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STRIKE NOW WITH FORDS! Break Phase 4!

The walkout by thousands of Fords workers that greeted the company's 5% Phase 4 pay offer last week has vividly demonstrated the explosive hostility within the working class to a further round of wage controls.

It also indicates the strength that all workers have felt after the defeat of moves by the AUEW bureaucracy to expel the 32 striking toolmakers at SU Carburettors.

The strike movement in Fords began with 100 toolmakers in Halewood. But it rapidly swept through production workers and into other plants—to the point of complete closure by Monday.

Disrupted

The power of it has completely disrupted the carefully laid plans of TGWU and other union bureaucrats to stall on action during weeks of futile talks.

TGWU National Organiser Ron Todd, the new chairman of the union negotiators, emerged from the first meeting with management declaring that the 5% offer was "only the start of negotiations", and that there were "weeks to go

yet".

But within hours of his statement 2,500 workers at Halewood and 500 at Southampton had registered a very different view of the matter by walking out.

Regain control

Fearing that they could be swept aside by this upsurge of shop floor resentment, and—after Duffy's failure at SU Carburettors—wary of taking the usual course of instructing members back to work, the officials had to move quickly in a bid to regain control.

They decided to recognise the inevitable, and declare for immediate, official, strike action to force Fords to increase their offer above 5%—even though the existing agreement does not expire for another month!

Widespread action

And, seeing the imminent prospect of widespread action against the pay limits, and hoping to force a quick settlement at Fords, TGWU General Secretary Evans went one further, and offered full union backing to 'any group of members' standing out against Phase 4.

The Government response has been to threaten the employer with sanctions



PHOTO: Laurence Sparham, IFL

Ford workers lobbying last week's pay negotiations

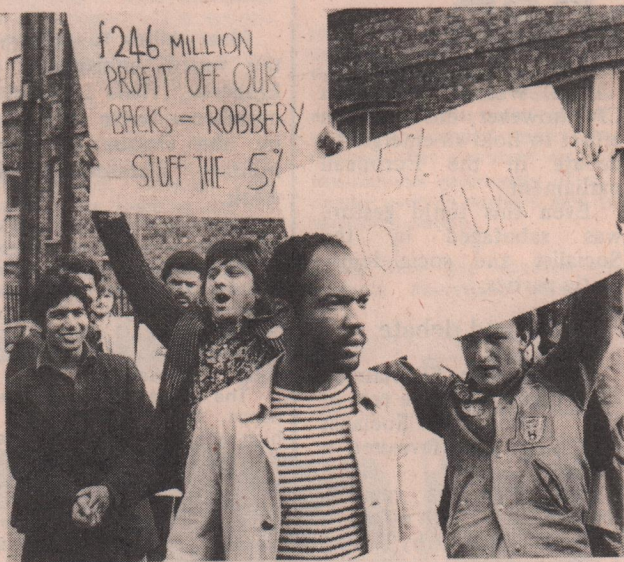


PHOTO: Laurence Sparham, IFL

such as a ban on government departments purchasing Ford cars.

They hope to strengthen Ford's resolve to sit out the strike, and are counting on other TUC leaders to repeat their sabotage of the firemen's strike, by ensuring that the Ford workers stay isolated.

Looks fragile

But with claims now under way for local authority workers, lorry drivers, British Leyland workers and many others, this strategy looks increasingly fragile.

It can be destroyed completely. All those workers with claims now due must press for a straight answer from management on whether or not they will offer in excess of 5%.

Where the employer refuses to break the Phase 4 limit there must be immediate strike action alongside the Ford workers.

The mass upsurge of workers on wages flows from three years of cuts in living standards inflicted through government pay limits.

Thousands of workers

are now declaring in practice that they are determined to defend their independent interests, and that they reject the spurious arguments about the 'national interest' peddled by Callaghan and Healey.

The danger remains that Evans, with his talk of "responsible bargaining" and emphasis on basing claims on what the employer can afford, will move in to attack pay struggles in supposedly "bankrupt" sections of capitalism—such as British Leyland.

Only last week AUEW leaders forced the strikers at Leyland's Bathgate plant back to work, using the argument that the company could not afford to concede to clear demands.

Workers must challenge any such move.

Leyland workers, with their review due for settlement on November 1, should be fighting alongside Fords.

If the employer argues he is too bankrupt to pay a living wage to his workforce the immediate demand must be for his accounts and

those of his suppliers and bankers to be opened up to elected trade union committees.

If he proves in fact to be bankrupt this is an argument not for dropping the demand for a living wage, but for adding to it the demand for nationalisation, without compensation, of the firm concerned, along with the whole string of banks and component firms that feed off it.

Ford workers have spoken for the working class as a whole. Now is the time to take action to regain lost living standards and defend them through cost-of-living clauses based on figures worked out by elected trade union/housewives committees.

Should any 'left' MP timidly pose as a supporter of this struggle to break Phase 4, he or she must be called upon to put their talk into practice, and immediately begin a campaign throughout the labour movement for the removal of the wage-cutting Callaghan/Healey leadership and for alternative, socialist policies.

In this way the gap between 'left' words and the actions of these reformist leaders can be rapidly exposed.



PHOTO: Laurence Sparham, IFL

WSL contingent on the Friday night demonstration

March supports Iranian struggle

500, mainly Iranian, workers and students attended a rally and demonstration through Central London last Friday night in protest against the latest wave of barbaric repression in Iran, in which thousands of demonstrators have been gunned down by troops.

But if they hoped for any political guidance in the struggle for the revolutionary overthrow of the Shah, they received none from the platform of the rally, which included Broad Left, Communist Party, Socialist Workers Party, and International Marxist Group speakers.

Broad Left spokesman Bob Wright offered only meaningless general calls for "solidarity" and the broadest alliance of "progressive" forces against the Shah.

Popular frontist

Meanwhile, the real meaning of such policies was shown when, outside the meeting a leaflet produced by the Iranian Stalinist Tudeh Party, reflecting the Kremlin's tacit support for the Shah's regime, called openly for a popular-frontist "national coalition" government.

Yet self-styled 'Trotskyist' Tariq Ali, clearly deciding to subordinate political clarity to the non-political 'unity' of the meeting, made no criticism of this position, and virtually confined himself to a historical survey of the relations between Britain and Iran.

Leading SWP member Steve Jeffries did at least refer to the scandalous role of the Labour government in propping up the Iranian dictatorship—though in place of policies for the Labour movement he could only offer a call for the cancellation of the Queen's state visit!

The willingness of the audience to respond to a clear political lead was indicated on the march, however, where large numbers of demonstrators readily took up the WSL slogans:

"Black all trade with Iran, Owen and Callaghan out" and "Kick out the Shah; for a workers' government in Iran!"



Imperialist stooges rush to patch up African shambles

Prime Minister Callaghan and Foreign Secretary Owen are not often seen rushing off together at short notice to meet African Presidents.

The revelations over the Zimbabwe sanctions busting led to just such a trip last week.

Clearly under some pressure, Zambian President Kaunda who has always argued for faith to be placed in the sanctions strategy summoned his imperialist friends to meet him in Nigeria.

The outcome of the meeting was a statement to the effect that Owen, Callaghan and Kaunda had "no differences on the future of Southern Africa".

Callaghan and Owen's trip comes at a time when, to all appearances, the imperialist plans in both Namibia and Zimbabwe are in shreds.

In Namibia, South African Premier Vorster's resignation through ill health was announced at the same time as the South African government made it clear that it intends to proceed with the "internal settlement".



Nkomo and Mugabe - rival candidates for imperialist and Stalinist favours

This means that elections for a National Assembly are to be held before the end of the year and that the timetable drawn up by the UN and the latter's plan for a UN "peacekeeping" force are rejected.

This is despite the fact that only the ultra-nationalist

grouping 'Aktur' and the collaborationist Democratic Turnhalle Alliance have agreed to take part in the elections.

Both SWAPO and the Namibia National Front had already boycotted the internal settlement, but had agreed with the United Nations plan.

Now that the UN and the front-line states have succeeded in forcing SWAPO into a negotiated settlement, the South African government clearly feels it has nothing to lose by stepping up the bargaining over the port of Walvis Bay by ignoring the UN settlement for

the time being.

Walvis Bay is a strategically important port in Namibia over which South Africa wishes to keep control after independence.

It was the main point of difference which remained to be settled after the UN plan was accepted by both Vorster and SWAPO a few months ago.

In Zimbabwe, Ian Smith has followed up his imposition of selective martial law with a four-day raid into Mozambique and conscription of blacks into the army.

Desperate move

The latter is a desperate move, hardly designed to make him friends in the African masses—since if blacks are to be forced to fight anyway, the chances must be increased that they will take up arms with the guerrilla forces.

Meanwhile important moves appear to be taking place within the liberation forces.

At the recent celebrations of

the anniversary of the Ethiopian revolution, Nkomo was heavily snubbed by Fidel Castro, who did not even meet him.

Castro preferred to spend several hours with ZANU leader Robert Mugabe.

ZANU has traditionally looked to Peking rather than Moscow.

But the celebrations in Addis Ababa a key theme was hostility to the Chinese.

It seems very likely that Castro's courting of Mugabe is connected with this.

It is reported that for some time a section of the ZANU leadership has been under "protective detention" in Mozambique.

It is possible that these people are those most committed to Peking and that what is taking place is a definite realignment of the ZANU leadership away from China towards Moscow.

This may also be what is behind ZAPU leader Nkomo's recent petulant rejection of any new conference on Zimbabwe.

He may well be attempting to restore his position with the Soviet and Cuban bureaucracies and perhaps within his own party after the revelations about his secret meeting with Smith six weeks ago.

But Nkomo's protestations do not seem to have been enough to convince Castro and Moscow that he can maintain his credibility as a nationalist leader.

And from the point of view of Mugabe, his newly-found Cuban sponsorship will help to get him taken more seriously by the imperialists who have so far tried to do a separate deal with Nkomo.

Castro would be quite aware of this.

So these latest manoeuvres and realignments are a part of the increasingly complex and important interplay between the imperialists and the Stalinist bureaucracies of the workers' states over the sharing out of control of the unstable African continent.

'Socialist' conspiracy to prop up Shah

Callaghan, Owen and Mulley are not the only fraudulent "socialists" who are now backing up the murderous dictatorship of the Shah of Iran.

Chairman Hua Kuo Feng visited his friend the Shah a month ago to declare his support for Iran's pro-imperialist and anti-Soviet policies.

The recent wave of rebellion against the Shah was already under way during

The Shah's army had, it seemed, valiantly put down "demonstrations supported by foreign financiers and planned abroad."

The 'crimes' of the demonstrators for the Chinese bureaucracy was that they:

"carried anti-constitutional banners, caused problems for the daily life of the people and created intolerable terror for every Iranian patriot."

The agency explained that martial law had been

The Western European CPs, however, did make an effort to hold an emergency debate in the European parliament.

Even this timid gesture was sabotaged by the Socialist and social-democratic parties.

Favoured debate

The French SP claimed later that unlike the rest of the European Socialist Parties, it had favoured a debate.

But the fact remains that, in spite of an effort to cover their tracks by issuing a statement against the Shah's "bloody dictatorship", the French Socialists neither put down a motion for an emergency debate nor voted for that of the CPs.

Callaghan, Owen and Mulley, therefore, are far from being alone in "opposing repression" and "supporting human rights" with one face while aiding massacres, torture and repression with the other.

The world over, the treacherous bureaucrats that pose as leaders of the working class have revealed their true positions in relation to the Iranian butcher Shah.

DONG'S DIPLOMACY

IN THE BUREAUCRATIC struggle between China and Vietnam, the Chinese bureaucracy do not have the monopoly of opportunism.

A few months after the Chinese Foreign Minister, Vietnamese premier Pham Van Dong has paid a visit to woo the reactionary military dictatorship in neighbouring Thailand.

In a press conference Pham Van Dong publicly assured his hosts that Vietnam had withdrawn its support from the 15-year-old guerrilla struggle led by the pro-Chinese Thailand Communist Party.

imposed because of the "dangers... to the individual and social rights of honest citizens."

The Soviet bureaucracy, which also has close economic ties with the Shah, decided that the best way to cope with the embarrassment was to say nothing.

No news

Pravda did not carry any news of the events in Iran until September 19.

It then mentioned the riots, and attacked the imperialists for whom "Iran plays exclusively a strategic role as a supplier of raw materials."

But Pravda did not breathe a word of criticism of the Shah's repression.



Iranian troops - supplied from outside

Hua's visit.

Since then, several thousands of demonstrators have been shot down in cold blood.

Thousands of others have been arrested and tortured.

The press has been more thoroughly censored than ever, and the repression of all basic democratic rights has been intensified.

The "Communist" bureaucracy in Peking has kept a close watch on the problems of their tyrannical friend.

And hard on the heels of Carter and Callaghan last week they, too, sent some words of support.

After the Tehran massacre the New China news agency told its readers what had happened.

Mengistu's rallies

Mass rallies to celebrate the fourth anniversary of Emperor Haile Selassie's overthrow were organised by the vicious Ethiopian military dictatorship last week.

Stalinists and left-talking bourgeois nationalists gathered in Addis Ababa for an 'international solidarity conference', which brought together SWAPO, the PLO, Mugabe from the Patriotic Front and of course Fidel Castro.

The Cuban leader's attendance, and the delegation of high-ranking Soviet bureaucrats signalled the 'solidarity' that was to be pledged by these 'revolutionary' brethren—a unity against the workers and peasants they consistently mislead and betray.

The Ethiopian dictatorship now controls the strongest armed forces in the whole of black Africa, and Mengistu, leader of the Derg, proclaimed that these would be sent to

"rally alongside the exploited and progressive peoples of the world at any time and at any place".

In practice, these troops have been used (with Cuban support, Soviet arms and Soviet advisors) to crush the rising in the Ogaden, and as the conference took place they were in action to suppress any popular mobilisation within Ethiopia and to attack the struggles of the Eritrean people for self-determination.

Undoubted social gains have been made in the last four years by the workers and peasants of Ethiopia, but their revolution has been decapitated



Mengistu

by the military dictatorship.

There can be no way forward for the Ethiopian masses to defend and extend these advances without the creation of a new, genuinely revolutionary leadership to overthrow the Derg and repulse the attack of its Stalinist sponsors.

Somoza claims victory

A week of indiscriminate massacres and atrocities by the National Guard have allowed Dictator Anastasio Somoza to regain control of Nicaragua's main cities from the Sandinist National Liberation Front (FSLN).

Despite thousands of civilian deaths and injuries and a huge amount of destruction, nearly all reports say that the ability of the FSLN to fight again has not been significantly damaged.

And despite the victory, the National Guard is now more hated than ever and substantially demoralised through being held up for days by small bands of youth armed with no more than revolvers.

It looks as if one of the consequences of the week of full-scale civil war has been that the Carter administration has grown even cooler towards Somoza and is now looking hard for a less provocative alternative before a new wave of mass rebellion breaks out.

Even the US Congress has now voted to send no more money to the Nicaraguan government because—like the aid after the earthquake 4 years ago—it all tends to get into the personal bank accounts of the Somoza family.

And that zombie-like organisation, the "Socialist International" called for Somoza to be deposed.

One of its components, Britain's "Labour" government, last week's atrocities by sending Somoza an extra £50,000.



Kaunda

British oil companies face the bleak possibility of having £3,000 million worth of assets in Africa seized following publication of the Bingham report.

Zambian president, Kaunda, is suing BP and Shell in the Zambian courts over the damage to the Zambian economy through trying to impose sanctions that the British and French imperialists were busy driving thousands of gallons of oil a day through.

Nigeria is reported to have volunteered to enforce any ruling through the Zambian courts by seizing some of the £6,000M to £7,000M worth of oil assets in the country.

This threat was one of the factors which prompted Callaghan and Owen to fly to Zambia and to Nigeria last week.



Exclusive interview with Polisario leader

THE BITTER WAR IN THE SAHARA

PART TWO

Is France still intervening directly in the struggle?

France has had a very retrograde, a very negative attitude towards the Saharoui people, given that it was one of the countries which voted for the principle of self determination for the Saharoui people.

We see not only the negative attitude of France towards ourselves, but we can characterise its whole policy in Africa as an aggressive policy of recolonisation of Africa. That is very dangerous.

We don't want to dictate to France what policy it should follow in Africa or anywhere else, but we do want to tell them how to behave with respect to ourselves.

Regrettably its position up to now has been to stimulate the aggression against the Saharoui people and to intervene directly in this effort at physical extermination of our people.

Thanks to the determination of our people these plans have failed. France's links with Morocco and Mauritania are plain for everyone to see. It has an important influence with both regimes.

Up to now, since the Mauritanian coup d'etat, France has not intervened again militarily or upset the cease-fire.

In the case of Morocco, France has contracts for the sale of arms and these are still in force.

France is a country which could help to maintain peace, could offer co-operation and contribute to understanding between the countries of the region and France.

What countries have recognised the Sahara Republic?

There are great pressures from Mauritania and Morocco and from imperialism behind them, not to recognise our republic.

In spite of this up to now, there are about fifteen countries—twelve in Africa, two in Asia and one in Latin America. They are Madagascar, Mozambique, Angola, Sao Tome, Guinea-Bissau, Benin, Togo, Congo-Brazzaville, Algeria, Seychelles, Ruanda and Burundi. Also North Korea, the Democratic Republic of South Yemen, and finally Panama.

We hope now that more Latin American countries will recognise the republic, given the struggle of the Saharoui people and the fact that the aggression against us has been condemned throughout the world.

And the position of the Soviet Union and its allies, and China?

The Socialist bloc and China have always supported the self-determination of the Saharoui people—they have always supported the UN resolutions.

If up to now they haven't taken a clear position of recognising the republic, that is perhaps for tactical reasons; but up to now they have not recognised us.

Could you say something about the social composition of the Saharoui people?

Historically the Saharoui people has been a nomadic people, a poor people, an

oppressed people robbed of its rights.

And it has never had privileged classes. There was never any of the economic development which could have produced layers with competing interests.

In Sahara we have had what we call the "council of the forty" composed of all the tribal chiefs and notables.

This was a democratically elected assembly which directed the policy of the whole Sahara. In the old times before the arrival of colonialism the tribal chiefs were elected democratically.

As a result of this heritage, a system which is democratic and egalitarian is nothing new in the Sahara.

This council led the various wars against tribes which tried to invade the Sahara and the sharing out of grazing land and of the agricultural zones when there was rain.

This institution was broken up by colonialism, because of its popular and just character. And the imperialists put in its place a system based on tribal divisions which benefitted some and disadvantaged others.

These discuss all problems of life, both national questions and day to day problems and elect their representatives. This is one of the most significant experiments of the Front in this field.

This experience is not only at the theoretical but also at the practical level.

Given the non-existence of supplies, the people, depending on its own resources, provides its own needs in many things, such as hospital construction, building of study centres, supply of furniture and many items of traditional artisan production.

There is a very great change in this field. In the organisational and administrative field also.

The role of Saharoui women was important in the struggle against Spanish colonialism.

This role has gone on expanding up to the point of direct participation in the armed struggle and complete management of the camps, where it's the women who carry out the administration, manage the hospitals, the teaching and the peoples' militias. That is to say women are now playing a vanguard role in the struggle of the Saharoui people.



Polisario Front Revolutionary Council

When the present struggle began the Saharoui people had no difficulty in regaining its national unity and regaining the democratic model which existed in Saharoui history.

What has happened is a very great evolution in this aspect and we can now say that our people today is no longer the people of nomads and tribes or the people which was subjected to colonialism and which was not conscious of its own reality.

The total number of our people is between 750,000 and 1 million.

How are the liberated areas organised?

Using the democratic heritage of the Saharoui people, we apply even during wartime a policy of basic peoples' congresses in which the whole people participate.

What is the situation of the cities?

No point in which the enemy lurks escapes the attention of our combatants. But the enemy still controls the most important cities, but we attack them constantly. There are also liberated cities under the control of the Polisario Front.

And the phosphate mines?

We have made the installations of the mines of Bokra completely unusable, destroyed.

After liberation will you nationalise the mines?

The only people who can decide what to do with the national wealth of the Sahara are the Saharoui people. This is true what ever aid comes from outside.

As to the future, at the moment the fundamental task for us is national liberation and

afterwards the policies will be decided which start from the reality after independence.

For now we do not know exactly what this policy will be, except in general terms the demand that everyone respect the national sovereignty of our people over its territory and its territorial waters.

Aside from the question of national liberation, what is

included in the programme of the Polisario Front?

We say, that there should be a democratic republican form of government, the policy of non-alignment, the membership of the third world and the African family, the Islamic character of the Saharoui people and the policies which meet the social and economic needs of the Saharoui people, with guarantees of freedom of speech, right of political exile, the policy of free and universal education, the guarantee of the inalienable rights of every citizen and the material satisfaction of the needs of our citizens.

So our programme touches on all aspects of national life.

Do you define the Front as a socialist organisation?

Our people has always lived a practical form of socialism where those who had more than others gave it away voluntarily and not because of a law. This has been linked to a just application of Islam.

How do you explain that so many of the regimes claiming to adhere to Islam are extremely reactionary?

I think Islam has been enormously mystified. It's been mortified. If we look at some of the reactionary regimes which practise Islam, it may look like a retrograde social system—dogmatic and so on.

I think everything depends

on its applications. For instance, countries like Saudi Arabia or Morocco claim to be centres of Islam. In such countries there is a reactionary feudal social layer which oppresses the people and which uses Islam to protect its interests.

That is a twisting of what Islam really represents as a social system.

Real Islam is totally different. It defends the interests of all; it supports equality; it's against slavery, against exploitation, against all kinds of social degradation.

What message would you give to workers in Europe?

We especially want the support of organisations in the same situation as ourselves—organisations of workers—because our people have always been and continue to be workers.

We are a people who have been deprived of our most elementary rights.

Our request to the workers of Great Britain is that they support and carry on supporting the struggle of the Saharoui people, above all morally, and that they should support us not momentarily but at every opportunity.

And I would like to send the militant and revolutionary greetings of the Saharoui people and the certainty that through our struggle we will gain independence and sovereignty.

We comment:

We have printed this interview because of the importance of the armed struggle for national liberation being conducted by the Saharoui people under the leadership of the Polisario Front.

This difficult struggle began against the Spanish. Then, after a nation had in 1975 literally been sold to the highest bidder, the war continued against the reactionary regime of Morocco and Mauritania.

The struggle deserves the unconditional support of the labour movement in Britain and elsewhere.

It will be obvious to our

readers that while we call for complete support for the liberation struggle, we are far from being in political agreement with the Polisario Front.

We believe that its apparent faith in resolutions of the United Nations or the Organisation of African Unity is misplaced and can only create illusions.

There are many parts of their programme with which we not only disagree but which we regard as dangerous for the future of the Saharoui people.

For instance, the Front's commitment to "progressive" Islam and its Narodnik idea that socialism

can be based on traditional social systems.

Only a world party committed to the programme of permanent revolution can finally liberate the Saharoui people and the other victims of imperialism.

* Military victory to the Polisario Front!

* Independence for the Saharoui people!

* For immediate British government recognition of the Democratic Arab Republic of the Sahara!

* For the building of a revolutionary party based on the programme of permanent revolution!

'Communist stewards' praised by Edwardes

Robinson's record: Stalinism in action



Edwardes

According to Leyland boss Michael Edwardes, Communist Party members are no problem at all to his plans for speed up, redundancies and wage controls.

In an interview last week with the *Daily Mirror*, Edwardes refuted the argument that the CP are responsible for strikes or struggles in defence of agreements in Leyland:

"Does he spy Reds under the Company's bed?"

"No, no . . . I don't subscribe to any conspiracy theory," he says. "Not at



Robinson

all. If anything, I would say that the Communist Shop Stewards in Leyland are among the most efficient, concerned and reliable."

Edwardes is not the first Leyland boss to single out the CP for such enthusiastic praise.

His predecessor, Sir Richard Dobson, made some extremely complimentary statements about Stalinist convenor Derek Robinson in his ill-fated secret speech 'leaked' last year by *Socialist Challenge*:

"I happen to know the chief convenor at Longbridge. He is an avowed Communist.

I must say I rather like

him because he is fairly good at getting people working".

Robinson is an Executive member of the Communist Party. Yet he is also co-Chairman of Leyland's reactionary 'participation' set up, designed to suck stewards into management.

Since Robinson is yet again in the forefront of moves to head off Leyland carworkers—this time on the wages front—*Socialist Press* has produced a potted history of Robinson's record over the last three years to indicate to carworkers the real meaning of Stalinist class collaboration.

PHOTO: John Sturrock, Report



PHOTO: Dave Evans, IFL

Longbridge workers march against the Social Contract

Three years of consistent CP betrayals



PHOTO: John Sturrock, Report

September 1975: 32 hand-picked convenors chosen by management for an 'Ad-hoc Committee' meet with management at the plush Allesley Hotel in Coventry to finalise proposals for workers' participation in line with the Ryder Report. The final "vote" includes those from representatives of foremen and management.

September 6 1975: Robinson as Chairman of the BMC Combine Committee rules out of order a motion to reject the Ryder plan, declaring that the decision 'had already been taken'.

April 1976: Moves begin towards national-level corporate bargaining in Leyland, stamping out shop floor control. Robinson, with no discussion on Combine, declares himself in favour.

June 1976: Joint management/union 'Ad-hoc' Committee set up to establish basis for corporate bargaining.

Summer 1976: Robinson moves resolution on Longbridge JSSC to prevent any section "impeding production" until procedure exhausted.

August 1976: Robinson joins managements' "Quality 77" campaign in a statement indistinguishable from managing director Whittacker.

Autumn 1976: Robinson carries vote on Longbridge JSSC and forces through ballot to accept 40% speed up on new Mini.

January 1977: Robinson chairs convenors' meeting which votes 3-1 to endorse 'fringe benefit' document including no-strike clauses and joint management/union disciplinary committees.

February 1977: This document overwhelmingly thrown out by Leyland workers in mass meetings and stewards meetings. Calls for the resignation of the convenors who endorsed it.

February 1977: Robinson declares opposition to strikers in Leyland: "The worst thing that can happen to British Leyland and the country is for groups of workers to think they have got the God-given right to take sectional action in defence of their own conditions . . . We can't afford the toolroom strike or any other strike".

February 26 1977: Robinson speaks on the platform of the Liaison Committee for Defence of Trade Union, failing to mention Leyland strikes, and calling for free collective bargaining "after August". His calls for no Phase 3 encourage a mass demonstration through the Longbridge plant.

March 1977: Robinson and fellow Stalinist Peter Nicholas co-sign a Leyland management letter in urging workers to scab on the toolroom strike.

March 16 1977: Robinson attends his first-ever meeting of Leyland toolroom committee to propose complete surrender to management.

April 3 1977: Robinson chairs 'Rank and File TUC' called by BMC Combine, declaring "We don't want any breakaway movements" and attacking tool-makers.

May 27 1977: 200 Leyland convenors adopt proposals for move to corporate bargaining.

August 1977: New management plans for reform of pay bargaining, with parity linked to speed-up, narrowly rejected by full meeting of convenors. Management decide to go over heads of convenors and put plans to ballot vote.

August 1977: Under pressure from shop floor, Longbridge stewards submit 20% pay claim—which includes acceptance of speed-up and penalty clauses. Management refuses separate pay talks. Workers demonstrate demanding negotiations, with sectional votes for strike action. Robinson, with no mass meeting, calls strike for August

29 and declares "50-1" support.

Then seizes on right wing march as pretext to call off action, despite 2-1 majority for strike.

October 1977: Dobson praises Robinson.

October 1977: Fraudulent management ballot "endorses" pay proposals. Robinson begins to prepare for corporate bargaining in 1978.

February 1978: 400 managers and convenors at Kenilworth vote with only five against to back Edwardes' plan for speed-up and 12,500 redundancies. Robinson declares full support.

April 1978: The news breaks

that a sub-committee of the participation set-up chaired by Robinson drew up the plans for axing the 'low productivity' Speke plant and cutting 1,800 jobs at Longbridge.

April 1978: Ballot vote rejects management incentive scheme.

April 1978: 'Left' speech from Robinson plays key role in diverting Speke mass meeting away from vote for occupation.

May 1978: Robinson ensures that second Speke mass meeting hears that right-wing led Canley workers had voted to accept work from Speke. This helps secure vote to accept voluntary redundancy.

June 1978: Joint management/union disciplinary inquiry launched at Longbridge into two stewards victimised by management for striking in defence of agreements. Robinson argues against supporting strike.

September 1978: Plant claims of £27 from Cowley factories highlight secret plans by Robinson and Combine Committee right wing to introduce corporate bargaining a year earlier than agreed, by submitting a back-door "common claim".

September 1978: Edwardes praises "Communist stewards".

CP covers its tracks on Garners strike

On August 20 the WSL sent an Open Letter to the leadership of the Communist Party on their role in the Garners Strike. Below we reprint their reply, and raise some of the questions it fails to answer.

Communist Party of Great Britain,
Executive Committee,
16 King Street,
London WC2E 8HY.

Dear Comrades,
In response to your letter of 20th August.

The position of the Communist Party in regard to the strike of the workers in Garners Steak Houses is well known. We completely support the demands of the strikers for recognition of their Union.

This struggle is part of the struggle to radically improve the wages and conditions of all workers in the catering industry that has been going on for many years, and in which our Party and its members have made an outstanding contribution.

In accordance with this position our members and Party organisations have participated actively in the just struggle of the Garners Steak House workers, in the picket line, in their demonstrations and in every other way open to us.

Our members have also actively fought in their trade union organisations for maximum solidarity with these workers.

A tribute to our actions in this regard was paid to our Party by one of the leaders of the Strike Committee, Bro. Habib Rhaman at the People's Festival organised by our Party at Alexandra Palace in June.

At that Festival a collection was taken in support of the strike.

The *Morning Star* has also played an extremely effective role in putting clearly the issues

of the strike, in advocating the strikers' case and in mobilising assistance for them.

We will continue to give militant support to these workers in the days ahead.

The foregoing brief resume of our position and actions on this question totally refutes the insulting charge made in your letter, that the Communist Party is in some way implicated in treachery to these workers.

Yours fraternally,
Gordon McLennan (General Secretary).

WSL REPLY:

Our primary aim in taking up the role of the Communist Party in this strike is to create the best conditions for its eventual victory.

It is because we see the winning of the strike as the most important thing that we concentrated our criticisms on your attitude to the strike committee's policies of primary and secondary blacking, regular and mass picketing and a union levy throughout the TGWU Region 1.

In particular, we challenged you to provide evidence of where your members and supporters had

fought for them within the TGWU.

Your silence on this question is significant, since we emphasised the influence your Party has in many parts of the union's London area, notably within the Regional Committee itself, of which CP member Sid Staden is Secretary.

You did not refer, for instance, to the most recent meeting of the Region 1 committee in August, where the Garner's strike was dealt with in some detail, and where support for the pickets was discussed.

The minutes read: "The Regional Secretary informed the Committee that we were not talking about mass picketing but sufficient members to ensure that all establishments were covered."

"So far as the police were concerned, we had agreed with them that there should be a maximum of six pickets at an establishment at any one time."

In other words, far from supporting the strikers' policies, you are the main instrument in sabotaging their implementation.

And quite apart from the effects on the outcome of the Garners strike, by collaborating with the state in the imposition of an arbitrary limit on the number of pickets (which the Strike Committee has neither sanctioned nor been officially informed of), you are instrumental in striking a blow against democratic rights in general, which can be used against future struggles.

Under conditions where the pickets have been forced to endure continuous violence from scabs and harassment and numerous arrests by the police, we regard these actions alone sufficient indictment of your organisation's practice.

There is, on October 7th, a Day of Support for the Garners strike, where the largest possible turnout is being called for.

Should you decide on this occasion to mobilise more than token forces for this demonstration, you will have the opportunity to confirm publicly what your attitude is to the strikers' call for mass support on the pickets.



PHOTO: John Sturrock, Report

Scargill speaking at the 'Rank and File TUC'

This Conference will not stop Callaghan!



Agenda dodges all key questions

The stage is set for one of the most irrelevant and evasive Labour Party conferences ever held.

The agenda for the 77th Annual Conference not only lacks any coherent socialist alternative to Callaghan's reactionary policies, but also has nothing to do with the manifesto to be put forward in the next General Election.

Two one-line motions on the Party Manifesto vainly implore the Labour leaders to implement "socialist policies" and its "1974 election manifesto".

Face of Toryism

But there is no resolution demanding that the Conference should decide the Manifesto.

And no Labour Party body has made any move to drive out the open face of Toryism within the Party's ranks—the Callaghan-Healey leadership, who are preparing to run into the next election in a convulsive series of confrontations with the working class over wages.

This in itself is a fitting measure of the hollow rhetoric of the 'left' talkers who will troop to the rostrum to sound off during the week.

Only two resolutions—one from Liverpool, Wavertree, and one in the form of an amendment from Bristol West—even take a stand opposing wage controls.

The Bristol West motion does however call on the NEC to:

"organise a campaign in the wider trade union and Labour movement against control on wages, for an improvement in working class living standards and for safeguards to protect such improvements against inflation."

While the passing of such a resolution would prove a temporary embarrassment to Callaghan, there is no likelihood that it would in the slightest degree deflect the cabinet from its rigid 5% pay limits.

Pencils licked

While most CLPs have shied away from challenging wage controls, the topic of unemployment has brought many a fake left to lick the end of his pencil and draft a total of 14 largely innocuous resolutions, in which there is much empty talk of 'planning agreements', 'retraining' and 'North Sea oil revenues'.

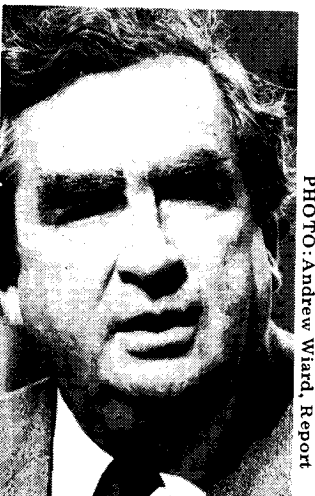
The reality of course is that Chancellor Healey has already established a working agreement with British capitalism, which involves government collaboration in mass speed-up and sackings.

And this will continue until Healey is booted out.

Several motions do include calls for 'work sharing without loss of pay' and for 'programmes of public works'.

Pleas to Healey

But since they are all couched in the form of pleas to the Callaghan-Healey govern-



Healey



Callaghan

ment to take action, rather than as policies to be acted upon by the trade union movement, even these formally correct policies lack any teeth.

The number of motions on unemployment is however one gauge of unease within the Labour Party in relation to current government policies.

And the 34 motions challenging the cutbacks in the Health Service spell out even more clearly the hostility of Labour activists to their own leaders' attacks on essential services won through years of sacrifice by the workers' movement.

A whole range of formally correct demands are put forward in these motions, with the conspicuous absence of any

declaration of outright support for those sections of health workers who have carried out occupations and strikes to defend against the cuts.

There is no motion among the 34 condemning the scandalous smashing of the Housnlow hospital occupation, the continued attacks on the EGA hospital, or any of the practical actions taken by Labour minister Ennals and the Callaghan cabinet to destroy the Health Service.

In fact in this as every key topic the method of conference resolutions is to diplomatically evade the brazen, strike-breaking, anti-working-class actions carried out by Labour's own leaders in government over the past four years.

There is not a single resolution calling for the withdrawal of British imperialist troops from Northern Ireland, and a lengthy motion from Hackney and Stoke Newington lamely concludes by calling for no more than support for the International Tribunal on Britain's presence in Ireland.

One motion only—a one-line submission from Oxford CLP—calls for the Conference to oppose renewal of the repressive Prevention of Terrorism Act.

Despite the storms of fiery red 'left' rhetoric that will inevitably occur, the Callaghan cabinet will rest easy in their

STAN ORME DREAMS OF SOCIALISM

"Our long-term objective is a socialist Britain. The real arguments on how to achieve this are only just beginning."

So writes 'left' Labour minister Stan Orme, whose own vision of 'socialism' is so long term that it allowed him to act as one of Callaghan's ministers for torture in Northern Ireland, and even now permits him to remain a part of the utterly reactionary Labour Cabinet.

Indeed the yawning gulf between Orme's professed 'socialist' principles and his squalid role in practice is so wide that at times his article in the current issue of *Tribune* smacks of outright schizophrenia.

"I nail my colours to the mast of public expenditure," he declares, without so much as a word of explanation of why he has voted for every successive cut made by Healey.

"The Labour movement must concentrate on expanding jobs rather than reducing the Labour force," he proclaims, without bothering to examine the government strategy of job-cutting, speed-up and

rationalisation in every key industry.

Nor does he offer any answer as to how the 18-month Lib-Lab coalition in any way advanced the cause of socialism.

Last year Orme's wretched record on Ireland proved an acute embarrassment to the *Tribune* platform at their pre-conference meeting.

His *Tribune* article this year is clearly a half-baked advanced attempt to ward off similar criticism. But all it does is reveal the pathetic confusion and opportunism of the Labour 'left'.



Orme



Delegates at last year's Labour Party conference

beds in Blackpool next week—untroubled by any developed socialist opposition within the Labour Party.

The task of constructing a principled leadership within the workers' movement, capable of exposing both right and 'left' wings of the Labour bureaucracy and pointing a clear socialist road ahead is one that

must be urgently undertaken.

A step towards this can be taken by Labour activists fighting for resolutions through CLPs demanding a Special Conference be recalled to decide the party's election manifesto and to undertake the essential task of removing the Callaghan leadership.

Those 'lefts' that make

glowing speeches next week in Blackpool must be called upon to fight within the workers' movement to put their words into practice by driving out Callaghan.

In this way a number of pompous wind-bags can be embarrassingly punctured in the aftermath to an utterly predictable conference.

PRESS GANG MARSH GAS

For Fleet Street, class warfare is never just a question of telling other managements what to do.

The managements of national newspapers are second to none for their own aggressive attacks on working class militancy and organisations.

In America, Rupert Murdoch—owner of the *News of the World* and the *Sun*—is in the forefront of the New York proprietors' bid to break the journalists' and print unions.

In Britain, the *Times* newspaper management is threatening to stop production and shut down from November 30 if the union leadership has not re-established control over the militant chapels of production workers.

This threat of an indefinite lockout is not aimed at any particular current struggle.

Rather it is a promise to close down unless the chapels stop fighting on any issue.

This situation has been coming to head ever since the union leadership accepted and the union membership rejected management

plans for new technology in Fleet Street.

Attacks on long-established agreements have become weekly events.

In reply, chapel militancy has led to millions of copies of national newspapers being lost.

Times and *Sunday Times* production has been among the most affected and last year machine-room chapel leaders were expelled from NATSOPA in a bid to break the chapel.

They were restored to membership as the threat emerged of a Fleet Street-wide strike in their support.

In the face of the new threat, officials of all print unions have been unanimous in calling for an end to industrial action at the *Times* Newspapers.

Only Joe Wade (NGA) has demurred at sitting down to sign management's agreement and he has been protesting feebly about 'negotiating' under duress.

Since the *Times* announced its lockout threat, the capitalist press has been carrying numerous reports of threatening speeches from management figures.

Sir Richard Marsh, ex Labour oil supplier to

Rhodesia, and now head of the Fleet Street employers' organisation, was reported in the *Daily Mail* as saying:

"a British institution was in danger because management had rightly decided that they could not continue to publish in the anarchic jungle which Fleet Street had become."

The report—clearly published for its special message to print workers rather than its 'interest' for readers—continued:

"Sir Richard said that he had no doubt that the *Times* management was not threatening and had every intention of closing both their newspapers unless employees work normally."

Sir Denis Hamilton, chairman of *Times* Newspapers—speaking appropriately enough to the notorious scab organisation the Institute of Journalists—said he was confident 'his' papers would soon be in 'sparkling profitable form'.

"But if the majority allow the minority to continue the insanity that goes on virtually every night, the verdict of the court and coroner must be one of suicide."

Even if it is Sir Denis who will be pulling the trigger.

THE STEEL INDUSTRY : THE CASE FOR WORKERS MANAGEMENT

PART 1

Most steelworkers in Britain today face the future with confusion and growing alarm. The state-owned British Steel Corporation which produces over 90% of crude steel output, and which employs over two thirds of the total labour force in the industry, lost over £500 million last year alone.

The response of the steel union leaders has been to 'participate' in the state's plans for rationalisation. Rationalisation is a polite word to disguise plans for plant closures, speed up, de-manning and productivity dealing.

60,000 jobs

60,000 jobs are to go in B.S.C. alone according to the latest B.S.C. proposals. This cutback comes on

top of the 100,000 jobs already lost since 1967 when 14 'private companies' were 'nationalised' with the payment of enormous sums of compensation to the shareholders.

Rationalisation

These latest proposals, however, form only a small part of the Labour government's plans to impose a new round of attacks on the whole working-class, combining wage control with massive 'rationalisation' and speed-up in the public sector.

At the centre of this are the heavy industries, British Leyland, British Rail, British Shipbuilders and the National Coal Board. These cutbacks—involving some of the biggest steel users in Britain—will directly lead to further problems for B.S.C. and threaten to destroy the very existence of this 'nationalised' industry.

In fact, they pose the whole question of what is 'nationalisation' as practised by the Labour leaders.

How can such 'nationalisation' be turned from its present role as an instrument to protect the bosses' profits into an instrument to serve the workers and develop socialist planning?

The steel industry was first 'nationalised' in 1951 as one of a series of reforms implemented by the Labour government pushed into power after the war on a wave of working class militancy.

Compensation

Over 90 private companies were involved and, although massive compensation was planned, nationalisation was nevertheless seen as an attack on capitalist profitability, since the British steel industry seemed to them, quite wrongly, to be in a good

position to take advantage of the general economic boom which was first taking off at that time.

Right from the word 'go' the British Iron and Steel Federation (the employers' trade organisation) set out to deliberately sabotage the newly created Iron and Steel Corporation by refusing it assistance of any kind, even advice of a purely technical nature.

This brazen policy of 'non-cooperation' with an Act of Parliament disturbed only those naive reformist politicians who believed and believe to this day that the law is "above" class interest.

Before the year was out, the newly elected Tory government quickly set about reversing the Act, and set up a holding company to sell back the shares at 'bargain' prices.

The period of stable growth in the British economy lasted little more than six years, from 1951 to 1957, before the changing balance of world market forces began to erode and undermine the prospects of the British economy.

Steel production vividly reflects this. Between 1951 and 1957 steel production rose steadily from 15.64 million tons to 21.7 million tons per annum.

After 1957, however, it became erratic, and from that year onwards there was a pattern of boom and slump, each one becoming more severe than the last.

The figures demonstrate this:

Year	Production (m tons)
1958-9	20
1960	24
1962	10
1964	26
1967	21.7
1970	25
1971	24.2
Falling to	20m tons mid 1970s.



PHOTO: John Sturrock, Report

Sheffield steel workers march against wholesale sackings in 1971

In other words, since 1960 output has shown no tendency to rise permanently above the 20-21m ton mark.

This erratic behaviour reflects the stagnation of the economy which it serves.

It was this tendency to stagnation, therefore, that prompted the Labour government to "nationalise" 14 big steel firms in 1967 to form B.S.C.

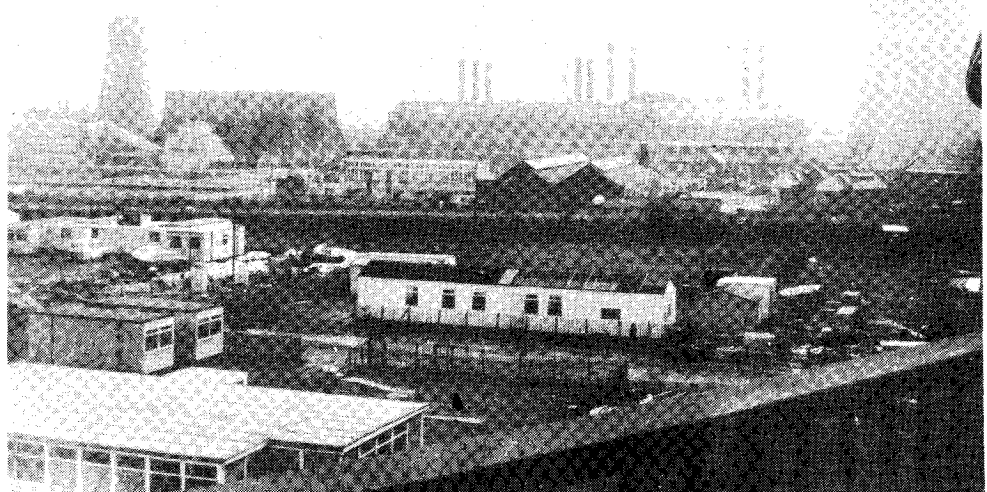
Each firm had by then become a lame duck in its own right and was of no use to its private owners.

This was connected with the fact that throughout the boom period of the '50s little useful investment had taken place.

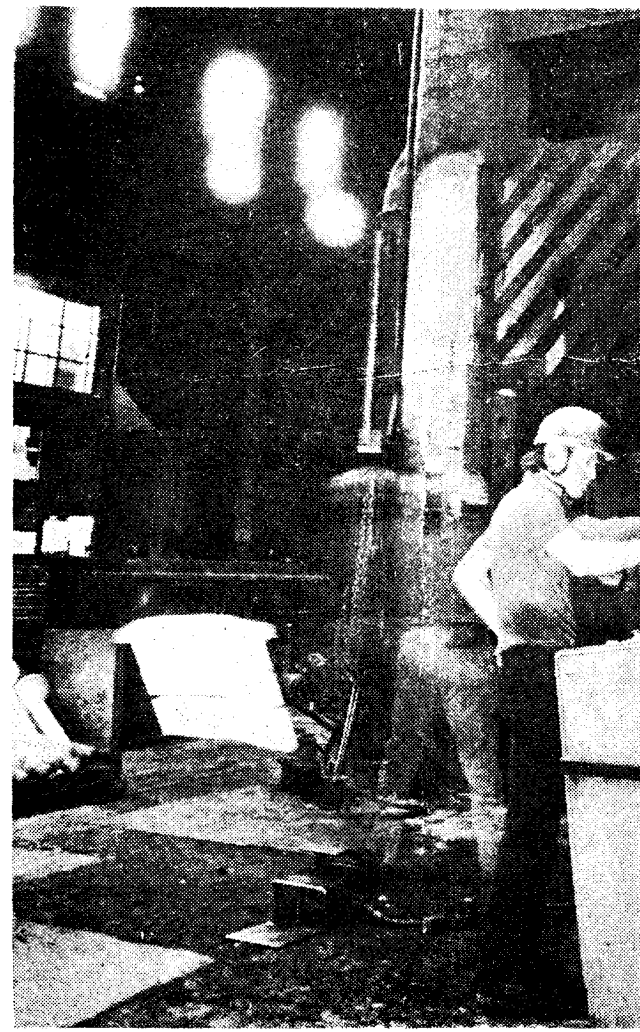
This can be seen in the fact that although British Steel Companies invested the same amount of capital as the Japanese between 1951 and 1962, output in Britain rose only by 13m tons, while that of Japan rose by 28.5m tons.

The private steel owners saw this eventually but did little except produce the Benson Report in 1965.

This pointed out that the



Sheffield's skyline: private steel firms side-by-side with the state sector





industry was technologically outdated and very much overmanned, suggesting that the number of plants be drastically reduced and become much larger in size—thus affording economies of scale.

Reduced

It also recommended that the labour force be reduced from over 300,000 to less than 200,000. This employers' report then became the basis of Labour's nationalisation plans, since it was thought

that the private steelowners could not implement its proposals.

The capitalists' strategy therefore became to use the vast economic resources of the state along with the 'participation' of the trade union bureaucracy through the TUC Steel Advisory Committee to force through these attacks on steelworkers.

The obvious resemblance to the more recent Social Contract, or the Ryder Proposals for Leyland is by no means accidental.

These attacks have met

with almost complete success to date with the state-appointed 'old school tie' B.S.C. Board doing the government's dirty work almost to the letter.

Trade union involvement in this—notably that of the I.S.T.C. has been deepened right down to shop floor level with the setting up of 'works councils' at plant level to draw unwary stewards right into the web of collaboration.

Works Councils

At works councils, management pretend to take the stewards into their confidence, explaining the plight of the firm and the need for 'rationalisation'

Within a short space of time, stewards are converted into seeing themselves as part of management, putting company interest first.

Add to this system the constant reminders from the press of the need to be "competitive" and keep wages under control, and it is not surprising that workers find themselves starved of principled leadership or perspective when they face the threat of redundancy.

The Redundancy Payments Act which makes it easier for union bureaucrats to sell their members' jobs, 'voluntary' redundancies, natural wastage, and the notorious *Green Book* have all contributed towards easing the burden of management in creating redundancies.

The payment of sums 25% above those laid down in the Act to men over 63, together with the seniority system which allows younger men to move into jobs, 'voluntary' redundancies, natural wastage, and the notorious *Green Book* have all contributed towards easing the burden

of management in creating redundancies.

The payment of sums 25% above those laid down in the Act to men over 63, together with the seniority system which allows younger men to move into higher paid jobs are also used to whittle down workers' resistance.

The *Green Book* introduced work-study, method study, and job evaluation in return for a guaranteed week (nonproduction shifts being paid at 80% normal wage), and better holiday agreements.

The guaranteed 5 day week may look attractive at first sight. But in reality the working week has been reduced to 15 shifts, shedding labour rather than work 21 or 18 shifts at 80%.

Indeed, men have been sacked like this and overtime introduced a few weeks later, in most cases

with the unions involved not having lifted a finger to prevent this!

The guaranteed week in fact has diverted from the necessary fight for work-sharing on full pay to defend all jobs in the steel plants.

The Iron and Steel Act 1967 left in private ownership over 100 companies and their subsidiaries, covering some 160 workers.

Although in terms of tonnage production of crude steel the share of the private sector is relatively small—about 10% of the national total—it nevertheless accounts for about ¼ of Britain's deliveries of finished steel products and for over one-third of the value of the industry's turnover.

Prosperity

This testifies to their relative prosperity compared with B.S.C. and therefore the reason for continued private ownership.

These companies predominate mainly in the specialized finishing and foundry sections of the industry in the Midlands although they also have important interests in the production of alloy, stainless, high speed tool and magnet steels with some interests in forging also.

However, in spite of their cushioned position, the private companies are beginning to suffer badly under the effects of capitalism's international recession.

Abroad, companies in Italy, France and the United States lost even more in relation to their size than B.S.C.'s £500m deficit last year.

In fact over recent years the privately owned U.S. Company Bethlehem Steel has lost more than virtually any other capitalist enterprise in spite of trimming its workforce by 35,000!

Astronomic losses by French steelmakers have now led to crisis measures and government intervention.

Back at home F.H. Lloyds, a large Midland foundry, Firth Brown's, Dunford Hadfields (owned by Lonrho), and Edgar Allen foundries in Sheffield as well as almost the entire foundries division of the Weir/Westinghouse corporation are either working short time or declaring redundancies.

It is clear from this that the solution to these problems does not lie with private enterprise.

Instead it lies with the nationalisation of these specialised steel firms together with their hefty financial reserves in the banks and industrial trusts

to provide the cash necessary to run the entire steel industry under workers' management as part of a socialist plan of production tailored to need and not profit.

What is striking about the history of trade unionism in British steel is the lack of any tradition of struggle.

Sharp contrast

This contrasts sharply with the steel unions of Germany and the U.S.A.

The largest union in British steel is the Iron and Steel Trades Confederation (formerly BISAKTA), created in 1919 as an amalgam of some 14 craft unions and organising some 60% of the steel workforce.

The leaders of the steel unions, particularly the I.S.T.C. have always been proud of their history.

Their unions were unaffected by the rise of the shop stewards movement during the first world war and after and the Minority Movement was almost totally devoid of steelworkers.

The reason for this was the leadership's open class collaboration, pointing with pride to the method of settling disputes in steel, the 'independent' conciliation and arbitration machinery which has operated for nearly a century in the industry—the grandfather of workers' participation.

It has been held up by governments and employers as an excellent example of 'good' industrial relations. 'Good' industrial relations, of course, means no strikes.

Inter union

Indeed the only major strike in steel occurred as far back as 1909 and this was an inter-union dispute over negotiating rights!

There have, however, been 'disturbances' since then, in the generalised struggles after the First World War and more recently at Shotton, River Don Sheffield and on several occasions at Port Talbot, where dissenting I.S.T.C. branches were threatened with expulsion and other unions involved lacked the experience to develop any fight in their defence.

The last official strike involving the I.S.T.C. was the 1926 General Strike—and then only reluctantly.

The crucial factor lacking has remained the construction of the experienced leadership necessary to take on the bureaucrats, fight for a break from the class collaboration of 'participation' and assert the independent class interests of steelworkers.

Continued next week

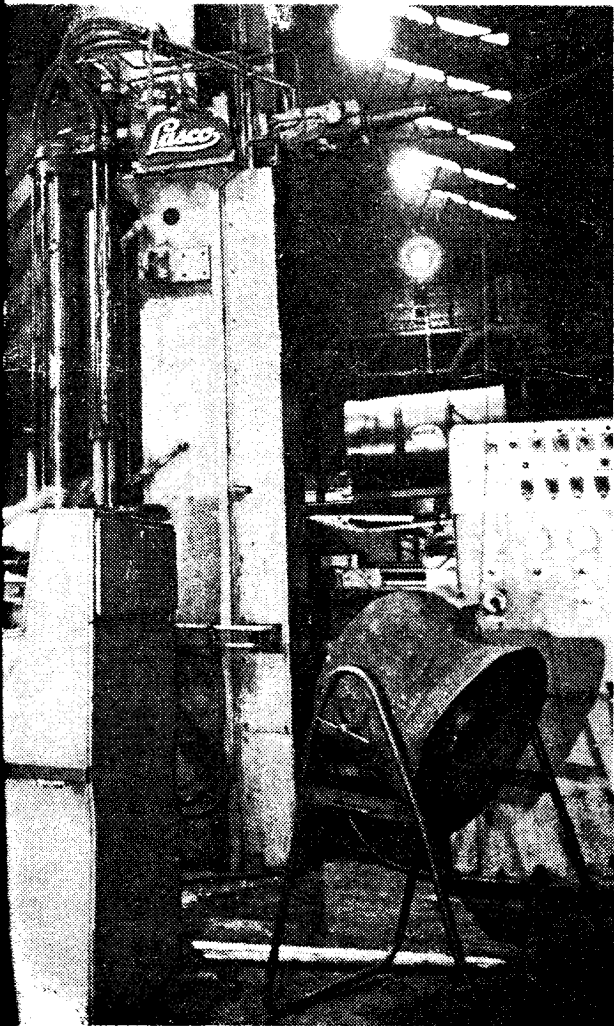


PHOTO: John Sturrock, Report

I.S.T.C. General Secretary, Bill Sims



Troops prop up capitalism North and South



Sinn Fein demonstration commemorating Bloody Sunday

PHOTO: Vernon St. Hilaire, IFTL

PERSPECTIVES FOR THE IRISH REVOLUTION

Part Two of the Perspectives document adopted at a recent National Meeting
of the Workers Socialist League

The balance of forces in Ireland now is a striking confirmation of Trotsky's 1916 analysis that "the historical basis for the national revolution has disappeared even in Ireland".

Neither the Irish bourgeoisie North or South—itsself dependent on finance capital from Britain and elsewhere—nor the petty bourgeois nationalist forces are capable of initiating action that could break Ireland free from the grip of imperialism.

The national liberation struggle in Trotsky's view, had by 1916 in practice become a question of "an uprising of the workers", and it is in this direction that Trotskyists must lead the development of a programme for struggle.

Programme for action

The Transitional Programme itself, as a programme for the action of the masses is designed to prepare the way for a workers' uprising. Its demands and its approach must be applied in the context of an oppressed and divided Ireland, in order to show the link between partition and the continued super-exploitation of the workers and small farmers North and South.

Agitation both sides of the border should therefore centre on the following principle demands, which affect every worker:

- * The right to a job and decent

- living standards.
- * The right to a house and social services.
- * Equal rights for all. An end to discrimination on religious grounds, repressive legislation and all church restrictions on divorce, contraception and abortion.
- * Down with colonial exploitation. Withdraw from the EEC. Expropriate all foreign capital, the major industries and the banks. Imperialist troops out of Ireland!
- * Down with the bosses' government, green and orange. For a workers' and farmers' government in a united Ireland.

TROOPS OUT

Agitation on these demands and propaganda for them would stress from the outset that none are achievable while the British imperialist army acts as the direct arm of British rule, propping up a decaying and bankrupt bourgeoisie in the North, while enabling British and foreign industrialists to exploit Northern Ireland as a pool of cheap labour.

In preventing the unification of the economy of Ireland, and enforcing the separation between the traditionally industrial North and the largely agricultural South, imperialism effectively ensures that both states must remain economically backward areas with permanent large pools of unemployed and low paid workers.

Our slogan for a united Ireland centres on the right for a workers' republic in the

leading role that must be played by the proletariat in the national struggle.

We insist at each point on the need to combine transitional demands with democratic demands in the fight against imperialism.

Such a stance would become even more crucial were the imperialists to attempt the unlikely tactic of trying to defuse the struggle through the establishment of a united capitalist Ireland.

Progressive

Such a development, for all its contradictions, would represent a historically progressive change, enabling the Catholic working class movement, which has been gagged and duped for years by petty bourgeois nationalist illusions, to recognise that the real enemy is not simply British imperialism or foreign exploiters but also their reactionary Irish hangers-on.

Workers would be forced to recognise that falling living standards, mass unemployment, dwindling or non-existent social services, the oppression of women and religious minorities are the fruits not of 'foreign' capitalism but of the capitalist system itself.

MATERIAL NEEDS AND OBJECTIVE TASKS

For the call for an Irish workers' republic to exert more than a purely moral influence on the Irish people, it must be based on a programme of

masses in Ireland both sides of the present border.

Key to such agitation and propaganda must be the growing unemployment in the Catholic population on both sides of the border, now combined with the increasing numbers of Protestant jobless in the North.

Around the demand for the right of every worker to a job, the slogan of work sharing on full pay to protect existing jobs threatened by rationalisation must be combined with the call for a planned programme of useful public works to provide new jobs.

In arguing for these policies it is necessary continuously to show the profit extracted from Ireland by foreign investment which utilises the high unemployment as a means of ensuring low wages.

'Better off'

The argument that Protestant workers are 'better off' than Catholics must be countered at every point by taking up agitation on the chronically depressed living standards of even this 'privileged' section of workers; the imposition through military rule of the 5% pay limit; and the superior conditions enjoyed by their counterparts in Britain itself.

At each point the call must be based on the material needs and objective tasks of the workers.

"The general national movement, however it was expressed in the heads of the nationalist dreamers, did not materialise at all. The Irish countryside did not rise up. The Irish bourgeoisie, as also the upper, more influential, layer of the Irish intelligentsia, remained on the sidelines. The urban workers fought and died, together with revolutionary enthusiasm from the petty bourgeois intelligentsia.

The historical basis for the national revolution had disappeared, even in backward Ireland.

Inasmuch as the Irish movements in the last century had assumed a popular character, they had invariably fed on the social hostility of the deprived and exhausted pauper-farmer towards the omnipotent English landlord.

... the independent Irish commercial and industrial bourgeoisie, in so far as it has formed over the past decades, immediately adopted an antagonistic position towards the young Irish proletariat, giving up the national revolutionary struggle and entering the camp of imperialism.

The young Irish working class, taking shape in an atmosphere saturated with the heroic recollections of national rebellions, and clashing with the egotistic, narrow-minded imperial arrogance of British trade unionism, naturally swing between nationalism and syndicalism, ever ready to unite these two concepts in their revolutionary consciousness.

It attracts the young intelligentsia and individual nationalist enthusiasts who, in their turn, supply the movement with a preponderance of the green flag over the red.

In this way, the 'national revolution', even in Ireland, in practice has become an uprising of the workers."

Leon Trotsky

Writings on Britain Vol III, pp 168-9 (emphasis added).

by foreign bankers and capitalists, and the links between these imperialist holdings and the 'Irish' capitalists.

To the Protestant workers' illusion that the link with Britain works in his favour, we must counterpose practical action to expose the exploitation inflicted on him by British and international capital, and show him this is directly linked to the involvement of the British army in Ireland.

In tackling the central question of jobs, we must emphasise also that the chronic depression in world trade, lurching now into open trade war,

must intensify the cutbacks in engineering and textile industries in the North.

The hunt for foreign investment under such conditions not only worsens working conditions but also intensifies the weakness of the Irish economy and its dependence on the international capitalists.

The desire to offer these predators and parasites the lowest possible rates of taxation on their super-profits stands as a crucial barrier to the establishment of a programme of public works to end unemployment.

Because of the way imperialist



... to liberate our state; they stand as an obstacle to liberation and to social revolution.



Daily harassment of Irish workers

exploitation has warped the economic development of Ireland neither of the existing states has the necessary resources to implement such a plan.

An all-Ireland socialist plan for expanded production based on the expropriation of foreign and domestic capital essential.

In spelling out the need for expropriation, we must combat and expose not only the pro-imperialist illusions of the Protestant workers, but the petty bourgeois nationalists and the reformists.

But the campaign for expropriation of capital, and for programmes of public works on

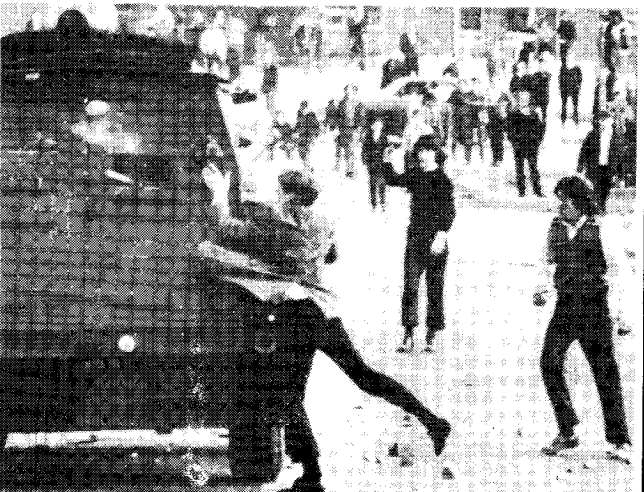
Central to such a programme must be expropriation of major landowners. The rights of tenant farmers must be safeguarded.

Farmers must be mobilised in the struggle for cheap credit, joining with workers in banks and building societies to fight for nationalisation.

Working class

They must be shown that in such a fight the working class is their only ally—the only force capable of challenging the plundering might of the banks and foreign-owned trusts.

While these planks of policy



Catholic youth challenge armoured car

an all-Ireland basis must not be allowed to stand in the way of involvement in and support for more partial actions by Irish workers in defence of jobs or living standards.

While insisting, for instance, that a fully-planned and adequate programme is only achievable through expropriation of major industry as part of a planned socialist Irish economy, we do not exclude the possibility of fighting for job-creating public works financed by taxes levied on big business and run under the control of elected workers' committees.

Requirements

Such a demand, though in itself partial and inadequate, nevertheless conflicts with the requirements of Irish and foreign capital in the current economic crisis and colonial dependency of Ireland North or South, and can thus assist in demonstrating forcibly to workers the necessity of proceeding to expropriate the major capitalists.

THE FARMERS

Another blow against the limitations of nationalism can be struck by spelling out demands designed to mobilise exploited sections of small farmers both sides of the border in conflict with the banks and monopoly suppliers that profit from their labour.

provide an immediate means of exposing the imperialist oppression of Ireland, we must not neglect more day-to-day struggles in which the working class—particularly in its militant trade union struggles in the south—must be strengthened with the fight for a sliding scale of wages.

Agents of imperialism

The spotlight, as in Britain, must be focussed on the treacherous role of the trade union leaders, which through their class collaboration act in Ireland not simply as agents of the 'native' capitalist class but as agents also of imperialist oppression.

The working class—in particular in the South of Ireland—has repeatedly shown its willingness to fight for its living standards.

The crucial question is to ensure that in these struggles a principled Trotskyist leadership is constructed capable of mobilising the full strength and asserting the complete political independence of the workers' movement.

CONCLUDED
NEXT WEEK

Pru Chamberlayne reviews *Social Work Under Capitalism — A Marxist Approach* by Paul Corrigan and Peter Leonard (Macmillan, 1978).

IN REVIEW

Stalinism and the role of social work

Corrigan and Leonard's *Social Work Practice Under Capitalism* is a poisonous book.

As a 'Marxist' approach to social work it will be seized upon by thousands of students and social workers straining against the dominance of Fabianism in the field of social policy.

The dearth of Marxist texts in the field will give it undue prominence. Its Stalinist politics is tailor-made for petty-bourgeois layers looking for an easy road to socialism.

Illusions

It will confirm the illusions of those who like to nurse hopeless dreams of the possibilities of a 'Marxist practice' in social work.

It epitomises Stalinism. Parasitic upon the revolutionary movement without being committed to it, it uses the terms and phrases of Marxism while offering only treacherously false solutions.

The book centres on a number of 'cases' illustrating the dilemmas of social workers, situations involving claimants, overburdened families with truanting, violent or simply rebellious kids, isolated pensioners, and a community project in a slum neighbourhood.

Each one is followed by a commentary by the authors on what a 'radical' social worker should have done.

The last few chapters deal with more general points such as reproduction, class, the family, the state.

The solution posed to every problem is firstly to help the clients to understand their problems in structural rather than individual terms, and secondly to turn to the organised labour movement and 'other progressive political forces'.

There are no warnings on the dangers of all-class alliances or insistence on the need for the independent mobilisation of the working class.

There is virtually no mention of the role of social democracy in creating reformist illusions in welfare services, and no mention of the fight within the organisations of the labour movement against the reformist and treacherous leadership.

Workers Blamed

The 'problem' for social workers, according to these authors, is that the working class fails to see the class implications of welfare.

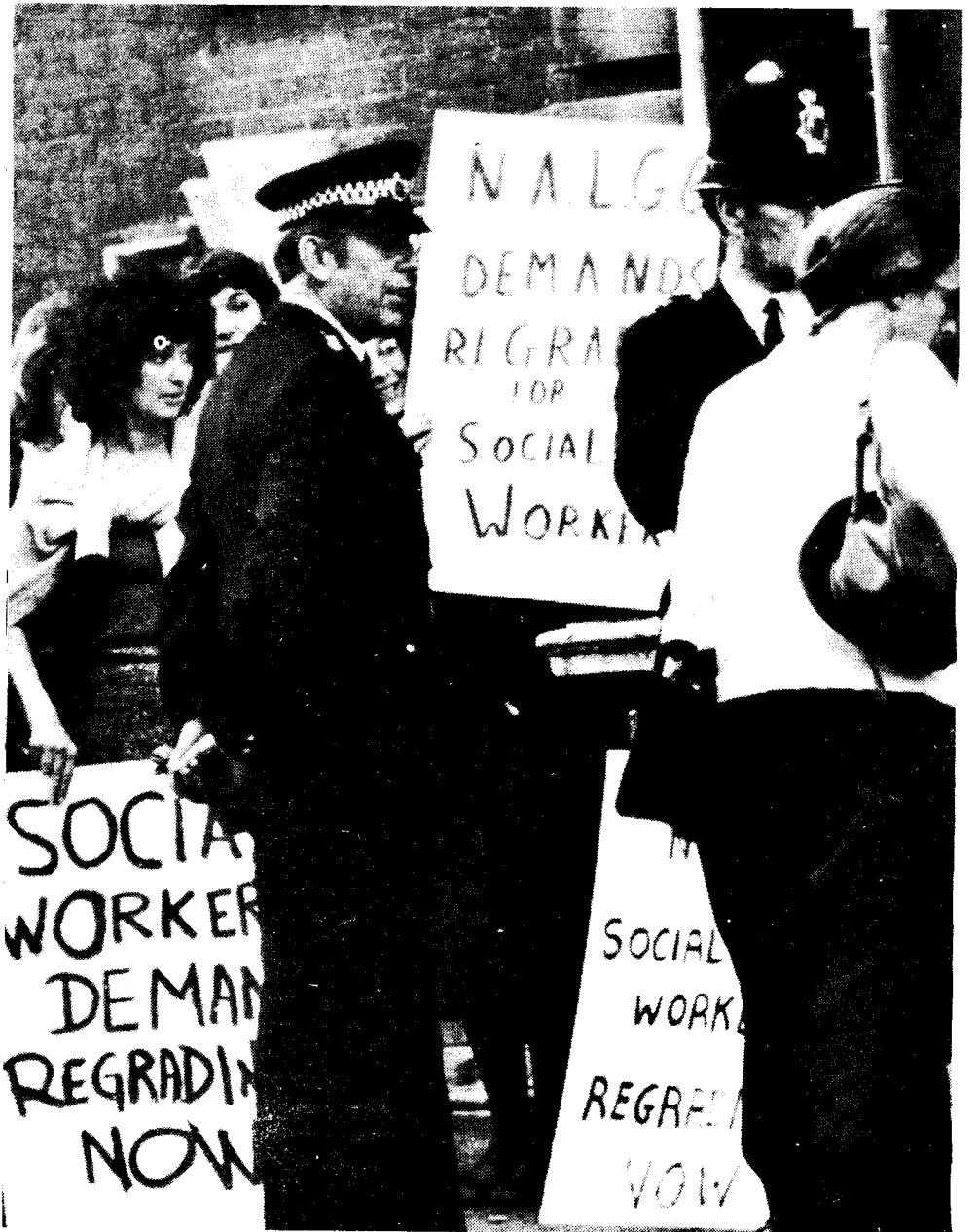
This is because the labour movement has not been 'interested' in welfare issues.

The 'leaders' are specifically not to be blamed—because "There is very little evidence that the mass of the working class has at any stage seen itself as leading society to socialism or to anything else."

This travesty of history is a lie which serves to cover up the crimes not just of social democracy but also Stalinist leadership.

Pensions, health and unemployment insurance at the turn of the century, rents and housing in World War 1, poor relief in the 20s, public assistance in the 30s have all provoked major class battles.

So great was about movement 'interest' in welfare issues that 'homes fit for heroes' in 1918 and 'the welfare state' in 1945 were the main devices for



Social workers fight low pay: No class perspective from Corrigan and Leonard

quelling the revolutionary aftermath of war.

Instead of using the huge momentum behind these demands to fight for socialist revolution to really answer the needs of workers, social democrat and Stalinist leaders—eager to uphold the limits of bourgeois rule—welcomed them uncritically.

Pollitt in the CP pamphlet *Answers to Questions* in 1945 said that the victory over fascism gave "the promise of securing lasting peace, important social progress and further new development on the road to socialism".

This prospect, he said, "depends for its success on the unity and strength of the labour movement and the willingness of the employers to cooperate."

Collaboration

Thirty years later, and notwithstanding their left turns in the Cold War period, the Stalinists are still advocating class collaborationist policies in campaigns against racism, in hospital joint consultative committees and in worker participation.

Their fight consistently to prevent the real movement in the working class against the boss from becoming an actual confrontation with government policy by diverting it into short-lived protest actions.

Corrigan and Leonard claim to hold Marxist positions on the

state, but their proposals for practical action are completely reformist.

Supplementary benefit tribunals are not seen as organs of class rule on which workers should not sit, but bodies where trade unionists should be urged to act more class consciously.

The need is not to fight with a proletarian perspective against the bourgeois state and its legislation, but to 'engage in the policy-making process'.

It is a slander against the bitter daily struggles of workers against social security offices, housing departments (and not least social workers) to say they lack class consciousness.

Many workers hate social workers, including the 'radical' type. They certainly don't separate social workers from the repressive apparatus of the police, courts etc.

The way in which these institutions stand directly behind and over social workers, in their making of 'care' orders, their court and supervision work, sectioning of the mentally ill etc. is starkly clear to many welfare recipients, yet goes unmentioned in the book.

'Humane'

So does the centre point that social work—however 'humane' its practitioners may try to be—is part of a system of welfare designed to discipline the working class as a whole.

The stigmatisation of the poor, of which social workers are inevitably a part, serves to goad others into greater efforts towards self-reliance.

Many theoretical questions are glossed over utterly simplistically. In the section on class, only two classes are mentioned, the bourgeoisie and the proletariat.

There is no mention of the petty bourgeoisie and consequently not of centrism—a particularly apt term for dealing with such sections as 'radical' social workers.

Similarly left-sounding noises are made on the economic and ideological function of the family; yet at the same time 'progressive' aspects are mentioned without being specified and there is no revolutionary perspective put for the replacement of the family through social provision.

For Marx and Lenin a correct understanding of the state was crucial and they spent a great deal of time refuting reformist and revisionist positions on it.

The Bolsheviks, despite the limitations imposed by a backward economy, and the war situation, worked out a revolutionary perspective on welfare and family relations.

This book is a travesty of that tradition.

INDUSTRIAL NEWS

Vauxhall convenor fights craft claim

For the past 18 months, the 1,000 skilled craftsmen have been at the forefront of the fight for pay in Vauxhall's Ellesmere Port plant.

But as a minority of the 5,000-strong AUEW membership, their demands have been repeatedly blocked by Convenor John Turnbull and production stewards.

A failure last winter to get agreement on a common claim with production workers led the skilled men to withdraw from the AUEW stewards committee. They have held separate meetings ever since.

Shortly afterwards, a six-week strike took place demanding a separate skilled grade and restoration of differentials.

Committee

This ended lamely at Christmas with a pathetic offer from management and an agreement to set up a "relativities" committee to "look into" differentials.

This committee recently produced its report, and the craft combine committee is demanding it be implemented.

This craft combine committee has also met with representatives of craftsmen from A.C. Delco in Liverpool and Southampton, forming a new General Motors Craft Combine Committee (GMCCC).

At its first meeting on September 18, this new committee passed a resolution threatening strike action if there is no new offer made by the

Vauxhall Joint Negotiating Committee on Tuesday 26 September.

This has spurred AUEW officials into action to crush any fight on pay. Local District Secretary Keech has come to the aid of Ellesmere Port convenor Turnbull and instructed the skilled men to use only the conventional shop stewards committee.

And in a bid to stem the wages movement represented by the craftsmen, Turnbull has held a mass meeting, calling for an unspecified across-the-board percentage offer, threatening

strike action.

The motion was carried unanimously. But clearly Turnbull and the AUEW bureaucracy are less interested in fighting for wages than in heading off the solid support for the unofficial craft committee.

Turnbull has even sent a resolution from his branch to the AUEW District Committee calling for action to be taken against the unofficial GMCCC for establishing contact with plants outside Vauxhall!

House of Holland unionisation fight



House of Holland TGWU pickets

The 30 workers on strike since September 13th at the House of Holland warehouse near Banbury were last week sent dismissal notices.

The dispute over union recognition began following moves over the previous few months by a majority of the workforce to join the TGWU.

Though union organisation had until then been unknown, management refused to have any dealings with the union representatives on the grounds that there was a national 'agreement' with USDAW, the shopworkers union.

The company is now making attempts to recruit replacement labour and is clearly determined not to

concede, and a campaign to black supplies and services is urgently needed.

The warehouse is the distribution centre for the com company's whole retail operation which spans a wide area of the country.

As well as attempting to get supplies to the firm cut off at source, the strikers are also organising pickets of the shops themselves.

Already pickets have been mounted at branches in Leamington, Coventry, Oxford and Northampton, but support from local trade unionists is required to maintain this action.

Donations to, and further information from the Strike Committee, 8 Lenton Road, Banbury.

Big step forward in Bethnal Green struggle



PHOTO: Chris Davies, Report

Chief axeman Ennals

especially the hospital unions—for action to save Bethnal Green.

This is in opposition to depending on the publicity stunts and appeals to public sympathy which have characterised the campaign so far.

These latest moves show that the Bethnal Green stewards have taken important preliminary steps in that direction.

Important as these measures are, however, it would be unwise to regard them as anything more than a start.

Pledges

Stewards must press to ensure that these pledges of support are turned into practical action.

And the campaign must be turned on to the offensive, with the demand for the reopening of the axed casualty wing and theatres, rather than simply defending empty wards and unused equipment.

Already the threat of action has forced a concession from minister Roland Moyle who has announced he will 'look again' at the twisted 'facts' and figures drawn up to justify the run-down of Bethnal Green.

An all-London health unions stewards' conference—as called for recently by a Tower Hamlets JSSC delegate conference—must be convened as soon as possible to discuss the extension of this fight throughout the East End and the London hospitals as a whole.

WSL



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SOCIALIST PRESS ★

The Workers Socialist League is a Trotskyist organisation which fights to build a revolutionary leadership that can politically prepare and mobilise the working class for the taking of state power and the construction of a socialist society.

The fight of the Workers Socialist League in Britain is a part of the struggle for the reconstruction of the Fourth International, the World Party of Socialist Revolution, founded in 1938 under the leadership of Leon Trotsky. The basis of this fight is the theory and practice of the Transitional Programme of the Fourth International.

The Workers Socialist League puts forward a programme to defend the interests of the working class today against the attacks of capitalism in crisis. The aim of the programme is the independent political mobilisation of the working class towards the overthrow of capitalism and its state machine in the capitalist countries.

In the workers states which must be defended against imperialism the task is the political revolution to overthrow the parasitic bureaucracies which repress the working class and endanger the gains that have been made.

The fight for socialism is impossible without the fight to expose at every step the misleaders of the working class: the Labour and trade union leaders (both 'right' and 'left'), the Communist Party Stalinists (both 'Eurocommunist' and 'pro-Moscow'), the petty bourgeois nationalists who derail anti-imperialist struggles in the underdeveloped countries and those groupings which pay lip service to Trotskyism whilst rejecting its basic methods and programme.

Only through such a struggle can the working class find a road out of the capitalist crisis—falling living standards, unemployment, denial of basic rights, colonial repression as in Ireland, and the threats of fascism and war.

For more details of the policies, programme and work of the Workers Socialist League, fill in the form below.

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OXFORD NHS CALL TO OCCUPY

About 80 people who attended a public meeting last Tuesday to oppose the proposed closure of Longworth geriatric Hospital, Oxfordshire, were told by COHSE steward Vi Fear of the workers' policy to occupy the hospital. She called for supporting strike action from other health service unions in the area.

This was backed by a COHSE official who was praised for his support of the Hounslow Occupation by a speaker from "Fightback".

She spoke of the success of the occupation, with widespread union backing, before the raid by the AHA, but omitted to mention the lack of strike action which could have saved the hospital.

The Witney Trades Council chairman who spoke from the platform stressed the importance of publicity in the campaign to keep Longworth open.

Supporting action

But a NUPE member from the South Oxford Nursery Campaign, which had led a seven-week occupation, stressed that without full supporting action, publicity alone was ineffective.

A steward from British Leyland's Cowley factories pointed to the massive profits made by the drug companies and building firms at a time when the AHA was pleading lack of funds.

He called for an investigation by a committee of workers into those companies, and endorsed the COHSE call for supporting industrial action, receiving an enthusiastic response from the meeting.

The fight for labour movement action to keep Longworth and Cowley Road Hospitals open is now being taken to the Oxford Joint Trades Union Committee and the Oxford Trades Council.

PHOTO Mark Risher IFL



The last Garners support conference.

Region 1 retreats

Officials of TGWU Region 1 have been forced to declare support for the Day of Action on October 7 called by the Garners Strike Committee.

They have reluctantly pledged financial and material support for what the Committee hopes will be a huge turnout on that day.

This decision, taken after the Strike Committee had been summoned to a 3-hour meeting at Regional office, now denies right-wing TGWU bureaucrats and 'left'-talking S.E. Region TUC Secretary Dromey any excuse for not supporting the Day of Action.

And it has vindicated those strike leaders who have fought consistently against official efforts to isolate, gag and sell out their struggle.

Since the last Garners support conference—where Regional Organiser Les Shorter was savagely attacked by delegates for his refusal to lift a finger to win the strike—TGWU

bureaucrats have become increasingly determined to force a cancellation of the Day of Action.

Visits from Shorter to the Strike Committee became rarer, planned factory visits ceased and financial aid was continually postponed, as was the Day of Action itself.

On Monday September 11, Shorter appeared at a Strike Committee meeting and the next day Regional Secretary Staden threatened to withdraw support from the Day of Action.

But the Strike Committee held firm and went into last Wednesday's meeting with the majority arguing to press ahead with the Day of Action with or without official backing.

The resulting climbdown by Regional officials highlights the weakness of the bureaucracy, and the necessity to press forward with the Strike Committee's policies of mass picketing, blacking of Garners' suppliers and a Regional levy to increase strike pay to £36 a week.

Mass meeting 'no' to closure

Health service shop stewards in Paddington and North Kensington have successfully begun the battle to stop the run-down and closure of St. Mary's Hospital in Harrow Road.

Following speeches by shop stewards from NUPE, TGWU and ASTMS, a mass meeting at the hospital on 12th September voted unanimously to fight the closure and elected a Hospital Defence Committee.

As a result of a press conference held after the mass meeting, the local press has given extensive coverage to the shop

stewards' campaign.

Shop stewards also attended a recent Community Health Council public meeting, where a motion was carried opposing any management scheme that would mean the closure of a local hospital or clinic.

Despite a direct challenge by a member of the WSL, however, CHC members present refused to commit themselves on the question of the closure or on the health service cuts in general.

Shop stewards

Following up their initiative, shop stewards Joe Beckles (TGWU) and Colin Kenny, (ASTMS) then attended a meeting of

Fisher's Fiasco

'LEFT' TALKING NUPE General Secretary Alan Fisher was left with virtually no-one to talk to last Sunday, when an all-London demonstration on low pay turned out to be a 40-strong fiasco.

Among the other 'chiefs' who turned up without Indians were SE Region TUC Secretary Jack Dromey and 'left' Labourite Arthur Latham.

Despite Fisher's embarrassed bluster that this flop was 'only the start' of the campaign, local authority workers must keep a careful watch on this leadership, which last year jettisoned their pay claim at the height of the Firemen's strike.

At a later point NUPE leaders could well be going out of their way to ensure a repetition of Sunday's miserable display in order to put the seal on a sell-out deal with management.

Yet another Region 5 frame-up

In another major move to victimise militant shop stewards, the bureaucracy of the TGWU Region No. 5 has ordered a Regional inquiry into the TGWU membership at Export Packing Services near Banbury, Oxon.

Aimed at stewards who, as leadership of the site, led a principled struggle against Phase 111 of the Government's wage controls last year, the methods employed follow exactly the frame-up and kangaroo court techniques used against nine leading stewards at British Leyland's Cowley Assembly Plant.

A two-day inquiry (3rd and 4th October) is to be

held on the site with full facilities granted by management.

No charges or allegations are being made, but any minority, who have a gripe against the stewards concerned will be encouraged to attend—the charges will be drawn up afterwards.

TGWU branches should immediately submit resolutions condemning this latest witchhunting move by the notorious Region 5 bureaucracy, which has established a record second to none in its willingness to split branches and victimise or even seek to expel any worker who challenges the dictatorial rule of the TGWU leadership.

Camden builders fight the lump

20 building workers, members of TGWU and UCATT, have been on an unofficial strike for over 3 weeks in North London protesting at the sacking of their senior steward and the use of lump labour by their employer Malvern Construction Ltd.

The firm operates in the Kentish Town area of London, conducting house renovation work, and is thus closely linked with the Labour-controlled Council.

The strikers have called for support from local Labour councillors and from workers in the Direct Labour department.

They have received no support from union officials, however.

Indeed, according to strikers, they were confronted by one official who arrived in the bosses' luxury limousine, climbed out, and called on them to return to work!

This advice has been unanimously rejected, and the strikers are calling for supporting messages and finance to be sent to Strike HQ, 30, Camden Road, London NW1.

IN BRIEF

A £40 FINE was the penalty inflicted last week on Leeds Trades Council Secretary Beryl Huffingley for organising an "illegal demonstration" on May Day this year.

She and another Trades Council member were cleared of obstructing the police.

The march had been banned by Labour Home Secretary Rees under the Public Order Act.

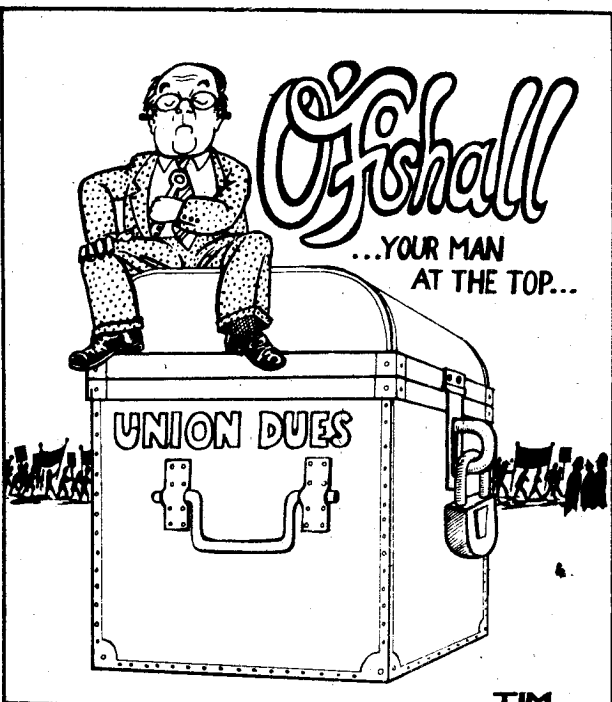
NEARLY A THOUSAND engineering workers at Transmission Manufacturers Renold Ltd have been on strike since September 18 for a 10% pay claim which exceeds the government's Phase 4 pay limits.

The firm is not only sticking firmly to the 5% limit, but is also attempting to include within that sum an increase in shift premiums — which means in effect a rise of only 3½%.

A VICIOUS ATTACK has been launched on the workforce of two major firms in Winsford, Cheshire, with the open revelation of a management blacklist operated by Winsford Engineering.

The blacklist, which applies to workers who have previously been employed at International Computers or Metal Box, has been given favourable publicity by press and television.

Socialist Press next week will examine some of the background to this witch-hunt.



SOCIALIST PRESS



Reject Bingham cover up

The Bingham report on sanction busting in Rhodesia is a whitewash job with a very small paint brush.

In 1905, when Smith declared that his racist Government would go it alone, the Rhodesian government was importing about 4,000 tonnes of oil products a year.

In 1978 it imports about twice that amount.

Never once in the 13 years of UDI has a garden gate in the white suburbs of Salisbury so much as squeaked for the lack of oil.



Wilson

The size of the market, compared to the entire African operations is not large.

The decision by BP and Shell and other multi-national oil companies, together with the South African government, to keep the oil supplies flowing was only secondarily a question of maintaining profits on oil to Rhodesia.

Primarily it has been a political decision to maintain the white racists in power.

It is in that context that the Wilson Government's decision to give a nod and a wink to the sanction busting should be seen.

Understatement

As Bingham put it in the understatement of the year:

"It induced among some of those most directly concerned... a belief that compliance with the Sanctions Orders was to be regarded as a matter of form rather than of substance, that it was the letter which mattered, not the spirit".

He also says the Labour Government policy was "at all costs to avoid economic confrontation with South Africa".

For the rest Bingham attempts to attach most of the blame to Walker (general manager in South Africa).

The Labour Government "were led to misunderstand" or were led "unwittingly to make statements and give assurances which they would not have done with full knowledge of the facts".

Likewise, the oil bosses. Calls for a public inquiry from 'left' Labour MPs and Liberals are calls for more of the same.

Only an international

workers' inquiry linking the knowledge of workers in London, Paris, New York and of the black African workers who have seen the oil arrive will bring out the full truth.

Already there is more than enough evidence to kick Wilson, Callaghan, Healey and the rest out of the Labour Party.

Let them join their former fellow Minister Richard Marsh in the Tory Party.

The pathetic bleatings of the 'lefts' are not enough.

Callaghan and Healey must be replaced with a leadership prepared to expropriate the minority interests in BP and Shell and open the books of the companies to an international inquiry of black and white workers.



Carnival demonstrators last Sunday

FASCISTS MARCH PAST BRICK LANE

50,000 workers and youth joined the massive Anti-Nazi League 'Carnival 2' last week in another vivid display of working-class hostility to racism and fascism.

But, in a calculated provocation to anti-fascists and to the immigrant community, 1,000 National Front thugs flanked by 5,000 police staged a simultaneous march into the old Mosley stronghold of Hoxton.

ANL leaders, including the ever-talkative Peter Hain, had made no real effort to oppose this mobilisation, and the Front were challenged by no more than 1,500 anti-fascists as they marched through the Brick Lane area from which NF paper sellers had been driven out a few weeks ago.

Immigrant

While the mass forces rallied to the ANL danced to the music of Elvis Costello, on the other side

of London immigrant youth and workers were attacked by police SPG thugs, who energetically cleared a path for their fascist friends.

And as coaches pulled out of Brockwell Park after the Carnival, anti-fascists travelling by tube from Brick Lane were savagely attacked by NF supporters—and then searched by police.

Nothing could more clearly show that the building of a "mass", largely non-political movement such as the ANL, based on an unhappy compromise between "revolutionary" and bourgeois groupings, is no substitute for the struggle to mobilise the workers' movement in the building of genuine workers defence squads to drive the fascists off the streets wherever they show their heads.

It was conspicuous that both in Brick Lane and in Brockwell Park it was the Workers Socialist League and the Socialist Youth League who, almost alone, fought for this essential policy.

Show trial's cover blown

The trial of Aubrey, Berry and Campbell under the Official Secrets Act was not stopped because of 'gratuitous journalistic gossip', as the judge, Mr. Justice Willis, claimed.

It was stopped because the extent of clumsy state intervention necessary to secure conviction had been bubbling to the surface throughout the trial, which was rapidly turning into a public platform for the defence.

The revelation at the beginning of the trial that the names of all 80 odd potential jurors had been handed to the prosecution for security vetting had underlined in heavy ink the political frame up that was taking place.

But when it also became known that the foreman of the jury was a former SAS man who had served imperialism in Malaya, Cyprus and Northern

Ireland, the possibility of the trial rebounding caused the state to cancel it and start again.

This time there will be determined effort to prevent the prosecution evidence from being made to look quite so ludicrous.

The charge of 'collecting information' against Duncan Campbell is to be dropped—which will reduce the number of occasions on which the prosecution will have to insist that the Post Office Tower is referred to only by a number.

The jury foreman it has since been revealed, volunteered for the job of chairing the jury and would not stop talking about the case, even at meal breaks.

Of Berry, the former soldier, he had declared that he "should have had a military trial—straight in, fourteen years, straight out".

Of Campbell, that he must have intended to pass his information onto someone.

One juror told the *New Statesman*:

"He never stopped talking about it, even in the corridors and in the canteen during lunch breaks, on and on, trying to convince the other members."

The Press agreed to suppress the foreman's past history but the court knew that even had Christopher Hitchens not spoken of it in the Russel Harty TV programme it would have been publicised after the trial by ABC supporters.

Now after the convenient illness which suddenly smote Judge Willis, a new judge will preside over the trial.

It becomes all the more urgent for the ABC Committee and the NUJ to call a Labour movement Conference to agitate for the case to be dropped.

It must focus on the need for strike action throughout the Labour movement should any of the defendants be jailed.

ARMY STAYS SAYS MASON



Scargill - his base is Mason's constituency

British imperialist violence will continue to be meted out to those Irish men and women that dare to struggle for the right of self-determination.

That was the clear announce-

ment by Labour's torture minister Roy Mason last week, in response to a growing—if motley—pressure for the withdrawal of troops.

The latest prominent advocate of withdrawal is leading Liberal politician John Pardoe, though the motives behind this statement are far from clear.

his Mason's latest statement follows on his earlier declaration that the trained assassination squads of the British SAS will remain operating in Ireland.

His statement clearly spelled out the class collaboration that lies at the root of Labour's slavish support for British imperialism.

"Business confidence is now being rebuilt, and new investment is being made in the province", he delightedly declared.

The Labour leaders' clearly hope that the massive investment in sustaining the army of occupation in Ireland is beginning to bear fruits for British capital in the shape of intensified exploitation of the chronically unemployed and low paid Irish working class.

The scandal is that Mason, the front man for the reactionary Callaghan cabinet, rests on the staunch NUM support in his home constituency in Barnsley.

A march through Barnsley on October 7 has been called by the United Troops Out Movement to highlight the role of Butcher Mason, and demand the withdrawal of troops.

It is essential that this initiative is linked with a fight throughout the Labour Party and trade union movement to drive out Mason and the Callaghan-Healey leadership whose hands are bloody from the vicious repression of the Irish working class.

FUND

With our treasurer on a well-deserved break it is necessary to put out a warning to our readers and supporters: the Fund is coming in far too slowly this month!

Last week saw only £97 arrive in our office, including a welcome £15 from a Danish supporter.

This gives us a total so far of only £291, with only a few days left this month.

Please rush your donations to Socialist Press, 31, Dartmouth Park Hill, London NW5 1HR

WSL MEETINGS

BARNSELY

Tuesday October 3, 7.30
Red Lion Hotel,
Worsborough Bridge

Union Democracy and
the fight to break
Phase Four

ISLINGTON

Tuesday October 10, 7.30
North Library,
Manor Gdns, N7.
(opp Royal Northern
Hospital, Holloway Rd)

Strike to break Phase 4

OXFORD

Wed, October 4, 8.00
OCCR, Princes St,
(off Cowley Rd)

Strike action needed to
stop hospital closures