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POLISH OFFICIALS PLAN TO KILL SOLIDARITY

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Ireland..... p.5

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After the speeches LET'S SEE SOME ACTION!

250 miles is a hell of a long way to walk to hear a load of hot air.

And that is precisely what was on offer to the footsore Peoples Marchers at the culminating mass rally at Trafalgar Square.

TUC and Labour leaders vied with each other as to how often they could refer to heroic struggles of the past—from the Peasants' Revolt through Peterloo to the Tolpuddle Martyrs and of course Jarrow Marchers.

All were agreed that this March would go down in history: not much consolation for those unemployed now.

All served up more of the usual tedious nonsense about "winning hearts and minds" and forcing the Thatcher government to "change course".

Communist Party leader Gordon MacLennan claimed it was "very important" that the March had been backed by sections of the Church, while a succession of Baptists, Methodists and Anglicans got up to deliver irrelevant sermons on the

need for "the TUC, Industry and Commerce and the political parties all to get together".

There were propaganda calls for the Labour/TUC so-called "Alternative Economic Strategy" for the reform of capitalism, repeated calls for withdrawal from the Common Market, and numerous demands for no nuclear missiles and cuts in defence spending.

The speeches were summed up by George Wright of the Welsh TUC. "We must go on and on and on", he insisted.

Forged in struggle

It was not the TUC or Labour leaders, but representatives of workers who have actually fought in defence of jobs who made the only down-to-earth statements on the way forward from the March.

Tom McAfee, convener of Gardiners, where an occupation secured a partial victory against redundancies, pointed out that for all the talk of "unity", real unity is

only forged in struggle:

"We will not beat them by speeches, but by action," he argued.

"We must strike and occupy. It is not easy to get occupations. To do so, you have to explain the politics, and then you will get them to occupy."

The speaker from the occupied Lee Jeans factory in Greenock emphasised that:

"We need the whole trade union movement behind us. Then we will be as strong as any multinational or government."

The painful fact is that struggles in defence of jobs like Gardiners and Lee Jeans—and the occupations of St. Benedicts and Longworth Hospitals—have been deliberately left isolated or, like the Ansells brewery struggle, sabotaged by union officials determined to avoid a frontal challenge to the employers or the Tory government.

Elsewhere—as in British Leyland—union leaders have formed a more or less open alliance with management to

ram through plant closures and redundancies; while in steel and other industries, union leaders have hurried to negotiate "voluntary" redundancies.

Throughout the public
Cont'd back page

Troops out now!

The media made a meal of the funerals of the five British soldiers blown up in South Armagh.

Nobody had anything against these soldiers personally: they were just members of an occupying army—and were attacked as such by members of the popular resistance movement.

The British press was at once full of crocodile tears for the soldiers' families at home.

But it is these same apologists for the British ruling class who insist that the army must remain in Ireland—and who go out recruiting confused and unemployed youth into the forces.

The five soldiers shouldn't have been in Ireland. They shouldn't have been in Thatcher's army.

They had nothing to gain from the war—any more than any other British worker. Instead they should have been in a union, fight-

ing for policies to defeat the Thatcher government.

Meanwhile, four hunger strikers continue their struggle in the Long Kesh concentration camp. They are fighting in the interests and with the support of the most oppressed layers of society in the six counties.

Their fight is our fight! We have a common interest in defeating Thatcher and the armed repression of the British state.

*Political status now!
*Troops out of Ireland!

150,000 was the common estimate of Sunday's turn-out—a magnificent response to the struggle against unemployment.

But despite all the efforts of the TUC and the Communist Party to keep the campaign "broad", the class content of the movement repeatedly bubbled to the surface.

For while Tony Benn was received with rapturous applause, Healey was loudly booed. And Liberal Party chairman Richard Holme was rendered almost inaudible by boos and catcalls.

Whether they march with green banners or red, the fact is that those prepared to fight unemployment are largely part of the organised workers' movement, and committed to the fight against the Tories and Tory policies.



National Demonstration

Support the Irish prisoners' five demands!
Stop the deaths!

Saturday 13 June, 1.30
Assemble Finsbury Park,
march to Hyde Park
Called by the H Block/
Armagh Committee

Careerists, coalitionists and collaborators in Mitterand's

ERNIE STUBBINS takes a look at the Cabinet chosen by Francois Mitterand following his election as President of France.

'new' cabinet

The new French government assembled by Socialist Party President Francois Mitterand consists of 5 Ministers of State, 25 Ministers and 12 Secretaries of State.

It has been designed to give an impression of stability and of having overcome all the problems of the previous period which afflicted the SP and threatened its unity.

It has tried to include the prominent leaders and representatives of each of the main currents of opinion in the SP and to give a carefully balanced pattern of representation to the regions.

It also includes three representatives of the MRG (Mouvement Radical de Gauche), a bourgeois radical group.

Support

It also includes Michel Jobert, a former Minister in the De Gaulle and Pompidou cabinets, and founder of the Mouvement des democrates which he set up in 1974 in an attempt to seize the leadership of at least a major section of the disorganised Gaullist movement.

His presence in the Mitterand/Mauroy team as Minister of Overseas Commerce is the clearest indication yet of Mitterand's intention to seek a growth in his support among the bourgeoisie, in particular from the relics of the 'left' of the Gaullist movement.

The new Prime Minister, Pierre Mauroy, stands clearly on the right of the SP. A believer in 'day to day socialism', he is the very model of the gradual reformist.

He is on record as emphasising that:

"Socialists will not change in one hundred days the ideology, the social relationships and the mental attitudes produced by a hundred years of capitalism".

In his view, therefore, the socialist programme must concern itself with the exploration of what is possible, and change can only come about after rejecting 'the illusion of revolution'.

He corresponds to a very important tradition in the French socialist movement as shown by his history.

Leader

He joined the Young Socialists of the SP's forerunner the SFIO at the age of 16, and rose to become its national secretary, a post he held for 9 years from 1949 to 1958.

For several years he was the leader of the union of technical instructors, within the independent teachers' federation, FEN.

He played an important part in the 1971 reconstruction of the SP and helped to bring Mitterand into the leadership.

In recent years he has been much concerned with regional affairs, both as Mayor of Lille and as the architect of the alliance of the SP with the socialist current in the Corsican independence movement.

From 1974 he has been a strong ally of Mitterand's main right wing rival within the SP, Michel Rocard.

The representative of the



Mauroy



Marchais



Unwarranted panic in the French Stock Exchange

'left' in the cabinet is Jean Pierre Chevenement, who takes up the portfolio of research and technology.

He is the acknowledged leader of the 'left' pressure group CERES (Centre d'etudes, de recherches et d'education socialistes) which he founded in 1966, two years after joining the SFIO.

Chevenement and CERES strongly supported Mitterand at the Epinay Congress in 1971 against Mollet and Savary.

As National Secretary of the SP during 1971 and 1972 he was one of the principal negotiators of the 'Union of the Left' with the Communist Party and the Radicals, and the common programme.

Rightward shift

He adheres to the view that the failure of the Union and the defeat of March 1978 were due to the rightward shift on the part of the SP resulting from a growth in influence of 'middle class' white collar workers and not to the instability of the Communist Party in the face of its own crisis.

A cynical commentator

would ascribe this view to Chevenement's exclusion from the SP leadership after 1975, but his 'left' stance does not extend to any criticism of France's nuclear weaponry.

In fact within the SP he is one of the main proponents of support for an independent nuclear force.

Reconciled

Michel Rocard, the new Minister of State with responsibility for national planning, is the leader of the most important right wing current within the SP.

Beginning his political career in the SFIO he became national secretary of the Association des etudiants socialistes before leaving the SFIO to found the PSA, forerunner of the PSU. Having contested a series of elections as the PSU candidate, and taking a continuous role in its leadership, he was eventually reconciled to the SP in 1974, when he led a minority out of the PSU and into the SP.

He entered the national leadership of the SP in the following year. During the autumn of 1980 he was proposed as a candidate for

the presidency but stood down in November in favour of Mitterand.

He is one of the most determined opponents of the Communist Party within the French labour movement, and is widely regarded as a likely successor to Mitterand as the leader of the SP.

Of the other two Ministers of State, Gaston Defferre has always been regarded as a loyal supporter of Mitterand, and caused considerable surprise by his support for Rocard's candidacy in 1980.

Clearly he has managed a reconciliation to be given the important post of Minister of the Interior and Decentralisation.

The other, Nicole Questiaux, a CERES member and former MEP, has been given the new post of Minister of National Solidarity.

Cabinet

The same pattern of carefully contrived political balance can be followed through the whole of the Cabinet. It would be tiresome to list all the Ministers and their histories and affiliations. A few examples will suffice.

Yvette Roudy, with responsibility for women's rights, represents an important link with various women's groups within the socialist movement.

Even within his allies in the MRG, Mitterand is careful to balance the odds. Maurice Faure, the new Minister of Justice is brought in as the representative of the more intransigent current which until 1967 stood out against the various moves towards involvement with the socialists and communists.

Evident right wingers among the ministers are Claude Cheysson, who served as Giscard's commissioner in Brussels (and incurred the wrath of the CP as a result), Jean-Pierre Cot, an open disciple of Rocard, and Charles Hernu, the new Minister of Defence who is a blatant militarist and founder of various groups promoting the interests of the military within the SP.

An interesting inclusion is Pierre Joxe, a self-styled "marxist", who takes his distance from the CERES group within the leadership, and devotes much of his energy to rebutting Rocard's market-oriented economic policies, going so far as to accuse him of being able to speak only in the language of the bosses.

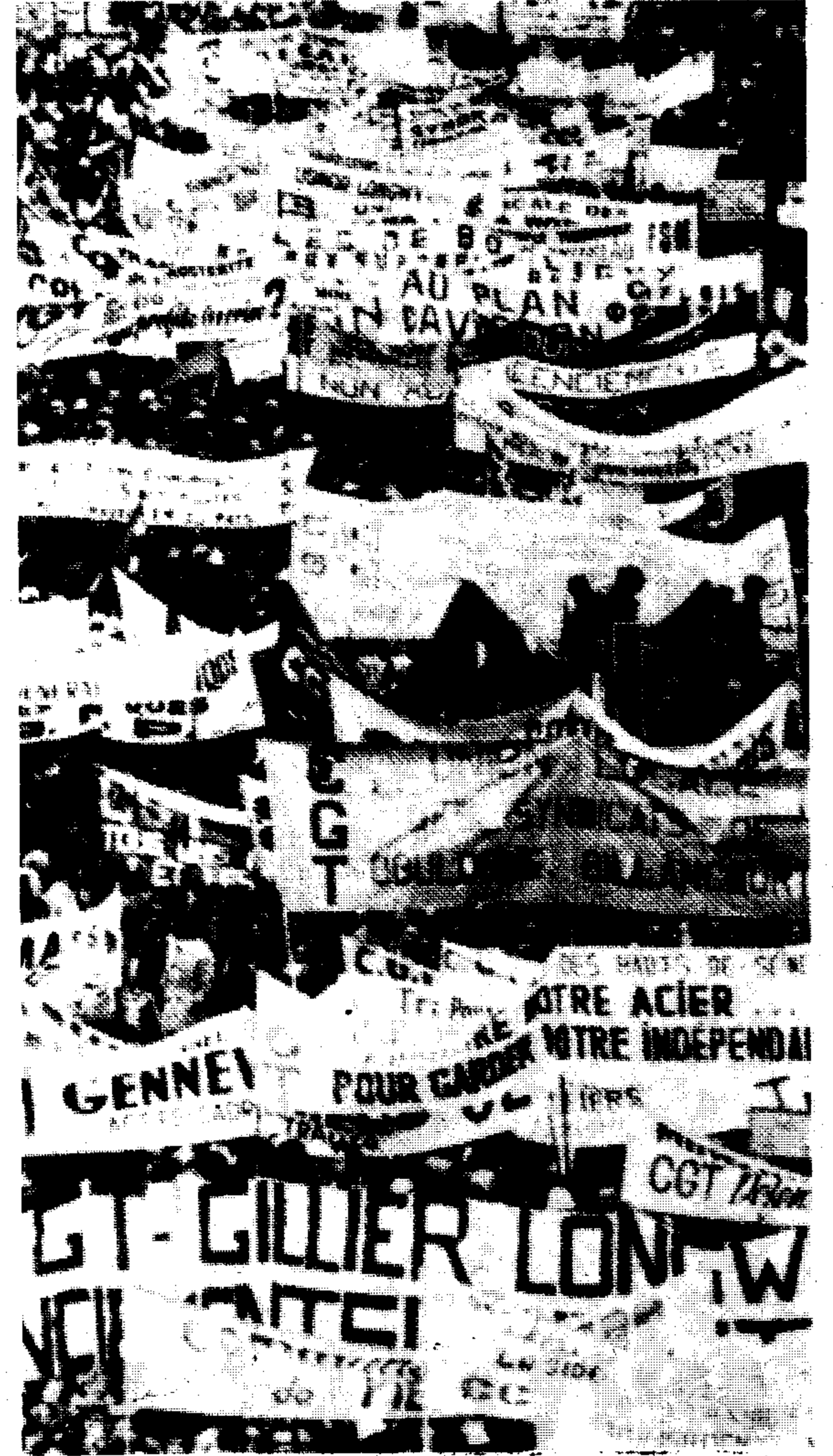
Protest

He has also attacked Marchais and the CP over the Afghanistan question.

And there is another former leader of the SFIO and the SP, Alain Savary, who resigned from the Mollet government in 1956 in protest against the treatment of Algerian freedom fighter Ben Bella at the hands of the government.

The most obvious fact about the new government is that it does not include any representative of the PCF, which certainly gave Mitterand many more votes than did the MRG.

In contrast to the period before the first round of the election, when they were stridently demanding a guar-



Pressure on Mitterand: workers on the march

antee of ministerial positions the CP has reacted in a very subdued manner to its exclusion from the government.

The CP has announced its willingness to 'assume its responsibilities within a unified government', but has so far not resumed its polemical attacks against the SP.

There is no doubt that there will be important discussions between the CP and the SP in the run up to the legislative elections due to be held on 14 and 21 June.

Disorder

Mitterand will be anxious to gain the maximum support from the members of the CP while giving their leaders the minimum of assurance about their role in any future government.

The internal disorder of the French CP cannot fail to help him greatly in this objective.

The defeated right wing parties, the RPR and the UDF will attempt to deprive the left of a workable majority in the new National Assembly.

In a rapidly assembled 'Union for a New Majority' they have carved up the 340 constituencies where they will work together to avoid splitting the right wing vote.

The UNM does not yet have the support of former President Giscard, (who is believed to be still considering launching his own liberal party), but it has rapidly gained the support of many prominent leaders of the outgoing government.

The early indications are that Mitterand is anxious to allay the fears of the French capitalist class rather than to take any kind of action against them.

Rapidly-convened talks with German Chancellor Schmidt have underlined his intention to maintain many aspects of Giscard's foreign and economic policy, particularly the Franco-German bloc to control the EEC.

Messages from Reagan look forward confidently to continued and improved military cooperation.

However, at least in the period up to the elections, Mitterand will be obliged to appear to make concessions to the working class.

The most important of these has already been made - the SMIC (statutory minimum wage) is to be increased by 10% from June 1.

Edmond Maire, leader of the CFDT trade union confederation, has called for the agreement of a timetable for the introduction of the 35 hour week in the nationalised industries.

But he has been at pains to point out the limits imposed on the SP by its loyalty to the ruling class.

There is little doubt that the workers will demand far more than Mitterand will be prepared or able to grant, and that union leaders will play an important role in limiting their struggles.

It is here that the CP retains one of its most important levers of power, through its control of the CGT unions.

While it is unlikely that the CP will resolve its leadership crisis before the elections, in the early stages of the new government, the Stalimist leaders will be able to make considerable gains at the expense of the SP by overbidding the CFDT in wage and other claims.

FASCISTS ON TRIAL IN TURKEY



Generals Evren and Celasun

After nine months of attacks on working class and revolutionary organisations, Turkey's military dictators have now decided to turn against the right.

Three hundred leaders of the fascist National Action Party (including leader Turkes, the whole central committee, and some organisers of front organisations) have been put on trial on charges carrying the death penalty.

This development, which does not in any way give the junta an "anti-fascist" character, does not come in isolation.

Previous events, combined with an understanding of the essentially bonapartist nature of the regime, are key to making a correct assessment.

The Generals usurped power to secure the interests of monopoly capitalism and imperialism in a situation of civil war. Society was divided into two camps; the fascists, and the left led by the working class and its organisations.

Every street in every village, town or city was a no-go area for one or other of the two sides and were patrolled by armed men.

Bourgeois democracy could not be maintained in

these conditions. In fact, Parliamentary democracy ended in 1978 with the introduction of martial law in eleven big cities.

The crucial point for the generals' coup was that the two sides were balanced. This was the case because the leadership of the working class, both reformist and Stalinist, peddled illusions in parliament, tying the working class to a form of 'western' democracy that has never existed in Turkey.

Large sections of the peasantry and middle class, together with some demoralised sections of the working class began to look to the military for a 'saviour',

because there is a long 'tradition' of military intervention in Turkish political life.

The main motive in this search was not the political terror, but the collapse of living standards as Turkey felt the full weight of the crisis.

The military was able to carry out a bloodless coup for these two reasons: the balance between fascism and the left and this mood that looked to the military to avoid open civil war.

Therefore the generals must do two things to maintain their rule. They must maintain the balance between the two sides (which although quiet are

still very much in existence). And the generals must keep the spectre of terror and violence alive as a determining factor in the consciousness of those who welcomed the military 'saviour'.

Since the coup it has been the left who have taken the brunt of the attacks. This has disturbed the balance in that the working class has been forced to make itself felt.

It is in this context of minor concessions and big promises to the left that the current trial of the fascist NAP should be seen. The trial will last a long time. And it is clear that unless the generals strengthen their hold and eliminate all oppos-

ition, the destruction of the NAP will not be carried through.

General Evren is now trying to restore the credibility of Turk-Is. There is also an attempt to play down the prospects of violence, in that Evren has said "you can stop terrorism but you can't annihilate it". That is, he doesn't want to take on the working class in a fight to the finish.

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tion, the destruction of the NAP will not be carried through.

Setback

The bourgeoisie will not contemplate the crushing of the instrument of its last resort, organised fascism.

However, the views of the bourgeoisie and the NAP leaders do not coincide. The trial does mean a setback for the fascists. Anti-fascist feelings generally will be fostered and the way will be open for the purging of fascists from the army and state institutions.

Also, Turkes' neck clearly is at the mercy of Evren. The NAP trial is the background of the shooting of the Pope by a member of the Grey Wolves—the NAP terror organisation.

Agca is one of the gunmen of the NAP, who claim to have twenty more like him. The attempted assassination had severe aims. It is a warning to both Evren and the bourgeoisie in Europe. Who will be the next victim cannot be predicted.

It shows that the NAP are well organised throughout Europe—they are still very much there.

The NAP in Belgium claimed it was a protest against the trial in Ankara. But the determining factor in that trial as for all other aspects of life in Turkey will be the consistency of the working class and its allies in the fight against not only the fascists, but the junta itself.

Bolivian dictator retreats

Following two attempted coups within the space of a fortnight, both in the central city of Cochabamba and both led by the same man, Bolivian dictator General Luis Garcia Meza has been forced to announce his resignation as from 6 August, Independence Day.

According to Garcia's declaration, the armed forces should appoint his successor on 17 July, first anniversary of the bloody coup that

brought him to power.

The removal of Garcia has been on the cards for some time as the country's armed forces fell out amongst themselves when faced with a crippling external debt, economic collapse, the smear of cocaine trafficking, staunch popular resistance and anti-path, and continuing failure to beguile the US into recognising their 'Government of National Reconstruction'.

Yet a series of coup attempts throughout the spring came to nought.

This was principally because once having under-

taken their Pinochet-style coup ('pinochetazo') and immersed themselves in mafia-style infighting over cocaine spoils, the generals were unable to present a viable alternative.

They were stuck with different figureheads and clans; but there was nowhere to go further to the right, and any genuine reversal of the dictatorship stood to open the floodgates of mass mobilisation.

Shift

The measured retreat taken by Garcia does, how-

ever, represent something of a shift of the balance of forces within the military.

It appears that a group not closely associated with cocaine smuggling and anxious to avoid further confusion inside the repressive apparatus by reforming the dictatorship along lines acceptable to the US has gained the upper hand.

The leading figures in this group are Generals Humberto Cayoja, Lucio Anez and Gary Prado, the latter being famous for his capture of Che Guevara in 1967.

Lurking behind them are

the experienced butchers and veteran conspirators—former dictator Hugo Banzer and Alberto Natusch, leader of a short-lived coup, who have now established a more or less firm alliance, which does not explicitly rule out some form of 'election', to reassemble the divided right and refurbish the remnants of Garcia's regime.

Support

In this they can count on the support of the civilian bourgeois parties and the CP and the petty bourgeois 'radical nationalist' MIR,

who have called for the 'honourable' sectors of the military to take power and organised a demonstration of workers and students three weeks ago in Cochabamba in support of Colonel Lanza's failed coup.

Satisfied

Reports from Washington indicate that the State Department is highly satisfied with this particular form of 'revolutionary struggle' which promises to adorn the next strong-man with some spurious and ephemeral 'democratic' credentials.

Chilean workers fight back

For over five weeks the 10,300-strong workforce of the El Teniente copper mine in Chile has sustained a strike in demand of an 18% increase in wages, productivity bonuses, overtime payment, transport, educational and job security rights against the dictatorship of Pinochet which has offered a derisory 2%.

The El Teniente strike marks a new step forward in the slow and painful recovery of the Chilean working class defeated so cruelly in the coup of September 1973.

The length of the strike, its size, firmness, and resistance to constant police harassment, the threat of full-scale military intervention and widespread dismissals, has to be understood against the very poor economic condition of the workers and the seven-year

offensive against the very poor economic condition of the workers and the seven-year offensive against the labour movement by the capitalist state, reliant not just on brute force but also a string of anti-worker decrees.

Banned

Today in Chile industry-wide unions are allowed to exist only on paper; nominations for union elections are forbidden until the day of the poll; any group of workers—unionised or not—may deal directly with the employer; strikes are limited to 60 days and after 30 days any group of workers may desert their comrades and fix a separate deal; no assemblies are permitted in work-time and there are strict limits on those outside of it.

Negotiation of 'non-wage benefits' (health, housing, education, training and job security) is banned and all existing agreements on these

points become null and void upon the negotiation of new contracts; arbitration is by the military, and political activity is banned. There are a score of further judicial measures that provide for the division of the working class.

The strength of the El Teniente miners is, therefore truly impressive. The state copper corporation, Codelco says its offer is 'final' but it is losing \$1.2 million a day and the regime is well aware of the effects of the action on the rest of Chile's working class.

In the other large state-owned mines of Chuquibambilla and Andina the workers have already rejected Codelco's offer, are seeking rises of 15% and said to be preparing action.

Twelve miners have already been arrested and there have been clashes with the carabinieri in the streets of Ranagua where the clouds of tear gas bear eloquent testimony to the return of active class struggle.



Not only has the El Teniente declared that its action will be 'indefinite' but it has also called for the removal of Bernardo Castillo and Guillermo Medina, the leading 'yellow' union officials appointed by the dictatorship who have incessantly attacked the strike as

'counter-productive'.

In this call lies the recognition that the struggle for class independence and the regaining of control over the workers' economic organisations cannot be separated from the political campaign against the dictatorship.

British workers must back struggle

Since the military coup, many of the leaders of the trade unions movement have been killed, jailed or exiled. This means that the task of rebuilding the trade unions falls heavily on the rank and file. They lack the most basic material resources for this task. That is why it is important that money is provided as part of the solidarity action of the British working class.

MODEL RESOLUTION

This (trade union branch) expresses its solidarity with the resistance of the Bolivian workers against the military dictatorship and to this end makes a contribution of £... to the Bolivian Workers Support Fund. It calls on the union to give maximum support to the struggle of the Bolivian trade union movement by blacking all trade with the dictatorship and calling on the TUC to organise a national campaign of blacking and to use all neces-

sary means to ensure the recognition and aid are withheld from the military regime by the British government.

Bolivian Workers Support Fund, 54 Studley Road, Forest Gate, London E7 (01-471 6008). Bank account: 43338275 National Westminster Bank, 1 Hurdwood Place, London NW1 2JG.

The 'defence' programme the GLC scrapped

By Terry Smith

The decision of the new Labour GLC to withdraw from the government's Civil Defence programme has been widely reported in the national and local press.

Yet few reports give any idea as to what this programme actually means in practical terms for the majority of citizens in the capital.

An outline of the "plan" to clear up London after a nuclear strike was presented at a seminar jointly organised last November by the Tory GLC and the Home Office for the benefit of London councillors.

They were told that current War Office thinking is that there may be as little as 2-3 days warning before a war broke out between the imperialist western powers and the Warsaw Pact—but that there should be a preliminary period of "conventional" warfare before the first warheads start to fall.

And they were reminded that while on the one hand Tory policies are forcing British imperialism into the front line of the NATO attack, the Tories are also cutting back on spending at home. This means that their plans for post-strike recovery rest heavily on "volunteers" dragooned into action under the draconian powers of "reorganised local government".

Current military thinking is opposed to the mass evacuation of people from London or other main cities. Partly this is because they do not know for certain which will be the primary targets for a nuclear strike.

In any case, no area could be thought safe from the effects of fall-out.

Those citizens without the cash to purchase their own fall-out shelters should not expect Civil Defence planning to offer them any communal provision. It is estimated that it would cost £60 billion to shelter even half of the civilian population of Britain—and even if the Tories were interested in such a project, cash limits will not stretch that far.

But government money is to be made available for

the early completion of the network of protected headquarters for post-strike government. £4 million is allocated to this, in addition to £4 million on improved communications, and £4.5 million on "hardening" broadcasting centres against nuclear attack.

In all, it is proposed that the "Home Defence" budget be increased by 60%, with the expenditure by local authorities to double.

Five groups

The plan for London is to divide it into five groups, for each of which the GLC is supposed to provide a Group HQ.

Because of the high probability of widespread destruction in London, each Group HQ will be linked to one of the subregional centres outside London.

The North East London Group HQ in Wanstead, for example, will be linked to a subregional HQ "somewhere in Essex".

Within the Group area, each borough will be headed by a controller with dictatorial powers: in London the controllers are the present Chief Executives of each borough—appointed by the Home Secretary.

The elected councils would virtually cease to exist except for 3-person 'Emergency Committees', under the command of the controller.

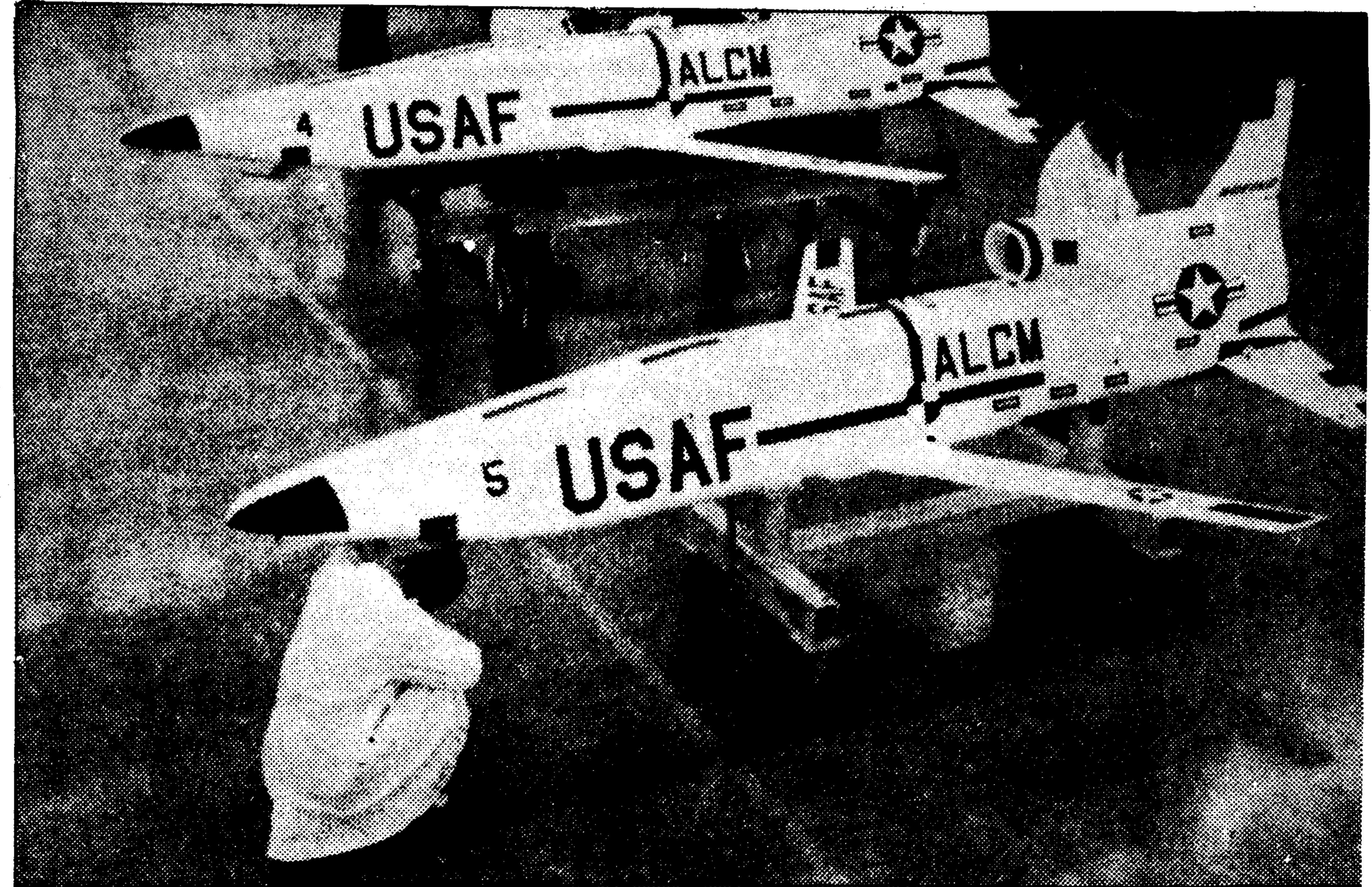
In London the army would take charge of the three services—with army headquarters established in each of the five groups.

But there would be few soldiers left in the capital in the case of a war with the Warsaw Pact, since most available troops would have been dispatched to reinforce the Rhine Army.

There would be at most 3,800 soldiers in London, compared to 25,000 police.

The Fire Service—so depleted by Tory cuts that it now has less than one quarter of the manpower and only 6% of the emergency units it had during the World War 2 blitz—would be withdrawn to the perimeter of London well before any nuclear strike.

Only after the radiation levels drop would they even



attempt to re-enter London and attempt to rescue any survivors.

The fact is that while there are well-laid preparations to use the police and army to secure continuity of governmental control over the surviving population and to maintain supplies to the imperialist war effort, there is no intention of the "Home Defence" planners to protect or shelter the population of London.

Instead the army and fire brigade will be withdrawn from the target area, and Chief Executives and their flunkies will join top government figures and civil servants in hardened bunkers, while ordinary men, women and children are left to fry.

Even Air Commodore Crompton of the Home Defence College, admits that it would take at least 2

months in a shelter before survivors of a nuclear strike could emerge safely.

In other words there is virtually no chance of survival for the average London ratepayer with or without the Tory GLC's planned £750,000 Civil Defence spending!

With Reagan and Thatcher sacrificing vital elements in the US and British economies to carry forward their war effort, there is only one serious way to protect ourselves and our children from a nuclear holocaust: mobilise the power of the organised labour movement in action to bring down this government, drive out the right wing pro-imperialist leaders of the Labour Party and implement a policy of unilateral nuclear disarmament.

HUNGER STRIKERS STAND IN ELECTION

The decision by the National H Block Committee to run nine republican prisoners as candidates in the forthcoming Irish election is an important advance in the struggle for political status.

The candidates are the four hunger strikers, plus

four other Long Kesh prisoners and Mairead Farrell from Armagh Gaol who took part in last year's hunger strike.

The candidacies, like that of Bobby Sands, sharply pose before the Irish people the political role of the republican men and women jailed by British imperialism in Long Kesh and Armagh.

But by running for election in the South, they also

underline the fact that the struggle is for a united Ireland—in which the gerrymandering and sectarian repression of the six county statelet in the North is brought to an end, and democratic rights extended to the Irish people as a whole.

Failure

Indeed the campaign in their support will be forced to emphasise that the opponents of British imperialism in the North are in no way simply proposing to plunge the population of the six counties into an extended version of Haughey's 26-county capitalist government in the South.

They will be campaigning against candidates of Prime Minister Haughey's pseudo nationalist Fianna Fail party—and pointing to the failure of political leaders in the Republic to lend any practical support to the struggle to force a British withdrawal.

Socialist Press of course has major differences of programme and perspective from the republican movement—as indeed do many of the political components of the National H Block Campaign. In particular, the republicans have no perspective to offer the working class for its struggles North or South.

But at a time when the struggle against British imperialism must be brought to the forefront of politics in Britain and in Ireland, we lend our critical support to the anti-H Block candidates in the Irish election, and welcome the decision of leading anti-H Block campaigners such as Bernadette McAliskey to support their fight.

Is Benn a right wing agent?

By Sean Matgamna

Do you know that Tony Benn is working to help the "pro-NATO, pro-EEC, and pro-armed forces" faction in the Labour Party?

No? Then you haven't been reading your *Newsline*, daily organ of Gerry Healy, Ayatollah of the Workers Revolutionary Party!

In a virulently hostile campaign begun in the middle of April, *Newsline* has been denouncing Benn. Apparently he is splitting the left, "going against the trade unions", defying the majority of Tribune MPs who oppose his candidature, and above all he is providing the Tory press with ammunition!

Newsline thinks Benn knows he can't win. "So

what then is he playing at?" they ask indignantly. In the agent and spy-obsessed world of the WRP this question means: what is the ulterior motive, who is he serving, whose agent is he?

Newsline editorial writer (15/4/81) goes on rhetorically:

"Is this [standing against Healey] the action of a man deeply concerned about the future policies of the Labour Party and anti-Tory struggles, or someone who is wilfully trying to break up the mass movement and create unnecessary diversions?"

So what game is Benn playing then? The *Newsline* writer obviously thinks he knows. The clue, which he shares with the reader, is in the answer to this question:

what will be the result of the election if Benn loses?

Using a computer, the WRP have worked this out in advance: if Benn loses, Healey would be Deputy Leader. And he will be strengthened by having beaten Benn. Thus:

"By his action, Benn is consolidating Healey".

Branded

Benn, who fights the right wing, is thus branded by *Newsline*—alongside advocates of resistance to the Tories and to the Labour councils who administer the cuts—as one of "Thatcher's people".

There is a coherent political logic to this, of course. The politics of the WRP are now comprehensively right wing.

Yet *Newsline's* denunciation of Benn was very sudden. Until the day before the editorial entitled "The Strange Case of Mr Benn" (15/4/81) it had supported Benn's candidacy!

For example an editorial on April 4 said this:

"This [Foot's argument] is intended to try to put Benn in the position of a splitter who is disrupting party unity by challenging Healey. In reality it is an argument against ever having an election for leading posts, since there will never be an ideal occasion to hold it . . .

Foot appeals to Benn on the basis of party unity, but this is simply a cover for capitulating to the blackmail of the right wing who keep threatening to join the social democrats unless they get

their way in the Labour Party."

This is well put. An editorial 'Benn's right to stand', (6/4/81) continues in these same strong terms. It concludes by explicitly supporting Benn's "right to challenge Healey".

Then came the Great Change. Benn suddenly changed from being a champion against "The IMF's man in the Shadow Cabinet" into someone helping the right wing and the "pro-armed forces faction".

Speculation as to why there was a change of line would be idle. Maybe it was a response to Benn signing the *Socialist Organiser* condemnation of the WRP's libel case against the paper.

CALL ON LABOUR TO BACK IRISH STRUGGLE

About 60 people took part in a lobby of the Labour Party NEC last Wednesday to demand backing for the H Block hunger strikers.

The lobby, organised by the Labour Committee on Ireland, was addressed by NEC members Joan Maynard and Dennis Skinner as they arrived for the meeting.

Neither speaker was prepared to state unequivocally their support for political status for republican prisoners in Long Kesh and Armagh Gaol.

But their limited stand on the question is still streets ahead of the rest of the NEC.

Only Eric Heffer of the other NEC members stopped to talk to lobbyists. Tony Benn slipped into Labour Party headquarters almost unnoticed whilst Dennis Skinner was addressing the lobby, while Michael Foot and other NEC members pushed through the crowd to chants of 'Sack Con-

cannon' and 'Labour break from Tory policy on Ireland'.

The success of the lobby indicates growing awareness within the Labour Party for the need to break the bipartisan policy, support the hunger strikers and fight for the withdrawal of British troops.

But only three or four CLP banners were present, indicating the need for Labour Party militants to raise the question of Ireland and build the LCI as a matter of urgency.

We urge all Labour Party members to join the Labour Committee on Ireland and organise to take up the question of Ireland in the Labour Party. Individual membership costs £1 a year and an application form and details of the LCI's political positions on Ireland can be obtained from: LCI, 4 Burnhill House, Norman Street, London EC1.



Fighting for solidarity

Around 100 people supported a rally in Coventry shopping precinct called last Saturday in solidarity with the hunger strikers in Long Kesh.

The active local Hunger Strike Action Committee has also been pressing its campaign into the local Labour Party. A leaflet given out at the District Labour Party meeting, headed 'Labour's Shame', pointed out that:

"Michael Foot and the Labour leadership describe Margaret Thatcher's approach as stubborn and inflexible on almost every issue except Northern Ireland. On the same day as Foot was lashing the Tories he personally dispatched Don Concannon to the Maze Prison to tell a blind and dying Bobby Sands that he had no support in the British Labour Party. If Bobby Sands had been a political prisoner in South Africa or South America would Foot have behaved in such a calous way?"

John Hume, leader of the SDLP, described Concannon's mission as "a cheap and offensive publicity stunt". Even the UDA, the Loyalist paramilitary organisation, have publicly stated that they think the prisoners should be given special

status. Despite Foot's statements, there is growing dissatisfaction in the labour movement with Labour's Tory policy. It is becoming recognised that 30,000 people don't elect a "common criminal" as their MP, and 100,000 people (out of a Catholic population of 500,000) don't turn up to the funeral of a "common criminal". Bobby Sands was in prison because he opposed British rule in Ireland.

The Scottish TUC has shown a lead by calling for immediate concessions. We ask Labour and trade union branches to follow their example and to dissociate themselves from the Labour leadership's stance."

In Oxford the local Charter 80 group has mounted vigils at the city's Martyrs Memorial to mark the death of each of the four hunger strikers.

A fold-over leaflet is now being prepared setting out in basic language the issues at stake in the hunger strike. The leaflet is to be distributed at the Cowley car factories, other local workplaces and Labour and trade union meetings.

In Leicester an active Labour Committee on

Ireland group has already made its mark on the local party—successfully promoting a resolution through Leicester South CLP.

The motion congratulates MP Jim Marshall for backing the early-day motion on Sands, called for two minutes' silence in respect for Sands, and urged Marshall to move the writ for another by-election in Fermanagh/South Tyrone.

And in a close vote which surprised some militants, Leicester Trades Council voted at its last meeting to support the struggle for political status and for a policy of troops out of Ireland.

In Glasgow a rally called by the LCI attracted a rather disappointing attendance of 100 people—mainly those already committed to the struggle against British imperialism in Ireland.

And in London the necessity for urgent action to build the solidarity campaign was underlined by the attendance of only 50 at a regional meeting of the LCI. A local leadership was set up to promote further work in London Labour CLPs: we urge London readers to give active support to this work.

Press Gang

From: Northern Ireland Office.

To: All Fleet Street editors.

First the body. You have to know which side it is on. Is it a murderous thug, whom all decent people like us abhor?

Or is it a hero? You can tell by the uniform.

Usually the hero wears blue or khaki. Murderous thugs are dressed any old how.

Some look as if they have been clothed from a jumble sale.

Sometimes they seem little more than children.

But remember—heroes are killed by murderous thugs and cowards.

Murderous thugs on the other hand have usually done it to themselves—or at least brought it on themselves. That is why they are often shot by heroes.

Now the funerals:

1) Murderous thugs: These funerals are liable to be larger, especially if they have 'done it to themselves'.

Our best hope with these funerals is to make them take the coffin in the opposite direction to the one they want to go.

We can blockade the roads and make mourners climb through barbed wire fences to get to the funeral. (This method has its limitations. Tens of thousands appear to be prepared to undergo all this just to be

at the funeral).

Ideally murderous thugs should be buried without ceremony inside the prison walls (where, after all, we could provide the most modern cemetery in Europe).

We are also considering sticking their heads on spikes outside the gates of Belfast and Derry but this is under discussion. (Perhaps your picture editors would comment on this plan).

What is obviously outrageous is the deplorable way in which the gunmen take advantage of the funeral.

These TV pictures of men in uniform firing volleys over the coffin are liable to mislead world opinion into thinking that IRA men are some kind of soldiers.

After such funerals we are calling upon all editors to ensure that their reporters loudly demand to know why the Roman Catholic church allows such burials to go ahead.

Point out that it is outrageous that guns and burials should be confused.

(Radio and TV in particular might like to make the Cardinal sweat a bit! Why not ask him if he doesn't think that he's little better than a Provo with his collar turned round!)

2. Heroes.

Heroes may come from anywhere in Britain. Mostly

they will be young lads with a shattered and confused family liable to say things like 'Why us?'

Your job is to ensure that these parents understand their children did not die in vain.

If in their grief and anguish they should express any doubts about whether their sons should have been in Belfast or Derry we trust editors will not embarrass them by reporting such sentiments.

For our part we will ensure you have good pictures. A Union Jack over the coffin, a squad of young soldiers to carry it.

In some cases we salute the dead by firing a volley over the graveside. We are thinking of asking the Archbishop of Canterbury to write this into the funeral service. Maybe the vicar could give the order to fire.

We trust the above is clear. More details can be given by Army Information Service.

Next week's briefing paper will be on relatives.

In the meantime just remember that heroes have grief-stricken wives and children. Murderous thugs just use their families for propaganda.

Stop press.

Why didn't we think of it before? Full marks to the

Telegraph for excellent investigative reporting on the Maze prison.

They have shown that the real purpose of 'special category status' is to turn the camp into a terror centre!

It takes a special kind of imaginative flair to depict IRA men looking ahead to the day in 15 or 20 years when they are released whittling away at realistic replicas of tomahawks during the period of special category status.

And well done those screws who spent long evenings producing imitation rifles and machine guns to make the whole tale a little bit more spicy.

It was a particularly bright thought to show the prisoners producing handy "training sheets" with such subtle directions as "use of rumours, slogans and international press propaganda against the government highlighting torture."

Staff at the Maze are now trying to find the tunnel through which the IRA members sent their members to carry this out.

One whole block—allocated to launch an international press campaign—is believed to have tunneled its way to Japan the better to conduct its anti-government propaganda there while still being back in their banks by breakfast time.

POLISH BUREAUCRATS PLAN TO

One of a large number of Solidarity's regional periodicals, *The Free Unionist* published in Dabrowa Gornicza in Silesia, in its issue of 5 March 1981 prints a transcript of a tape recording from the meeting of Andrzej Zabinski, First Secretary of the Voivodship Committee of the party in Katowice and member of the Politbureau of the Party, with a group of ranking police and Security Service officers of the Katowice region.

This is a partial translation of this text, which does not require any comment.

We have realised that many of the slogans put forward in the workers' demands have been inspired by the enemy.

The enemy has forced us to accept a battlefield... in the factories and among the working class.

One would not talk of violence because it would have ended with I don't know what: generally speaking with the limitation of Poland's sovereignty. (...)

Quench strike

Therefore conscious decisions were taken, decisions to hold talks in very difficult circumstances: the aim was to quench the strikes, calm the nation and consider the situation later.

And in these circumstances the talks were very difficult, sometimes vulgar.

In the first days it was "on your knees", "hang them", and then a hand-



Gdansk shipyard strikers

shake for agreement.

A few demands were thrown by the enemy: among them the demand to have trade unions, so-called self-government trade unions.

This slogan comes from the enemy, but the work-

ing class has given it universal support. And it still supports it (...)

The workers support it because they do not trust us... they support the independent unions, independent in the sense that they will smack our hands if

we keep forgetting the social goals of our policies.

We have always proclaimed the social goals but have been doing exactly the reverse.

Like the investments, I would say suicidal invest-

ments, idiotically pushed through in the various industries—for which we haven't got the raw materials, etc.

The attitude of the party towards the new unions must not be like the unions' attitude towards the party, that is to say it is not an attitude of struggle.

We think that both the new and the old unions are working class in character.

The essential thing for us is that party members should join both the old and the new unions because we have to prevent a situation which will lead to party trade unions, limited and small, and non-party unions, which is to say, anti-party.

If we don't join the "new" unions, we'll be making things too easy for them: we would then help to create a "KOR"-dominated organisation.

Of course KOR is behind all these new unions (...). And the have the support of the clergy.

There is no question that it is a step towards the political right; but it is better to make a step to the right than into the abyss.

Therefore a struggle is going on, a struggle to prevent the new unions from becoming anti-party.

What do we intend to do? First of all we have to mount a political attack on the principle of union regions, the principle proclaimed by Mr Walesa or those who prompt him...

They insist on the regions probably because they haven't got enough cadres and they want to set themselves up in the whole of the country.

Hairdressers

We have to attack this principle very strongly by asking them thousands of questions.

What about the miners

for example? Are the miners to be together with the hairdressers? This is truly a soft spot for political attack, we have to attack, we simply have to attack now.

(...) Let them taste a little power, it will have a cooling effect on them.

Wherever possible, we have to talk to them honestly. A considerable number of people who sit now on those workers' committees are genuine leaders and decent people: but the rabble is there as well.

Of course, we can't say that of everyone, of those who are trusted and who enjoy authority. In the future we have to win them over as people who have proved themselves and proved that they are listened to.

We must not wage war with those people. We have to have, shall we say, well—a mosaic-like policy, a many-layered policy and play it properly.

You comrades are already doing extremely well but we must also think of our party.

As it happens, party activists have forgotten these fighting methods, though of course the security services have always had to fight.

But party workers... they got their instructions and the rally system did not encourage any struggle; there were simply no enemies. We were so strong that nobody could do anything to us and that is why they are disarmed in the sense of not knowing how to fight.

They're not bad people, but have to be taught again. And suddenly a disaster and what happens, what happens?—either apathy or anger, anger because there are enemies and counter-revolution—but no struggle, a struggle which is difficult, painstaking.

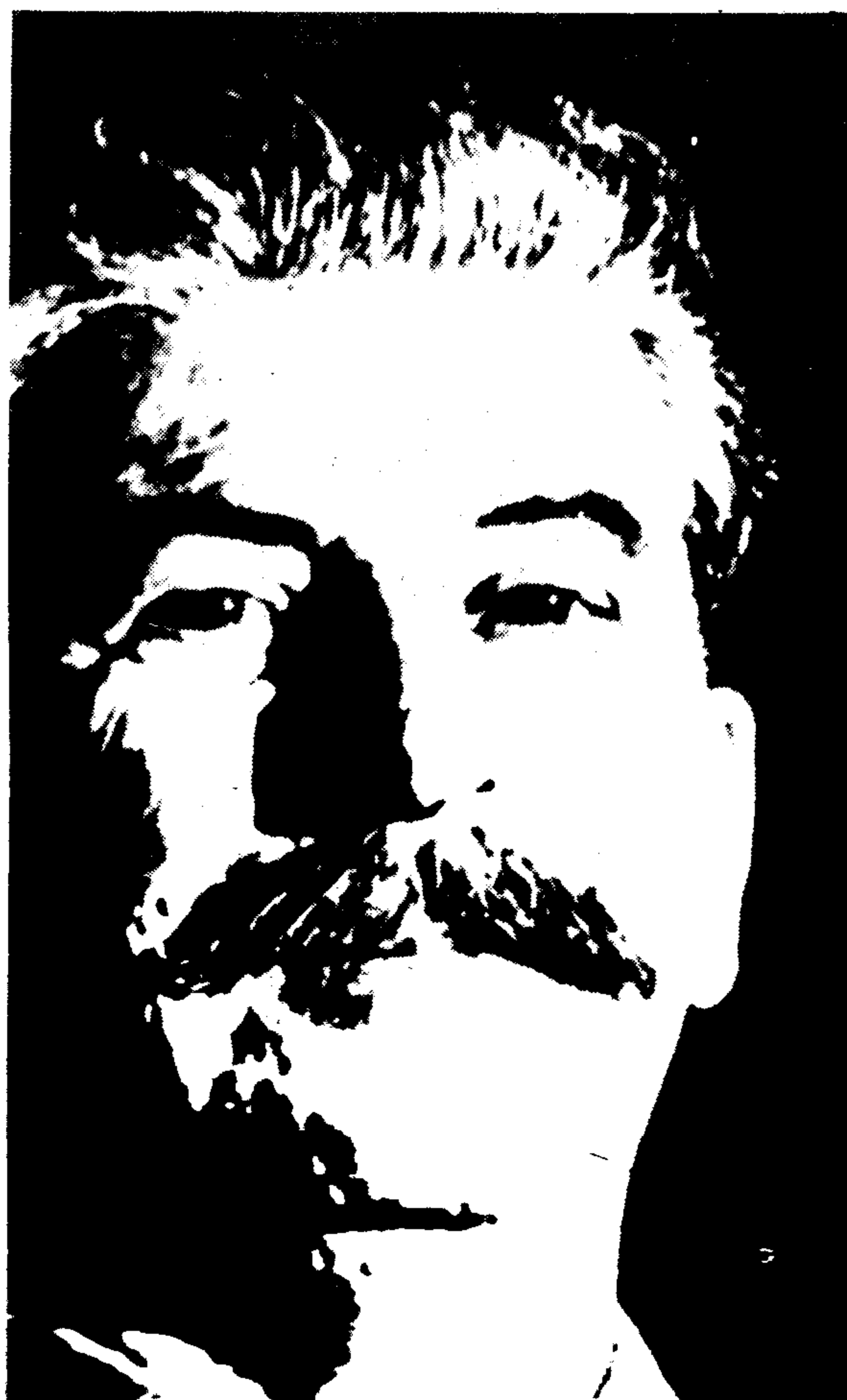
It's a game one plays



with the enemy and his moves have to be foreseen.

This is the period we are in, comrades. The aim of this struggle is to take away the leading KOR people from factories and break the

Trotsky explains the rise of



The Bolshevik Party prepared and insured the October victory. It also created the Soviet state, supplying it with a sturdy skeleton.

The degeneration of the party became both cause and consequence of the bureaucratisation of the state. It is necessary to show at least briefly how this happened.

The inner regime of the Bolshevik party was characterised by the method of democratic centralism. The combination of these two concepts, democracy and centralism, is not in the least contradictory.

The party took watchful care not only that its boundaries should always be strictly defined, but also that all those who entered these boundaries should enjoy the actual right to define the direction of the party policy.

Freedom of criticism

Freedom of criticism and intellectual struggle was an irrevocable content of the party democracy.

The present doctrine that Bolshevism does not tolerate factions is a myth of the bourgeoisie.

The present doctrine that Bolshevism does not tolerate factions is a myth of the bourgeoisie.

the task of overthrowing the world and uniting under its banner the most audacious iconoclasts, fighters and insurgents, live and develop without intellectual conflicts, without groupings and temporary factional formations?

Democratic support

The farsightedness of the Bolshevik leadership often made it possible to soften conflicts and shorten the duration of factional struggle but no more than that.

The Central Committee relied upon this seething democratic support. From this it derived the audacity to make decisions and give orders. The obvious correctness of the leadership at all critical stages gave it that high authority which is the priceless moral capital of centralism.

The regime of the Bolshevik party, especially before it came to power, stood thus in complete contradiction to the regime of the present sections of the Communist International, with their "leaders" appointed from above, making complete changes of policy and word of command, with the unbridled apparatus, without any regard for the interests of the workers and the party.

administrative rust was already visible on the party, every Bolshevik, not excluding Stalin, would have denounced as a malicious slanderer anyone who should have shown him on a screen the image of the party ten or fifteen years later.

The very centre of Lenin's attention and that of his colleagues was occupied by a continual concern to protect the Bolshevik ranks from the vices of those in power. However, the extraordinary closeness and at times actual merging of the party with the state apparatus had already in those first years done indubitable harm to the freedom and elasticity of the party regime.

Democracy had been narrowed in proportion as difficulties increased.

Soviets

In the beginning, the party had wished and hoped to preserve freedom of political struggle within the framework of the Soviets.

The civil war introduced stern amendments into this calculation. The opposition parties were forbidden one after the other. This measure obviously in conflict with the spirit of Soviet democracy, the leaders of Bolshevism regarded not as a principle, but as an episodic expedient.

novelty and immensity of its tasks, inevitably gave rise to inner disagreements. The underground oppositional currents in the country exerted a pressure through various channels upon the sole legal political organisation, increasing the acuteness of the factional struggle.

At the moment of completion of the civil war, this struggle took such sharp forms as to threaten to unsettle the state power.

Prohibit factions

In March 1921, in the days of the Kronstadt revolt, which attracted into its ranks no small number of Bolsheviks, the tenth congress of the party thought it necessary to resort to a prohibition of factions—that is, to transfer the political regime prevailing in the state to the inner life of the ruling party.

This forbidding of factions was again regarded as an exceptional measure to be abandoned at the first serious improvement in the situation.

At the same time, the Central Committee was extremely cautious in applying the new law, concerning itself most of all lest it lead to a strangling of the inner life of the party.

However, what was in its original design merely a necessary concession to a difficult situation, proved

perfectly suited to the taste of the bureaucracy, which had then begun to approach the inner life of the party exclusively from the viewpoint of convenience in administration.

Already in 1922, during a brief improvement in his health, Lenin, horrified at the threatening growth of bureaucratism, was preparing a struggle against the faction of Stalin, which had made itself the axis of the party machine as a first step towards capturing the machinery of state. A second stroke and then death prevented him from measuring forces with this internal reaction.

The entire effort of Stalin, with whom at that time Zinoviev and Kamenev were working hand in hand, was thenceforth directed to freeing the party machine from the control of the rank and file members of the party.

Never concerned

In this struggle for "stability" of the Central Committee, Stalin proved the most consistent and reliable among his colleagues.

He had no need to tear himself away from international problems; he had never been concerned with them.

The petty bourgeois outlook of the new ruling stratum was his own outlook.

UNDERMINE SOLIDARITY



Walesa

unions up into the branches or trades.

Let them have independent unions: but only branch unions, no regions.

It will be easier for us because the workers' tradi-

tions are enormous—tell a miner or a railwayman to be together with a milliner—with all respect for that trade, of course!

But milliners have their own problems and so they

would want to have an organisation of their own... Why do we defend the old Central Council of Trade Unions (CRZZ)? We defend the Council because first of all we have to fight with them on grounds of legality.

This is our weapon of steel: legal agreements, the resolution of the Council of State concerning the registration, the resolution on the new trade unions.

Therefore we have to keep fighting them, so to speak, on the grounds of legality. And we can't give up anything without a struggle.

The enemy must toil just as well, the enemy must be weakened. To give up the CRZZ would be illegal because the only lawful and legal forum which can solve it is the congress of the CRZZ.

So we have an edge there; they will surely demand the dismantling of CRZZ, because it doesn't exist any more—all the unions have left it.

But just a minute: elections to the unions have to be called, and the congress convened.

We have to reckon with this battle, though: if we dissolve the CRZZ for them, then as repenting sinners we shall be asking Walesa to let us join the new unions.

But the property, created through generations, is indivisible according to law.

We just can't divide the holiday houses and sanatoria between the old and the new unions.

They can be nationalised because they belong to the nation; or there has to be some central body which will take over after the CRZZ—but legally, according to the law.

What awaits us is a great political battle. However, we shall be in a better position because in the meantime the

enemy pulls down his mask, we have increasing evidence and show it now to the nation.

It is shocking for some people. Some people say: how can they show such things on television? But never mind.

Fear

The important thing is first of all to make people realise what sort of canaille they are and what they're up to.

Secondly, they have to become afraid, well afraid. The western countries, especially West Germany, Denmark and other Americans have to fear what the unions are doing. (. . .)

The unions fight for information, for access to the media. And they will get it when they have learnt that they have to dissociate themselves from KOR.

What we would need is a statement that they dissociate themselves from KOR. This would in turn cause divisions in KOR.

There's no other way. They have to know that we are not the sort of people to be easily outwitted.

We are already waging a struggle in these circumstances. On the third day running, all the factories in Silesia are working. In the whole country only about 10 minor plants are on strike.

Let them strike

The most stubborn are the strikers of the State Insurance Company in Przemysl. They don't want to yield; they demand talks with a party-government commission . . . but let them strike.

There's no hurry to solve the problem. You know, now it turns out that we have too soon dismantled

all these deputy premiers, there were so many of them.

Now they would come in handy, because we have to set up party-government commissions to talk to the unions.

Of course similar tactics will be applied in the case of the Katowice steelworks.

Here an element of anxiety will have to be introduced: we'll have to hint that the works will not be further developed. Let them understand, these building workers, that building enterprises can be dissolved, that if they are not disciplined the less qualified will be fired.

Now there was this 4-shift system . . . These commissions, these workers' commissions are to suggest who is going to be dismissed from the mines.

Good young lads

There's no 4-shift system now, so many people are not needed.

But these inter-factory workers' committees have to fire them. We have to involve them in a thousand problems.

I sympathise with them, they are good young lads but they have involved themselves in politics (laughter).

There is no other way, they have to get a taste of power. We have to make quarters and meeting places available to them.

And equip them with every luxury.

I always keep saying this but let me repeat it here once again: I don't know any man who would not get corrupted by power—it is simply a matter of time and degree (Laughter).

We can already see it among them. Easy access to money, taxi rides to Gdansk, telephone conversations, contacts with the secretary of the provincial party com-



KOR leader Jacek Kuron

mittee, with the deputy premier . . . They go and they begin to get extravagant with money . . . so this is a correct policy.

How will it all end? Ideally it should end with the unification of all these unions, though this can take years.

But we should see to it

that first they do not get rid of party members, second that they do get rid of the KOR people and then the rest must be simply slowly broken up.

And so, comrades, this is the situation about these unions. But this is a very difficult matter, we have to play it very delicately and with great political culture.

Stalinist bureaucracy

The sentiments expressed in the speech above have nothing to do with communism. They are a statement of the reactionary bureaucracy that has emerged in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. Below we reprint Trotsky's explanation of the rise of this bureaucracy.

He profoundly believed that the task of creating socialism was national and administrative in its nature.

He looked upon the Communist International as a necessary evil which should be used so far as possible for the purposes of foreign policy. His own party kept a value in his eyes merely as a submissive support for the machine.

Together with the theory of socialism in one country, there was put into circulation by the bureaucracy a theory that in Bolshevism the Central Committee is everything and the party nothing.

This second theory was in any case realised with more success than the first. Availing itself of the death of Lenin, the ruling group announced a "Leninist levy". The gates of the party, always carefully guarded, were now thrown wide open. Workers, clerks, petty officials, flocked through in crowds.

The political aim of this manoeuvre was to dissolve the revolutionary vanguard in raw human material, without experience, without independence, and yet with the old habit of submitting to the authorities.

Freed from control

The scheme was successful. By freeing the bureaucracy from the control of the proletarian vanguard, the

"Leninist levy" dealt a death blow to the party of Lenin.

The machine had won the necessary independence. Democratic centralism gave place to bureaucratic centralism.

In the party apparatus itself there now took place a radical reshuffling of personnel from top to bottom.

The chief merit of a Bolshevik was declared to be obedience. Under the guise of a struggle with the Opposition, there occurred a sweeping replacement of revolutionists with *chinnovniks* (professional governmental functionaries). The history of the Bolshevik party became a history of its rapid degeneration.

Rivalry

The political meaning of the developing struggle was darkened for many by the circumstance that the leaders of all three groupings, Left, Centre, and Right, belonged to one and the same staff in the Kremlin, the Politburo.

To superficial minds it seemed to be a mere matter of personal rivalry, a struggle for the "heritage" of Lenin.

But in the conditions of iron dictatorship social antagonisms could not show themselves at first except through the institutions of the ruling party.

Many Thermidorians emerged in their day from

the circle of the Jacobins.

Bonaparte himself belonged to that circle in his early years, and subsequently it was from among former Jacobins that the First Consul and Emperor of France selected his most faithful servants. Times change and the Jacobins with them, not excluding the Jacobins of the twentieth century.

Only Stalin

Of the Politburo of Lenin's epoch there now remains only Stalin. Two of its members, Zinoviev and Kamenev, collaborators of Lenin throughout many years as emigres, are enduring ten-year prison terms for a crime which they did not commit.

Three other members, Rykov, Bukharin and Tomsky, are completely removed from the leadership, but as a reward for submission occupy secondary posts.

And finally, the author of these lines is in exile. The widow of Lenin, Krupskaya, is also under the ban, having proved unable with all her efforts to adjust herself completely to the Thermidor.

The members of the present Politburo occupied secondary posts throughout the history of the Bolshevik party. If anybody in the first years of the revolution had predicted their future eleva-

tion, they would have been the first in surprise, and there would have been no false modesty in their surprise.

For this very reason, the rule is more stern at present that the Politburo is always right, and in any case that no man can be right against the Politburo.

But, moreover, the Politburo cannot be right against Stalin, who is unable to make mistakes and consequently cannot be right against himself.

Demands for party democracy were through all this time the slogans of all the oppositional groups, as insistent as they were hopeless.

The above-mentioned platform of the Left Opposition demanded in 1927 that a special law be written into the Criminal Code "punishing as a serious state crime every direct or indirect persecution of a worker for criticism." Instead of this, there was introduced into the Criminal Code an article against the Left Opposition itself.

Recollections

Of party democracy there remained only recollections in the memory of the older generation.

And together with it had disappeared the democracy of the soviets, the trade unions, the co-operatives, the cultural and athletic organisations.

Above each and every one of them there reigns an unlimited hierarchy of party secretaries. The regime had become "totalitarian" in character several years before this word arrived from Germany.

"By means of demoralising methods, which convert thinking Communists into machines, destroying their will, character and human dignity," wrote Rakovsky in 1928, "the ruling circles have succeeded in converting themselves into an unremovable and inviolate oligarchy, which replaces the class and the party."

Since those indignant lines were written, the degeneration of the regime has gone immeasurably farther.

The GPU has become the decisive factor in the inner life of the party. If Molotov in March 1936 was able to boast to a French journalist that the ruling party no longer contains any factional struggle, it is only because disagreements are now settled by the automatic intervention of the political police. The old Bolshevik party is dead, and no force will resurrect it.

From Leon Trotsky "Revolution Betrayed"—Pathfinder Press edition, pages 94-100.



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Ideas that sprang from the English Revolution

Ian McCalman
reviews *Some Intellectual Consequences of the English Revolution* by Christopher Hill, published by Weidenfeld and Nicolson.

Milton, the great republican propagandist, couched his heretical views in literary terms, as do dissidents in the Soviet Union today.

Yet their ideas were not wholly to perish. The millenarian ideas concerning the immediate coming of Christ's Kingdom were to be translated into the secular language of the possibilities of human progress and perfectibility, to be carried forward into the French Enlightenment of the eighteenth century and hence into the thinking of Marx and Engels in the nineteenth.

Radical democratic concepts of an extended franchise and a reformed parliamentary system, universal education, the curtailment of the powers of lawyers and priests, were to remain relatively dormant for a century or more, only to find new life in the American and French Revolutions of the later eighteenth century, inspiring Tom Paine and the London Corresponding Society who carried forward these challenging concepts into a new era.

Hill's lectures sparkle with ideas on these major historical themes.

Weaknesses

There are weaknesses in the presentation. Being based upon lecture notes, the text bristles with concepts which are presented but not developed.

There is a lack of logical flow in some of the argumentation. The result is that Hill lays himself open to the pettifogging pedantry which passes for historical scholarship in some circles.

Surely there can be no simple equation—radical Puritanism equals progressive ideas—the critics complain.

The point is too obvious to merit reply.

Of course, Hill is well aware that the Catholic Descartes laid essential foundations for modern thinking in the realm of natural philosophy; of course the Royalist Hobbes was the foremost materialist thinker of the century. Hill is well aware of such subtleties in the history of ideas.

But his essential concern in this collection of essays is not to pursue the ramifications of all progressive trends in thought in the seventeenth century, but to relate some of the essential ideological changes of the epoch—to the material conditions of the bourgeoisie revolution.

In this he may frequently exasperate, but more often he provokes and stimulates, concentrating our minds wonderfully upon the origins of many of our own concepts.

Hill's book reminds us how much he and others, such as Edward Thompson and Eric Hobsbawm, have deepened our knowledge of British history and the social and economic forces that have shaped it.

Revolutionary socialists, whilst reserving the right to criticise wrong political positions, cannot but draw upon the advances made by those historians who have been heavily influenced by the Marxist tradition.

And Trotskyists must be prepared to enter into the fullest dialogue with those who have contributed so much to our understanding.

The publication of any work by Christopher Hill should be the object of interest for Marxist historians for no one has done more to deepen our understanding of the bourgeois revolution of the seventeenth century.

In this collection of lectures given at the University of Wisconsin, Hill pursues a subject which has long fascinated him, the relationship between the revolution and the ideas to which it gave birth or into which it breathed new life.

Hill is acutely aware of the fact that so many of the institutions which were either directly challenged or even overthrown in the course of the revolutionary decades, the 1640s and 1650s, were to be re-established at the Restoration in 1660.

Back in place

The monarchy, the House of Lords and the Anglican Church, with its episcopal hierarchy, were all back in place once more.

How then can a revolutionary change be said to have occurred? Hill argues that the forms may have been restored but the social and economic context had changed immeasurably.

Whatever the schemes of the later Stuart kings, the sovereignty of the House of Commons had been established and in the long run could not but prevail.

The way had been paved for the constitutional monarchy, confirmed by the settlement of 1689, in which the royal head was reduced to a cypher, the manipulated monarchy, its virtues extolled first by a subservient clergy and later by the sycophantic media.

No longer were there to be the prerogative courts of monarchy and church. The rule of law was to prevail; law which had as its prime consideration the protection of property.

As Hill remarks, after the seventeenth century revolution, England was the freest country in Europe—for those who commanded the wealth of the nation.

The driving forces behind Britain's foreign policy had also changed in the revolutionary decades.

The republican internationalism which had briefly flourished in the 1640s was submerged in the imperialist ambitions of Cromwellian foreign policy, an economic nationalism dictated by the financial interests in the City of London.

Economic nationalism

Henceforth the personal whims of monarchical foreign policy were subordinated to the forces of economic nationalism, enshrined in the Navigation Acts.

The foundations were laid for the crude economic imperialism of the eighteenth century and the pre-eminence of the Bank of England in the economy of the nation.

All of these forces, essential for creating the conditions for the Industrial Revolution of the following century, were released or impelled forward by the bourgeois revolution of the seventeenth century.

It was the forcing house for modern capitalist concepts concerning political institutions, the law, empire and the role of the church.

But what, asks Hill, was the fate of the radical, democratic, even communistic, ideas which sprang forth in the course of the Civil Wars?

The huge expansion in printed material in the revolutionary decades is summed up in the statistics of 22 pamphlets published in 1640 as compared to 1,966 in 1642, a momentum which was maintained throughout that decade and into the next, though then in a diminishing degree.

Breakdown

The breakdown of monarchical and clerical censorship provided the conditions for this tremendous dissemination of radical ideas which emerged in the course of the revolution the ideas of the Levellers, Diggers, Seekers, Ranters and numerous other groups and sects which briefly flourished.



Strengthened: the House of Commons

Where did the adherents of these ideas go after 1660? Perhaps we can now

discover only a segment of the truth. Many, exasperated by the

petty tyranny of squire and parson, may have emigrated to America. Others, disillusioned by the course of the

revolution and fear of repression, simply laid low.

Musical onslaught on sexism

*The Au Pairs can be seen supporting The Specials on July 4 at a Carnival Against Racism in Potternewton Park, Leeds.

By Andrew MacDonald

"Playing with a Different Sex" could be thought a peculiar album title to say the least.

But there again, you couldn't accuse the Au Pairs of being exactly any run-of-the-mill new pop group. They aren't.

They have certainly managed to capture the imagination of a large 'radical' following.

Definite proof of this is that their debut single "It's Obvious/Diet" remained at the top of the independent label singles chart for weeks on end, and now the Human record label is expanding its influence.

Part of the reason for this no doubt is that they have

been playing live nearly non-stop since the group started and that their music is exciting, uncompromising and original.

Generally speaking the rock industry has always been split between pro- and anti-establishment.

The anti-establishment spectrum, from the Rolling Stones and The Who in the '60s through to the punk explosion of '77 has generally speaking produced the new, creative and dynamic stuff which the big multi-nationals latch onto a few months or years later and attempt to rake in the profits.

The "post-punk depression" has been a tense time for the 'official' rock industry with record sales plummeting and the advent of a multitude of forward-

looking independent record labels producing the records of forward-looking groups.

This is really a contradictory situation because all depend on each other for survival.

Politics and rock music are inextricably linked but so is sexism and rock music.

The Au Pairs are an anti-sexist, political group. But to what extent they would agree politically with Socialist Press cannot be gauged by listening to an album.

'Come Again' (!) like most of the Au Pairs' songs on the album has an apt sense of sarcasm and an uncanny knack of growing on you.

"You behave like a model for others to follow, Equal shares, equal shares, It's frustrating, aggravating, so annoying, pretend you're

enjoying it, It's your turn now but do you want to?

I don't know if you want to. It's inhibiting, restricting, so confusing, Now I'm losing count. Can't concentrate it's another way to fake... Yes, thank you, I got one, Yes it was nice, yes, yes, it was fine."

Subtle but forceful lyrics about repressed female sexuality ending up with a final kick in the balls/teeth—"Shit I forgot to put my cap in".

This theme makes up the majority of the album with other tracks about battered women, marriage and the hypocrisy of romance making the point that heterosexuality is never hunky dory and that women are

invariably sexually maltreated by men.

Just as few groups are prepared to make a stand openly in defence of women's rights or gay rights, even less are lending their support to the struggle against British imperialism in Ireland.

The Au Pairs are an exception. When I saw them play live supporting the Beat they dedicated a song called Armagh to Bobby Sands and the women in Armagh Gaol and it is a very powerful song.

"There are 32 women in Armagh Jail, political prisoners here at home. The British state's got nothing to lose, it's a subject better left alone. We don't torture. We're a civilised nation. We avoid any confrontation.

DOCKERS VOTE TO BLACK LEE JEANS

Despite certain weaknesses in its demands, the Lee Jeans occupation has emerged as the principal national focus of the struggle to defend jobs. Socialist Press visited the Greenock factory and spoke to the women at the centre of this crucial struggle.

The 18-week sit-in struggle against the closure of the Lee Jeans factory at Greenock has taken a dramatic new turn with the decision of dockers in ports throughout Britain to impose a black upon the products of the V.F. Corporation.

This will mainly affect the firm's goods leaving Northern Ireland for Scandinavia, their main market. Helen Monaghan, the factory convenor told *Socialist Press* how she had just returned from a tour of Britain's ports explaining their case to the dockers—culminating in a dockers' conference in London where full support for the struggle was endorsed.

Hesitancy

She explained that their initial hesitancy to take such action was because the

women occupying the threatened plant had hoped to attract a buyer for the plant and had been persuaded not to take such action because it might frighten away any potential buyer.

Drastic action

Whilst they had not abandoned such hopes, they now see that more drastic action was essential to save their jobs.

Not only had backing come from the dockers but also from the seamen and lorry drivers, who are refusing to transport any of the company's products from Cairnryan ferry terminal to depots in Clydeside.

Helen recognised that this action might tempt the management to take more forceful action than hitherto.

They were obviously afraid of pushing towards a confrontation with the

whole trade union movement by attempting to evict the 170 workers still involved in the occupation, she explained, but they may now be thinking of applying for an injunction for the removal of the workers.

Certainly the occupation remains highly organised and disciplined. Control of the factory has now rested with the workforce since 5 February and is consistently operated on a 3 shift 12 hour rota system.

Financial aid continues to pour in, in particular from a levy of Clyde shipyard workers, though obviously more is always welcome, especially since there will now be no more cash coming from the closed Linwood factory and the struggle is costing £5,000 a week to sustain.

Helen explained that the stewards' committee allows

the security men employed by the firm to check the premises twice a day to show that no damage has been done—but this is purely at the discretion of the stewards themselves.

The electricity has not been cut off because of the necessity to maintain the sprinkler system in case of fire, but bills for electricity of over £2,000 and for rent and rates of over £1,000 which have been sent to them have simply been ignored.

Suspicions

One factor that concerns the stewards is the attitude of the leadership of their own trade union, the Tailor and Garment Workers Union.

Although they have made the struggle official, some recent events have aroused suspicions as to their sincer-

ity. For instance, when the company sent out P45 forms to the workers, the stewards collected them in, explaining to the workers that if they took them to the labour exchange this would indicate their acceptance of redundancy.

Now fresh P45 forms have been issued—with a note telling the workers where to hand them over.

There is more than a suspicion that there is a degree of connivance between management, government officials and the union leadership in this latest move.

Now that the ball has been set rolling in terms of blacking action, the issue becomes that of extending such action to a complete

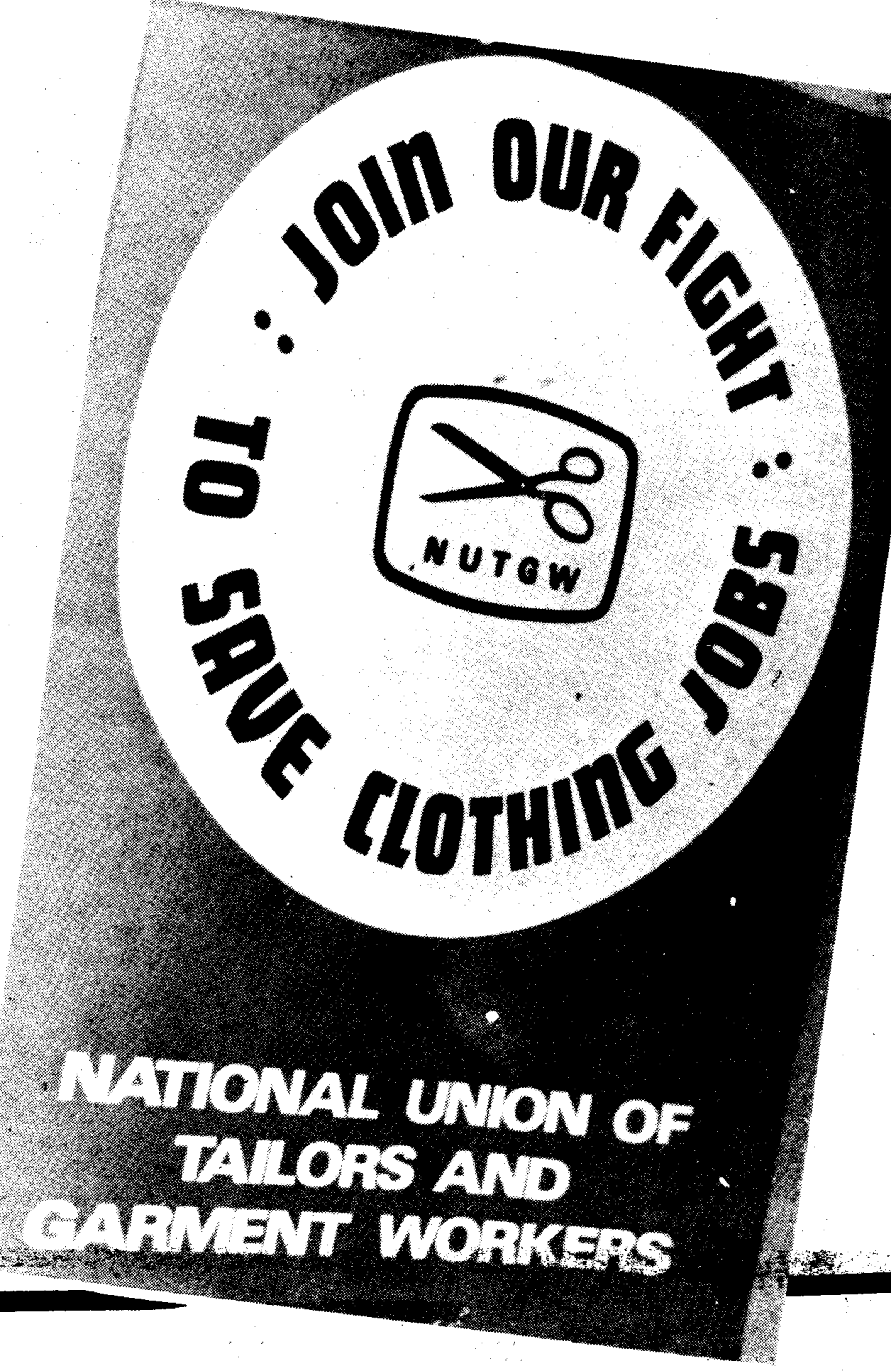
boycott of V.F. products.

This means persuading unions such as USDAW to refuse to handle such goods at distribution depots and commencing a boycott of sales of such goods in the High Street.

A good start was made in that last week by 40 people from the Right to Work campaign at Selfridges in London.

Helen Monaghan told us she was hoping to start this week on drawing up a leaflet for use outside the High Street stores, thus extending the campaign to embrace and involve the many thousands of people who support their struggle and would be only too willing to participate in securing the victory they seek.

Donations and messages of support should be sent to Helen Monaghan, 55 Cambridge Road, Greenock.





NATFHE in retreat

NATFHE conference '81 stepped back from a fight with the Tory government.

CUTS HANG OVER EIS CONFERENCE

The issues of cuts, possible redundancies and school closures stand at the forefront of the agenda for this year's annual conference of the EIS, Scotland's biggest teaching union.

In anticipation of the large number of resolutions on these points, the leadership has produced a report from an ad hoc committee on the implications of falling school rolls which, whilst highlighting the government's criminal use of falling rolls to cut education facilities, jobs and standards, suggests solutions which are potentially disastrous.

In particular the proposal that more power to fight cuts should be devolved into the hands of regional executives, could open the way to a cop out by the national leadership when action on an overall Scottish basis is necessary to wage a meaningful campaign.

Two resolutions which are particularly worthy of support are those from Dumbartonshire on fixed term contracts and from Morayshire on the enforcement of smaller class sizes.

The former calls for the implementation of a policy of refusal to take the classes of non-replaced fixed-term contract teachers.

Almost all primary teachers employed in Strathclyde over the past year have been given such contracts

which deny them any permanency or security in their employment.

Discussions are now proceeding on the future of 1,000 such jobs in Strathclyde and more immediate threats are posed in other regions. The Dumbartonshire resolution is a timely response to these threats and a decision in its favour at the AGM would be a step in the right direction.

The Morayshire proposition is the sting-in-the-tail amendment to a resolution which specifies smaller class sizes than are at present accepted under the terms of the teachers' contract.

Action

The amendment demands that if the management do not accept such class sizes (e.g. a maximum of 25 in primary classes, with the exception of the intake class, and 25 in the first three years of secondary) then the union should proceed unilaterally to their implementation.

Such a resolution, calling, as it does, for action and fixing a date upon it, will be fiercely resisted by the right wing determined to do no more than make a show of protest about the cuts and their impact without committing the union to a specific course of action.

The resistance of the right wing to campaigning in defence of educational facilities was exemplified recently by the decision of the Glasgow Local Association Committee of Management by 22 votes to 15 to refuse to back the campaign to defend nursery facilities in the Gorbals where two nurseries are under immediate threat of closure.

This weak-kneed approach is in vivid contrast to the determination of parents in that area to fight to defend and extend nursery facilities.

A delegation of the parents involved in the occupation there which began on Monday last will lobby the annual conference on its first day, calling upon delegates to support their campaign.

The decision of the Rank and File to allow them to speak at their fringe meeting on the Thursday afternoon shows that at least a substantial number of teachers favour being involved in a campaign to defend educational facilities.

Another key issue at the conference will be the debate on a referendum on the question of affiliation to the Labour Party. The resistance of the right wing to such a move will have grown more vociferous as an increasing number of them have recently joined the ranks of the SDP (Shirley and David Party), the latest recruit being Keir Bloomer, silver tongued advocate of the right wing and now Assistant General Secretary Designate of the Institute.

(Increasingly trade unionists and Labour Party members are asking themselves whether the Institute HQ at Moray Place is the Scottish recruiting agency for the Social Democrats).

Whatever the outcome of the vote whether or not to have a referendum, the debate on Labour Party affiliation is only opening up within the union and will be pressed forward in the period ahead.

The retreat was implicit in speeches from the President and the General Secretary who both failed to relate their contributions to recent developments in the class struggle.

Clapped on by the NEC the dynamic duo engaged in anti-Tory rhetoric but refused to outline a strategy to defend services.

Crucial recent developments in the Labour Party were never mentioned throughout the conference. The rebel Labour councillors were not cited as a possible focus around which to build class struggles.

Arms expenditure was religiously condemned but the relationship between Ireland and the cuts was never explained.

The President referred to the delegates as 'freedom fighters' whilst ruling out of order two emergency motions from Inner and Outer London concerning the genuine liberation struggle in the occupied six counties of Northern Ireland.

Indeed the NEC's 'internationalist' standing ovation for the speaker from El Salvador never threatened to cross the sea to the H Blocks of Long Kesh.

Cash limits

NEC members correctly identified a number of features of Tory control in education. By 'capping the pool' they have placed rigid cash limits on money available for advanced further education and proposed that polytechnics and higher education colleges be centrally funded and controlled.

Much evidence shows that 'progressive' education authorities have been hit worst with Inner London losing a total of £200 million in aid.

Despite these and countless other examples illustrated the NEC moved to delete clauses from motions which committed them to mobilise the membership for strike action in defence of jobs and services.

Source of strength

The militancy of the civil service dispute was praised but never related to the cuts struggle as a source of strength in a confrontation with the Tory receivers following Labour group refusal to implement cuts.

All cuts resolutions adopted requested that the Tories change their policy with no perspective towards Labour groups and councils.

The right wing is greatly assisted in its ability to avoid the necessary struggle around the Labour Party by the SWP inspired 'College Rank and File' group whose attitude is one of indifference to the developments in the Labour Party.

The SWP's contribution to this much needed debate was a fringe meeting entitled 'Can the Labour Party bring Socialism?'

Here, they failed completely to tackle the reality of a mass influx into the Labour Party and its leftward thrust.

On the pay question, conference witnessed a massive feeling from the

delegates against the wide differentials between different scales of payment for lecturers. The mood was clearly opposed to the pure percentage claim, much loved by well paid NEC members, and in favour of a claim of £x plus Y% which, whilst being far from ideal, does represent a healthy feeling from the rank and file towards greater equality of pay rates.

Conference passed motions opposing overseas student fee increases and attempts by the government to cash in on unemployment by recruiting to the armed forces.

Important fringe meetings were held on part-timers, adult education, El Salvador and women's rights.

A useful gay rights meeting heard Barry Prothero, the NCCL Gay Rights officer describing the large number of cases referred to the NCCL each week, indicating, of course, that these represented only a small percentage of cases of discrimination against gays.

Crucial area

The modest attendance at this meeting reflected the immediate need for work in this crucial area within the union.

Over 60 delegates attended a meeting to discuss NATFHE affiliation to the Labour Party and a petition was circulated and well supported during the conference.

Prominent Communist Party members opposed attempts to change the rule allowing the President absolute discretion on emergency resolutions and spoke against moves to weaken the straightjacket of Rule 25 which requires a 51% vote of all branch members before the NEC will consider declaring a strike official.

Ansells refuse to accept sell-out

Despite every conceivable effort by TGWU officials to kill off their struggle in defence of jobs, workers at Ansells brewery voted last weekend to continue their dispute and to demand full support from the union's Executive Council.

Their struggle against the closure of the brewery with the loss of 700 jobs and redeployment for 300 other workers has been going on for 20 weeks.

But after repeated attempts to curtail their picketing activities and refusals to mount full scale blacking action had failed to crush their militancy, TGWU Regional Secretary Brian Mathers went one step further and organised his own postal ballot.

Stern letter

Along with a stern letter from TGWU legal eagle Albert Blighton came a note from Mathers with a tear-off ballot slip.

The questions were outrageous. Workers were offered two "choices". The one—to continue the strike—was worded as follows:

"I fully understand that the brewery will not reopen but wish to continue to be in dispute with the company, and accept that as a result the compensation

which had been offered will be withdrawn".

Thus workers looking to continue the fight are asked to declare in advance that they recognise they have lost!

Company facilities

The alternative—conceding defeat—is worded much more positively:

"I have reconsidered my position, and accept that negotiations should commence for the reopening of the Aldridge and Gravelly Park depots distribution coupled with the acceptance of the offer of compensatory payment to those who are not reemployed."

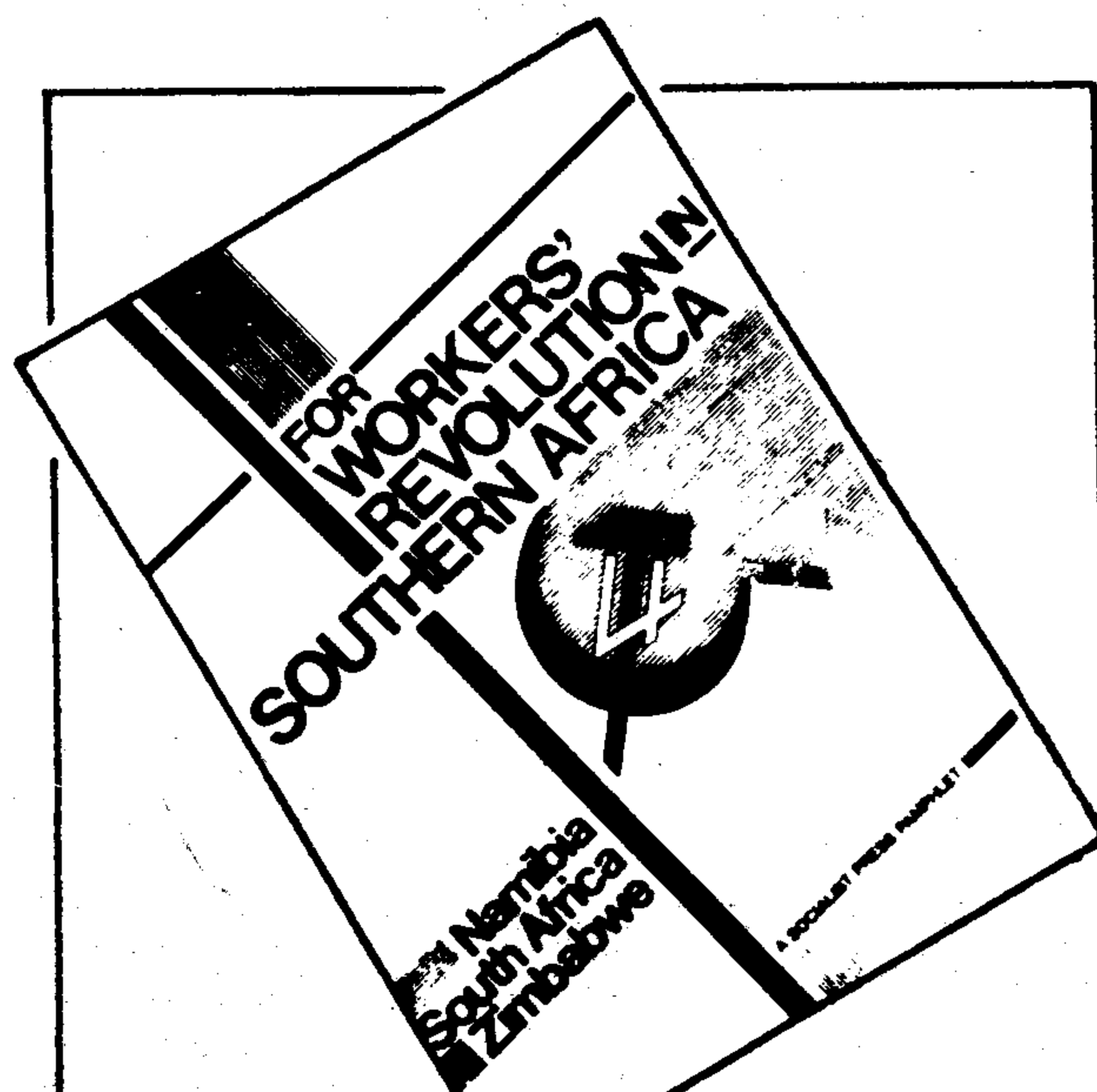
Not surprisingly these ballot papers were sent out using company facilities. But though this manoeuvre took more of the momentum out of the struggle it still did not kill the militancy.

Last weekend a mass meeting voted to carry on the dispute until a "satisfactory negotiated settlement" is reached. And the same meeting voted unanimously to demand a union inquiry into the conduct of Mathers and Regional Organiser Doug Fairburn (who was also the subject of bitter complaints following his betrayal of the Longbridge 8 last winter).



Mathers

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Reselection line upheld by NEC

The Tory press has once again frothed and flapped at a decision of the Labour NEC—this time the decision to advise constituency parties to carry through a genuine rather than a rubber-stamp reselection of MPs.

The NEC decision—carried by 15 votes to 9 against the opposition of a specially flown-in Michael Foot—does no more than advise CLPs of the recommended procedure.

It cannot compel right wing led parties to open up its shortlist to more than the single name of the sitting candidate: and those right wingers (Callaghan, Boothroyd, Faulds, Snape, etc) who have already come through such a procedure are not to be forced to submit to a genuine reselection.

Only seven

But in view of the fact that only seven out of 630 prospective candidates have so far been firmly agreed, the NEC attempt to make the "shortlist of one" an exception to the general rule will change the conditions for the majority of rank and file Labour Party members seeking a voice in the selection of their candidate.

The decision to thus give concrete form to the reselection procedure was of course vociferously opposed both by the official right wing—Healey, Foot, Golding,

Boothroyd, etc—but also by the unofficial right wing which until recently paraded as "left" wingers—Neil Kinnock, Judith Hart and Renee Short.

John Golding described the decision to issue new advice as "monstrous". Far more monstrous however is the attempt by the right wing both at constituency level and in the Deputy Leadership contest to make

the anti-democratic "shortlist of one" the norm.

Meanwhile the vote by Birmingham Ladywood CLP to oust a right wing sitting Labour MP at the next election in favour of left winger Albert Bore has registered the first tangible gain of the new system.

Bore is a Birmingham City Councillor and a supporter of the Labour Committee on Ireland.

Heslin—to be reinstated?

A cloud of uncertainty still hangs over the long-running fight by Oxford Socialist Press supporter Ted Heslin to secure reinstatement to the Oxford CLP.

Two years of delays, hearings and appeals eventually brought an NEC ruling that he should be readmitted to the party, from which he was expelled by the right wing GC for selling copies of *Socialist Press*.

Dissidents

Local witch-hunters complained again and failed to implement the NEC ruling.

NEC member Eric Heffer and National Agent David Hughes were dispatched to investigate the view of these right wing dissidents.

When they reported back to last week's NEC meeting however, the decision to reinstate Heslin was upheld.

Assurances

The local GC has, we understand, been called upon to readmit him to membership, pending a meeting with representatives of the NEC.

At that meeting Heslin will be asked to give certain formal assurances on his conduct.

But since there would be little prospect of the NEC devoting any further time or trouble to the Heslin case if he were to remain outside the Party, and there has never been any question of his agreeing to cease selling *Socialist Press*, this can only mean that the NEC upholds the view that it is permissible for Labour Party activ-

CIVIL SERVICE TALKS

Civil service union leaders, still unable to summon up the courage to offer the militant stand demanded by their members, continue their futile talks with the Tories as we go to press.

The Tories, looking at the continued refusal of the union bureaucracy to mount all-out action and the resultant patchy impact of selective strikes, have become arrogantly cocksure.

Thatcher has even insisted that they pull back from the mooted compromise of offering a further ¼-1% on the present 7% offer in exchange for more rapid loss of civil service jobs. She is determined to beat back this challenge to her public sector pay limits.

"Inquiry"

The best that is on offer at present is a time-wasting Royal Commission "inquiry" into civil service

pay: the last one of these took over two years to report back!

Meanwhile the deadline by which the CPSA and other unions are committed to calling all-out stoppages affecting DHSS benefits is looming ever closer.

It is the fear of this that drives the union leaders to cling so tightly to Thatcher's apron strings. Sooner or later however the reality must be faced: only all-out sustained strike action will defeat this Tory government.



Thatcher

ists to support and to sell *Socialist Press*.

It is far from certain, however, that the Oxford right wing will meekly accept this verdict.

Like right wingers everywhere, they believe in "democracy" and the authority of leading bodies only when the decisions arrived at are in line with their reactionary views.

Notorious

The Oxford GC comprises some of the most notorious right wingers in the local labour movement—from the anti-union millionaire boss of Pergamon Press Robert Maxwell, through strike-breaking AHA chairperson Lady McCarthy, to the witch-hunting John Power, now a city and county councillor, who after selling his job through volun-

tary redundancy at the BL car plants is now a lone AUEW member working in a library.

Not surprisingly such a gaggle of scabs and right wingers—with their faces set against any of the progressive changes now sweeping through other parts of the Labour Party—wish at all costs to keep Heslin (and if possible other socialists) off the Oxford GC.

It is therefore not unlikely that the latest NEC letter will be received as yet another excuse for prolonged prevarication.

The fight for his reinstatement—the only current struggle of its kind in the country—is a symbol of the fight for socialism in a party still largely led in many areas by forces who have so far forgotten to join the Social Democrats.



A year ago Heslin lobbies NEC

Pergamon journalists fight for union rights

The struggle being fought by nine sacked strikers against Robert Maxwell's Pergamon Press has now been on for 13 weeks.

Support for the strike continues to grow. Maxwell shows little inclination of being prepared to come to the table. He is certainly smarting, though, from the bad publicity he has been getting throughout the labour movement.

Last week Pergamon produced yet another 'press release' for sending to organisations and individuals who have written to him in support of the strikers.

This 'press release' gives six reasons why the strikers won't be reinstated. These include the fact that they have been picketing the gate (!) and the fact that they have sent out publicity material about the strike to trade union branches and CLPs. Heinous crimes indeed!

But the company's response does not stop at propaganda.

For some time the company has been claiming that it had a large number of people who wanted to join the NUJ but were repelled by the behaviour of the existing chapel.

On closer inspection this potential membership turns out to be a group of managers who (at whose bidding?)

have been trying to pass themselves off as bona fide "moderate" would-be trade unionists.

Mr Maxwell, not surprisingly, has championed their cause. What they always omit from their propaganda, however, is the fact that the NUJ nationally and locally has told them that another chapel is out of the question and that they will have to come out on strike if they want to join.

This bizarre initiative by the company is, believe it or not, not that untypical of the way Pergamon conducts its relations with trade unions.

One piece of labour movement support which may be particularly worrying Maxwell is that from members both in publishing and other fields—of ASTMS.

The NUJ nationally has now written to ASTMS (of which Maxwell is a member) complaining about Maxwell's conduct and inviting ASTMS to take the appropriate disciplinary measures against him.

Meanwhile Pergamon continue to attack the strikers as politically motivated wreckers with a viciousness reminiscent of the McCarthyite period in the US.

Aside from popularising their strike, the nine sacked NUJ members are also persuading more tangible means of forcing Maxwell to the

negotiating table.

They are trying to organise a blacking of Pergamon publications by trade unions in libraries and bookshops.

They are also launching a campaign to get NUJ members who supply copy to Maxwell-owned printers to transfer the work elsewhere.

At the same time a number of initiatives are under way, through the

Printing Industries Committee of the TUC and through the Labour Party, to try to persuade Maxwell to talk.

Meanwhile trouble is brewing again at the London office—occupied for three months last winter by the NUJ in a battle over jobs. This time the dispute is over wages.

The weakest term in the equation continues to be the print unions. If the

Pergamon strike has demonstrated anything it is that to defeat an employer like Maxwell we need a determined and united stand.

It is the duty of every print militant working for Maxwell to find ways of forging links with other printers, in other plants.

Then we will be in a strong position to defend trade union organisation, jobs and living standards.

Maxwell talks with Tikhonov

ROBERT MAXWELL of Pergamon Press thinks British business circles have an important stake in the improvement of trade and economic relations with the USSR.

Mr Maxwell was speaking in Moscow, during a meeting with Prime Minister Nikolai Tikhonov.

Nikolai Tikhonov pointed

to the broader scientific and cultural ties which, he said, were being positively aided by publishers like Mr Maxwell's firm, Pergamon.

As far as the Soviet Union is concerned, he said, it has always worked for detente, for strengthening mutual understanding and building up confidence between itself and other countries.

Soviet Weekly, May 16 1981.

Support for the Pergamon strikers has been forthcoming from the Polish union Solidarity.

Less keen however to show support are the Kremlin leaders who according to *Soviet Weekly* found time for personal talks with Maxwell!

No doubt they consider that Maxwell's readiness to publish works by Brezhnev and witch-hunt 'Trotskyists' puts him on their side of the fence!

National conference

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WORKERS' STRUGGLES SHAKE APARTHEID CELEBRATIONS

sector jobs have vanished in school meals, health, teaching and social services without a finger lifted by union officials.

Sole exception to this tide of retreat was the unofficial miners' strike which forced back the Tory/NCB closure plans.

Basking in the glory of this action which they did nothing to promote were NUM General Secretary Lawrence Daly and Yorkshire leader Arthur Scargill.



Murray - blames workers

It was Scargill's speech that made most impact on many at the rally—with his correct call to defend jobs and occupy factories threatened with closure and his statement that:

"If the TUC gave a lead and threatened the government with direct action we would get somewhere.

We are not prepared to see our children deprived of the right to work. If that means direct action on the part of the trade union movement then that's the consideration that our movement will have to give."

Well Scargill is on the TUC General Council. So too is Ken Gill of TASS, who insisted that "the TUC must make sure that the momentum is not lost".

Both therefore now have the opportunity to fight for the TUC to embark on an immediate campaign for all-out action to bring down the inflexible and savage Tory government and drive out the discredited right wing leadership of the Labour Party (whose main representative, Dennis Healey, was roundly booed by Sunday's rally).

Only such a fight can cut through the sticky icing of hypocrisy which coated every speech in Trafalgar Square, masking the bitter flavour of betrayal in the day-to-day policies of the bureaucrats on the platform.

We've had a bucketful of speeches: now let's see some fight to defend jobs, organise the unemployed and bring down this hated Tory government.

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The South African government and the capitalist class behind it have been celebrating 20 years of their apartheid Republic.

Anti-Republic Day Committees were set up to boycott the celebration and organise protest meetings.

These boycott committees have focussed attention on the official celebrations while black workers and youth are daily facing in struggle the real meaning of the Republic, and fighting the real battle against the bosses' apartheid state.

The growing strength of that struggle has meant that the government and capitalists do not have much to celebrate about.

Behind the extravagant displays and the massive show of military strength, lies the confusion and division of the ruling class in the face of a black working class that is moving forward on every front.

Struggle

Despite vicious repression and terrible poverty, the black working class continues to march on in struggle, developing its class confidence, building its organised strength, and extending its demands on every issue.

Across the country groups of workers and youth are in struggle. In the motor industry, thousands of black workers are on strike.

About 2,000 Leyland workers have been sacked for striking for higher wages.

Over 3,000 workers at Ford, General Motors and Firestone Tyres have gone on strike to demand reinstatement of victimised workers.

Deported

In the crucial mining industry too, workers are fighting against the starvation wages and slave labour conditions.

Last week 1600 workers on a gold mine were deported to the rural areas after striking.

In workplaces throughout the country, workers are mobilising to defend the organisation they have built in struggle.

Again and again, united action is developing in workplaces and in the communities. Mass resistance has been mobilised in many working class townships against increased rents.

CELEBRATIONS



Striking carworkers in Port Elizabeth

Thousands of workers and youth are daily resisting the bosses' pass law system with its expulsions from the towns and farming areas into the bantustan starvation camps.

Militant battles

In the schools and on the streets, working class youth are waging militant battles against government attempts to control and discipline them.

The upturn in the economy which has been based almost entirely on gold is beginning to stagger under the pressure of the world crisis of capitalism.

The massive profits of the last two years are threatening to develop into a crisis of profits.

Facing a developing economic crisis, the capitalists and their government are increasingly forced to attack even the terrible economic position of black workers.

This capitalist drive to protect profits is also forcing them to weaken the relatively privileged economic position of white workers on whom they have traditionally relied as crucial allies in the control of the black working class.

The recent white elections were organised by the governing National Party as part of its attempts to strengthen its base of support in preparation for a mounting attack on the black working class.

There was a massive swing of support to ultra-rightwing reaction. The ultra-right has been able to exploit the growing confusion and dissatisfaction amongst white workers making the black workers the scapegoat for the threats facing white workers.

The capitalist class is less and less able to rule through the old forms, but it is also impossible for them to find new forms of rule stable and strong enough to control the forward movement of the black working class.

Challenge

Black workers are more strongly mobilised, organised, united and determined than ever before.

Their mounting day-to-day struggles are posing the greatest ever challenge to the capitalist state.

It is by developing these struggles that a movement will be built to defeat the bosses' republic. But there is

no developed leadership to meet the urgent needs of the situation.

Some union leaders are acting to hold back struggle when the clear need is to drive forward.

Time and again, these leaders leave groups of workers to struggle in isolation when there is a ready basis for organised united action.

Other union leaders support the militancy of workers and the action workers are already taking—but fail to give a lead for developing and strengthening action and demands.

And the traditional black nationalist ANC leadership is telling the working class which is stronger than ever to rely not on its own strength, but on the guerrillas and their action.

At a time of growing mass struggle, ANC leaders have launched a campaign of propaganda sabotage actions. Their call for a general strike was backed up not by mass agitation but by sabotage to halt trains taking workers to work.

These ANC leaders have attracted thousands of courageous militants from the ranks of the working class but are leading them away

The mass action of the working class has done more in one year to shatter the confidence, deepen the divisions, and weaken the grip of the ruling class, than 20 years of ANC armed struggle.

The ANC leaders continually try to harness and shackle the great revolutionary strength of the working class to their struggle for a reformed capitalism.

With production organised for profits and profits dependent on cheap black labour, the fact is that capitalism in South Africa—however it may be reorganised—could never meet the basic needs of the workers.

Even in the imperialist democracies like Britain, capitalism is forced to attack the democratic rights and living standards won by workers' struggle.

Class strength

The task must be to develop the independent class strength of workers and youth, to strengthen the defences against a more and more desperate ruling class, to take forward struggle behind the strongest actions demands and organisation.

The existing leadership is an obstacle to this vital task—a new leadership must be built in the struggle.

Messages of support to the British Leyland strikers should be sent to NUMARW, (WPMWU), 2 Goodhope Street, Bellville South, Cape Town, and messages of support to the Firestone workers to Government Zini, Ford Cortina, Struandale Plant, Port Elizabeth.

FUND ALERT

Both our Monthly Fund and our Special Fund seem to be running into trouble. With some money for the May Monthly Fund still in the post, we have so far received only £546.00—over £300 short of our target! We really must make an early start to the June fund and try to ensure that we don't fall short by such a large amount during the coming month.

The £2,500 Special Fund seems also to have ground to a halt once again. The total stands at £1230.00. So we also need to give a boost to this fund urgently if we are to get back on target for raising the full £2,500 by the beginning of the Summer School in July.

Money for either fund should be sent to:
Socialist Press Fund
BM Box 5277, London WC1N 3XX.