# SOCIALIST

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Workers wanting to

fight to defend their living standards now

face a fresh obstacle, created by union leaders who claim to oppose

It is the argument that pay claims should be related

not to workers' needs, but

to the needs of the employer, his "profit-ability", his "ability to

Among the chief exponents of this line is TGWU

leader Moss Evans. He has

And, like other TUC

the 5% pay limits.

pay'

profit.

government.

supposedly

silent.

#### Moscow's **Zimbabwe** treachery **BACK PAGE**

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## Right winger defeated on key post

For the first time the TGWU has held elections for the eleven seats on the Leyland Cars National Joint Negotiating Committee.

This is the body that will do all the corporate negotiations in Leyland Cars.

The elections were held at delegate meeting, where each plant was allowed one delegate per thousand TGWU members.



Out ... Roche

Previously, right-winger Bill Roche, senior steward from the Cowley Body Plant and one of the Joint Secretaries of the "participation" Cars Council was one of the selected TGWU representatives.

But at last Thursday's elec-tion, Roche was voted off the Committee.

#### Elected

Elected in his place was wiey Assembly Plant Assembly convenor Bob Fryer—who is one of the nine militant Cowley TGWU disciplinary action for such absurd and trumped up "crimes" as walking out of a meeting of the Oxford District Committee

The Chairman of that (and a Committee member of its Finance and General Purposes Committee which is still pressing charges gainst Fryer and the rest of the Cowley 9) is Bill Roche.



Workers who have witofficials TUC nessed policing three years of wage need to controls convinced that their leaders have a real perspective for winning their demands.

The vague Vauxhall claim for a "substantial

# 'PROFITABILITY' NOT OUR PROBLEM!





Lumbered His policy of asking only

for what the bosses can 'afford" would lumber workers in many such firms with an endless series of puny and inadequate rises.

Last weekend, however, Vauxhall workers at Ellesmere Port, in supporting their negotiators' call to the company's reject derisory 41/2% pay offer and strike for more than the Phase 4 limit, took a very different stand.

mass The decisions by 8,000 TGWU and AUEW members show a determination first and foremost to defend real wages and regain living standards slashed by three years of rigid pay limits.

shared by the Ford strikers and by whole sections of the working class who will undoubtedly respond to a clear lead and a fighting perspective

But as the vote to reject the strike call at Vauxhall's smaller Dunstable plant showed, this militant mood within the working class does not mean that strikes to defeat the 5% policy are in any way automatic.

#### Perspective

increase", and the perpetual talk by both negotiators and convenors

"phony" productivity deals provide extra cash without the hardship of a prolonged strike, expose grave problems of leadership which confront not only Vauxhall workers but the working class as a whole.

#### Illusion

The Tory press and mass media have gone out of their way to create the illusion that productivity deals are a simple fraud which enable the employer to hand out more money.

The reality is very different. Productivity deals mean no more than selling jobs and hard won conditions in exchange for a few extra pounds in the pay packetpounds which are soon whittled away by inflation, leaving only increased workloads, longer dole queues and increased profits in the hands of the employers.

And the defenders of productivity deals are also most consistent

capitalist of defenders "profitability"—the leaders most ready to sacrifice their members' living standards in order to preserve living standards of the employers.

The profitability of a crisis-ridden firm is not the concern of the trade union movement, whose sole task is to defend the interests of its exploited members.

In any case, who says particular firm-such as British Leyland or Vauxhall is "bankrupt"?

The only way this can be tested out is to fight for the opening of the books of these and other firms to elected trade union committees.

Such an investigation would reveal, in the case of Vauxhall, the innumerable link-ups with the giant, profitable, General Motors multinational combine.

In the case of Leyland it would reveal the profits siphoned off from this "nationalised" firm by the

Wives of Ford strikers confront the handful mobilised against the strike housewives' committees. owned banks, privately component suppliers and

> distributors. Opening the books of the public services would like wise reveal the profits reaped by private contractors and suppliers while hospital and council workers take home sub-poverty

wages. The answer to even proven bankruptcy of a firm is not therefore to tailor wage demands to the bosses' ability to pay, but to fight for the nationalisation, compensation, without under workers' management of those firms which stand as an obstacle to workers earning a living wage.

To those who attempt to restrict wage demands with scare warnings of "runaway inflation", the answer is to incorporate into every pay claim the demand for cost of living clauses to provide automatic increases linked to the rising cost of living as assessed by trade union/

No such perspective has been offered to Vauxhall's 26,000 workers. absence of leadership opens

up the danger of a complete sell out on pay and the possible isolation of the Ford workers, now in their fifth week of strike action. Ford workers must heed

this warning and take up the fight for the election of strike committees challenge any attempt by officials to sell their strike

Ellesmere Port British Leyland carworkers, public sector workers and many others whose claims in excess of 5% are now falling due, must now prepare for action alongside Fords.

And in areas Liverpool where more than one section is in struggle on wages, councils of action, comprised of labour movement d legates should be set up to le id the fight.

In . . . Fryer

NO CELL-AUT AT EADDCLE EILL CLAIM NAW!

# Left' nationalists conspire against Saharoui people

In a striking display of statesmanlike moderation, the president of 'socialist' Algeria replied earlier this month to the latest in the long-running series of violent messages from King Hassan II of Morocco.

The two states have been economic and political rivals since Algerian independence in 1962, with bitter disputes over territorial boundaries.

Officially, the Algerian government has not been on speaking terms with its Moroccan neighbour for three years, although Hassan has continued to bombard Algiers with ritual denunciations of 'Algerian aggression'.

#### Gracious dignity

In his reply President Boumedienne ignored all this with gracious dignity.

His letter made a moving appeal to "the indissoluble ties which link our two peoples together, and solemnly proclaimed that there was no area of contention" between Morocco and Algeria.

This sudden diplomatic thaw has been brought about by the intensifying heat from the war in the Sahara between the Moroccan army and the Polisario Front.

With its immensely rich and largely unexploited phosphate deposits, the Western Sahara was subjected to Spanish colonial rule until 1975.

The economic attraction of this territory to its two most powerful neighbours was obvious enough.

Geographically, it was scarcely less important.



Hassan's long-standing political ambition has been to rebuild the 'territorial integrity' of 'Greater Morocco' by absorbing Mauritania, the Western Sahara and other areas.

The Algerian regime could have seriously frustrated this ambition by controlling the Western Sahara itself.

The Saharoui people themselves seemed to be a negligible factor in any calculation—sparsely inhabiting a large territory, they had apparently developed very little political organisation and were certainly only primitively armed.

But these rival interests were expressed in different forms.

Mindful of its 'left' reputation, the Algerian regime declared its support for the self-determination of the Saharoui people, and for the Polisario Front which had

emerged in the struggles against Spanish colonialism.

The petty bourgeois nationalists in Algiers looked for a reliable and dependent ally in the inexperienced leadership of a newly independent Sahara.

But this prospect was not one that pleased Franco, who entered into negotiations with the governments of Morocco and Mauritania.

When Spanish forces withdrew in 1975, the Moroccan and Mauritanian armies moved in to replace them and carve up the

Boumedienne's government continued to give political and, to a lesser extent, material support to the Polisario Front, and recognised the Saharan Arab Democratic Republic when it was set up by the Polisario.

The battle-lines seemed to be clearly drawn, but

Polisario fighters they have begun to blur and break up as the conflict has developed.

The occupying armies from Morocco and Mauritania were disappointed in their expectation of a swift and easy victory.

Not only were their positions within the Sahara under continuous attack, but the war was also being carried over their own borders by the forces of the Polisario.

With the continuation of the guerrilla war social tensions within Morocco and Mauritania began to increase as rapidly as military expenditure.

#### Antagonisms

The burden of the war was not simply financial, but above all political.

Conscription and other aspects of the 'war effort' aroused the class antagonisms which both regimes worked most strenuously to suppress.

While the Moroccan government unceasingly denounced the Polisatio as being in reality sections of the Algerian army, the Algerian government itself was becoming increasingly embarrassed by this conflict which threatened to plunge the whole of the area into turmoil.

When French imperialism intervened directly with air attacks on the Polisario, Boumedienne's regime sought with desperate urgency for a way to 'resolve' the conflict.

#### Weakest link

Their first opportunity came earlier this year, with the overthrow of Ould Daddah's one party dictatorship by a military coup in Mauritania. The weakest link had snapped.

The attacks by the Polisario had succeeded in totally disrupting the iron

mining industry, and this combined with drought and other factors to produce a total collapse of the precarious Mauritanian economy.

**MAURITANIA** 

NOUAKCHOTT

Dragged into an apparently endless war by the dominance of Morocco and the lure of apparently easy booty, Ould Daddah's regime was cracking up under the additional pressure of increasingly organised mass opposition from workers and peasants.

But the new military dictatorship could only retain its power by balancing between two forces—the pressure from the masses for peace, and the pressure from its Moroccan 'ally'—expressed in the Moroccan army which controlled Mauritania in all but name.

#### Compromise

Responding to peaceable noises from the new head of state, Lieutenant-Colonel Mustapha Ould Mohamed Saleck, the Polisario Front declared a unilateral truce with the Mauritanian army.

These developments opened up for the Algerian leaders the possibility of a negotiated compromise solution.

At the same time, the

At the same time, the overthrow of Ould Daddah provided a clear warning to both Hassan and Boumedienne of the dangers posed to their less fragile but still insecure governments by the continuation of the war.

This new situation has opened the door for two other forces to enter on to the scene.

Scenting deals and bargains in the air, Spanish Prime Minister Suarez and Libyan dictator Gaddafi are now vying for the part of 'honest broker' in any peace talks.

#### 'Liberal' policy

The Spanish bourgeoisie has its own private quarrels with its Moroccan competitors, and Suarez has seized the opportunity to cultivate the image of the new 'liberal' foreign policy of the 'democratised' Francoist dictatorship.

Suarez's own party, the Union of the Democratic Centre has recognised the Polisario Front and even sent a delegate to its recent Fourth Congress.

This action and other recent initiatives have not been greeted warmly by the Moroccan government.

Hassan's foreign minister responded by reviving Morocco's claim to Ceuta

and Melilla—two enclaves on the African mainland maintained since colonial days by the Spanish state as military bases.

MOROCCO

ALGERIA

MALI

For good measure, he threw in the remark that the Spanish-ruled Canary Islands 'were only a few miles from the Moroccan Atlantic coast'!

#### More success

Gaddafi's overtures have so far met with more success. Negotiations are at present underway in Tripoli between the Polisario Front and the Mauritanian govern-

This development has brought Moroccan diplomats hotfoot, seeking talks with Gaddafi.

In the past Gaddafi has given verbal support to the Polisario Front—without ever recognising the Saharan Arab Democratic Republic.

Now this 'revolutionary' leader has announced that the question of recognition will be "put to the Libyan people" for their decision!

The likely outcome of this bargaining will be the proposal for an independent statelet in the Tiris el-Gharbia, the southern part of the Sahara at present occupied by Mauritania.

#### 'Acceptable'

Such a 'solution' would leave the phosphates and the bulk of the territory to Moroccan colonialism.

The support of French and US imperialism for such an 'acceptable' settlement might well prove sufficient to force Hassan's reluctant agreement.

There can be no doubt of the eagerness with which it would be greeted by the Algerian leaders.

Immediate steps are necessary if the struggles of the Saharoui people are not to be sold out and betrayed by those forces which have claimed to support them.

Continuing the guerrilla war against the Moroccan army and into Moroccan territory is not and never has been enough.

The power to end the war lies with the Moroccan masses, and it is the proletariat and peasantry of Morocco which must be mobilised to halt the aggression of the 'revolutionary'

despot, Hassan II.

If the Polisario Front confines its appeals to the Organisation of African Unity and fails to make this turn even at such a late stage, then it will bear a heavy responsibility for the betrayal of the struggles which it claims to lead.



Saturday's demonstration organised by Anti Apartheid in London

#### **INTERNATIONAL**

# Angola welcomes butcher Mobutu

No one knows more certainly than masses of Angola the vicious counter-revolunature tionary Colonel Mobutu's military dictatorship in Zaire.

During the Angolan war of independence Mobutu, acting as the direct agent of imperialism, opposed the



backing the rival FNLA.

He has continued to back the reactionary FNLA since independence and has imposed huge on Angolan suffering workers and peasants forced to endure a civil war.

Angolan national liberation

movement, the MPLA, by

At the same time the Portuguese colonialist regime, and then the MPLA regime led by Agostinho Neto, harboured the exiled Katangans from South East Zaire, who have re-entered Katanga twice over the last

#### Client

Angolan-backed The Katangans were repulsed by French, Belgian and US forces who came to the aid of their client Mobutu.

Neto then fiercely (and quite correctly) denounced Mobutu as an imperialist agent. And so did Neto's backers, the USSR and

Such words were used by some self-styled "revolutionaries" to argue that Brezhnev, was playing a revolutionary role in Africa.

#### New deal

Events during the last week have given clear evidence that the truth is the opposite: Cuba is using its toe-hold in Africa to make a new deal with

make a new deal with imperialism and its agents.

Last week Mobutu ceased—in the utterances of the Angolan regime-to be an agent of imperialism.

He became instead an

honoured guest in Luanda, the Angolan capital, to which he paid a friendly state visit.

Neto and Mobutu both talked of a new era of cooperation between the two countries-positions which would be impossible without the approval of the two regimes' backers in Washington, Paris, Moscow and Havana.

#### **Exploiters**

Simultaneously Neto's regime announced a new deal for European capitalists

wanting to invest in exploiting Angola's vast mineral

Industry and Energy Minister, Major Alberto Alberto Bento Ibeiro, speaking to European capitalists in Brussels, guaranteed potential investors against

expropriation and assured them they would be able to repatriate their profits.

With Cubans in all the key advisory posts in Angola there is no doubt that this extension of Neto's previous efforts at compromise with imperialism has the approval of protector, Fidel Castro.

its Far from using position in Africa support socialist revolution, the Cuban leadership is assisting the stabilisation of capitalism in a continent where the capitalist system has been subjected to mounting threats from the upsurge of the masses.

government Castro's plays in Angola an essential part in the policies of Soviet Stalinism as a whole, aimed at arriving at a 'balance' and political partition of Africa with the imperialist states.

In fact the government has

been explicitly rejected by a

parliamentary majority.
While Eanes looks for a new

government formula the govern-

ment remains in office thanks

only to the support of the leaders of the Socialist and

Cunhal have remained shame-

fully silent as the gains of 1974

and 1975 have been further cut

forced by opinion in its rank

and file to call on the Socialists

that the Socialist leaders will

Soares and CP leader Alvaro

The CP has finally been

Communist parties.

### **Spanish** cops call for army rule

'The army to power!' was one of the slogans of a demonstration of supporters of mutinying members of the armed police in the Basque city of Bilbao ten days

Following the killing of two more of their members, supposedly by the Basque nationalist group, ETA, several hundred armed police staged a sit-in at headquarters demanding more repression.

At the funeral of the policemen they physically threatened the Civil Governor and the Inspector General of Police, who were forced to escape in disguise through a back entrance of the building where the funeral took place.

#### Threatened

Onlookers threatened. Police loaded revolvers menaced journalists.

These are the latest in a series of events which show the pressures from within Francoist repressive apparatus for a return to the Franco years.

In July armed police went on a rampage of violence, arson and looting in the border town of Renteria.

Such incidents are especially marked in Euskadi (the Basque provinces) because of the mounting struggles of ETA and because of the imminence of the referendum on the 'constitution' which denies the national rights for which the people of Euskadi have fought for

#### **Embarrassing**

ETA's campaign against the police, therefore, has a good deal of popular support which is deeply embarassing to the right wing bourgeois Basque Nationalist Party and to the Socialist and Communist Parties which profess to support Basque national rights but whose main interest is in a national compromise with the bourgeoisie.

all Inese parties supported, last weekend, an 'anti-violence' demonstration called against ETA, and implicitly in support of the Francoist police.

#### Dissolution

While these bourgeois nationalists and fake socialists call for a few 'reforms' to the Francoist state apparatus, the masses of workers in Eusakdi are increasingly in favour of the complete dissolution of repressive institutions like the armed police and civil guard.

For the leaders of the Basque Nationalist Party, and the Socialist and Communist parties—like the police themselves— the dissolut on of the armed police force is a terrifying

demand. It means dissolution of the apparatus for protection of capitalist property relations which it is their life's work to preserve.

#### Retreat by Lisbon's ghost date from anyone except one government man-military President Eanes.

The headless monster of the Portuguese ruling class received a nasty fright last week when its efforts to seize land from peasants in the south and hand it back to the farm owners met with armed resistance.

Several physical confrontations between peasants and state authorities was enough to force the near-phantom government of former fascist official Nobre da Costa to retreat.

It announced suddenly that no further attempts would be made for now to implement the so-called "Land Reform" Act.



London demostration against martial law in Iran

### **MORE IRAN KILLING**

Sixteen murders by the Shah's perialist and Stalinistcked police were during the meral strike called on October 16, forty days after the massacres of Block Friday.

The continuation of boody repression has not.

however, stopped the growing wave of strikes which first broke out thee weeks

Virtually all international trade is at a standstill due to a strike of customs officials.

Oil technicians

And last week 3.000 manual workers and technicians at the all-important

oil installations in Abadan stopped work.

demonstra-Anti-Shah tions remain almost an hourly event all over the country.

And there are mounting rumours that the politically desperate Shah is about to install a full-blooded military regime in an effort to stem the upsurge through even tougher repression.

left office four months ago.

and 1975

Last week's dramatic retreat will be a sharp reminder to the Portuguese capitalists and their imperialist backers that they

The Nobre da Costa regime has been in office for nearly three months without any man-

This Act was passed on behalf of the landed proprietors by the Socialist Party government of Mario Soares, which

It empowers the state to seize back land which was liberated by its tillers in 1974

#### to form a coalition of the parliamentary workers' parties. But they do this only now remain without a government. they are safe in the knowledge

Teng courts Japan

Like the visit of Hua Kuo-feng to the Shah of Iran and the forthcoming of General welcome Pinochet in Peking, the visit by Chinese deputy premier Teng Hsiao-ping to Tokyo represents the opportunism

macy in full cry. Teng's official purpose is to ratify the Sino-Japanese peace treaty, putting a formal end to the war which began in 1937.

of Chinese Stalinist diplo-

But in signing the peace treaty China has dropped all opposition to the US-Japanese security' treaty of 1951 and the unconstitutional 'self-defence' forces through which the military power of Japan (in theory disarmed by the allies at the end of the Second World War) is organised.

Chinese diplomacy thus rides roughshod over even the policies of the large Japanese social democratic and Communist parties.

They have for decades opposed Japan's being an outpost of US militarism in the Pacific, which strengthens US power by acting as a counter-

weight to the Soviet Union. The Japanese peace treaty also clears the way for perhaps the most important segment of the huge foreign trade and investment deals Peking has announced in recent weeks.

Japanese firms will undertake an oil exploration and extraction programme in the Pohai gulf worth \$10 billion, construct a \$2 billion steel works near Peking and under-take major projects in coal mining and electrical power.

A trade agreement provides for \$80 billions worth of contracts during the 1980s.

The scale of these exchanges explains the sudden switch of Chinese policy to accepting foreign government loans: few capitalist banks would be able to provide the sums needed Capitalism's attempts

regain a foothold on the vast markets and labour force represented by mainland China must now be underwritten and organised by the states-such as Japan, West Germany and the US-that have sufficient foreign resources to deploy.

# Reinstatement fight

# exposes TGWU

# official

A SPECIAL 'SOCIALIST PRESS' REPORT

collaboration Brazen between right wing TGWU Regional and District officials and management at the Export Packing Services plant was highlighted last week by the outcome of an Industrial Tribunal hearing.

Former EPS militant Peter Barnes had been sacked from EPS earlier in the year, accused of physically assaulting the plant's right wing TGWU convenor Reg Adkins.

But at the point where both the company and the union bureaucracy were faced with the collapse of their case at the Tribunal, Barnes accepted a £1,000 buy off from EPS.

The company made this offer in order to attempt to end any further examination of the events surrounding Barnes' sacking.

#### Victimise

In fact the sacking was one of the products of a desperate attempt by TGWU official Bill Morris to victimise those militants that had formerly held the leadership in the plant, and above all Colin Carty, who had been plant convenor prior to

Carty and the left-wing dominated shop stewards committee had established a consistent record of struggle in defence of the interests of workers in the plant.

In the autumn of 1977, following the TGWU conference rejection of wage controls, they led an immediate five-week strike against Phase 3.

This was eventually sold out by Morris, who argued in favour of accepting the 12-month rule.

Shortly after this betrayal events began to take shape which bear all the hallmarks of a management/union frame up to remove Carty.

#### Sacked

A few weeks after the strike management sacked a militant member of the TGWU branch committee.

Because of the recent sellout on wages, it was not possible to get strike support from the whole site.

But Morris quickly urged stewards to lead a minority action, picket the gates, and stop supplies in order to halt production.

After a week of such action management began to whip up hostility among those still working by claiming that the strikers were endangering their jobs.

Morris then appeared on the site, called a mass meeting and a vote of no confidence was passed against the stewards. He then immediately ordered fresh stewards' elections throughout the site.

#### Right wing led

The result was a right-wing dominated stewards' committee, which then elected Adkins

convenor.

But Carty and the militant stewards were still a force to be reckoned with, retaining a broad

basic support on the site. And this support increased shown to be incapable of the slightest resistance to redundancies or the rundown of the site.

Morris and the management had to tackle this by attacking both Carty and the TGWU branch, of which he had remained chairman.

The point chosen for this coordinated victimisation was when Carty, as an officer of the branch, attended the election of a steward on the site.

Despite the fact that branch officers had traditionally attended such meetings, EPS management declared Carty had no permission to attend.

#### Suspended

They escorted him off the site and suspended him on full

In this action they were fully backed by Morris. Arguing that Carty had no right to attend the meeting, Morris prevented the newly-elected steward from taking office—thus also taking forestalling the creation of a left-wing majority on the stewards' committee, which would have spelt doom for

Suspending Carty on full pay was a move designed to minimise the chances of strike action in his defence, especially with the continuing threat of further redundancies in the air.

But management did not feel so confident as to sack Carty. After five weeks' suspension he reinstated with "reprimands" on his record card,

#### Frightened

Despite this attack, Carty's support strengthened, and convenor Adkins became frightened to call a mass meeting on any-thing for fear of an inevitable vote of no-confidence.

Eventually the annual wage review last Spring made a mass meeting unavoidable.

Morris was brought in to chair the meeting. When the noconfidence motion from the floor he ruled it out of order and closed the meeting.

This bureaucratic provoked heated are heated arguments the platform and between several hundred workers before the meeting finally dispersed.

The convenor, with Morris, then went straight to manage ment and complained that he had been physically assaulted by Barns during

Management sacked Barns. Their main witness against him was TGWU official Bill Morris!

#### Vindicate

A large number of witnesses once came forward to vindicate Barns. But management allowed only two to testify in his defence at the appeal-which was rejected.

The witch-hunters of TGWU Region 5 then decided to press home their advantage. They instituted another of their notorious "inquiries" into "all aspects of industrial relations at

Though clearly designed to pillory Carty and the previous leadership, this kangaroo court



Colin Carty speaking to pickets during the two week strike

no means of defending them-

selves.
No charges were actually laid. No individual was actually named. The Regional Committee F&GP simply sat in the plant and invited anyone to come along and complain about the previous stewards' committee or Colin Carty.

The F&GP concentrated their attack on Carty's refusal to recommend a return to work during the two week strike over the sacking; on the allegation that someone swore at a branch meeting; and the events at the mass meeting from which Barns was sacked.

"inquiry" attempted-without success-to drum up more serious witnesses to support Morris' allegations

#### **Travesty**

The Regional Committee has to pronounce a resulting from this travesty of an "inquiry".

They must know, however, that in the event of victimisation of Carty or other militants action would be taken on the

But alongside these frameup proceedings, Barns was continuing to fight his sacking, though denied any representation at official level from the

Eventually, and wrongly, he made application Industrial Tribunal.

As a former member of the WSL, Barns should have had no illusions in the "ju dispensed by such bodies.

#### One witness only

But with the trumped up charges backed by only one witness-a TGWU official-and eleven witnesses to support his case, Barns clearly felt that the

case could be won. There is no doubt that, though turning to the Tribunal

was a retreat, it did represent a real embarassment to the TGWU bureaucracy and to manage-

A week before the hearing, EPS offered £600 as an out-ofcourt settlement. Barns turned it down, correctly insisting on

Minutes before the hearing opened this offer was upped to

Two hours later, after fierce cross-examination of the EPS personnel manager had led to their case falling apart, management increased their offer to

£1,000. Barns accepted it.
This betrayal has let Morris and Adkins right off the hook. Exposing their collaboration with management would have weakened the bureaucratic moves against Carty.

## March backs Irish POWs

after Karl Marx organised a 25,000-strong march in protest against the hangings of the Manchester martyrs, the Prisoners Aid Committee is calling a national Day of Solidarity with Irish prisoners of war, to be held in London on November 26.

The mobilising leaflet for the campaign points out the vicious role of British imperialism in its defence of capitalist rule in Ireland and goes on to demand the solidarity action that is the duty of the British workers' movement.

It calls on trade union and political bodies to pass the following resolution.

'We give full support to the right of Irish political prisoners to be treated as Prisoners of War and with the right of those sentenced in England to serve their sentences with their comrades in Ireland. We shall be supporting the Day of Solidarity with Irish Prisoners of War called by PAC for November 26 and we support the demands of that demonstration:

Solidarity with Irish POWs. \*POW status and amnesty for all Irish political prisoners. Brits out of Ireland!"



Socialist Press readers to take up this important campaign and do everything possible to ensure that trade union and labour movement banners figure far more prominently on this coming PAC march than on its July demonstration, on which only seven trade union bodies were represented.

Copies of resolutions passed should be forwarded to, and more information obtained from PAC, 2a, St. Paul's Road, London N1.

Assemble 2.30 p.m. Speakers Corner, Marble Arch, march to Clerkenwell Green



Chief TGWU Region 5 witchhunter Brian Mathers

It would have opened the door for the re-election of Carty as convenor and a resumption of the fight against the management in defence of wages and

But the events have still proven a severe embarassment to the right wing.

A campaign must now be mounted throughout t TGWU, and in particular, mounted Region 5, to defend Carty and other EPS militants against victimisation as a result of the

Resolutions for the Regional Committee should be sent to the witch-hunter in chief, Secretary, Brian House, Regional Secretary
Transport Victoria Street, West Bromwich, B70 8HX.

#### Silence on 'secrets' charade

The second opening of the ABC "secrets" trial at Old Bailey has succeeded in drastically cutting back press publicity of the proceedings, which are now in their third week.

But despite the fact that the case is now out of the spotlight, journalists Crispin Aubrey and Duncan Campbell and exsoldier John Berry still face possible 14-year jail sentences under the Official Secrets Act.

And Colonel Hugh Johnstone, the one-time Colonel 'B', whose name was shrouded by spurious secrecy earlier in the year, is in the front rank of those attempting to ensure that they receive the most severe

sentences possible. During his hour of prosecution testimony in open court, Johnstone, appearing now under his real name, claimed that in tape-recorded discussion between the three defendants in early 1977, Berry had revealed information that would 'delight' an enemy and regarded as manna heaven'.

But under cross examination Johnstone admitted that once an observer knew a unit was a SIGINT unit then "its location, size and cooperation with other

agencies followed" And by referring to two magazines—those of the Intelligence Corps and the Signals Corps—Stuart Shields, QC for Berry picked out information, that went a long way to proving that two units (referred to as 'A' and 'B' in court) were involved in SIGINT.

But while the farce of a trial goes on, there is still little sign that the ABC Defence Campagi or its official backers in the NUJ leadership are making any serious attempt to appeal for support from the broader labour

The trial is thus not only out of the public eye but largely unknown to the millions of trade unionists, whose right to probe the workings of the repressive military and police apparatus of the capitalist state is under attack.

The fight must be taken up for a national level labour movement conference to discuss action to prevent any of the defendants going to jail.



EPS workers picketing the gates of the site

# NECTOUTS ITS By John Lister BEGGING BOWL TO CALLAGHAN This silent demagogy from the silent d

Many of Labour's 'left' dominated National Executive will probably have been sewing patches onto the knees of their trousers over the weekend in preparation for a visit to Callaghan on Monday October 23.

They will crawl in, carrying between them the most puny begging bowl imaginable, in the desperate hope that Callaghan will offer them some pretext to continue arguing for the maintenance of this reactionary, wage cutting government.

Among the pathetic proposals to be pressed on Callaghan are for him to publish major new bills on a wealth tax, on "industrial democracy" and on animal welfare.

In view of Callaghan's well-known reluctance to tax the rich, and the class collaboration enshrined in the "industrial democracy" fraud, the likelihood is that animals would come out of such a programme much better than workers!

Workers now among the 1½ million unemployed will no doubt also be overjoyed at the prospect that Labour NEC pleadings may bring about a democratisation of the Arts Council—thus opening up a couple of jobs.

But the NEC, according to Labour's house journal Labour Weekly:

". . . want to avoid the



Skinner

situation where the opposition has a chance to combine together to defeat the government on a major plank of policy and possibly precipitate an election."

But of course nowhere amongst all this talk is there the slightest reference to socialist policies of nationalisation of the banks and industry without compensation under workers management; of programmes of public works under the control of elected trade union committees to create new jobs at union rates of pay; or of restoration of the cuts in the health service and other social services.

Nor will there be any

Nor will there be any serious attempt by the NEC to reverse the government's position on the 5% pay limit

Newly-elected NEC lefts' Neil Kinnock and Dennis Skinner have joined most of their Tribunite colleagues in tactful silence on the wages issue since the conference, thus avoiding their mandate to lead a campaign against the Phase 4 limit.

This silence has only been punctuated by isolated demagogy from 'lefts' such as Sheffield MP Martin Flannery, who last week correctly declared that "People are sick to death of the government's pay policy".

But what must concern NEC and Tribunites alike is the prospect of people becoming sick to death of empty left rhetoric from Parliamentary windbags who have no intention of fighting for the removal of the Callaghan-Healey leadership.

The sooner the 'left' MPs are pressed by trade union branches and Labour Parties to take up such a fight in the Labour Party, the quicker workers will see for themselves the real limit-

ations of these 'left' talking reformists.

Such an exposure will prove to many that the road to socialism involves a break from all forms of reformism and the construction of a revolutionary party based on the Trotskyist programme.

# y left rhetoric from the quicker workers will see for themselves the real limit-



motion 'deploring the consistent support" given to the Shah's regime by the present Prime Minister, Foreign Secretary and Minister of Defence, and calling for the expulsion of all known SAVAK agents from Britain.

The original motion had demanded that local Labour MP

AT ITS October meeting,

the GC of Oxford City Labour

Party overwhelmingly passed a

and junior minister at the Foreign Office Evan Luard publicy dissociate himself from the government's policy and call for a ban on all British arms supplies to the Iranian dictatorship.

But an amendment was successfully moved to delete this and substitue a "more practical" call for the government to change its ways.

# New rise in fascist violence

A gang of National Front thugs emerged from their headquarters at 8.10 last Friday night and savagely attacked five or six people outside.

The range of weapons used by the fascists included an iron bar and a pick-axe handle inscribed with instructions on which parts of the body to strike for maximum effect.

One of the victims needed 65 stitches in a head wound; another had a broken arm.

But the Tory press—so anxious to report the slightest incident by "football hooligans"—relegated the incident to small insidepage articles.

This attack is only one of

a mounting series of violent attacks by the fascists, which are now more and more aimed at white antifascist forces as well as the black and immigrant community.

The previous Saturday, 15 ANL petitioners leaving Hoxton market were brutally attacked by fascists who included trained boxers and other weapon-wielding thugs. One of the ANL members was seriously injured.

The same weekend 30 British Movement thugs broke up a dance at Thames Polytechnic.

There then followed a familiar pattern of police behaviour as the fascists attacked a group of Asian youths in a car.

As one of the Asians got out to defend himself with a

spanner in his hand, he was promptly arrested.

This was followed up by the arrest of two antifascist students, who are being charged under the Race Relations Act.

This police behaviour will surprise only those such as the leadership of the Anti Nazi League who continue to believe that the aid of this state force can be relied upon to assist the fight against the fascists.

In reality the NF and BM attacks come under conditions of a developing class movement against the 5% pay policy.

And this strengthening movement offers a real basis for fighting fascism, because as it moves into struggles, the working class begins to break down the artificial divisions within its ranks and to act as a class against the common capitalist

Under these conditions the fight must be stepped up wherever the fascists show their heads for the construction of trade union-based workers defence squads capable of sweeping these scum off the streets.

An important example of the kind of support that can be mobilised through the unions was shown recently when Hull Trades Council brought upwards of 60 trade unionists onto the streets to protect a Socialist Workers Party bookshop from repeated fascist attack David Ennals, Labour's Minister in charge of destroying the health service, reached deep into his arsenal of poisoned weapons last week and accused hospital maintenance super-

visors of killing patients.

His statement had been coaxed out of him by a series of witch-hunting articles in the national press, which like Ennals claimed a sudden conversion to the care of patients.

Ennals and his fellow Labour Ministers can take personal responsibility for the deaths and suffering of those admitted to hospital too late, discharged too early or screened not at all.

In the name of "realism" they have axed millions of pounds from health service budgets.

By comparison any suffering from the current grading dispute is tiny, and even this action—a work to rule and overtime ban—comes after four years of empty promises from

Likewise the press. A fortnight ago the Daily Mail headed its front page "Your Life in Union Hands", a

story complaining that the supervisors had set up a monitoring system precisely to ensure that emergency patients did get treated.

PRESS GANG

Death masque

The Mail referred to this as 'The Committee of Twelve who have to approve hospital operations'.

Since then a united front from Fleet Street has been prodding the most reactionary consultants to more and more dramatic warnings about danger to patients.

Most of these consultants come to life only to witch-hunt hospital workers or to demand more money for themselves under threat of turning their highly paid time over entirely to private practice.

A week later the Mail—with an assumed air of impartiality—attacked Ennals and the hospital workers under the banner heading 'Don't They Care About People'.

The murder charge was made complete on Saturday with a headline 'Don't Let

Any More Die'.

The Sun has not been far behind with a plan-from one of these consultants (Save My Patients!) as early

as October 6.
Last Saturday

headline read simply 'For God's Sake, Get Back', quoting Ennal's death claim with whole hearted

Of course if these papers knew of a single case where the hospital action had led to a patient's death they would not be hiding behind generalities.

And of the hundreds who have died and thousands who suffer because of health service cuts—not one word.

The 'Boat People'—reactionary fugitives from Vietnam—have arrived in Britain to a fanfare of nauseating trumpets.

Picked up in the South China Sea these supporters of imperialism's corrupt old puppet regime have converted all the most vociferous Tory advocates of harsh immigration controls into welcoming hosts.

The contrast between the dewy eyed sentimentality of the press on this issue and the vicious treatment that was handed out to the Malawi Asians on their arrival in Britain shows the true basis of racist immigration controls—the class interests of the bosses.





Police attack NUJ picket at Darlington during the long struggle to achieve a closed shop

# NATIONALISE THE NEWSPAPER

# INDUSTRY!

PETER MCINTYRE looks at the role of the capitalist press, and the necessity for the labour movement to have the means to put forth its own propaganda in the struggle for socialism, drawing the conclusion that the working class must expropriate this key weapon of bourgeois rule.

One of the first key points to be seized by any army of occupation is the radio station.

Unlike the water supply, the power supply and the food stores control of the media does not immediately provide material necessities.

But control of the radio station, the TV and the press is at once the most powerful weapon for strengthening political control and the highest symbol of being in command.

Just as this is true for the sudden seizures of war, so it is true for the struggle for ascendency between the

classes of society.

Throughout the world the struggle for supremacy between feudalism and capitalism or between capitalism and the working class is reflected in control of the press.

#### Censorship

In Pakistan the military government throws journalists into jail and imposes strict censorship; in India the ruling Janata coalition came to power on the wave of opposition to Indira Gandhi's emergency controls high on the list of

mented with a relaxation of controls on the press, to the tiniest degree, in an effort to woo the support of US imperialism.

At the next sign that the opposition to his regime had increased rather than diminished the Shah reimposed censorship in its full authority.

In Northern Ireland the offices of the republican newspapers are raided by the army and the state police.

#### Hypocrisy

Files of subscribers are removed, both to harrass the paper and disrupt its distribution and to provide the authorities with lists of those sympathetic to repub-

licanism.

Since the state power in Northern Ireland is the same state power that declares ritual adherence to a "free press" in Britain the raids on republican newspapers are of themselves eloquent testimony to the hypocrisy of liberalism in Britain.

On the other hand, reactionaries entirely defend the gathering of the reins of the press in the hands of a tiny group of supercapitalists.

On the other hand they are mute when the small

Revolutionaries have always seen the vital importance of making their voice heard in print—even under conditions where newspapers have to be produced illegally.

Lenin and Trotsky both placed enormous emphasis on presenting the authentic voice of the revolution in print, and of combating the lies and distortions, both of the capitalists and of the fake lefts who sought to obscure the real and sharp questions which the working class must face.

But the capitalists and social democrats also see that importance.

Their attempts to control and limit the political views of the working class are two-fold. On the one hand the mass press keeps up a constant hymn in defence of capitalist property relations. On the other hand it concurs in an economic stranglehold which make labour movement papers difficult to produce.

#### Long established

In Britain and other advanced industrial states the unionisation of the printing industry is long established and complete.

The current wave of reastance through Fleet



NUJ mass picket at Kettering again in pursuit of a closed shop agreement

capitalist owners a record number of papers is testimony to the ability of print union members to defend wages and conditions under attack from both the employers and their own union officials.

Their defences are put up around traditional rights and payments and in dispute after dispute management has been unable to impose defeats on the workers.

the workers.

But with few isolated exceptions—a NAF ad in the Sunday Telegraph being one—print workers and journalists have not challenged the capitalists' right to print whatsoever they wished.

whatsoever they wished.

The campaign against the NUJ's attempts to win a closed shop in provincial journalism brought to a height a campaign by the employers and their editors to identify strong unionisation with an attack on a free press.

statement published by former Labour Minister and now Newspaper Publishers Association chairman, Sir Richard Marsh, the theme

is the same.

The 'free' press is central to maintaining 'democracy' and a 'free' press is inconsistent with strong trade unions.

#### Not abstract

'Freedom of the press' is an admirable slogan. In 1905 it was on the lips of Russian workers who overthrew the censorship laws.

In every country where newspapers are harrassed and journalists thrown into jail one of the focal points of opposition to the government is around the slogan of the freedom of the press

ment is around the slogan of the freedom of the press. But it is not and can never be an abstract. A free press, uncontrolled by any social class, can by definition, only exist in a

classless society.

Just as the state itself

cannot exist in a void an must represent the organ ised defence of one class of the other, so the prescannot be 'free' but must reflect the superiority of the ruling class.

In times of social cannot be a social cannot be the superiority of the ruling class.

ruling class.

In times of social upheaval, where a social transformation takes placed control of at least part of the press can pass out of the hands of the ruling class.

But this is a situation which is not stable. Like a manifestations of dupower it must resolve itself

It is no accident the some of the bitterest ideo ogical battles around the Portuguese revolution 1975 arose precisely ow the question of control of the content of Republica.

#### Ordered to print

The most dramatic an gripping account of du power and its effect on the press is provided by Trotsk in his account of the 190 revolution.

In Petersburg, political control passed for a short period into the hands of the Soviet. That power reflected itself on the press.

The typesetters, newly organised in the Union of Print Workers ordered their employers to print the newspapers in complete disregard of the censorship laws.

Reactionary newspapers, still fearful of the real intentions of the Csar and his new liberal front were reluctant to do so.

#### Blue pencil

The Petersburg Soviet issued a famous proclama-

tion:
"The Csar's manifesto proclaims 'freedom' of speech in Russia, yet the Central Directorate Affairs of the Press still exists, the censor's blue pencil is still in force . . . Freedom of the press still has to be won by the workers.

"The Soviet of Deputies resolves that only those newspapers may published whose editors ignore the censorship committee, refuse to submit their issue for censorship, and generally act in the same way as the soviet in publishing its own news-

paper.
"For this reason typesetters and other workers of the press will work only after editors have declared their readiness to put the freedom of the press into practice.

"Until that time, newspaper workers will remain on strike, and the Soviet of Deputies will take all necessary measures to pay the comrades on strike all wages

due to them. "Newspapers which fail to accept the present resolution will be confiscated from their sellers, and any workers who do not accept the decision of the Soviet of Deputies will

boycotted." Most of the press owners at this point found their courage and began to ignore the censors. Not all were happy to do so.

#### Respect

The editor of the People's Voice (a right wing paper masquerading under a populist title) published a statement in the first issue of his paper published unvetted by the censor, which strikes an echo in almost every 'freedom' every loving editor in Britain

"Committing an infringement of the law under duress, despite my firm conviction that a law, even if it is a bad law, must be observed until the legal authorities have repealed it, I am publishing this issue against my will without consulting the censorship although I have no right to do so." (Original emphasis).

The editors in Britain of the national and regional press are fond of declaring their wholehearted attachto 'indivisible' ment freedom of the press-yet like the Petersburg editor, they are only too happy to sink this freedom under a higher one-respect for the ruling class.

In 'democratic' Britain this takes the form of obedience to the Official Secrets Act, D Notices, kowtowing to the laws of contempt and to gagging writs, used almost exclusively by capitalists and politicians whose activities have come under public scrutiny.

It is often wrongly stated, for example, that D Notices are instructions from the state to editors not

to publish. In fact the D Notice Committee is actually made up of representatives of the state together with national newspaper editors.

In the past year a similar arrangement has been introwith minimal publicity for self-denying censorship in co-operation with the police.

chiefs Police admitted that such a system could not be imposed on the press without the full co-operation of editors.

In the BBC all news on Ireland has to be submitted to a committee of top management before being published. A similar instruction was issued during the World Cup in Argentina on political news.



In London, the Metropolitan Police refuse to accept the NUJ card and have issued cards of their own to journalists they consider fit to be trusted.

An instruction by the NUJ that these cards be refused from the end of this year is meeting with strong opposition from the most reactionary of the Fleet Street journalists who thrive on a cosy relationship with the forces of the state.

The pattern of ownership of Fleet Street papers is changing. The old guard of press barons is giving way to the new.

long established The families who ruled through personal intervention are giving way to the brash new owners who exactly mirror their personal commitment to making the newspapers mouthpieces for the owners.

The Observer is now in the hands of a multi-national oil giant; the Express is owned by Victor Matthews -a capitalist with massive property and shipping interests; the Sun and the shipping News of the World are controlled by multi-national union-hater Rupert Murdoch.

Only the Guardian and Telegraph of the nationals are not owned by massive companies which have major interests outside newspapers.

The ownership of the press has responded to the tendency for capitalism to dispense with national borders.

The tone of every single one of these papers is nationalist to the point of jingoism. Yet the ownership international—the offensives against the unions in one country carried over

into another.

Despite the massively increased size of these companies, the personal voice of the owners are still carried loud and clear.

Victor Matthews, noted more for his business ruthlessness than for his literary skills, took the entire front page of the Daily Express after the machine minders' strike to protest personally against 'anarchy'

The sombre Daily Telegraph, back on the streets last week after the longest closure of a national newspaper since 1955, was more circumspect. Lord Hartwell, chairman and editor in chief course! the positions go hand in hand!) was only given the second lead position on the front page for his message.

#### "Vulture"

More than 13 million copies of the newspaper were lost, and despite a normal dose of cringing from the Printing Industries Committee of the TUC, the Telegraph was forced to pay printers the two days' pay they had withheld before the strike.

Lord Hartwell appealed to the Telegraph readership to remain loyal and thanked them for 95% of the letters he had received, although there had of course been 'the odd vulture darkening an already dark sky

He promised that there would not be the same mixture as before. Like his colleagues at Times Newspapers, resistance from the working class within his own building had awakened in him a determination to go on the offensive.

The economic crisis has not brought any shortage of newspaper owners. For every one threatening to shut down there are two waiting to take their place.

The Express group is launching a new tabloid on reduced manning levels which will undoubtedly make money. The provincial remains highly press profitable.

#### More strikes

But attacks on print workers and journalists will be stepped up, predominantly in Fleet Street.

The economic struggles over manning and pay will bring more strikes like that at the Telegraph and more determined attempts by

Fleet Street workers-traditionally organised in powerful union chapels

Fleet Street managements to break the power of union chapels.

LEGTRICAL

The print union leadership are already 100% behind management wishing to impose 'discipline and authority'.

The return to work at the Telegraph has been engineered under conditions where stronger action will be taken against 'unofficial' action.

#### End secrets

As in other industries the policies for which print workers must fight are for an end to the business secrets, and, where papers such as the *Telegraph* threaten bankruptcy, the throwing open of all throwing open accounts and plans and secret deals.

Journalists and print workers must fight to expose the secret funds and between tie-ups nationals to bolster each other up in times of strikes or lockouts; and the links between newspaper owners and organisations such as NAFF which seek to set up strike-breaking, non-union print shops.

But the fight for workers control over the means of production of the press cannot and must not be looked at in isolation from political control of the content.

The attempts by the 'lefts' in the NUJ to separate the drive towards closed shop from any challenge on the owners' right to control the content is despicable and cowardly.

When in 1905 the Soviet seized control of capitalist papers for a night at a time and forced them to print copies of Izvestia, the Soviet's own paper, the outrage of the owners and the police (who consistently raided the presses just too late to stop the paper being distributed) beyond appropriation of the paper and ink.

#### Howls of rage

It was the use of the means of production financed by capital to serve the interests of the working class which brought their most anguished howls of

Until such time as there is a classless society there will be no complete press freedom.

The historic task of the working class is to bring about the dictatorship of the proletariat as a means of moving towards that classless society.

#### **Progressive class**

There can be no ducking of the stage of controlling the means of production including the press and media to serve the interests of the only progressive class in society-the working class.

In fighting therefore for nationalisation of the press, the workers must also be fighting for direct control over the content; for an end to the continuous attacks on workers and defence of property relations and for the press to become the powerhouse of the working class drive to emancipation.

Those who tell the workers to start their own papers if they don't like those of the capitalists are nothing but hypocrites.

More than 50% revenue for all capitalist papers comes from the advertising of the very capitalists they exist to serve.

#### Expropriate

Only a press brought within reach of the working class through state subsidy for printing presses and newsprint could put a workers' press on equal terms with those of the

capitalists. Even then, through their stranglehold on outlets, which refuse to stock anticapitalist papers, the big business owners of newspapers guarantee that the only path to a press 'free' in the interests of the working class is the path towards seizii: control over the mean of production which alread / exist.

The capitalist owners must be expropriated.



Threatening to assert control over the bosses' support for fascism-media workers' meeting last month

WOMEN AGAMST THE

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'Family life' no answer to fascism!

Mary Anne Todd examines the reactionary positions put forward in the Anti Nazi League's 'Women Against the Nazis' leaflet, and points to the essential link that unites capitalism, fascism, and women's oppression.

Can fascism fought by appeals to preserve "famliy life" and favourably recalling memories of the Second Imperialist War?

For those who think the answer is 'yes', the Anti Nazi League's latest offshoot-'Women Against the Nazis'-have produced the ideal leaflet.

As such, it serves as a serious blow against efforts to mobilise working class women in a clear-cut struggle against fascism.

Such a fight requires an understanding that fascism is a last, desperate line of defence utilised by the crisis-ridden capitalist

system. The individual family unit is the economic unit of capitalist society; one which reflects all of the pressures of the crisis, and through which reactionary leaderswhether Tory, Labour or National Front-seek to society, and prevent the overthrow of capitalism.

#### Wives and mothers

But the Women Against the Nazis (WAN) leaflet offers women no way of fighting fascism other than through their traditional role of wives and mothers.

It summons women to the defence of "family life as we know it", and recoils in horror not at the Hitler Youth's violent opposition to the German labour and trade union movement in Germany but at the fact that their first loyalty was to Hitler "and not to their parents"!

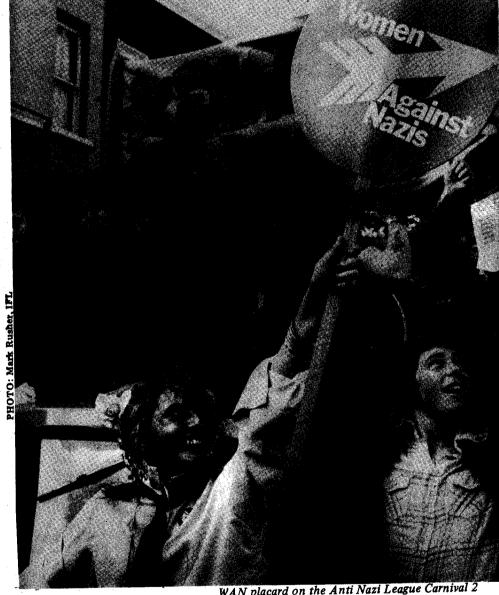
Of course, even without leaflet. many WAN's responding to women. conscious capitalist propaganda, believe that what is wrong in society is the loss of "good, old-fashioned values", and "moral fibre". Failing to see that it is

the crisis of capitalism which overburdens working class families with falling living standards, inadequate care for children and the elderly, and the plague of such unemployment, such women tend to look for individual rather than class

#### No challenge

The WAN leaflet offers no challenge to such a position.

It makes no attempt to point out the grotesque exploitation and oppression of women and youth in the bourgeois family unit, or to



WAN placard on the Anti Nazi League Carnival 2

show how this plight would be drastically worsened by fascism in power.

In fact Hitler's Third Reich insisted that the role of women should be no more than 'Kinder, Kirche, Kuche' (children, church and kitchen).

And those who dared to deviate from this rigid pattern-such as gays and parents-were single violently repressed.

This is because the family unit is a cornerstone of capitalism. Through the family, labour power is maintained, serviced and reproduced at minimum cost to the capitalist class.

And the family is also the unit of consumption for the products of capitalist industry—with HP payments and mortgages arranged to ensure that as many families as possible live their lives in permanent debt, as an incentive to work each

family is the The

which children are forced by capitalism, and subjected 40,000,000 points of to the problems, prejudices, moods, frustrations and vices of their parents.

Far from opposing this state of affairs, however, the WAN leaflet actually seeks to prolong it, warning that under fascism:

"We would lose control over our kids and not be able to bring them up in the

way that we wish.' Setting aside the obvious point that under today's conditions of mass unemployment and plunging living standards few workers can actually afford to bring up children in the way they wish, the sentiment runs directly opposite to Trotsky's Marxist analysis of the reactionary role of the family unit:

The most compelling motive of the present cult of the family [in the USSR] is undoubtedly the need of the [Stalinist] bureaucracy for a stable hierarchy of

compulsory institution into relations and for disciplinsupport for authority and power."

(Revolution Betrayed) Indeed it is only a socialist planned economy that can offer an alternative to the claustrophobic and repressive bourgeois family

Only under socialism can child-minding and domestic labour cease to be an individual, petty chore and be managed scientifically and collectively; only under socialism can the legal, economic and political oppression of women be brought to an end.

This is why, as socialists, we insist that the ending of "family life as we know it" would be no loss whatever to the working class, and is in fact essential for the emancipation of women.

But it will never be ended by fascism, which would simply tighten the shackles on the members of

··don's let them catch the racist bug!

each family.

movement.

imagines

mothers.

out leaflets.

work?).

ilities.

And by ending abortion

In order to fight against

rights it would forcibly

compel countless women to

undertake family responsib-

such attacks it is necessary

to mobilise women not as

individuals but as part of

the organised working class

is contained in the WAN

leaflet. It restricts its

suggested courses of action

to the narrow confines it

accepted by wives and

Angry letters

Women are urged to "complain" if their child is

taught by a racist; to get WAN posters put up in

schools by teachers; to write

angry letters, and to give

middle class Parent-Teacher

Association stuff there is no

call whatever on women to mobilise at their places of

work or through their unions (do WAN members

tably in view of WAN's links with the pacifist Anti

Nazi League), no call on women to join the fight for

And, above all, there is

There is no mention of

the fight against wage

controls, nor of the public

spending cuts, or unem-

ployment, through which

women workers are being

driven back into the

isolation of the home-

which Trotsky aptly des-

stagnant institution in which the woman of the

toiling classes performs galley labour from child-

"That archaic, stuffy and

numbers of

no programme for the daily

struggle against the main foundation of fascism—

workers' defence

against racist attack.

capitalism in crisis.

increasing

cribed as:

hood to death".

There is, (perhaps predic-

But among all this nice,

are

already

But the opposite position

answer if The only women are not also to fall increasingly prey to fascist arguments is to combat this isolation and the conservatism that flows from it, combat every aspect of individualism, nationalism, hostility to the labour movement and political amongst backwardness working class women.

to break strikes.

#### Capitulates

But instead of attempting this task WAN capitulates to these prejudices, and even goes to the lengths of favourably recalling the Second World War, asking:

"Do you want to live in the same sort of society that parents, brothers, husbands and sons gave up their lives to prevent?"

Of course millions of women also died in the war. But more importantly, the war was an inter-imperialist war in which the British bourgeoisie cynically used working class soldiers and sailors in its rivaly with German imperialism over world markets.

The cover used by the capitalists for British engaging in this war was of course that it was a 'war against fascism'.

But Churchill and many other spokesmen of British imperialism had made it plain from the start that they would prefer Hitler to prove victorious than see a communist revolution unleashed in Britain.

Throughout the war, the British working class was subjected to mounting exploitation by profiteering capitalists and betrayed at each point by Labour and leaders who Stalinist proclaimed that the war was "democracy" against fascism.

#### Treacherous bloc

Is the WAN attempting to reinstate this rotten, treacherous bloc? Where does the "revolutionary" Socialist Workers Party, opportunist mentor of the pronouncements? Anti Nazi League, stand on

Our stand is clear and consistent. Only the independent mobilisation of the working class as a class through its mass organisations can bring an end to the decaying, vicious, capitalist system and thus eliminate the threat of fascism once and for all.

Women who join in such fight will increasingly begin to understand the necessity for socialism to end "family life as we know it" and open up a new era of unfettered development for the men, women and youth of the future.

#### Cut off

Cut off from the organised strength of the working class and subjected to huge economic pressures and a continual barrage of capitalist propaganda, women are prone to fall victim to various types of reactionary ideology, and their backwardness can even become a lever used by employers in their efforts

# 'Midnight Express'a racist attack on Turkish people

A Turkish Trotskyist examines the reasons why both the Turkish government and the Turkish left have attacked the controversial new film 'Midnight Express'.

This film is based on the real life experience of Billy Hayes, a young American arrested while trying to smuggle two kilos of hashhish.

After serving seven years in a Turkish prison he finds himself sent down for a further 30 years. Driven by desperation he manages to escape.

Much of the film focuses on the horror of prison conditions in Turkey. But there is more to it than that.

Director Alan Parker skilfully exploits the appalling conditions, savage sentences and physical maltreatment meted out to Hayes in order to provoke hostility to Turks.

He tries to create an image of the Turkish people as somehow inherently barbaric.

#### Reactionary

It is this racist, reactionary thrust which determines the impact of the film as a whole.

Even in attempting to answer his critics on this point, Parker reveals his reactionary position:

"The characterisation of the film as racialist and fascist shows that it has been understood wrongly.

"Our aim is to criticise the judicial system which is bad, degenerated, and does not have the essentials.

"Turkey is a militarist country which is ruled by a fascist administration. The Turks slaughtered the Armenians and they are famous for their extreme barbaric character."

Such a statement combines violent hatred for the Turkish people with a willful political confusion.

Turkey is not yet ruled by "a fascist adminstra-



**IN REVIEW** 

Turks in Britain march in support of striking metal workers in Turkey

tion"

Rather, it is ruled by a liberal talking bourgeois democratic government headed by Ecevit, under constantly growing threats of a military or a fascist take-over.

And, while this precarious situation becomes steadily more unstable, the class collaboration of the reformist and Stalinist leaders of the Turkish workers' movement disarms the working class and increases the risk of a right wing coup.

#### Acute dangers

To say that Turkey is now ruled by fascists is to minimise the acute dangers faced by the Turkish working class.

But this is not the only way that Parker conveys a message that assists the fascists.

Hiding behind the understandable bitterness and hostility of a man who barely escaped a further 30 years in a hell-hole of a jail, the film revels in such racialist statements as: "For a nation of pigs, it's funny you don't eat it", and "I hate your nation and people and I fuck your sons and daughters".

Parker's hollow claim to expose the repressive character of the Turkish regime is nothing but a cover for his consistent identification of the regime with the Turkish people as a whole and the supposedly "barbaric" Turkish "character."

And even were his portrayal of prison conditions to have an impact, the racialism of the film is such that the Turkish government, its diplomats in Europe, and communities of Turkish workers in a number of countries have been struggling to stop the film being shown.

It is significant that although the film was made in Algeria and not in Turkey, Parker had clearly been to some trouble to ensure that at the end of the film the prison walls could be seen plastered with Turkish fascist posters proclaiming the slogan "No nation without nationality."

#### "One nation"

It is a slogan which insists that Turkey is "one nation"—thus denying any rights to the oppressed national minorities.

And in its insistence upon national divisions it is also an anti-communist slogan.

As such it is central to the current fascist offensive in Turkey, which, amid violent attacks on working class and student militants, calls on backward workers and the middle class to "defend the nation" against its "enemies".

These "enemies" of course are revolutionaries, trade unionists and progressive forces.

This was the ideology behind the March 1971 coup in which hundreds of trade unionists and revolutionaries were killed and hundreds more jailed and tortured under conditions far worse than Billy Hayes could have dreamed of in his worst nighmares.

The real exposure of the repressive regime in Turkey can only be carried out by establishing the *conflict* of interest between the ruling class and the oppressed masses in Turkey.

Only in this way can international solidarity be established between the Turkish working class, the oppressed minorities within Turkey and every other section of workers internationally, in the struggle against the common enemy—the capitalist class in each country.

"The working men have no country", proclaimed Marx and Engels years ago in the Communist Manifesto.

In order to put an end to the repression and torture in Turkey and elsewhere it is necessary to follow the conclusion of that founding statement:

"Working men of all countries, unite!"



Social workers are already fighting attacks on conditions

# Kids feel brunt of Tories new cutbacks

Already the social services in Birmingham have been cut to the bone but a press announcement on 27 September by the ruling Tory group gave a taste of the cruelest cuts to date.

Without any prior consultation with the two main unions involved (NALGO and NUPE) the Tories made a clear statement of intent that, to quote their report:

that, to quote their report:

"Whatever the City
Treasurer requires, we are
putting a cash limit on the
total net budget" in the
social services department.

In other words no matter what money may be available, the budget is frozen at this year's figure.

#### Cutback

Because of inflation, this will mean for 1978-9 a massive cut in provision.

The brunt of this cut will be borne by children's welfare services.

The Tories' intention is to close eleven working children's hostels, three residential nurseries and four children's homes as well as making further cuts in the remaining pathetic day nursery provision.

In total this entails a loss of 200 beds in children's establishments.

Youth in hostels will be dumped on the street and only the most basic day nursery provision will be maintained.

Alongside this there will be forced redundancy, "re-

Workers Socialist
League
Conference Document
'Behind Today's Crisis
in Turkey'
Available in Trotskyism
Today No 3, price 60p
(plus 20p p&p)
from WSL,

31, Dartmouth Park Hill London NW5 1HR.

deployment" and compulsory premature retirement affecting over 100 workers who man these homes.

#### Women's rights

This is not only an attack on children's welfare but also a further attack on the rights of working women.

But of course the report cynically states that:

"at all times we wish to put the interests of the children first and we are also concerned for staff involved."

Only a week after this press statement 250 social services staff attended a lobby of the social services committee which was to ratify these proposals.

Police were called in to prevent these workers exercising their democratic rights to attend this committee and forcibly restrained them.

Eventually the committee adjourned to a smaller room under police escort and ratified their closure decisions after timid verbal opposition from the minority Labour group.

The scene is now set for a direct confrontation with the workers involved and the council.

To fight these closures, the workers have already set up a joint NALGO-NUPE 'Children's Committee' which will invite other unions and workers to get involved.

#### Plan of action

This committee must ensure that a correct plan of action is undertaken to prepare the workers involved to continue operation of these homes and defend these essential services.

WSL supporters will fight

in this committee for:

\*Defence and—if necessary-occupation of these home to prevent closure, with supporting strike action from other sections of workers.

\*Restoration of the cuts

already made.

\*Protection of public services by a sliding scale of public expenditure.



Midnight Express director Alan Parker

# INDUSTRIAL NEWS

WORKS STAFF TALKS In a bid to sell out the 41/2 week-old go-slow by 3,500 NHS hospital works officers, both union officials and management have been involved in talks with ACAS.

The works officers are in conflict with Phase 4 of wage control, which prevents payment of money agreed 3 years ago to restore differentials.

# Reject all productivity deals!

Even while Vauxhall workers at Ellesmere Port voted to reject the 5% pay policy last week TGWU convenor John was putting forward the dangerous idea of a "phony" productivity deal.

He has suggested that a higher minimum payment in

such a deal, along the lines of the current productivity deal's £2 "lead-in" payment (which is not dependent on productivity) may be a possibility.

#### More acceptable

Clearly he is hoping that such a deal would be more acceptable to the company and the government because it would camouflage the

of the 5% ceiling from the other sections now involved in pay negotiations—and in particular from the public sector workers.

Callaghan is relying on the likes of Farral to collaborate with such deals in order to stave-off the resulting wave of strikes which would inevitably follow an open breach of the 5% by

A principled leadership would have nothing to do with productivity deals whether they are the obvious job-selling variety or the so-called "phoney" cover-up jobs.

If the company can pay money through a "phoney" deal they can pay it instead as an open, no strings breach of the 5% limit.

The body shop at Ellesmere Port

## Garners boss desperate

TGWU Day of Action two weeks ago, Garners Steak Houses boss Margolis was forced last week to distribute an internal campaign bulletin to scabs which lyingly claimed that the march had only attracted 450 supporters, and consisted of merely ten strikers.

That this was an act of desperation was exposed in the second half of the bulletin, by a carefully worded resignation statement from Phillip erstwhile chief accountant and one of the most vicious scabs.

As the big rats desert the sinking ship Margolis has been forced to rely on his ragged pack of scabs to plead with

mediator between the two sides.
The fact that TGWU Regional Organiser Les Shorter, Catering Officer Abrahams and Strike Committee Chairman Rachman went to see Brook last Thursday is a warning to strikers to guard against a sell-out by this treacherous trio.

This meeting followed vain attempts by Shorter strikers meeting on Wednesday that the Union had done its best and that a compromise settle-

ment was now inevitable.
We understand that many strikers forced Shorter to retreat from his stand with their protests that the only possible settlement was still on the basis

of full reinstatement and union

#### Strong

They pointed out the Day of Action had shown that this strike was very strong despite the Regional leadership's continued refusal to mobilise its membership to win it.

The real strength of the strike is reflected in this powerfull call from the Strike Committee for a trade union lobby of the next Regional Committee meeting in Novemand a national TGWU delegate conference, both to committee policies.

# WSL Why not join us?



eague is not a movement for the faint hearted. We do not offer any peaceful backwater of abstract discussion and armchair revolution.

The fight we carry through each day in the workers' movement has often been shown to have a major impact in inflicting setbacks on the labour bureaucracy.

But it does so only

because our members are prepared to fight tenaciously-sometimes against heavy odds-and in the teeth of bitter hostility from union officials, Labour fakers, Stalinists and all manner of 'left-wing'' opportunists.

But in arguing and fighting in practice for the building of a Trotskyist leadership capable of mobilising the working class for the struggle for state power and the establishment of a

The Workers Socialist society, we are carrying through a struggle that is essential for the working class.

workers Unless shown the necessity to break from their present leaders, they go unarmed into the fight for their independent interests.

Understanding this, our movement has from the start, stood at the forefront of agitation to break Labour's wage controls, and for action to prevent the sale of jobs at Speke, in the steel industry, and elsewhere, by TUC bureaucrats in cahoots management.

Time and again WSL members have deflated fiery speeches by 'left' windbags who talk of opposition to the social spending cuts but lift not a finger to mobilise strikes or occupations.

And our members have played a key role in every major cuts struggle.

We have championed every major unionisation



fight, from Grunwick to Garners and Sandersons, highlighting and fighting each step of bureaucratic

betrayal and sabotage. Workers And the Workers Socialist League has been at the forefront of the fight in British Leyland and throughout industry to oppose the erosion of the independent shop stewards' movement through class collaboration in 'workers

participation' bodies. In each of these struggles and in our international work the WSL has fought to reveal and to explain the counter-revolutionary role played by the Stalinists of the Communist Parties—whether these be 'Eurocommunist' parties or those adhering to Moscow.

Our principled stand on these issues has also vividly exposed the opportunism and confusion of the various other left groups who claim to offer workers a 'revolutionary' alternative.

And the practical exper-



policies to defend jobs, wages and social services

ience we have gained in the fight for the Trotskyist Transitional Programme has convinced us of the necessity to reconstruct the Fourth International as the World Party of Socialist Revolution, principles established at its

foundation in 1938. Whether fighting falling living standards, unemployment and the attacks on democratic rights at home or mobilising in solidarity with international struggles against imperialism in Ireland, Iran and Southern Africa, the Workers Socialist League has a practical and a theoretical contribution to make.

We call on Socialist Press readers and supporters to consider the coming struggles, the problems they face, and the necessity of a principled lead in each dayto-day fight.

Only our small size

#### **Trotskyism** Today Theoretical Journal of the

Workers Socialist League

Containing 'The Poisoned Well' - the WSL document which dissects the rotten bloc of factions which has now come together to form the majority leadership of the 'United' Secretariat of the Fourth International.

**WSL** British Perspectives

The Spartacist School of Invention

Turkey: the background to today's crisis

Trotskyism Today No 3, 60p plus 20p p&p from WSL, 31. Dartmouth Park Hill. London NW5 1HR.

prevents our work having still greater impact on the class struggle. You can play a role in changing that!

Why not join us? Our

local branch would be pleased to tell you more about our programme, policies and perspective.

#### **MORE DETAILS**

Please send me more information about the Workers Socialist League

Name	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	• • • • • • • •
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Send to: WSL, 31, Dartmouth Park Hill. London NW5 1HR

# NATSOPA OFFICIALS CLASH backs meeting-IN BID TO KNIFE

## **INK STRIKE**

NATSOPA officials, the strike at the Usher-Walker printing inks factory in East London continues.

Since the firm supplies 25-30% of the printing ink for Fleet Street and is the sole supplier for some presses, this strike could effectively halt production of some national papers.

The 93 members of the NATSOPA chapel have taken indefinite strike action until management threats of redundancies are withdrawn.

As the factory is already undermanned, this threat was clearly aimed at destroying a militant chapel leadership.

Abysmal conditions in the factory have led to a series of actions.

Recently workers had refused to stand in for foremen who were sick or on holiday unless they were

This led to stopping in three departments, as noone would work without supervision.

Management responded suspending all the workers in those departments without pay.

The chapel decided that if management were not going to pay a proper rate to stand in foremen then every worker would temporarily resign from supervisory duties.

Usher-Walker management, determined not to give an inch, then suspended every worker on the factory floor without pay.

Work returned to normal on Monday October 9 so that a meeting between union and employer could take place.

Although the meeting resolved certain disagreethe employer revealed plans for between 15 and 20 redundancies and

## Thorns workers defend militant

About 1,300 workers from the Thorns Southbury Road site in Enfield came out on strike last Friday in defence of a victimised steward.

Management sacked Paul een, a militant TGWU Green. steward, for being 16 minutes late between 18 October and 18 November!

They maintain that his timekeeping record comes within the maximum limit in one calendar

But it is clear that this sacking is an attack on the union organisation in the com-

pany.
It comes a week before a reply was to be given to the union's 15% wage claim.

A member of management also recently said that they wanted to "get rid of half a dozen stewards".

What has surprised Thorns management has been response of the workforce.

The morning shift voted by 3 to 1 for an immediate walk-

The other unions have pledged their support and the

Lincoln Road site is having a mass meeting to take a vote on strike action.

The Enfield and Edmonton Trades Council Executive has already agreed to support the strike and to put out a press statement.

It will also support the picket line, especially on Tuesday when government are visiting factory.

The stewards are asking for local trade unionists to give their support.

Already pickets from the arby Fords plant have donated coal, wood for a shelter and refreshments.

A 24-hour picket is being maintained to prevent the removal of work to Thorns' Gosport factory.

This management attack in Enfield follows on the recent closure of the Bradford plant with the loss of over 2,000 jobs.

The lack of a fight by the rotten leadership there, has whetted the bosses' appetite for more attacks against their workers. They have received a rude

shock at the response to their provocations.

six compulsory retirements.

This was a clear threat to the militant leadership of the union chapel.

However, full time Branch Secretary Dave agreed to Hutchinson discuss redundancy plans at a later date.

He also agreed that his members would not be paid for the whole of the time they were illegally suspended.

When workers in the factory learnt of this betrayal they voted unanimously for indefinite strike action.

The NATSOPA bureaucracy, who are as scared of militant action by their members as the employers, have threatened every striker with expulsion.

the Knowledge of the appalling conditions at Usher-Walker and the expulsion threat must be spread throughout NATSOPA.

The striking chapel and every other chapel should demand that all threats of expulsion are dropped and that the strike is made official.

This would bring a bit nearer the day when parasites like Hutchinson are kicked out of their cosy

Finance and messages of support should be sent to: Bro. Jimmy Burton, Usher-Walker Strike Committee, c/o NELP Students Union, Livingstone House, Livingstone Rd., London É15.

on pay fight

Committee London Area Stewards in the Health Service (CLASH) has circulated a letter to stewards calling for full support for a public meeting on 28 October.

The meeting, called initially by supporters of the SWP 'rank and file' paper Hospital Worker is to discuss the fight for the £60 minimum wage and the 35 hour week contained in current public sector pay claims.
The CLASH circular

correctly stresses the necessity for an all-London shop stewards conference to be convened to coordinated against the virtually inevitable pay offer from the

It urges stewards to take up the following policies in their union branches:

1. This branch is opposed to the 5% limit on pay and supports the campaign for a minimum wage of £60 for a

2. This branch demands that the National Executive Committees and London divisions of health service trade unions organises all out indefinite strike action from the 13 December settlement date if the hospital ancillary workers pay offer does not include £60 for a 35 hour

In the event of action by local government workers before 13 December we demand that the NECs and London divisions call official action within the health service in support of the demand for £60 for 35 hours immediately.

3. This branch supports the

calling of a conference for all health service shop stewards and branch officers to discuss what action is to be taken in support of the current public sector pay claims, and demands that the NRCs and London divisions of health service trade unions give full and official backing to such a conference,

This conference must be held within seven days of any action being taken by local government workers, and in any case not later than 25 November."

Workers Socialist League members and supporters will be among those fighting for these policies at the October 28 meeting which will take place at 2p.m. at the Friends House, Euston Road, London.

### **CONSULTANT WRECKER**

Well over 200 people attended a public meeting at Paddington School London called by the St. Mary's Hospital Defence Committee last Thursday to launch the public campaign to save the hospital which is threatened with run-down and closure by the mid-1980's.

The stewards from the hospital who have done most to establish the campaign through their work in the local District Joint Shop Stewards Committee played a major role in the meeting, showing clearly their

intention of remaining at the centre of the struggle to save the

The local community also showed their determination to keep the hospital open when speakers representing tenants associations, local teachers, Labour Party members, associations, local teachers, Labour Party members, individual trade unionists and members of the public stood up and pledged their active support to the campaign.

Despite this obvious willingness to fight in the local community there were obvious signs of a lack of leadership from the official representatives of the present, including the President of Westminster Trades Council

and a NUPE London Division full time official.

This was especially true of Arthur Latham, local Tribunite MP, who after a contribution calculated to be as confusing and disheartening as possible added at the end that he did of course support the campaign.

#### Band of admirers

A deliberate attempt to disrupt the meeting was made by a consultant surgeon from St. Mary's Praed Street, Mr. Nigel Harris.

Accompanied by a small but continuously screeching band of admirers and watched very closely by a reporter from the capitalist press (probably the Mail), Harris repeatedly harped on the topic of "industrial action endangering patients' lives"

The fact that he was shouted down from the start by virtually everyone in the hall made it clear that Harris' mock outrage was not directed at this particular meeting but was part of a carefully orchestrated campaign which has appeared in the media over the past week attacking trade unionists who defending the NHS.

This has included a staged TV interview about action at Kingston Hospital and a completely false article in the Daily Mail designed to set the scene for future witch-hunts against activists at St. Mary's Hospital.

However Harris and his screeching minions had no effect whatsoever on the enthusiasm and determination of the local community to support the shop stewards and Defence Committee in fighting to save St. Mary's Hospital. The meeting ended by setting up a support committee to include delegates from Westminster Trades Council and the local labour movement.

# **BL's Cowley reply**

Leyland management at the Cowley Assembly Plant last week met the unions to give their reply to their claim for a £27 across the board increase, a 35-hour week. protected against inflation through a cost of living clause.

But management chose once again to press for corporate level bargaining, and their offer concentrated exclusively on the effects of their proposals to establish pay parity between Levland plants.

This, they suggested, would bring an average increase of £6 to £7 per week. And they said they would argue with the government for permission to consolidate supplements into the new basic rates.

But the present scheduled

date for parity is not until November next year. It could only be brought forward if every plant accepts their highly contentious grading structure, and if there is a drastic increase in productivity-which can only mean thousands more jobs lost.

No offer was made on the basic rate-the company is even holding back on offering the 5% further stages of bargaining have

#### Leaflets

To drive forward the pay struggle in Leyland an ad-hoc "Leyland Stewards Committee for the Annual Review" is this distributing 10.800 leaflets into BL's Midlands plants, arguing for a fight for the full claim now, with no

negotiator Ron Todd's description of productivity dealing as "a raffle ticket", the leaflet points out that: The raffle ticket BL are

offering not only has a high price and long odds, but if you win you have to buy your own

Rejecting any increase linked to productivity, the leaflet stresses that "jobs are not for sale". "The claim must be pursued and fought for at plant

"Get your stewards to press for a mass meeting. Get the claim moving with the full backing of the membership. Fords did it; so can we."















# SOCIALIST

## SMITH'S SAVAGERY **EXPOSES MOSCOW TREACHERY** 1500 refugees and guerrillas have been

killed in the latest series of air-raids on ZAPU camps in Zambia by jets and helicopters from the forces of the racist Rhodesian regime.

The attacks over the weekend followed raids earlier in the week against ZANU bases inside Mozam-

This concerted offensive was clearly prepared to form a backdrop for the American visit of Smith and the black stooges in the 'transitional government' who are touting for support from US imperialism.

#### Weakness

In particular it was designed as a show of strength to impress the representatives of the US and British governments who met the Smith cavalcade in Washington.

But what the raids revealed was not so much the strength of the racist state, as the weakness of the ZAPU forces that were being attacked.

ZAPU leader Joshua Nkomo claims to have 8,000 trained troops in his army, equipped with sophisticated weaponry.

Yet the Rhodesian air-craft were able to penetrate within 12 miles of the Zambian capital, Lusaka, and launch raid after raid



Soviet leader Brezhnev

without apparently suffering a single casualty.

There can be only two explanations of this mystery -either the ZAPU army simply does not possess the ground-to-air missiles which Nkomo has boasted of; or, if it does, then the ZAPU fighters have not been to use effectively.

#### Criminal role

In either case, the raids have pointed once again to the criminal role that has played by the deformed workers' states in the liberation struggles in southern Africa.

Time after time, Smith has shrieked hysterically that the forces of the



Smiles from Smith and stooge Chirau in the USA.

Patriotic Front bristle with Cuban advisers and groan under the weight of Russian

But again and again the Rhodesian armed forces have been able to inflict defeats on the severe Patriotic Front even with their relatively outdated

equipment. This in itself indicates the true nature of the Cuban and Russian involvement.

ruling Stalinist The bureaucracies are scarcely less afraid than the imperialists themselves of an armed victory by the armed Front

Zimbabwe.

They too know that this would act as the spur to a revolutionary upsurge within South Africa itself and herald the downfall of proimperialist regimes throughout the continent.

To maintain the global balance of forces with imperialism, these 'communists' must act to hold back the forward movement of the working class and oppressed masses internationally.

One crucial part of that gigantic betrayal has been withholidng vital material support from liberation struggles against colonial rule and imperialist domination.

While we give no support to the counter-revolutionary policies of world Stalinism, we do demand that the workers' states immediately provide the forces involved in such struggles arms and other material they urgently require.

With such assistance, the forces of the Patriotic Front could rapidly defeat the crumbling Smith regime, and destroy Nkomo's lingering hopes of coming to power through compromises and sellouts in negotiations with the 'transitional government' and its imperialist well-wishers.

#### OXFORD WSL

A series of seven classes on Permanent Revolution-the World Revolutionary Struggle.

Next class Southern

white settler regimes. Sunday 29 October B Block, East Oxford Community Centre at

## The biter against.

Oxford TGWU District Secretary David Buckle JP is no stranger to witchhunting or to kangaroo courts.

As one of the chief instigators of the notorious TGWU Cowley 9 "inquiry"—which has led to the threat of disciplinary action against nearly all the elected leadership in British Leyland's Cowley Assembly Plant-Buckle showed himself a consummate master of the art.

Less than a year ago he was assisting the Oxford District F&GP to conduct a "hearing" into the trumped up charges in which the same people laid the charges, heard such evidence as was allowed and then recommended savage sentences, including expulsion from the union and a life ban from union office.

Despite the hesitation of the union's Regional Committee to carry out such drastic disciplinary action, Buckle has resolutely insisted that these stewardswho have the full confidence of members-should victimised.

Last week the 160 TGWU stewards in the Assembly Plant considered Buckle's role on this issue and a proposal from the 5/55 and 5/293 Branches that he be replaced as the official responsible for the Plant.

The resolution, which also called for the dropping of all

charges against the Cowley 9, was carried with only 3 votes

Buckle's response? In an interview with the Oxford Mail's scab industrial correspondent Peter Sturges (a member of the anti-union Institute of Journalists) Buckle claimed he had been the subject of a 'witch-hunt".

The stewards' meeting, he claimed, was a "kangaroo court", and "contrary to natural justice".

In thus desperately attempting to echo Socialist Press accounts of the Cowley 9 Buckle leaves out "inquiry" one crucial fact: the 160 stewards are elected from among more than 4,000 TGWU members on the shop floor; whereas Buckle, as an appointed official, represents noone but and the reactionary TGWU Regional and national bureaucracy



# Revolt against sackings

France is in the grip of a wave of militant strikes and demonstrations by workers and youth incensed at falling living standards, unemployment and cutbacks in public spending.

Strikes have hit the railways, the post office, shipyards, docks, schools, and local government, while angry school youth lest week stormed the French stock exchange—the Bourse hurling stink bombs and smashing windows in protest against the shortage of teachers.

This coming week steel workers, postal workers and others are due to stage further demonstrations.

But the mass parties of the working class—the Party and the French Socialist Party and the Communist Party—have no perspective to offer these mounting struggles.

So hollow is their 'left' rhetoric that when Stalinist leader Marchais got up to speak in Parliament on the Giscard government's budget proposals, Prime Minister Barre ostentatiously left the assembly, declaring that he was "off to work"

Marchais nothing daunted, pressed ahead with his demaspeech ringing with nationalism,

#### "Concessions"

"We have decided to stop you going any further on the way to austerity and unemployment. Successes have been achieved by workers' struggles. We can make you go back, if

you continue to flaunt your determination

With this talk of "concessions" Marchais began to spell out that all the Communist Party intends to do is pressure the bourgeois regime into a few token deals-not mobilise the strength of the working class against its full-blown attacks on jobs and living standards. He concluded:

"It is time you showed less arrogance and disdain towards the working class, and decided instead to seriously start the necessary negotiations."

Barre had been shrewd in contemptuously brushing aside Marchais' empty bombast. He knows that the Stalinists pose no serious threat to his jobcutting plans.

The CP and SP alike have restricted their calls for working class action to token protests and stoppages—one day strikes here and a march there.

And while the CP-led union, the CGT, has, under pressure, called indefinite strike action by 3 600 ship repair workers in Marseilles redundancies, the same Stalinist leaders have urged 1212 workers facing sackings at La Ciotat to remain at work while "round table" talks take place.

As the working class demonstrates its militancy and its independent strength, so the Stalinist parties in Europe and internationally demonstrate more clearly their counterrevolutionary role and their dedication to the bourgeois

After last week's magnificent effort, only £60 arrived in the office over the last seven days, bringing this month's

This means we still have £194.06 to raise by the end of October. All readers and supporters are urged to help us to reach our £600 target by sending their donation to:

Socialist Press Monthly Fund 31, Dartmouth Park Hill London NW5 1HR.

## ANNIVERSARY RALLY

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