



BLACK GRUNWICK NOW!



PHOTO: Andrew Ward, Report

Grantham addresses strikers

For 22 months the officials of APEX wriggled to free themselves from the Grunwick strike.

Now, at the national conference on 'The Lessons to be Learned' from the dispute, they hope to pronounce a pious obituary on this struggle for union recognition.

At every stage Grantham and his companions in bureaucracy have twisted and turned to impose their deadening control over the strike.

But their efforts could never have achieved any success without the invaluable support of Jack Dromey from Brent Trades Council and other 'lefts'.

As thousands of workers mobilised on the mass pickets last summer, it was Dromey, Scargill and their treacherous like who were able to divert this militant response.

By refusing to call for blacking of the Grunwick factory, they

contained the threat of an independent movement which could have developed beyond the reach of the bureaucracy and its anti-democratic methods.

Their actions have been directly responsible for prolonging the strike by avoiding any leadership on the one policy that can break the intransigence of Ward and the reactionary anti-union policies of his backers in NAFF.

Terrified of any independent action by workers fighting to defend democratic rights and to advance their class interests, these bureaucrats—both 'left' and right—are completely unable to win the most basic, minimal demand for workers in this period.

As the forces of the state were mobilised against the strikes, APEX and Dromey hid themselves behind the 'democracy' and 'justice' of the Scarman report, and the ACAS machinery for betraying workers' interests.

At last week's conference of

APEX, Grantham felt strong enough to argue that the official strike would be called off unless ACAS recommended recognition within five weeks.

This position of capitulation must be fought at the conference called by the strike committee.

APEX conference rejected a call to resume mass picketing and for the blacking of essential services to the company. But if Saturday's meeting is to be anything more than a funeral wake, the demand for blacking must be taken up, along with a campaign of mass lobbies to demand that the TUC fulfil its promises of support by organising this action.

*Grunwick National Conference, 11am-5pm, Sunday 14 May, Wembley Conference Centre, Empire Way, Wembley, Middlesex. Credentials £1, (2 delegates per branch), from Trades and Labour Hall, 375, High Road, Willesden, London NW10.

LACK OF LEADERSHIP SELLS SPEKE JOBS

A clear call three weeks ago for an occupation to stop the closure of Leyland's threatened Triumph plant at Speke would have produced a massive majority in favour from a mass meeting determined to defend 3,000 jobs in the plant.

No such call was made. Speke stewards contented themselves with a form of words defending the right to work and opposing compulsory redundancies.

Bluster

And they allowed combine shop stewards chairman, Stalinist Derek Robinson, to lead the meeting in completely the opposite direction, blustering about the same

stale old forms of protest action—one day strikes, parliamentary lobbies, etc—that have preceded thousands of sackings and huge cuts in social services.

Peaceful

Meanwhile, trade union officials (who had from the outset talked in terms of negotiating redundancy payments big enough to secure a "peaceful transfer" of production from the doomed Speke plant continued their background work of fostering confusion and demoralisation.

They were allowed the leeway for this treacherous work by self-styled 'rank and file' groupings led by the Socialist Workers Party, who at each point studiously avoided spelling out the absolute necessity for occupation of the plant if the closure was

to be prevented.

SWP members used every opportunist argument they could dream up in order to persuade their supporters in Speke that they should not call for too much all at once but should simply rest content with winning support for general statements of opposition.

And the SWP reserved particular scorn for the call for elected union committees to open Leyland's books—the only policy that could firmly establish the link between the struggle to save the jobs at Speke and the fight by workers throughout Leyland against speed-up, rationalisation and redundancies under the Edwardes plan.

More time

For those who imagined that there would be more time in which to add some

specific demands to the general call to endorse the right to work and oppose closure, last Saturday's mass meeting provided a sharp awakening.

Even though they had been demoralised by weeks of aimless to-ings and fro-ings by union officials and shop stewards; abandoned by officials of the Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions who voted a week earlier to sell all the jobs in Speke in the name of preserving the 'viability' of Leyland; and blackmailed by a company ultimatum to accept "improved" buy-off payments and join the dole queues quietly, hundreds of workers arrived at the mass meeting ready to fight for their jobs.

No call

But still not so much as one Speke steward stood up on the platform to call for occupation. An SWP "Right to Work" leaflet given out at the meeting made no call for occupation.

And the stewards' recommendation—simply to 'reject' the company's new offer and

oppose closure—was seen by workers as no more than a haggling over terms.

Again a key role was played by Derek Robinson. As leading defender of the Edwardes plan and of the 'worker participation' set-up that first lined up Speke for closure as a supposedly 'low productivity' plant, Robinson was keen to be in on the final betrayal.

Disgruntled

In between his predictable bursts of 'left' rhetoric Robinson was careful to include the statement that the right-wing led Canley workforce has agreed to accept work from Speke.

With no serious alternative course of action being proposed by their leaders a disgruntled mass meeting voted 60-40 against their stewards' recommendation, thus deciding not to oppose the closure of the plant.

Already cynics and opportunists are rushing to claim that the fault was that of the workforce refusing to back the stewards.

But the reality is that the stewards and the combine offered no perspective to the

Speke workforce—there was really nothing for them to support.

The stewards even went on after the meeting to carry a vote of thanks to Derek Robinson—whose only role has been to assist Leyland in the butchering of 3,000 Merseyside jobs!

The betrayal at Speke involved a lethal combination of conscious sabotage by union officials and leading combine stewards (who, through 'participation' have become no more than an arm of management) with a complete absence of a conscious alternative leadership equipped to fight the bureaucracy.

The bitter lesson is that without a fight for the demands of occupation, open the books, work sharing on full pay and nationalisation there can be no serious fight to defend jobs against a ruthless crisis-ridden capitalist class.

A Trotskyist party, capable of leading such struggles and fighting on all levels against the class collaboration embodied in the Lib-Lab coalition government must be built as a matter of urgency.



PHOTO: John Sturrock, Report

Liverpool Trades Council conference on unemployment—gave no lead to Speke



INTERNATIONAL

Angola invaded

SWAPO traitor unmoved

Last Thursday the South African army launched a major invasion of Angola and "temporarily" occupied the town of Cassinga.

Vorster claimed that the invasion was directed against the guerrilla camps of SWAPO, the Namibian liberation movement.

But even South African army spokesmen admitted that Angolan and Cuban troops had also been attacked

and killed.

The ruthless invasion has come as a deep embarrassment to the main imperialist powers who two weeks ago negotiated an agreement with Vorster.

Under this deal, they hoped SWAPO would be forced to cease its liberation war and then after the cease-fire South African troops in Namibia would be replaced by imperialist (United Nations) troops.

No sooner was the ink dry

on this filthy deal than Vorster arrested numerous SWAPO leaders in Namibia and launched his shameful attack against the North.

The major imperialists (USA, Britain and France) were so embarrassed that they were forced last Friday to vote against South Africa in the UN Security Council.

What they fear is that Vorster's unruly behaviour will show up the agreement for what it is—a plan to

replace South Africa's racist rule with a "safer" neo-imperialist solution.

But as far as Sam Nujoma, the SWAPO leader, is concerned, these fears are exaggerated.

Having shown over the last ten days increasing readiness to compromise with the imperialists, Nujoma has confirmed since the invasion his willingness to continue to discuss the Anglo-American-South African plan.

Irish bosses smiling?

Brief smiles must have crossed the faces of capitalists in Ireland this week.

While the repressive forces of British imperialism continued to arrest Provisional Sinn Fein members in the north, union leaders in the Republic were procuring settlements from their members with which to gratify their masters.

Aer Lingus management, an 'independent mediator' and officials from the Workers Union of Ireland put forward a paltry 4% pay increase to end the 8 week strike by clerical and administrative staff.

Meanwhile the executive of the Irish Post Office Engineering Union had recommended that its members end their 13 week strike by accepting an agreement devised by the government and bureaucrats from the Irish Congress of Trade Unions.

The terms of this deal on the introduction of new technology are far from clear, but

suggest that concessions have been granted by the state employers at the cost of establishing 'participation' schemes.

In a postal ballot, the strikers apparently accepted these proposals by a 4-1 majority. IPOEU officials were at pains to protest that the ballot had been conducted without any irregularities, and went on to see the deal as 'the first step to try and get improved relations within the post office'.

The first test of this optimistic prediction will come with the return to work when workers confront the managers who scabbed on the strike with such eagerness and persistence.

Irish capitalists may have breathed a 'tremendous sigh of relief' at the news of these settlements, but they know with growing certainty and dread that their greatest political problems are yet to come as the boom of the Irish economy slumps further into crisis and collapse.

Palestinians hit back at imperialist troops

During the last week in Lebanon the inevitable conflict has developed between liberation forces in the area and the UN troops sent there to enforce the status quo following the Zionist invasion of South Lebanon in March.

On the night of 30 April near the town of Tyre, a section of French paratroopers, from the same force responsible for unspeakable tortures in Algeria and the imperialist exploitation of Vietnam, shot dead two Lebanese militiamen, allies of the Palestinian liberation fighters.

Retaliation

Before a large funeral could gather to commemorate these martyrs, liberation forces took a number of retaliatory actions against the UN soldiers.

Since that time, rejectionist Palestinian and leftist guerrillas have been moving south towards the Israeli invaders, and journalists reported by the week-end, seeing large numbers digging in well behind the UN lines.

Another journalist was told by the commander of a Palestinian unit at Tyre on Wednesday:

"The French are not here as a peace force, but as a force of intimidation. Those of us who attempt to go back to the south are shot or stopped.

"The French never shoot to cripple, they shoot to kill.

"Nothing will stop us continuing the fight against Israel".

In contrast to such clear determination was the attitude of

PLO leader Yasser Arafat, who denounced the attacks on the UN troops.

At the same time an interview with him was published in the *New York Times* in which he announced support for a ghettoised Palestine state.

Nothing to fear

Israel, he said, 'would have nothing to fear' from such a creature, which would have problems of its own.

Perhaps the greatest of these problems would be to restrain the Palestinian movement from the complete defeat of Zionism.

Such a view of the Palestinian revolution in stages constantly breaks down in the dynamic of the liberation struggle but is always returned to by Arafat and the PLO-Fatah leadership.

This view denies the ultimate and necessary link between the Palestinian struggle and the battles of workers and peasants in the Arab world as a whole.

Meanwhile Israeli premier Begin wanders around the United States with his begging bowl for the Zionist lobby, knowing he does not need to worry too much.

Celebrations

The celebrations of the third decade of the racist Israeli state were accompanied by this statement from imperialist-in-chief President Carter:

"We may have differences, but we'll never waver in our absolute commitment to Israel's security. I can say without reservation, we will continue to do so, not for 30 years, but forever".

Such a statement shows clearly the deep-seated link between the imperialist system and the Zionist state. This state, however, will not last forever, any more than imperialism itself.

The contradictions within Zionism itself, however, were shown by the May Day demonstrations in Israel run by the corporatist Histadrut trade union body, at which the most popular slogan was 'Shalom archar' or 'peace now'.

Pressures against the Zionists compelled the dismissal of the Zionist military governor of the West Bank state Brigadier General David Hagoel, for lying about an incident in which schoolchildren who demonstrated against the Israeli invasion of South Lebanon were locked in a classroom and gassed with tear gas grenades.

Atrocities

What this particular Zionist soldier did was not just to remind the world once again of the fascist atrocities committed against the Jews themselves. He seems to have committed an even more unpardonable crime by lying about it and then getting found out.

The growing resistance movement will need more than gas canisters to hold it back, especially if there is a fight within it for socialist policies to link the fight against colonialism with a struggle in the Arab states against the pro-imperialist policies of Sadat and the other bourgeois Arab leaders.



Arafat

TWO MAY DAYS



May Day 1977 was a day of massacres against the working class. In Turkey dozens of workers were murdered.

And in Spain, attempts to assert the basic democratic right to demonstrate were

met with bloody repression by the Suarez regime.

But in Britain in 1977 workers still had the right to demonstrate.

On May Day 1978, as a speaker at the WSL's well attended May Day Rally in Conway Hall pointed out,

Spanish workers would show that they had won the right to demonstrate, insecure as this right remained.

Meanwhile, by a strange but significant reversal, it was in Britain (Leeds) where workers attempting to march on May Day were arrested and prevented from demonstrating by thousands of police.

This made clear how it was not only in countries where dictatorships ruled or attempted to hang on to power where the question of democratic rights was important.

Everywhere, including in "democratic" Britain, the capitalist crisis leads the ruling class to call into question not only the workers' economic conditions but also the basic democratic rights which had seemed to be secure, which are essential if conditions are to be defended and extended.

In the event, as British workers were arrested, workers in Spain took to the streets in hundreds of thousands—a quarter of a million marched in Madrid alone.

And in Portugal, over 100,000 marched in what was said to be the biggest demonstration since 1974.

Taking up slogans against repression internationally, Spanish and Portuguese workers chanted "Pinochet murderer!"

And only a few hours later dictator Pinochet sent his police to break up an illegal march and arrest 300 demonstrators, including fraternal delegates from the European labour movement.

May Day this year showed the strength of the working class, and the dangers that it faces—from Leeds to Santiago.

AFGHAN COUP TOPPLES FEUDAL RULE

Last week's military coup has brought to power in one of the world's most remote and economically backward countries a government which the capitalist press has labelled "pro-Moscow Communist".

The new regime paints itself in less provocative colours—it claims to be "revolutionary democratic" and has said it intends to protect the values of Islam and to pursue a "non-aligned" foreign policy.

The first news of the dramatic events came on the afternoon of April 27 when Kabul radio broadcast a message from General Abdul Kader, head of the Armed Forces Revolutionary Council:

"For the first time in the history of Afghanistan, the last vestiges of the cruel and oppressive Nadir Khan dynasty has been suppressed.

The last direct representative of this dynasty was

in 1973. But he was succeeded by his own brother-in-law, Mohamed Daoud.

Since 1973 Daoud has been everything—President, Premier, Foreign and Defence Minister all at once. He has presided over a cruel dictatorship in which political parties have been banned.

Daoud's regime still made use of the former King's state bureaucracy and, in spite of a nominal commitment to land reform, rested politically on the old feudal aristocracy and landowners and on the army.

Daoud's foreign policy was nominally "non-aligned"—he was due this week to host a meeting of the co-ordinating council of the "non-aligned" countries—but he had been mainly an ally of Moscow from which he received aid in the form of money, technical and military assistance, and the training of technicians and army officers in the USSR.

officers who took the lead. The coup was for a brief time a violent one and Daoud, along with many members of his regime and family were killed in the course of it.

Within 24 hours calm had reportedly been restored and there were signs of popular welcome for the new government although the masses appear to have played no direct part in the events.

After the coup there were some demonstrations in which anti-imperialist, especially anti-CIA, slogans were shouted.

The Armed Forces Revolutionary Council which led the coup did not form a government but installed in office a largely civilian cabinet (there are three military officers out of 20 members) all of whom have been described in press reports as members of the "Afghanistan Communist Party".

The new ruling party, led by a former translator in the US Embassy, Nur Mohamed Taraki, is not a typical Stalinist party

Taraki in 1964 under the title People's Democratic Party, usually shortened to The People (Khalq), the name of the party's newspaper.

The party, from its inception, has had close links with Moscow and is frequently referred to as the "Communist Party", though unlike parties with a longer Stalinist history, it appears never to have been committed, even formally, to a Marxist programme.

The programme and propaganda of the party has been almost exclusively anti-feudal, nationalist and populist in nature.

In 1972 the party split into two public factions. Taraki continued to lead the Khalq (People) faction which remained in clandestinity during the Daoud regime.

The other faction, known as Parcham (Flag) was led by Mir Akhbar Khabir and was prepared to collaborate with the Daoud dictatorship.

Until last year this line appeared to suit the Moscow bureaucracy which combined 'strong material' and

with support for Parcham against Khalq.

Last year, however, the Kremlin appeared to despair of the long-term survival prospects of its client Daoud and encouraged Parcham and Khalq to reunite.

This they did and together adopted a position of clandestine opposition to the regime.

The new government claims, no doubt accurately, that "99% of the population was waiting for the overthrow of the previous regime".

"Our regime", they announced, "signifies the end of aristocracy and feudalism in Afghanistan."

From first reports it seems that a sizable part of the feudal exploiting class may have been killed in the coup.

But the new government still faces major opposition from the Muslim League which has powerful backers in the reactionary Arab nations, Iran and probably Pakistan, all of whom, like the imperialists, are anxious to reverse what they see as a possibly crucial Soviet strategic gain of the border





INTERNATIONAL

CASTRO OPPOSES ERITREAN STRUGGLE



EPLF liberation fighters

'These groups will be liquidated and Eritrea will be converted into a revolutionary fortress'.

With these words, Mengistu Haile Mariam declared in Cuba the determination of the Ethiopian military dictatorship to crush the liberation movements in Eritrea.

'Analysis'

During his state visit to Cuba, Mengistu spelled out the 'analysis' which the bloody regime of the Derg has fabricated to justify its reactionary policies.

In this vicious distortion: "The imperialists are trying to wipe out the Ethiopian revolution, making use of these sections [the Eritrean Popular Liberation Front and the Eritrean Liberation Front] to do so".

Again, according to Mengistu, the EPLF and the ELF: "... are reactionary and not progressive. They are agents of imperialism and of Arab reaction".

In a further reference to the liberation movements, this butcher to the Ethiopian revolution proclaimed that:

"Groups which originally claimed to have progressive ideas have unmasked their true faces since the revolutionary triumph of 1974".

The Ethiopian dictatorship has already amassed forces to invade the liberated areas of Eritrea.

But while its besieged

troops in Asmara and Massawa have been given increased support, it seems that pressure from the Soviet Union and Cuba is holding back any immediate onslaught.

Trapped in the intricate web of their own counter-revolutionary strategy, the bureaucracies of Moscow and Havana are understandably reluctant to be seen openly participating in the violent suppression of revolutionary struggle.

Main support

In the past, the EPLF received its main support from the Cubans, and from Stalinism's allies in the South Yemen, who are now both giving military assistance to the Derg.

At the same time, the Kremlin bureaucracy cultivated intimate relations with the military regime in Somalia.

But as the clique of military officers emerged to seize control of the revolutionary upheavals which had overthrown the Ethiopian emperor, Haile Selassie, and as Colonel Mengistu shot his way to power through a coup within the counter-revolution so international Stalinism increasingly threw its weight behind these new reactionary forces.

New opportunities

The aims of Brezhnev and Castro have not altered. But these developments provided

new opportunities for realising their objective—to secure a firm military base in this vital strategic area, so as to stabilise the international balance of forces, unsteadied by the failure of Soviet diplomacy in the Middle East.

Siad Barre's regime in Mogadishu was marked by populist and nationalist leanings, while the EPLF had already displayed dangerous signs of independence from Stalinism.

Opponents murdered

In contrast, the Derg showed a 'firm hand' in ruthlessly suppressing and murdering its political opponents—above all, those of the left.

These barbarous methods went hand in hand with the most cynical opportunism, and combined to produce a near-perfect instrument for the execution of the counter-revolutionary strategy advanced by the Kremlin's bureaucrats.

The immediate victims of these manoeuvres have been the liberation struggles in the Ogaden and Eritrea.

For the Ethiopian state to fulfil its strategic value to the deformed Soviet workers state, the Derg must assert political control over the whole of Somalia and also over Eritrea.

'Integrity'

Castro has publicly pledged his support to the 'territorial integrity' of Ethiopia, referring to the Eritrean revolution as an 'internal problem' of 'secessionists', which 'concerns Addis Ababa alone'.

Behind this bland facade, the Cuban leader has been making frantic efforts to bring about negotiations.

But as preconditions for any talks, the EPLF has demanded recognition both of the Eritreans' right to self-determination and indepen-

dence, and of the EPLF and ELF as the sole representatives of the Eritrean people.

In Mengistu's terms, this means that the 'brigands' have scornfully rejected every offer of discussion.

Genocide danger

The chances of avoiding total war become slimmer every day. It has also become clear that the Derg can overcome the tenacity and determination of the Eritreans only by resorting to genocide.

The Ethiopian dictatorship's record of vicious practices leaves no reason for confidence that they would stop short of such measures.

Any participation by the Stalinists in such colossal counter-revolutionary slaughter would deal a crippling blow to their credibility in the ex-colonial countries.

But the evidence suggests that they are prepared to risk this loss in order to gain their immediate strategic objectives.

More arms

In opposing these actions of the Cuban and Soviet bureaucracies, we do not in any way support the imperialist demands that they withdraw their forces from Africa.

On the contrary, we call for more advisers, more troops and more arms to be sent to the continent.

But we raise the call to advance the anti-imperialist struggles of the African masses, against such repressive regimes as the Derg and couple it with the demand that these forces be deployed under the control of the liberation movements.

The Kremlin leaders opportunistically indicated in the past their support for movements such as the EPLF and the Polisario Front, whom they have now deserted.

More recently, they

affirmed their commitment to the aims of SWAPO in Namibia, the Patriotic Front in Zimbabwe and the African National Congress of South Africa.

Every pressure must be brought to bear on these professional traitors to translate their deceptive phrases into the arms of revolutionary struggle.

We have major political differences with all the African liberation movements but we fully support them in their struggle against imperialism while criticising their various weaknesses and inadequacies.



Mengistu

But the bureaucratic regimes of the deformed and degenerated workers states have at their immediate disposal the material means to boost these struggles.

The whole international workers movement must demand that these arms and supplies are made available. In this way the counter-revolutionary role of Stalinism can be most sharply exposed.

In the cause of proletarian internationalism, we repeat the appeal of the EPLF that the Cuban and Soviet forces take no action against the Eritrean revolution, and we also demand that they assist the Eritrean liberation struggle in its fight against the reactionary and predatory dictatorship in Ethiopia.

Strikes disrupt Kingston 'peace'

The Jamaican government led by Malcolm Manley faces a wave of industrial unrest in response to the growing effects of the capitalist crisis on Jamaica's economy. Already affected are the water-front and the cement industry and the island's teachers are threatening strike action.

He appealed for production to be maintained while talks continued.

"Unless we can keep production going while efforts are made to settle industrial disputes, then we are going to be in serious trouble."

The need to work together for greater production was recently proclaimed from huge banners at a massive concert organised to raise money for Jamaica's Peace Movement.

The origins of the Peace Movement go back to last January when the leaders of the two gangs associated with Jamaica's main political parties the Peoples National Party and the Jamaica Labour Party met on a street in downtown Kingston, shook hands and ended years of gang warfare and slaughter in the slums of Kingston.

Twenty-nine people had died in the first four weeks of the year before the 'war' was called off. One of the most horrific incidents was the burning down of a tenement two years ago in which eleven people died.

Despite the outbreak of food riots the previous week, highlighting the island's continuing economic problems, the concert organisers did everything possible to convey their message.

The audience were divided up into sections marked 'peace', 'love' and 'togetherness' and the Government laid on extensive police and military support to ensure that these lofty ideals predominated.

As the marathon concert drew to a close, in a clearly stage-managed gesture Manley and opposition leader Seaga came on stage and shook hands while Bob Marley sang "One Love". Miller and Masson the two gang leaders looked on and marijuana-smoking Rastafarians danced around on stage shaking their dreadlocks!

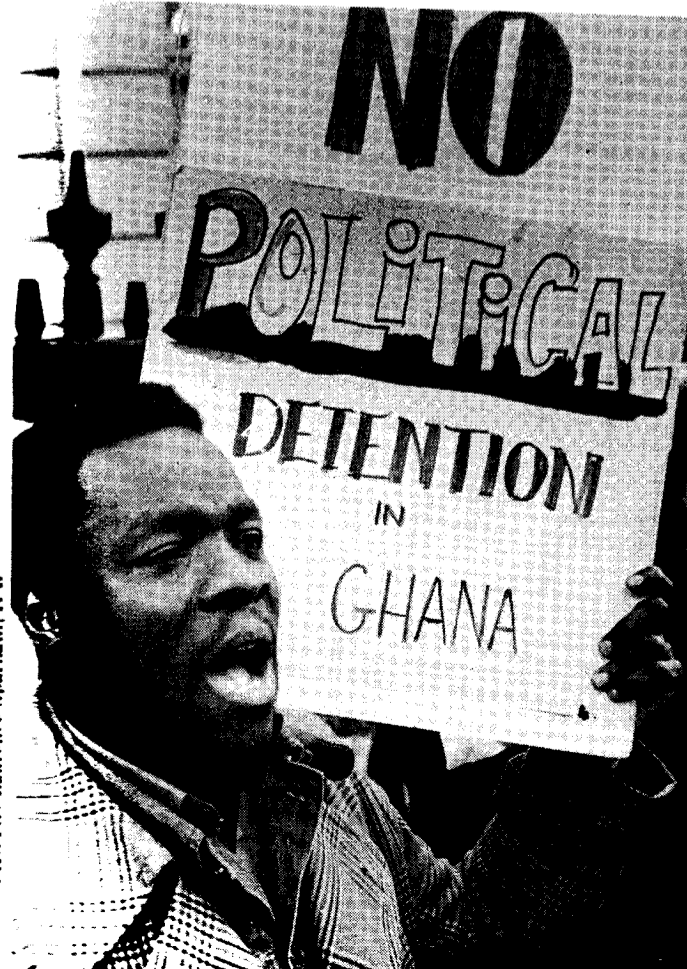
The Rastafarians are claiming responsibility for securing peace; and with their philosophy the predominant theme of the island's music—reggae—and with the vast majority of Jamaicans under thirty there is no doubt that the Rastafarian influence is growing steadily.

However, none of this of course goes anywhere near solving the huge economic problems confronting the Jamaican ruling class.

Unemployment stands at 60%, inflation still rages and whole sections of the island live in grinding poverty.

Sharply posed is the need therefore to build a Trotskyist leadership in opposition to the growing influence of the Rastafarians and the wholly undeserved left reputation of PNP leader Manley.

SOCIALIST PRESS will be carrying an



FRENCH BOMBERS IN CHAD

The tricolour of the Great French Revolution has once again been hoisted above the armies of imperialism.

As capitalism's vigilant police force in western Africa, the French bourgeoisie has now substantially increased its military presence in Chad, in a bid to contain the apparently irrepressible advance of the Frolinat (the National Liberation Front).

Created in opposition to the thoroughly corrupt dictatorship of President Tombalbaye, the Frolinat has continued its guerrilla warfare against the military government of General Felix Malloum which ousted that regime.

Control extended

Backed by Gaddafi from Libya (immediately to the north of Chad), the guerrillas were able

at least half of this huge, but largely barren country is in their hands.

Having used the Frolinat to his own ends for a while, Gaddafi then moved to the position of 'mediator'—supporting initiatives for a ceasefire, while Libyan troops moved in to seize the northern areas directly for the Libyan 'people's republic'.

The recent arrival of Mirage jet bombers has coincided with a renewal of direct French military involvement in the Sahara.

There the Polisario Front has been subjected to bombardment from the French forces supporting the occupying armies of the repressive Moroccan monarchy and its client state of Mauritania.

These acts of aggression in West Africa are nothing new for the French bourgeoisie.

The ending of its formal colonial rule over huge areas of

attempts to secure imperialist dominance.

Co-operation with Hassan's dictatorship in Morocco led to the imperialist adventure in Benin, with an attempt to overthrow the 'left' government, and other joint ventures have been undertaken, as in Zaire and Western Sahara.

There can be little doubt that these latest moves in Chad have been planned after full discussions with the South African Government.

Of all the imperialist governments, it is that of France which has maintained the most intimate relations with Vorster's racist regime.

Threatened by the increase in Soviet and Cuban influence in Angola, Mozambique and Ethiopia, but impotent to do more than protest, the imperialist powers have been forced to find other ways to attack the libera-

PHOTO: Laurence Marham, IFL

CAPITALISM'S INTERNATIONAL 'THINK TANK'

The most publicised "achievement" of a rather shadowy organisation known as the Trilateral Commission is that it groomed and prepared Jimmy Carter for the American presidency.

That, however, was only a part of a much broader plan which emerges from the fears experienced by an "enlightened" grasp of the ruling class for the future power and cohesion of imperialism.

The formation of the T.C. came directly out of the sharpening inter-imperialist rivalries to which the capitalist crisis began to give rise in the early 1970s.

More specifically it arose out of the crisis of leadership experienced by the American ruling class as a result of the discrediting of President Johnson, the ignominious US defeat in Vietnam, the exposure and resignation of Nixon and Angew, and the incompetence of Ford.

Multi-millionaire

The initiative for the setting up of the T.C. came from a group of leading American capitalists headed by David Rockefeller, multi-millionaire head of the massive Chase Manhattan Bank and director of enough companies to fill an issue of the *Socialist Press*.

Rockefeller's aim was to create an organisation which—despite superficial resemblances to the secret societies for world domination found in James Bond novels—is a high-powered medical team devoted to saving the life of ailing imperialism.

It was from the American capitalist class that the initial nucleus of the T.C. was recruited in 1973. But it then looked in a number of directions for its expansion.

First, because it is based on fears of growing fratricidal struggles between the imperialist nations it looked for representatives of the capitalist class of Western Europe and Japan (hence the title 'Trilateral').

Heads of many of the major Japanese corporations, and rather fewer of the European ones, joined.

Anti-communist

The next task was to bring in a number of leading anti-Communist academics.

Chief among these was Zbigniew Brzezinski, America's leading "Kremlinologist" who was appointed the Executive Director of the T.C.

Other economists and political "scientists" either joined the Commission or undertook research on its behalf.

Finally the Commission needed to get the co-operation of leading representatives of the labour movement.

In the USA it was not



Brzezinski



Luard



Maudling



Joseph

difficult to recruit some of the leading pro-imperialists at the head of America's trade unions. Woodcock of the Auto workers and I.W. Abel of the Steel workers are both members.

Miserable

In Europe and Japan though approaches were made, it was impossible, with a few exceptions, to get trade union bureaucrats to participate in such an openly capitalist and reactionary body.

In Britain the T.C. has had to be content with three miserable right-wing Labour MPs whose connection with the Labour movement is so weak it could snap on the slightest pressure.

They are Evan Luard (Oxford), John Roper (Farnworth) and one R. MacFarquhar.

Carter's presidency has been central to the work of the Trilateral Commission.

Its members systematically "educated" Carter on international and economic affairs during the primaries and presidential campaign.

And now sixteen T.C. members hold major posts in the Carter administration.

Gold

They include Secretary of State Vance, Treasury Secretary Blumenthal and UN representative Andrew Young, as well as Vice-President

Mondale.

Some of the principal policies of the Carter administration naturally coincide with ideas which have been aired in T.C. discussions and reports.

In the economic sphere these include the plan to demonetise gold and restore US dominance of the monetary system via the strengthening of the IMF and the development of a new world system of paper money.

Future of democracy

Also there are Carter's efforts to avoid a direct open trade war by means of international "voluntary" agreements to limit trade on the part of the countries in surplus (Japan and West Germany).

But the most interesting and sinister feature of the reports so far commissioned and discussed by the T.C. has been its fears for the future of what it calls "democracy"—by which it means the capitalist state and social peace.

The most important of these reports was written by Michael Grozier (right-wing intellectual from the Institute of Conflict Studies) and Samuel P. Huntington (US academic who was a leading political strategist of the Vietnam war).

Rights

In 1975 they wrote a report on "The Governability of Democracies" concluding that this was becoming more and more difficult.

The problem, they concluded, was an 'excess of demands' being placed on the "democratic" countries leading to a crisis of political authority and ungovernability.

Increasingly, the authors lament the mass of the population expect not only to possess democratic rights but actually to exercise them.

Yet, they conclude: "the effective operation of a democratic political system usually requires some measure of anarchy and non-

involvement on the part of some individuals and groups".

They say that the main task is:

"to restore the prestige and authority of central government institutions, and to grapple with the immediate economic challenges".

In an earlier publication the T.C. had written:

"The international system which depended heavily upon UC leadership and sustenance now requires a truly common management to which North America, the European Community and Japan must in view of their large economic power make a special contribution".

In this veiled and diplomatic language the T.C. expresses its two major fears—that imperialism is threatened by the breakdown of the social order within the imperialist nations and 'chaotic national competition' between them.

Third World

These are the T.C.'s main concerns. And its answers (often more implicit than explicit) are the imposition of limitations on democratic rights and a shift from a leadership system to one of genuine collective management.

These have been the two main concerns of the T.C. even though it has also given some attention to the 'Third World' which it plans to incorporate into a more controlled international economic system in which the semi-colonial countries would remain producers of raw materials.

Less space in the T.C.'s publications is devoted to the Soviet Union and China.

This is partly because Buzzevinski used to take the view, publicly at least, that the USSR was a declining threat to imperialism.

This is a view he can scarcely hold any longer in view of the capitalist crisis in the USA and the continuing advance of production in the Soviet Union.

This is leading to a reversal of the balance of

Who's who on the Commission

BELGIUM.

Houthuys, J., trade union bureaucrat, President of Confed. of Catholic Trade Unions.

Janssen, D.E., trade union bureaucrat.

CANADA

Bell, R., trade union bureaucrat.

EIRE

Murphy, D., trade union bureaucrat.

FRANCE

Barre, R., Prime Minister.

Crepeau, M., member of the Left Radicals.

Rothschild, E. de, financier.

WEST GERMANY

Loderer, E., trade union bureaucrat. President of German Metal Workers Union.

ITALY

Agnelli, G., industrialist, President of Fiat.

Carli, G., financier.

HOLLAND

Kloos, A., trade union bureaucrat.

UNITED KINGDOM

Baring, G.R.S., (Earl of Cromer), financier, director Shell, P&O, Imperial, ex-Governor of Bank of England.

Fisher, M.H., Editor of *Financial Times*.

Geddes, Sir Reay, chairman of Dunlop, director of Shell, Rank, Midland Bank, Pirelli.

Grierson, R.H., industrialist. Director GEC.

Hayhoe, B.J., Tory MP.

Keith, Sir K., industrialist, chairman of Rolls Royce, director, *Times*.

Knight, Sir A., chairman, Courtaulds, director Pye, Rolls Royce.

Littman, M., lawyer/industrialist.

Luard, E., Labour MP for Oxford.

McFadzean, Sir F.S., chairman of British Airways, director of Shell, Beechams.

MacFarquhar, R., Labour MP.

Maudling, R., Shadow Foreign Secretary.

O'Neill, Sir C., diplomat. Director Unigate.

Ormsby Gore, (Lord Harlech), Tory politician, chairman, Harlech TV.

Ramsbotham, Sir P., diplomat, Governor of Bermuda.

Ridsdale, J., Tory MP.

Roll, Sir E., civil servant, director Bank of England.

Roper J., Labour MP. Economist. Shackleton, Lord, Deputy Chairman, RTZ.

Shonfield, Andrew, journalist.

Tuke, A.F., financier, Chairman of Barclays Bank.

Williams, A.L., Labour MP.

Younger, Sir K., Labour politician and lawyer.

USA

Abel, I.W., trade union bureaucrat, ex-President US Steelworkers Union.

Austin, J.P., chairman, Coca Cola. Numerous directorships.

Ball, G.W., Legal advisor to government departments.

Blumenthal, W.M., Secretary of the US Treasury.

Brezzezinski, Z., academic, advisor to government departments.

Carter, J.E., US President and peanut farmer.

Chalkin, S., trade union bureaucrat, President of International Ladies Garment Workers Union.

Donovan, H., Editor in Chief, Time Inc.

Kaiser, L., union bureaucrat, secretary-treasurer of AFL-CIO.

Kissinger, H., politician, chairman Chase Manhattan Bank.

Mondale, W., Vice President of USA.

Owen, H.D., academic.

Reischauer, E.O., academic.

Rockefeller, D., financier.

Rockefeller, J.D.N., Governor of W. Virginia.

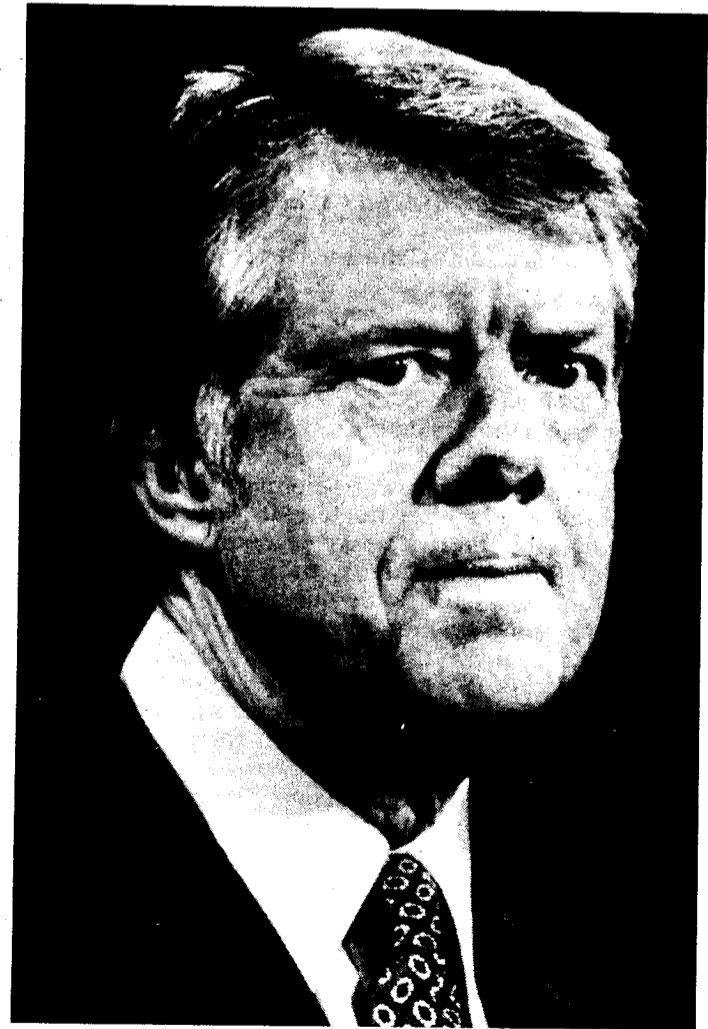
Scranton, W.W., lawyer/politician.

Vance, C.R., US Secretary of State. Numerous directorships.

Ward, M.J., trade union bureaucrat.

Woodcock, L., President of United Auto Workers, trade union bureaucrat.

Young, A., permanent representative to UN.



Carter—desperately unpopular

industrial and economic strength between the 'leading imperialist power and the most advanced workers' state.

As a result of this the attempt to provoke conflict among the workers' states (most notably the USSR and China) has become another of the main axes of the imperialist policy cooked up by the T.C. members and their friends in the Carter administration.

The growth of the Trilateral Commission reflects the crisis of imperialism and in particular the loss of confidence by leading capitalists in their own political leadership.

That was why the T.C. attempted to create Carter as an "ideal" leader.

They must be finding that it is more difficult than they had hoped to fight the objective consequences for the crisis.

Last week, after numerous political failures, the T.C.'s political "creation" was, according to American public opinion polls, less popular than any previous American president at the same stage in his term of office. It will take more than the T.C. has done, it seems, to restore the 'loss of respect for authority' which has been the



Socialist programme rallies support

Socialist Press, in its coverage of the recent council elections focussed attention on two Labour candidates in Newham who stood on a principled programme of

opposition to the Lib-Lab coalition, for the removal of right wing traitors in the Labour Party and for socialist policies to defend the working class against the

capitalist crisis.

Right-wingers in the party would no doubt have liked to witch-hunt those who refused to trot out the same dreary old reformist lies to the working class.

However, the energetic campaign for a socialist programme produced results that stood in sharp contrast to the declining fortunes of the Labour Party in London.

50% increase

The response of workers and immigrants came out in a more than 50% increase in the Labour vote from the previous elections—a rise from around 800 to 1300!

The Ratepayers party found its leader and deputy leader kicked out of their seats—held by the Ratepayers



Triumphant—John Plant

for the last 12 years.

The basis has been laid for a principled opposition to the Council to denounce capitulations and betrayal and to launch the fight for socialist programme.

'ITS PERMANENT' SAYS CALLAGHAN ON WAGE CONTROLS



PHOTO: Andrew Ward, Report

As if making a last-ditch bid to boost the Tory vote and Labour abstentions, Prime Minister Callaghan chose May Day to issue another clear declaration that the Lib-Lab Government is firmly dedicated to permanent wage controls.

It is impossible for the government to stand aside from pay policy, said Callaghan.

Subservience

The government itself employs a large element of the national workforce, which interlocks at many points with the private sector.

And of course, Callaghan's complete subservience to the 'national interests' of British capitalism means that the working class must be forced into continuing state regulation of wages.

But the feelings within the labour movement on this issue

were indicated by the response of the normally docile conference of USDAW, the 450,000-strong shop workers' union.

Despite warnings from USDAW leader Lord Allen on the "dangers" of a wages 'free for all' delegates unanimously carried a resolution calling for an end to wage restraint—though the target they set themselves was a pathetically low minimum of £55 for a 35-hour week.

The bitter experience of three years of bureaucratically imposed pay limits shows that rank and file hostility to wage control, and willingness to wage militant struggles are insufficient in themselves to defend living standards.

Leadership

It is essential that the struggles on wages within the trade union movement are coupled with the fight to construct a political

leadership capable of exposing and defeating the official union bureaucracy, and spelling out the need for catching-up claims linked to cost-of-living clauses to compensate for inflation.

This battle within the unions must be combined with the fight inside the Labour Party to remove the Callaghan/Healey coalitionist leadership and all those who defend wage controls.

Fake lefts

Such a fight will be obstructed at each turn by the fake 'lefts' of the *Tribune* group who verbally pose as opponents of Callaghan, but have in practice supported each round of wage control, the Lib-Lab Coalition deal, and the whole package of reactionary policies that have flowed from it.

By demanding that these 'lefts' put their militant words into practice and carry out a fight against Callaghan/Healey we highlight their impotence and the necessity for Labour Party militants to break from these 'leaders'.

Import controls endanger fight

Coventry's 'left' labour MP Audrey Wise joined a picket outside an exhibition of imported machine tools two weeks ago.

The exhibition was being held at T.I. Polmach a firm established eighteen months ago by Tube Investments and Metal exports, the Polish machine tool agency.

Despite the fact that last year T.I. Polmach imported £2.6m worth of machine tools while exporting £4.5m worth, the picket was organised to show fears of British industry being "swamped" by foreign imports.

As redundancies in the British machine tool industry increase (90 were announced last week at the Matrix machine tool firm—also part of the T.I. group) the struggle to defend jobs must not be channelled into appeals for import controls.

Ron Doughty Secretary of the Coventry Machine Tool Workers Committee—which was formed a few months ago to protest at the threat

to the British Tool industry was quoted in the Coventry Evening Telegraph as saying:

"We must become more competitive and spend more on research. We have the basis, all we ask is to be given the opportunity instead of seeing our jobs being swallowed up by foreign firms."

The solution to job cuts is not import controls which tie machine tool workers to the fortunes of British industry in a way graphically illustrated by Doughty's comments.

Workers threatened with the sack must fight for wages, sharing on full pay and the opening of the company books as a first step in the fight for a nationalised machine tool industry within the framework of a planned socialist economy.

Labour Party members must step up the fight against the nationalist policy of import controls which is peddled by *Tribune* Group members like Wise, and which has now become a part of government economic policy.

PRESS GANG PLUM DUFFY

Rarely in the history of the trade union movement, can the election of a trade union leader have been received with more acclaim by the press, than the election of Terry Duffy as President of the AUEW.

His stock among editors, industrial correspondents and, no doubt, newspaper proprietors was as high as if they personally had had a hand in electing him (which of course they had).

The word 'moderate' cropped up a lot to describe this extreme right winger and avowed anti-communist. Most of the industrial correspondents linked him to that other 'moderate', EETPU leader Frank Chapple, and also linked his election to the speeches heralding the first attempts to impose Phase IV.

The *Guardian* had led its front page the previous week about allegations that ballot papers had not been given out in several militant areas. Now it described the election as "a famous victory", not only for Duffy but also for the postal ballot.

It explained that the benefits of such a ballot was that members voted "in the privacy of their own homes"

(where of course they can shut the door behind them away from the terrible influence of discussion at work and settle down to the dispassionate analysis of TV, radio and newspapers).

The *Daily Mail* wanted so badly to tell their readers all about the election that they made it their main story relegating the butler who strangled his Labour MP employer to an inside page.

Robert Porter (industrial correspondent) began:

"A new and refreshing voice entered the highest councils of the British trade union movement yesterday . . ."

"Mr Duffy, 56 today, routed left-winger Bob Wright, although Mr. Wright had the support of Mr Scanlon and the left—ranging from Maoists to Tribunites—who organised a massive anti-Duffy campaign".

Mr. Porter, who helped in no small way to organise a massive pro-Duffy campaign, did not say what policies Wright had put forward to deserve the tag 'left winger' or what attractive alternative there was for the 82% odd AUEW members who did not vote for Duffy. Instead it gushed:

"The result was a victory for the postal ballot, as an extension of union

democracy over the old system of shop floor meetings which allowed extremists to cling to power . . ."

"Mr. Duffy, golfer, grandfather, Roman Catholic and former Desert Rat, made it clear immediately that the Engineers, Britain's second biggest union, will be at the forefront of a crusade to bring the whole trade union movement into line with Britain's needs in the 1970s and 1980s".

And in case any reader did not grasp that Britain's needs should be translated as 'capitalism's' needs the *Mail* spelled out that this included fewer strikes, continuity of production and cooperation with a Tory government.

Duffy showed what he meant the day after these eulogies appeared by sabotaging a call for £100 a week at the AUEW conference.

The former Desert Rat was already beginning to repay his friends in Fleet Street in the manner to which they have already become accustomed.

As Duffy himself said:

"I do not see any major changes between my approach and that which is now being pursued by Mr. Scanlon. I would have great difficulty in differing from his current approach".

COUNCIL ELECTIONS

Due to the difficulty in obtaining adequate information about the council election results in time for this issue we have put off an analysis of the local election results until next week.

BOOKS

By Leon Trotsky

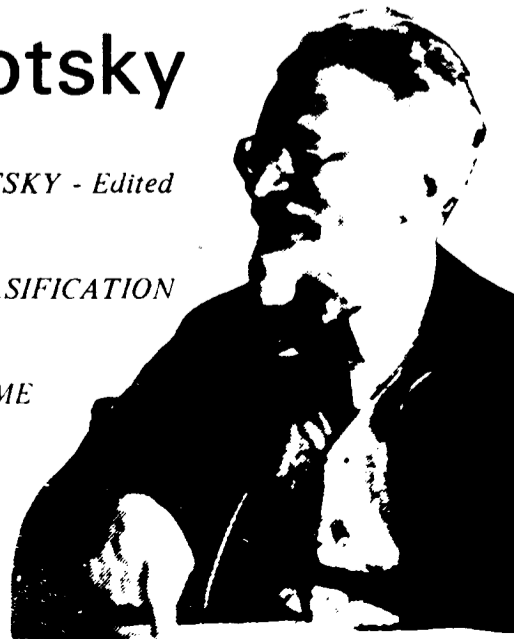
THE BASIC WRITINGS OF TROTSKY - Edited by Irving Howe. £3.95 plus 30p p&p

THE STALIN SCHOOL OF FALSIFICATION New Park Edition £1.50 plus 30p p&p

THE TRANSITIONAL PROGRAMME With a glossary 30p plus 10p p&p.

ON THE TRADE UNIONS Pathfinder, 90p plus 10p p&p.

Available from WSL, 31, Dartmouth Park Hill, London NW5 1HR.



THE ENGLISH REVOLUTION

The violent events that paved the way for

'parliamentary traditions'

PART ONE by Mark Hyde

The revolutionary movement studies history to absorb its lessons. Preparation for current tasks involves learning from past traditions—something which is never taught in the schools and universities of the ruling class.

For every class interprets historical events to suit its purpose, and this is clearer than in the case of the English Revolution of the Seventeenth Century.

But for the upheavals that took place between 1640 and 1660, British capitalism, as we know it today, would not have developed.

Its foundations were laid during that period of revolution, war and turmoil. The axe which beheaded King Charles struck a blow for the establishment of a new social order.

Dangerous

The British ruling class, with its professional lackeys in the universities, does not like to admit this.

To acknowledge that the present system did not always exist, and was born of revolution, poses too many dangerous questions. Thus the English Revolution's significance is played down in 'official' histories. It is simply called the 'civil war'.

The title 'Interregnum' (between Kings) is used to brush aside the revolutionary republican dictatorship of Cromwell.

'Real' history begins again when the Kings return.

A common impression left by Cromwell's Roundheads is of religious maniacs, harassing a once carefree and happy people with their and Biblical tirades.

Fun-loving

The return of fun-loving Charles II, mistress Nell Gwynne and all, then becomes a matter of deliverance.

A host of books and films have served to boost such views. The portrayal of the revolution as the defence of things wholesome and happy occurred again recently in the television serialisation of the 'classic' "Children of New Forest".

Marxists must demolish

the myths, starting from the firm ground that the history of society is the history of class struggle, leading to revolutionary explosions.

Over the years sundry university scribblers have devoted much energy to 'disproving' that the basis of the English Revolution was class struggle.

Religious feud?

Reference to the 'Puritan Revolution' has been used to pass the whole thing off as some kind of big religious feud.

Play has been made of the fact that members of the same classes fought on different sides—as if Marxism denied that individuals could cross class lines!

Attempts have even been made to blur the class questions under labels like 'town versus country'.

It has always been left to Marxism to draw out the revolutionary lessons of the Seventeenth Century.

In a chapter of *Where is Britain Going?*, written in

1925, Trotsky outlined the "great precedents for revolutionary action" to be discovered in the English Revolution.

Trotsky saw a study of this period as vital to theoretical training of revolutionary working class leadership in Britain.

Against the reformist and pacifist notions of 'gradual progress' and 'evolution' Trotsky used 1640 to show that history moved through crises, class war and revolutionary leaps.

It is that which remains central today.

The Rising Bourgeoisie.

For at least a century before 1640, a steady, overall transformation of British society was under way.

Rapid progress in trade, industry and farming saw the rise of an ambitious and enterprising middle class—the young bourgeoisie.

The merchants of the City of London handled nearly all the nation's trade. In doing so, they accumulated vast sums of capital which they were eager to invest in

expanding industries, and in the mining of vital coal and metal ores—iron, tin and copper.

Cannon-founding, sugar refining and other successful enterprises needed City capital in order to 'take off' and expand.

Wool industry

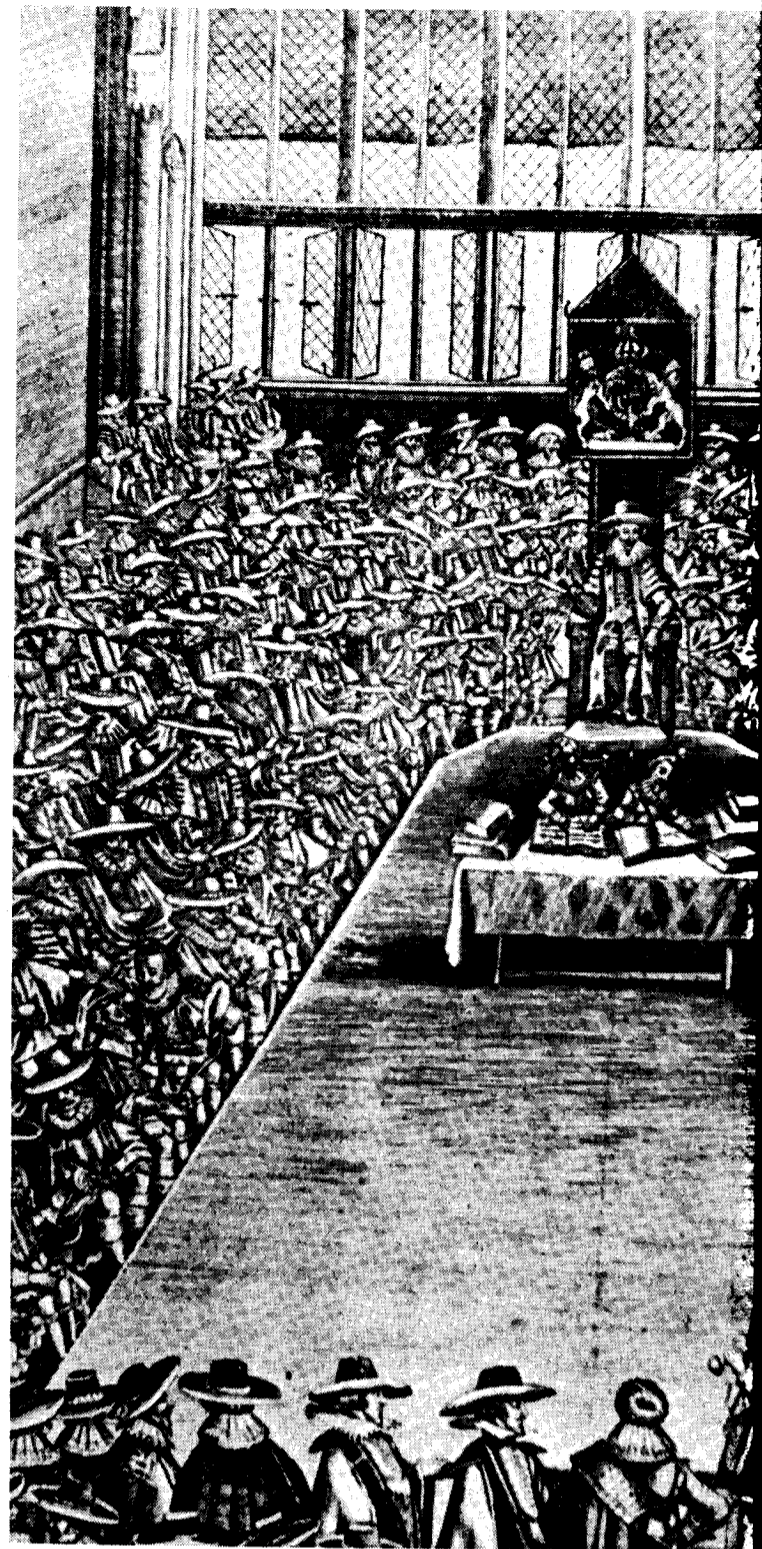
At the same time, large merchants were also taking control of England's old staple industry—wool.

Under the 'putting-out' system, thousands of small producers were supplied with quantities of raw wool, and then had their finished product collected to be sold in large bulk on the market.

In agriculture, heavy inflation had hit small farmers, but offered excellent prospects to those with the wealth and initiative to farm on a large scale and sell their produce at a price.

Over the decades the amount of cultivated farm land increased as enterprising gentry took their opportunities.

Even protected royal



The House of Commons

forests, traditionally preserved for hunting, were cleared for agricultural purposes.

As trading with new markets and colonies abroad increased, the rising bourgeoisie (in fierce competition with its Dutch rivals) concentrated an ever larger share of the country's wealth in its hands.

Progressive

Without a doubt this class represented the most vital and energetic force in England. Social and economic progress depended upon it.

Yet like every progressive class, the young bourgeoisie found itself in conflict with the old monarchic regime; a regime which had, like capitalism today, outlived its usefulness and become a barrier to the development of the productive forces.

This conflict was the material basis of the coming revolution.

The English monarchy, (from 1603 controlled by the Stuart family), did not wield political power for the purpose of ensuring economic progress.

Both James I and his son Charles I who took over in 1625, were basically indifferent to this, or even hostile.

The Stuarts' main aim was to uphold the existing system.

Parasitic

In particular, this meant looking after the interests of the parasitic nobles at court, and the traditional land-owning aristocracy, whose main interest was the steady collection of rents and various feudal dues, not economic advance.

Thus, while a few industries—such as gunpowder necessary for military adventures—were given state

encouragement, capitalism as a whole was held back.

Capitalism meant rapid change; it meant new, previously lowly merchants becoming rich and powerful; it meant unemployment, population movement and social disturbance.

The monarchy, the court nobles, the aristocrats and all the most conservative forces in England feared capitalism.

Its uncertainty threatened their stability and privileges. Measures were taken to stunt its growth and defend the old order.

To some extent the poorer classes actually benefitted from these since they were protected from unhindered capitalist exploitation.

The appetites and ambitions of the young bourgeoisie were held in check.

Minimum wages

Thus, we find that in the Seventeenth Century, there was state regulation of working conditions and wage levels were fixed at minimum rates.

Profiteers were outdone by magistrates who bought up corn stocks, and sold it cheap to the poor in times of scarcity—a useful means of preventing food riots and disorders.

For similar reasons employers were often forced to keep on workers for whom there was no work.

The Stuart regime was of course not a charity, it did not love the poor and oppressed, but it sought to avoid disruption at all costs. Profit making and the free flow of capital was restricted at all levels.

In many industries, guilds (organisations of small masters) imposed strict rules governing the output and quality of goods.

The most successful businesses generally grew up in areas where there were no



The three unacceptable faces of Charles I by Van Dyck

Chronology

1603 James VI of Scotland becomes James I of England.
 1604 Faced with Puritan opponents, James I warns he will 'harry them out of the land'.
 1605 Gunpowder Plot by Catholics against James I.
 1610 Bate's Case.
 1622 James I dissolves the fourth Parliament of his reign without obtaining supplies.
 1625 James I dies. Charles I becomes King.
 1626 Parliament refuses to vote supplies to the new King.
 1628 Petition of Right presented. Buckingham, King's favourite, assassinated—widespread popular celebrations.
 1629 Charles I dissolves Parliament.
 1635 Ship Money extended to inland towns.
 1637 Hampden's Case. William Prynne and other Puritan oppositionists are gaoled for life and lose their ears for attacking Laud's Church. Charles I and Archbishop Laud attempt introduction of Anglican religion in Scotland.



Archbishop Laud

aware of the anger and resentment deep within the masses.

Joblessness, high taxes and famine were the hazards facing the poor, and misery was the result despite all government 'regulation'.

Harsh penalties were meted out to all who threatened the established order. Yet revolt was never far away.

In both town and country clashes with the feudal authorities took place throughout the Seventeenth Century.

Riots

1607, for instance, saw riots in Warwickshire and Northamptonshire. In 1622 the wealthy folk of Gloucestershire lived in fear of mobs who attacked their houses.

The South West of England saw numerous violent outbreaks at the end of the 1620s.

In London, the growing criminal underworld only added fuel to conservative dread of murderous rebellion.

The landed gentry, who alone were legally allowed to bear arms, kept vigilant watch for all signs of political opposition among the down-trodden poor.

Repression, when it came, was often viciously barbaric. But the English masses of the 1600s were nothing like the modern working class.

Split up into day labourers, vagabonds, criminals, petty tradesmen, varying types of peasant and small farmer, they lacked the cohesion, discipline, solidarity and culture of the industrial proletariat of later years.

Commons

Revolutionary hope still lay with the enterprising and propertied bourgeoisie.

For a whole period, the centre point of opposition therefore lay in the House of Commons.

For us today, it is difficult to imagine the wretched twaddling shop of Westminster at any time playing a revolutionary role.

Yet in the Seventeenth Century the propertied classes represented there sounded their resentment whenever possible.

While those entitled to vote in elections varied from area to area, the lower classes were generally excluded.

The wealthy merchants and country gentlemen who sat in the Commons both despised and feared the great masses of Englishmen far more than they opposed the Stuart regime.

From 1603 onwards, when James I came to the throne, the bourgeois in the House of Commons did not look immediately to revolutionary

methods—they wanted nothing less than to stir up the population.

They stood prepared to support the government in flogging and torturing rebellious common folk.

The young bourgeoisie hoped to win reforms through the power in its purse.

The Stuart Kings tottered from one financial crisis to the next.

The predecessor of James I, Elizabeth, had left him substantial debts to pay off, and faced with heavy family and military responsibilities, he had to take serious measures to raise hard cash.

Even royal lands and forests were sold off so that the monarch could live and act in regal style.

Under these conditions the House of Commons was increasingly confident in its own economic strength.

Dependent

The Commons voted taxes to the state, and James was more dependent upon these than any previous monarch.

As royal spending increased, Parliament felt that it could go beyond its traditional role of timidly offering humble advice to the omnipotent monarch.

It is this that provides the background to the House of Commons' absolute hostility to any attempts by the state to raise money without its consent.

While the monarch could do this he was free from control. The fight against taxation without representation is a general feature of the bourgeois revolution, and as such gave rise to several major battles in Seventeenth Century England.

As early as 1605, a gentleman by the name of Bate refused to pay an increased tax on currants.

His case became a test of the King's right to levy taxes without Parliamentary consent.

Bate lost—but the pressure generated by his case forced James to withdraw duties from some other commodities.

Dissolved

The issue was by no means settled. When Charles I came to the throne in 1625, the House of Commons had worked itself up for its boldest ever step.

It refused Charles the right to tannage and poundage. (This was the normal customs right of the King, granted to him for life).

Charles' reply was to dissolve the Parliament which had taken this revolutionary step. In many ways the political crisis which ultimate-

ly led to civil war began decisively at this point.

With Parliament determined, Charles embarked upon an openly dictatorial course.

Money was required especially for certain disastrous military adventures against the French.

Wealthy subjects, upon pain of imprisonment, were forced to 'loan' money to the government.

To save money, troops of soldiers were compulsorily

billeted on private houses at the owners' expense.

And in the uproar that followed such acts many southern and western counties were placed under martial law (taking control out of the hands of the Justices of the Peace who were mostly favourable to Parliament).

These measures by no means cowed Parliament. When the third Parliament of Charles reign was finally convened in 1628 its mood was more intransigent than ever.

Petition

The Commons presented the King with the famous Petition of Right, with its demands for an end to forced loans, arbitrary taxation, imprisonment without trial, martial law and forced billeting.

The young bourgeoisie and its allies in the country gentry had made a bold attempt to politically assert itself.

King Charles, desperate for Parliamentary finance and hopeful of easing the charged atmosphere, accepted the Petition of Right.

But the problem could not be solved in this way. The consistent application of the demands and ideas of the Petition would have led to the complete subordination of the Court to the Commons—in a sense to the dictatorship of the young bourgeoisie through Parliament over the old landed ruling class and its monarchy.

No ruling class would so easily concede its right to rule.

Thus, Charles continued to raise tannage and poundage unilaterally, claiming the term 'such like charge' in the

Petition did not apply to it. This 'breach of faith' was really the final straw.

The House of Commons erupted when, in 1629, the King attempted to dissolve it again—just as it was moving in support of merchants who refused to pay the 'unconstitutional' tannage and poundage.

Relations irrevocably collapsed as the Speaker (chairman) was forcibly held down in his chair so that proceedings could continue.

The radical resolutions passed that day did not prevent the dissolution, nor the arrest of important leaders like Sir John Eliot and Benjamin Valentine, but they signified something much greater—the Commons, even for a brief moment had asserted its right to proceed as an independent body, totally irrespective of the wishes of the King.

Charles I certainly learnt from this. He did not call another Parliament for eleven years.

Fund raising

But the problem of finance could not be dismissed as easily.

The methods used during the 'eleven years' tyranny were really of use to neither man nor beast—inadequate cash was raised and the conflict between the bourgeoisie and the state sharpened.

Fund raising schemes were at best absurd. (Titles were sold to all men with an income over £40 per annum: those who refused to buy were fined!)

At worst they were profoundly reactionary. Ancient royal forest rights were suddenly reasserted with a vengeance, and fines imposed upon all who had cleared such land to expand farming. Enclosers of land were also fined.

The most celebrated example of bourgeois resistance was over ship money.

Ship money

This tax, originally levied on ports, was extended to all towns.

John Hampden (a cousin of Oliver Cromwell) refused to pay. He was not a poor man, nor did he object to the need for ships to defend the Kingdom.

But, as with his refusal to pay a forced loan ten years earlier (1627) Hampden stood out on principle against arbitrary taxation.

The government only managed to convict Hampden by a majority of seven judges to five.

A year later, refusal to pay ship money was almost a fashion. It was 1638; the pre-revolutionary drama was drawing to a close.

Continued next week.



guilds to slow down production and compulsory long apprenticeships—often seven years—to hinder mobility of labour.

Monopolies

On the whole, industry was stifled. Professional informers even made a living by reporting on capitalists who broke one of the endless petty regulations.

But from the bourgeois viewpoint, the most loathsome evil was the system of monopolies.

Healthy capitalist competition in a whole range of products—from pens to pepper, starch to spectacles, buttons to bottles—was ruled out by those (usually courtiers with influence and bribe money) who had been able to buy, from the Crown, control of a particular branch of industry.

The sale of monopolies had countless ill-effects, damaging trade and causing artificially high prices as monopolists chased quick profits.

Seeds of Revolution

It is small wonder that by the 1630s the contradictions of the system had plunged England into a sharp economic crisis which, though different in many features from capitalist crisis today, held in common its vicious effects on the lives and conditions of the poor, as well as leading to stagnation in industry.

While the Stuart regime continued to anger the bourgeoisie by intervening in matters of trade and industry, the class of wage labourers had nothing over which to make merry.

Price rises

For year after year price rises in basic commodities had driven down real wages and the state was too well



John Hampden



London in 1617 - the system had cramped commercial development

IN REVIEW

FLASHBACK TO TROTSKY

'STAVISKY' directed by Alain Resnais, reviewed by Tony Richardson.

In a film whose repeated and baffling "flashback" sequences made the story virtually unintelligible, the most successful device employed in *Stavisky* was the use of parallel themes which finally converged in the final scenes.

One theme was the career of the film's subject, crook-speculator Stavisky, played brilliantly by Jean-Paul

Belmondo.

He epitomises finance capital which starts from nothing and builds extravagant structures on the quicksand of credit.

Stavisky, massively in debt is seen continuing to gamble huge sums in order to preserve the outward appearance of prosperity and maintain his credit.

His only 'work' consists of crooked bank deals and the use of his Swiss bank account to assist fascist arms shipments to Spain.

But Stavisky's position is covered up by the fact that on the payroll of his 'slush fund' are top French ministers, police chiefs and others. The information on his illicit payments becomes, in the unsteady atmosphere of mid-1930s France, a political weapon in itself.

When Stavisky is finally exposed the scandal topples the government, making way for a more right wing regime.

Stavisky, now in hiding, threatens to reveal his whole file of "slush fund"

payments. But before he can do so he mysteriously commits "suicide". The film places a huge question mark over this death.

The parallel theme concerns Leon Trotsky, exiled in France. There are glimpses of him arriving, travelling to his residence—even shaving. Finally the film makes the point that Trotsky was deported by the right-wing regime that was ushered in by the Stavisky scandal.

These flashes haunt the film, beautifully countering

the corruption of capitalism, and exposing the speculation with workers' lives, the massive fortunes spent in gambling and purchasing the attentions of women.

Trotsky remains surrounded by high walls, and is finally deported for the 'crime' of talking to other exiled revolutionaries.

We would like to think that director Alain Resnais saw Trotsky as a force in this period and not simply as the ghost of the "co-worker of Lenin, founder of the

Red Army", reduced to the level of impotence portrayed in the film.

But it is clear from the film's avoidance of any of the events then taking place in the class struggle in France that Resnais in no way saw him as a threat to the rotten capitalist regime.

However the more serious approach to history in films does mark a progressive step. Readers are advised to take the chance to see its next showing.



Trotsky

OUR POLICIES

FOR GAY RIGHTS

As the economic crisis of imperialism continues its anarchic and destructive course, it generates a profound and deepening crisis at every level of bourgeois society.

In its struggle for survival, the capitalist ruling class is driven to attempt sharpening attacks on the international proletariat and its organisations.

'Austerity measures' and wage control are the commonplace policies of social democratic and bourgeois governments alike.

Alongside their economic significance, these measures are aimed at weakening the strength of a working class that for thirty years has sustained few major defeats while achieving many major victories.

Tensions

At the same time, the bourgeoisie seeks to divide the working class by exploiting and creating anew the racial, national and sexual tensions which emerge from economic deprivation and political frustration.

In promoting such internal rivalries, the ruling class also works to consolidate the power of the bourgeois state apparatus by increasing centralised legislation and attacking democratic rights.

All these moves are unified at the level of ideology by a renewed emphasis on the themes of 'national interest', 'a woman's place is in the home', 'law and order', with all the other dangerous cant of bourgeois reaction.

This combined counter-offensive is directed against all workers as an organised class. But inevitably its first victims are the traditionally least organised and weakest

sections—in particular women and racial minorities.

Gays too now face a new wave of repression and persecution internationally.

'Decency'

Under the banner of 'decency', religious bigots in Britain and the USA have gone on the rampage against homosexuality.

In Canada and France, the freedom of gays to organise has been denied by the police violence of the bourgeois state.

These outbursts undoubtedly form the prelude to a savage concerted campaign which will aim to isolate and annihilate the gay movement.

Capitalism has never conceded more than token legalisation of homosexual behaviour. Nor could it ever do so, as the situation in Britain clearly illustrates.

In 1967, the partners in today's anti-working class coalition government passed the Sexual Offences Act, which legalised homosexual behaviour in private for males over 21 (as in most countries the British state has never introduced specific legislation discriminating against lesbians).

Since this 'liberal' measure has been in force, prosecutions of gays have actually increased, with police raids and round-ups in some regions.

Thugs

'Queer-bashing' remains a favourite pursuit of reactionary thugs, while the fascists combine violent assaults on individual gays with attempts to wreck the organisations of the gay movement.

Beyond the everyday experience of social repression, gays come up against

hostile discrimination as soon as they seek employment, housing or custody of children.

This situation is perpetuated by the bourgeoisie through the education system and the media.

We do not share any utopian illusions that sexual liberation will triumph within capitalism.

Such freedom and equality cannot be gained until the material bases of oppression and alienation have first been destroyed.

Productive forces

When the dictatorship of the proletariat has replaced the family and built the socialist planned economy which can develop the international productive forces to that stage where universal want can be abolished—only then will full human liberty be possible.

But while we recognise that the distortion of sexuality is inextricably bound up with the repressive character of class society, this does not in any way mean that the struggle against sexual oppression should be delayed until after the revolutionary seizure of state power by the working class.

Rather it determines the direction which that struggle must take if it is to be accomplished successfully.

The politics of the gay liberation movement which erupted in the late 1960s were overwhelmingly petty bourgeois.

But the experience of this time convinced many gays that only socialism could end sexual oppression and that it was therefore necessary to turn in some way to the working class as an ally.

Understandably repelled by the treacherous leaders of



New York demonstration demanding Gay Rights

the labour movement and unable to see the need to overthrow its bureaucratic sway, other layers rejected this perspective and turned aside into 'community politics', gay separatism and other blind alleys where they will find no solution, but only clubbings in the dark.

It is only by confronting the historic crisis of leadership within the working class that gays can seriously advance the fight for their liberation.

At every step they will meet with attempts at sabotage, disguised betrayals and open attacks from the labour leaders who have never lifted a finger to fight sexual oppression.

Standard treatment

This is the standard treatment dealt out to all workers who challenge the bureaucracy's pact with capitalism.

In sharp contrast, the Workers Socialist League fights for the defence of all gays victimised for their sexuality by private capital or by the state and its agents. As revolutionary socialists, we fully defend the right of all people to express their sexuality freely, where this does not involve coercion of others.

But in fighting for this basic democratic right, we totally reject any position of free speech for 'fascist gays', groupings of which have emerged in the United States.

Of itself, homosexuality is not in some mythical way 'progressive', any more than it is 'degenerate'.

Whatever their sexuality, fascists are committed enemies of the whole working class and of course, as historical experience has shown, to all gays.

They must be denied any platform for their filth, and any attempt they make to participate in joint action with other gays must be violently rejected.

At the same time we give absolutely no support to moves by the bourgeois state, or by any other force to attack these fascists on the grounds of their sexual behaviour.

Any such manoeuvres must be transformed into action aimed at destroying these scum because of what they represent politically.

In response to physical attacks by fascists and other reactionary elements, gays in certain areas have already made efforts to organise self-defence, as have immigrants and feminists when confronted by similar assaults.

But fascism uses these methods to pave the way for a more direct battle with the whole working class—the only force which can crush this threat to humanity.

It is therefore vital that such preparations be unified under the political leadership of the proletariat in the form of workers defence squads.

Wherever the threat of fascist activity arises, such squads must be built through trade union branches, trades councils and local Labour Party organisations.

By patrolling the streets

and protecting potential victims, workers defence squads can present a united front against fascism and shatter its political credibility which depends heavily on an ability to control the streets and institute organised anarchy there.

It is through participating in such joint actions that all workers can experience in a living way their common political interests, beyond the sexual and racial divisions fostered by the bourgeoisie for its own ends.

The fight to end sexual oppression cannot be divorced from the struggle to overthrow capitalism, while the war for socialist revolution cannot be waged without a campaign to destroy the bondage of women and the repression of gays.

As part of our fight for the Transitional Programme for socialist revolution, the Workers Socialist League supports the democratic demands of all oppressed groups.

We call for the abolition of all legislation which oppresses or discriminates against homosexuals and homosexual behaviour.

The epoch of imperialist decay offers only two perspectives—that of barbarism and that of socialism.

Gay people are presented with a stark alternative—the concentration camps of fascism, or the fight to win the leadership of the working class in the struggle for world revolution.

WRP FINGERMEN HIDE BEHIND NEW SMOKESCREEN



WRP top fingerman, Healy

"It is a law of political cliques that their frenzy increases in direct proportion to their disintegration".

So begins a major attack on the Workers Socialist League published on April 25 in *Newsline*, paper of the Workers Revolutionary Party (WRP).

The irony is, of course, that the words are far more apt for the WRP itself than as a description of our movement.

WRP leaders, plainly worried at the number of WRP members and supporters in several areas that have been drawn into discussions with the Workers Socialist League, and at their own inability to answer the political criticisms we have made of their positions, have decided to try yet again to whip their membership into a frenzy of hostility based on outright lies and slander against the WSL.

Hoary old lie

The content of the *Newsline* article which purports to answer our leaflet distributed outside the WRP's Lambeth eve-of-poll meeting, centres on two main themes—one old, one new.

The article begins by retailing the hoary and discredited old lie that in breaking from the sectarian method of the WRP leadership and fighting for a return to the method of the Transitional Programme, Alan Thornett and the founders of the Workers Socialist League sought a "cover for their own adaptation to the Labour and trade union bureaucracy".

This laughable claim, which has never at any point been substantiated either from the published material of the Workers Socialist League or from our continued practical struggle against the reformist and Stalinist bureaucracy during the three and half

years as an organisation, is even more absurd in the light of the points that were made in the WSL leaflet.

Refusal to fight

Spelling out the complete refusal of the WRP to carry out a serious fight within the labour movement for the policies and the method of the Transitional Programme, our leaflet contrasted their position to the principled record of the WSL.

We highlighted the fact that: "Our record of struggle in British Leyland's Cowley Assembly Plant, and the support gained for our policies, have incurred the wrath of the TGWU bureaucracy, which has launched a McCarthyite witch-hunt designed to remove the newly-elected leadership in the factory.

Deputy convenor Alan Thornett is threatened with expulsion from the union, Frank Corti and Tom White are threatened with a life ban on union office, and six others, including Bob Fryer, also face the disciplinary action of the TGWU kangaroo court".

Why should such drastic measures be taken by the bureaucracy to silence us if we are really guilty of "adaptation to the Labour and trade union bureaucracy"? The WRP is tactfully silent on this.

No answer attempted

Nor do they attempt to answer the question raised in the leaflet:

"What has the WRP done to fight these victimisations? What perspective has the WRP to resist the attack?"

The answer is that nothing has been done bar the occasional word in *Newsline*.

A conference was held sponsored by 130 leading TGWU

By John Lister

members—convenors, stewards, branch officials—which resolved to fight back.

Yet the *Newsline* only attacked this campaign and gave credibility to the TGWU bureaucrats. A two-page article implied—without a shred of evidence—that the nine victimised men included provocateurs whose 'grotesque adventures' opened the door to attacks.

This came at a time when the TGWU bureaucracy was completely unable to scrape together a case.

In other words the WRP was reduced to the role of fingerman for the bureaucracy."

In reply to these grave charges—based on the actual practice and published material issued by the WRP—*Newsline* had absolutely nothing to say!

Opposed to campaign

The WRP remains scandalously opposed to the very successful Cowley 9 defence campaign—which has had an impact deep into the union. And WRP leaders have refused to retract their slanderous statement on the issue.

Such a position must be a severe embarrassment to a movement claiming to be 'Trotskyist'.

The WRP seeks a way out, attempting to conceal its own, actual, capitulation to the TGWU bureaucracy by accusing the WSL of a (completely imaginary) sympathy for the Callaghan Government!

"Reading Thornett you would think that Trotsky was in favour of treacherous social democratic governments like the one headed by James Callaghan".

We publicly challenge *Newsline* to produce one instance where they claim WSL publications have declared in favour of a treacherous social democratic government.

But more to the point, we



Palestinian liberation fighters

challenge them to point to even one single instance where a WRP member has led any serious fight for any of the demands of the Transitional Programme within the trade union or Labour movement.

Programme of action

We have always insisted, against the wild rhetoric of the WRP, that it is not enough simply to denounce social democracy, Stalinism and bourgeois nationalism: it is essential to fight for a programme of action through which workers can learn in practice the treachery and inadequacy of their existing leaders, and thus recognise the need for the construction of a Trotskyist Party.

In our leaflet we pointed out that in Corin Redgrave's two-page message to voters in Lambeth there was not one demand that could be taken up and fought for in practice in the workers' movement.

Instead the WRP continues with its abstract call to "nationalise all land, banks and industry without compensation under workers' control"—a demand which, as Trotsky points out, requires a general revolutionary upsurge to achieve.

Sooner than answer this well documented political challenge on the WRP attitude to the Trotskyist programme, the *Newsline* article moves hastily on to the second theme—that of the Palestinian liberation struggle.

Extravagant

Here they feel they are on home ground for the most extravagant slanders:

"The Workers Socialist League the imperialists and the Zionists are united in attacking the PLO's right to represent the Palestinian people..." claims *Newsline*.

And as if this were not enough the anonymous author proceeds to falsify the text of our leaflet:

"The Workers Socialist League leaflet even includes a veiled reference to the Fatah commando operation in Haifa-Tel Aviv on March 11, when it accuses the WRP of 'betraying Trotskyism' by giving 'uncritical support to the means used by the PLO'."

Did the WSL leaflet refer—in however 'veiled' a way—to the commando raid? No, not in the least! Rather we concentrated on the political line of the PLO leaders:

"Without a serious programme for the working class no amount of marches will bring the overthrow of capitalism.

Such a programme demands the building of Trotskyist leader-

the political independence of the working class in every struggle.

But here a look at the WRP's much-vaunted position on Palestine shows that it has abandoned this task.

The Workers Socialist League unconditionally supports the PLO fighters in their legitimate fight against Zionism and imperialism, including the Arab bourgeois leaders who collaborate with imperialism.

But it is a betrayal of Trotskyism to give uncritical support to the means used by the PLO or to the PLO leadership.

The PLO policy of calling upon bourgeois Arab leaders—including even Sadat—is the surest way not to defeat Zionism and its allies. Bourgeois and petty bourgeois nationalist leaders cannot lead the revolution to victory.

Nor can Trotskyists accept, as does the WRP, that the PLO is the sole representative of the Palestinian masses.

The WRP, in refusing to call for a Trotskyist party to lead these struggles in deceiving its Palestinian and Arab supporters into believing that there is a shortcut around this crucial fight.

It opens the door for future betrayals by the PLO leaders."

For Trotskyists, such a statement is self explanatory. But the WRP have nothing but contempt for the Trotskyist position on this issue. *Newsline* announces that:

"We are proud to take our stand alongside the PLO and its leadership and to denounce the enemies of the Palestinian Revolution."



WRP General Secretary Banda as apologists for imperialism and Zionism"

This PLO leadership, to which the WRP is clearly giving its explicit and uncritical political support, includes of course Yasser Arafat.

But far from being universally seen as a principled leader of the Palestinian struggle,

shrewd observers in the Tory press as the policeman assisting the United Nations forces in their task of quelling Palestinian resistance in Southern Lebanon.

The *Sunday Telegraph* of 27 April reported that Arafat had sent in troops from the Palestine Armed Struggle Command to arrest Abu Daoud and other Palestinian militants who have been carrying on the armed struggle against both Israeli and UN invaders.

Arafat's Command, the *Telegraph* continues "has developed into the military police force of the Palestinian guerrilla organisations".

This "military policeman" was featured in radio broadcasts on Friday calling on the Italian 'Red Brigades' to release Christian Democrat leader Aldo Moro—under conditions of the most extreme witch-hunting of the left by the Italian bourgeois state.

Arafat added his personal weight to this witch-hunting by branding the kidnapping as a "tragedy", and asking the guerrillas to free him "for the sake of democracy and Mr. Moro's family".

Quite clearly the "future betrayals" anticipated in the WSL leaflet are not all that far off.

The WRP must make its position plain. Does it believe that social revolution in the Middle East can be accomplished, without the construction of a Trotskyist Party, under the leadership of the PLO?

Does it even believe that the PLO has spontaneously become a Trotskyist party?

If so, then the WRP has clearly broken from Trotskyism and reverted to the crudest positions advocated by Pablo in the late 1950s.

If they do not believe this, then we can only view the WRP's sycophantic and completely uncritical support given to the PLO leaders as the most despicable opportunism, based not on the objective requirements of the Palestinian masses, but the subjective manoeuvres and requirements of the WRP leaders.

Further articles in *Socialist Press* will be needed to chart the continuing political degeneration of the WRP.

But it is clear that the current confusion within that party's ranks and the political bankruptcy of the leadership will mean that every attempt to challenge these positions will be met by the usual barrage of insults, distortions and inappropriate jibes.

It is to be hoped that serious WRP members will penetrate this smokescreen, and, recognising



Italian Red Brigades' attack on the Italian bourgeois state

Workers Socialist League



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

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

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

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

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

Name.....
 Address.....
 Trade Union/Occupation.....

Send to WSL, 31, Dartmouth Park Hill, London NW5 1HR

TROTSKYISM TODAY



OUT NOW

Trotskyism Today

ISSUE No. 2
Includes

Aspects of the History of the Fourth International
 British Trotskyism in World War II
 Marxism v. Socialist Feminism
 Stalinism in Bulgaria
 Price 50p plus 12p p&p from WSL, 31, Dartmouth Park Hill, London NW5 1HR

SOCIALIST PRESS

5 issues £1.10
 10 issues £2.20
 25 issues £5.50
 50 issues £10.00

I would like to receive .. issues. I enclose the sum of £ ..
 Name ..
 Address ..

Send to: Socialist Press, 31, Dartmouth Park Hill London NW5 1HR



INDUSTRIAL NEWS

Hotel workers go back bitter at union service

On Thursday 24 April, over 100 strikers went back to work at Claridge's.

They had been on strike for two weeks for the reinstatement of their shop steward, Richard Elvidge who was dismissed for his trade union activities.

They went back disheartened and bitter at the lack of support from trade union officials.

They are quoted as saying "Too many promises, too little action".

The maintenance men working in the hotel were all union members, probably EETPU, and they used to cross the official picket line daily.

No call came from their officials for this state of affairs to be stopped.

As always, the role of the police was made clear during this strike.

They limited the number of pickets to eleven for the three entrances.

This obviously made picketing very difficult, especially with the sort of people using the establishment. A mass picket was needed to put off the high bourgeoisie from using this hotel.

Police role

Another example of the role of the police was given by full time official Tilston:

"Then in the early hours of Wednesday morning, a tanker arrived with an oil delivery. The driver was non-union and the name of the company had been blacked out.

I tried to argue with the driver but the police arrived immediately.

They had a paddy wagon at the end of the street so they must have been expecting the tanker".

This is exactly the same tactic as the one used during the unionisation struggle against Trust Houses Forte at the Randolph Hotel in Oxford.

It raises the question of the involvement of the so-called National Association For Freedom.

The main factor in the loss of the strike is as always the lack of support from union officials.

Very important was the lack of lead given by Tilston to the strikers as he was never available and "very busy" attending meetings all over London.

The other very important point was lack of finance.

No strike pay

The union never gave the strikers any strike pay during the two weeks of the strike.

The union bureaucrats should have organised a levy on the 12,000 members in London to ensure that the strikers did not suffer any hardship.

Sympathy strike action in the Savoy Hotel group should have been organised straight away and then extended to

This is the only action which would have brought this employer in this situation to concede trade union recognition and reinstatement.

Confident

The strikers are now back at work without their shop steward who is going to an industrial tribunal and is confident of getting his job back. He obviously will never work at Claridge's again.

The final terms for going back to work are not clear at all.

The only thing that is clear is the fact that the scabs are being rewarded by the company for being "good workers".

John Beck, the deputy shop steward had this to say after going back to work:

"The union lost but we did not. We and the GMWU were fighting for different reasons.

"The union wanted recognition. We wanted better treatment.

"If we had stayed out a bit longer we would probably have got all we asked for but

we were demoralised at not getting the support from other unions that we were promised".

Fred Cooper, the National Industrial Officer of the GMWU believes that we will look back at 1977 and 1978 as the year of the unionisation of the catering industry.

We will look back at 1977 and 1978 and remember the role of the GMWU bureaucrats in betraying the strike for a £50 minimum wage at the Metropole and the strike for trade union recognition at Claridge's.

The union officials have shown once again that they are not capable of defending the basic rights of their members and that every time a section of workers enter a struggle it is as much against the union bureaucrats as the boss.

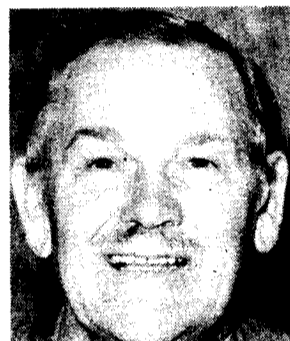
The only way we will ensure that these people fight for their members' interests would be if they were subject to election and recall by the membership and paid the average wage of the members they represent.

Duffy ballot—who can check?

Early reports of irregularities in the procedure for the second postal ballot for the presidency of the AUEW—in which extreme right winger Terry Duffy secured a shock victory over Broad Left nominee Bob Wright—have apparently been discounted.

But the fact remains that nobody predicted in advance that Duffy would win—and certainly not by a 47,000 vote margin on a staggeringly high 32.2% poll.

The double advantage for the right wing of a postal ballot consists in the fact that it not only gives the Tory



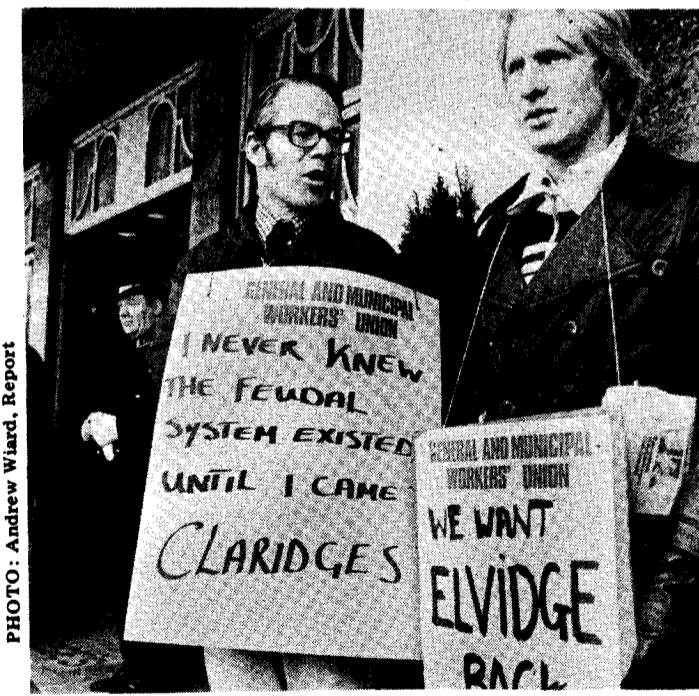
Duffy

press free reign to witch-hunt the left wing candidates and promote the bosses' favourites, but it is completely out of the hands of the membership. The result cannot be properly challenged.

Whatever actually happened in the counting of ballot papers there is no doubt that Duffy's victory was prepared as much by the bankruptcy of the Broad Left and of failed candidate Wright, as by the efforts of the right wing.

Wright was notorious as the man who has sold thousands of jobs in Chrysler and British Leyland, tirelessly advocated class collaborationist 'participation' schemes and stayed silent on the betrayal of the Desoutters strike, the Heathrow strike and the Leyland toolmakers' strike last year.

But the fact remains that these election results, coupled with the defeat of other Broad Left candidates in 24 out of 26 ballots, consolidates the right wing stranglehold on the AUEW and sharpen the problems faced by engineering workers' struggles in defence of jobs, wages or working conditions.



Claridge's pickets

Crack in drivers fight?

A serious crack has appeared in the hitherto very strong strike of the 300 Oxford car delivery drivers now entering their third week of dispute in defence of TGWU convenor and branch chairman Brian Preston.

A mass meeting last Friday rejected pleadings from TGWU District Secretary David Buckle for a return to work on the basis of an offer from the employer to reinstate Preston on basic pay pending a further inquiry by Cartransport Ltd.

and Brian Preston took his case to an Industrial Tribunal they would keep him on basic pay until the Tribunal was held.

Buckle, however, would not settle for the mass meeting to reject this.

Slight change

He used a slight change in the management position—an additional "guarantee" that Cartransport Ltd would accept the decision of the Tribunal should that decision recommend reinstatement—to call a meeting of shop stewards.

members and to recommend a return to work on the basis of the "new" offer.

As we go to press that meeting has not yet taken place. But it is crucial that Buckle's manoeuvre is rejected.

The 350 drivers have stood solid for the last two weeks despite all the pressure from the employers and from Buckle.

It would be a heavy blow to trade union organisation within the car delivery companies if through that weakness of leadership within the stewards, Buckle is able to achieve a return to work at

ASTMS Conference: socialist policies 'out of order'

It is once again trade union conference time—long weekends on union expenses for some—for others the fight for the policies and programme which will defend their members and their own jobs, pay and working conditions.

The ASTMS conference will burst forth—with 'left' rhetoric in abundance—this weekend in Brighton.

Agenda

But the final "programme of business" makes it clear that, regardless of the intentions of any of the delegates, it could well be classed as no more than a good weekend away.

All the motions that in anyway challenge, question or call for action from the National Executive have already been dismissed by the standing orders committee.

Rubber stamp

The only motions up for discussion on the final agenda rubber stamp NEC policy or else make no more than generalised meaningless, left statements which put no

demands on the ASTMS bureaucracy.

The only possible embarrassment to the NEC might be a motion calling for all racials to be thrown out of the union.

Import controls

Since a central plank of ASTMS 'left' policy has been the nationalist call for import controls which brazenly discriminates against foreign workers, the logical conclusion of such a resolution might be to expel virtually the whole union bureaucracy!

While fascists of the National Front stand opposed to the existence of trade unions and should certainly be driven out, the vague call for expulsion of racials is inadequate.

Socialist policies

Rather the fight must be directed into the pursuit of socialist policies designed to stamp out the material basis of racialism, which festers in conditions of falling living standards, crumbling social services and mass unemployment.

The struggle to break the anti-socialist Lib-Lab

coalition, to stop the savage cuts in health and social service spending and for a programme is crucial to defeat racialism.

And vital also is the fight to bring an end to the government's plans for permanent wage control.

The ASTMS conference will predictably again reject pay controls.

But if the TUC again accept them, there is no prospect that ASTMS or its officials will fight this year any more than in previous years to break government-imposed Phase 4 controls—regardless of demands from members.

Meanwhile as Clive Jenkins shouts about expelling Tories (who are not really being expelled—they are out of compliance and therefore lapsed) he is attempting to recruit Army officers!

The contradictions and contortions of union bureaucracies are many but every squirm highlights the need for a new, revolutionary leadership to actually tackle the problems of the working class in a principled way and not once again to wheel out the old cobweb-ridden left talk reserved for conferences and holiday speeches.



Inside the nursery prior to eviction

Force NUPE to press nursery fight

The fight to reopen South Oxford Nursery Class and to restore the 30 lost full-time places has been stepped up this week with campaign supporters calling on local Trades Council officers and NUPE officials to back up their "support" with action.

As reported in last week's *Socialist Press* the six-week old occupation was brutally ended by bailiffs and police.

Since then parents and teachers have kept the class going in a nearby building to

provide a focus for the campaign to defend the lost places and jobs.

Trades Council is pledged to set up a deputation to meet the Occupation Committee and force its attentions on the Tory Education Committee.

Inertia

This deputation was first mooted six weeks ago. The delegates are in full support, only the inertia of the officers stands in the way.

The NUPE bureaucrats have been making the loudest 'left' noises on the issue and therefore have the furthest to retreat.

There is no doubt that Millar, Anderson and co. will retreat, however, unless the special District Branch meeting called to discuss strike action can make a stand against their treachery.

NUPE must call out all its caretakers, cleaners and dinner helpers before their jobs and conditions of service have been finally eroded.

As reported in last week's *Socialist Press*, NUT Divisional Secretary Steadman, only just succeeded in sabotaging pro-nursery moves within the NUT.

Shoddy

Already the membership have begun to show that they are not prepared to accept Steadman's witch-hunting and shoddy manoeuvres.

At the very next City branch meeting a delegation to the Council was set up to demand an end to nursery cuts.

This cannot be a negotiating body, (only Division can do that), but

coming so soon after Steadman's anti-nurseries move it represents an important start in the fight to build an alternative leadership.

This fight is merely one outcome of the cuts programme introduced by the Labour government, now carried on by the Lib-Lab coalition.

Only true socialist policies leading to a fully planned economy can smash capitalism in crisis.

Cuts represent a direct attack on the working class—therefore we put forward the demand to "occupy and open the books" as a starting point for defence of basic social services.

RALLY

*A Rally against the cuts will take place in Oxford on Saturday May 27. Details and credentials can be obtained from Ted Eames, 7, East Street, Osney, Oxford.

APOLOGY

In the caption to the photograph on the front page of last week's *Socialist Press*, we suggested that the man in plain clothes escorting Trades Council secretary Beryl Hufflingly was a plain clothes policeman.

We have since learnt that he is in fact Roy Ricks, Trades Council Executive member and convenor at Imperial Metals, Leeds.

We would like to apologise to him for this misunderstanding and for any embarrassment it may have caused him.

Garners-fight on for levy!

With the summer tourist season beginning to pack Central London and bolster the super profits of the hotel and catering industry, the strike for union recognition in Garners Steak Houses enters its fifteenth week.

It is testimony to the courage and determination of these workers that after 15 weeks on £6 per week strike pay, picket lines can be maintained at six restaurants simultaneously on six days a week.

This willingness to fight the employer, also reflected in the continued high turn out at strikers' mass meetings, is in sharp contrast to the treachery of the trade union leadership, who have refused to mobilise the rank and file of the TGWU in support of this strike.

Strengthened

The position of the strike was strengthened by the strike committee and the 1/647 branch of

the TGWU adopting policies calling for secondary blacking of suppliers, building of Saturday mass pickets and £36 per week strike pay, raised if necessary by a Regional Levy.

But the strikers soon learned that to achieve action on these policies means a consistent fight against the bitter opposition of the union bureaucracy.

However union officials have been forced to make a series of concessions to the strikers' demands.

Last Tuesday the Regional Committee took the unprecedented step of inviting a delegation from the strike to address their meeting.

Reports say that in this meeting members of the strike committee (who had picketed outside with leaflets and placards) sharply attacked their union officials for promising everything and doing nothing to win the strike.

This hostility clearly reflected the fact that despite promises from the Food, Drink and Tobacco Trade Group Secretary Cook, there has been no evidence

that blacking of suppliers has taken place.

Strikers are also bitter that in fifteen weeks there has been only one delegation from the TGWU on the picket line, despite rhetoric from Jack Dromey (Secretary of the SE TUC) and Nicholson (EC member of the TGWU) that they would mobilise the labour movement for the picket lines.

The sharpest conflict came over the scandalously low strike pay.

Hostility

Regional secretary Todd was forced to silence the strikers when they demanded a Regional Levy for £36 a week strike pay.

Despite Todd's hostility the Regional Committee (divided amongst itself) voted to endorse the strike committee's policies on blacking and picketing and refer the question of finance to the Regional Finance and General Purposes Committee.

The official endorsement of blacking and picketing policy will

of course remain empty words if left up to the bureaucrats of Region 1.

It is essential that these concessions are now used by the strikers to mobilise action in support of the strike.

Delegations from the strike committee must be sent to TGWU branch meetings and stewards committees (especially the strategically vital Smithfield and Covent Garden markets) winning support in action for what is now *Regional policy*—secondary blacking and mass picketing.

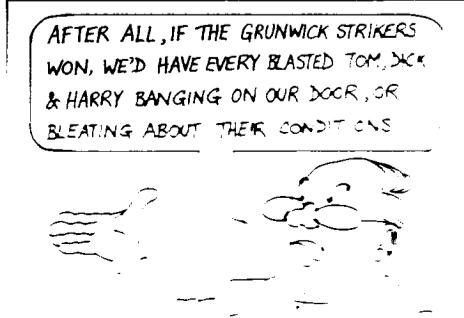
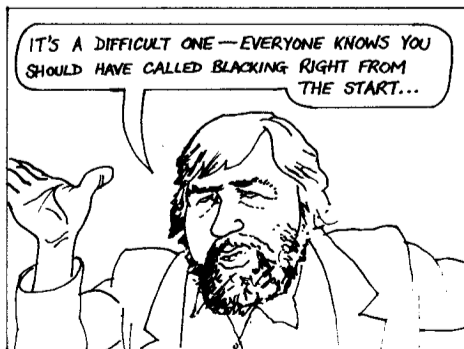
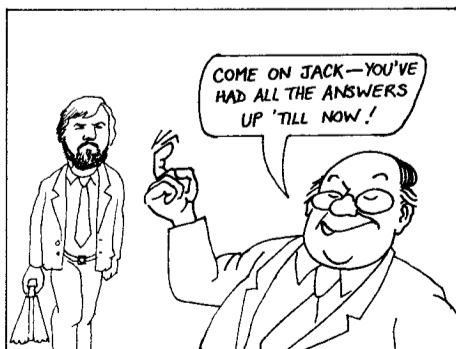
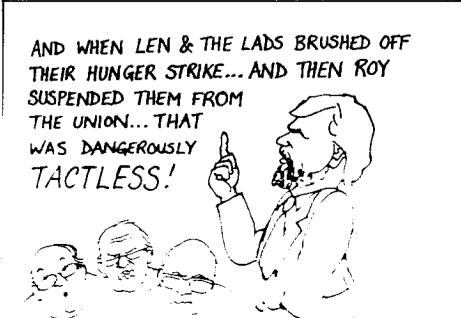
Despite the secret meeting between the Regional F&GP and the EC of the TGWU last Thursday, it is not clear whether the bureaucracy will concede anything yet on finance.

But concessions already gained from the bureaucracy reflect the important fight carried out by politically conscious sections of the strike committee.

The strength of this position must now be used by the strikers campaigning amongst the rank and file for the active support of their policies.

'fishall's Diary

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





Cameron speech shows that

STALINISM ENDANGERS WORKERS STATES

As the pangs of its death-agony become more acute, imperialism finds all but the most desperate remedies useless to relieve these torments.

The British Chief of Defence Staff's speech in Peking was a further symptom of this ravaging crisis.

At one level, Sir Neil Cameron's visit to China was part of the coalition government's drive for increased arms sales, which has already taken ministers and senior officials of the state bureaucracy to Iran and some of the other most reactionary regimes in the world.

While partly aimed at boosting exports, these moves have also been directed at bolstering the defence of capitalism against all those forces which threaten to engulf its rule.

Open declaration

Overtures to the Chinese leaders have played a crucial role in advancing these tactics. But the Marshal of the Royal Air Force caused the Labour Party leaders some embarrassment by his crude and open declaration of intent.

Speaking to officers of the Sixth Tank Division, Cameron declared that:

"Our two countries are coming more and more together. This must be good because we both have an enemy at our door whose capital is Moscow".

"There are men here with great spirit who will fight their tanks to the death if needed in the defence of China".

"We must share, I believe, our common experience so that we are in the best position to take on the Soviet tank force if this should ever be necessary".

Authorised

In justifying his remarks, this loyal servant of the British ruling class explained his motives:

"I'm certainly not speaking for the British government,



Soviet missile

except the British government has authorised that I go to China and have discussions on defence philosophy with Chinese leaders".

This incident raises in a sharp form issues of crucial importance to the working class. Just who was Cameron speaking for? Why can imperialist agents act to drive a wedge between workers' states?

Drunk

None of these vital questions can be answered by the Labour 'lefts' who called with impotent rage for the dismissal of Cameron, or meekly suggested that the Marshal had been drunk.

Callaghan and Defence Minister Mulley countered these bleatings by criticising the phrasing of Cameron's speech, without in any way rejecting an ounce of its content.

Despite this bland response, it is clear that the 'Defence' Chief had been given no authorisation to make any such speech.

His statement was further evidence of the power and authority possessed by high ranking figures in the apparatus of the bourgeois state—figures like

'Colonel B', whose sole responsibility is to safeguard the interests of the ruling class.

But there must be more than a suspicion that the speech had been discussed in advance with Tory leaders.

With the 'Colonel B' affair and the issue of forces' pay, the *Daily Telegraph* has led sections of the bourgeoisie in a hue-and-cry as to the 'irresponsibility' of the Labour Party, and its inability to defend 'the nation'—that is, the capitalist state.

A central plank of the Tory alternative to the policies of 'detente' and popular frontism, pursued by social democrats and liberals, has been to cultivate an alliance with the Chinese bureaucracy against the bureaucracies of the Soviet Union and the other deformed workers' states.

Exploit rivalries

In their visits to China, Heath and Thatcher have been in the vanguard of this imperialist campaign along with Nixon and Kissinger.

Their objective is quite simply to exploit the rivalries within world Stalinism, so as to paralyse



Mao



Brezhnev

the workers' states in internecine strife.

But the possibilities for such a manoeuvre have been created solely by the bureaucracies themselves.

Sabotage

Parasitically dependent on the gains of the October Revolution and the nationalised property relations in the deformed workers states of eastern Europe, Cuba and east Asia, each national Stalinist bureaucracy has substituted the doctrine of 'socialism in one country' for the revolutionary principle of proletarian internationalism.

In practice, revolutionary struggles internationally had to be restrained and sabotaged if Stalin and his successors were to maintain their privileged status.

While suppressing democracy within the workers' states and preventing the development of socialism, they worked to preserve the international balance of forces with imperialism.

Inevitably this counter-revolutionary strategy led to conflicts between the national sections of

Stalinism, according to their specific national requirements.

The antagonism of the Chinese bureaucracy to the Kremlin clique provides the major example of this tendency.

Every independent struggle of the international proletariat is weakened or crushed by the demands of the diplomacy employed by these rival gangs of traitors.

By these methods, the parasitic cliques at the same time threaten the very property relations on which their power rests, and reveal their inability to defend the deformed workers' states against the ambitions of imperialism.

While we condemn every counter-revolutionary action by these Stalinist leaders, we call on all workers internationally to take up the unconditional defence of both the Soviet Union and the deformed workers states against imperialism.

It is the task of revolutionaries to lead this opposition to the designs of international capitalism for the destruction of the progressive property relations in these states, which represent a gain for all workers.

Manning battles in Fleet Street papers took a new turn last week as Thomson Newspapers—owners of the *Times* and *Sunday Times*, threatened an indefinite lock out of their staff.

The threat to close the papers for an indefinite period if agreement was not reached within six months on new working practices received swift response from union leaders who have been itching to get to discipline their members.

If action by Fleet Street print workers is unofficial that is only because the major print union leaders refuse to give them any support in their piecemeal attempts to maintain conditions manning levels.

The *Times* Newspapers attack has undoubtedly been launched because senior management became convinced that they could rely on the leaders of the print unions for support.

Sacked

It is less than a year since Owen O'Brien, General Secretary of Natsopa, sacked members at the *Times* from the union (and therefore from their jobs) because they struck over pay and manning.

The management attack is in the classic mould. A statement sent out to all the print unions declares that senior management spent their whole time, trying to solve disputes, prevent disputes or clear up the after-effects of disputes.

The letter said that 7.7 million copies of the newspapers—20% of total output—has been lost in the first quarter of the year.

"Suspension will last until we are wholly satisfied that publication can be restarted on a basis of reasonable staff, efficient working and uninterrupted production".

The *Times* is seeking no strike clauses, a procedure system which will stall off all action, and drastic cuts in staffing levels.

The print response can be seen from the cynical comment on the letter from Les Dixon, president of the NGA:

"We have to take it that *Times* Newspapers are sincere and genuine in what they say and for our part we accept that there has to be change in the face of threats from the rest of the media.

"It is about time something was done about Fleet Street, and we are all opposed to unofficial stoppages".

Profits

Times Newspapers are not bluffing when they say that the profits of the company are shaky. But the defence of working conditions and jobs nevertheless starts from a demand to open all the accounts, working practices and plans of the company to elected trade union committees from the chapels.

The militancy of the workers must be placed behind a programme to take the offensive against the employers.

Instead of a policy of redundancies the workers should advance work sharing on full pay without a single loss of a single job.

No powerful national newspaper should be in the hands of private capitalists. The workers should demand the immediate nationalisation of the *Times* and *Sunday Times*—without a penny in compensation to the owners.

Management of the newspapers must be placed under the control of the workers, financed without strings by the government.

The timing of the *Times* Newspaper letter is connected with the dispute in Thomson Regional Newspapers where journalists at Hemel Hempstead, Reading, Cardiff, Middlesbrough have all been sacked and others are on strike in support over a claim for extra money over and above the 10%.

Journalists at the *Times* and *Sunday Times* had been asked to hold mandatory chapel meetings to consider supporting industrial action. The quickest reply to management would be for those meetings to go ahead and strike action in support of the regional journalists to be called.

To be published next month

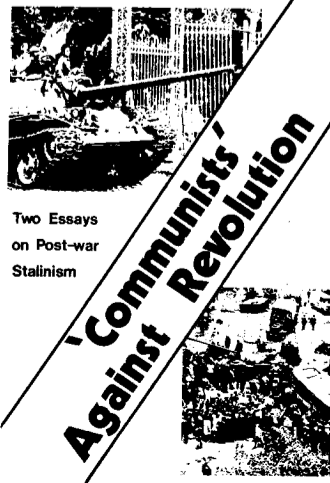
'Communists' Against Revolution addresses itself to the most important aspects of the development of Stalinism since 1945. How have the post-war workers' states been formed in Eastern Europe, China, Indo-China and Cuba? What is the political and social character of the modern Communist Parties? What lies behind the break-up of the Stalinist 'monolith'?

'Communists' Against Revolution includes the essay by Tim Wohlforth *The Theory of Structural Assimilation*, until now virtually unobtainable. To this is added a commentary *On Wohlforth's 'Theory of Structural Assimilation'* by Adam Westoby, which discusses the circumstances in which Wohlforth's essay was written and goes on to criticise and develop his positions.

This 166-page book will sell at £1.75 from its publication date in mid-June. But readers are offered a special pre-publication, cash-with order offer of copies at £1.25 plus 10p p&p. This offer applies only to orders received prior to June 3.

Orders should be sent to:

Folrose Books, 31, Dartmouth Park Hill, London NW5 1HR.



Two Essays on Post-war Stalinism

'Communists' Against Revolution

WHILE PLEDGES for our Special Fund and details of money raising schemes continue to arrive at our office we have only received £37 in cash (including £5 from a comrade in Denmark) over the last seven days.

There can be no room for complacency. We are confident that the £2,000 target will be reached and more collected besides. But this depends on our readers and supporters sending in cash regularly.

In this issue we carry the first pre-publication advert for our new book. This we hope will be only the first of a series of publications in coming months. But to ensure success for our plans we need a steady income for our fund.

Please send your contributions to:

WSL Special Fund
31, Dartmouth Park Hill
London NW5 1HR