracy of the 'all-inclusive

instances' in the history of the Fourth International. There are no such instances. The Fourth International and its Left Opposition, never sanctioned different publications advocating antagonistic programmes on fundamental questions, just the contrary. The International Left Opposition took shape on a world scale in the course of an irreconcilable struggle for a single struggle and against groupings their publications) which, while pretending agreement 'in general' advocated

Cannon goes on to quote the one exception when a separate paper was issued for a limited period.

audiences." So it can be seen that an organisation which condemns

Workers Party's attitude to the building of an International,

For Royston Bull on the other hand (WP Bulletin No.5

'whatever nimble feats of nomenclature are performed on the deathbed of the Fourth International to make it United or International, Defend It or Reconstruct, a successful revolutionary party must first be built in Britain before British Trotskyists can help much towards trans-forming the world revolutionary struggle.

'Lenin's dominating influence on the world wide striving for a Marxist understanding was the result of his practical leadership of the Russian Revolution. Trotsky's international authority was similarly based."

dealing Comrade Bull's patriotic conclusions, let us consider his somewhat inadequate grasp of history.

When Lenin was in the Second International, there was certainly little in the way of a centralised line and discip-

Nevertheless, he spent a great deal of effort taking up supposedly revolutionary organisations within it.

International

From the start he saw the struggle against reformism as international question. After 1914, Lenin, together with Trotsky, Luxembourg and other fighters against imperialist war and centrist betrayal, took up the struggle to build a new, Third International.

Lenin took up this struggle initially through the effort to build the Zimmerwald Left as a force in the international

workers movement.
In his "April Theses" or
"The Tasks of the Proletariat
in Our Revolution", he placed as one of the central preoccupations of the Russian working class "The Need for a Third International".

Thus, although it is clear that Lenin derived great authority from the success of the Russian Revolution, this Revolution itself was only made on the basis of a consistent interstruggle national reformist and centrist betrayal. The building of a International directly linked to that.

In dealing with the history of the Fourth International, the comrades of the WP give the same simplistic answers, often compounded by a sheer lack of knowledge of the facts of the matter.

All that is necessary, they say, is a "proper understan-ding of the way the revolu-tionary tide is now flowing so strongly in favour of the

working class in the struggle with imperialism."

The world is analysed simply in terms of the forward movement of the working class and the existence of the Workers Party.

Nothingness

Beside these two facts, every other force evaporates into nothingness.

Thus Comrade Bull again: (Bulletin No. 5 p. 3):

Without a single exception all the hundreds of parties and groups affiliated to these various 'Fourth International' factions refuse to break from the conservatism, sectarianism and opportunism of the postwar era. The total collapse in practice of the FI's Marxist credentials around 1950 was the end of it as a serious revolutionary force.

One can only assume that the phrase 'around 1950' is Bull's impatience with a study of the actual process he so summarily dismisses.

Nor does he find it necessary to present any serious arguments for these most farreaching conclusions:

The proven political bankrupcy of the leadership of all the main factions of the FI requires no further demonstra-

It is not good enough just to throw together a few hist-orical points and then to that the process of degeneration can be ignored.

This rejection of a proper historical analysis is really a rejection of historical materia-

Those who think they have pushed history aside are all too apt, as we shall see, to find themselves throttled by its logic.

Once again, this same bluff lack of concern for how we got where we are makes it difficult to connect with the real world.

Thus we are glibly told (Bulletin p.5) that:

longer 'Stalin ism no attracts nearly all the young revolutionary elements as it did in the 1920s and 30s. Exactly the opposite. Among such layers anti-Stalinism is overwhelmingly predominant.'

But what it happens that youth turn in their anti-Stalinism towards the USFI? Or towards the forces around the OCRFI? Or even towards the various splits from these groupings, or possibly from the diminishing band of Healyites?

How are you going to explain Pabloism to these layers? You are surely not going to satisfy them with the trite argument that the degethese bodies requires 'no further demonstration"!

To say this is to leave the anti-Stalinist youth in the hands of the Pabloites.

'Not one single substantial advance' we are told has been made in Marxism by the Fourth International—all sections' or indeed by anyone claiming to be Trotskyist or Marxist-Leninist'.

So the whole strugale Pabloite liquidationism, however imperfect or ill-conceived is pushed aside.

The historic 'Open Letter 1953, which led to the split of the Fourth International and the setting up of the International Committeefrom which the WP itself has emerged--is not seriously considered.

The issues which led to this split are forgotten.

The result is that the WP comrades fall into precisely misconceptions as those of their predecessors that they so mindlessly dismiss.



James P Cannon

In 1951-3 Pablo, and his allies of the time like Gerry Healy and Mike Banda, fell down in worship of accomplished "fact" of of the Yugoslav Revolution,

Banda was an enthusiastic the bureaucratic regime of Marshall Tito and later a worshipper at the Chi Minh, ifi, Siddam of Gaddafi. Colonel Hussein, Ayatollah Khomeini and more

Mr. Banda has however. found some willing acolytes in the persons of Comrades Bull and Johns.

Perhaps they are not yet 'worshipping' so many 'accom-plished facts' as their mentor. But they could learn.

Thus we are told by Comrade Bull (in the same Bulletin) that:

The workers and peasants Vietnam were organised and inspired to an outstanding level of revolutionary achievement by a leadership which played a fully conscious and historical role in inflicting one of the greatest defeats imperialism has ever suffered.

Comrade Bull describes this as an adaptation by the counter-revolutionary Stali-nists to the "pressure of the masses", he does not consider it necessary to call for political revolution in Vietnam.

Truly, by failing to take account of the course of history, he is doomed to history, he is doomed to repeat all its crimes and short-

Colonialism

Amongst other subjects missed out by Comrade Bull is fact that the Vietnamese Stalinists in 1945 fought to restore the rule of French colonialism, and that in order to do so they had to murder hundreds of members of the Vietnamese Trotskyist move-

This was certainly a very 'conscious' act on the part of the Vietnamese Stalinists. Comrade Bull also omits to Stalinists.

mention that this same 'conscious' leadership, following the crushing defeat of the French colonialists at Dien Bien Phu, took part in the Geneva accords of 1954, which split their country in two and allowed the American imperialists to enter

We in the WSL have never wavered in our admiration for the struggle of the Vietnamese masses against United States imperialism; nor have we underestimated the historic significance of their victory in

At the same time we have seen these developments as inextricably linked to the victory in Russia in 1917,

They are not the result of any revolutionary policies from the Stalinist leadership of the Vietnamese CP, but despite the betrayals of their leadership.

Overthrow

As Trotskyists we continue to call for their revolutionary overthrow through political and the inderevolution, pendent mobilisation of the masses seperated from the bureaucratic regime which the Stalinists inevitably impose upon them (see centre pages).

Alongside the refusal to take up such questions goes the same Healyite 'little Englandism' on the question of the International.

Thus Comrade Bull tells

'If rummaging through the history of the post-war FI had in fact provided the key to understanding the last Labour Government's crisis it could have helped.'

To approach it from this point of view is to ignore the struggle for a genuinely international communist movement, a reconstructed Fourth International, as the only way in which the kind of leadership necessary for this epoch can be built.

Obviously our practice in the class struggle in Britain can in no way be seperate from a genuinely international

The re-construction of the Fourth International can only take place through an under standing of the weakness and inability to lead of the various faces in the world claiming to be Trotskyist.

This can only be done by a study of the splits and opportunist fusions of the past and an understanding of the poliquestions and method behind them.

If the comrades of the Workers Party do not take these questions seriously, then their practical intervention in the class struggle will become one-sided and incorrect.

Their own organisation will shrivel and degenerate, and they will simply be added to the long list of those they so easily condemn.

Concluded



The Three Mile Island plant at Harrisburg

HE CHINA SYNDROM

Of all the 'epic disasters' released by the film industry in recent years, the China Syndrome is by far the most gripping.

This is not just because the threat of a nuclear power plant disaster is more immediate than the prospect of being eaten by a shark or crushed in an earthquake.

The film's strength comes from its political content.

The struggle to prevent the disaster is seen clearly as a struggle against the capitalist corporation with control of the media and the

In 'Jaws' and 'Earthquake'. the nasty capitalists and bureaucrats were just a side-issue, in the China Syndrome they are central.

Notorious

Much of the film is based around the notorious Westinghouse scandal. Workers at a Westinghouse plant discovered that the company was deliberately falsifying records to cover up faults in nuclear fuel pellets, and breaches of safety procedures.

As a result workers were suffering a very high cancer incidence and there was a danger of faulty fuel causing disaster at nuclear plants.

Karen Silkwood, a woman shop steward, set off by car to deliver documents proving these allegations to union officials and anti-nuclear experts. On the way she was killed in a mysterious road accident in which the document disappeared. These events are mirrored in

the China Syndrome but unfortunately at an individual level. The element of struggle by

the working class to control the nuclear process is completely

Godfrey Webster reviews THE CHINA SYNDROME, starring Jane Fonda and Jack Lemmon, which is now on general release.

removed. Indeed the workers in the plant appear as mere passive instruments of management.

But the forces making nuclear of power impossible are shown up vivdly.

The Chief Executive of the Corporation ignores his engineers' warnings that the plant is unsafe because of the prospect of huge losses if the plant is closed down.

The media are pressured by Corporation to suppress knowlege of a near melt-down at the plant.

The construction firm which built the plant have falsified x-ray photographs of welded joints to save time and increase profits.

Catastrophe

They then attempt to murder the plant engineer and his associates who are trying to make public the danger of a catastrophe.

The suspense is heightened by the extraordinary similarity between the original accident at the plant in China Syndrome the events at the Three Mile Island plant earlier this year.

In both a combination of human error and indicator failure led to the water cooling system to the reactor being cut

If this happens the reactor

core can overheat to such an extent that it will melt the foundations of the plant and release huge quantities of radio-At a technical level the film

is well constructed. The scenes within the TV studios are full of sharp and amusing details. The pervasive sexism of the

media is brought out when the director attempts to restrict Jane Fonda's role to soft news "tiger cubs birthday parties"etc.

The film also brings out how careerism is used to keep the professional layers loyal capitalist authority.

Both Jane Fonda and Jack Lemmon hesitate before risking their careers by a confrontation their Lemmon's particularly fine portrayal of the plant engineer highlights the dilemma technical workers in capitalist society



Nuclear fuel store







(top) controls at Three Mile Island: above, Fonda and Lemmon

The film does not tackle the thorny questions which nuclear power poses for the socialist movement.

It stops short at liberal and individual protests against a society that daily risks all our lives in the search for profit.

But where is the energy to come from which a future socialist society will need. The "no growth syndrome" is as much of a danger to mankind as the China Syndrome.

It forgets that most of the world lives at starvation level primarily because of the inability to apply energy resources to transforming the world economy

Fossil fuels are physically limited (which is not to deny that the present shortage is politically and not physically determined), and they are not the politically neutral and pollution-free resources which some anti-nuclearists would have us

Middle Class

The middle class forces who oppose having nuclear power plants in their neighbourhood have never shed a tear for the tens of thousands of miners killed in extracting coal, or the tens of millions of people held in subjection to ensure a supply of Middle East oil.

The struggle to control the nuclear industry must be the beginning of the struggle for a safe and pollution-free energy supply, whether nuclear or otherwise. And that struggle can only be waged by the organised working class with a socialist leadership.

The China Syndrome pushes viewers towards these questions but leaves them without an answer. However it combines gripping entertainment with thought provoking content. And while we should ask for more than that, we cannot expect it from commercial film companies.

science correspondent Our adds:

Although the film is based on a fictional screenplay, the events depicted bear a startling resemblance to events that have occurred in recent months in the USA.

Considerable care has been taken to ensure that the technical side of the film is both accurate and relatively detailed. I urge our readers to see this film as soon as

The term "The China Syndrome" was coined to describe what could happen when the Uranium fuel of a Light Water nuclear reactor overheats as a result of failure in the reactor's cooling system.

In the film this occurs as a result of a combination of human error and instrument faiture.

The combination of the heat produced by the chain reactions involved in nuclear fission and the heat given off the radioactive waste products of the fission process may then result in the melting of the reactor core.

In theory, this mass of molten material would melt through the bottom of the reactor, melt the rocks on which the reactor was constructed and continue on its way towards China.

Hence, the term "The China Syndrome".

But in any real melt-down of a reactor core, as it is the molten mass known. would boil the water held in the soil and rocks of the reactor's foundation. The steam generated would

cause an explosion that could scatter radioactive materials over an enormous area. When first released film was strenuously attacked

by the pro-nuclear lobby in America as depicting a preposterous series of events A few weeks after its release there occurred the disaster of the Three Mile Island nuclear power plant

near Harrisburg in Pennsylvania. This event silenced, at least for a while, the film's tech-

nical critics. There is a remarkable coincidence in the film where a scientist is asked to comment on what would happen should the reactor undergo a meltdown.

He replies by saying that the resulting disaster could affect an area the size of Pennsylvania! This echoes the reallife fears of many Harrisburg residents.

Light TEN INDUSTRIAL NEWS

Journalists throw out pay diversion: lodge 30% claim

The National Union of Journalists is to put in a claim for a 30% pay increase an extra week's holiday and a massive cut in the working week for provincial journa-

representatives Chapel decided on the claim at Birming-ham on Saturday after rejecting a move by the union's teadership to abandon a centralised

This policy was put forward as supposedly taking a "principled stand" over the Notting ham journalists sacked during last winter's seven week pay

"Unprincipled"

Members of the Provincial Journalists Industrial Council and full time official Mike Bower argued that since the Newspaper Society had forced the employers, T. Bailey Forman, to reinstate the sacked NUJ members it would be to negotiate "unprincipled" with them.

In practice this policy could do nothing whatsoever to assist the sacked Nottingham journa-lists, while it would effectively abandon the pay demands of thousands of provincial jour-nalists in smaller offices to the charity of their employers at local level.

Fake Lefts

It was little wonder that such a bankrupt policy was espoused by the fake lefts in the union and was backed most vociferously by those-including Bower-who had argued for a return to work last year with the Nottingham members still sacked, and who ridicule the demand for correct

action. Hostility to these fakes was widespread: one delegate correctly accused Bower of 'mealy-mouthed hypocrisy'.

In drawing up the claim, delegates decisively rejected a demand tabled by Oxford Mail and Times journalists for full defence of wages against inflation with NUJ committees to compile a cost of living index.

But many motions called for the wage claim to include an amount to offset inflation, and the 30% figure itself had vague references to this effort.

is clear that the fight waged for several years within the union for the sliding scale of wages has produced a response

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in a distorted form.

But the result is a 'large' claim which has none of the uniting qualities of the sliding

The claim includes a demand for a 35 hour week inclusive of meal breaks which is in effect a demand for a ten hour reducin the working week.

It also includes demands for improved maternity pay, fully transferable pensions and the abolition of indentures.

For the second year running the FOCs embraced the ludicrous call for an independent inquiry into the wages; one delegate backing the call summed up its content by making the remarkable state-ment: "If we really want a decent wage increase we've got to be prepared to stand up and

Lobby demands action against nursery cutbacks

36 hours after the leaked that Oxfordshire's **Tory County Council plans** to close down all of its nursery provision, a lobby of angry parents and trade unionists had persuaded Oxford Trades Council to call an immediate demonstration against the cuts.

Veteran campaigner against the working class, Brigadier Streatfield, Education Commttee Chairman, has drawn up a series of vicious plans to meet the £3m of cuts over the next 3 years as demanded by Environment Secretary Heseltine.

After being rapped over the knuckles by the government for imposing a supplementary rate on the Oxfordshire ratepayers instead of making immediate cuts in this financial year, the Brigadier and his extreme right wing cronies are anxious to prove their loyalty to Tory ideology by driving all mothers of under fives back into the home.

Grants axed

Not content with closing 12 nursery schools and 16 nursery classes, they plan to axe grants to playgroups, adventure play-grounds and holiday play-

Two secondary, 3 middle and ten primary schools also face the chop, one of these being the South Oxford Middle School-reprieved from closure last year following the 6 week occupation of its nursery class.

A children's home and an old people's home will be closed and all old people forced to pay for home helps, whatever their financial situation.

School dinners will reduced to snacks and free school transport reduced.

All these cuts will involve the loss of nearly 500 jobs and will decimate the social services in an area already cut completely to the bone by the previous energetic cuts pro-gramme under the Labour

But the battle has already begun and as Brigadier Streat-field has predicted "there will be a very nasty fight over the plan to cut out nursery educa-

He is no doubt thinking of the determined campaign to save the South Oxford Nursery class which climaxed last spring in the 6 week occupation of the class by parents, teachers and trade unionists.

He knows full well that the occupation received immense public support and only remained an isolated struggle because of the refusal of the NUPE and NUT bureaucrats to call strike action in support of

The Brigadier also welcomed the assistance of the NALGO vice chairman Alan Pearson who

masterminded the eviction of the occupiers.

This time NUPE, NUT and NALGO members have the memories of that campaign to assist them.

bureaucrats will, Union needless to say, again try every manoeuvre possible to evade a real fight, but there is no doubt that the demands of strike action, occupations and the opening of the books of the County Council and its profitprivate suppliers and to the scrutiny of parent and trade union committees will be clear and forceful.



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 opppose any perspective other than settling down and meek-ly 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, parallelling 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 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

This meens 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 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.

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Ellesmere Port workers Talbot strikers fight penalty clauses

The strike to regain living standards at Vauxhall's, Ellesmere Port plant comes at a time when the company is suffering from a series of teething troubles over the 1980 model of the Chevette, which came into production after the summer vacation four weeks ago.

When the first cars came down the tracks new parts were missing and workers had been told to get on with working new operations without the necessary training period, using strange parts that needed complex sub-assembly in many cases.

Bedevilled

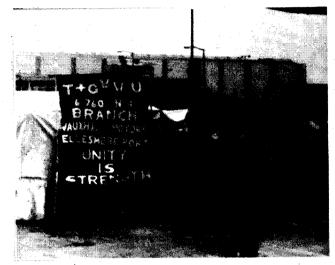
Needless to say the track was stopping and starting throughout the shift and ended up stopping altogether for eable part of the shift. Since then the car seems to

have been bedevilled by cock ups, engineering snags and incompetent suppliers who have sent whole crates full of smashed headlamps resulting in a farcical production schedule.

To compound this state of affairs there appears to be a shortage of certain vital components—possibly caused by the Confed. strikes.

There has been a predictable build-up of half-built derelicts shoved into the car-park, for an indefinite period, awaiting parts.

Against this background the claim for a 25% increase-a notable improvement on last year's vague and woolly "substantial increase"a cost of living clause; a "shorter" working week; time and a third for holidays and a half day (sic) at Christmas; was submitted with much militant



Picketing at Ellesmere Port during an earlier dispute

The company's final offer of an increase of an average 131/2% plus time and a third for holidays adds up to a supposed 17% average increase.

The strings attached to it, however, amount to an unpre-cedented attack on conditions and rights.

company demanded:

(i) An increase in productivity to be accepted as desirable and necessary: Bell-to-bell working,

with no unofficial breaks;
(iii) Greater flexibility and transfer of workers to

cover for shortages of labour, and (iv) the right of management to deploy workers to scab

on sections that are in unofficial This final clause is only an extension of the present state of affairs.

The TGWU shop steward constitution actually has a clause stating that any sections can be "manned-up", where an instruction to return to normal working, given by the senior stewards committee, is ignored! Although it is doubtful

Although it is doubtful whether this has ever been done in practice, the clause is there to be used and undoubtedly gives the right-wing dominated senior stewards committee and convenor an enormous potential intimidating and beating sections back into line.

The clause, therefore, merely seeks to strengthen and make explicit the already existing right-wing stewards committee, and give the management the power to

But the strike was not a principled response to this on the part of the convenors-rather it was forced on them by the determined strike by a handful of setters with are up in arms over being downgraded.

implementing it in practice.

As their action brought the threat of lav-offs for the whole of the 8,500 hourly paid, a mass meeting of AUEW members voted on the recommendation of their convenor John Turnbull to reject the offer and take strike action. The recommendation to strike was cerried almost unanimously by the 5,500 membership.
The TGWU convenor, John

Farrel, however, went to the management and said that TGWU members wanted lay-off pay until the present agreement expired in a couple of weeks

Management turned round with their usual contempt and refused the slightest concession to the TGWU.

Meanwhile the AUEW has had problems with their skilled members who, enraged at having been witch-hunted by Turnbull last year during their fight to differentials, scabbed on this year's action by unskilled members in a bloodyminded retaliation bid to even the score.

Despite these difficult conditions, Vauxhall workers have voted for action which places alongside (Chrysler) workers at the forefront of the pay struggles in the car industry.

successful struggle in Vauxhall would set the pace for Fords and spur on BL car-workers. The Ellesmere Port strike must be fully supported with official blacking action and stoppages at Vauxhall's other

stand firm "We're telling

A mass meeting of Talbot workers from the Stoke plant in Coventry last Friday showed once again determination to their continue their fight for increased wages.

Talbot management have been sending out personal letters to each striker giving the impression that money is on the table if only the convenors would negotiate.

But at the meeting the convenors spelt out the facts of management's fraudulent offer.

"They keep talking about £5 extra through an incentive scheme. But they won't tell us what the schemes includes! "They won't tell us what

we'll have to do to get the £5 and we suspect we'll have to give up a lot.



ACTT leader Alan Sapper: as we go to press, the signs are that the Independent television employers are digging in for a further prolongation of the pay battle that has blacked out screens, as they press for job-slashing new technology and speed-up.

won't discuss incentive schemes until we sort out the base rate.

"And when we do discuss incentive schemes, we'll be discussing how the people who do the work will get the benefit from increased productivity.

"If their incentive scheme is worth £5 to us, how much is it worth to the people we nego-tiate with?" 3

Visits

The meeting heard a report of successful visits to a wide range of factories in order to raise financial support.

convenor Edwards drew out the fact that the Talbot strikes are taking place at the same time as those in other firms.

This strike is about paying the bills. We're not staying out for pride or principle. We're staying out so we can afford to pay those bills."

The meeting of 1,500 gave an overwhelming vote of support to the convenors' recommendation to continue the strike, with only about 50 votes against.

The strike at the nearby Ryton plant also continues, despite attempts through ACAS to find the basis for a deal.

Confed

Talbot strikers must take steps to link up with other workers in struggle—such as the Vauxhall workers at Ellesmere Confed leadership to call all-out strike action on the Confed claim and forge a united fight to defend living standards.

There must also be a determined effort to close the ports to Talbot cars coming in from

The rank and file have shown their willingness to fight a ruthless management. The strike leaders must build on this

Shipyards-the first casualt

(continued)

and Cartsdyke on the Clyde on "care and maintenance" basis in the hope of an upswing in 1981 is no more than a cynical

The crisis in shipbuilding is one aspect of the recession in world trade with 9% of the worlds fleet laid up this time last year and few indications of an upturn in sight. As the recession recession deepens, so will further decimation of the

The men at Robb Caledon are well aware that talk of oil-related work and "possibly some ship repairing" will not create the 550 jobs promised and, even if it did, that would still mean the loss of another 550 existing jobs.

British Shipbuilders that there will be no compulsory redundancies is completely worth-

less.
That the management and union leaders are aiming at a policy of divide and rule is from the announcement on the same day as the deleworth £18 millions which will go to Sunderland Shipbuilder, one of the few yards to make a profit last year.

The obvious intention of giving the order to Sunderland rather than to one of the yards more seriously in need of orders is to split the shipyard workers and so head off a united

Yet this latest capitulation

should not be seen in isolation from the U.C.S. crisis in 1972.

Then, as now, the options were either to accept the cuts or to go forward in a defence of which would become a rallying point in the struggle to oust the Tories.

In 1972 the Communist Party leadership of Reid, Airlie and Barr in U.C.S. consciously avoided that struggle by their spurious tactic of the "work in" instead of a straightforward occupation and a challenge to

Whilst the Tories proceeded implement the terms of the Ridley Report to decimate the U.C.S. workforce, Reid, Airlie, and Barr manoeuvred to sell off John Browns (Clydebank) at a bargain price to Marathon, the Texas-based oil rig construction

company.

Since then the Clydebank men have faced a very uncertain future every year and are saddled with an agreement containing a no strike pledge. Meanwhile the reduced

labour force at Govan and Scotwere screwed down through the removal of demarcation lines.

A section of the workforce at Govan were even persuaded recently-to work during their Glasgow Fair Holiday to help complete an order.
The betrayals and misleader-

ship of 1972 prepared the way for that capitulation, and also scandalous vote last week to lift sanctions and leave the Robb Caledon workers isolated in their struggle for

From front page

An important difference this time round is that the Stalinists have been unable to create the 'left' smokescreen in the way that they did in 1972.
Reid has left the Communist

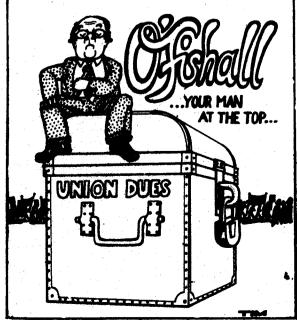
Party and unsuccessfully ran as a Labour Party candidate in Dundee East at the recent General Election, Airlie has become a full time official in the engineering union.

As for Barr, despite being convenor at Scotstoun Marine, he has prudently kept a very low profile throughout the recent campaign.

The fight in the yards is far from over, but to be successful, it must be led by revolutionary leadership which has grasped the lessons of these struggles.

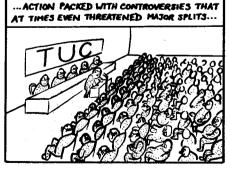


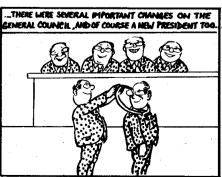
Chalmers



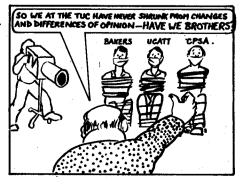












SOCIALIST

Repression as usual in Ireland

CONFED DIGS IN ON SHORTER HOURS

The shorter working week is now at the centre of the engineering wage claim.

Negotiations were re-opened by the employers last Friday, after being faced with over 90% solidarity engineering workers in the first of the two day strikes.

The EEF was prepared to make an improved cash offer-providing the unions were prepared to drop their demands for shorter hours and longer holidays.



Birmingham engineers

Turkey campaign

About people attended the first WSL public meeting in London on the campaign "Don't Let become another Turkey Chile!

The meeting strongly pressed home the message of the imminent danger of military-

fascist take over in Turkey.
The WSL platform speaker and a number of speakers from the floor explained why Turkey has now become a key strategic country for imperialism in the face of the blows it has suffered from the struggles of the masses in Iran and the Middle East.

Crises

In the face of acute economic and political crises, the Turkish bourgeoisie has been forced to abandon any type of instead to look desperately for means to suppress the workers and peasants.

Afready in 19 cities martial



Available (16p inc postage) from WSL, 31, Dartmouth Park Hill, London NW5 1HR

law is in force to suppress the workers movement and Kurdish movement, which has been deeply influenced by the struggles of Kurds in Iran.

Speakers explained further how the fascist danger has developed in Turkey as a result of popular front betravals of Stalinist and reformist leaders in Turkey who uncritically support the ruling bourgeois party Ecevit's RPP. Portraying the RPP as the 'democratic' alterative to fascism, they subordinate the independence of the working class behind it and thus disarm the masses in the face of great historical danger.

The WSL campaign Turkey centres on the demand that the Turkish workers' organisations break from Ecevit and his generals and fight for the class through the united front of workers organisations and armed workers defence against

But also reflecting the solidarity of the action, AUEW President Terry Duffy told them that the Confederation were not interested in a simple cash settlement.

A commitment by the employers to reduce the working week was, he said, a precondition to the unions entering a new round of negotiations.

uncharacteristic This hard line by right-winger Duffy has brought a new dimension to the claim.

'Shopping list'

For too long the 35 hour week has been seen as simply a part of a 'shopping list', to be quickly dropped with a cash compromise.

Now a strike of nearly 2m workers confronts the EEF with a shorter working week as the number one demand.

true that the It is true that the demand has been watered down to "a move towards" the 35 hours; but after no change in the working week in the engineering industry for 15 years a break through the 40 hour barrier would be a major advance.

The pressure is on the employer. They are clinging on because they are able to keep some production going under conditions of depressed order books due to the economic crisis.

"Inundated"

Duffy has said it is "a fight to the finish". Alex Ferry, the Secretary of the Confederation, has said the action "may well be stepped up further".

Duffy has also said that

the Confed has been 'inundated" with demands for all-out strike action.

The Confed leadership should stop forcing workers to fight with one hand behind their backs.

All-out

Call an all-out strike now! The claim could now be won in full and a heavy blow dealt against the EEF and their backers Thatcher and Joseph.

Defend Iran socialists!-

As we go to press there is still no further news of the fourteen members of the (Socialist Iranian HKS Workers Party) currently facing a retrial in Ahwaz at the hands of the Islamic regime.

At the first trial-at which defence lawyers were allowed-twelve of the defen-

With the absence of our treasurer on a well-earned

holiday, this is your Editor making a special appeal for

action on our September FUND - which is our first

attempt at the new, ambitious , but vital £750 target.

Recent weeks have seen a number of postal subscribers

sending us small but welcome donations with their renewals. Perhaps some other regular readers could help out

with a donation each month to raise the cash needed for

The total so far is only £73.00. There is a long way to

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go. Hand your donation to your friendly Socialist Press

us to survive the current round of inflation?

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1HR, where we promise to find it a good home!

dants were sentenced to death. and two to life imprisonment on charges arising from the HKS's support for the struggles of Iranian women and national minorities for democratic rights.

An energetic campaign of pickets and protests to Iranian embassies appears to have pres-surised the regime into a temporary retreat from implementing these savage sentences, but they remain in acute danger.

Trade union branches and other Labour and student movement bodies must immediately take up this fight and send telegrams to the Iranian embassy in London demanding the immediate release of the HKS members and an end to the repression of Kurdish and other national minorities in Iran.

Among the organisations to have done so last week was Oxford NUJ branch, which sent a telegram calling for the release of the HKS prisoners and an end to press censorship in Iran.

Picket Iranian Embassy Saturday Sept. 15 12 am-1pm called by Association of **Kurdish Students Abroad**



25,000 **BL** jobs to go

After weeks of rumblings and rumours BL chairman Michael Edwardes

spelled out some of the firm's plans for closures and sackings. mass 13 plants are to be affected.

with plants at Canley, Park Royal and "major parts of Castle Bromwich" to be closed at a total cost of 25,000 jobs over the next two years.

But as union leaders have pointed out every 1 job in the car industry carries with it up to 5 jobs in supply, transport and other industries. BL's cut-backs are therefore a bombshell and must be resisted.

Last weekend Moss Evans noisily declared that to cut 50,000 BL jobs would prompt



Now that 25,000 jobs are to go BL workers must demand to know just what action Evans and his fellow union bureaucrats

Certainly, asking union officials to lead the necessary "bloody revolution" is a bit

But as a first step threatened plants must adopt an immediate policy of occupation, and national supporting action must

PHOTO: Andrew Wiard, Report



Evans

As Irish Prime Minister Lynch grovelled to Thatcher, and the British media screwed the final crocodile tears out of the Mountbatten assassination last week, the forces of British repression got back into the swing of things by arresting an American television crew and three members of Sinn

Journalist Pierre Salinger, a former US Presidential aide, was held for 12 hours at the RUC's notorious Castlereagh inter-rogation centre in Belfasthe was spared the beating and torture routine out to republican suspects

Violent

Republican News editor Danny Morrison and Sinn Fein members Joe Austin and Richard McAuley were not so lucky, however: they can be held for up to 72 hours without charge under the so-called "Prevention of Terrorism" Act.

The underlying background of violent repression by British imperialism in the six counties.

imperialism in the six counties is well illustrated by a press release from the Irish Republican Information Service dated August 25-the week of the Mountbatten assassination.

It lists three recent instances of extreme violence by the British army against Catholic youth—none of which have been reported in the British press.

Bullets

One casualty, a sixteen year-old Belfast boy Stephen Montague, still had not recovered from a coma two weeks after being downed by a plastic bullet at a range of four feet, and then kicked in the head and beaten by soldiers before being left for dead in a Loyalist area.

He has a fractured skull, severe bruising and lacerations, and a tracheotomy had to be performed in hospital to keep him breathing.

Another plastic bullet victim was 18 year old John Mulvenna, hit by one on the forehead at point blank range while standing in the hallway of his own home.

He suffered a "depressed fracture of the skull' which required over 100 stitches.

And Andrew McCrudden, a young married man from Turf Lodge who suffers from heart trouble, was grabbed by a baton wielding group of soldiers from the Kings Own Scottish Bord-erers, and beaten unconscious before waking up in RUC detention and finding himself charged with 'riotous behaviour'.

Careerists

Such violence is an everyday threat faced by the nationalist population in the occupied six counties.

SDLP who claim to speak for the Catholic minority have just issued a further vicious attack not on the army but on the IRA which-for all its political weaknesses—has spearheaded the struggle against British imperialist rule. Alluding to the Mountbatten assassination, the SDLP

"Who would want to live in an Ireland created by people engaged in such acts?"

Humiliating

The SDLP's answer is clear: they prefer to live in an Ireland governed by foreign capitalist exploitation, brutally imposed by the boots, betons and bullets of the British imperialist army.

How many British workers would meekly accept similar humiliating conditions if the situation were reversed?

The fight must be redoubled

to force the British troops out of Ireland!

seller, or post it to: