



COALITION OF RACISTS!

Tribunites bloc with Tories

The signatures of five Labour MPs alongside five Tories endorsing an openly racist report of the Parliamentary Select Committee on Race Relations and Immigration is not simply an affront to the workers movement.

It is, of course, a scandalous attack on a section of the working class which breaches every principle of socialism.

But it is also clear evidence of the utter inability of reformists who accept the assumptions of capitalism to fight racialism.

The Labourites—who range in complexion from 'left' winger and one-time Trotskyist Sydney Bidwell to open right wingers Eric Moonman and former minister Fred Willey—and accepted without question the basic proposition of the Report:

"We believe that present economic and employment prospects give no ground for any expectation that there will be scope for primary immigration in the foreseeable future".

"Inevitability"

They therefore started out in complete agreement with the Tories in accepting the "inevitability" of continual capitalist crisis, sky-high unemployment and vicious attacks on social services in order to maximise profits.

The purpose of the Report became immediately restricted to finding ways and means of further restricting the present trickle of black immigration and driving out as many as possible of those already here.

Starting from the requirements of capitalism in crisis, the Committee could *only* have produced a racist report.

Plenty on dole

The fact is that capitalism has less uses now than it had during the 'boom' for new immigrants to fill low-paid

and unorganised jobs—there are plenty of people now on the dole queues with little prospect of any other employment.

"Good sense"

So if the interests of the employers, and not the basic rights and independent interests of workers are taken into account, it makes "good sense" to cut immigration.

It makes sense to the Tories for another reason. They desperately need a reactionary base of support if they are to drive home their proposed battery of attacks on the working class after an election victory.

Whipping up a hysteria about "floods" of immigrants "swamping" the "national character" offers them a cheap and easy road to frustrated sections of the middle class—squeezed towards bankruptcy by the big monopolies—and backward sections of workers denied leadership by class collaborating TUC and Labour bureaucrats.

"Muddled"

Two months ago Thatcher launched this campaign, clearly acting in full knowledge of the recommendations of the Select Committee Report.

Far-reaching calls for stringent action against "illegal" immigrants and other measures were aired by Thatcher and other Tory spokesmen.

Bidwell at the time was one of the few Labourites

who declared that he did not regard Thatcher as a racist, but as "an extremely muddled woman on this question".

Now he has put his name to a report which embodies nearly all of Thatcher's proposals. Its provisions include:

* An end to 'large scale' immigration.

* An annual quota for immigration from the Indian sub-continent.

* A crack-down on illegal immigrants, co-ordinating with Social Security offices and the police.

* Penalties on employers who hire illegal immigrants.

* More black British citizens to be denied the right to come to this country.

Rather than defend the immigrant population from the propaganda of the Tories and the growing physical violence of the fascists of



PHOTO: Mark Rusher

Thatcher



PHOTO: Andrew Wiard, Report

The Report advocates a big increase in police powers against blacks

the National Front.

Bidwell and his racist colleagues on this anti-immigration committee have "for the sake of unity" added their voices to the Tory campaign.

After a few initial bleats that the Labourites had been "duped" and "outmanoeuvred" by the Tories, Bidwell has now settled down to a dogged defence of the report.

Hysteria

Replying to a mild attack on it by Labour Party chairman and fellow Tribune Joan Lester, Bidwell declared that if immigration is an election issue and the Tories "take a more realistic line than Labour", then "you can say goodbye to a Labour victory".

Bidwell's "realism" has in fact played a major part in laying the basis for renewed and increased racist hysteria by Tories and by the National Front, and for renewed and intensified harassment of the immigrant community by police, immigration officials, social security officers and the whole weight of the capitalist state apparatus.

In adding his name to this Tory document he and his Labour colleagues have joined an unholy racist coalition.

But this does not exonerate Bidwell's Labourite opponents on this issue. To a man they continue to support the reactionary Lib-Lab coalition, whose policies of

wage cutting and mass unemployment have created conditions fertile for racist and fascist propaganda.

Labour Parties must of course pass resolutions condemning the Select Committee Report.

But such protest is not enough to stamp out racialism.

In defending the right of all workers to settle and to work in the country of their choice, and demanding the repeal of all Immigration Laws, it is necessary to take active steps to combat fascist attacks and racist propaganda.

The labour movement must close ranks against Tory and NF racists and their defenders.

Defence squads

It must organise workers defence squads to repel fascist attacks on black workers and their families.

The Lib-Lab coalition—completely tied to capitalist policies and racist legislation—must be broken, along with its 10% pay limit.

*No sackings! Work sharing on full pay.

*Create new jobs! For a programme of useful public works under trade union control.

*Restore the social services! For a cash injection, with automatic compensation for inflation, under workers management.

*Nationalise the major industries! For a planned socialist economy.

Sit-in to save nursery

In an important move against the cuts in education and social services, parents and supporters have occupied the nursery class in South Oxford to stop its closure by the Tory Oxfordshire County Council.

30 full time nursery places and the jobs of a teacher, a nursery assistant and ancillary jobs were officially axed last Thursday, the last day of term.

The occupation was staged on Tuesday March 21, two days before official closure, to preempt any plans the council may have had to close the class early.

At 3pm the parents with friends moved in to collect their children and locked the doors, announcing to the teacher and cleaner that they intended to peacefully occupy the class and inviting them to stay and join the campaign.

Undoubtedly the Council is planning to make moves towards eviction as soon as the Courts resume after Easter.

Response from the local labour movement is strong due to the preparations made by the Oxford City Nursery Campaign in the months leading up to the closure.

The Trades Council and several individual union branches were already pledged to defend the nursery class and are now supporting the occupation and its call for the reinstatement of a teacher, nursery assistant, cleaner and dinner staff, as well as the 30 full time places.

Inside the sit-in, p.4



Mitterand (left) and Marchais

New moves towards Popular Front

With scarcely a pause for breath after the general election, the bourgeois politicians and labour bureaucrats of the Fifth Republic have plunged back into their campaign to defend capitalism in France.

The outcome of the election has of course modified their tactics—but it has not made the slightest alteration in their ultimate aims.

The results once again confirmed the conservative bias of the electoral system.

Although the parties of the right now hold a reduced parliamentary majority of 91 seats, they gained only 50.7% of the votes cast, as against 49.3 for the 'Union of the Left'.

Petty wrangling

Statisticians with 'socialist' sentiments can draw some consolation from these figures, but they do nothing to reveal the political origin of the results.

For the last six months, the leaders of the Socialist and Communist Parties have been engaged in constant petty wrangling over the tactics of their electoral alliance and the details of the class collaborationist 'common programme'.

The discussions never touched on the principal issues at stake: the inclusion of the bourgeois 'Left' Radicals in an electoral pact with workers' parties, and the signing of a joint programme not only between themselves, but also with this alien class force.

Any consideration of principles is of course anathema to the participants in such a bloc. But the motives of the Stalinists in provoking any form of discussion were far from obvious.

Certainly they regained little credibility as being a principled leadership fighting the Socialists to advance the interests of the working class.

Open divisions

On the other hand, these open divisions seriously damaged the left's electoral prospects.

The petty bourgeoisie—numerically strong and with considerable social weight in France—inevitably follows the leading political class in any society.

Seeing the leaders of the working class locked in futile rivalry with no political content, the majority of the smallholders, shopkeepers and others solidly returned candidates of the right.

But so shrewd and exper-

leader Marchais cannot have been blind to these 'dangers'.

Developments since the second round of the election have clearly revealed the Stalinists' objective.

Characterising the French experience as a 'negative example', a spokesman for the Spanish CP advised his fellow counter-revolutionaries to 'seek out a very broad agreement between the most disadvantaged classes and the middle classes in particular'.

'Historic compromise'

The obvious 'positive' examples for this course lie in the 'historic compromise' between the Italian CP and Christian Democrats, and in the support given by the Spanish CP itself to Suarez' Francoist government.

But Marchais was in no need of this useful tip. Already he had arranged to meet President Giscard d'Estaing to discuss the programme of the new government and the role of the CP.

This exchange is only one of a series. Giscard will also meet Socialist Party leader Mitterand, and has now been visited by both Andre Bergeron (leader of Force Ouvriere, the yellow trade union confederation) and Edmond Maire, head of the CFDT union confederation, which played a prominent part in cementing the 'Union of the Left'.

Demoralisation

This fresh approach is a far more significant event than the elections themselves.

Giscard has consistently worked to bring the labour bureaucrats into a central position in his strategy for the defence of capitalism.

Yet until now they have been unable to comply without totally destroying their base of support—and thus their value to the bourgeoisie.

But now the reformists and Stalinists have greater freedom to manoeuvre.

As the sequel to months of calls from their leaders that workers should halt all industrial action to build the campaign, the election defeat has caused inevitable demoralisation.

With this weakness and confusion amongst the rank and file, Marchais and Mitterand have been able to take the first decisive steps towards a new level of class collaboration.

Confrontation

But the road to a Popular Front government will be far from easy. On the one hand, Giscard's parliamentary majority still depends on the support of the Gaullist RPR

at present.

Formerly held together by shared reactionary sentiments that were never clearly defined, the RPR is now developing a programme designed to form the basis of an all-out confrontation between the bourgeoisie and the working class.

This new programme has many parallels with that of the British Tory party.

Chirac, like Thatcher, hopes to exploit the reaction-

ary tendencies generated by the social tensions which result from the economic crisis.

But Mitterand is not as yet able to release Giscard from the restraints imposed on his policies by the Gaullists.

The workers who fought for the 'Unity of the Left' to get their leaders into power will not tolerate any volte-face into unity with the 'liberal' bourgeoisie.

Marchais too has some delicate footing in front of him. The main purpose of the quarrels with the Socialists was to create the best conditions for building a far broader Popular Front formation, where the representation of the bourgeoisie would be far greater than that provided by the puny 'Left' Radicals.

Unwelcome effect

The Stalinists now run the risk of seeing Giscard's UDF and the Socialists forge an alliance which would exclude them.

Such isolation would have the unwelcome effect of transforming the CP into a magnet for militant opposition to class collaboration.

The decisive factor in determining the success of these various outflanking manoeuvres will be the French working class.

The general election was a considerable setback for workers internationally, but in no sense can an electoral setback be analysed as a defeat.

The extent of this setback can be controlled only by the action of a principled leadership fighting for the revolutionary socialist programme to advance the interests of all workers.

UMW leaders kill 109-day strike

The vote by US miners to end their 109-day strike and accept a sell-out contract which embodies a number of concessions to the employers is a sign of inadequate leadership rather than defeat.

Stringent contractual provisions for the sacking of unofficial strike leaders and \$20 a day fines on those engaged in unofficial strikes have been deleted.

But in a little publicised part of the deal union officials have agreed to allow disciplinary charges resulting from unofficial strikes to go to a state Arbitration Review Board.

The right to strike is far from safe—and depends entirely on the balance of forces at the pit concerned.

30 years of free health care under the control of the miners' union are also ended in the deal.

The contract was accepted partly because of misleading reports as to its real contents; partly because of the effects of 109 days without pay; but largely because, with no clear alternative leadership emerging within the United Mine Workers union, there seemed little prospect of substantially changing the terms of the offer.

Union President Arnold Miller, who had been bombarded with calls for his resignation since his endorsement of the first contract offer, is a strong Carter supporter.

So is the bureaucratized layer that make up the UMW's bargaining council. Fear of growing confrontation with Carter and the Taft Hartley legislation he invoked against the UMW brought them to give their support to the sell-out contract.

Now the task in the union is to drive out these traitors.

The miners are not defeated. They have shown that US employers can be forced to back down. But they proved also that a leadership tied to the capitalist Democratic Party cannot win workers full demands.

As New York city transport workers and printers now enter struggles on wages this political lesson must be learned.

The unions must be broken from the Democrats and a Labour Party built on a socialist programme to defend the interests of the working class.

And a Trotskyist leadership must be built in the course of this fight to offer a principled programme and a clear understanding of all wings of the labour bureaucracy.



Patriotic Front leaders Mugabe (left) and Nkomo

Smith stays in command in Zimbabwe 'democracy' farce

Seldom has a move towards "democracy" been more transparently fraudulent than the "internal settlement" which formally took effect in Zimbabwe 10 days ago.

After this "settlement" who is Prime Minister? Ian Smith? Who controls the white-led army? A committee of whites headed by a racist general!

The three black "leaders" who have participated in this fraud are, along with Smith, members of the new four-man Executive Council which is supposed to choose new ministers and make arrangements for "majority rule" elections later in the year.

Much as the imperialists would like to ratify and regularise this reactionary deal, even they know that it has no chance whatever of being accepted by black masses.

The only reasons that workers still assemble in comparatively large numbers to hear Smith's stooge Bishop Muzorewa is that,

way this deal entrenches the rights and privileges of the whites in Zimbabwe and, second, the leaders of ZAPU and ZANU (the Patriotic Front) are failing to present an alternative which they find credible.

While it is clear that the liberation war has intensified over the last few months, it is also clear that the ZANU and ZAPU leaders are deliberately holding back from using their full military strength in the war in the hope of reaching a negotiated solution with the imperialists which in this case means Britain and the USA.

David Owen—the shoe-shine boy of British imperialism—is now set on patching together a combination of the Smith-Muzorewa "settlement" and the deal he plans to do with the Patriotic Front and the so-called "front line" states.

ZAPU leader Joshua Nkomo has already indicated he is ready for a deal with Smith and Muzorewa.

First of all, he says, the Malta

conference of Britain, the US and the Patriotic Front will have to reconvene, and then a joint conference could take place with Smith and Muzorewa.

Last weekend the leaders of the "front line" states (Zambia, Tanzania, Botswana, Angola and Mozambique) met in the Zambian capital Lusaka along with the Patriotic Front leaders Nkomo and Mugabe, with Carter's man Andrew Young hanging around outside the conference hall.

As we go to press the outcome of this crucial meeting is not known but it looks very probable that some of the front-line states are more than ready for a compromise with Smith and Muzorewa on the one hand and Owen and Young on the other.

For two of them at least (Zambia and Mozambique) some pressing economic problems would be eased by the reopening of trade with, and more especially through Zimbabwe.

At the same time Smith and Muzorewa feel in a strong political position to refuse an immediate deal with Britain, the

US and the Patriotic Front.

But economically they, too, must be desperate for a deal.

Latest figures show that last year Zimbabwe's national income per head fell by about 10%.

It is now only about 70% of its level in 1974. The decline is expected to continue unabated this year.

Import quotas were cut back by one-fifth in January and have been reduced by a similar amount for the next quarter.

The budget deficit is growing as the war uses up more than £500,000 a day.

A wage freeze is due to expire in June and black workers are bound to offer resistance to any renewal of a measure which has already severely cut their living standards.

The scene is set for a compromise between all the participants—all, that is, aside from the 6 million black Zimbabweans whose interests can only be advanced by a struggle for national liberation and socialism which admits not the slightest compromise with racism and imperialism.



Carter (left) and Torrijos (right) sign the treaties

Portugal

AFTER THE restoration of military ranks to a number of formerly dismissed right-wing officers (including Spínola), the Portuguese army has once more been declared "safe" by its fellow imperialist armies.

Last week the Portuguese army received from West Germany and the USA a number of new tanks and armoured cars designed to strengthen NATO's southern flank. New NATO arms deliveries are expected shortly from Britain.

KID-GLOVE IMPERIALISM IN PANAMA DEALS

Last year the Carter administration signed two treaties with the Panamanian military dictator General Omar Torrijos about the future legal status of the Panama Canal Zone now "legally" occupied by the United States.

The American seizure and occupation of the canal has been a bitter symbol of the predatory role of US imperialism in Latin America.

It has been a constant target for any Latin American political leader aiming to present an anti-imperialist image.

General Torrijos has been more anxious than most to conceal the anti-working class character of his reactionary dictatorship with some anti-imperialist cover on the question of the canal.

Nixon had spurned him; Ford was cool. But Carter found the canal issue just what he needed for a bit of cover of his own.

It would be the "proof" of the Carter administration's benevolence towards Latin America and other backward and semi-colonial countries. It would be his sheep's clothing.

Formal change

Both leaders, therefore, cynically signed the treaties knowing full well that they were intended to make nothing more than a formal change in the sovereignty of the Canal Zone.

Even the formal ending of US sovereignty is not to come until the year 2000. And

after that the US government is to have the right to intervene militarily if it should regard its interests as being threatened.

Through his rigid control of the mass media, however, Torrijos was able to advertise this fraud as a great step forward against imperialism and he managed to engineer a large majority in a referendum in favour of the treaties.

Since then, however, the treaties have become a political rack on which both Torrijos and Carter have been stretched with increasing pain.

In Panama the real nature of the treaties has filtered through and the mass of Panamanian workers now undoubtedly reject them as a fraud.

If Torrijos is to get another referendum majority he will be able to do it only through outright rigging of the ballot.

During the drawn-out "debate" (in reality a service of chauvinist, imperialist monologues) on the treaties in the US Senate it was revealed that Torrijos' brother was a big time heroin racketeer and that Torrijos himself at least knew about and possibly participated in the racket.

The ultra-right anti-Carter faction in the US Senate seized on this to argue that the US could not trust the word of such a criminal.

Such hypocrisy from a group who are all arch-

criminals themselves was typical of the discussion of the treaties.

Embarrassing as the revelations about Torrijos have been, the treaties have become central to Carter's waning political position.

With virtually all his policies in ruins it looked like his only chance to score some kind of victory in the Congress.

The administration, therefore, set out cynically to buy the votes of any Senators who were for sale.

Implicit

The prices paid were Federal spending programmes of special interest to voters in the states represented by the wavering Senators and two new more specific reservations to the treaties reserving for the US the right to send troops into the Canal Zone after 2000 if the canal were closed by strike action and to keep troops permanently in the area if the two governments thought it "necessary or appropriate". (i.e. to prop up reactionary pro-imperialist regimes).

Of course all this was implicit anyway in the treaties. But it is awkward, for both Carter and Torrijos, that to buy the interest of the Senators, Carter has had to take off the discrete plain wrapper to show the hard-core imperialism inside.

In this way he got a bare two-thirds majority for one

of the treaties last week. But the more difficult vote on the second one is still to come.

Especially as the treaties are beginning to look dead as far as Panama is concerned.

There is no question any longer of Torrijos being able to conceal the real content of the treaties from the Panamanian workers and students.

The Panamanian masses want to throw out US imperialism once and for all. It is increasingly plain to them that Torrijos is an obstacle to that.

So the net result of Carter's kid-glove imperialism looks increasingly as if it will be to sharpen and not pacify the anti-imperialist struggle in Latin America.



Italian CP leader Berlinguer

CP, SAS JOIN HANDS

Italian politics continues to be dominated almost to the point of obsession by what ex-President Saragat called "the worst thing that has happened in Italy since the liberation".

Leading Christian Democrat Aldo Moro remains in the hands of the "Red Brigades" who are demanding the release of all their members now on trial.

There seems little doubt, however, that the Italian ruling class—with the full backing of the Com-

munist Party—are prepared for Aldo Moro to become a martyr to the cause of strengthening the power of the tottering capitalist state in Italy.

In the 10 days since Moro's dramatic kidnapping the Andreotti government has introduced new repressive measures.

Maximum prison sentences for kidnapping have been raised to 30 years and life according to whether the victim lives or dies.

Suspects may be held longer without charge and questioned longer without a lawyer being present.

And telephone tapping can now be carried out without any time limit (it was previously 15 days).

This still gives Italian police less nominal licence than the British police have under the Prevention of Terrorism Act, though in practice as in Britain the regulations are, in any case, ignored.

It looks as if the state authorities are as far as ever from finding Moro.

"Expert"

They keep making dark hints at "international involvement" in the kidnapping, referring presumably to the Red Army Faction in West Germany.

There is no shortage of international involvement in the state operation.

The Italian authorities are being assisted by a large contingent from the anti-terrorist squad of the West German police as well as a smaller group of "experts" from the British SAS.

This cooperation in repressive operations in Europe is the fruit of the meeting of Home Ministers and security chiefs organised by Merlyn Rees last year in Britain.

The Communist Party leadership has if anything stepped up its campaign to back the repressive apparatus of the capitalist state.

Close collaborator

In an interview with the French capitalist daily, *Le Monde*, Ugo Pecchioli, the CP's law and order spokesman talked proudly of the "close collaboration"

between him and Interior Minister Cossiga over the Moro affair.

Asked about the reform of the police Pecchioli said three reforms were necessary:

"to restore several thousand police agents, at present uselessly employed, to operational service; to make the profession more worthwhile and so encourage recruitment; to set up operational unity between the three present police forces which not only act separately but compete with each other".

Unpaid agents

Pecchioli added that every citizen should report suspicious activities to the police.

That then is the Stalinist policy in the face of the social and political crisis of Italian capitalism: strengthen the repressive apparatus of the bourgeois state, make it more efficient and get the masses to act as its unpaid agents.

The CP Secretary General of the trade union federation CGIL made it as explicit as possible:

"The democratic state must defend itself with the laws it has and the men it has. We must be those men".

Despite the widespread rejection of the methods of the Red Brigades, there is no doubt that the spontaneous class reactions of Italian workers to the crisis will increase the size of the gulf between the Italian working class and its purported "leaders" in the CP.

Independence

The rapid growth of repression which the Stalinists are supporting makes more desperately urgent than ever the building of a new revolutionary leadership based on the independence of the working class, the rejection of collaboration with the bourgeois parties.

The goal of such a party must be not the strengthening but the destruction of the apparatus of bourgeois repression.

MASS MURDERER SITS ON TIME BOMB

This month the Indonesian Consultative People's Congress elected President Suharto to another five year term by an overwhelming majority.

But this should not fool anyone into thinking that either the Indonesian people or the imperialist backers of Suharto are happy with his performance.

General Suharto was the organiser of the massacre of the Indonesian Communist Party in 1965 in which over a million people died.

His regime has been sustained in office by huge imperialist grants and loans.

Last year alone it received \$691 million in bilateral aid. But even Western enthusiasts for imperialist puppet states are forced to admit that it is the most corrupt regime in Asia—and that is some boast. Corruption in the State Oil

Company alone has left Indonesia several billion dollars in debt to foreign capitalists.

The regime's inability to develop agriculture has left Indonesia as the world's largest importer of rice, and made it totally dependent on imperialism.

Student protests against imperialist domination culminated in huge demonstrations against the visit of the Japanese Prime Minister in 1974, which were crushed with hundreds killed.

But the student movement is growing once again with a recent wave of protests against corruption.

On February 25, five people were injured and 55 arrested in a battle between police and students. On March 17 another 12 high school students were injured by police.

The state has now closed all schools until the end of the Consultative People's

Congress.

Another source of growing opposition to the regime is the Islamic Church. Originally they had been firm supporters of the anti-communist policies of Suharto.

But there is a logic to the development of anti-communist, military regimes. Unable to solve the basic economic and social problems of the masses, they begin to see every mass organisation, even the most reactionary, as a threat to stability.

The encouragement of mysticism and superstition by the state as against organised religion is part of this process of fragmenting the masses.

The bourgeoisie press has been another victim of Suharto's paranoia about possible sources of opposition.

It had never made more than the most muted criticisms of the corruption in leading families, of the reign of terror in the universities,

and of the slave conditions in Indonesia's prison colonies.

But Suharto found even this intolerable and closed down the independent press.

No way forward

This has led to the formation of a liberal bourgeois and religious opposition, who are unable to realise that terror and repression are necessary to the continued rule of imperialism in Indonesia in a period of capitalist crisis.

These people offer no way forward to the people of Indonesia, contrary to the view of the Stalinists who are once again looking for cross class alliances.

Only the overthrow of capitalist property relations offers a way forward for the Indonesian masses. This requires the construction of an independent working class leadership.



Supporters pass round occupation rota as occupiers settled in last Tuesday



Inside Oxford nursery struggle

The children scarcely notice the difference. They carry on with the nursery class as the teacher moves from group to group.

But it is not a normal schoolday. There are more people around, out of sight in the next room, the doors are all locked and some of the notices have an unfamiliar look about them.

The space on the wall reserved for today's paintings now boasts 'today's cuttings'.

Occupation

Over the door a large notice warns that noone is to be let in unless they are recognised and on the opposite wall a smaller one states: A Tidy Occupation is a Happy One.

South Oxford Nursery Class is under occupation.

Listed for the axe last week it remains stubbornly open.

Parents and supporters keep a 24 hour vigil in the spacious victorian building.

A new waiting list is being compiled from families in the area. Unemployed teachers take shifts on the class.

A 'security officer' ensures that all taking part in the occupation are familiar with the amendments to the Criminal Law Act, commonly known as the Criminal Trespass Act.

The nursery has just 30 places. The building under occupation would easily hold three times that number.

Willingly imposed

But it was a victim of the vicious Tory controlled Oxfordshire County Council -one of a package of cuts carried through in the education service.

The cuts are willingly imposed by the Tories. But they never tire of pointing out that they are the result of the Labour government and Lib-Lab coalition cuts ordered in annual installments.

Drastic cuts in the number

cracy defused one of the most powerful surges of opposition to be shown by teachers.

Even so they were forced to call a ten day strike of teachers throughout Oxford and sanctions for several weeks before derailing the struggle.

Health service cuts are likewise planned on a massive scale in the county.

Already significant cuts in the NHS have been carried through without a single



ous imprisonment in the home and loss of the freedom to work.

The axeing of the nursery has already cut the jobs of one teacher, one nursery assistant and ancillary staff such as dinner helpers and cleaners.

Like so many jobs they have been chopped or reduced in hours without opposition.

The occupation is a direct challenge to the long winded collaboration of the local leadership of all the public sector unions.

And that in turn is merely a mirror image of the collaboration of the national leadership of those unions.

The occupation has national significance. It will doubtless spark similar occupations in other areas, and will be watched with horror by the Tories and apprehension by the bureaucrats.

The Nursery Campaign Occupation Committee has pledged itself to fight all cuts and to make the nursery occupation a central plank for opposition.

Appeal

It is directing its campaign back into the trade union movement.

NUPE, NALGO and the NUT are all being asked to back the campaign and trade union branches to pledge support and provide forces for the occupation.

NUPE official, George Anderson, himself responsible for smothering many initiatives against the cuts has been shamed in providing a letter instructing members not to cut services.

An occupation leaflet states:

"We are appealing to the trade union movement and the Labour Party for support for our action against the cuts.

If we defeat this closure the fight against all cuts a redundancies and attacks women's rights strengthened."

The vital direction for the campaign is the demand for trade union officials to fight for the filling of the lost jobs.

That is the essence of the battle to save the nursery

Cuts have taken place throughout the county council services.

Again the leadership of NUPE and NALGO have refused to lift a finger to stop them.

Opposition stops at the point when exhortations to the Tories fail.

Significance

For that reason the occupation of South Oxford Nursery Class has an impact and significance beyond its immediate significance for the parents and children involved.

For those people clearly it is of major significance. The cut of nearly 30 places



Callaghan's worldwide whitewash assignment

Why is Callaghan spending so much time on a mission around the capitalist world?

His travels found him last week in the USA talking to Carter and a few days earlier in West Germany with Helmut Schmidt.

If Callaghan's public relations people and his own increasingly syrupy and avuncular press conferences are to be believed it is because he is on a one-man mission to save the world from economic disaster.

Callaghan's message is very simple: all the capitalist economies have high unemployment; world trade is expanding more and more slowly if at all; and the promised boom has not arrived.

New explosion

If the government of any single country pursues expansionary economic policies in these circumstances it will suffer a new explosion of inflation and a balance of payments crisis.

So, says Callaghan, all the main capitalist countries must try to expand simultaneously and so then the slump can be ended smoothly without any one economy suffering inordinately!

In particular, Callaghan is demanding major expansionary policies from the West German and Japanese governments.

That is the ostensible purpose of Callaghan's crusade. How does it relate to reality?

First, of course, there is no doubt about the acuteness of the economic crisis.

This shows up dramatically in the sharp reversal of the upswing in capitalist industrial production which occurred in the middle of 1977.

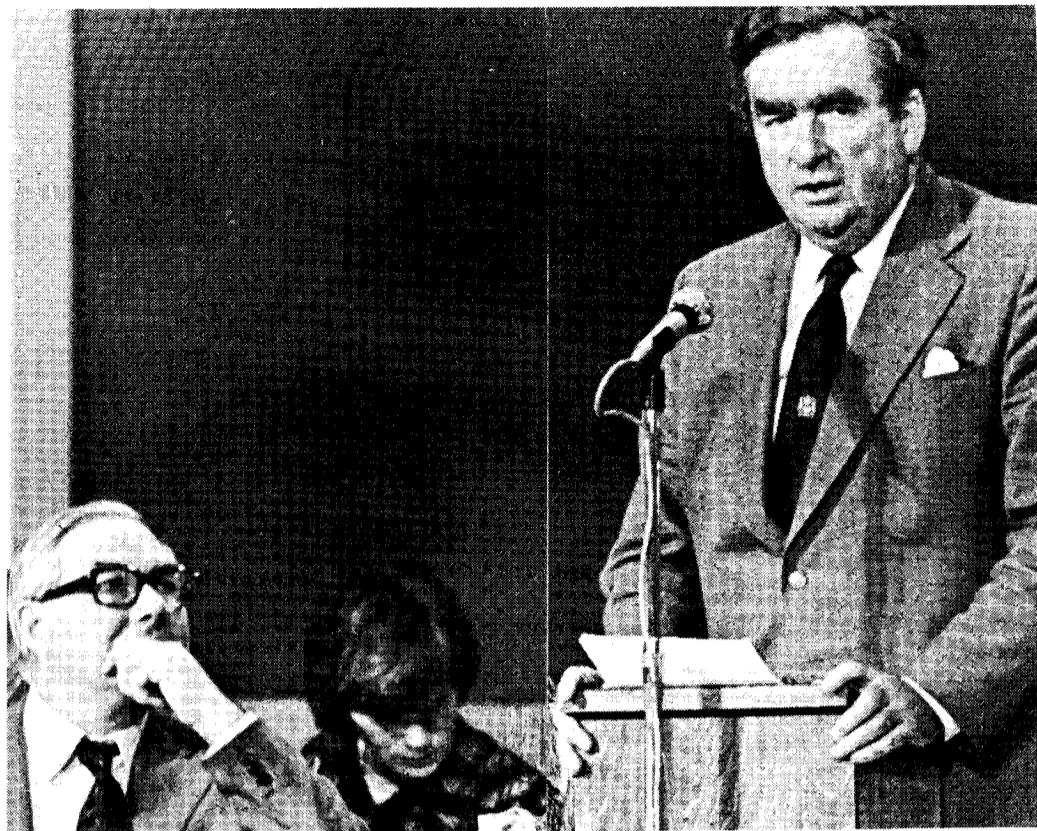
Profound crisis

Industrial production is now lower in every major country except for West Germany, Japan and the USA.

This sharp industrial slump is new proof of the continued existence of a profound capitalist crisis.

It is also the result of the emergency "austerity" measures taken by capitalist governments in their desperate search for a cure to the crisis.

Callaghan's "theory" doesn't, of course, take into account that the policies which produce the gathering slump throughout the capitalist world are the necessary policies to raise productivity, "rationalise" capital and hold down wages which are demanded everywhere by capital.



Callaghan and Healey

PHOTO: Chris Davies, Report



situation of British workers.

It is his own squalid Tory policies—his refusal to resolve the capitalist crisis by taking socialist measures and his complete devotion to the capitalist cause.

What is really worrying Callaghan and the Labour leaders is not all the damage their pro-capitalist policies have inflicted on British workers, it is rather that he has not been able to inflict enough.

Now after two years of falling real wages the crisis of capitalism in Britain is obviously as serious as ever.

Figures published last week showed that the increase of capitalist profits which happened in the early part of 1977 came to an abrupt halt in the last quarter of the year.

Softened-up

This is a warning that, despite the honeyed words of Healey and Callaghan about the health of the economy, the capitalist class and its agent, the coalition government, will continue their economic attacks on the working class.

Callaghan's frantic international visits are aimed to persuade the capitalists of West Germany and Japan that if they temporarily ease the economic problem in Britain by increasing their imports then the British working class can be more effectively softened up for the inevitable next round of economic attacks.

A hint of the severity of these is given by last week's announcement of the plan to turn 40,000 workers out of work in the steel industry.

As such attacks continue to grow it will become increasingly difficult for Callaghan to convince anyone that the crimes are done by "foreigners", when everyone can see it is the Labour Party leaders who are holding the weapons.

No lead for Labour youth

266 delegates and over 1500 visitors, including some from overseas and 50 members of the Peoples National Party youth (UK) gathered in Llandudno this last weekend for the 17th National Conference of the Labour Party Young Socialists.

The large turn-out reflects the determination of layers of youth to fight back against the attacks being inflicted on them by the Lib-Lab coalition in an attempt to make workers pay for the bosses' crisis.

But they found no political direction from the platform which, like the conference itself, was dominated by the 'Militant' tendency.

Consensus

Apart from a few open reformists such as Clause 4 and Tribune supporters there was a general consensus that capitalism has exhausted its potential for advancing the interests of the working class, that a socialist transformation of society is necessary.

But 'Militant' supporters were unable to offer any clue as to how this transformation could be brought about.

Their programme even denies the need to break the Lib-Lab coalition and fight for the removal of the present right wing leadership of the labour movement as part of the fight for socialist policies.

Instead of this, demands such as 'the nationalisation of the 200 monopolies under workers control and management' are placed on the present "Labour" government.

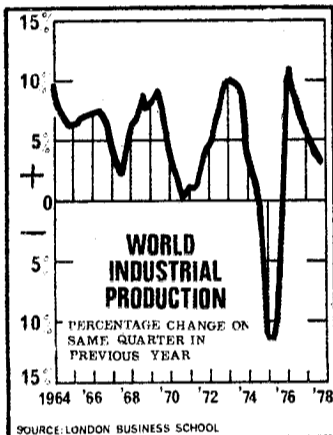
Pressure group

And the refusal of 'Militant' supporters to recognise and confront the crucial role played by the reformist and class collaborationist leadership in driving down workers' living standards cultivates the grossest illusions in these bureaucrats.

The result is that though the LPYS, in the eyes of many supporters, is a revolutionary movement, in practice it remains a 'left' pressure group on the right wing.

NEXT EDITION

The Labour Party Page of next week's 'Socialist Press' will carry a fuller report and analysis of the Labour Party Young Socialists Conference and the politics of the Militant Group.



Percentage change in industrial production, most recent available month.

	Compared 1970	Compared with one year ago
USA	+33	+4.5
Britain	+3	-0.3
Italy	+22	-3.1
West Germany	+9	+2.7
Holland	+29	-1.5
France	+23	-1.6
Belgium	+20	-4.8

They are being loyally introduced by almost every capitalist government including the one which Callaghan himself leads.

Cover-up

In fact, Callaghan's "theory" is a deliberate cover-up for the responsibilities of his pro-capitalist coalition government.

Callaghan and the Labour leadership claim conveniently that

rising unemployment (which has doubled since Wilson's government took office in 1974) and falling living standards of the last two years are simply the consequence of the depressed state of the world economy.

In this way they try to draw a protective veil over their own direct responsibility for unemployment and falling living standards.

These are in fact the direct result of the anti-working class policies pursued by the so-called Labour government.

They result, as Callaghan knows, from public spending cuts and wage control.

It is not, as Callaghan would fraudulently like to imply, the West German and Japanese governments which are to blame for the present economic



Thatcher

Racists everywhere have hailed the MP's select committee report on immigration. But nowhere have they celebrated more loudly or ecstatically than in the pages of the daily press.

The leader writers found a new cutting edge to their bile. Their language veered yet closer to the official publicity handouts of the National Front. They found a new self assurance in the respectability of their anti-black views.

Macabre

Turning the pages of the Sun, the Daily Mail, or the Daily Express was like stepping into the middle of a macabre festival. It was as if Al Capone had taken delivery of a new machine gun

neighbourhood.

There was a mixture of awe and jubilation that could be matched only by say, the introduction of public hanging for pickets.

The jubilation was expected. The awe came from the realisation that the most excessive wild and inflammatory opinions expressed in the press had all been given full backing by at least five Labour MPs, including one and a half who claimed left credentials.

The fact that this report was a coalition report between Tribune and the Monday Club was not missed.

The Daily Mail devoted most of its front page and three and a half inside pages to reports and comment. Its leader column grew from a single column blister to a four column plague of boils.

It praised the unanimity of the report and defended the MPs—Sidney Bidwell and all—from attacks "by the self-appointed spokesmen of the coloured communities . . . those tender yet arrogant souls who see themselves as the conscience of the nation".

The Mail says that the report will bring joy to the heart of Enoch Powell and strength to his rhetoric.

What would any National Front leader find to quibble at in the following passage from the Mail?

"Most fair minded men and women in Britain will consider the Committee's suggestions to be moderate, human and, indeed, long overdue.

"We cannot simply sit back and accept into Britain an unlimited and utterly disproportionate number of fiances and fiancées from the Indian sub-continent. It is a commitment without end which makes a mockery of the spirit of our immigration controls . . .

"This country must cease to become the first port of call for any family from Hongkong . . . or Singapore . . . or Karachi . . . or Delhi . . . which has itchy feet and a tattered and obsolescent claim to British home and hospitality."

But this is not the whole story.

It was to be expected that a confused and ill-directed attack on the report would come from the Guardian—a paper which has long stood for the liberal exercise of capitalist rule enforced by the collaboration of the bureaucracy which sits on the windpipe of the working class.

Financial Times would greet the report with outrage.

The Guardian accuses the committee of 'shuffling expediency' and inconsistency.

"In its resort to ringing moral declarations coupled with recommendations totally at odds with them, the Committee outdoes many previous contributors to the debate"

It describes suggestions of registration as "a proposal full of menace".

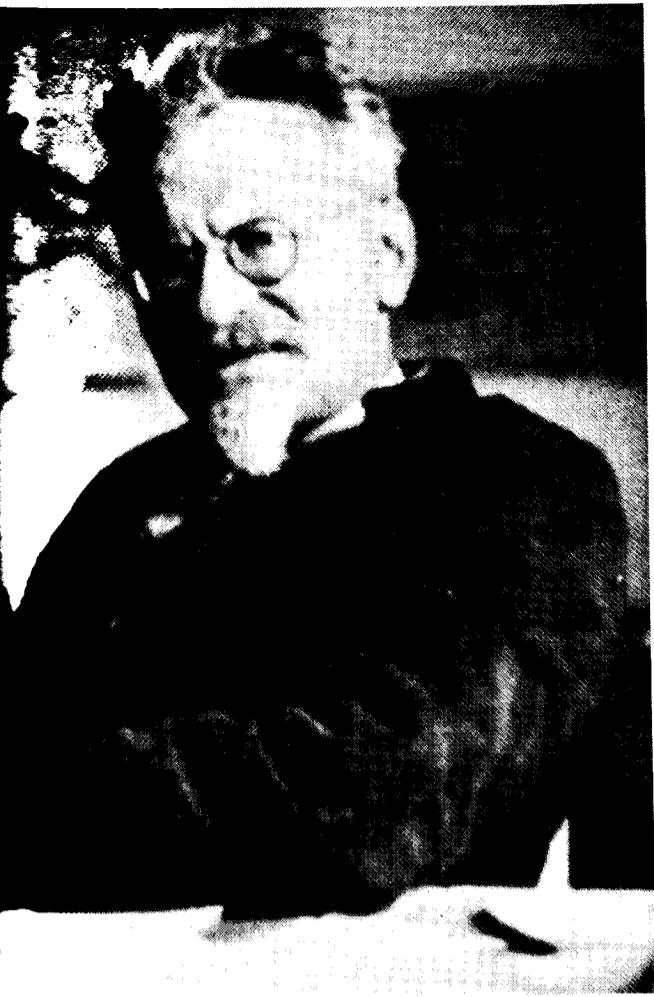
But the Guardian couches its opposition in terms which themselves appeal to the opportunists and chauvinists. It describes the proposals as "A system of controls entirely alien to and destructive of the traditional liberties of this country".

Key to the Guardian's opposition is a belief in so called British freedoms and an acceptance of the principle that Labour MPs and Tories must have a joint approach.

It sums the effort up in the following terms: "As an attempt at bi-partisan resolution of the problems with which all governments and all communities have nowadays to be concerned, it is a wretched disappointment, a valuable opportunity woefully

PRESS GANG SPECIAL

Race for the typewriter



Trotsky

IN DEFENCE OF A REVOLUTIONARY ORIENTATION Against sectarian absten

This is the final part of our analysis of the main political issues involved in the struggle against sectarian revisions of Marxism which led to 22 members splitting from the Workers Socialist League in 1963. Part One centred on the general method of sectarianism and its origins in frustration at the continued betrayals of the mass leaders of the working class. Part Two showed the specifically petty bourgeois nature of the political positions advocated by the WSL opposition, and the contempt for the display for the established positions and principled record of the Trotskyist movement.

First of all, it seems to me that in the regional reports it is necessary to clarify just what part the Bolshevik-Leninists have taken in the genuine acts of struggles of Spain's working class. That is the central question. A political group that stayed outside the actual movement and occupied itself with criticisms after the events, especially under revolutionary conditions, would be rejected by the working class.

I do not doubt for a moment that the majority of the Bolshevik-Leninists in the regions have participated in all the mass movements, even when they regarded them as not conforming to their own purposes. A revolutionist criticises not from the outside but from the very heart of the movement itself.

Trotsky, "The Spanish Revolution", p.172

This approach—developing the revolutionary movement, its programme and its analysis from the standpoint of active involvement in the daily struggles of the working class and the fight to lead those struggles—has been the particular strength of the Workers Socialist League since its foundation as a movement.

While giving not an inch to revisionist and centrist groups on theoretical questions, we have always seen the task not of "winning" an abstract theoretical debate with such people, but in intervening on our programme into workers' struggles in such a way as to expose their existing reformist and Stalinist trade union political leaders, and to give the workers in practice the necessity for a revolutionary leadership.

Firm stand

In fighting for this orientation, the Workers Socialist League has continually had to combat not only the opportunism of the International Marxist Group and the adaptation to simple trade unionism by the Socialist Workers Party, but also certain petty bourgeois layers within our own movement.

Our firm stand against all forms of opportunism made the Workers Socialist League a pole of attraction for those elements who reject that road forward.

But our insistence that our movement must conduct an active and consistent internationalist line, taking the demands of the Transitional Programme into the workers'

tendency, we took up a vigorous fight against anyone who regarded the fight for "principle" as synonymous with abstention from workers' struggles.

Proletarian cadre

Only on this basis has it been possible for the WSL to develop its proletarian cadre, and to develop also important layers drawn from the student movement and from a middle class background to the point where they can play an important role in giving practical and political leadership in workers' day-to-day struggles, continuously challenging the reformists and Stalinists.

The minority who wished to turn the WSL into no more than a circle of critics of the various left and self-styled "Trotskyist" groups, and the Transitional Programme into a latter day Dead Sea Scroll, knew from the outset that they faced a frontal confronta-

tion with the most experienced and tested forces in the movement.

And in undertaking such a fight they enlisted the aid of the most experienced and tested sectarians in the "Trotskyist" movement—the international Spartacist tendency (iSt).

Mouthing wooden formulae of "orthodox Trotskyism" the Spartacists have, since their formation in 1963, adhered rigidly to the perspective of building no more than a large propaganda group. In this minimal objective they have achieved some success.

Rationalisation

As a consequence the iSt is a movement whose "record" consists in having issued hardly readable "exemplary" leaflets and statements on almost everything, and having always had an opinion and a comment on struggles carried out by other people.

This grouping has a long-standing and deeply entrenched position of abstention from the class struggle, formulated into a "theoretical" rationalisation in, for example, *Spartacist* No. 23:

"We recognise that a currently embryonic party organisation must necessarily constitute itself in the form of a "fighting propaganda group" in order, by destroying ostensibly revolutionary organisations, to initiate and/or drive forward a regroupment process in order thereby to build up one's own organisation".

"One's own organisation" is of course the iSt itself, which its leaders, with unaccustomed modesty, but



Part of WSL contingent on a recent demonstration in support of Turkish metal workers strike

little apparent logic refrain from actually calling 'the Fourth International'.

In case there is any misunderstanding of the term "fighting" propaganda group, the statement goes on to make it clear that no real fight is involved:

"In doing so the character of this work must always be regarded as exemplary, rejecting out of hand any voluntaristic notion of intervening as a propaganda group into all the daily struggles of the working class, inasmuch as this would lead to dissipating one's own forces and to liquidating the programme". (Our emphasis).

Carrion crow

And in case anyone remains in doubt that what is proposed is a petty bourgeois discussion group whose sole function is to harry, disrupt and destroy other "ostensibly revolutionary" groups and, like carrion crows, to snatch off sectarian elements to build up the iSt, then the concluding point makes the position quite clear:

"Implanting the organisation in the working class through factory and trade union work must be carried out without any restrictions at the programmatic level and, at the present stage of constructing the party, can be carried out only in an exemplary fashion if one is not to succumb to the impressionist pressure of possible resulting

wishing to lead or initiate struggles in a given plant or trade union without having constructed a leadership there as the instrument of the party".

Here we see the classical combination of ultimatism and adaptation to opportunism that characterises the sectarian.

Unchallenged

While insisting that they will only raise the whole of their programme, the iSt go on to make clear that they will not actually fight for this programme until such time as they have "constructed a leadership as the instrument of the party".

Yet this approach not only leaves the reformists and Stalinists in unchallenged leadership of workers' daily struggles, but denies the possibility of ever actually constructing a revolutionary leadership.

Trotsky was quite clear that workers cannot be won to revolutionary politics through abstention:

"Only gradually, only on the basis of their own experience, through several stages, can the broad layers of the masses become convinced that a new leadership is firmer, more reliable, more loyal than the old". (The Spanish Revolution, p.362)

There is little likelihood of workers becoming convinced of the leadership qualities of a movement that makes a virtue out of refusing to

of giving leadership in struggles.

Such a standpoint therefore condemns the iSt to everlasting impotence within the working class movement. They clearly recognise this fact, as they wrote nine years ago:

"Our strength lies in ideas rather than in our numbers; thus we will recruit in general individuals who feel the need for a comprehensive theory and world-view and therefore respond more to our powerful ideas than our limited ability to put them into practice.

More specifically we can expect to grow largely though not exclusively among students, who are interested in ideas and have a generalised intellectual curiosity about the world, with relatively less success among workers".

Marxist Bulletin IX pp.5-6.

Idealist concept

This is not seen by the Spartacists as a weakness in their work. On the contrary, they manage to rationalise this state of affairs and comfort Leninist theory in order to persuade themselves that it is a strength:

"Socialist consciousness is based on a knowledge of history and the class struggle and, therefore, requires the infusion into the class struggle process of socialist conceptions carried by de-classed intellectuals organised as part of a vanguard party".



PHOTO: Laurence Sparham, IFL

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This idealist concept of revolutionary ideas gradually and peacefully permeating into the existing spontaneous class struggle has nothing to do with Lenin's insistence that the task is in practice to combat spontaneity and divert the working class movement towards revolutionary politics.

In this way of course the Spartacists continue to place their abstentionist petty bourgeois commentators on the same level as revolutionary workers in the leadership of major struggles.

Schoolteacher

Trotsky characterised the iSt position in his article "Sectarianism, Centrism and the Fourth International".

"The sectarian looks upon the life of society as a great school, with himself as a teacher there. In his opinion the working class should put aside its less important matters, and assemble in solid rank around his rostrum: then the task would be solved."

Writings, 1935-6, p.26. The Spartacists add their own characteristic idealist touch, however by making novel point that:

"Socialist revolution does not occur through the intensification of traditional class struggle, but requires a leap from a vantage point outside bourgeois society altogether". (ibid)

The Spartacists have failed to enlighten us as to where such a mystical "vantage point" can be found. But there is ample evidence that their starting point is a million miles from the realities of the class struggle.



Lenin

Where the complexities of the real world over-stretch the rigid recipes of their "orthodox" theory, the Spartacists either invent a completely new form of class rule in order to tape their "analysis" together.

disparate elements together into a single category.

This is most clearly reflected in the Spartacists' complete inability to offer any coherent Marxist analysis of the post-war developments of Stalinism.

Special role

In the iSt's theoretical work Stalinism is simply equated with social democracy—leaving out precisely the special role played by Stalinism in obstructing and usurping the gains of the October revolution in the USSR.

Thus we find in *Spartacist* no. 23:

"The social democratic and Stalinist parties are in their essence simultaneously bourgeois and proletarian. These parties are particularly characterised by the antagonism between the proletarian class and a traditional leadership, between the working class rank and file and the worker [...] bureaucracy. Hence the Stalinist, as well as the social democratic, parties are currents in the workers movement with a twofold character. They are simultaneously bourgeois and workers' parties—or in Lenin's words, "bourgeois workers' parties".

"The additional ties of Stalinist parties to the "worker bureaucracies" of the deformed or degenerated workers states do not in principle alter the quality of this definition, since these bonapartist bureaucracies are channels for bourgeois influence on the workers' movement (the Stalinist parties' severing of ties with these state bureaucracies—as in Spain, France and Italy—is expressed as a process of their transformation into national reformist parties)".

p.23

Of course both Stalinist and social democratic parties can be generally described as "bourgeois workers' parties".

But such a loose description does not in any way assist an understanding of the nature of Stalinism as a movement which continues to act as the principle force of counter-revolution within the workers' movement internationally, and which yet remains tied to the workers' state established by the October revolution.

Offer nothing

And if the Communist Parties of France, Italy and Spain are now, as the Spartacists admit, being "transformed" into national reformist parties, then what exactly did they represent before?

The Spartacists offer precisely nothing towards understanding this, or any other problem of post-war Stalinism.

Yet this theoretical and practical question is the one which has formed the major stumbling block for the various tendencies that have emerged in the post-war Trotskyist movement.

The Spartacists end up sharing the Pabloite notion that the overturning of capitalism in Yugoslavia, China and Cuba was in each case the result of "exceptional" factors internal to the countries concerned.

This is most awkwardly expressed in the Spartacist account of the formation of a deformed workers' state in Cuba, where these "orthodox" formalists find themselves obliged to invent a completely new form of class rule in order to tape their "analysis" together.

Petit-bourgeois

"In the intervening period between the shattering of the old capitalist Batista state, the compradors of imperialism, and the consolidation of a deformed workers' state, there was a petit-bourgeois

neutral one—with the core of its power being the petit-bourgeois Rebel Army. This regime had temporarily become autonomous of the bourgeois order..."

Marxist Bulletin 8

What property relations would a "petty bourgeois" regime that is "not class neutral" defend?

Have the Spartacists discovered such a thing as petty-bourgeois property relations which are "autonomous of the bourgeois order"?

No, they have simply proven themselves unable to understand actual developments.

The fact is that first of all the Castro regime acted as a bourgeois nationalist government, defending capitalist property relations, in coalition with the liberal bourgeoisie.

When this course—which included nationalisation of foreign capitalist holdings—was stopped by the defection of the liberal bourgeoisie and by the US blockade, Castro was driven into a bloc with the Kremlin to defend the newly nationalised property and to contain the mass movement of workers and peasants.



British troops on the streets of Northern Ireland

And the Kremlin, driven by their contradictory bureaucratic requirements to preserve an international balance of power with imperialism took the opportunity to consolidate a dependent outpost in the Caribbean.

The final steps towards expropriation of capitalism in Cuba took place under Soviet military protection—as had taken place in the East European 'buffer' zone in the post war period.

The Spartacists, however, by viewing Castro as an "autonomous" petty bourgeois, and insisting that as such he was able to bring about the historically progressive step of establishing a workers' state—albeit bureaucratically deformed, trail in practice behind the Pabloite notion that Castro became a "natural Marxist".

And, like the Pabloite view, the Spartacists' analysis fails to say what is to prevent further Cubas, or further petty bourgeois Castros taking the road to social revolution.

"Orthodoxy"

But the complete inability of these supposed defenders of "orthodoxy" to come to grips with Stalinism is matched by their inability to understand the importance of the national struggle against imperialism.

This is most clearly exemplified in the Spartacist position on Ireland. This position was parroted by the petty bourgeois faction drawn towards them within the Workers Socialist League.

Refusing to consider the question of Ireland as a whole, the Spartacists confine their remarks and their perspectives to the North East of the island, and take as their starting point the pro-imperialist consciousness of

This brings them to reject any concept of a revolutionary programme designed to put the Irish working class—on both sides of the present border—at the head of the uncompleted national revolution.

The Spartacists' adherents within the Workers Socialist League treated WSL members to a classical opportunist formulation in their document on Ireland:

"It is our duty as communists to seek to address the national question in such a way as to neutralise national or communal antagonisms in order to bring to the fore the fundamental class conflicts in society. Thus, developing a revolutionary programme for the Irish revolution we must take account of the Protestants' deeply felt alienation from the Catholic nation..."

The document tactfully avoids mentioning the Protestants' deeply felt sympathy for British imperialism.

But it proposes a concession to this political backwardness by advocating the abandonment of the Marxist call for a united socialist republic in Ireland, and proposing in its place the

leadership of the struggle to liberate Ireland from the clutches of British and international imperialism and to carry that struggle through to the establishment of an all-Ireland socialist republic.

Capitulation

This capitulation to extreme right wing currents in the case of Ireland is of course combined by the sectarians with the most absurd ultra-left posturing.

A classic example of this was formulated by the WSL "Trotskyist" Faction in their discussion document on Turkey in which they opposed the WSL's call for the formation of a workers' united front against fascist attacks:

"Trotsky's call for the CP to form a united front with the SPD in Germany cannot be separated from the Left Opposition's self-characterisation of itself as a faction of the Comintern. Therefore we do not call for a united front of the existing workers' organisations as an answer to the fascist threat. Such a strategy amounts to telling the workers to place their faith in a bloc of the Stalinist

We continue in the tradition of Trotsky to call for a united front embracing all the workers parties including our own small forces and the trade union movement, in order to mobilise the most powerful force against the fascist thugs.

The sectarians instead regale us with 'left' sounding excuses for remaining outside this struggle on the masses.

Grovelling

This combination of ultra-left posturing with abject opportunism and rejection of any form of serious agitation for the Trotskyist programme in any country in the world is the real essence of the international Spartacist tendency.

It is reflected in their attitude to immigration laws—where "left" denunciation of restrictions on immigration are combined with grovelling capitulation to the worst kind of nationalism, reminiscent of Tory leader Margaret Thatcher.

"... on a sufficient scale immigration flows only exacerbate national antagonisms and in extreme cases could even wipe out the national identity of smaller countries".

Workers Vanguard, 17.3.78

It emerges also in the Spartacists' opposition to the fight throughout the international labour movement to enforce a complete trade boycott against the apartheid state of South Africa.

Reactionary camp

By restricting their call to a boycott of arms, and by arguing that a full boycott should be avoided because "the result would be widespread unemployment among black workers", (WV 28 Jan. 1978), the Spartacists succeed in putting themselves substantially to the right of many reformist black leaders.

They end up in the same reactionary camp as the black bourgeois collaborators who appeared in whole page adverts in the British press earlier this month to claim that "sanctions would be crippling to my people".

With nothing to contribute in either theoretical or practical terms to the fight for the reconstruction of the Fourth International, the Spartacists' claims to favour the "rebirth" of the International are so much spurious nonsense.

Their view of an "international" is no more than a multi-national sect, with no relationship to the daily struggles of the workers movement.

Principled orientation

We categorically reject this view. We stand for the reconstruction of the Fourth International on the basis of a principled orientation to the working class and the fight in practice for the Transitional Programme.

Petty bourgeois radicalism, bombastic 'left' rhetoric, and abstention from the living struggles of the workers movement has apparently been enough to preserve the Spartacists as a parasitic international tendency feeding off other 'left' groups since 1963.

Trotsky made the point that:

"at an opportune moment we must purge the organisation of people who, in the crucial moment of the struggle, are inclined to profoundly contemplate their navels".

(The Spanish Revolution, p.172)

The resignation at the Second Annual Conference of the 22 Spartacist supporters from the Workers Socialist League happily relieved us of this task.

By John Lister

CONCLUDED

and social-democratic class-collaborationists."

The utter nonsense of this sectarian position is well illustrated by Trotsky's 1934 pamphlet *Whither France?*, (written after the Left Opposition had ceased to regard itself as a faction of the Comintern):

"In France there are more than one million organised workers. Generally speaking, this number is small. But it is entirely sufficient to make a beginning in the organisation of a workers' militia. If the parties and unions armed only a tenth of their members, that would already be a force of 100,000 men... The contributions of the parties and unions, collections and voluntary subscriptions would within a month or two make it possible to assure the arming of 100,000 to 200,000 working class fighters. The fascist rabble would immediately sink its tail between its legs. The whole perspective of development would become incomparably more favourable."

Whither France?, p.33

Abject confusion

The results of this retreat are well illustrated by the abject confusion of the frugal sprinkling of political demands that garnish the conclusion to the Spartacist document.

They call for 'a sliding scale of hours' and 'a programme of public works', but since tact forbids them to call for the unification of Ireland under a workers' government they have to remain silent on who is supposed to implement these demands.

Since the demands are raised only in relation to the North of Ireland, we can only assume they are to be addressed to the ruling British government!

And even while blabbering about the "full Transitional Programme", the Spartacists fail to make any call for the expropriation of imperialist holdings in Ireland or 'native' Irish capitalism—since this again raises the issue of the uncompleted national revolution and the necessity for a planned, integrated economy.

Pull back

In their determination to avoid being tainted with "nationalism" they pull back from spelling out the necessity for the working



PHOTO: Mark Rusher

Deakinism and the TGWU witchhunters

PART THREE By Di Parkin

As General Secretary of the TGWU, Arthur Deakin cultivated an atmosphere of hysterical witch-hunting in order to pass a resolution banning communists from holding office in the union.

Deakin was driven on and assisted in this by the widespread Cold War propaganda and McCarthyite purges being conducted by his capitalist masters internationally.

Today, Deakin's successors in the TGWU bureaucracy do not have such external assistance in carrying through their witch-hunt of nine left-wingers in British Leyland's Cowley Assembly Plant.

Identical desire

But in attempting to expel, bar from office and discipline these militants, our latter-day McCarthys are driven like Deakin before them, by an identical desire to assist the government and the employers in their attacks on the working class.

In July 1949 Deakin succeeded in getting his witch-hunting resolution passed by the TGWU Biennial Delegate Conference.

From then until its implementation in March 1950 his main efforts were devoted to suppressing discussion on the question and stamping out opposition.

Opposition there was. One

hundred and four TGWU branches submitted motions protesting at the resolution—despite the fact that Deakin had instructed his supporters to walk out of meetings where the matter was raised.

The issue gave rise to a battle at the Trades Union Congress—but Deakin remained adamant.

Sacked

The first to suffer from the new ruling were nine full time officials who were sacked from their jobs by Deakin when they refused to sign a declaration supporting the witch-hunting policy.

Amongst these nine were Sam Henderson, secretary of the Road Passengers Transport section of the union—where the Communist Party had considerable weight.

A Committee for Trade Union Democracy was set up to fight these sackings and a delegation went to Transport House.

Stiffest resistance

Police were called in to protect Deakin when these protestors tried to enter the Council chamber.

Deakin commented on the sackings:

"It has been said that we have deprived these people of their jobs. They deprived themselves of their jobs by reason of their inability to

signify their undivided allegiance to this union".

But it was in the docks that the stiffest resistance to Deakinism took place.

The 1940s and 1950s were times of bitter struggles in the docks, with battles over wages, decasualisation and other issues.

The post-war Labour government had sent troops into the docks to scab on a strike in April 1949.

In May a further strike in Bristol, London and Liverpool lost 408,000 man-days in an issue of solidarity with Canadian seamen.

The government again sent troops into the London docks.

Expelled

But it was the TGWU bureaucracy (which saw the strike as a threat to its authority) which struck the sharpest blow against the unofficial leadership on London docks, the London Central Lock-out Committee.

In March three leaders of this Committee—Harry Constable, Ted Dickens and C.H. Saunders—were expelled from the TGWU by the executive, and five others banned from union office for two years.

One of those expelled was a member of the Communist Party.

A Portworkers Defence Committee immediately

called an overtime ban in protest, followed quickly by a strike, which began on April 21.

By the end of the week, 14,500 dockers were on strike in support of their victimised leaders.

A mass meeting of 2,000 striking dockers in Victoria Park demanded that Deakin come to address them, but he refused to respond to this "unofficial body".

Scab troops

A deputation sent from the meeting to Transport House found the doors locked against them.

The Labour government once more called out the troops for scabbing operations—this time uniquely to break a strike in defence of militants victimised by union officials.

By April 27, at the end of the second week of strike action, the Docks Labour Board threatened to sack all those on strike.

At this point the Communist Party pulled back from an all out fight against the TGWU bureaucracy, and the strike was defeated.

Legal attacks

Constable was left without a union card. Yet his mass support on the docks forced the employer to allow him to work on as the only non-union member.

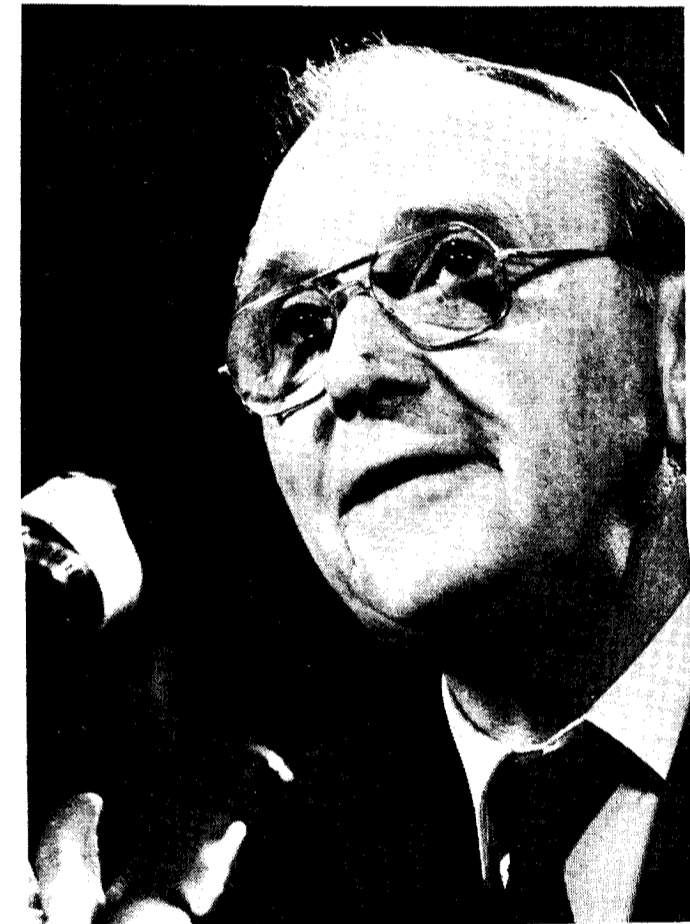
The employers and the Labour government were not slow to cash in on the defeat inflicted on the dockers by their own union officials.

A Commission of Inquiry was set up to investigate unofficial strikes—and a year later legal attacks brought dockers to trial at the Old Bailey.

McCarthyite expulsions from the TGWU and action in support of those victimised are not new, therefore.

New leadership

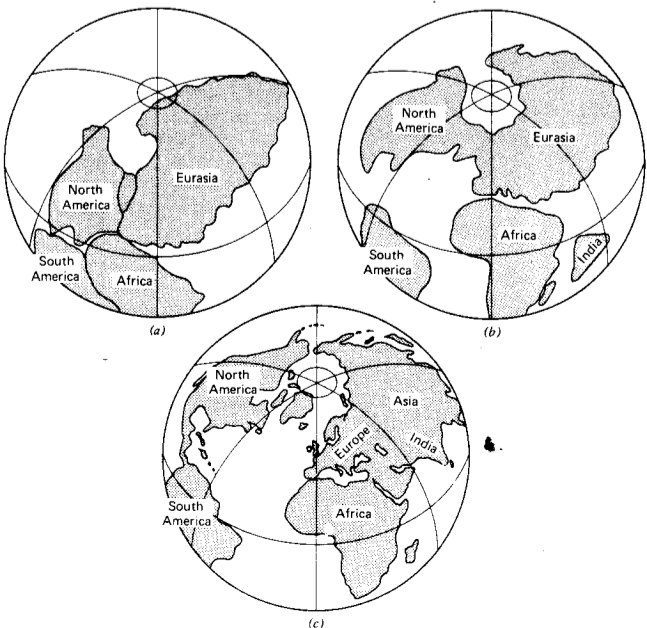
The task for TGWU members in 1978 is to ensure that today's moves against the Cowley 9 by the bureaucracy are decisively reversed, to create conditions for the building of a new leadership in the union and the complete destruction of Deakinism.



The witch-hunters: Deakin (top) and Jones (above).

IN REVIEW

Movement beneath the surface



Three maps illustrating the way the continents have moved to

"BRITAIN BEFORE MAN" Exhibition reviewed by our Science Correspondent.

*The Geological Museum of the Institute of Geological Sciences, Exhibition Road, London SW7. Admission free. Open: Mon-Sat: 10.00am-6.00pm; Sun: 2.30pm-6.00pm.

"In his work 'Ludwig Feuerbach' Engels divides philosophers into two great camps—materialists and idealists. Engels sees the fundamental distinction between them in the fact that while for the materialist nature is primary and spirit secondary, for the idealist the reverse is the case".

So writes Lenin in *Materialism and Empiriocriticism*, an incisive attack on a group of would-be Marxists who in the first decade of this

CONCLUDED

the materialist basis of Marxism.

In this same work Lenin further explains that:

"Materialism is the recognition of 'objects in themselves', or outside the mind; ideas and sensations are copies or images of those objects. The opposite doctrine (idealism) claims that objects do not exist 'without the mind'; objects are 'combinations of sensations'."

Earth sciences, such as geology and palaeontology (the study of fossils) have played an important role in providing evidence to support the materialist position.

All the relevant data point to the fact that the earth was once in such a state that no human or any other creature existed on it.

Only in the last five million years of the 4.6 thousand million years since the earth was formed have erect, two-legged primates, the forebears of humans, walked its surface, and only in the last few thousand years do we have any record of human history.

Because there is no human record of the major part of the earth's history we have to look for evidence of the events of this period in the rocks of which the earth is comprised.

Such evidence is not always easy to discover, especially in countries like

of the land is covered with towns and cities or given over to agriculture, the underlying geology is obscured.

Despite these difficulties earth scientists have pieced together evidence to show that parts of Britain were at various times in geological history shaken by tremendous earthquakes and smothered in thick ash falls and molten rock from vigorously active volcanoes.

Once, much of Britain was a sandy desert, and at other times it was covered with a great ice cap.

All these things are normally associated with distant parts of the globe and not with Britain.

There is now a chance for us all to view Britain in a fresh light by visiting a new permanent exhibition entitled "Britain Before Man" at the Geological Museum in London.

The exhibition is designed to show how the bedrock of the British Isles has been built up over the last 3,000 million years.

Five bays lead the visitor from the earliest recognisable geological events to the arrival of humans.

A final section shows some aspects of the impact of humans on the environment.

The bays contain a movie, slide shows, models, recorded commentaries and dioramas, all of a very high quality.

The reconstructed views of how Britain must have looked

time are particularly good.

Geological conditions in ancient Britain are well illustrated by reference to parts of the world which are presently in a similar geological state.

The geological history of Britain is also integrated with modern ideas of what was going on in the rest of the world at these times and with the theory of Plate Tectonics.

According to this theory—which is now widely accepted by earth scientists—the top-most skin of the earth is divided into a small number of large plates that are constantly in motion relative to one another at the rate of a few centimetres a year, under the influence of forces generated deep within the earth's interior.

It is at the margins of these plates that most earthquake activity, volcanic eruptions and mountain building takes place.

A separate permanent exhibition at the Geological Museum entitled "How the Earth Works" explains in simple but clear terms the ideas behind Plate Tectonic theory.

Although there is no section of these exhibitions that relate these scientific findings to materialist philosophy they are to be thoroughly recommended nevertheless as summaries of important evidence which supports the materialist point of view.

DOING THE 'UNITY' WALTZ

OPEN LETTER FEVER GRABS LEFT GROUPS

By Tony Richardson



IMG leader Tariq Ali



CP leader MacLennan

PHOTO: Andrew Ward, Report

"Choose your partners for the 'unity waltz'!" is the essence of a string of 'Open Letters' and 'initiatives' by left wing organisations in recent weeks.

Yet the common factor that unites each of the would-be dancers is a cynical contempt for programmatic clarity and a refusal to take up the slightest fight for principled opposition to the class collaborationist Lib-Lab coalition.

At the centre of the floor stand the Stalinists of the Communist Party. They have launched the latest edition of their reformist programme *The British Road to Socialism* with an 'Open Letter to the British Left' by Party leader Gordon MacLennan.

Reformist formulae

The letter is diplomatically vague about who the 'British Left' are, and how the CP has selected 30,000 of them as lucky recipients of their appeal.

It refers to the 'left' as "trade unionists, co-operators, Labour Party and Communist Party members and others" (our emphasis).

But since the statement fails to call for Labour to break with the Liberals, and the CP is notorious for its cosy relationships with shopkeepers and "progressive" capitalists, we can draw our own conclusions as to who these "others" may be.

The Stalinists' Open Letter advocates the same bankrupt reformist formulae as *The British Road*. It calls for "expanding the economy", "raising wages" and "increased investment in industry".

Lasting approval

Each of these demands is compatible with capitalism, and of course employers will remember the consistent role of the CP in opposing those struggles that came into conflict with Phases 1 and 2 of the Social Contract.

Leading Stalinist Derek Richardson, convenor at Leyland's Longbridge plant, won particular and lasting approval from Callaghan, the press and the employers by attacking the Leyland toolroom strike—all the time arguing, of course, the need for "unity".

This class collaboration is not a new phenomenon, but the rule

In France the Stalinists also argued abstractly for wage increases, but combined this with practical unity with the *bourgeois* forces in the 'Left Radicals'.

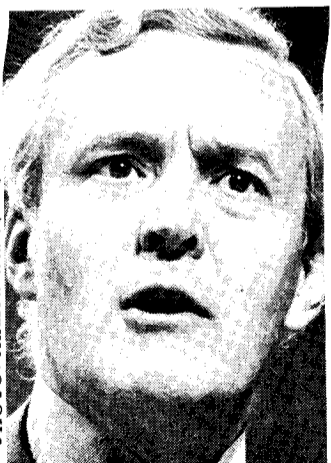
Support for Tories

In Italy, the Communist Party has gone even further to the right, and actively supports wage cuts, while giving official support to the ruling Tory (Christian Democrat) government—again, all in the name of "unity".

The British CP has nothing but praise for the French and Italian CPs, attempting in its own way to follow their example of large-scale class collaboration. Hence the need for 30,000 letters.

Sections of the Labour 'left' will no doubt greet the Stalinists' overtures—only last week coalition minister Benn was himself calling for "unity" behind Callaghan.

But while the CP has set the pace with the scale of its "unity" appeal, those left groups that trail after the Stalinists have also joined in.



Benn

The Socialist Workers Party has appealed for "unity" with the CP, while the International Marxist Group's body of admirers in the "Socialist Unity" grouping have put out a plea for "unity" with the SWP!

The SWP open letter, published on 18 March, starts from the fact that both CP and SWP have candidates standing in the Garscadden by-election—where the SWP favoured a united campaign behind one candidate.

Discrete veil

The letter does not criticise a single action of the Communist Party. Instead it attacks the bourgeois Scottish

not having "anything to say to the people of Garscadden on the real issues that affect their lives".

"A united left is essential if further defeats are to be avoided", the SWP goes on, calling for the CP to "discuss united action during the campaign".

The reformist platform proposed by the SWP for such united action centres on:

... abortion and a woman's right to choose: the rise in Glasgow bus fares, and a campaign to fight youth unemployment".

The SWP thus manage to draw a discrete veil over the treachery of the CP in the Scottish shipyards, where both candidates actually work.

Deeply ingrained

Yet it is the Stalinists under convenor Jimmy Airlie who have turned the Govan Yard into the scab yard to which the employers have diverted work from Tyneside, causing sackings at Swan Hunter, and intensifying the attack on working conditions throughout the industry.

By ignoring such questions the SWP Open Letter indicates that the opportunism of the SWP leadership is deeply ingrained.

Their urge to depict their organisation as a "mass" party cannot conceal the fact that such politics cannot establish a firm foothold in the working class, but simply offer a passing acquaintance with certain layers of militants opposed to the reactionary moves of their official leaders.

But the SWP's facade of representing a "mass" workers' party has been sufficient to fool the free-wheeling impressionists who lead the self-styled "Trotskyist" International Marxist Group.

"Statement"

Hoping that a link-up with the SWP could open up their longed-for route to contact with the working class the IMG last month launched a "Statement" in their paper *Socialist Challenge* (23 February).

This is a call for a "unified revolutionary organisation" which would include both SWP and IMG. The only two aspects of programme mentioned are "unity" and "democracy".



PHOTO: Laurence Sparham, IFL

Voting for Socialist Unity last November—unity with whom?

and file organisation" be constructed, and propose "democratisation of the ANL" (the Anti-Nazi League); in the student movement they suggest "a united far-left campaign against the Tories and the right wing on racism, fascism, autonomy and other issues".

Yet they do not criticise a single point of the SWP's reformist programme.

In this way the IMG gives tacit endorsement to such positions as the SWP call for a 35-hour week; their opposition to the demand for a sliding scale of wages to keep pace with inflation; their consistent tail-ending of workers in trade union disputes; their ridiculous call for firemen to picket power stations during the firemen's strike; and of course the SWP's analysis that the Soviet Union is a capitalist and not a workers' state.

The 'Statement', published in the centre pages of *Socialist Challenge* was signed among others, by leading IMG members Tariq Ali, Robin Blackburn and National Secretary Brian Grogan.

Spurious

Since the IMG has long been involved in an utterly unprincipled bloc with the anti-Trotskyists of the 'Big Flame' group and the Workers League, this latest opportunist episode should come as no surprise.

But what distinguishes this latest initiative is the way the signatories have agreed to prostitute the writings of Lenin in order to provide a spurious authenticity for their positions, quoting from Lenin at a particular historical juncture in 1906.

Yet in the same article these people fly in the face of Lenin when they proclaim that:

... the internal functioning of our organisations, the content and appearance of our press and publications are not irrelevancies. They are part and parcel of what we are fighting for and cannot be subtracted from our ultimate

democracy" was explicitly rejected by Lenin in the *April Theses* in 1917, in a crucial move that helped lay the political basis for the October revolution.

Arguing for a change in the name of the Party from "Social Democratic" to "Communist", Lenin stated:

"The name 'Social-Democracy' is scientifically incorrect, as Marx frequently pointed out, in particular, in the Critique of the Gotha Programme in 1875, and as Engels reaffirmed in a more popular form in 1894. From capitalism mankind can pass directly only to socialism, i.e. to the social ownership of the means of production and the distribution of products according to the amount of work performed by each individual. Our party looks further ahead: socialism must inevitably evolve gradually into communism, upon the banner of which is inscribed the motto 'From each according to his ability, to each according to his needs'. (note this is ultimate aim).

That is my first argument.

Here is the second: the second part of the name of our party (Social-Democrats) is also scientifically incorrect. Democracy is a form of state, whereas we Marxists are opposed to every kind of state".

(p.51)

Lenin goes on to argue for:

"a state for the purpose of the transition to socialism; but not a state of the type of the usual parliamentary bourgeois-democratic republic, but a state like the Paris Commune of 1871 and the Soviets of Workers' Deputies of 1905 and 1917."

In other words, the dictatorship of the proletariat.

For the IMG now to define the "ultimate goal" as "socialist democracy" is no more an accident than their decision last year to abandon in practice the Trotskyist call for defence of the Soviet Union in the name of "unity".

It represents an opportunist adaptation to political forces totally alien to

of their entrenched view of Russia as a capitalist state, neither the SWP, the Workers League or Big Flame agree with the dictatorship of the proletariat as fought for by Lenin and Trotsky.

The deliberately vague and non-contentious formulation "socialist democracy" also opens wide the doors of "Socialist Unity" for frustrated 'left' Labourites—and possibly even more right wing elements too.

Because while the IMG's circuitous route to class collaboration flows through their courtship of the SWP, the SWP cuddling up to the CP and the CP proposing marriage to the defenders of the Lib-Lab coalition, the election-brokers of Socialist Unity seem to have found a short-cut.

Apparently a recent acquisition of the Socialist Unity electoral stable is a Mr Len Walters, who was originally intended as a candidate in the Brixton by-election for the obscure grouping calling itself the 'West Indian Block'.

Programme

According to the *Guardian* Mr Walters has now announced that he will stand as a joint Socialist Unity-WB candidate, and it has been revealed that the WB and Socialist Unity are at present negotiating an electoral pact.

Such a deal if concluded, will follow the announcement this weekend of a pact between the WB and ... the Liberal Party!

How long would it then be before the ever-ready opportunists of the IMG go the whole hog and formulate a statement that drops the word "socialist" from their present "ultimate goal" of "socialist democracy"?

The WSL has repeatedly proved it is not against united actions on specific questions facing the working class.

But we will always fight for our programme and for the building of a Trotskyist Party dedicated to the overthrow of capitalism, the dictatorship of the proletariat and the ultimate goal of a

AUEW NO POLICY FOR YOUTH

The annual youth conference of the engineering section met in Eastbourne on 15-16 March in the midst of a growing crisis in the section.

The fruits from Boyd and Scanlon's record of betrayal could be seen in the drop in attendance from last year.

Of 52 possible youth delegates only about 35 were present and with only four local junior Workers Committees actually sending in resolutions the scope for discussion was limited from the start.

Unlimited time

The vast majority of these delegates however were individuals hand-picked by Divisional Committees.

A handful of regional full time officials were given seemingly unlimited time to speak on every motion by the Executive Committee member in the chair.

This gives a good idea of the impossible situation many youth find themselves in.

As the debate got under way token resolutions on training, rate for the job, youth unemployment and socialist policies were passed formally, to be passed on to the waste paper bin or the government (which is more or less the same thing).

Sensing their strength the right wing moved on to the offensive with Eddie Wight, a youth delegate from Glasgow moving an emergency resolution "congratulating" the Executive for its successful negotiations on the Confed. national claim and expressing regret that early retirement and a shorter working week had to be dropped!

Refused to discuss

The reason for them being dropped had already been spelt out by Scanlon in his opening address:

"The other points in the Confed claim had to be dropped during the course of the negotiations since the Engineering Employers Federation refused to discuss them".

Conference voted unanimously for resolutions on the 35 hour week and early retirement—and then incongruously carried the emergency resolution which congratulated the negotiators who had abandoned these demands in practice.

Sharply attacked

The Broad Left split in confusion on this issue with four voting against and eight abstaining.

The TASS delegate who in his fraternal address and

during the debate had sharply attacked the record of the union leaders and the Lib-Lab coalition and had argued constructively for clear socialist policies was bureaucratically prevented from speaking on the Confed claim on the grounds that it didn't concern TASS.



Scanlon

To sum up, the conference was a useless talking shop, a place for the right wing and Broad Left to bury their differences.

The only good point was the passing of an amendment pushed by the TASS delegate and taken up by the Broad Left calling for shop floor action to black all trade with South Africa and not just pressure on the government.

Garner's: the strike the officials want to lose

With the election of a new seven man strike committee last week, workers in the Garners Steak House strike throughout central London have begun to assert their independence with the passing of the following resolution at their TGWU Talk of the Town Branch.

"This branch recognises the crucial importance of the Garners Steak House strike in the struggle for unionisation in the catering industry. It therefore calls upon the Regional Committee to adopt the following policy and to mobilise maximum support.

1. No talks, no return to work until the employer recognises our union.

2. Mass picketing of Garners Steak Houses to be organised from all TGWU branches in Region 1, from 12 noon to 10pm every Saturday until the strike is won.

3. Blacking of all direct supplies of Garners Steak Houses and if necessary, their suppliers as well."

Unresolved

The organisation of financial support within the union was left unresolved.

With the present branch levy clearly inadequate the question of raising a regional levy has to be fought for as a matter of urgency.

These policies are clearly in conflict with the attempts of the TGWU bureaucracy to sell out the strike.

Abandoned demand

Confirmation of these attempts appeared in the March issue of the TGWU Record, which says:

"The firm has rejected ACAS assistance and despite an offer from the union for members to return to work on the basis of reinstatement, no victimisation and acceptance of the right of ACAS to carry out a normal enquiry, the firm has not moved".

In other words union officials have abandoned the central demand—recognition of the union prior to a return to work.

The call from the branch for mass picketing will now pose a challenge to the increasingly provocative harassment of the strikers and their supporters by the Metropolitan Police who enthusiastically respond to the employers' calls for their assistance in breaking the strike.

With the policy changes that have taken place over the last week, the basis has now

been laid for the strike to be won and the ground lost over the last nine weeks made up.

But the failure of the latest strike bulletin to campaign openly for these policies indicates, however, that their achievement will demand a conscious fight against all those that oppose them within the strike itself.

The organisation of a conference by the SE Region of the TUC and the Greater London Association of Trades Councils provides an important opportunity for carrying the strikers' demands into the labour movement throughout London.

Conference

The conference is to be held on Thursday 13 April at 7pm at Transport House, Smith Square, London SW1.

All supporters of the strike, particularly in the TGWU, should be urged to send delegations to ensure it makes a positive contribution to the strike's success.

Support

Messages of support and donations to the strike fund should be sent to the strike committee at TGWU, room 84, 12-13 Henrietta St., London WC2.

The latest issue of the 'Leyland Mirror' carries a brief but jubilant article celebrating the successful imposition of a 17% cut in manning in the Spitfire trim area at Triumph, Canley.

"The new agreement has been welcomed as "a considerable achievement" by both body and assembly plant director Brian Fox and works convenor Eddy McGarry", gloats *Leyland Mirror* reporter Ken Brand.

107 out of 621 workers have been transferred from Spitfire trim to work on the Dolomite—while Spitfire production levels remain unchanged—in other words

17% extra effort is to be extracted from the remaining 514 workers, for no extra pay.

Small wonder plant director Fox was delighted. But he might be wise to begin to consider if his own job is safe.

There is no doubt that it would have been impossible to inflict such an attack on such a substantial section of workers without the craven collaboration of extreme right wing convenor Eddy McGarry, and his hangers on.

'Achievement'

McGarry unwittingly revealed the difficulty that they had when he told the *Leyland Mirror*:

"It's quite an achievement on the stewards' part—they had to play a major part in getting acceptance of the reduction".

Far from willing workers anxious to help out Leyland management, the Spitfire trim section at Canley is a section saddled with an openly reactionary leadership.

Job in danger

This is where plant director Fox's job is in danger. Because this latest "deal" indicates there are two people in the plant effectively speaking for Leyland management—Fox and McGarry.

If speed up and rationalisation continue to be the order of the day, Leyland chiefs will soon have to consider whether it wouldn't be cheaper to employ McGarry on his own.



Birds Eye pickets

Birds Eye: the blackmail works

The announcement by Birds Eye management that it has withdrawn dismissal notices given to 1,200 workers at their Kirkby plant two weeks ago indicates that a new turn is underway in the exploitation of unemployment by the employers.

The management "reprieve" follows mass meetings at which officials of all unions on the plant had obtained acceptance of every stipulation by the employer. 457 jobs are to be axed, productivity jacked up with union cooperation, and the engineers whose 15-week pay strike was used as a pretext for the sacking threat are to accept the management's offer.

A committee of inquiry is also to be established—comprising national union officials alongside Birds Eye management to examine industrial relations at the Kirby plant.

The purpose of this appears to be to isolate and victimise any sections of workers who are still prepared to resist management attacks on working conditions.

All this makes it absolutely clear that the sacking notices were no more than a manoeuvre to pressure the union bureaucracy into more energetic action in forcing through management dictates.

The threat of redundancy—particularly against the background of 11% unemployment in the Merseyside area—is now being deliberately used by employers as a weapon to break working class militancy.

This new turn is driven on by the crisis of profitability faced by the employers.

It can only be fought by the development of a leadership that starts not from the 'rights' or the 'viability' of this, that, or the other employer, but from the right of every worker to a job, to decent living standards and working conditions.

Occupation

Rather than caving in to Birds Eye's threats to sack the Kirby workforce, a principled leadership would have fought for occupation of the plant, the opening of the books of the firm to prove the case for its nationalisation and for the support of other sections of the Birds Eye workforce.

Without such a fight the certain losers are the workers in the now "reprieved" factory.

Press bosses dig in deeper

The crusade by Westminster Press to prove themselves the most ruthless newspaper barons in provincial journalism is now in full spate.

Just nine chapels of National Union of Journalist members are still being refused their pay increase—and all nine are in the Westminster Press empire.

NUJ members are being refused backdating on a 10% rise of £7.09 a week because they took action to change a clause on local deals.

Off pay roll

The move is designed to boost the membership of the Institute of Journalists, the tame 'house union' carefully nurtured by employers.

Journalists on the *Evening Mail* at Slough have been taken off the pay roll for refusing to use telephones—although their management has refused to describe them as dismissed.

Colleagues on eight other local papers are imposing severe sanctions that have reduced the content of the papers but failed to stop production.

Opinion among chapel members that a strike will be necessary to wring the back pay out of employers is hardening.

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Steel: new threat of sackings

An unseemly row between two Labour 'lefts' broke out in the Commons last week as Industry Secretary Eric Varley outlined a new round of cutbacks and speed-up in the steel industry.

£1 billion is to be cut from the British Steel Corporation's investment programme, cancelling a number of planned projects, combined with a drive to cut back manning by another 38,000 over the next five years.

The announcement produced support from the Tory benches, and mixed reaction



PHOTO: Chris Davies, Report

Kinnock from Labour back benches, some of whom still appear not to have grasped the role of the Lib-Lab coalition

government in carrying through attacks on the working class.

David Lambie, Labour MP for Central Ayrshire pointed out that unemployment in his area was already 33%—and would be worsened by the steel cuts.

"How can he justify that from a Labour government?" he asked in confusion.

Caught in middle

Meanwhile the Labour 'left' found itself divided between the willing collaborators and the verbal protesters.

Caught in the middle was Tribunit Neil Kinnock, who had been a part of the recent Select Committee that recommended steel cutbacks, but

who posed last week as an opponent of Varley's latest cuts.

This point was picked up by fellow 'left' Denis Skinner who pointed out that:

"It is the height of hypocrisy for members of the committee who voted for closures to come here now in synthetic indignation".

But it is also the height of hypocrisy for 'left' talkers like Skinner to mouth opposition to the policies of the Lib-Lab coalition and the right wing Labour leaders while refusing to lead any campaign in the Labour Party to break the deal or oust Callaghan-Healey.

Meanwhile, as ever, steel union leaders remain locked in abject collaboration with BSC management, dedicated

to the "viability" of the Corporation.

Steel workers must reject this standpoint. They must fight instead for the opening of the books of BSC and of the private steel producers to elected union committees.

This would open up discussion of such questions as why government and EEC cash is being used by privately-owned CK N to build new steel plants even while BSC is being cut back.

It would expose the way the whole "nationalised" sector is being plundered for profit by private suppliers, hauliers, manufacturers, bankers and distributors, and the need for these sectors to be nationalised under workers management.

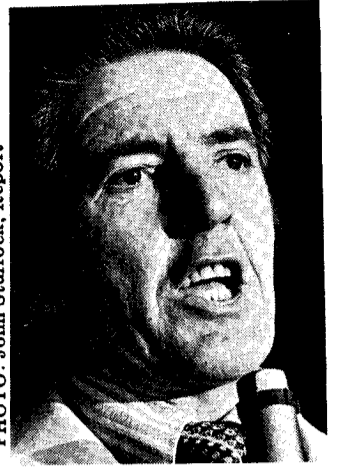


PHOTO: John Sturrock, Report

Skinner

And it would strengthen the case for an immediate policy of dividing the reduced amount of available work in the industry among the whole workforce, at no loss of pay, while steps are taken to provide for a planned expansion of the steel industry as part of a planned socialist economy.

Publishing jobs face the axe

Elsevier, the Amsterdam based publishing and printing multinational, has declared 14 redundancies at the 35-strong Oxford office of Elsevier International Projects.

Best known for scientific and technical publications (North Holland and Excerpta Medica are among its imprints) Elsevier has in recent years set up or taken over companies in the USA (E.P. Dutton), Mexico, Spain, Switzerland, Belgium, France, Germany, Ireland and the UK (EIP, Phaidon and Applied Science, among others).

Announcing the 40% plus "proposed" redundancies the Friday before Easter, the company made no attempt to defend the decision; simply announcing that their programme was "too ambitious", and the books produced had been inadequately promoted.

Losses were likely in the future, declared management, therefore half the workers had to pay for it and go on the dole.

In a subsequent homily the managing director advised the workforce to divide and either a) assist a phoenix to rise from the ashes or b) go home and look at their "Easter Eggs" (proposed redundancy compensation).

Of course there is no guarantee of more secure employment for those workers the employer proposes should remain, nor can money payments compensate for more jobs lost in book publishing, which has its share of speed-up and redundancies.

In London Marshall Cavendish, the partwork and (like EIP) illustrated reference book publishers, have threatened 20 redundancies in a bid to end a two-month strike over pay by more than 100 National Union of Journalist members.

Defend all jobs

The unions in book publishing are now constantly being confronted with employers' attempts at "natural wastage".

The workers at Elsevier have rightly demanded financial and other information to be made available to their elected representatives, as well as the withdrawal of the "proposals".

This information should be used to support a fight by the NU and ASTMS members at Elsevier to defend all jobs, confronting the employer independent of "professional" lawyers, accountants or the "services" of ACAS.

NUT: tears, not action

Fred Jarvis, General Secretary of the National Union of Teachers, resorted to cheap rhetoric to try and hide the wage cut which he helped negotiate for his members when he addressed the NUT conference last Saturday.

Despite his assertion that the NUT refused to accept government wages policy as it was not agreed to by the TUC he nevertheless urged the acceptance of 10% on delegates.

Mr. J. O'Murphy of the Executive even claimed that a great victory had been won.

Delegates opposing acceptance called for a fight for the full 12½% claim and for action to be stepped up to achieve this.

The inadequacy of the original claim clearly weakened the arguments of the opposition, although they failed to make this point or to challenge the Executive on their refusal to put forward a claim which would begin to restore living standards to 1975 levels.

Jarvis turned the fire away from himself by his popular demagogic attacks on the press for their coverage of the recent sanctions adopted by teachers.

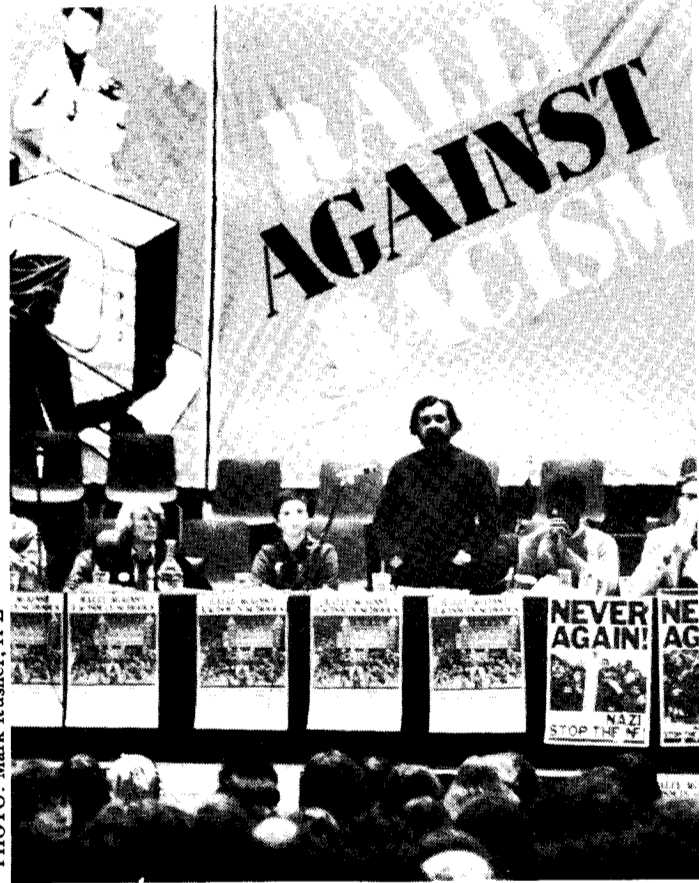


PHOTO: Mark Risher, IFL

2,500 teachers earlier this month at an all-London conference against racism and fascism

The Sun in particular received the brunt of his attack.

In his Secretary's address on Monday Jarvis turned this time to lambast politicians for their hypocrisy and for

the way they played on racial prejudices.

However his own honesty was called into question on the subject of the Executive proposals on salaries and education standards.

Many crocodile tears were shed but no action was proposed to deal with the problems.

Waffle

The salary policy for the Burnham Report 1979-80 contained the same stale formulae as last year and was full of meaningless waffle.

For example, the executive proposed as point 1 "an increase in salary for all teachers to improve their real standards of living".

An amendment calling for an increase of not less than £1,000 for all teachers and inflation proofing was ridiculed by Max Morris and thrown out on the recommendation of the Executive.

No cover

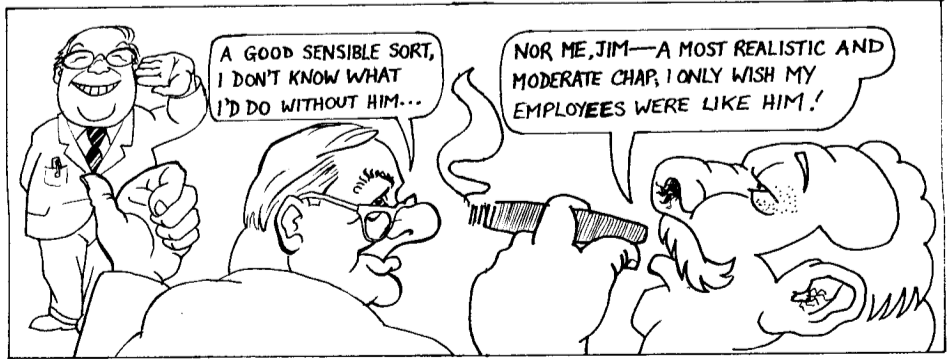
Similarly, an amendment putting forward some policies to fight the cuts, for example no cover for absences of more than one day and the establishment in each locality of joint committees of action with other trade unionists affected by the cuts was also defeated.

A substantial vote was gained for an Oxfordshire Division amendment which would have meant the end of covering for absences, a form of unpaid overtime, from 1 September 1979.

O'fishall's Diary

...YOUR MAN AT THE TOP'S FIGHT TO STAY ON YOUR BACK.

TIM



Middle East imperialist thieves fall out

The United States remains 'wholly and unequivocally committed to the security of Israel', said Secretary of State Cyrus Vance before his Good Friday press conference.

He spoke also about the sharp differences which have arisen in US-Zionist relations since the latest land-grabbing invasion of Lebanon by the Israelis.

What the United States and Israel have fallen out over is not about the "right" of the Zionist settlers to have a racially-exclusive state.

Nor indeed are they opposed to the herding of dispossessed Palestinians into refugee camps and the occupation of large tracts of territory by the Zionists.

They have no disagreement with the Zionists then using this territory as a bargaining counter with the bourgeois Arab states.

But the US imperialists want above all a 'peace' settlement that will satisfy the pro-imperialist Arab leaders—notably Egyptian President Sadat.

This, they are convinced is the best means to hold back the Palestinian liberation struggle and the movements of the Arab masses that might otherwise disrupt imperialist interests in this part of the world so crucial to oil supplies.

The invasion of Southern Lebanon by Zionist forces has now reached the Litani River—with the exception of the port of Tyre.

The Zionists have been enthusiastically welcomed by Lebanese fascists, and harassed by attacks from Palestinian Liberation forces.

As thousands of refugees have hurried North to Sidon and Beirut the United Nations has been brought in to defend the new "border" set up by the Zionist invaders.

Despite all the claims of 'impartiality' made by imperialists and Stalinists alike (Rumanian troops are to be a part of the "peace keeping" force) it must be stressed that the UN forces are there to enforce the new Zionist-arranged borders, and to hold back the Palestinian guerrilla fighters.

It is no part of the UN's purpose to defend or support the oppressed Palestinians in the area.

Those Palestinians who greeted the UN forces may well have seen them as providing a respite from the murderous Israeli invasion.

Determined

But the UN as an instrument of imperialism has never at any time sought to enforce even its own restrictions on the Zionists, ever since, in 1948, Zionist forces crossed the borders drawn up for them by this international body.

The major imperialist powers today are making determined efforts to secure a settlement on the basis of the famous UN resolution 242 passed after the 1967 war and partly drafted by then Labour Foreign Secretary George Brown.



But Begin's sudden announcement that this resolution involves no concessions from the Zionists has infuriated Carter and the US administration.

They know that Sadat and their other reactionary Arab bourgeois friends cannot sell a "peace settlement" which does not at least propose some kind of puppet West Bank statelet for the Palestinians.

The harsh words exchanged in Washington between Carter and Begin was nothing to do with opposition to the barbaric invasion of South Lebanon.

Carter's anger was aimed at Begin's bizarre notion that the borders of Israel are settled by courtesy of Moses and God rather than President Carter and the material imperialist might of Uncle Sam—to the tune last year of weapons worth \$875 million.

Imperialism

The US would obviously be much happier to see a government in Israel led by more realistic politicians like Defence Minister Weitzman and "Labour" leaders like Perez and Eban.

Such leaders would be more ready to accept the dictates of imperialism rather than those of the Bible.

Imperialist ears pricked up last week, therefore, when they heard Weitzman call for a government of "national unity".

Statements in many capitalist newspapers show that sections of imperialism would prefer to ditch the gangster Begin in favour of more pliable leaders.

For the Palestinians these

for expulsion from the union, and two others, Frank Corti and Tom White, recommended to be banned from office for life.

The new document describes Leyland's original victimisation of Alan Thornett, when in 1974 they refused him recognition as deputy convenor and shows how this led to the removal of both Thornett and of convenor Bob Fryer from office.

It goes on to catalogue the moves by the TGWU National, Regional and District Officials to exclude Thornett and all left wingers from positions within the union in Cowley.

The TGWU organisation on the plant has been bureaucratically split twice to set up new branches; Joint Shop Stewards and TGWU Automotive District Committees have been closed down; thousands of pounds have been spent by Leyland in arranging meetings and in financing intensive campaigning

by a squad of 40 right wing shop stewards; and repeated "inquiries" and kangaroo courts have been staged by TGWU bureaucrats—all to no avail.

Last December saw Fryer, Thornett, Corti and White all re-elected to leading positions by a shop floor ballot in the Assembly Plant, and the right wing decisively rejected.

But Michael Edwardes and the Lib-Lab government are imperiously demanding a full scale attack on jobs and working conditions throughout British Leyland, and the TGWU leaders are publicly committed to that objective.

To do that any opposition must be ruthlessly stamped out—hence the McCarthyite TGWU witch-hunt against the left wing leadership in Cowley.

They are now accused of such laughable "crimes" as having a "depth of disagreement" with the union's General Executive Council on wages policy walk-



Israeli soldier herding two Palestinian guerrillas



developments pose great dangers. Their struggle can only be successful through the independent mobilisation of the Arab masses—in conflict with their own bourgeois leaders.

Yet no leadership has yet developed within the Palestinian movement that is prepared to spell out such a political line.

The PLO itself is tied to the Arab bourgeois heads of state. These reactionaries have stood back with folded arms while the Zionists invaded Lebanon sooner than risk mobilising a movement against imperialism amongst the workers and peasants which they know could flow over into the overthrow of capitalism in their own countries.

Within Israel itself the problem is similarly one of independent leadership for the working class—Arab and Jewish workers alike.

It was no coincidence that the invasion took place at the high point of a strike wave in Israel that centred on working class resistance to falling living standards.

The traditional Zionist answer to the internal class struggle and economic contradictions within Israel is to launch a further predatory war, with its associated pleas for "national unity", enforced sacrifice from Jewish workers and sharpened hostility against the Arab working class held captive within Israel's borders.

The only answer to this is the construction of a Trotskyist leadership capable of mobilising Arab and Jewish workers in struggle for the destruction of the racist, Zionist state, fighting for a secular Palestine in which religious and racial discrimination is ended.



Thornett

ing out of a District Committee meeting, and revealing the size of the 5/293 Branch Secretary's commission.

As the new document points out:

"That members with long records in the union, who built the TGWU in the plant at the time when it was Company policy to sack anybody caught recruiting into the union, should be put on charges such as these is, in our opinion, an outrage".

Over 90 sponsors within the TGWU, including convenors, branch officers and shop stewards have called a conference for TGWU members to hear the full facts of the case and "to discuss the best means of preventing a serious blow to trade union rights".

The conference, which is restricted to TGWU members will be held at 1pm on April 8 in Cowley Community Centre, Oxford.

In the meantime TGWU members everywhere should move resolutions in branches, stewards committees and other bodies of the union condemning the witch-hunt and demanding the dropping of the charges.

Fleet St. unions in the firing line

Three disputes involving Fleet Street print workers have led to cries of "anarchy" from 'Times' managing director M. Hussey and a call from Sir Richard Marsh, Chairman of the Newspaper Publishers Association for members taking unofficial action to be expelled from the union.

A go-slow by NGA members caused the loss last week of 200,000 copies of the *Sunday Telegraph* while the continuing dispute of SOGAT members over rates for distributing late London editions of national newspapers resulted in the loss of 250,000 copies of the *Daily Telegraph* and 360,000 copies of the *Daily Express*.

20% claim

Now AUEW members at the *Times* and *Sunday Times* are in dispute over a 20% wage claim in order to bring their wages up to the levels earned on other Fleet Street papers.

The complete edition (1.3 million copies) of this week's *Sunday Times* was lost and the *Times* and London editions of the *Guardian* are not being printed while the dispute lasts as *Times* management claim that the AUEW members have "dismissed themselves".

FoC John Osbourne claimed that the men had been locked out because they refused to do the extra work necessary for the record 72-page Easter edition of the *Sunday Times*.

Lower wages, he explained had led many of their members to move to other papers where they could earn £70-£80 a week more.

Understaffed

This meant that they were understaffed and unable to handle the extra work asked of them.

Meanwhile the NPA were expected to discuss the deteriorating situation at a meeting yesterday.

On Monday, interviewed on BBC radio, Sir Richard Marsh, former Labour minister and now head of the newspaper barons' organisation, called for the expulsion of union members (and therefore dismissal from their jobs) if they refused to go through "recognised procedures negotiated by their leaders".

He claimed that union officials had "lost control of their members".

Expelled

The trade union bureaucracy have already demonstrated their willingness to attempt such measures in order to discipline their members—NATSOPA's chief O'Brien temporarily expelled from the *Times* chapel and NATSOPA in a previous dispute—but with renewed militancy among Fleet Street printworkers in the face of the wage cutting policies of the Lib-Lab coalition, the trade union bureaucracy will have no easy task should they attempt to discipline their own members.

Long term plot against Cowley 9

Damning evidence of a concerted right wing plot to remove all their opponents within the TGWU in British Leyland's Cowley Assembly Plant has been produced as part of the fight to defend the "Cowley 9" militants, who face disciplinary action at the hands of union officials.

Cowley supporters of the Campaign for Democracy in the Labour Movement have produced a nine-page summary of events in the Assembly Plant during the last 3½ years.

This paints a vivid background to the moves by TGWU bureaucrats to victimise the Cowley 9—who include the plant convenor Bob Fryer, three deputy convenors, two stewards and three TGWU members.

One deputy convenor—Alan