

# SOCIALIST PRESS



Occupying  
Mr Kitson's  
Castle

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## WHO WILL FIGHT TO BRING DOWN THATCHER?

### Not Tony Benn!

This week's Labour conference will echo time and again with calls from all sides for "unity" against the main enemy—Thatcherism.

It is clear to all that the Tory government's non-stop torrent of attacks on the working class require a united class response from the labour movement: but it is equally clear to every class conscious worker that no amount of protest or peaceful persuasion—no matter how 'united'—will change the course of this government of bosses, bankers and speculators.

The only way to stem the Tory offensive is to bring down the government, using the immense power of the labour movement—a power which stopped the Heath government dead in its tracks in January 1974.

But while Labourites 'right' and 'left' call for 'unity' within the Party, what is their attitude towards a fight for such a perspective of struggle against Thatcher?

Callaghan has openly declared not only his opposition

to action to bring down Thatcher but even to industrial action to prevent the Tories implementing their policies while in office.

In this he has the full backing not only of Dennis Healey and the right wing clique that leads the Parliamentary Labour Party, but also of the TUC bureaucracy.

NUM leader Joe Gormley, whose members were instrumental in the defeat of the Heath government in 1974 has most vividly summed up the view of his fellow union chiefs, declaring that:

"We shall have fights with governments of all varieties, but we must never give the impression that we or any other union will go on strike in order to change the government".

But if the right wing and union leaders make no secret of their opposition to all-out action to defeat Thatcher, what about the Labour 'left', whose noisy efforts to introduce long-needed democratic procedures into the Labour Party will reach their crucial turning point on Wednesday?

Do the 'lefts' have a serious alternative to offer workers seeking a road of struggle against the Tories? Leading 'left' Tony Benn certainly does not. In an interview with *Socialist Challenge* (25 September) he makes it very clear that he too stands opposed to the fight for generalised strike action to bring down the Thatcher government:

"To come back to the question about how you get rid of the Thatcher government—after 20 years of silence on socialism you can't short cut it by industrial muscle.

You've got to tackle the real argument, which is that these arguments have to be injected into the public consciousness and then you have to build support".

While Benn continues his vague strategy of "injecting" arguments "into the public consciousness", Thatcher continues to destroy jobs, public services and democratic rights.

The growing strength of left wing currents within the Labour Party can only produce a forward movement in the class struggle insofar as such diversionary concepts are rejected.

Only by presenting before workers a clear perspective for action against the government of the class enemy in defence of their jobs, living standards and hard won rights can political consciousness be raised.

#### Councils of action

This means spelling out unambiguously the necessity for local struggles to be extended, through the building of councils of action drawing together delegates from all labour movement bodies, into mass, generalised action with the objective of bringing down this savage bosses' government.

It means exposing all of those trade union and Labour leaders who mouth 'opposition' to Thatcher while in practice allowing her to proceed with her attacks until 1984.

And it means constructing a new, revolutionary leadership, drawing together the most principled class fighters in the labour movement in a struggle for the independent interests of the working class.

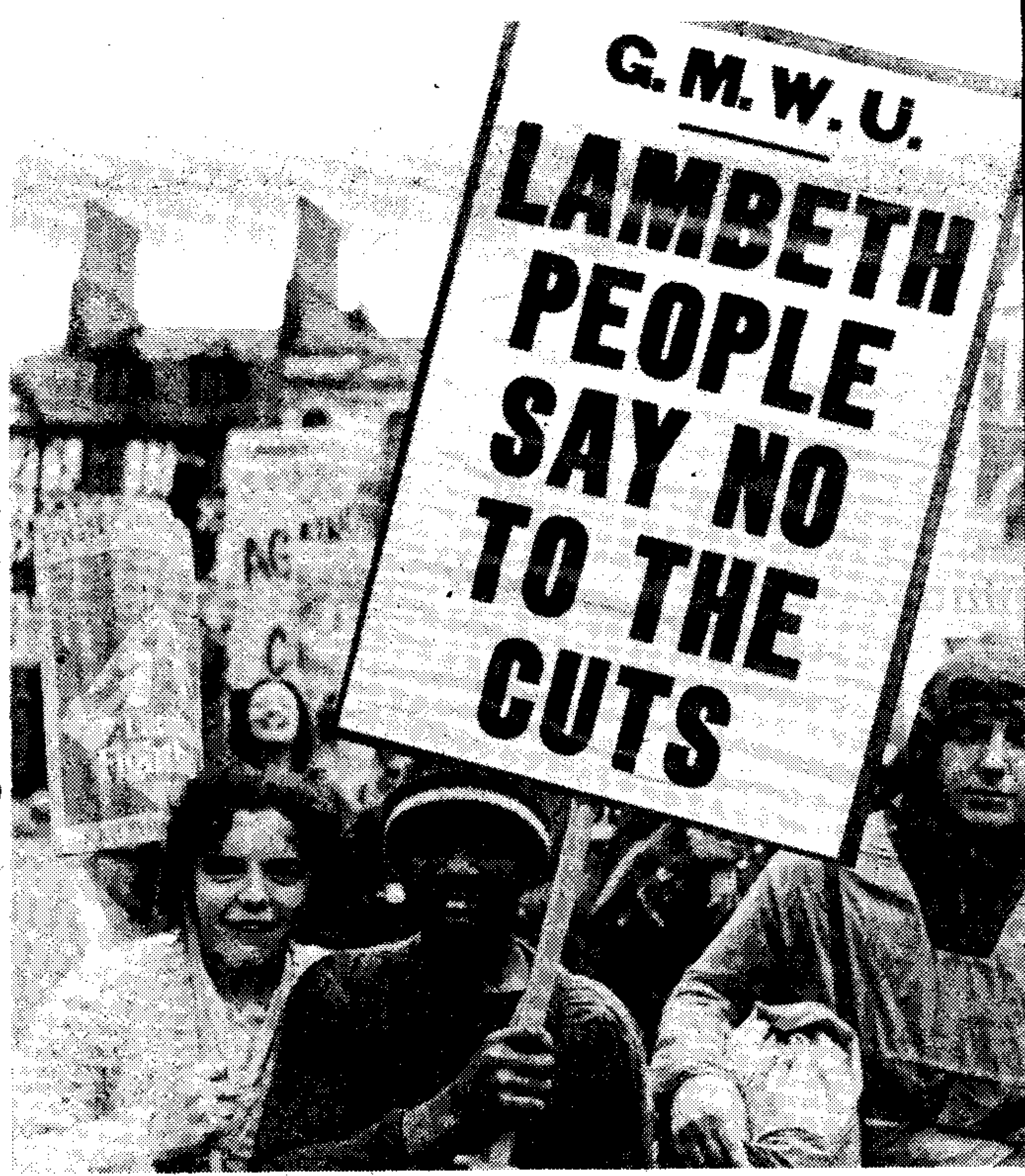


PHOTO: Mark Risher, IFL

Workers remain ready to fight the Tories

### Not these councils

### Not the TUC

13 Labour councils—10 in London plus Sheffield, Newcastle-upon-Tyne and Afan in South Wales—are to press their struggle against the Tory cuts not towards a mobilisation of the working class in a full-scale confrontation, but into the High Court!

They are to try to prevent Environment Secretary Heseltine imposing £18 million penalties on "overspending" councils. But in the meantime, other Labour councils continue faithfully to implement the Tory cuts, and public sector workers face declining living standards and the wholesale loss of jobs.

What is needed is not face-saving legal wrangles, but a clear call for mass action to bring down the Thatcher government this winter.

### Not these union chiefs!

Tory union-buster James Prior was plainly well pleased last week as AUEW leader Terry Duffy declared his willingness to "live with" the Employment Act at a conference organised by the Industrial Society.

Duffy warned Prior to avoid a "provocation" like the jailing of a union leader, which might trigger an uncontrollable response.

EETPU leader Chapple, too, had some advice for the Tories. Speaking at another one-day conference he warned Thatcher not to try to "drive the unions into the ground".

Heath's error in 1971 had been to try to do too much at once, said Chapple: but the



Duffy

Employment Act stood a better chance of survival. Good employers could help by "using it properly".

Thus Thatcher's anti union offensive has now won the tacit support of the leaders of 1½ million workers. How many more bureaucrats in practice share these views?

### Break deal on Ireland!

One of the clearest examples of Labour/Tory collaboration is in the "bi-partisan" policy of support for the imperialist military occupation of the six counties of Northern Ireland.

Last year Labour militants succeeded in forcing a debate on Ireland onto the conference order paper—with a 'troops out' motion being heavily voted down as a result of union block votes.

This year a composite motion is to be debated on Wednesday, calling for:

\*Rejection of the bi-partisan policy.

\*Repudiation of the policies of successive governments on Ireland.

\*Instructing the Labour leadership to "adopt a policy favouring political and military withdrawal from Ireland".

\*Calling on the next Labour government of "immediately begin this process of full political and military withdrawal", and to repeal the "Prevention of Terrorism" Act.

Calling for political status for the prisoners in 'H' Block, Long Kesh and Armagh Gaol.

The composite motion is not an ideal policy on Ireland: in particular it is ambiguous as to whether it is calling for a "phased" or an immediate withdrawal of troops, and lacks any call for a mobilisation of the British labour movement in solidarity with the Irish liberation struggle.

But the fact that Ireland has been forced onto the order paper for a second successive year and the growing number of motions on the question are an indication of increased awareness among Labour activists of a need to fight in opposition to British imperialist oppression.

It is certain that once again the key votes against such a policy will come from union delegations—few of whom will carry any specific mandate on the question from their conferences.

The fight for the immediate withdrawal of British troops from Ireland and the right to self-determination of the Irish people must therefore be taken up with renewed vigour within the trade unions at local and national level.



INTERNATIONAL

# W. German workers face a choice of evils

There would seem to be more than a few parallels between the US Presidential election and the election to be held next Sunday in West Germany to decide the Chancellorship.

Franz Joseph Strauss, the right wing Christian Democratic Union-Christian Social Union candidate, standing against the Social Democratic Party incumbent Schmidt looks very much like Reagan against Carter.

### Hostility

It points to the same poverty of choice for the bourgeoisie of the respective countries that such an apparent electoral liability as Strauss was chosen to oppose Schmidt.

Vicious hostility to Strauss has shown itself all over West Germany where anti-Strauss committees have been set up in most large cities focussing on the rallies he speaks at.

In at least two of them—the big northern industrial centres of Hamburg and Bremen—tens of thousands of people have attempted to break the rallies



Schmidt with close ally Carter (above) and an anti-Strauss demonstration (right)

up and riot police were called in to disperse the demonstrators.

### Cashed in

Schmidt has of course easily cashed in on the anti-Strauss feeling and has used both that and the relative stability of the German economy in the midst of the capitalist recession as his election platform.

Although because of Schmidt's continued detente policy with the USSR Strauss has attempted anti-communist witch-hunting, the policies of the SPD and the CDU/CSU are almost identical and the SPD only retains a majority in the Bundestag (parliament) by a formal coalition with the

capitalist Free Democratic Party (FPD).

Because of the apathy of the German electorate caused by the bipartisan politics of West Germany Schmidt has warned against complacency among SPD supporters and has carefully avoided spelling out the long predicted public spending



cuts he will have to implement after October 5.

### Prepare fight

The task confronting the German working class is clear. No votes must go to the Free Democratic Party. An SPD government with an overall

majority must be returned and workers must then prepare to take up a fight against the inevitable attacks on their living standards that will be launched by the Schmidt government in the face of the growing recession as an essential step in the fight to build a new revolutionary leadership in the German labour movement.

## IRAN/IRAQ From page one

political accommodation not only with the Saudi Arabian monarchy—the most economically powerful imperialist ally in the Middle East—but also with the imperialist nations themselves, through a proliferation of trade deals with the USA, France and Britain.

Despite its leftist rhetoric, the bonapartist regime of Hussein's Arab Ba'ath Socialist Party retains its power only by the most vigorous repression of trade union and democratic rights within Iraq.

Political executions of opponents have included not only Communist Party members and militant student and trade union leaders, but also opposition elements from within the Ba'athists' own ranks.

And the regime, even while declaring itself in favour of "self-determination" for the Iranian Arabs of Khuzestan has pursued its own persecution of the Kurdish minority within Iraq's borders. Indeed the initial motivation of the now

contested 1975 treaty with the Shah was to establish a common framework for repression of the Kurdish struggle for national independence.

### Sovereignty

In exchange for Iranian help in containing the Kurds, the Ba'athists conceded Iranian sovereignty over the Shatt al-Arab estuary.

Now Hussein has calculated that the time is right to reverse this humiliating concession.

But the Iraqi forces have plainly found the military going harder than they—or anyone else—expected. And, far from being forced to a rapid surrender, the Khomeini regime plainly regards this external threat as an ideal opportunity to win back some of its lost mass support in a war of "national defence".

Already the "Marxist" forces of the Fedayeen have been pulled back into line, publishing a statement in the rabidly Islamic daily paper Etala'at calling upon their thousands of supporters—still hounded by Khomeini's supporters—to rally to "defend the revolution and independence of the country in the face of attacks from the Iraqi fascist regime".

The fact is that in neither Iraq nor Iran do the masses have any interest in the military defence of the ruling cliques. Though neither is a direct client state of imperialism, their anti-imperialist rhetoric cannot hide the fact that both are reactionary governments administered by petty bourgeois demagogues within the framework of domestic and world capitalism.

### Persecution

They are locked into the world capitalist market, and seek to defend the existing balance of class forces.

Both therefore pursue the persecution of national minorities, the vicious oppression of women and of gays, and seek to suppress all forms of socialist political opposition.

That both are now prepared to engage in a futile war over a waterway which both need to use in order to export their oil, rather than throw their military resources behind the struggles of the Palestinians and present a common front against imperialism and its stooges in the Middle East, is further testimony to their contempt and hostility to the oppressed masses of the Middle East.

### Civil war

Socialist Press stands opposed to support for either side in this war. We defend neither Khomeini nor Hussein against the other; we would however defend either or both against an imperialist attack.

In the present war, the task before both Iraqi and Iranian workers is to turn the struggle from a territorial dispute with an external "enemy" to a struggle against the Hussein and Khomeini regimes at home.

This means the fight within the armed forces on each side for rank and file committees and soviets to halt the hostilities and the formation in Iran and Iraq of factory committees and committees of poor peasants to turn the war into a civil war in which the masses confront the state forces that daily repress them, and take up the fight for a workers' and peasants' government.

### Minimum step

It would be necessary to demand that such a government should, as a minimum step, move to end the national oppression of the Kurds and other minorities; extend democratic rights to the workers' movement; open the books of industry to the workers' movement; expropriate capitalist holdings and establish workers' management over state-owned enterprises; and adopt a genuinely internationalist anti-imperialist foreign policy, pledging active support to revolutionary struggles in the Middle East and elsewhere.



2,000 students and teachers demonstrated through Paris last Monday against closures, increases in class sizes and the gearing of education to industry

## Gandhi's new crackdown

The National Security Ordinance brought in last week by the government of Mrs Gandhi in India is very similar to the Maintenance of Internal Security Act introduced when she was last in government.

This Act was so dictatorial that the Congress Party was overwhelmingly voted out in the 1977 elections.

But the alternative presented was the Popular Front Janata coalition which while calling for democratic reforms, continued with a capitalist India.

The Janata, made up of both right-wing and workers parties soon broke up—leading to the re-election of Gandhi eight months ago.

The economies of countries such as India, like Turkey, are

so much in debt to imperialism with so much of their income tied to interest payments that they are doubly affected by the world economic crisis.

That a democratic India can only be established by a socialist revolution is shown by the way that there are continuous moves to dictatorship.

The latest moves are ostensibly attributed to recent communal riots, a factor in which is a shortage of jobs and falling living standards.

In reality, as several of the statements of Mrs Gandhi have hinted at recently, the aim is to suppress strikes and riots over rising prices. The dictatorship is aimed at depressing the living standards of the working class.

One of the provisions of the National Security Ordinance is imprisonment without charge for up to twelve months.

## Polish stoppage

The newly formed National Confederation of free trade unions in Poland has called a one-hour strike for this Friday.

The importance of the action is that it shows the new unions being driven into united action in the face of the moves by the ruling bureaucracy to prevent groups of workers joining the unions.

This united fight is important. The bureaucracy would have liked to separate out the sections of workers and pick them off one by one.

The fact that Gdansk and Silesia workers are now coming to the aid of others is vital—not least for their own defence.

The decision of the new confederation to publish their own national daily paper is also an important challenge to the Stalinist bureaucracy.

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# TURKISH JUNTA CHOOSES

## GENERAL AS PM



General Evren

Ex-general and former navy chief Bulent Ulusu, appointed Prime Minister by Turkey's new military rulers, last week announced his cabinet.

In his inaugural speech he made it clear that his intention was to continue the economic and international policies of the recently deposed Demirel administration.

Predictably, Ulusu followed the line of the junta's leader Kenan Evren in declaring opposition to 'extremism' both left and right.

If he carries out his intention to 'eradicate all seeds of terrorism' and purge the state sector of militants of both sides then he will have achieved the impossible.

There is scarcely a workshop or an office which is neutral. The September 12 coup itself was the culmination of the military's response to the deepening polarisation of Turkish society driven forward by the country's economic crisis.

That crisis remains as an obstacle the ruling class have still to surmount.

The striving of the Turkish ruling class to maintain the illusion of the present regime as classless and based only on national unity is confirmed by the two key figures in Ulusu's cabinet.

### Employers federation

Turgut Ozal, deputy prime minister, is a former leader of MESS, the employers federation comprising major industrial capitalists, which at its latest conference spelt out the need for the factory owners to use the new conditions to raise the level of exploitation.

They stressed the need to 'lead workers towards moderate unions' i.e. away from the left wing DISK union confederation.

Ozal has established his credentials within the ruling class by leading the bosses in their marathon lockout of the metal workers union in 1977 and more recently by acting as negotiator with Western governments and the IMF on credits and conditions as a major figure in the Demirel government.

Sadik Side, secretary of the yellow union confederation

Turk-Is has been named as minister of Social Security as an apparent 'counterweight' to Ozal.

Meanwhile the political killings, briefly suspended, have inevitably begun to re-emerge.

In only the second week of the dictatorship, many cities are again the scene of assassinations and clashes between the army and left-wingers with many dead on both sides.

### Kurds killed

The worst incident has been in Turkey-Kurdistan last Friday when 8 were killed by the military.

Noticeably, the targets in the soldiers' sights are not the right wingers and fascists who are well aware that it is they who will eventually benefit from the army takeover.

War between Turkey's bordering states Iraq and Iran confirms the volatility of the Middle Eastern region and gives added urgency to imperialism's determination to patch up the tattered relationship between Turkey and Greece.

Plans are well in hand for Greece to return to full participation in NATO.

That means agreement must be reached quickly on the vexed questions of both Cyprus and the Aegean seabed and airspace, both being sources of sharp disagreements and national rivalry.

So far the junta's cautious approach has meant that it has yet to be fully tested by either the bourgeoisie or the masses. Discontent is already growing.

# US bosses parties in cold war campaign

The twin-bourgeois formations of the Democratic and Republican parties continue to dominate the US political scene despite their unanimous contempt and hostility to the organised working class.

Even the renomination of Jimmy Carter by the Democratic Convention failed to produce any explosion of anger among trade unionists who had previously attacked him.

In particular William Wimpisinger, leader of the 950,000-strong Machinists Union, failed to walk out as promised after Carter secured the candidacy.

As *Labor News*, paper of the American Socialist League (DC) reports:

"Wimpisinger declared that he would remain a supporter of the Democratic Party, although he would form a committee of 'Democrats for Commoner' (the Citizens Party candidate).

Wimpisinger, of course, has no business staying in the

Democratic Party, whether its nominee is Carter or Kennedy.

It is interesting to note that the one issue which both Carter and Kennedy did publicly agree upon amid the pre-convention "hostilities" was the need to pass the bill deregulating the trucking industry.

### Attack Teamsters

This bill has been devised specifically to attack the Teamsters Union, under the pretext of making the transportation of goods more economical under present high gas prices.

Also, neither Wimpisinger nor anyone else at the convention saw fit to attack Senator Kennedy for his promoting the right-wing and anti-labour Senate Bill 1722.

Nor was there a syllable uttered to criticize Carter for supporting the Shah of Iran or for ordering a helicopter invasion of that land earlier this year.

Or for sending troops to El

Salvador.

Or for busting the strike of the United Mine Workers.

Or for admitting to his party's ranks a congressional candidate from California who is a member of the Ku Klux Klan!

Immediately following their two conventions both the Republican and Democratic Party candidates began in earnest the themes of their 1980 campaigns: to prepare the population for another war.

Reagan, speaking at a conference of Veterans of Foreign Wars in Chicago, declared that he thought the Vietnam war was a "noble cause" and that the only thing wrong with it was that the government didn't really want to win it.

Carter, as chief executive, went about this theme less openly, for his task will be to get the United States into a war by November in such a way as to make it appear that it was not his doing.

In mid-August the highly credible Washington-based

columnist Jack Anderson reported the existence of top-secret plans of Carter to invade Iran in mid-October, with the optimistic ("Born Again") hopes that it would be "popular with the electorate".

### Acceptable

Taking his cue, Secretary of Defence Brown announced behind the back of the Secretary of State, the new military policy of the US would be that a limited nuclear war against selected non-civilian targets would be "containable" and therefore acceptable!

The Socialist League points out that, although we cannot support either Carter, Anderson or Reagan, there are limited political steps that can be taken this autumn, in addition to fighting for working class power on a daily basis.

First, nationally we call for a critical vote for Andrew Pulley, the Socialist Workers Party candidate for President of the United States.

We do so primarily because the SWP stands for the building of a Labour Party in their stated programme.

Voting for the SWP is of course hardly enough, and we urge workers to campaign in their unions for withdrawal of financial support for either Democrat or Republican candidates, and to utilize their union organisations toward forging a working class party to stop plant closings, create full employment at a living wage, and to oppose the plans for war.

We have supported recent motions for a Labour Party at the UAW convention in California, and will call for a Labour Party at the upcoming Teamsters for a Democratic Union meeting this autumn.

Also we call upon supporters of the Citizens Party to demand that it become a Citizens/Labour Party with a socialist programme".

## Turkey Solidarity Campaign

In Britain the Turkey Solidarity Campaign is pressing at this week's Labour Party conference for support to a labour movement petition that states:

"We declare our total opposition to the military coup in Turkey and its suppression of all democratic rights including the abolition of independent trade unions and the right to strike.

We deplore the British government's refusal to condemn the military dictatorship and its complicity in NATO's war preparations.

We call for:  
1) the immediate release of all political prisoners in Turkey and a halt to threatened

executions  
2) an end to all economic and military aid to the junta from the British government  
3) solidarity with the Turkish workers and peasants and Kurdish people including Labour Party support for action organised by the trade union 'movement.'

We urge *Socialist Press* readers to raise these demands in their union branches, along with a call for trade union action to block all arms and supplies destined for the Turkish junta.

The next meeting of the Turkey Solidarity Campaign is to be held on Monday October 6 at the Roebuck Pub, Tottenham Court Road, 7.30 p.m.

## Solidarity with Bolivia masses

The International Committee of the Labour Party has added its voice to the condemnation of July's vicious military coup in Bolivia.

But its resolution looks to the Tory government, not the trade unions, to block trade and aid to the new junta, and pledges support to the exiled capitalist government - which offers nothing to Bolivian workers.

Meanwhile in Hull, the following resolution has been carried:

This, the Hull and District TUC deplores the recent military coup in Bolivia and expresses

its solidarity with the struggle of the miners, peasants and other workers of Bolivia against the new Junta.

It calls on the TUC to give maximum material support to this struggle in:

- 1) organising a full scale blacking campaign of all trade with the Junta;
- 2) participating in building a national campaign of solidarity;
- 3) using all necessary means to ensure that recognition and aid are withheld from the Junta by the British government.



Wright—Providence Journal Bulletin

# The occupation of 'Mr Kitson's Castle'

## Adwest strikers still refused support

On the day before TGWU leader Alex Kitson was joining the TUC 'lefts' and voting Frank Chapple out of a top job, he was calling the police to the union's Smith Square headquarters and supervising them throwing out a group of strikers and supporters from Reading's Adwest factory who had been occupying Transport House demanding official support for their struggle.

Kitson (a leading figure in the Chile Solidarity Campaign) together with the union's National Officer Ron Todd, who has been prominent recently on platforms demanding more democracy in the Labour Party had been embarrassed by this challenge to their carefully cultivated reputations as socialist champions of the oppressed.

The occupation had followed last Monday's mass picket outside the Adwest plant where a minority of workers are in their fifth month of a strike against victimisation.

The mass picket itself was the latest in a series which have repeatedly come up against the Tory/police moves to deny the right to picket effectively, and which have seen scores of arrests in the process.

### Smallest

But it was the smallest so far and confirmed the severe problems faced by the strikers in trying to sustain the action without union support.

The small turn-out undoubtedly accounted for the arrogant decision by the police to pick on two of the pickets they regarded as 'trouble makers' and arrest them for no reason whatsoever.

Immediately after the picket came an announcement that the strike committee were calling on as many as possible to join them in a lobby of the TGWU's London office to demand a meeting with and action from the national leadership.

### Sympathy

Time and again the strikers had raised their plight directly with General Secretary Moss Evans, Ron Todd and national official Larry Smith.

Sympathy and promises were received in abundance—but none of them had shown any willingness to overturn the bureaucratic decisions of the



Pickets outside Transport House

Southampton Regional Office whose secretary Ron Ashman had used past financial irregularities and non-payment of dues as a reason for withholding union backing.

### Only official

Five strikers and twenty-five in all made the journey, and by mid-morning were assembled outside the offices, a stone's throw from the Houses of Parliament. Soon after they were met by Power and Engineering trade group National Officer Fred Howell, who announced himself as the only senior official in the building, and invited everyone inside for a meeting, a move which he was later no doubt made to regret.

Howell was perturbed to find that no record of the strike had been submitted to him even though the dispute fell within his trade group.

When TGWU convenor Danny Broderick outlined the history of the strike and detailed the continued refusal of the union leadership to concede official status (which apart from badly-needed regular finance would provide the conditions for stopping supplies and blacking production) Howell was visibly shaken by the strength of the case.

Another striker, Bashir, told how he and many other Asian workers on the night shift had been personally called out by the local official and told to stay on strike even when this meant risking the loss of their jobs.

### Disbelief

When told that all of this had been made known to the TGWU's leading officials, Howell expressed disbelief and undertook to raise it again with them, though Evans was away sick and the others could not be found.

By afternoon the determination of the strikers and their supporters was such that they agreed to wait as long as necessary for a personal meeting with Evans, since too often promises had been given, personal inquiries volunteered and nothing had come from them.

Ron Todd had now been located in negotiations with Ford management on the wage review and arrangements made for him to meet with the delegation.

When he arrived his initial reaction was a good-humoured 'tell me all about it'; but when it dawned on him that the people he was dealing with were serious and meant business his attitude underwent a dramatic change.

Cornered over his earlier broken promises and pressed about his record in other

workers' struggles (he had been secretary of London Region 1 for a large part of the marathon union recognition battle at Garners Steak Houses and took personal charge of the even longer running and similarly betrayed strike at Sandersons fork-lift truck plant in Skegness) he screamed that he was being accused of responsibility for selling out every struggle since the Battle of Hastings!

Offers of a meeting with Moss Evans were given and then taken back as Todd was driven frantic by the strikers' persistence.

He badly needed help and found it in the form of Alex Kitson, Evans' number two and an experienced and hardline bureaucrat.

Kitson's last card in getting rid of his awkward visitors was to fix a personal phone call to Evans' himself. Victimised striker Martin Kaufman then spent the next hour trying to pin Evans down on a meeting.

The best he would offer was half an hour in Blackpool at the Labour Party conference a whole week later!

### Non-members

When Kaufman reaffirmed their decision to stay in the building until they got both a meeting and official union support Evans ruled that in that case all non-TGWU members would have to leave the premises.

Not wanting to jeopardise their chances this was agreed and the three remaining members of the TGWU settled in for an overnight stay.

More strikers had come up from Reading by the following morning and some others had responded to the occupation's call for their supporters to mount a demonstration outside the building to publicise their cause.



Convenor Danny Broderick (right) argues their case

Bureaucrats coming and going through the doors of Transport House is nothing special but last Tuesday there were rather more of them and many had a rather harassed look.

Others were crammed anxiously together inside the doors in the hall outside the room taken over by the protesters.

Throughout the morning hectic negotiations had still failed to bring the meeting with Evans, who had obviously concluded that the occupiers were not going to be put off by smooth talking and to risk a meeting might prove damaging.

The tactic all along of Evans and Todd and the others had been to keep the Adwest strike at arm's length, avoid direct implication with it and the fact that it was in the forefront of the fight against Prior's anti-union law and allow them to say afterwards that any blame for its betrayal rested with the bureaucracy at regional level.

The forcing of a confrontation had put an end to that.

It soon became clear how the union leadership had decided to play it when joining Kitson and Todd at lunchtime was Ron Ashman freshly arrived from Southampton.

He had, apparently, by coincidence, been "coming to London anyway" and had called in for a chat!

In fact the purpose of his visit was to put the hard line he had so often put before against any concession on the question of making the strike official.

This was then seized on by Kitson as being the union's final position.

An ultimatum was given to the occupiers—leave or the police would be called. Despite the obvious nervousness of Ron Todd, who was lamenting the 'bad publicity' the occupation was attracting, it was clear that the bureaucracy were absolutely determined to put an end to the action by any means required.

The three remained defiant. They were adamant that they would not compromise on their demands and force would have to be used to remove them.

This point was strongly made in the TV interview given shortly before the police moved in; Martin Kaufman denounced the hypocrisy of those union leaders who declared opposition to legal attacks on the unions and then resorted to the same methods themselves against strikers.

Under directions from Kitson they were physically removed by the police, carefully using the side door.

The end of the two-day occupation, bringing together the bosses' policemen and the policemen of the unions in united action against workers

fighting on basic rights is an appropriate combination which will become more familiar as the fight against this Tory government is stepped-up.

TGWU militants should protest and raise resolutions condemning last week's outrage and press harder for the union to give official support to the Adwest strikers.

At 9 o'clock an inspector and a sergeant entered the room with Kitson and informed the occupiers that they would have to leave.

When asked upon what legal grounds the police could remove them, the inspector was flummoxed and asked to speak to Kitson in private while the occupiers "considered their position".

At 9.30 p.m. a more senior officer entered the room with the original inspector and sergeant and with Kitson in tow.

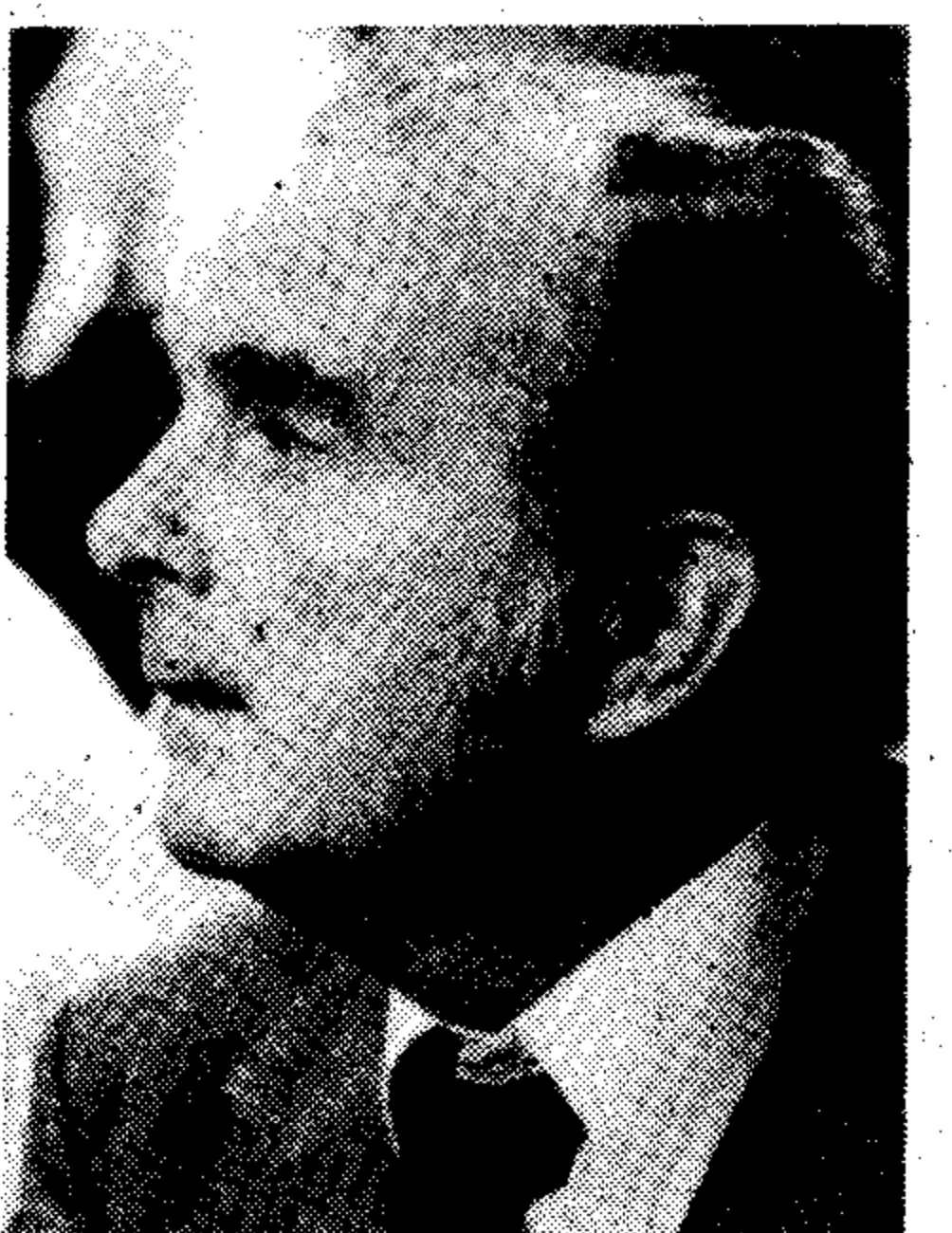
The question of the legality of the police action was again raised.

The senior officer replied that the occupiers would be removed from the building under "Common Law".

As the officer put it: "An Englishman's home is his castle and Mr Kitson's building is his castle."



Todd



Kitson



Police evict occupier by side door

# Fascists exploit Tory unemployment

## 'New' NF lay wreath in Hull

## 20 fascists hit London CP rally

The failure of some of the left wing organisations and trade unionists in Hull to take the threat of fascism seriously was highlighted on Saturday 22 September.

The Hull branch of the New National Front were allowed to lay a wreath on the steps of the City Hall—supposedly to mark the destruction of the British fishing industry.

Although the fascists' intentions had been known for some time it was only on the previous Thursday that they had announced the time and date of the wreath laying in an advert in the local paper.

In the short time available, the anti-fascists managed to mobilise about 120 demonstrators to greet the fascists. The bulk of the demonstrators were gathered opposite the City Hall in Victoria Square, while others were situated in front of the City Hall and on the steps of the building.

As usual a substantial number of police had been turned out to carry out their



Fascist youth

usual function of protecting the fascists.

Their first action was to clear the front of the City Hall and form a cordon between the demonstrators and the building.

The fascists arrived in a mini-

bus which parked in the middle of the road opposite the City Hall steps while all other traffic was held up by the police.

As the fascists emerged from the bus they were greeted with verbal abuse and the chanting of slogans by the demonstrators.

Two of the fascists were bearing Union Jacks while John Tyndall carried the wreath.

### Skirmishes

As they approached the steps of the building some of the demonstrators attempted to break through the police lines to confront the fascists and in the skirmishes that followed the police made five arrests.

Later another demonstrator was arrested for throwing empty cans at the mini-bus.

Four of the arrested were charged with breach of the peace and appeared before the magistrates court on the following Monday where two were fined £50 each while the other—a fifteen year old youth—was fined £25 after pleading guilty to the charges.

The fourth, another youth, pleaded not guilty and his case was adjourned for a week.

It is not clear at this moment in time if the other two arrested are going to be charged or not.

The harsh lesson of this event is that regardless of the fact that the wreath was destroyed after the fascists had left, the New National Front had achieved their objective.

They had made their gesture in Hull and had got away with it.

Until the labour movement mobilises all-out action to prevent the public actions of the fascists, they will continue their reactionary agitation, exploiting racial tensions and nationalist sentiment—particularly in areas of mass unemployment.

To confront the fascists requires the building of workers' defence squads drawn out of the labour and trade union movement.

The anti-fascist sub-committee of the Hull Trades' Union Council, dormant for some time, must now be built up and must seriously consider these questions.

A group of about 20 National Front fascists erupted into violence last week at a Communist Party rally in Acton, West London.

Shouting "The Reds, the Reds, we've got to get rid of the Reds" they hurled chairs and threw punches at all within reach.

The 150-strong meeting fought back and eventually bundled them out, managing to inflict some of their own medicine on them.

The signal to start the fray was given by the regional organiser of the NF during the speech by Joe Bowers from the Irish CP.

The stewards on the door had been alerted as to the man's identity—but still allowed him in.

The main speaker, CP Secretary Gordon McLennan gave a Bennite-type speech calling for import controls, bigger wages

and only minimum rate increases (!).

The interesting speech, when it was able to resume was by Joe Bowers.

In a difficult-to-follow convoluted speech he attacked the record of the CP and its present non-interest in promoting discussion of Ireland in the British labour movement.

"We contribute to the atmosphere of silence around Ireland".

He also stated that although he still thinks that he was right to attack the "Troops Out people", one harmful side-effect of this was to dampen the discussion of Ireland in the British workers' movement.

His contribution clearly reflected major differences on Ireland inside the Communist Party whose members have in some areas, particularly Oxford, stood at the forefront of those witch-hunting socialists and trade unionists who support the struggle for troops out.

# Oh Frank, you're so... Frank!

# PRESS GANG



What is it that Frank Chapple has that other trade union leaders do not?

It is this star quality that makes this difference between a super hero and an also-ran.

It cannot be simply the crude consistent right wing line. It cannot be the iron shackles in which his members groan. It cannot be the matey bonhomie that he shares with the hard men of Fleet Street.

There are others that would share his crown if it were this alone. Who else can be so brazen about his careful solicitude for British capitalism? So brutal in his contempt for workers who want to fight? So obviously at home glaring out from the pages of the *Daily Express* or the *Daily Mail*?

### Their man

For unlike some of the other open right wingers of the TUC, Frank Chapple does not crawl for the respect of the capitalists. He does not have any sense of ambiguity. He is their man, hook, line and sinker.

And they respect him. They want blood. He gives them blood. They want to see workers crawl. He makes his members crawl.

They play word games with democracy. He suppresses the last vestiges of workers' democracy in his own union, and then is hailed as the man who supported workers' democracy in Poland.

His pedigree is unimpeachable. Not just the man who exposed the Reds. But the man who actually was a CP member and then exposed them.

That sense of danger; of the man once contaminated himself; who saw the light—whose

hatred for Communism does not depend on theories or ideas but on a naked vendetta fuelled by the material privileges that his position brings.

So there he stands. If Fleet Street had an Order of Lenin; Chapple would be the man to win it.

### Friends

So when Chapple is snubbed, when the bureaucrats club at the TUC closes its ranks against the man who breaks their understandings on public criticisms; then he has as many friends as there are words in the Fleet Street headline writers' armoury.

The newspapers squabble over who saw him first. They vie for the most outrageous quotes. They tumble over each other in their condemnation of the TUC.

They even trip without irony into defence of the TUC's whole history, which is that the 'elections' to TUC committees are a charade in which the hacks keep their seats and the rest wait for a death in the family.

### Gutter press

The *Guardian* has been trying to demonstrate that it need learn little from the gutter press when it decides to play rough. (Its leader last week on the attack by the NAS/UWT against the headteachers' scabbing guide was a classic of anti-union polemic).

Gleefully the *Guardian* launched into defence of Chapple:

"He abhors Communism at home and abroad, with all the zeal of a one-time party member and he finds the TUC's half baked matiness with its East

European counterparts hard to swallow.

Though not an incomes policy man, he disliked the Winter of Discontent for its violent picketing, its disregard for the young, the old and the sick—to say nothing of Labour's election prospects".

Not that you should run away with the idea that the *Guardian* is about to launch a defence of some democratic accountability of TUC leaders.

No! The one admirable thing it finds about the TUC is its bureaucratic stranglehold.

"The sensible and honourable tradition round the general council table has long been—as we argued last week—that jobs on senior committees are handed out on a mixture of seniority and muscle".

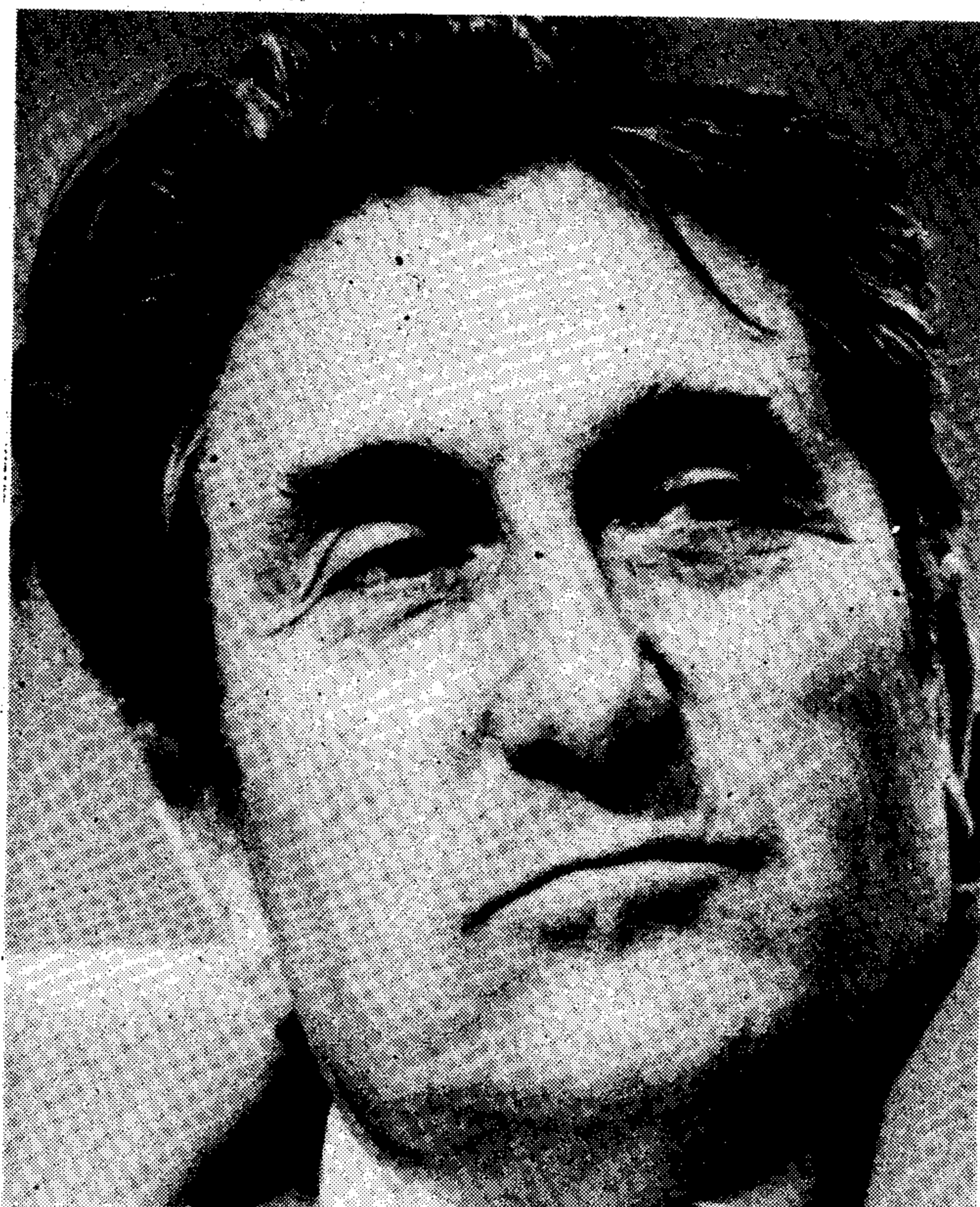
The *Daily Mail* had been the first to see the full potential of the story. Every other paper on Fleet Street had felt obliged to lead its front page with the Iraq/Iran war.

Not so the *Mail* which summed up the world political situation in general in the headline "TUC are mean and vindictive".

The *Express* hit back with an editorial "The giants and the pygmies" which seemed to parody the mindless patriotism of the Beaverbrook ghosts.

"We did not win the last war because people indulged in an endless debate on division of labour. We won it because everybody banded together. Mr Chapple has the unfashionable realism and common sense to see that that is the only way we are also going to win our present economic battle".

A profile of Chapple (My members won't give a damn) which shared the page, seemed



Chapple

to have been composed on the run. The Industrial Editor wrote:

"He rushed from TUC headquarters after his supposed humiliation at such a pace that we dodged buses, taxis and bemused tourists for half a mile as we talked".

The *Express* named Chapple's article in its own pages on the Day of Action as one reason for his 'supposed humiliation'. (It would be useful

incidentally if the press could make up its mind whether he has been humiliated or not).

In that article he had argued viciously against political strikes and in favour of the 'democratically elected' Thatcher government.

The *Daily Mail* was not to be outdone. It followed the story up with another profile of Chapple, not written on the run, but by Linda Lee-Potter,

who can pour out eyewash even faster than Chapple can poke people in the eye.

She gushed away in top gear: "The brash roistering public image of Frank the thick skinned, Frank the fearless, he says is totally alien to the man who writes poetry in his five bedroomed house in the country where he's built a library and where sheep graze on twelve acres.

He keeps 200 pigeons, goes on six mile hikes and drinks cocoa before he goes to bed. He's a marvellous cook 'better than any woman'.

He has the powerful shoulders of a pugilist, the dramatic oratory of a demagogue, the sexy charisma of a matinee idol and a slight tendency to address individuals as though they are on the tenth row of a public meeting".

But it is after wading through another column of these sexist, sentimental banalities that we eventually come across an insight—from Chapple himself. After learning that his childhood was a rerun of Jesus Christ's (he confounded wise men with his wisdom) Chapple goes on:

"I loved animals. We had rabbits, pigeons, cats, dogs, canaries. If anybody had a sick cat or dog they'd seek my advice. In some strange way this developed a leadership quality in me.

If you breed animals you're always taking decisions on their behalf and politics is only an extension of this".

Well in the EETPU no doubt it is. The membership are called upon to jump through the hoop as Chapple plans out their route to the slaughterhouse. It is no wonder he is as sick as a parrot at his demotion.



Funeral of left wing

# POLITICAL BACKGROUN

Extracted from the WSL pamphlet "Don't Let Turkey Become Another Chile" published earlier this year prior to the coup.

The intensification of the world economic crisis, bringing rising unemployment and growing inflation within the advanced capitalist countries, is expressed on an altogether different level within Turkey.

For, if the country's entire post-war history has seen a mounting reliance on Western credit, confirming the inevitable inability of the Turkish capitalist class to free itself from imperialist domination, the last few years have brought industrial stagnation, which now paralyses vast sections of the economy and virtual national bankruptcy.

Nearly 1 in 4 are out of work; repeated devaluations of the Lira bring huge price rises where inflation fluctuates at figures nearing 100% p.a.; oil imports are practically at a standstill, meaning no fuel for power stations and bringing regular 5-8 hour power cuts; the black market thrives while a whole range of basic commodities are unobtainable; for millions, meat has long ago passed into the super-luxury category.

Meanwhile imperialism's bankers, the IMF and OECD haggle among themselves over who should sacrifice most to sustain the ravaged economy.

## Discarded

Though having long since discarded any serious thoughts of such debts being repaid and scarcely even bothering to fill out the cheque-stubs, nevertheless every dollar and mark is lent at a price.

The terms and conditions attached are commensurate with the vastness of the sums involved. However achieved, at whatever cost, imperialism demands measures which will go at least some way towards creating conditions for profitable production.

The massive proposed denationalisation and selling off to private capitalists of sections of the country's huge state-owned resources, particularly mines, oil and land (in form, not unlike the Tories' policy in Britain), are a direct response to these demands.

But imperialism's interest in Turkey is far from limited to economics. The country's strategic position, its proximity to the Gulf area and the Soviet Union, not least, its massive standing army, combine to make it, in the present period,



Soldiers carry off confiscated Marxist literature

of particular importance to NATO.

Since the founding of the Turkish republic, the military has seldom been out of earshot of the country's political life. Built from the Attaturk-led armed struggle against imperialism, the army poses more than most as a 'respectable' arbiter between the bourgeoisie and the exploited masses.

In reality, its regular internal deployment over the last 30 years has been to serve as a Bonapartist broker between antagonistic sections of the ruling class itself when, as today, bourgeois politics reach an impasse.

Such was the threat in December 1979 of Armed

Forces Chief of Staff General Kenan Evren. In frank terms he spelt out to both Prime Minister Demirel and to Bulent Ecevit, opposition leader of the bourgeois Republican People's Party, that if they failed to 'democratically' suppress the militancy of the working class and crush the rising national liberation struggle of the Kurdish people, then in the name of the 'nation', brute force would be the alternative.

## Blunt warning

Significantly, the military chief's blunt warning went beyond the domestic crisis and referred to the danger of 'hot

war' within the Middle East.

Demirel too, talks increasingly in the same language. With Carter using the USSR's invasion of Afghanistan to step up imperialism's 'cold war' turn, the hasty re-opening of Turkey's NATO bases as part of the agreement for additional finance is but a part of imperialism's regional strategy.

Still shell-shocked from the effects of the mass movement which swept away Iran's Pahlavi dynasty, robbing them of their strongest and most dependable state ally from which to oversee their Persian Gulf interests (and with similar tyrannies far from secure), the imperialists' role for Turkey has taken on much greater significance.

Ultimately, their only real hope of regaining the initiative and creating conditions for a badly needed offensive rests on a decisive defeat for a sizeable section of the masses in that vicinity.

They now openly conspire with the Turkish bourgeoisie in carrying out that plan, well aware of the measures necessary to achieve it, and the mass opposition it will provoke.

As with the Chilean bourgeoisie in 1973, Turkey's ruling class now finds its fragile 'democracy' breaking under the strain of the social crisis, which daily assumes more and more the proportions of civil war.

Though martial law has been extensively imposed, the last period has been characterised by working class resistance through the trade unions to attacks on wages, jobs and basic rights.

Struggles against the bosses have turned increasingly into direct confrontations with the state apparatus. With splits and divisions wracking almost every sphere of social life and mobilisations of students to the fore, still the boldest and most militant response has come from the industrial proletariat.

## Essential features

Events in Ismir during the early months of 1980 brought together many of the essential features of the climax which the class struggle is now reaching.

In the city's TARIS state-owned factories, the government-directed policy of using armed fascist thugs against union militants to smash up shop floor organisation led to the 7,500 workers seizing the plants.

Fearing this reaction would spark off a general movement in open defiance of the government, Demirel launched a massive army and air force operation against it.

Tanks and thousands of troops put the factories under siege and eventually over-ran them, with mass arrests resulting. Following prolonged street-fighting as workers and youth in the area demonstrated their solidarity, Izmir joined Ankara and Istanbul in being placed under martial law.

Such confrontations from now on will typify the kind of explosions detonated by the growing polarisation of capital and labour.

It is these tensions which have led to an unprecedented build-up of repressive state measures. The Parliament which they are designed to make

irrelevant is, ironically, now in the process of finalising a whole battery of legal measures ranging from granting police almost unlimited powers to search and harass likely opponents, to no-jury, State Security Courts such as dispense 'justice' in Northern Ireland.

Sweeping additional powers strengthening martial law are also being prepared. True as it is that these moves are designed to be used against any opposition movement, their most immediate and heaviest application will be against the Kurdish national minority.

## Strategy

The continued subjugation of oppressed nationalities is crucial to imperialism's global strategy.

The plight of such peoples is the starkest reminder of the savagery of a system whose existence is based not only on the exploitation of labour within nation states but on the denial to millions of even the right to exist as a separate people.

Though only one people among many in that position, the 20 million Kurds, strewn over five different countries, are particularly acute victims of such persecution.

Their history has been one of almost unbroken armed struggle for liberation though compromised and diverted at every turn by their leadership's hopeless faith in diplomacy and fondness for reactionary alliances.

Throughout, their oppressors have had the arm's-length assistance of the Kremlin, who pay only lip-service to the principle of self-determination.

Actions speak louder than words, for one of the biggest blows struck against the Kurds was the sell-out by Stalin of the first Kurdish republic, a casualty of the carve-up between the Soviet bureaucracy and imperialism at Yalta and Potsdam.

## Victories

Kurdish military victories over the reactionary Islamic despot Khomeini across the Iranian border has given renewed vigour to the ten million who populate Turkey Kurdistan.

The present martial law that stretches across that area is far from new. From its earliest years, the Attaturkist 'single nation' well understood the threat posed by the Kurds to its stability.



Militant in Turkey

Turkish women campaign against rising prices

# END TO TURKEY COUP

With crude government propaganda presenting Kurdish people as 'mountain Turks' while brute force deprives them of their language and culture, resistance has sharply increased.

On this more than anything else the bourgeoisie is united, which lines up both Demirel and Ecevit against 'divisionism' and the Kurds' just claim for secession and complete national autonomy.

Nationalism in its most reactionary and pernicious form is historically a consistent feature of fascism. Systematic harassment of ethnic minorities flows naturally from its extreme chauvinism and bizarre ideas of racial purity and superiority.

For Turkey's fascist National Action Party, the Kurds fulfil the role which elsewhere has been the lot of blacks and Jews.

Complemented by the Moslem fanatics of the Islamic National Salvation Party, and with the connivance of the state, the fascists pursue a campaign of terror of breathtaking dimensions.

Whilst having an expanding group of deputies within Parliament (which it uses to force the pace of government attacks), the NAP relies for its influence on open terrorism.

Backed by finance capital, it draws its support predominantly from the petty bourgeoisie and backward youth which, organised into Grey Wolves bands, have a bloody record of ruthless slaughter.

## Assassinations

Assassinations are daily events. Liberals and intellectuals university professors and state officials regarded as too progressive are regularly gunned down. But it is trade union militants and socialists who are the primary target, since fascism's goal is the physical liquidation of all workers' independent organisations.

The stepping up of this orientation through attempts to force workers into the corporate MISK federation was behind the Ismir confrontation.

Yet the reasons for fascism's rapid expansion, indicated in the literally thousands butchered by them during the past few years and confirmed by last autumn's elections which brought them a projected vote of close on two million, are not to be found within the ranks of reaction alone.

An examination of the policies and record of the workers' political leaders reveals organisational paralysis and pacifist prostration of criminal



Demirel addressing Justice Party election rally

proportions. Central to this has been the role of the Turkish Communist Party (TKP) leadership and its accommodation and subordination to the bourgeois RPP.

Though itself the victim of proscription and extensive suppression, its links with the prestige of the Bolshevik revolution have ensured it considerable mass support, specifically within the left trade union federation DISK, which organises 40% of industrial workers.

But even in the face of countless numbers of their own members being wiped out, the TKP have fought bitterly against direct working class action against the fascist menace.

Beginning from the principle of maintaining links with an illusory 'democratic' and 'progressive' section of the ruling class, they ruthlessly oppose any measures which would alienate the 'liberal' bourgeoisie around Ecevit.

Applying the classic Menshevik idea of a 'two-stage' revolution—first democratic capitalism, then socialism—they cling to the legacy of the RPP's former anti-imperialism.

In doing so they ignore the nature of the present epoch and how the fifty-odd years since Turkey's foundation confirm to

the hilt the inability of any native bourgeoisie anywhere to carry through the democratic revolution and assert their independence from imperialism.

In setting out and elaborating the Bolshevik programme of Permanent Revolution, Trotsky graphically illustrated the inability of the indigenous ruling class to carry through the tasks historically set for it.

On the contrary, the establishment of basic democratic rights in such backward countries becomes inseparably bound up with the struggle for socialist revolution and a workers' and peasants' government as a transitional step towards the proletarian dictatorship.

## Disastrous

In other words, at the base of, and flowing from, the TKP's disastrously wrong, Stalinist policy against fascism (in the same mould as the Peoples Unity and Popular Front practised by the Eurocommunists) lies a profoundly counter-revolutionary method.

However much the hardline pro-Moscow TKP leadership may scoff at their 'soft' Eurocommunist counterparts in Western Europe and elsewhere,

front of workers' organisations and building of armed defence squads against the fascists challenges organisationally and politically all attempts to bind the revolutionary forces to any wing of the ruling class.

It forms part of a programme directed towards dual power along with the demands for wages linked to a workers' index of inflation, occupation and workers control of factories as steps towards their expropriation, land reform and cheap credit for the poor peasants to free them from the tyranny of landlordism—culminating in the building of soviets of workers, poor peasants and rank and file soldiers.

The Republican Peoples Party is a member of the Second International of Social Democratic parties.

At first sight, it appears to have a lot in common with the British Labour Party. But its history is completely different from the history of any social democratic party. The RPP is not a bourgeois workers' party, as Lenin described the Labour Party.

Historically it has directly represented the interests of a section of the Turkish ruling class and only recently has it seen it best to pursue those interests by adopting the guise of a party of the organised labour movement.

The RPP originated as the party of the one-party state founded by Mustafa Kemal. As the only party in Parliament it stood for a form of corporatist government that shared many features with fascism.

It was strongly nationalist, though secular; it was in favour of a 'strong state' which intervened in every aspect of life, it severely restricted democratic rights and repressed any autonomous workers' movement.

It has been the rejection of its rule by sections of the bourgeoisie which has made the RPP try to shift its ground.

Both before and after World War II during attempts to implement a more convincing form of parliamentary democracy, the bourgeoisie swung behind parties that represented their interests under what were very changed conditions—that is they were in favour of less state control and greater freedom for capital.

In the crisis of the thirties this party (the Free Party) was shortlived because the bourgeoisie still sought the security given by the strong state policies of the RPP.

But in the post war economic boom, first Menderes' Democratic Party and then Demirel's Justice Party won the support of increasingly large sections of the bourgeoisie and Turkey was ruled through a liberal democracy.

In the conditions of comparative freedom and economic expansion the organised labour movement grew rapidly.

It is this movement, which the RPP had previously suppressed, and in whose development it had no part, that the RPP now aspires to lead.

The growing strength and militancy of the working class, together with the gathering economic crisis, provoked intervention from the military in 1971.

## Equivocal

Demirel's Justice Party was equivocal towards military repression, and under its new 'left' leader Bulent Ecevit the RPP moved to fill the vacuum through the Parliamentary leadership of the opposition.

It dressed itself in the clothes of Social Democracy, with a programme in defence of workers' rights, the welfare state, etc., wrapped up in left, populist rhetoric.

Like the bourgeois Democratic Party in the USA, with a similar 'pro-labour' veneer, the RPP has never had organic links with the workers' movement.

Unlike Social Democratic parties which are the reformist parliamentary expression of the labour movement—built by the working class but with leaders who consciously serve the bourgeoisie, the RPP historically is the party of the Turkish state.

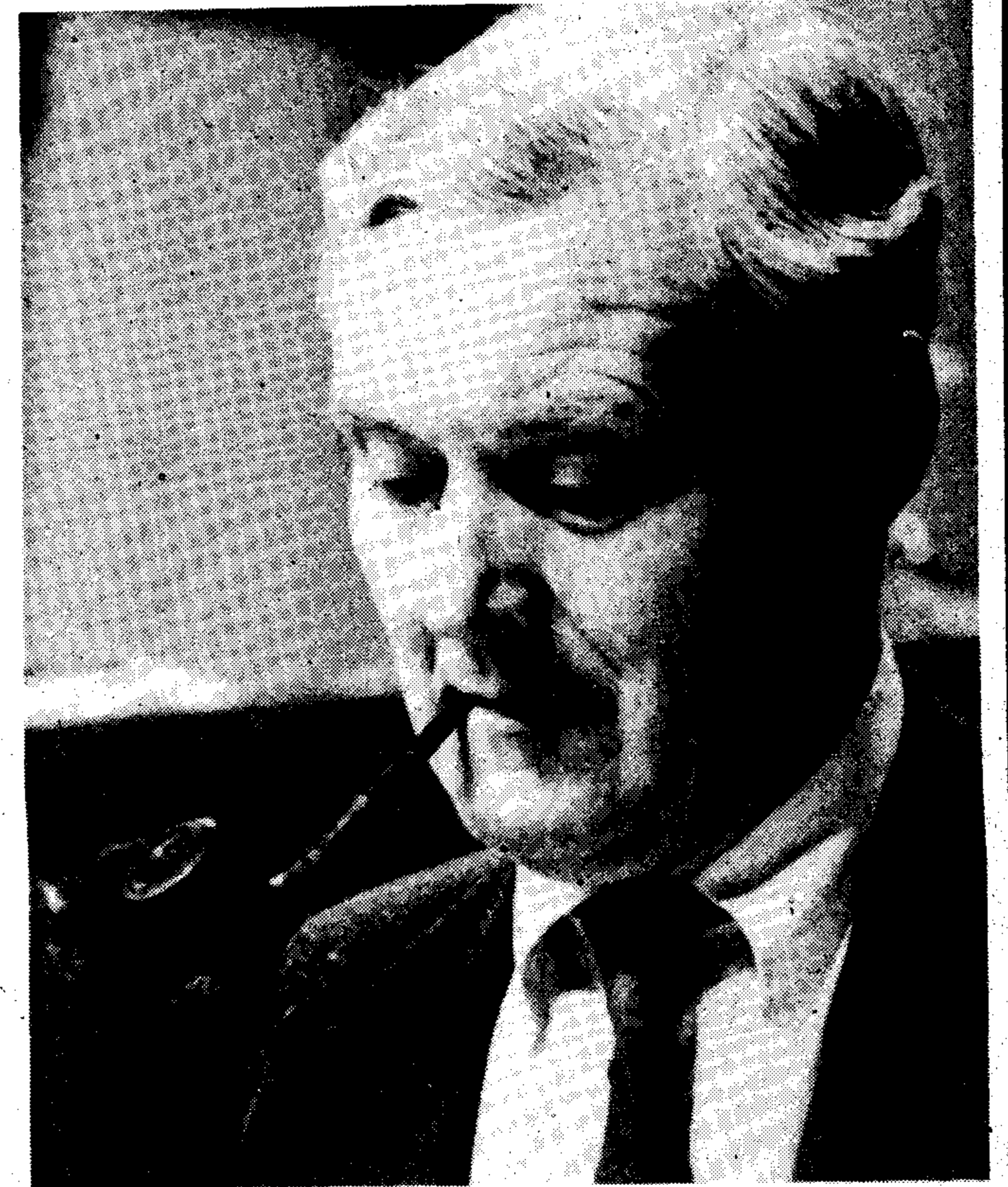
Though now covered in a cloak of 'liberalism' and 'democracy', today, as before, the RPP is an organisation built for and dedicated to preserving the bourgeois Turkish state. As such, not only has it no interest whatsoever in defending workers against capitalism, it is generically incapable of doing so.

Illusions in its class nature and the maintenance of its links with the trade unions result from the influence of forces within the working class who fear the consequences of independent political action by the proletariat.

The experience of the masses will inevitably confirm the disastrous results of a continuation of that alliance in the struggles ahead.

# Benn's followers: forward to revolution or back to reforms?

This is the second, concluding part of a review by GEOFFREY WESTON of Tony Benn's book 'Arguments for Socialism' (Penguin)



Benn

Benn prides himself on the openness of the Labour Party to all strands of socialist thought.

It is true that one of the strengths of the British working class has been its ability to create a unified trade union structure and a unified political organisation.

But one is tempted to ask whether this is not due in large measure to the spinelessness of the socialist wing of the movement.

In other countries where socialists have fought in a determined way for an anti-capitalist programme in the labour movement, the open bourgeois agents have lost no time in splitting the movement.

And even within the Labour Party movements which have really fought the right wing, like the SLL Young Socialists in the 1960s, have been unceremoniously expelled.

In the period of British imperial strength, the benefits of exploiting the peoples of Africa and Asia could be used by the capitalists to provide some reforms, and this provided a material basis for the programme of the pro-capitalist leadership of the Labour Party.

But that basis does not exist any more. So the right wing must now resort to open Tory-style attacks on the working class, and demands for them to accept sacrifices with nothing in return.

Their only role in the Labour Party is now to sabotage the efforts of the working class to defend itself. The Labour Party's "broadness" has become just a cover for the right.

## No demand

Benn refrains from any demand to drive them out, although it is likely that if Benn's reforms were carried most of them would walk out.

The struggle to democratise the Labour Party is important in itself because for Labour Party members to gain more control over the manifesto and the election of the leader, forces a more rapid development of their political ideas.

Practice will quickly expose the incorrectness of the left reformist policies which they themselves voted for, and the incompetence of leaders they chose.

Even more important are the questions raised by the opposition of the right wing.

It shows up clearly how these people are just using the mass support of the Labour Party to implement policies which are against the interest of Labour Party members.

And since this is the case, why won't Benn and the other lefts fight to kick them out? The task of carrying the "broad church" has become an intolerable burden for the working class.

## Decline

This leads on to the question of the future of the Labour Party. We would agree with Benn that the present period is one of the decline of capitalism, and that half-remedies are no good.

But if the reform of capitalism is out of the question, how is the power of capitalism to be broken?



Callaghan

Benn devotes a chapter to the need to democratise the army, and discusses the possibility of a future NATO intervention against British defiance of the Treaty of Rome.

Is the Labour Party the kind of party which could defy such threats, or organise armed workers' resistance to military intervention?

Benn warns now of the lessons of Chile; but are his politics not the same kind of 'left' sounding confusion as that peddled by Chilean Popular Unity leader Allende?

Another problem to be confronted is the fact that the Labour Party was created by the trade unions which by their very nature are organisations devoted to the betterment of workers within the framework of capitalism.

Could this link—which is now mediated by the trade union bureaucracy—survive the adoption by the Labour Party of a revolutionary perspective?

The union bureaucrats like Labour's right wing leaders see their power and privileges as bound up with the continuation of capitalism. They will not endorse revolutionary politics. But what importance would the Labour Party have without its trade union links?

These questions cannot be answered immediately. They can only be answered in the course of a struggle for correct policies and principled leadership. What is certain is that the ongoing struggle to transform the Labour Party will be a decisive part of the political education of the present-day supporters of Tony Benn.

One thing they will have to break with is the chauvinist tradition of the British labour movement. Benn is in many ways a supreme example of this.

He assumes that the history of the British socialist movement is superior to all others. Look for instance at the following passage:

"Marx and Engels, Rosa Luxemburg and Trotsky, together with a whole range of socialist philosophers, have been read by British socialists as we have developed our own home grown beliefs in freedom, democracy and equality, and this is reflected in the constitution of the Labour Party".

The implicit assumption is that into our superior tradition we absorb a few useful ideas from outsiders. If the British working class is to achieve a socialist society, it will need to break with this outlook.

Such questions as the Russian Revolution, the tragic lessons of Allende's Popular Unity in Chile and the power of the workers' mass movement in Poland are not just matters of academic interest.

They contain the essential experience on the necessary programme, organisation and leadership of the working class for the achievement of socialism, experience entirely lacking in the British tradition.

It is also necessary for the British working class to break from the policy of occupying Ireland. Benn does not mention the question of Ireland at all in his book.

This is a grave omission. Benn has now signed the limited programme of "Charter 80" concerning political prisoners in Ireland and has agreed to speak

at the Labour Committee on Ireland fringe meeting at the conference.

But the main question is the withdrawal of British troops and on this Benn has made no commitment.

A last question concerns the future of Tony Benn himself. Many of Benn's policies in the 1970s seemed designed to deflect his followers from the struggle against capitalism.

## Planning agreements

For instance, the widespread movement for greater control over industrial policy was directed by Benn towards planning agreements for the strengthening of ailing capitalism, and worker "participation" without power (as in British Leyland).

In the present book there are formulations about free collective bargaining over wages, prices, investment, products, exports, manpower forecasting, and product development which

Benn believes could provide the basis for a new social contract—under capitalism.

## Wage freeze

In other words it would mean joint union/management decisions to freeze wages, raise prices, cut jobs, etc.

Benn also suggests planning agreements should be made between combine committees and management. But this is less likely to strengthen the combines than to act as yet another way of absorbing harmlessly a possible source of opposition to capitalist rationalisation.

Benn does appear to be at a crossroads, which is no doubt because his followers are at a crossroads too.

Which path they take—towards the dead-end of reforms or the road to revolution—will determine the immediate future of the socialist movement in Britain.

# Lid lifted on US gaols

Guest reviewer STUART SUTHERLAND looks at the film 'BRUBAKER', directed by Stuart Rosenberg and starring Robert Redford.

Robert Redford plays Brubaker, the new warden at a prison farm in the deep south USA, who arrives disguised as a new convict.

He witnesses at first hand the brutality and corruption of the heavily armed trustee convict guards, the prison governor and the local capitalists.

Brubaker hides his true identity until a crisis arises. A convict held in a maximum security area that is worse than a pig sty goes wild and threatens to break the neck of a fellow inmate unless he gets better treatment.

He demands to see the warden and to emphasise what he wants he sings the Aretha Franklin song 'R-E-S-P-E-C-T'.

Brubaker reveals his true identity to a disbelieving crowd of onlookers and then proceeds to restore calm by promising reforms.

It turns out that the reformer Brubaker has been sent by ambitious political backers to expose the situation at the prison as a way of discrediting more powerful political groups

in the state and winning general reforms.

Of course we knew from the start that Redford could not be just another prisoner.

He is marked out by the director as something special by the way his elegant golden coiffure is preserved during the induction proceedings and the mysterious way he remains aloof during the violent and cruel actions of the prison guards.

This is not the behaviour we expect from the Sundance Kid.

## Slave labour

Brubaker ends the supply of slave labour from the prison to local farms and businesses, improves the living conditions of the convicts, establishes a prison council and stops the exploitation of the ordinary convicts by the trustees. All of this has the backing of his political supporters.

But it is when he discovers that many prisoners have been murdered on the farm and presses hard for this to be made

public and used against the state government that he loses his support.

He is going too fast, too soon for the political expediency of his backers and he is told to cool it.

## Environmentalist

Redford is a liberal in real life, an environmentalist, and so is Brubaker.

He goes it alone, one man against the system, believing that right and reason must prevail and is consequently broken when his political masters withdraw their support.

Many of the critics of the film "Brubaker" are also liberals.

They pompously write how Redford as an actor cannot contemplate self irony and throw up their hands in horror because Hollywood is cashing in on protest through the box office successes like "Brubaker", "China Syndrome" and "Coming Home".

This last point is of course true, and obvious. But it ignores the many progressive and impor-

tant features of these films. In a manner like no other medium they bring before a huge audience important issues such as the abuses of the prison system, nuclear reactor safety and the impact of the Vietnam war.

"Brubaker" is allegedly based on scandalous real-life incidents at a prison in Arkansas in the late sixties.

The film has many very powerful sequences, despite the rambling pace that presumably results from the change in director early in the film's production from Bob Rafelson to Stuart Rosenberg.

## Violence

It graphically depicts the arbitrary violence of prison life, the distrust and fear inmates have of each other, and the authorities' need to break the convicts spiritually as well as physically in order for the prison business to function profitably.

And that is what prison in the USA is all about. They are meant to be profit making

concerns. All this makes the movie "Brubaker" well worth our attention.

## Respect

The fatal weakness of this film is that ultimately it is about Brubaker's relationship with other men notably the young convict Bullen, a look-alike for Clint Eastwood in Dirty Harry, and the pivotal black trustee played magnificently by Yaphet Kotto. The only women in the film are a whore and a cold, calculating careerist.

Like the maximum security prisoner at its beginning this movie is more concerned to win from the convicts and the audience R-E-S-P-E-C-T for Brubaker: as a man than to tackle the political questions it raises and that scream out for attention.



# Max Eastman—from fellow traveller to witch-hunter

First of a two-part article by ERNIE STUBBINS

The recent republication by the formerly Trotskyist WRP of Max Eastman's 1926 pamphlet *The Young Trotsky* has attracted deservedly little critical attention.

However, the occasion presents the opportunity to recount what is known of Trotsky's relationship with Eastman, and all its problems, for the benefit of *Socialist Press* readers unfamiliar with the story.

Readers who have come to know of the WRP's penchant for 'investigation' may be surprised to find that the new edition of Eastman's pamphlet is published without the proper degree of cautionary foreword which would be expected from such a 'security conscious' party as the WRP.

## Cine footage

It would of course be entirely scurrilous of this reviewer to suggest that this 'lapse' was in any way connected with the WRP's financial crises and its need to utilise and monopolise cine footage originating from Eastman's collection.

Eastman was born in 1883, and died in 1969. He edited a famous radical journal 'The Masses' in the period before World War I and was an early supporter of Trotsky and the Left Opposition and was responsible for translating many of Trotsky's most important books into English.

This much can be gleaned from the footnotes to the Pathfinder Press 'Writings'.

Why then, is there any need to go further?

Firstly, the history tells us a great deal about Trotsky himself and the problems he struggled to overcome in conducting his work.

Secondly, it yields important lessons on the ways in which oppositions within the Trotskyist movement slide into anti-communism.

The most spectacular recent years is of course Robin



Trotsky addressing the Fourth Congress of the Communist International in 1922

Blick (Robert Black) who is passing into the camp of anarchism as a short term stepping stone on the road to the ruling class.

The lessons of Eastman's treachery need to be frequently repeated to any party which recruits individualist intellectuals of that kind.

James P. Cannon in 'The First Ten Years of American Communism' recounts how he and Eastman were part of the American delegation to the Fourth Congress of the Comintern in 1922.

During this Congress it was Eastman who arranged a

meeting with Trotsky which eventually swung the Comintern behind the drive to legalise the Communist Party in the USA and to break out of the isolation imposed on it by the domination of the foreign language groups.

In the same book Cannon writes that 'the first American Trotskyist was undoubtedly Max Eastman'.

## Newspaper

During 1928 Eastman published the Platform of the Left Opposition and some other Left Opposition documents, and gave Cannon considerable help in establishing 'The Militant' after the expulsion of his faction.

Eastman's pamphlet is one of the earliest documents representing his relationship with Trotsky.

The preface to the original English edition, reprinted by the Healyites, contains Trotsky's letter to Eastman in which he makes it clear while he does not object to the proposed biographical project and will provide background information for it, he cannot and will not accept any political responsibility for the resulting document. Thus he writes:

"... I cannot agree to read your manuscript, for that would make me somewhat responsible not only for the factual side but also for characterisations and valuations. It is quite obvious that this is impossible".

The publication of Eastman's biographical pamphlet contributed substantially to Trotsky's difficulties in holding together the developing opposition to the 'Troika' of Stalin, Zinoviev and Kamenev.

## Factional struggles

At almost the same time another and more important book by Eastman, 'Since Lenin Died', was published, setting out in public for the first time many positions of the Opposition.

The first account of the developing factional struggles was set out, and more import-

antly Eastman described the manoeuvres engaged in by the Troika to suppress Lenin's Testament and the last letters he wrote to the Party before his death.

The Opposition was under threat of expulsion if it conducted any public controversy with the Party, and the publication of Eastman's book had all the hallmarks of an attempt by Trotsky to circumvent the discipline of the Party.

The other leaders of the Opposition were not prepared to risk expulsion on the issue of Eastman's book, and called on Trotsky to reject it publicly.

The Political Bureau of the Party drew up a statement of rejection, which they pressed Trotsky to sign. (This statement can be found in 'The Challenge of the Left Opposition, 1923-25' collected and published by Pathfinder). The Party press throughout the world hurried to publish the statement widely.

Trotsky was to reject the statement on several occasions from 1925 onwards, beginning with his letter to Muralov of September 11 1928 which was reprinted in the New Internationalist in 1934.

The Stalinists were to use the incident against Trotsky on a number of occasions, as were the petty bourgeois oppositionists in the SWP later.

Trotsky's relations with Eastman were much less affected by this incident than might have been expected, if the available documents are a full account. (Eastman in his preface to 'The Young Lenin' refers to a large body of correspondence which does not appear to have been published).

For example in his letter of 11 July 1929 to Maurice Paz 'How Revolutionaries are Formed', Trotsky writes:

"Eastman designates himself a 'fellow traveller', not aspiring to any leading role in the Left Opposition, content to assist. He has acted correctly, unable to give himself entirely to the movement."

Within a few years this easy relationship was seriously

strained by Eastman's rejection of the Marxist theory of dialectical materialism and by the difficulties encountered by Trotsky in working with Eastman as a translator and literary agent.

By May 1931 Trotsky was already expressing his concern, in a private letter to Shachtman about the difficulty he was experiencing in obtaining payments for his History of the Russian Revolution which was one of his main sources of income.

The publisher, Boni, was claiming his 5% royalties for excerpts from the History serialised in various papers.

In the letter Trotsky first voices his concern at Eastman's failure to fight for Trotsky's interest in this case when the money was urgently needed to launch a German journal.

Although Trotsky and Eastman were not bound together by a contract, their collaboration continued, because of Eastman's many contacts with American publishers.

In his introduction to 'Young Lenin' Eastman claims that he got 'some very handsome prices' for articles by Trotsky from the American press.

During 1932 Eastman's open rejection of the dialectic led to some sharp words from Trotsky.



Lenin

In his letter to Glotzer of July 1932 he describes Eastman's philosophy as follows:

"Eastman was here a week ago. We discussed various questions. His attitude toward dialectical materialism alienates him from our world outlook to a very high degree, despite his active political sympathies for the Left Opposition."

Even though he has rejected philosophy, he has a philosophy of his own—more or less 18th century French rationalism translated into the language of Anglo-Saxon empirical-utilitarianism (engineering mind).

Despite our strong sympathy for Eastman, we will have to draw a sharp line on this most important of questions when the occasion presents itself."

In December of the same year, writing in the Militant on 'Perspectives of American Marxism', he goes further in his attacks:

"The attempt of Eastman to throw overboard the materialist dialectic in the interests of the 'engineering art of revolution' represents an obviously hopeless and, in its possible consequences, retrograde adventure."

A month later, in January 1933 Trotsky wrote to the Editorial Board of the Militant seeking to clarify his relationship with Eastman. He refers to the long history of personal and literary ties between the two men, and expresses his gratitude to Eastman for translating the History of the Russian Revolution into English in an excellent manner.

Despite all this he found it essential to oppose Eastman's attempts to translate Marxist dialectics into vulgar empiricism and to make a public declaration of this difference.

He denounced Eastman's philosophical revisionism as no different from previous petty bourgeois revisionisms such as Bernstein's, even while recognising Eastman's continued support for the October Revolution and the Left Opposition.

Continued next week

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# Fighting Winsford factory closures

"Regrettable" was how Winsford's Labour controlled council described the closure of Metal Box and the loss of 500 jobs, in a letter to the company's head office.

They were going to use the word 'deplorable' but this was considered too undiplomatic by Labour Councillor Percy Tipple, OBE, a recent attendee at a Buckingham Palace 'booze-up'.

But fellow bun-fighter, and deputy mayor Tony Walsh, was clear about the tasks ahead:

"There's nothing we can do, but we must do something".

They did. They moved rapidly to "Any other business".

So whilst workers in the town face the biggest single closure yet, these politicos play the political equivalent of 'blind man's buff'.

Among the five unions involved however (IGWU, AUEW, FETPU, NGA, ASTMS) there is no lack of will to fight.

One practical step taken was to form a joint shop stewards committee to coordinate the defence and Ron Yarnwood, District Secretary of the Engineers was quoted as saying "We will do everything in our power to resist these redundancies".

The Communist Party, in a public statement, while finding the closure a cause for 'regret', have called for Mid-Cheshire Trades Council to organise a one day conference on the closures in the area.

But in terms of what is to be done concretely only the

Workers Socialist League has spelled out a course of action.

In a leaflet put into the factory they said:

"The WSL, as a Trotskyist organisation, puts forward the following programme of action which starts from the need to protect workers' interests first:

\*Occupation of all firms threatened with redundancies to show the bosses that the factory is not going to be thrown on the scrap heap in the interests of profit. Implicit in this is the need to stop the bosses from stripping the machinery and plant.

\*Demand the opening of the firm's books to elected workers committees to reveal the need to nationalise the whole combine along with other firms in the same branch of industry; the suppliers and bankers who deal with the firm must also be made to hand over their books too in order to reveal their profiteering role in the claimed bankruptcy of the employers.

The information of the workings of the firm's accounts, should then be used to formulate a workers' plan based on the needs of the working class, not the need to make profits through exploitation.

\*Worksharing on full pay and a sliding scale of hours, would be a central part of such a workers plan. The available work must be distributed between the whole of the population needing work.

(...)  
\*Build councils of action. Workers have no chance of defeating a united employers' attack if they try to beat them one by one.

The Thatcher government can only be defeated through the workers similarly uniting to prepare for a general strike to bring the Thatcher government down, as was the Heath government by the miners.

Councils of action are necessary to mount a joint campaign between all the firms in the Winsford area that are fighting the employers.

Militants in the factories must move a motion to that effect at mass meetings and union branches.

### Delegates

It is up to the militants in the factories threatened by closure to see to it that the delegates are sent to such a body.

In doing so they will come up against the trade union officials and in many cases this will include the convenors and the right wing in the factories themselves. They will manoeuvre and divert the struggle away from the steps, outlined above, that are necessary to defeat the employers.

They must be confronted with an organised campaign to make them carry out these essential and practical steps and demands.

This will place them on the spot. If they carry them out under pressure from the militants and the rank and file, then the struggle will be taken forward. If they fail to do this, then the conditions will have been created in which they can be exposed in front of the membership, discredited and the way prepared for their removal".



With workers by the thousand taking to the streets to oppose Tory policies there is plainly no lack of militancy in the organised working class.

Yet the existing trade union bureaucrats and Labour leaders—whether right or 'left'—have no perspective to offer those workers prepared to fight in defence of jobs, living standards, social services and democratic rights.

These can only be defended through policies which start from the independent interests of the working class, which, as an international class, has nothing to gain and everything to lose from attempts to restore the profitability of their "own" employing class.

In a period where the contradictions of the anarchic capitalist system force the wholesale closure and destruction of the productive forces of society, only a socialist planned

economy on a world scale offers a way forward.

To achieve such a perspective a leadership is needed which, in today's struggles fights to advance workers' beyond trade union militancy, protest politics and illusions that capitalism can be abolished through parliament.

The Workers Socialist League is a Trotskyist movement fighting day in and day out to build such a principled leadership in the working class in Britain.

Internationally, we are affiliated to the newly-formed Trotskyist International Liaison Committee, which fights for the reconstruction of the Fourth International and the building of revolutionary parties in every country to lead the struggle against imperialism and against the parasitic Stalinist bureaucracies in the deformed and

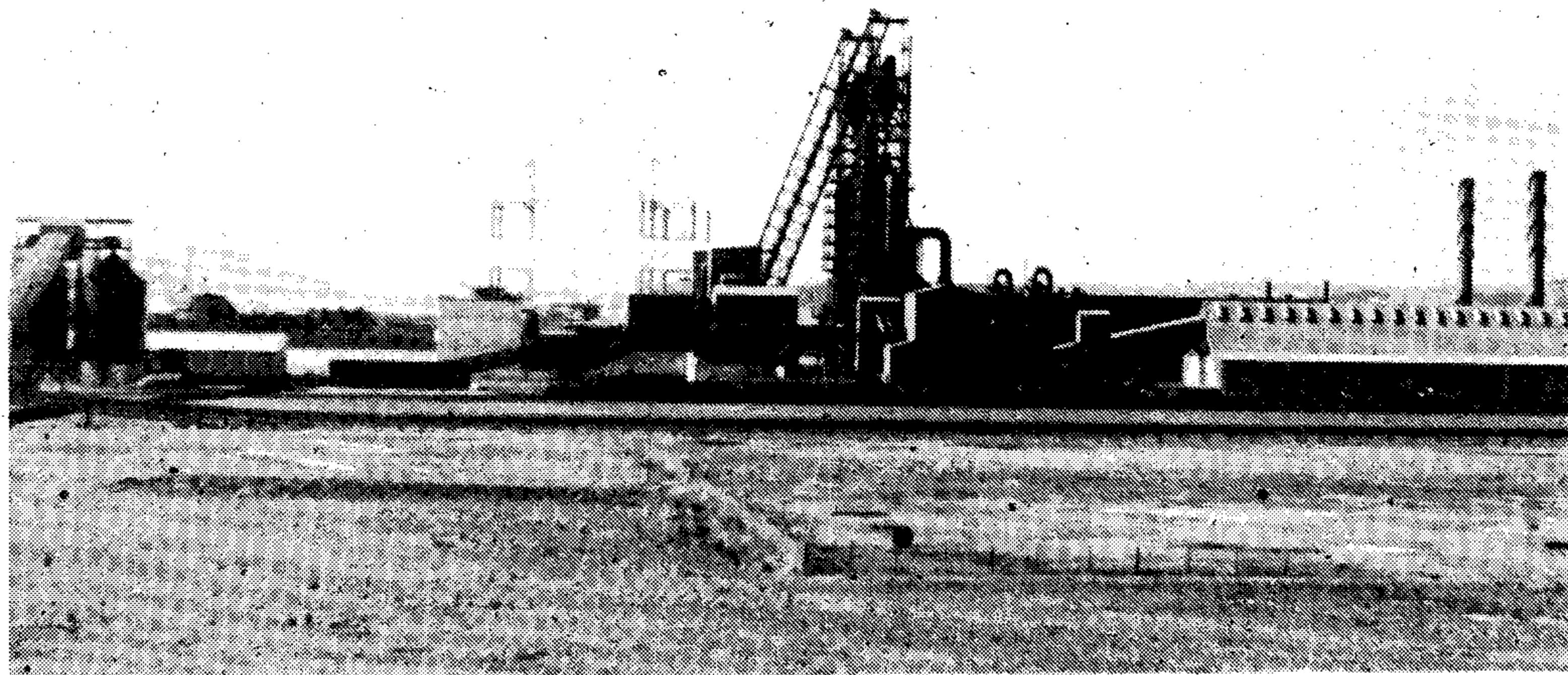
degenerated workers' states. We invite all readers of Socialist Press to seek more details of the WSL and its work, and to join us in the struggle for socialism.

Please send me more details of the Workers Socialist League.

Name .....

Address .....

Send to WSL: BM Box 5277, London WC1V 6XX.



# Hunterston fight goes on

The five week old strike of 900 workers on the oil rig platform building site at Hunterston, Ayrshire, goes on.

Despite capitalist media lies to the contrary, the workers involved have received the support of the onshore liaison committee which links together the six rig building yards in Scotland.

At a recent meeting in Edinburgh £200 was immediately donated to the strikers' fund

and an agreement was made to raise a levy in the other yards.

Plans have also been made for a joint approach by the STUC and oil related unions to the Minister for Energy on the dispute.

The strike committee has produced a leaflet explaining in more detail than previously the background to the dispute, uncovering the management's arrogance and lack of concern for the safety of the men on the site.

As the stewards point out, the all-clear given to the site by

the Health and Safety Executive is extremely misleading as their tour of inspection was done when normal work was suspended.

### Active support

This determined struggle demands the active support of militants throughout British industry.

Details of the dispute can be obtained by writing to the Joint Shop Stewards Committee

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**Why campaigns were lost & how they can be won**

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Scargill

# Defend Manvers coking plant

A recent meeting in Mexborough, South Yorkshire, saw 1,000 people in defiant mood against the closure of Manvers coking plant.

The meeting was attended not only by the workers from the coking plant itself but also local miners and workers from plants which are supplied with coke from Manvers.

The platform consisted of three local MPs as well as three NUM officials who pledged support for the GMWU workers at the coking plant.

Arthur Scargill, speaking from the platform, made no call for the necessary policy of immediate occupation to halt the closure. Nor did he pledge to fight for supporting strike action from the NUM.

Instead he suggested a petition and campaign of protest. If this fails, he said, then the workers should 'work in' UCS-style.

But what does UCS-style mean? At UCS it meant working for the old employer—completing ships—for nothing!

Scargill readily speaks of "mobilising the movement at large": but does he mean strike action or merely getting workers to pay the wages of their GMWU brothers and sisters?

Protests and petitions will only be any good if linked to a fight for a commitment to decisive industrial action when they inevitably fail to sway the Tories.

The MPs who pledged their support avoided any mention of what they would do to help.

They must be pressured to campaign in the Labour Party for mass action to bring down the Tory government and to kick out the right wing leaders of the Labour Party.

But the worst thing by the platform was their insistence on a campaign for import controls.

This bankrupt policy really is to support British capitalist industry from "foreign" competition.

So instead of calling for the overthrow of the government they call for the government to implement import controls as a substitute for a nationalised planned socialist economy.

# Council 'no' to more cuts

Hyndburn District Council (Lancs) confirmed at last Tuesday's full council meeting that they will refuse to implement any further cuts in expenditure during the current financial year.

The reasons given were: \*The request is unjust as in the past the Hyndburn District Council has faithfully complied with government requests for cuts.

\*Compliance would disrupt the borough's financial planning and threaten jobs and services.

\*Attempts to deal with a deficit on transport expenditure would be seriously hindered.

\*The refusal is in the best interests of ratepayers and employees.

These hardly represent the fight for a principled socialist alternative, but nevertheless, they do represent a historic stand on the part of the Hyndburn District Council and a move away from the conservative ideology of the "common interests" of capitalists and workers.

Labour spokesman Mike Hindley underlined the mandate they had received from the electorate to oppose 'cuts' when he referred to the massive swing to Labour in Hyndburn in May (it was the largest in N.E. Lancs).

He also reiterated the council's determination to protect jobs and services, and although there was no specific reference to a policy of "no rate or rent increases", this must surely follow from the commitment to work in "the best interest of our ratepayers".

The council must also immediately be called upon to set about restoring jobs and

services which were withdrawn under the previous administration.

The Labour Group has decided to support and send a delegate to the National Anti-cuts Conference to be held at Camden Town Hall on November 1.

The meeting should link the various councils' opposition to the 'cuts' to the fight to bring down the Tories and to workers' struggles in both the public and private sector to save jobs and protect declining living standards.

It is not sufficient for Labour controlled councils to oppose government cuts in isolation from other struggles.

They must link with other councils and join with workers preparing for a General Strike to bring down Thatcher's reactionary government this winter.

# NALGO strike

100 Ealing Day-Care workers who had been operating a series of official approved sanctions since July 28 in pursuance of their claim for improved grades and service conditions are now on strike.

This action follows the failure of 18 months of talks between the Branch and the Council to achieve a local settlement.

A feature of the dispute has been persistent management attacks on individual members and their union reps, in the form of harassment and disciplinary hearings.

The final straw has been that management has threatened 3 workers with disciplinary action for withdrawing their labour for a day in support of a colleague who had also been disciplined, (for refusing to transfer and cover for sickness and leave in line with union instructions).

When management failed to respond to the deadline to withdraw this disciplinary action the Day Care members came out on unofficial strike on 18 September.

NALGO's Emergency Committee meeting on the same day gave official approval to the stoppage.

The branch is already committed to a voluntary levy but they urgently need extra financial support for their members. Donations should be made payable to "Ealing Branch NALGO", and sent to the NALGO Office, 2nd Floor, Town Hall, Ealing, London W5.



"Work?—For what you're paying us? You must be joking mate!"

# KING HENRY'S FIGHT ON

Over 240 trade unionists turned up for the second national mass picket of King Henry's Meat Products, Levenshulme, Manchester on 19 September.

Rows of police prevented effective picketing by keeping everyone on the pavements lining Ravenoak Avenue.

Two strikers were allowed at the gate of the factory but they were not allowed to stop or talk to the drivers.

By this stage in the strike all the supplies are being off-loaded on waste ground all over Manchester into the firm's own lorries.

Scab workers are being

ferried in in two of the management's own cars.

Despite the fact that the manager, Derek Hollins claims to be maintaining full production with seventy workers, no more than 38 scabs have gone through the picket line on any morning this week and many of these have been recruited since the strike began on 7 July.

Now that nearly all his major orders have been blacked the manager is beginning to negotiate.

Before the last national picket Hollins offered to reinstate four of the strikers if picketing and blacking were stopped.

He claimed he couldn't rein-

state more without sacking scabs. Now his latest offer is to agree to the union's demands on recognition, to reinstate the eight strikers who had worked there over six months and to pay off another ten strikers with sums from £50 to £350.

This was unanimously rejected on Tuesday 16 September. The strikers want reinstatement of all the remaining 19 strikers still on the picket line.

Mass pickets continue every Tuesday and Friday morning. Messages of support and donations to the strike fund or the defence fund should be sent to BFAWU District Offices, Room 6, George House, 30 Dudley Road, Manchester.

# Union speakers duck Ireland conference

Local TUC speakers invited to address a conference on Ireland arranged by Wirral Trades Council on Saturday 20 September were all conveniently unable to attend due to "more pressing engagements".

North West Region TUC secretary and NUPE official Colin Barnett left it as late as 12 o'clock on the day to ring and say he could "probably not attend".

Chairman M. Sandbach, in opening the meeting said the meeting would not be able to take any resolutions as they were restricted by TUC rules.

A brief opening statement was given by J. Nolan, Wirral Trades Council, outlining the history of the struggles of the Irish people against British occupation.

As the conference was not

dominated by the platform speakers, this allowed open discussion with a wide range of views being presented.

However overall there was a clear division between, on the one side, the need to work within existing trade union and Labour Party organisations and on the other the rejection of this method in favour of work outside these organisations.

A Socialist Press supporter correctly stated that the fight should be taken up within the trade union and labour movement to expose the role of the bureaucracy, who by their support of bi-partisan agreement between Labour and Tory Parties actually support the interests of the British ruling class against the interests of workers in Britain and Ireland.

Meetings of this type, where resolutions cannot be put forward to commit Trades Councils to initiate struggles to

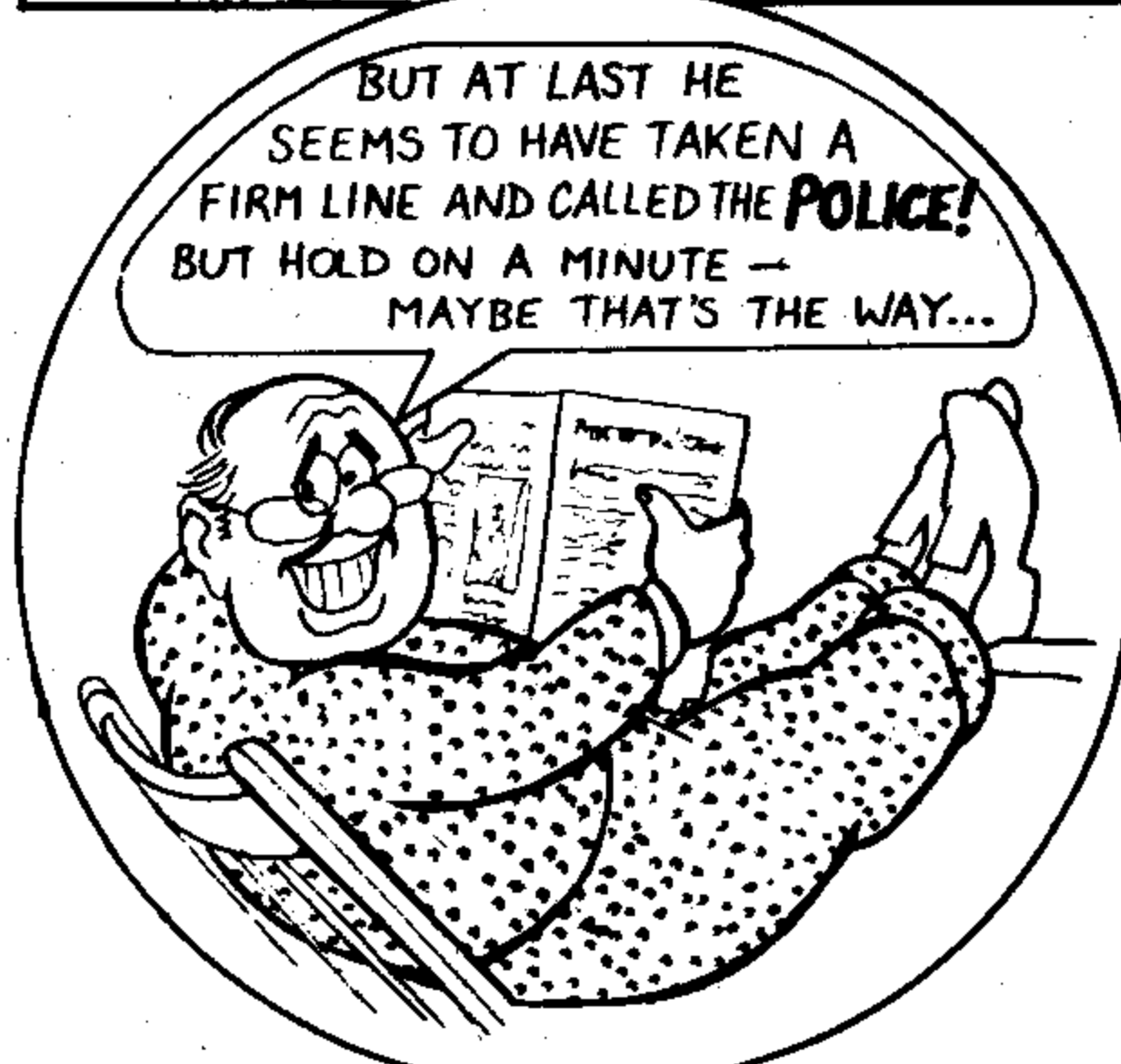
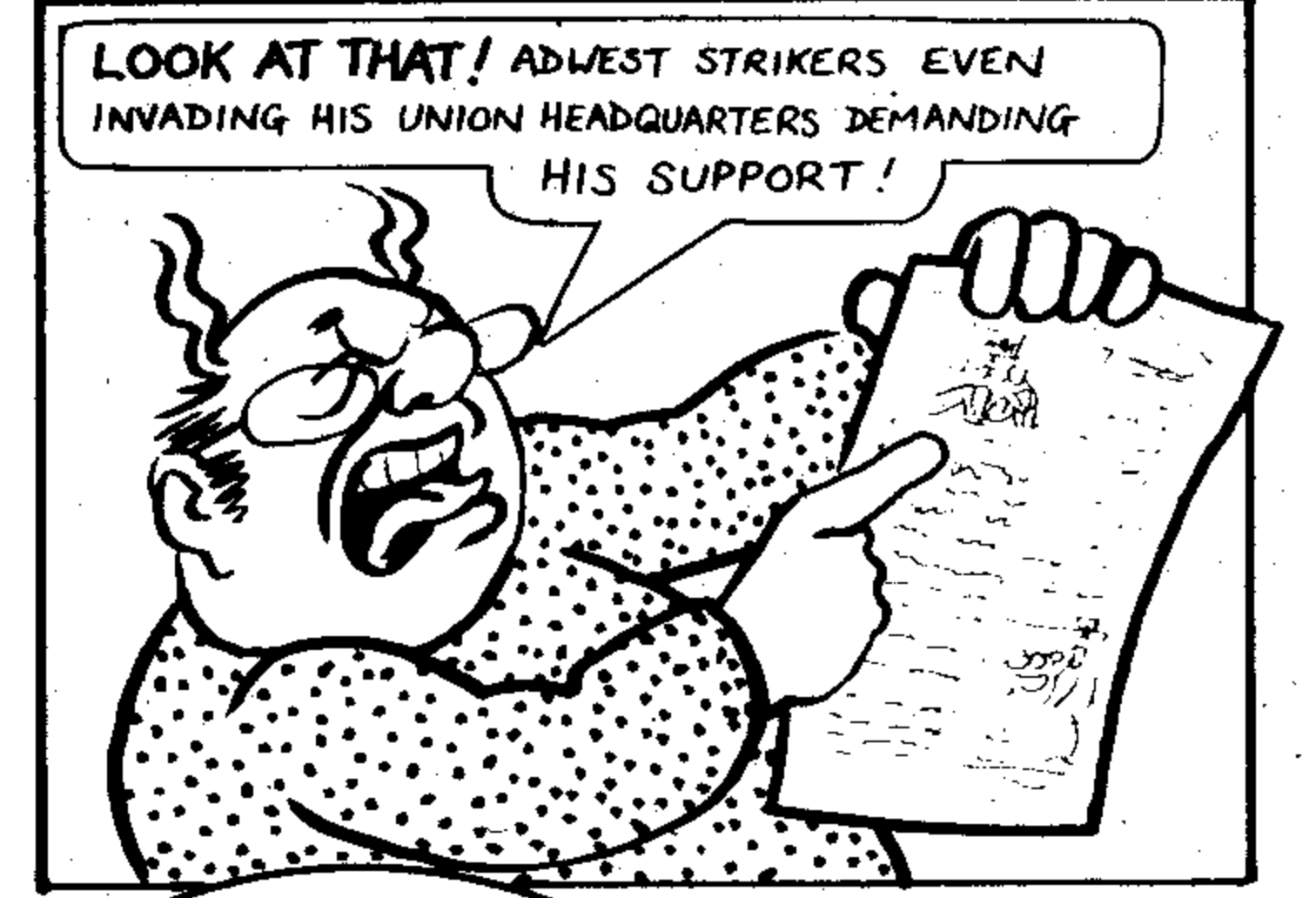
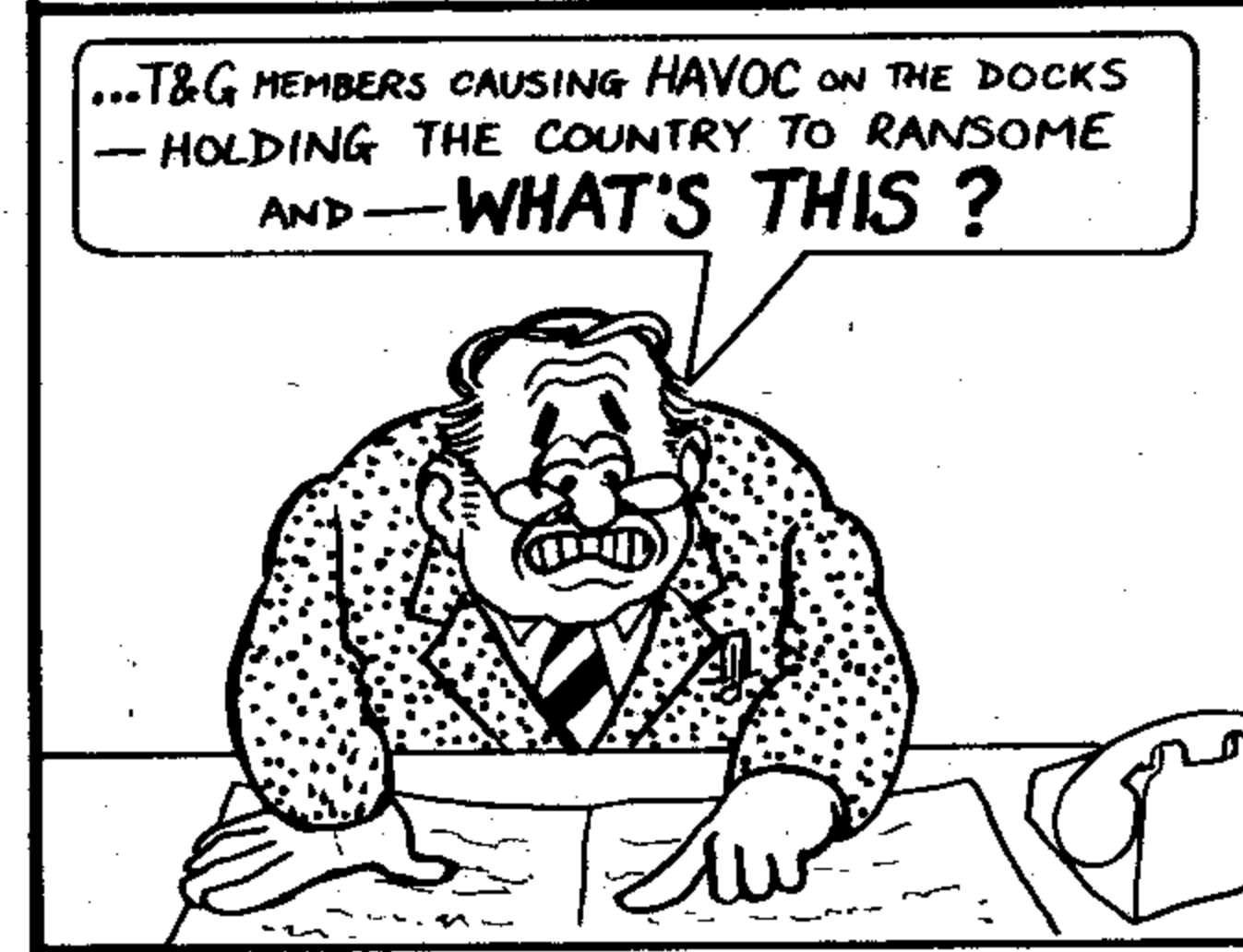
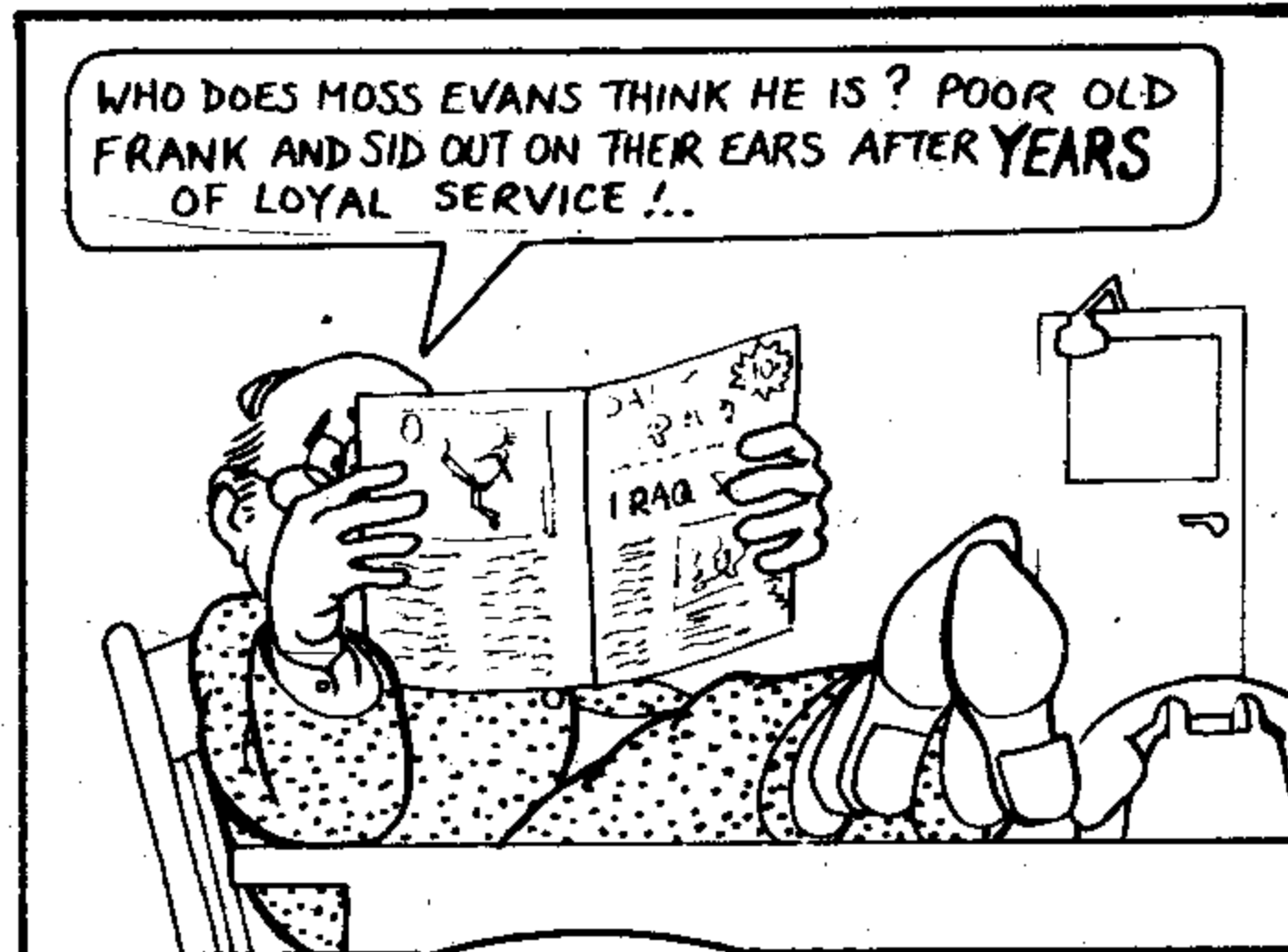
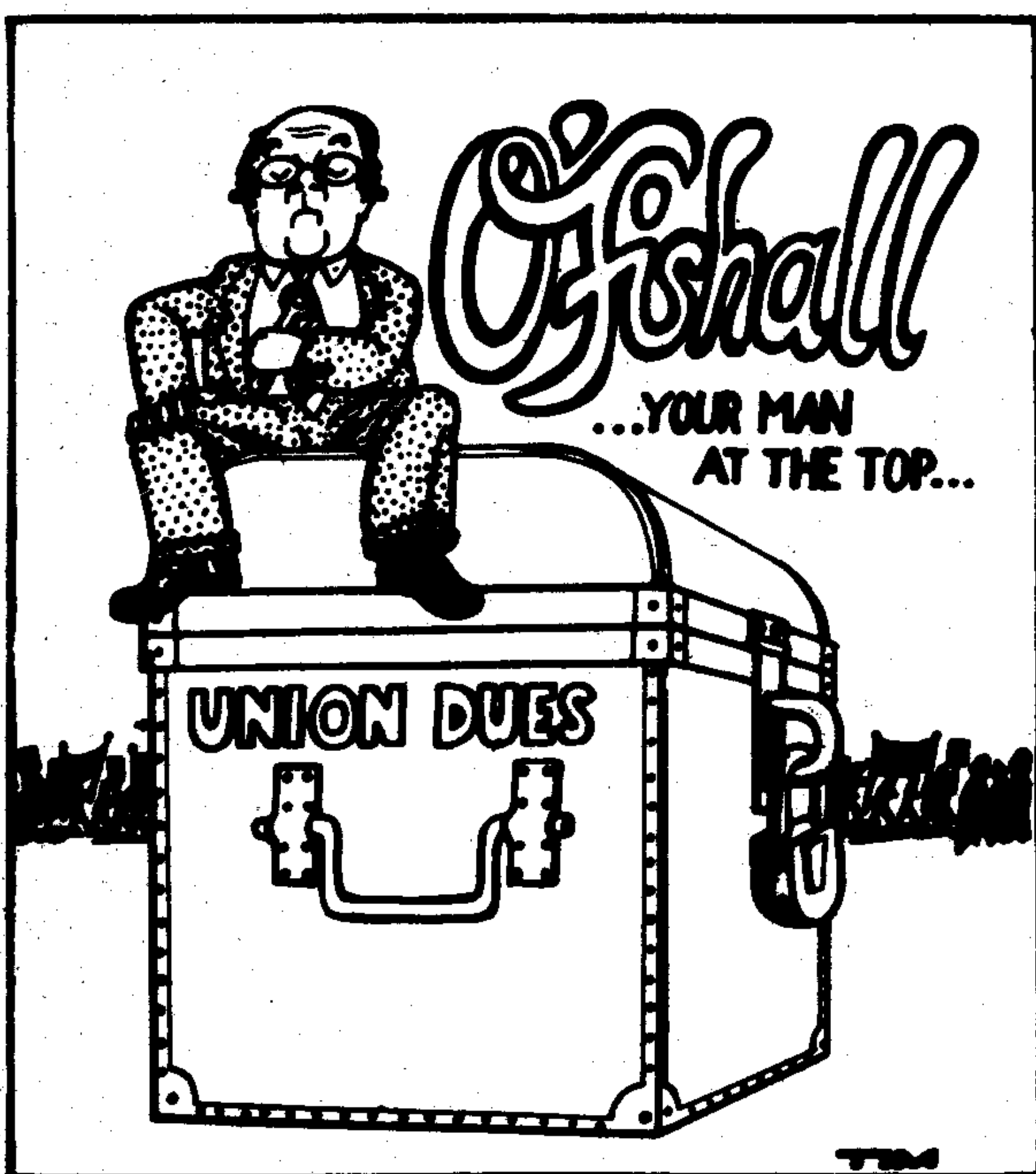
expose the role of the bureaucracy will not pose any threat to those who favour repression in Ireland.

Trades Councils which are serious in bringing the Irish question into the labour movement should be moving towards jointly sponsoring a national conference on Ireland.

By involving as many Trades Councils as possible (and a considerable number condemned the TUC's bureaucratic disaffiliation of Tameside Trades Council) the struggle could be broadened nationally.

This would prevent individual Trades Councils being isolated and victimised by the TUC for raising the question of Ireland and challenging the role of the bureaucracy.

In this way the vital fight for British labour movement action to force the immediate withdrawal of troops from Ireland can be carried forward.



# SOCIALIST PRESS



# FUND

Two donations to the fund from readers in Austria and Essex have helped to boost the fund this week to £560.65 but this still leaves us £289.35 short of our target with only two days left to the end of the month.

We will report the final total next month but in the meantime urge readers to help us get off to a good start with the October fund by sending us a donation to: Socialist Press Fund, BM Box 5277, London WC1V 6XX.

## Iraq/Iran border war

# A WAR THE MASSES

# CANNOT WIN

Whether Iraqi despot Saddam Hussein or Islamic reactionary Ayatollah Khomeini emerges as "victor" in the present Gulf war, the losers on all counts will be the workers, peasants and oppressed minorities of the Middle East.

The brazen attempt by the Iraqis to capitalise on the military disarray and isolation of the Iranian state in a bid to overturn a 1975 treaty has triggered a war which offers only misery to the masses and a renewal of imperialist hopes of restoring control in this crucial strategic region.

But at the same time the Khomeini regime, which has sprung to the defence of a treaty negotiated by the Shah, has demonstrated beyond doubt since it rode to power last year that it has nothing to offer the working class or the Kurdish, Azerbaijani, Arab and other national minorities within Iran—whose economic demands and struggles for democratic rights have been stubbornly resisted.

### Rekindled

Though the nationalist fervour that animated the mass movement which ousted the Shah and provided Khomeini with his base of support has not yet completely evaporated—and has now been rekindled by the Iraqi aggression—Khomeini and the reactionary Bani-Sadr government had increasingly been resorting to moves to repress the masses and left wing organisations such as the Fedayeen.

They feared that the Fedayeen's demands for anti-capitalist measures would trigger renewed struggles by the working class under conditions of huge economic crisis and rampant unemployment.

The Iranian armed forces are the more depleted now because of its full scale military onslaught which Khomeini has waged on the Kurdish people, whose renewed demands for the right to self-determination, arising in the context of similar demands from the other minorities, threatened to break up the centralised state power laboriously constructed by the Shah and his imperialist backers, and defended by Khomeini.

But for imperialism and for the reactionary Iranian military chiefs that still seek to restore the old regime, such reactionary moves by Khomeini have not been enough.

### Support

Post-revolutionary Iran has shaken imperialist domination throughout the Middle East. Iran has proclaimed its support for the Palestinian people: it has been at the forefront of the fight to raise OPEC oil prices in the face of anger among imperialist leaders: it has tweaked the nose of US imperialism in the hostage issue; and—perhaps worst of all—it remains an unstable political powder keg in a key strategic area of imperialist control.

There is no doubt that the American warmongers would dearly love to see the Iraqi attack precipitate a political crisis in which Iranian military hardliners could move forward to oust Khomeini, crack down further on the masses and shift Iraq back firmly into the imperialist camp.

### New deals

The imperialists—who under conditions of world slump have succeeded in replacing lost oil supplies from Iran—would also welcome the destruction of the vast Abadan oil complex.

This would virtually force the Iranians to seek new deals with imperialism for the recon-

struction of the refinery upon which their already tottering economy remains dependent.

### Verbal opponents

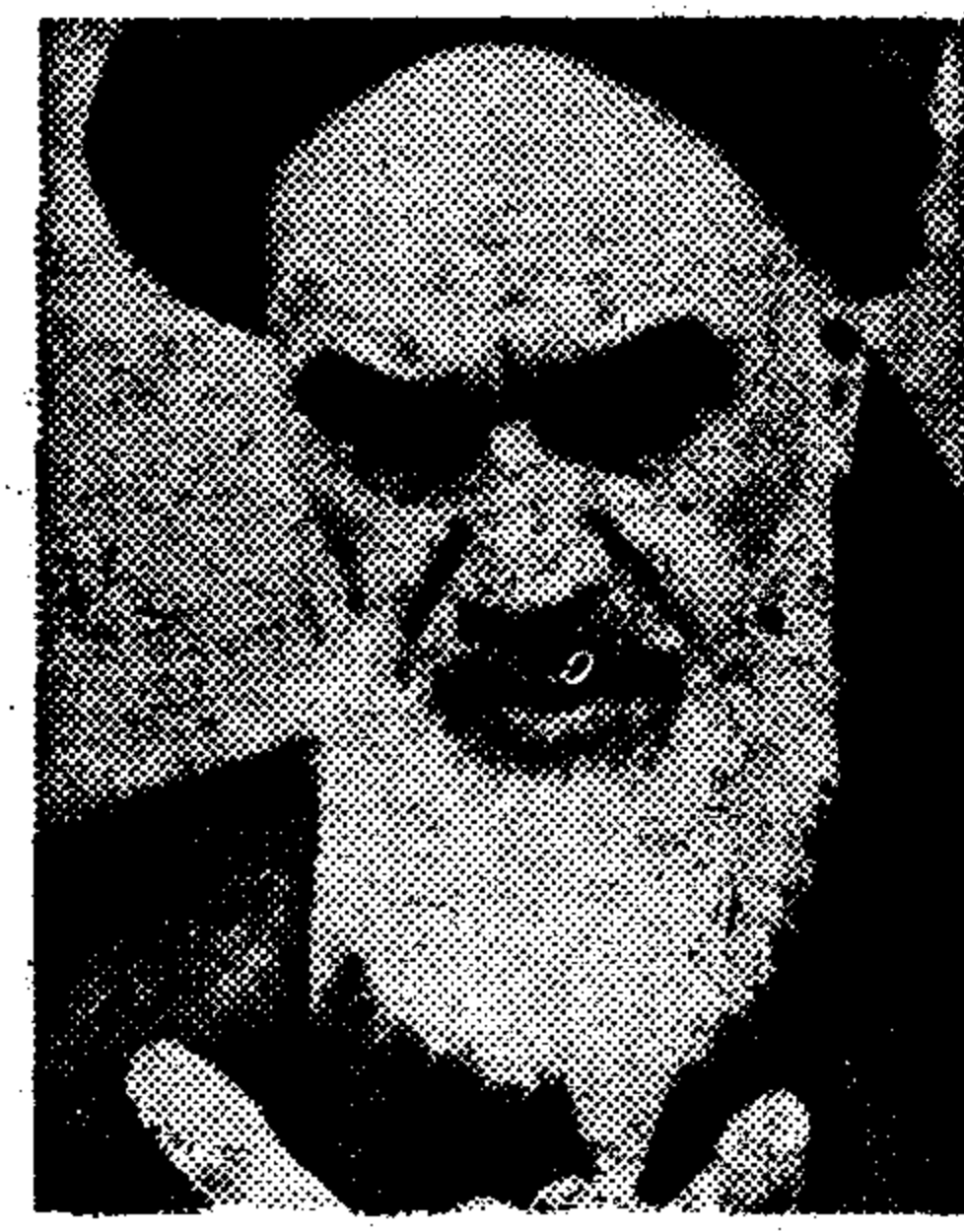
And the imperialists are equally happy to watch the Iraqi Ba'athist regime—one of the foremost verbal opponents of the Zionist regime and the Egypt/Israel alliance—expending its military hardware and energies in combatting a rival "anti-imperialist" regime.

The Iraqis have in any case been visibly shifting towards a

Cont'd p.2, col. 1



Hussein



Khomeini

# Tories snatch redundancy money

In the midst of an unprecedented wave of closures and redundancies, the Tory government is bringing in new measures which will penalise all workers receiving large redundancy payments.

After November 24 any person with capital of over £2,000 will cease to be eligible for supplementary benefit.

And more than half a million workers will find that they are no longer eligible for exceptional needs allowances because they have more than the permitted level of savings.

### Pensioners

This of course applies to large numbers of workers whose leaders have persuaded them to sell their jobs in steel and other industries for large voluntary redundancy payments.

It also hits pensioners who have saved sums in excess of £2,000.

But the new regulations will not actually save the government any money—since 44,000 claimants will be freed from deductions when the limit is raised to £2,000.

Union leaders—worried that if the new measures become known they will find their members more resistant to redundancy—are up in arms.

### Strategy

ISTC leader Bill Sirs has called for a "thorough investigation".

But there is nothing remarkable in this policy: it is in line with the Tories' general strategy of inflicting the maximum humiliation and suffering upon the unemployed and the poor

in their efforts to drive down the level of wages.

It is linked to their moves to cut benefits for strikers' families, cut the value of child benefit, to scrap earnings-related unemployment benefit, and cut the value of sickness and unemployment benefit by 5%.

These moves can be stopped—by stopping the Tory government in mass action to force it out of office.



Sirs

# NUJ to vote

Members of the NUI in London were voting as we went to press on a £5.30 offer for a 'London weighting' payment in reply to a claim for more than £15. They have been on strike for two weeks after receiving an initial offer which would have given most members £1 a week.



Iraqi troops celebrate capture of Iranian fortress

## Campaign for Democracy in the Labour Movement CONFERENCE

"BRING DOWN THE TORIES THIS WINTER"  
Saturday November 15 10.30 a.m. to 5.30 p.m.  
Digbeth Hall, Birmingham

Open to all labour movement bodies  
Credential £1 (unwaged 50p) from G. Webster  
169, Barclay Road, Smethwick, W. Midlands

Workers Socialist League

Public meeting  
WINSFORD

"Closures and the fight to bring down the Tories"

Sunday October 5  
Red Lion  
Winsford

DAY SCHOOL  
on Latin America  
called by  
Stirling & District  
Chile Solidarity  
Committee

Sunday 26 October  
10 a.m.—5 p.m.

Cowane Centre  
Cowane St., Stirling  
50p