

# SOCIALIST PRESS



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Looking back  
at US miners  
strike

CENTRE PAGES

Pope meets Maker . . . . . p.9  
Cold war pawns . . . . . p.8  
Press Gang . . . . . p.4  
'Trotskyists' and Cuba . . . . . p.3  
Zimbabwe . . . . . Back page

## CAPITALIST ANARCHY THREATENS ALL WORKERS!

# DOLLAR CRISIS HEIGHTENS TRADE WAR



The dramatic fall in the value of the dollar promises to bring savage attacks throughout the world on the jobs and living standards of the working class.

Growing chaos of capitalist production, trade and currency exchange rates demonstrates clearly that the task of defending the conditions of the working class requires the destruction of the capitalist system and the replacement of anarchy and exploitation with a socialist economy planned and managed by the working class.

### Beaming

One month ago, the leaders of the capitalist world emerged beaming from their economic summit meeting in West Germany.

They claimed major steps towards solving the economic crisis of the capitalist world. It did not take long for their pose to stand revealed as nothing but sham and pretence.

The capitalist crisis has in no way been solved: it has sharpened.

### Weakened

It is not just a crisis affecting the dollar. The sharp rise in the price of gold is evidence that confidence in all currencies has been weakened.

The trade imbalance between the major capitalist nations is greater than it has ever been—the surpluses which the oil producing countries and Japan command and protect, fuel the crisis in America and other deficit countries.

The decline of the dollar over the last two years is largely the result of this gigantic United States trade deficit, expected this year to amount to \$30 billion, and of the flight of capital from the US to other coun-

tries where it extracts more profit.

David Rockefeller, President of Chase Manhattan Bank, said this week that the dollar's slide threatened the international monetary system.

"They (foreign capitalists) feel that if we don't know how to deal with our own economy (i.e. working class), what kind of advice can we be giving them".

*\*No to import controls!  
\*No to wage cuts and attacks on social services.*

*\*For the international independence of the working class.*

*\*Expose and drive out the reformist and Stalinist leaders who betray the working class.*

*\*An end to the anarchy of capital.*

*\*Expropriate the banks, international finance organisations and major companies for a planned socialist economy.*

*\*For workers' governments!*

Carter has done nothing to stop the dollar falling—indeed he is using the fall as one instrument of trade war.

But devaluation creates more problems for the capitalists. It raises prices of imported materials; it reinforces inflation and it threatens to provoke the OPEC countries into raising the price of oil.

OPEC countries are also threatening to dump the dollar next month by fixing a multi-currency oil price which will not be subject to sudden variations between currencies.

American capitalists, therefore, search for other forms of protection through tariffs and import controls.

In every capitalist country demands for protectionism are growing.

These trade war measures threaten to undermine both confidence in currencies and the whole basis of world trade.

Inflation, unemployment, currency instability and protectionism are consequences of their efforts to restore profitability.

Capitalists of different nations try to protect their profits at the expense of their international brothers through protectionism and competitive devaluation.

Clearly this cannot be a solution for capital on a world-scale which fights to restore its appropriation of surplus value—the only source of profit.

For the working class internationally this means massive attacks: more unemployment through

closures and new technology; lower living standards through tax rises and wage cuts; cuts in social services.

### Undefeated

Internationally the working class is however, undefeated. Such attacks will, despite treacherous leadership by social democrats and Stalinists, be resisted.

The crisis therefore also means an all out attack on democratic rights, attacks on trade union structures, increased repression and in many countries outright conflict between the working class and the armed bodies which defend the state.

### 'Their' industry

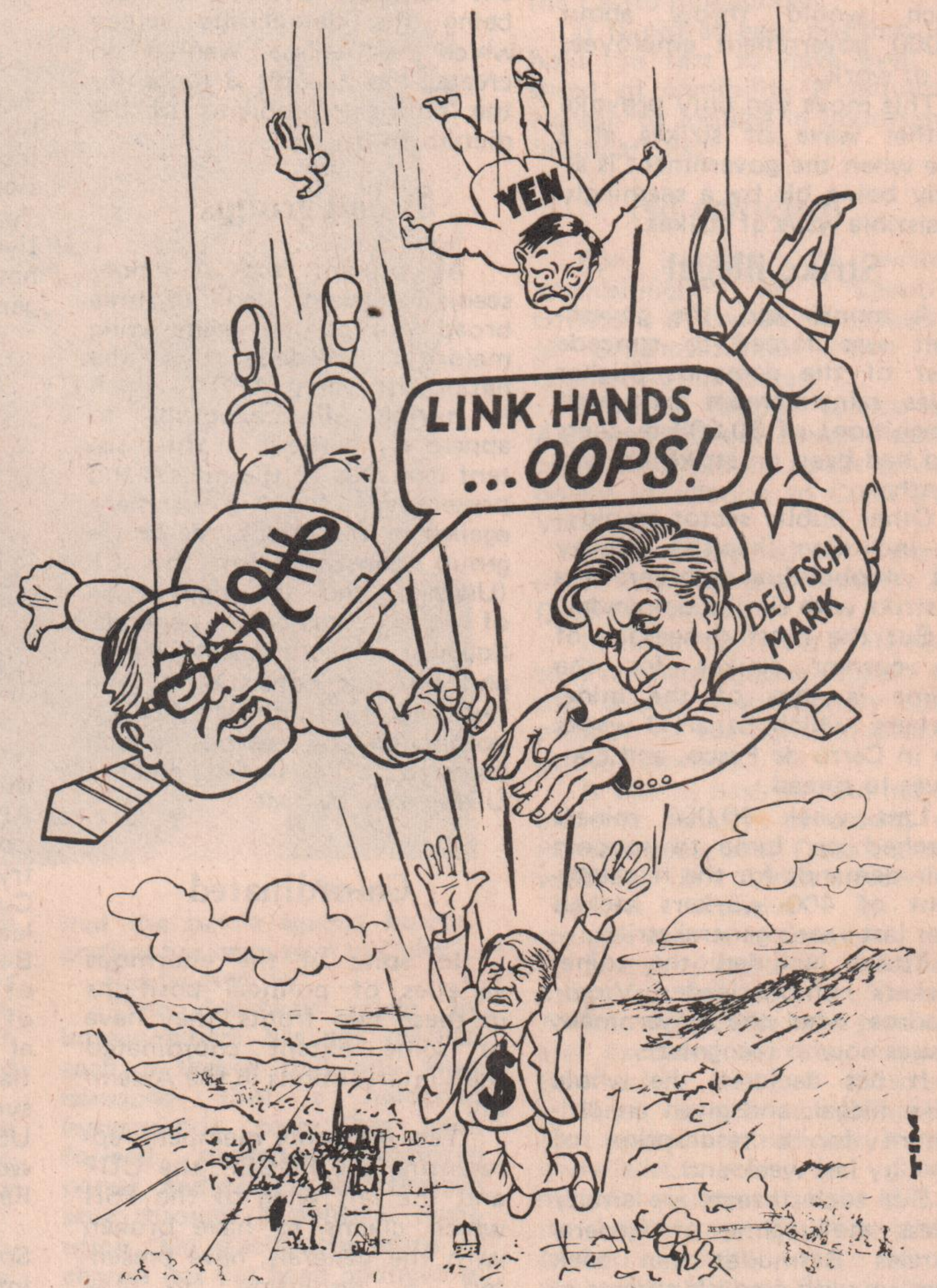
In this coming conflict the bankrupt policies of those who refuse to defend the working class must be rejected.

Communist Parties in every country defend import controls to protect 'their' industry.

Social democrats throughout the international workers' movement conspire to protect capitalists against the strikes and resistance of workers—even forming direct coalitions with the parties of the ruling class.

Each and every gain that the working class has made through struggle is now at risk. Leaders who support coalitions and social contracts or who oppose them merely by protest will lead the working class straight to defeat. They must be rejected.

It is only Trotskyists who through the Transitional Programme stand unreservedly for the defence of all jobs and conditions of the working class against capital and for the building of parties in every country to lead the working class to power who have a programme and the leadership to offer the working class.



## Garners and the Communist Party An open letter

To Gordon McLennan,  
General Secretary, Communist Party of Great Britain,  
King Street,  
London.

Dear comrade McLennan,  
As you are aware, the strike by Transport and General Workers Union members in Garners Steak Houses is now in its seventh month.

The issues and principles involved are well known: the reinstatement of the sacked union members and recognition of their union.

The outcome of the strike will have considerable implications for the unionisation of catering workers in general, and beyond that to the low-paid sections of the working class.

Similarly, since the strikers are largely Asians and other immigrants, their victory would deal a heavy blow against racists and racialism.

### Crucial period

Since, in our view, the strike is entering a particularly crucial period, amidst speculation in the employers' press about "deals" and other sell-out proposals, we wish to raise the question of your organisation's attitude to and involvement in this struggle.

We regard the political differences which divide us as unbridgeable. Nevertheless, on

questions of the defence of basic democratic rights, we stand for the maximum unity between all forces within the labour movement.

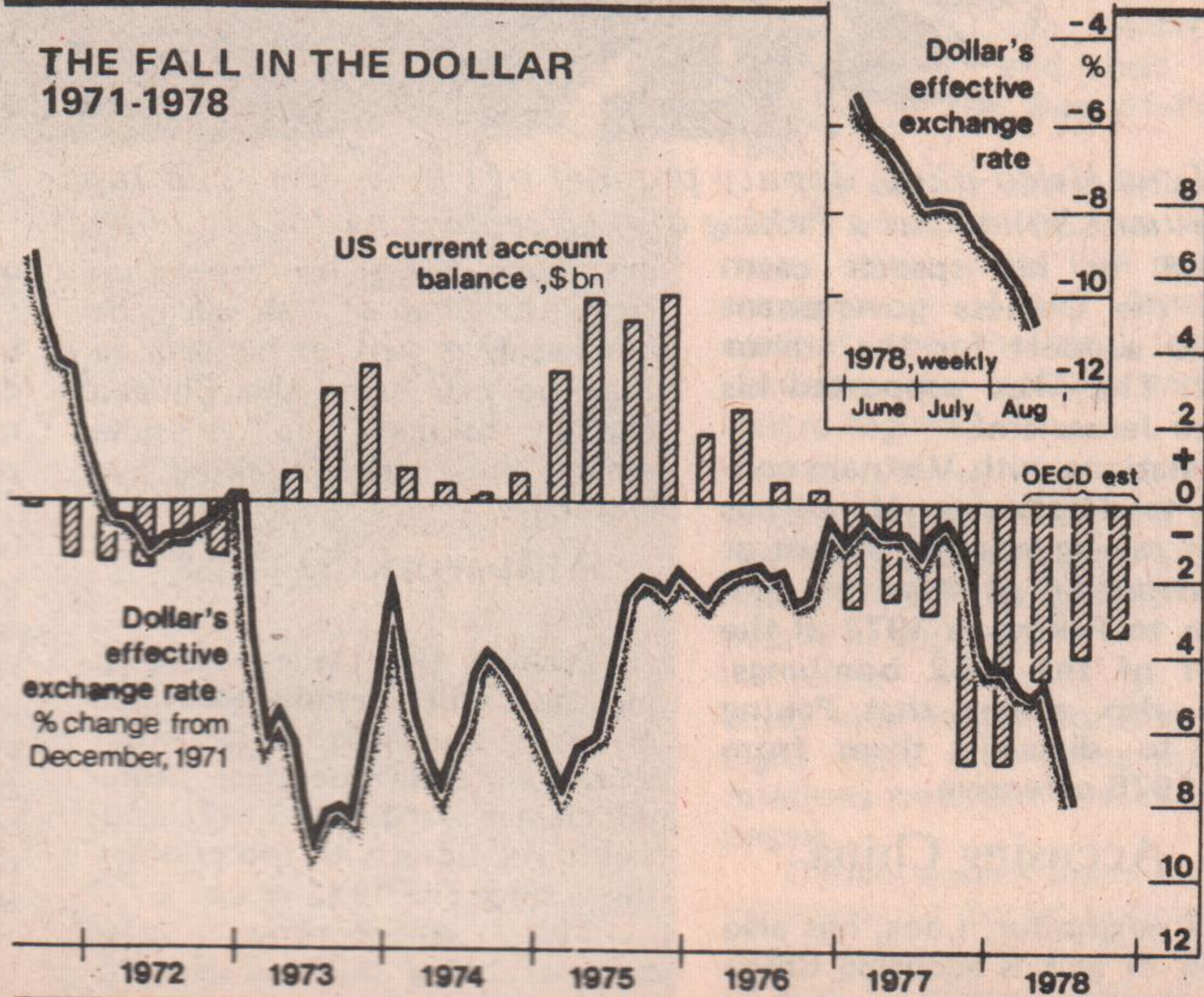
### In practice

You have from time to time issued material stating the importance of support for the Garners' struggle. It is our view, that in practice you have neither mobilised your membership within the TGWU or outside on that basis. To support this we make the following points.

At an early stage of the dispute, policies were adopted by the strike committee of primary and secondary blacking, regular and mass picketing, and a demand for a union levy to be organised by the TGWU throughout Region 1.

A successful carrying out of these policies and a commitment of even a fraction of the Region's massive membership to mobilise in their support would make victory certain. Yet, though the strikers have fought consistently through the union at every level from branch, through trade groups to the Regional Committee, and

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## INTERNATIONAL

# PERU: prepare organs of workers' power

Last week the Peruvian military dictatorship, which does not have the political strength to impose its existing anti-working-class programme, signed a deal with the International Monetary Fund which will oblige it to attempt even tougher anti-working class measures.

The IMF's price for bailing the generals out of bankruptcy is a huge cut in public spending which would throw about 40,000 government employees out of work.

This move can only provoke another wave of strikes at a time when the government is already being hit by a seemingly irresistible wave of strikes.

## Strike illegal

A month ago, the government was forced to concede most of the demands (higher wages, reinstatement and union recognition) of 30,000 teachers who had been on strike for two months.

Other public sector employees—including health, railway and shipbuilding workers—are on strike with similar demands.

But the most dangerous of the current strikes for the regime is that of the mine-workers, which began 3 weeks ago in Cerro de Pasco, and continues to spread.

Last week 10,000 miners marched on Lima to support their demands for the reinstatement of 400 workers sacked after last year's general strike.

These included the mine-workers' union leader Victor Cuadros who the government refuses now to recognise.

It has declared the whole strike illegal, and given an ultimatum for a resumption of work by last week-end.

But such threats are empty unless the regime of General Morales Bermudez can back them up with credible threats of repression.

This is no question about the willingness of the regime to take such measures as its record shows only too clearly.

But there is every doubt of its ability to repress a working class and peasantry which every day takes steps to strengthen its organisations and increase its mobilisations.

In this way it has wrung a string of concessions from the crumbling dictatorship.

This is clearly seen in the recent events in the "Constituent Assembly", which far from being the democratic screen which the regime wanted to create, has become a focus for the political problems of the dictatorship.

## Broad groups

At present the Assembly seems to have divided into three broad groups—the right wing majority headed by the nationalist party APRA, which is trying simultaneously to appear sympathetic to the insistent demands of the masses and protecting the government against serious attack; the centre group consisting of the CP (Unidad) and the right wing of the "radical" generals' Socialist Revolutionary Party; and the left consisting of the two electoral fronts, the FOCEP dominated by parties which claim to be Trotskyists, and the UDP led by Maoists.

## Co-ordinated

In spite of the enormous varieties of political positions in these two fronts, they have to some extent co-ordinated their interventions in the Assembly.

Ten Assembly members representing the FOCEP, the UDP and the left wing of the PSR which claims to have broken with the generals, have presented a resolution to the Assembly.



Blanco

This declares the Constituent Assembly the sovereign political body of Peru, saying that it is inconsistent with the continuation of military rule and that it "should assume all the legislative and executive powers of the nation to implement an emergency plan based essentially on: the full exercise of democratic freedoms; the reinstatement of sacked workers; urgent measures to solve the economic crises centred on the non-payment of foreign debt; a general increase in wages; the free distribution of land to the peasants."

## Signatories

Among the signatories of this resolution, which the APRA-dominated Assembly leadership is embarrassedly trying to bury, are Victor Cuadros the mine-workers' leader, Ricardo Narpuri, Magda Benevides and Herman Cuentas of the POMR (Peruvian section of the French OCI's international tendency), and, for the PST (largest of three Peruvian sympathising sections of the USFI), Hugo Blanco and metalworkers' leader Enrique Fernandez.

In the last two issues of *Socialist Press*, we published an interview with Enrique Fernandez.

While we do not agree with all his political positions, we think that from this interview some important points emerged.

In the first place it was possible to see that a sizeable section of the Peruvian masses (workers and peasants) now looked to leaders who claimed to be Trotskyist.

This is probably more true today in Peru than in any other country in the post-war period except for Bolivia and Sri Lanka.

And in Peru this occurs when all the objective elements of a pre-revolutionary situation are rapidly developing—the crumbling of the regime, the absence of a stable alternative for the bourgeoisie, a disastrous economic situation with no way out by a capitalist route, and a huge upsurge of the working masses on their own demands.

## Correct

Enrique Fernandez stressed in his interview the importance of breaking the allegiance of the important sections of the masses whose political loyalty was still, as they showed in the elections, to the bourgeois nationalists of APRA.

That is correct; and the left resolution presented to the assembly can play a role in exposing the false pretences of the APRA leaders.

At the same time, such resolutions are necessary to make tactical use of the Assembly against the military dictatorship.

It would be ultra-leftist at a time when organs of workers' power do not yet exist, to refuse to make tactical use of the Constituent Assembly in this way.

But the Constituent Assembly cannot even begin to resolve the political problems of the Peruvian masses—though some of the "left wing" in the Assembly think it can (especially the CP).

The test of a working class leadership claiming to be

# Shah shaken



PHOTO: Laurence Sparham, IFL

British-built Chieftain tanks, sold by the Labour government, are patrolling the streets of Tehran to protect the dictatorship of the Shah. Twenty five years after the CIA-backed coup which brought him to power, the Shah's absolute tyranny has been shaken by the latest blow from the swelling mass movement of opposition.

Trotskyist in Peru will be the extent to which they can use their position in the mobilisation of the masses to call for not only the overthrow of the dictatorship, but the replacement of the present fraudulent Constituent Assembly by a democratically elected assembly and at the same time for the building of independent Soviet-type organisations of workers' power which can provide the basis for the complete overturn of capitalist rule in Peru.

That is the struggle which is now on the agenda.

Protests have swept through every major town and city, meeting the violent resistance of police and army who have killed dozens of demonstrators in their attempts to restore the everyday order of vicious repression.

Meanwhile, the Shah's government has "officially" stated that opponents of his regime are responsible for a fire in an Iran cinema which killed nearly 400.

This is likely to lead to a further stepping up of repression against the left in Iran.

# CHINA'S POLICIES THREATEN EXISTENCE OF WORKERS' STATES

"Your pragmatic politics make you allies of Pinochet, Franco, ex-Nazi German Generals, of the Japanese Imperial Army noted criminals like Mobutu and bloody kings and of US bosses and presidents of multinational companies".

Thus reads the letter sent to Peking by the Workers Party of Albania on 29 July after the ending of all aid to Albania from the People's Republic.

The rottenness of the pro-imperialist policies of the new Hua clique has stung even China's once most loyal ally into attack.

The present visit to Romania is only one—highly publicised—part of China's foreign policy.

It is clearly an act in Peking's manoeuvres against the USSR.

And the Soviet leadership has made menacing noises to Ceausescu to discourage too friendly a welcome of future relations.

Romania is the only Warsaw Pact country which maintained state and Party relations with China after the Sino-Soviet split in 1963.

Although it is only three months since Ceausescu's visit to Peking where a ten year co-operation agreement was signed, no doubt Hua has decided to take advantage of the 10th anniversary of the Czechoslovakia invasion which China condemned and Romania did not play a part in, to cement relations.

Romania has refused to take

part in the feud between the two "socialist" countries and has played down the "anti-hegemony" parts of Hua's speeches.

The talks between the two leaders will apparently deal with the intensification of trade and economic relations and possibly the implementation of the consular agreement by opening consulates in Shanghai and possibly Constanca on the Black Sea.

But this latter might be too close for Soviet comfort with its base at Sebastopol. It is to be remembered that the Soviet Union is still Romania's first partner economically and militarily their main ally.

This Chinese turn to Romania and Yugoslavia is linked up with the loss of Albania as the Chinese supporter in the area.

## Great difficulty

Relations now are very bitter with Albania claiming that the Chinese specialists had "burnt or taken away all the technical documents" when aid was stopped on 7 July.

China met one-third of Albania's needs commercially and clearly this very backward economy will have great difficulty now in developing.

The rupture is very like that when the Soviet technicians walked out of China with all the factory blueprints.

Chairman Hua has shown himself to be a very energetic foreign affairs statesman.

Only a few days before his flight so far west, he signed a peace and friendship agreement

with Japan on 12 August.

This treaty was hailed with delight by the Japanese industrialists, hungry for new markets and a new source of cheap raw materials.

The Chinese bureaucracy was glad to open its resources and people to direct imperialist exploitation.

It also seemed to have won the argument on Clause 2 which was an attack on the USSR which stated "neither seek hegemony in the Asia-Pacific Region and (China) is opposed to efforts of other countries to establish such hegemony".

## Discussions

Japan finally agreed to the inclusion of this section because of its row over the ownership of the Kuriks and of fishing areas, recently exacerbated with the USSR.

Other foreign affairs discussions by China recently have involved Libya, the continuing row with Vietnam, Chile and Laos.

Commander Jalloud, chief of the Libyan government, agreed to establish diplomatic relations at ambassador level on his 9 August visit to Peking.

## Open door

The interesting thing about this decision is that Libya still has diplomatic relations with Taiwan, and the usual clause about recognising Peking as the only legal government of the Chinese people was left out.

This could of course open the door to a similar agreement with the US.

The other point is that



Teng Hsiao-p'ing, deputy premier of China (left) and Japan Foreign Minister Sunao Sonoda at a Peking dinner cementing the trade pact

Jalloud in his speech castigated the Chinese government for its support for the traitor Sadat. They had supported his visit to Jerusalem!

Relations with Vietnam continue to deteriorate. Hanoi has begun raising now its disgust at the invitation of Kissinger and Nixon to Peking in 1972 at the height of the B-52 bombings.

It also claims that Peking tried to dissuade them from their 1975 offensive.

## Accusing China

Its neighbour, Laos, has also waded in and is accusing China of fomenting strife among their national minorities, e.g. the Meo people in the north east.

Finally, perhaps Hua can

get some ideas on repression from the Shah of Iran when he reaches that part of his tour so that he can bring the Chilean foreign minister up to date when he visits Peking in October.

## Anti-working class

Perhaps the Chilean foreign minister will include Romania on his tour—the only other workers' state besides China which has not broken off diplomatic relations with the military junta since the 1973 coup.

The anti-working class policies being pursued by the Chinese bureaucracy endanger the very existence of the workers states and in particular the gains of the 1948 overthrow

of the Chiang Kai-shek regime. Trotskyists stand for the unconditional defence of the degenerated workers' states and in particular their nationalised property relations.

But the only way these can be defended is through the building of Trotskyist revolutionary parties to carry through a political revolution in China, the USSR and the other degenerated workers' states to remove the parasitic bureaucratic ruling clique and return political control to the hands of the working class.





INTERNATIONAL

# WHAT THE 'TROTSKYISTS' SAY ABOUT CASTRO

BOB SUTCLIFFE, in this article, shows how the current positions on Cuba held by leading USFI member Joseph Hansen restate the thoroughly revisionist positions on the basis of which the 1963 "reunification" of the American SWP with the International Secretariat of the Fourth International took place.

The extract from *Granma* printed below appeared in June this year.

It is the latest of a series of similar attacks on Trotskyism published by the Cuban Communist Party in the last few months.

Attacks on Trotskyism in Cuba are, of course, nothing new. And the words in which these latest attacks are made are also not new.

They could be found almost exactly repeated in newspapers in Moscow or Prague or Warsaw or Peking.

This Stalinist filth is typical of what, along with the systematic falsification of Cuban and Soviet history, passes in Cuba for political education.

Within a few days of *Granma's* featuring its latest vilifications of Trotskyism, *Intercontinental Press*, the weekly international paper of the "Unified" Secretariat of the Fourth International, which claims to be a (indeed, *the*) Trotskyist organisation, published an article on Cuba.

This article, "The dispute over Cuba's role in Africa" by leading American SWP member Joseph Hansen, is the introduction to a newly published book (which *Socialist Press* will soon be reviewing).

The book contains documents on Cuba written in the early 1960s by members of the organisations which in 1963 were to join in the unprincipled "reunification" which formed

the USFI.

Central to the politics of this "reunification" was an agreement that following the overthrow of the Batista dictatorship in Cuba in 1959, the "unconscious Marxist" leadership of Fidel Castro and Che Guevara had established a workers' state which was neither bureaucratically degenerated nor deformed.

The implication of this "theory" was that a workers' state—and moreover a healthy workers' state—could be established independently by a petty-bourgeois leadership without the existence of a revolutionary party.

The function of the new book is not to re-examine this revisionist position nor to question how the leadership of a healthy workers' state can have supported the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia, can pour out a continuous stream of vile slanders against Trotskyism and can be giving material support to genocide in Eritrea.

## "Reunification"

No, the function of the book is to reassert the revisions of Trotskyism which were the basis of the 1963 "reunification" and to assert—in Hansen's article reprinted in *Intercontinental Press*—that today Cuba remains a healthy workers' state which is independent of world Stalinism.

The historical record, however, shows the falseness of the position of those who, like the USFI, say that events in Cuba—either in the first years of the revolution or now—can be analysed independently of the role of the Soviet Union.

The Soviet Union, of course, was in no way involved in the overthrow of the Batista dictatorship.

But from early 1960 onwards the involvement of the Soviet Union was crucial at every key moment of the actions taken against capitalism by the petty-bourgeois Castro leadership.

The Soviet Union supplied oil to the island when this was cut off by Eisenhower after the nationalisation of the US oil companies.

## Economic aid

And the USSR agreed to buy the sugar quota which the USA had cut off in the autumn of 1960.

The Soviet Union supplied the Castro regime with economic aid, arms and growing political support through 1961 and 1962.

In 1962 while in the face of Kennedy's threats Khrushchev withdrew the missiles he had placed in Cuba, this was part of a deal in which the US government was forced into an undertaking not to repeat the armed invasion of Cuba which had taken place and had been repulsed at the Bay of Pigs in 1961.

The events surrounding the missile crisis of 1962—as well as many other issues like guerrilla struggles in Latin America—created open political tensions between the USSR and the Castro regime.

For a long time the Cuban leaders did not trust the USSR not to do a deal at their expense and so they looked for other means of support.

These tensions, at times acute and public, continued for eight years after close material relations between the countries began.

Cuban leaders openly voiced criticisms of Soviet policies and more particularly of the policies of the USSR's closest allies in Latin America.

But regardless of their sub-

forces of the national liberation movement . . .

Contemporary Trotskyists have established the tactic of going into parties and mass organisations, dissimulating the fact that they are Trotskyists so as to later dig away at those organisations from within and impose their own ideas.

In fact this tactic is not new since it had been recommended by Trotsky himself. The difference is that today this is the last resort open to them, given how they have been rejected by the revolutionary labour movement.

This clandestine work on the part of the Trotskyists is not the same as that of the revolutionaries; it is ideological subversion within the ranks of revolutionaries.

Another line taken by contemporary Trotskyists is that of penetrating the youth movement and the forces fighting for national liberation, in each case however with the objective of alienating other strata of the working population from the working class.

At the Tricontinental Conference held in Havana in 1966, Comrade Fidel described modern-day Trotskyism as a "vulgar tool of imperialism and reaction" . . .

## What Castro says about Trotskyists

Trotskyism, an adventurist, anti-Soviet, anti-party, anti-communist ideological and political current, originates from the activities of Leon Bronstein (Trotsky) and his followers during the period of struggles within the old Russian Social-Democratic Workers' Party and the period after the proletariat took power and started to build the first socialist state in history . . .

Trotsky and his followers rejected the possibility of building socialism in the Soviet Union and did not believe in the worker-peasant alliance.

On Lenin's death, Trotsky twisted the history of the Party and attributed to himself the main role in organizing the insurrection when he had not even been a member of the leadership at the time . . .

To attract new recruits, the Trotskyists deck themselves out in Marxist garb and deform Leninism, at times using the same terminology. Like counterfeiters, they are experts in quoting fragments from Lenin in an attempt to gain proselytes . . .

The "left-wing" orientation of the Trotskyists who go around prescribing adventurism leads to the isolation of the



Brezhnev greets Castro arriving in the USSR



Hansen

jective attitudes (up to 1959 they had been openly anti-Communist), the Cuban leaders could never after 1960 maintain a political existence which was fully independent of Moscow.

The tensions between Havana and Moscow were interpreted at the level of surface appearance by the USFI.

The deeper material dependence of the Cuban workers' state on Moscow was never considered.

And the all-pervading bureaucratism within Cuba was ignored.

Only through falsification or distortion or turning a blind eye to the evidence could the USFI hold on to its revisionist position that Cuba was the world's one and only healthy workers' state.

But since 1968 the USFI has been less vocal about this.

## Well known fact

It has become increasingly difficult to reconcile the characterisation of Cuba as a healthy workers' state with well-known fact:

\*Castro's support for the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968;

\*the uncritical and even slavish tone of Cuban statements on the Soviet Union;

\*the withdrawal of material aid from Latin American revolutionary movements such as the Douglas Bravo group in Venezuela;

\*systematic repression of political opposition and of all forms of "ideological deviations" such as homosexuality;

\*the ending of all publications not directly emanating from the bureaucracy;

\*the personality cult of Fidel Castro;

\*the bureaucratic nature of the Communist Party which did not hold even a formal congress for ten years after its formation "from above" in 1968.

Yet in the face of such embarrassing facts the characterisation of Cuba as a healthy workers' state was maintained, though it was hinted to be "under discussion".

To judge from the new article by leading USFI member Joseph Hansen, these discussions must have been very barren up to now.

Hansen concedes that: "It would be untrue to say

that the battle against bureaucratism has been won in Cuba".

But he goes on:

"The headway made by bureaucratism has not reached such a degree that one must conclude that a hardened bureaucratic caste has been formed, exercises dictatorial power, and cannot be dislodged save through a political revolution. No qualitative point of change has yet been adduced to substantiate this hypothesis".

Hansen calls for:

"... the formation of a Leninist-type party that guarantees internal democracy, that is the right of critical opinion to be heard".



Kennedy

It is not in any way ruled out by Hansen that the Cuban Communist Party could become such a "Leninist-type party".

Hansen argues that: "The Castro regime exercised a certain initiative in bringing Cuban influence to bear in the struggle against imperialism on the African continent".

He draws a distinction between the conservatism and "counter-revolutionary outlook" characteristic of the foreign policy of "hardened bureaucratic castes" like those of the USSR and China and Cuban activities in Africa which:

"have greatly increased instability at the expense of the imperialist powers".

Cuban policy has, argues Hansen:

"closed off rather than invited a deal with American imperialism. This fact alone speaks decisively against the contention that the events in Africa offer proof that a hardened bureaucratic caste has

taken over in Cuba".

So 20 years after the Cuban revolution the USFI continues to give a more or less clean bill of health to the originally petty bourgeois nationalist and now Stalinist current represented by the Castro bureaucracy.

It is not an easy position to hold. In fact to have even a shred of credibility it requires Hansen to indulge in important falsifications.

## No criticism

For instance, he writes astonishingly of "Castro's criticisms of the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia which he reluctantly supported".

Castro's famous speech in August 1968 did contain some bitter implications about Soviet policy in relation to Cuba and Vietnam.

But it contained *not a word* of criticism of the invasion of Czechoslovakia.

In fact it went out of its way to give unambiguous support to this counter-revolutionary suppression of the rights of Czechoslovak workers.

It can at best be counted as extreme naivety to assert, as Hansen does, that Cuba's interventions in Africa show a "certain initiative" in the struggle against imperialism.

Every shred of evidence points to the fact that Cuba's African policy has been planned and executed in total integration with that of Moscow.

And despite its fleetingly (but always contradictory) anti-imperialist role in giving material assistance to the MPLA in Angola against imperialist-backed troops, the almost exclusive effect of Cuba's intervention since 1975 has been the reactionary one of keeping in power the counter-revolutionary regimes of Neto in Angola and then of Mengistu in Ethiopia.

Cubans have helped Neto to crush his left opposition.

And the Cuban-Soviet protege has just made a deal with Mobutu, the pro-imperialist dictator of Zaire.

But Hansen talks only of Cuba's "destabilising" role in Africa.

## Counter-revolutionary

In Eritrea, Cuban troops have become the direct accomplices of policies of genocide.

Yet Hansen is unable in his article to say an unambiguous word against this policy.

He only says pathetically that:

"Havana's hesitancy demonstrates how dangerous an inconsistent anti-imperialist line can be".

There is just one thing on which, from a totally different standpoint, we can agree with Hansen—that since 1963 there has been no qualitative change in the nature of the Cuban leadership.

The Castro leadership remains today what it then was—a counter-revolutionary bureaucracy which is a hardened obstacle to the advance of socialism.

It must be overthrown by a political revolution under the leadership of a Trotskyist party.

In demonstrating in *Granma* it is not some misunderstanding or inconsistency (as Joseph Hansen would presumably be forced to argue), it is behaving quite consistently with its counter-revolutionary historical role.



"Since Roy Mason became Secretary of State (for Northern Ireland) the Government has pursued a sensibly firm security policy . . ."

That accolade by the foremost advocate of naked imperialism, Tory Northern Ireland spokesman Airey Neave, came days after Defence Secretary Fred Mulley had added 4,000 troops to the army, reprieved the Gurkhas and at one stroke restored more than half the cuts made in Army manpower in 1974—and probably restored its operational capacity entirely.

Armed forces Chiefs of Staff, led by Chief of the Defence Staff, Sir Neil Cameron, threatened Mulley with mass resignations if the cuts were not restored.

The state apparatus has successfully removed its

## IRELAND



forces from the orbit in which Labour politicians are permitted to look for spending cuts.

While the massacre of the health service and other social services continues—while the whole weight of Labour Party and TUC leadership is to be used to keep down wages, the forces

which defend the bourgeoisie are to be allowed to grow unfettered.

Out of the extra 4,000, only 950 have been specifically allocated, and 650 of those will go to the Rhine for "special employment".

### Three areas

The remainder is vaguely allotted to the Rhine and 'Army support'.

There are three areas where the troops will be

most used. Firstly and directly the forces of the Rhine will be increased in obedience to the demands of NATO defence chiefs.

Secondly one extra infantry battalion—and probably more—will be released for duty in Northern Ireland where there are already 13,500 in the army of occupation.

Thirdly the troops will be used to make an increasing show of force on the

streets of mainland Britain—with such mysterious and unexplained operations as the sudden and unannounced arrival at Heathrow of tanks, armed soldiers and the rest of the paraphernalia of repression.

### On the agenda

The bourgeoisie are convinced that major struggles involving threats to the 'security' of their state are on the agenda in Britain.

The increase in defence forces represents no qualitative change in the Labour leadership's role as errand runners for the State.



Defence chief Cameron

Despite the violent attacks in the *Express* and *Mail* the editorial received discrete support in the *Sunday Times*, which reported that a massively strengthened RUC wanted the opportunity to flex its muscles alone.

The increase in defence forces appears to rule out this tactical possibility facing the bourgeoisie.

Airey Neave, in the same speech (almost the same breath) in which he praised Mason and the Labour traitors, made the view of the imperialists crystal clear.

Claiming first that the role of the troops was to prevent "conflict between armed men", he added revealingly:

### NATO

"Nor do the advocates of retreat appear to notice the implications for our defences. Britain's role in NATO depends in part on having ports and bases in Northern Ireland . . ."

"Of two things Northern Ireland can be certain: the Conservative Party like the Labour Party, will have no amnesty for terrorists or restore so-called political status for prisoners—for which some silly people in high places are presently campaigning.

"And we shall not consider any plans which could result in the weakening of the Union of Great Britain and Northern Ireland."

The struggle in Ireland for the throwing out of the troops must be taken up by the British working class.

A struggle against the bourgeoisie must involve a struggle to remove Mason, Mulley, Callaghan and all the other traitors in the labour movement who faithfully carry out their policy.

The role of the army in Germany, Ireland and Britain is one and the same—to uphold the power of the bourgeoisie against the working class internationally.

# PLO DID DEAL WITH U.N.

Dear Comrades,

I wish to add to remarks made in the article "Shoot-outs hamper fight against Zionism" in *Socialist Press* No. 111 and to elaborate a point which, if left unelaborated, seriously weakens the article.

The article quite rightly points out that the Palestinian workers and peasants will gain nothing from an alliance with the Ba'athists at this or any other time but fails to spell out why the "Rejectionists" seem to have adopted this approach.

The article in fact implies that this has been a consequence of the military inability of Palestinian workers and peasants to drive UN troops out of the Lebanon.

Nothing could be further from the truth.

Whilst there is no doubt that the Zionists were able to inflict a military defeat on the Palestinians when they invaded the Lebanon, there can be equally no doubt that the Zionist stooges, UNIFIL, have had no need to inflict further defeats precisely because

the petty bourgeois leaders of the PLO quickly did a deal with the UN "peace-keeping" force.

It was partly as a result of this deal that the Zionist troops withdrew. It is not a military defeat sustained at the hands of the UN which

## Letter

prevents Palestinians from directly confronting the Zionist enemy but the petty bourgeois Palestinian leader-

ship which has arrested and even executed Palestinians who have tried to carry on the armed struggle.

To go even further, it is doubtful that UNIFIL could contain the armed struggle if the Palestinian people were given a leadership committed to fighting the Zionist State rather than doing a deal with it, and it would be in the course of this struggle that masses of other Arab workers and peasants could be won to the side of their Palestinian brothers and sisters.

Examples of this have already been seen in embryo form in both Jordan and more recently, in a more advanced form, in the Lebanon.

It is this struggle to oust the present petty bourgeois PLO leadership and replace it with one that rejects compromise which is now being fought out in part, "on embassy steps around the world".

### On a plate

The great danger is that one petty-bourgeois leadership will be replaced by another; Arafat will be replaced by those who would be prepared to hand the Palestinian masses, on a plate, to the Ba'athists.

The only solution for the Palestinian people is, of course, a socialist solution, which in turn demands a Trotskyist leadership for the Palestinian masses.

Such a leadership will have to be built through the continual exposure of the petty-bourgeois leaders and would-be leaders of the Palestinian masses by Trotskyists worldwide as we carry out our solidarity work with the Palestinian workers and peasants.

### Integral part

In the meantime we cannot escape the fact that, for the Palestinian people, the selection and dismissal of leaders takes a slightly different form from that prevailing in Britain at the present time, and must acknowledge that this is an integral part of the struggle for a leadership which will defend their interests.

To this extent, we can support the rejectionists.

As the article quite rightly points out, however, the struggle will not be won on the steps of foreign embassies nor will it be ultimately won with the aid of the Ba'athists; and to this extent we must be critical of the rejectionists.

Yours fraternally,  
T.E. Brown  
Leeds

# PRESS GANG

## Black and white ministers' show

The crumbling collapse of morale of the racist regime of Ian Smith in Rhodesia has its chroniclers—even unwilling ones.

*Socialist Press* reported last week the depths to which the media would stoop to boost the most transparent lies and propaganda of the regime (Smith's Frame Up: SP 112, page 4).

This week those who push a pen in the service of imperialism have been preparing the road for a tactical turn by Smith—a turn which could involve the ditching of the discredited "internal settlement" in favour of a new broader sell-out embracing Nkomo and possibly Mugabe.

For the first time, the *Daily Telegraph* was prepared to admit that there were problems in persuading black Africans that the pampered Uncle Toms at Smith's side represented their interests.

A report from Christopher Munnion in Salisbury spotlighted the fiasco of Government Ministers travelling around rural areas trying to gain support.

"Sparse attendances, barracking, and the presence of unarmed guerrillas among the audiences are being blamed for the failure of ministerial tours so far.

"Only seven people turned up at the Wankie colliery stadium in North-Western Rhodesia on

Monday to hear Mr Bill Irvine, co-minister of transport, and Mr Francis Zindoga, co-minister of justice. The meeting was cancelled."

Although the black and white Ministers of the transitional government usually speak in harmony, there was at least disagreement over why their irresistible formulae had failed to draw the masses.

"Mr Irvine blamed intimidation for the poor turn-out while Mr Zindoga said the meeting should have been held on a weekend."

Another meeting at Honde Valley, near the spot where workers were butchered a year ago—an attack the regime lyingly blamed on guerrillas, did rather better initially, but eventually reduced the military and ministers to impotent rage.

"Security personnel were convinced that unarmed guerrillas were mingling with the crowd, which, as the ministers attempted to speak dwindled from about 2,500 to 200.

"Most of the questions alleged brutality by the security forces—and the questioners were cheered and applauded loudly."

Movingly the report continues:

"Two of the ministers, Dr Elliot Gabellah and Mr James Chikerma, challenged guerrillas in the audience to come forward. There was no response."

Jack Mussett, the white Minister present to make sure his lap dogs did not let him down, reverted to the honest Smith line:

"Make no mistake. If you want to fight there is no doubt as to who will win . . . we will."

Still gibbering, the Ministers were led away, but there was no more luck at Mtoko where, in a 'protected' village, they were harangued by 600 blacks.

In Dendem, another village ringed by troops, almost no-one turned up. Antony Kenny, acting District Commissioner, blamed 2,500 (!) young hooligans who were "constantly receiving communist indoctrination".

The well-named Ernest Bulle (co-minister of finance) attempted to deny that the Government was a sell-out, but only succeeded in making it crystal clear that they are not even pretending to institute any reforms whatsoever.

### Black like you

"Why should we sell our own people? We are black like you. The agreement is an attempt by all of us to return to normal lives."

Sadly the *Telegraph* concludes:

"The response to these first ministerial tours in the bush have reinforced doubts in Salisbury that any meaningful general election could be held while the countryside is in its present mood."



Mason

It is however a further quantitative development which will encourage for example police chief McNeer to press further his demands for unlimited police powers.

In the Defence Ministry, for example, plans have been drawn up for submission to the Cabinet, permitting the Ministry's own 5,000 strong police force to operate outside defence establishments.

### Unlimited powers

Proposals, which include powers to search and arrest anyone in the vicinity of places under its control and control 'temporary' defence buildings (Heathrow perhaps?) would give it virtually unlimited powers.

The force would be reorganised on national lines.

It already possesses the power to control all Crown property (including for example, Social Security offices) within 15 miles of a defence establishment.

Virtually the whole population would fall under powers of 'stop and search' and 'hot pursuit'.

### Discrete support

The *Daily Mirror* last week became the first British capitalist paper ever to call for the withdrawal of British troops in Northern Ireland.



A Huntley Street resident leaves his home accompanied by a Sheriff's officer after an early morning raid by 650 police complete with riot shields. Police threw onto the streets hundreds of people including children. The raid came after authorities said they were looking into the possibility of rehousing. The street was cordoned off and police broke in to break up a community which has lived in the former police flats after authorities left perfectly habitable homes lie empty for years.



# Import controls dressed in new 'theory'



PHOTO: Chris Davies, Report

Sedgmore

Clamours for "Britain first!" and "Buy British!" have always been the stock in trade of the rabid chauvinism of fascists and the extreme right of the Tory Party.

But these patriotic jingles have now been adopted for several years by Stalinists, Tribune MPs and fake lefts everywhere, united in calling for import controls as a 'solution' to the economic crisis.

They do so because they are tied to their national bourgeoisie, and because they determinedly reject any independent struggle of the working class.

## "International"

Import controls pose a unity of capitalists and workers in one country against capitalists and workers of another.

But Brian Sedgmore, fake left MP for Luton, has discovered that his wholehearted support for import controls is really thoroughly internationalist.

He finds his evidence in a pamphlet by Wynne Godley and Francis Cripps—two Cambridge economists.

## Garbled form

Sedgmore has seized on this theory produced by bourgeois economists and reproduced bits of it in a garbled and almost unintelligible form.

Sedgmore begins by identifying the opposition of the Militant group to import controls with that of the Governor of the Bank of England and Margaret Thatcher—a slander on a group that have more than enough real crimes on their hands.

The crucial passage from Sedgmore presents the staggering assertion: "Such a policy can be operated so as to secure an increase in the total volume of world trade, thereby enabling the world (!) to expand output."

## Indignation

Sedgmore concludes with an outburst of indignation on behalf of the bourgeois state.

"For the moment our rulers are too cowardly to tackle the real issues. If they do not begin to do so and stop the world from crucifying itself with the ideology of free trade, then we may find another and more precious ideology destroyed—that of democracy itself."

Those are the real international policies Sedgmore and his fake left cronies support—unemployment everywhere, speed-up everywhere and the preservation of capital on a world scale.



# Into the Eighties—and back to the thirties!

If the Labour party are fortunate enough to remain in office for a further term, this document will serve, no doubt, as the bureaucrats' official handbook.

Its first paragraph ignores the massive cuts in living standards and public services and the structural unemployment that have hall-marked the Callaghan-Healey government.

Instead these gentlemen praise "its contribution to

TOM WINTERS examines "Into the Eighties: an agreement", a document drawn up by the TUC-Labour Party Liaison Committee and approved by both the TUC General Council and the National Executive of the Labour Party.

the nation's economic recovery", although, as they put it: "It has been hard to maintain living standards and high levels of employment", and conclude: "our sense of common commitment remains intact".

The Labour and Liberal/Labour Governments' record of carrying out the dirty work that the Tories could not do themselves is positively praised.

The second paragraph boasts openly of less industrial action since Labour came to power—a record aided by these same stooges who have attempted to isolate, derail and crush every attempt by the working class to defend its interests.

Despite public sector union leaders' direct role in dismantling the NHS to fund decrepit capitalists, the document has the gall to state in paragraph 37: "Our commitment to improving provision for the social services and in support of the family income is part of the record of which we are particularly proud."

After the whitewashed history comes the programme for the eighties, presenting the errand-boys no problems: Britain first! Buy British! shouts paragraph 16; Speed-up! demands paragraph 5. "It is within our power to increase our share of world markets."

## Oppose reforms

The scabs propose shorter working week, longer holidays and early retirement, so long as such measures are "in concert with major industrial competitors in the framework of a high productivity, high investment and high wage (!) economy".

In practice the signatories oppose even the most limited reforms, and stand as the greatest obstacles to the needs and aspirations of the working class.

## Another letter

Further evidence of this is supplied in the TUC General Council Decisions circulars.

The latest circular, dated July 26 1978, records the failure of the FBU to gain the 42-hour week that was agreed last January as "an integral part of the settlement" following their wages strike.

This prompted the TUC to write to Merlyn Rees asking him "to emphasise to the local authorities the importance of making speedy progress".

Following the smashing of an industrial occupation by workers at Aintree, Liverpool, by police use of the Criminal (Trespass) Act, the TUC decided to write another letter to Merlyn Rees.

## "Exchange of views"

And despite, by this time, severe writer's cramp, the bans on demonstrations and marches in West Yorkshire prompted the TUC to write a letter to Merlyn Rees.

The deaths of four construction workers at the site of Littlebrook D power station due to inadequate safety conditions prompted the TUC to a "useful exchange of views" with the Construction Industry Advisory Committee, CONIAC (a joint TUC-employers organisation).

## Fifth column

The TUC is simply a fifth column of the bourgeoisie: its previous General Secretary, Vic Feather, died leaving an "unexplained" £64,000.

In today's days of "tighten your belts" austerity measures, there is no doubt that Len Murray will exceed that figure.

# 'Marxist leaders' stayed silent while thousands died!

How can those who stay silent to hold onto their Parliamentary seats while thousands of students are murdered in their name represent Marxist leadership?

That is the question Militant supporters must ask themselves after a public meeting of the Sanka Sama Samaja Party (LSSP) of Sri Lanka in London last week.

## 'Marxist' leadership

The meeting was chaired by 'Militant' supporter Dick Bradley, the LPYS representative on the Labour Party NEC, and one of the three speakers was Roger Silverman, International Editor of *Militant*.

The other two speakers were the General Secretary of the LSSP, Dr. Vickramabahu Karunaratne (Bashu) and former LSSP MP Vasudeva Nanayakkara (Vasu).

They, the audience were told, represented the new 'Marxist' leadership of the LSSP that had taken 80-90% of the rank and file against the old "class-collaborationist" leadership that had been in the coalition with Mrs. Bandaranaike.

## Logical conclusion

The main interest of the meeting was the way that these leaders of the LSSP showed the logical conclusion of the opportunist politics of the 'Militant' group.

The LSSP opposed the International Committee in the 1953 split within the Fourth International, and remained with the International Secretariat of Pablo and Mandel.

In the 1963 reunification of the American SWP with the International Secretariat there was agreement not to discuss the direction in which the LSSP was headed.

In 1964 there were mass movements in the working class against the bourgeois government of the SLFP, led by Mrs Bandaranaike.

In order to save her government and defend Sri Lankan capitalism, which was in deep crisis, Mrs Bandaranaike resorted to a measure that capitalism often turns to in times of crisis.

She brought the United Left Front of the LSSP and the Communist Party into her government to form a Popular Front government.

This Popular Front proceeded to attack strikes and generally fought to make the working class pay for the economic crisis until it was finally overthrown and replaced by a right wing UNP government.



PHOTO: Report

Throughout that period the LSSP supported every action of the government, including the massacre of 10,000 youth of the JVP in their 1971 uprising.

And this is where MP Vasu comes in. He declared that their tendency within the LSSP had opposed the massacre, but he himself had not spoken out in Parliament (he was a Popular Front MP) because that would have meant his breaking party discipline and would have given the right wing an excuse to expel him!

Note this, supporters of the 'Militant' group.

## Applauded

Vasu was enthusiastically applauded by the audience made up mainly of 'Militant' supporters.

If 10,000 youth are shot dead in this country and the 'Militant' group has any MPs, don't expect them to speak out in case it endangers their expulsion from the Labour Party.

This might sound far-fetched but the speakers of both organisations compared the Labour Party to the LSSP as mass organisations of the working class that have to be won over to 'Marxist' politics.

## Not a mention

In a three hour meeting, adorned by the LSSP banner, complete with hammer, sickle and a big 4 on it, Leon Trotsky and Trotskyism didn't even rate a mention.

Of course the LSSP speakers had their answers.

Ex-MP Vasu was arrested at the time of the 1971 JVP massacres and spent 18 months in prison—jailed by his own party—but then clearly so were

numerous left-wingers in what was a mass round-up.

The answer to everything, according to both LSSP speakers, was that they had to be with the working class in its mass organisations and go through experiences with it.

In reality, this is the opposite of what they were doing.

When in 1964 the working class moved against Bandaranaike, they joined her government.

Whenever the working class and the masses experienced repression these 'new' leaders of the LSSP were there alright—on the other side—inflicting the 'experience' on the class, whilst 'objecting' internally.

They justify their approach by claiming that they have won over the majority of the LSSP rank and file.

## Decimated

But what does this mean?

First of all, like the Communist Party of India which supported the dictatorship of Mrs Gandhi, the membership and support of the LSSP was decimated as a consequence of its participation in the Bandaranaike government.

Nor will the working class forget the actions of the LSSP at that time.

Further, there is no doubt that with the throwing out of the Bandaranaike government the party membership would swing to those critical of LSSP participation in the popular front, after the event, but this leadership will no doubt look for other reformist paths.

This leadership can offer them no other solution, because while they verbally attack class-

## Platform at LSSP meeting

collaboration, they, at the same time, declare that they must be with the mass parties.

One questioner asked "How can we know that you won't be on the suppressing side again?"

We can't know because the leadership in no way tried to analyse the previous leadership in relation to the history of the Fourth International and the opportunist reunification of 1963. The way in which that reunification took place meant that nobody in the Trotskyist movement was in a position to lead a fight against the leadership of the LSSP.

Some of the claims of the two LSSP speakers seemed a bit suspect.

## Fortnightly paper

They claim to have the support of one-quarter of the Sri Lankan working class and 80-90% of the rank and file of the LSSP, yet they only have a fortnightly paper and a tiny office. This was, they claimed, because the old leadership had kept the daily paper and the party apparatus.

The workers' movement in Sri Lanka is facing a great deal of repression at the present time, with workers' leaders being imprisoned, beaten up and even killed.

The WSL stands opposed to this repression but that must not stop us saying clearly that the LSSP, old and new, offers no way forward for the working class or peasantry.

Like the 'Militant' group in Britain, who excuse every opportunist move by saying that they are with the masses (really masses of bureaucrats), the LSSP can only lead to further betrayals of the working class on the scale of 1964.



# LESSONS OF THE U.S. MINERS' STRIKE 1978

## PART 1:

PART ONE OF A TWO PART ARTICLE

by KEITH WHITE



Arnold Miller

## Battle against Miller and his UMWA traitors

As the international crisis of capitalism deepens, the drive for profit in the USA, heartland of imperialism, pushes the employers towards large-scale attacks on the working-class.

The most important struggle to prevent the employers from having their way was fought in a bitter strike, by the United Mine Workers of America, which finished 110 days after it started on December 6th 1977.

A series of violent and keenly fought strikes provided the background to this battle and the militancy of the UMWA rank and file was reflected in the demands drawn up at the 1976 UMWA conference in Cincinnati.

These demands included the right to strike, full-time union health and safety committee members paid by the company, a six-hour work day, expanded health benefits to include full eye and dental care, equal pensions for all retired miners, and a substantial wage increase.

### Serious way

The 3-year contract with the employers' "Bituminous Coal Operators Association" (BCOA) came up for renewal on December 6th 1977.

The BCOA refused to negotiate in any serious way because they wanted to provoke a battle with the miners, a battle they thought could be won.

They banked on high stockpiles of coal; an assessment that 50% of coal production (from non-union mines) could not be closed down; and on a conviction that the rank and file miners would not be able to hold out for very long.

### Wildcat strike

In the summer of 1977, a wildcat (unofficial strike) over health provisions had been provoked by the BCOA and 80,000 miners had struck for 10 weeks.

In battles fought out in the 1940s the UMWA won the most comprehensive health care system of any union.

A medical card was issued to miners and their families.

This card entitled them to free services at any clinic or hospital that was part of the system.

### Coal payments

The costs were paid by the UMWA Benefits Fund which was financed through payments from the coal companies.

The payments were based on the amount of coal mined and the number of hours worked.

However the key problem was that the benefits were tied to the companies' profits.

In a period of decline such as the 1950s and early 1960s, thousands of miners, widows and pensioners lost their cards.

Although the industry recovered in the late 1960s, benefits were not paid at a level which protected the services against inflation.

In July 1977, the companies slashed the benefits on an unprecedented level.

When negotiations for the contract opened, the employers set out to destroy the system altogether.

On top of all this, the employers felt they could count on Arnold Miller—the UMWA President who had proved himself determined to oppose militant action in

the coalfields—especially in the health care strike, in which Miller had ordered his members back to work.

In the event, when the strike on the contract began, the coal owners got a nasty shock. Not only did the miners stand firm for 110 days, but in the course of their struggle they rolled back the BCOA offensive.

And the strikebreaking role of UMWA President Miller was met with massive opposition from the rank and file.

From the start of the strike, effective flying pickets began to operate. Within 6 weeks two-thirds of coal production was at a standstill.



Angry strikers invade UMWA headquarters



West Virginian miners meet to reject bosses' contract

The employer response was court injunctions against the picketing and physical attacks on the miners.

On January 6th, Mark Lewis, a 65 year old retired miner was shot dead by a company guard near Ivel, Kentucky.

On February 3rd, 23-year old John Hull was killed by scabs at a mine near Petersburg, Indiana.

The first contract agreed between Miller and the BCOA was announced on February 6th.

Miller called it "the best agreement negotiated in any major industry in the past two years".

In reality it was a contract which gave in to

every demand of the employers.

A full outline of this contract shows the aim of the employers in this strike. The provisions were as follows:

\* Automatic \$20 a day fines for any miner who honoured a picket line.

\* Firing of any miner who has "picketed, threatened, coerced, fomented or otherwise been involved in the cause of an unauthorised work stoppage".

\* Elimination of the UMWA Health and Retirement Funds, to be replaced by commercial health insurance with paying up to \$700 a year for services that had been free for decades.

\* Drastic curbs on the power of union safety committees, which under the 1974 contract had been authorised to pull miners out of an area of "imminent danger".

\* Strict penalties for "absenteeism".

\* Imposition of speed-up "incentive pay" schemes and seven-day workweeks.

\* Elimination of the cost of living escalator for wages.

\* A twenty-day probation period for new miners during which they would be deprived of many union rights.

\* Cutting in half (from 90 to 45 days) the initial training-period of new miners.

\* Elimination of royal ties paid to the union benefit funds on non-union coal sometimes purchased by unionised companies—giving the bosses a green light to step up this practice.

\* Increasing from 1,000 to 1,450 the number of hours a miner must work in a year to qualify for pension credit.

\* Benefits paid to widows of UMWA members were to be cut.

(Details from *Militant* (SWP) 28/4/78).

The rank and file miners responded bitterly to Miller's attempt to foist this contract on them.

Presidents and Vice-Presidents of 23 Illinois Locals sent a telegram to Miller saying:

"This is to inform you that the rank and file miners in District 12 UMWA as local officials feel that after reading the proposed agreement that you should resign immediately."

Hundreds of miners travelled to Washington, invaded the UMWA headquarters and prevented a meeting of the bargaining council.

### Rank and file

The importance of this move, a reflection of rank and file feeling throughout the UMWA was not lost on the council which voted on February 12th by 30 votes to 6 to reject the contract.

By this stage in the strike the loss of coal production was beginning to bite—particularly in Ohio.

Chrysler, Ford and General Motors were threatening cuts in production and lay-offs.

Carter was in a difficult position.

The Miller leadership—loyal Democrats—was increasingly discredited.

### Carrying gun

Miller himself was reportedly carrying a gun for self-defence and had ordered the union headquarters to close. He told reporters:

"The people who barged into the headquarters are the same 'right to strike' bunch that caused us all that trouble last year".

In the period after the first contract was rejected a major development took place within the coalfields.

Miller had been re-elected in 1977 with only around 40% of the vote in a three-corner fight for the union presidency.

### New elections

Now petitions began to circulate demanding Miller resign and that a new election be held.

In West Virginia, for example, 15,300 miners signed—and this is Miller's home state!

While threats of plant closures were plastered all over the capitalist newspapers the government decided to try to trick the miners back to work.

On February 20th, an agreement between UMWA officials and the Pittsburgh





Carter woos miners complete with hat in 1977.

and Midway Coal Company (P & M) was announced. P & M employs only 800 miners and is not part of the BCOA.

Government mediators engineered the agreement and then pushed it as a model to end the strike.

The BCOA made great show of resisting the government campaign. This was clearly to give the impression that the agreement was good for the miners.

**Billion dollar**

The governor of Ohio sent a telegram to the UMWA and the coal operators warning of:

"a billion dollar blackout that would force massive unemployment, widespread school closings and cold and darkened homes throughout the state".

He went on to demand acceptance of the P & M contract "to avoid a catastrophe of incalculable proportions".

**National contract**

On February 24th, Carter announced that a new national contract had been agreed.

The BCOA dropped provisions in the first contract on Sunday work; incentive pay; changes in starting times; probationary period for new employees and fines and suspension or firing of miners who honour a picket line.

Under UMWA rules, contracts agreed to by the bargaining council have to go to a ballot of the membership.

**Massive campaign**

The members voted, in the face of a massive press campaign and threats from Carter to utilise the union-busting Taft-Hartley legislation, to reject the BCOA offer.

This vote—after 90 days of struggle—was by a massive margin of 2 to 1!

The Taft-Hartley anti-union law had been pushed through in 1947 despite massive opposition from working people.

Under the law, Carter could get a court order telling UMWA officials to instruct their members back to work for a cooling-off period of 80 days.

Those who failed to comply would face fines in the courts and strikers who

stayed out would lose Federal food stamps that had helped to sustain them in their struggle.

On three previous occasions, injunctions under Taft-Hartley had failed to force the miners' union back to work.

Carter was, however, in a desperate position. The Miller leadership had failed to control the rank and file.

The strike was a battle which had to be won by the employers if successful attacks were to be launched against other workers.

**Not object**

But when Carter invoked the Taft-Hartley "cooling-off period" he did so knowing that leading US trade union bureaucrats would endorse his action.

For example, the AFL-CIO (American TUC) President, 85 year old George Meany declared in advance that he would not object if Carter invoked Taft-Hartley injunctions.

Meany announced that his long familiarity with the mine workers had convinced him that the unions internal troubles required strong government measures—and that if he were President he would already have seized the mines!!

**No fines**

On March 13th, the first day the injunction was in operation, between 60 and 100 out of 180,000 miners turned up for work.

The miners ignored the injunctions and no one was fined, no one was jailed.

Almost immediately, the employers put forward a new offer.

The attempts to discipline unofficial strikers were abandoned. The attempt to limit the authority of union safety committees was dropped.

**Free health**

The medical card giving free health care was not restored but the maximum yearly payment by any miner was lowered from \$700 to \$200.

Pensions were raised, though not equalised.

The defeat of Taft-Hartley by the miners was vividly illustrated when the Federal Judge who issued the injunction refused to renew it.

The miners, he said, were

"not paying attention to what I do anyhow".

In the ballot on this timid offer, the rank and file voted 57% to 43% to accept.

During the 110-day strike the Miller leadership fought unceasingly for the interests of the employers.

Despite solid support from the rank and file for an offensive against the employers, despite massive support from workers in other industries, Miller refused to offer a firm lead to the miners.

During his campaign for the second contract he reportedly spent \$40,000 trying to persuade UMWA members to accept the employers offer.

When money poured into the strike fund, he refused to distribute it.



Carter

The acceptance of the third offer was the result of a complete lack of leadership at a national level.

Miller was elected President of the UMWA in 1972.

As the increasingly corrupt Boyle leadership began to lose control of the rank and file a reform movement was launched by union bureaucrat Joseph Yablonski. Yablonski quickly became a focus for militants within the union.

In 1969, Boyle defeated Yablonski in the election for President.

Shortly after this, Yablonski and several members of his family were murdered.

The election was widely

suspected of being rigged and several years later Boyle was indicted for the murders.

"Miners for Democracy" was launched out of the reform movement begun by Yablonski.

From the beginning the MFD was drastically weakened by the methods used to fight Boyle

The orientation of those who followed Yablonski was towards the capitalist state not towards building the independent power of the workers.

**Election invalid**

Mike Trebovich, head of MFD complained to the Secretary of Labour of irregularities in the 1969 election.

In May 1972, District Judge W.B. Bryant ruled the election invalid and ordered another one to be held—this time under Labor Department supervision.

It was this state-run election which thrust Miller into the UMWA leadership.

**Point dangers**

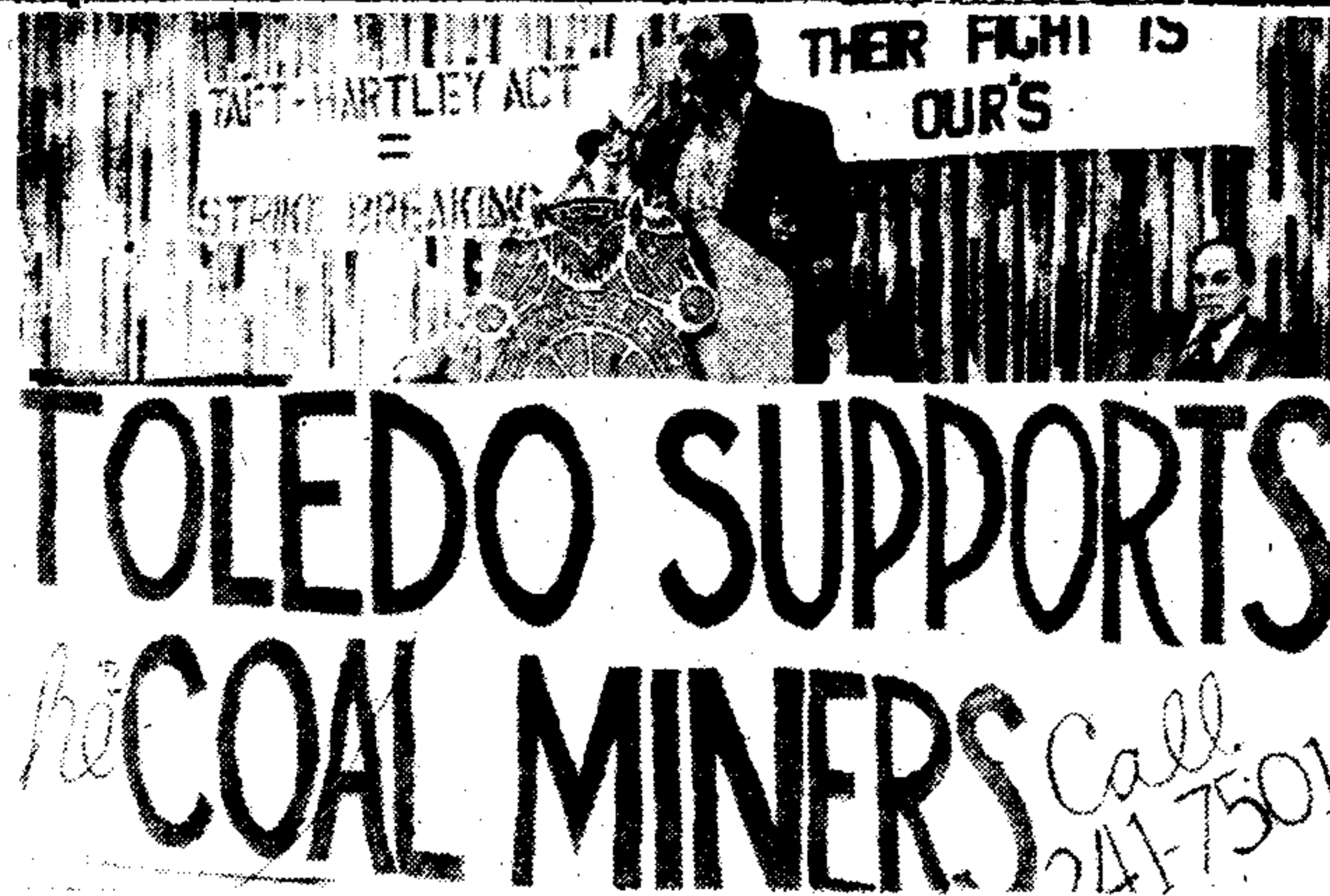
Throughout this period it was the duty of revolutionaries to point out the dangers involved in the failure of MFD to guard the independence of the union while recognising the possibilities opened up by the genuine movement in the ranks which produced that movement.

The Spartacist League and the Socialist Workers Party both failed this test.

The sectarianism of the Spartacists led them to see only the negative side of MFD.

In their recent pamphlet "The Great Coal Strike of 1978" they reprint excerpts from *Workers Vanguard* articles on the strike and its background.

Blind to anything but the opportunist relationship between MFD, liberal lawyers and the Labor Department, they go as far



as the following statements:

"Miller's campaign represented no more of a 'rank and file movement' than did Yablonski's"

Quoting from *Fortune* (Jan 1971) ("a magazine which reflects the thinking of some of the biggest bankers and industrialists in the US") the Spartacists contend that MFD was the result of a huge conspiracy.

"The problem of dealing with a work force that is no longer under union discipline would be difficult enough for the companies.

"But they are now faced with the prospects of signing a new contract on October 1st with a union President whose mandate to hold office is questionable to say the least".

**Talked militant**

To see only this side of the MFD and not the side which talked militant and did indeed produce important gains for the rank and file led the Spartacists to refuse to give critical support for Miller and cut themselves off from the opportunities which opened up as the real nature of Miller became clear to his former supporters.

**Mirror opposite**

A mirror opposite of the Spartacists position was that of the Socialist Workers Party.

For the SWP combined

electoral support for Miller with capitulation to his politics.

In the June 23rd issue of the SWP's weekly *Militant*, Shelley Kramer takes up the Spartacists and the Healyite Workers League in an article "Socialists and the Miners Strike: where the sectarians go wrong"

**Strong point**

She is, of course, able to make a strong point against the Spartacists. Writing of the effects of Miller's victory she says:

"Miners won the right to read, discuss and vote on their contracts—which is why they were able to turn down the coal bosses initial 'ball and chain' contract offers.

"They won the right to elect district officials. This increased the pressure of the ranks when those officials then went to the bargaining table.

"And miners came to see that they were the ones with the power and their elected leaders were supposed to represent them, which contributed in no small way to the spirit and determination of the strikers."

She is also able to attack the Spartacists strongly by showing that their assessment of MFD as "simply another manoeuvre in the interests of the capitalist class" fitted in well with Boyle's slander against MFD being "that gang of outsiders with support from rich foundations" out to "weaken and destroy the UMWA".

**Defend courts**

However, Kramer then goes on to defend the use of the courts and cites as support for this move the contention that the Trotskyists did it in the 1930s.

It is not possible here to refute that claim in detail—special circumstances existed when Dobbs did use the courts and a discussion of this question could easily fill a further centrespread.

What is important however is the way in which the SWP now seems to regard this as a natural 'tactic' and one which did not contain dangers for the independence of the working class movement.

And throughout the recent strike the SWP refused, as we shall see, to make any direct attacks on Miller.

The tasks of revolutionaries in the strike was to provide a class struggle programme and develop a way forward for victory. Central to this was the need to tackle the question of leadership within the struggle.

Next week in Part Two, Keith White looks at a correct revolutionary orientation for US workers during the miners' strike.

The article will develop criticisms of so-called revolutionary groups in America and point to the correct way to raise the demand for a Labor Party in the US.



Strikers demonstrate outside White House. Above, auto workers demonstrate support



It was indeed a signal service to British political life for Granada TV to provide us, on a series of wet summer nights, with three hours of film of discussions held before and during the 1977 Communist Party Congress, revealing in some detail how the Stalinists propose to tie the working class more firmly to the reformists and to the 'democratic' bourgeoisie.

For those with the stomach to sit through these films, no detail was spared in inner party intrigue.

Lovingly studied

Every bureaucrat on the make was lovingly studied. Every reactionary argument was drawn out to its logical counter-revolutionary conclusion.

The life and times of the men and women who fight most relentlessly to insult the very name of communism in Britain was set out for all to see.

Make no mistake about it. The films showed clearly a seasoned Stalinist leadership taking some further steps along the road of accommodation to British capitalism.

These steps were first set out in Stalin's own policies of class compromise and sectarianism in the 1920s, of class alliances in the 30s and 40s, and were subsequently enshrined in the very first

One picture of Lenin fails to ruffle the Party peace

JOHN DOCHERTY writes on the Granada TV series about the British Communist Party.



PHOTO: Report

edition of *The British Road to Socialism* approved by Stalin himself in 1951.

The new version of this document, the 'democratic' discussion around it, and the TV films also, were part of the efforts of a Party, long since on the path of class betrayal, to win to its ranks new liberal capitulators and sections of the workers movement which can be made to tie the working class to capitalism at every turn.

Those within the Party who protested against this latest phase of Stalinist policy were shown in the films to have few differences from their opponents.

The ultra-Stalinists were disposed of, presumably by manoeuvres not seen by those who

made the films, at an early stage.

They went off into the wilderness to set up their own 'New' Communist Party, which equates Stalinist terror with the dictatorship of the proletariat and argues for precisely the same policies of alliance with the capitalist class.

Same arguments

The opponents of the leadership who remained within the Party had not even changed their spots.

The first film showed the so-called hard-liners fighting to get their views into the draft programme with precisely the same liberal arguments as the leadership.

In the last film, the liberals who wanted to exclude references to 'the leading role of the Soviet Party' were shown to have drawn the logical conclusion of the paltry protests made by the party leadership against Stalinist repression by trying to cut off the few remaining links with any of the traditions of the Russian revolution.

The attitude of the leadership on this question revealed clearly a fundamental truth about Eurostalinism.

The policies they pursue flow logically from and are warmly approved by the Kremlin bureaucracy.

A high ranking Soviet official visited the conference to provide official blessing on the latest capitulations to British

capitalism by presenting of all things, a portrait of Lenin. No better means could express more graphically the umbilical cord that ties the Eurostalinists to the Soviet bureaucrats.

The films, however, were less concerned with going to the heart of such questions than with showing what happens on the surface in the making of decisions. In other words they were about the form of politics and not its content.

The success of the film-makers in portraying this secondary aspect by the 'special' technique of following round with limited equipment leaders, congress delegates, branch discussions and so forth, helps to explain the almost universal praise accorded to the series in the capitalist press. This is quite apart from the way the films revealed the peaceful intentions of the Communist Party towards capitalism.

A particularly crass example of the confusion of form and content was to be seen in the 20 July issue of *Socialist Challenge*, where in an article about the films 'members of the far left' were warned to beware of 'our own Irene Brennans and Bert Ramelons'.

No doubt this could have continued with a homily about 'human nature' or how impolite

it is for people to shout at one another.

The one thing that was clearly not discussed by this Pabloite was the historical and social forces from which the power of these bureaucrats is derived and their utterly counter-revolutionary nature, quite apart from human personality or, in general, the form of political discussion.

The capitalist press was also consoled to see discussion, argument and bludgeoning such as can be seen in any political party.

They only complained that some 'hard-liners' would not admit the film-makers to their meetings.

They need not have worried, however. This Communist Party has no intention of doing anything so subversive as to propose a way to put an end to capitalist exploitation.

Instead they will concentrate at every step on holding back the mobilisation of the working class.

From the point of view of those who participated in them, the films will have served their purpose if they help to reassure the bourgeoisie of the peaceful intentions of Her Majesty's Communist Party.

Those who have less peaceful intentions towards the capitalist order will not of course reveal them to the full gaze of Granada TV.

Nor will they be found within the ranks of the CPGB or its Stalinist offshoots.

Pawns of cold war warriors

Chess spread to Europe in the 11th and 12th centuries from India where it was already several hundred years old.

The feudal style of chess has survived the capitalist epoch—kings have not become presidents, nor bishops managing directors, nor pawns workers.

And even in the workers' states, where for the first time in history chess has become a genuinely popular game, knights on horseback have not given way to political commissars.

Innovations

But both the game itself and its players have fundamentally changed.

Early chess was a rather tedious game compared with the modern one. It was not until the early 16th century that a series of innovations were made to the game in Europe which was to make it much more fast-moving and challenging

Continuous tension

It was this which created the special quality of the modern game which as any player knows is one of continuous tension resulting from the continuous possibility of imminent defeat if a mistake is made.

Modern chess is a game of incredible complexity.

If all the human beings who have ever lived had done nothing but play chess then they would not have played between them more than an infinitesimal fraction of the number of possible games.

This is why while computers can easily be programmed to become perfect players of noughts and crosses and unbeatable draughts players, no-one has yet programmed a computer to be more than a mediocre chess player (which is itself some achievement).

The popularity of chess did not really spread widely until the capitalist epoch turned the game into one of



Korchnoi

international competition with sponsors and, of course, profits.

Appropriately the first significant international tournament was staged as part of the Great Exhibition in London in 1851.

After that tournaments became very frequent and in 1886 the world champion system (organised very much like the World Championships of boxing) was established, though at first the world champions played whoever and whenever they liked.

It was not until 1948 that The International Chess Federation brought order to the world championship and opened an era of 20 years undisputed Soviet dominance.

The first of this generation of great Soviet players was Botvinnik, who at the age of 25 shared first prize with the veteran Cuban player Capablanca in a tournament in Nottingham in 1936.

Soviet chess first received official encouragement along with many other sports after the October revolution. The Third International even established a 'Sportsintern'.

Easy to produce

But chess was especially privileged for many reasons—its exceptional intellectual qualities (some argued it helped dialectical thinking), and because the equipment required was very easy to produce.

In the Soviet Union in 1923 there were 1,000 registered chess players. By 1934 this number had risen to 500,000 and is now several millions.

Stalin encouraged hot-house cultivation of the best players— including material privileges—to gain international prestige; a policy which bore fruit at just the right moment to divert attention from the Stalin purges of the late 30s.

Botvinnik "sent" a telegram to Stalin saying:

"Dearly beloved teacher and leader . . . I am infinitely happy to be able to report that a representative of Soviet Chess has shared first place in the tournament with ex-world champion Capablanca . . . Inspired by your great slogan "catch up and surpass" I am glad that I have been able to realise it".

In 1948 Botvinnik became the first World Champion under the new rules co-ordinated by the FIDE.

And from then until 1972 not only all holders of the world championship but also all the challengers were Soviet citizens.

"Medieval battles"

But in 1972 it was an American, Bobby Fischer, who won the right to challenge the champion Spassky.

For the capitalist media in the USA Fischer's battle against Spassky in Iceland took on the same kind of significance as the space-race—or a modern version of the medieval battles of king's champions.

And the Soviet chess



Karpov

authorities took the same attitude.

Fischer won in 1972 but then three years later failed to turn up to defend his title against the new Soviet challenger Anatoly Karpov, who consequently took the World Championship by default.

The battle for the right to challenge Karpov resolved itself into a famous match, held last year in Yugoslavia, between the ex-champion Boris Spassky and Victor Korchnoi, who had both been leading players in the Soviet Union for many years.

Korchnoi had in 1976 defected to the west and Spassky had, more quietly, done the same, though his residence in Paris was officially sanctioned by the Soviet bureaucracy.

The Soviet chess authorities decided to back the semi-defector against the total defector. But as in Iceland, their support turned out to be the kiss of death.

Erratic play

After three weeks of eccentric behaviour from Spassky, paranoia from Korchnoi and erratic play on both sides, Korchnoi won the right to challenge for the championship.

This is being staged in Baguio City in the Philippines, sponsored financially by the Marcos dictatorship and a number of capitalists.

Up to August 17 11 games had been played and each player had one win.

The prevalence of draws is already alarming the sponsors who, it is reported, are finding the whole thing

much less profitable than they expected.

Once again in Baguio City it is the cold war atmosphere and the psychological battle which is overshadowing the chess.

Korchnoi has continually protested, for instance, that he is being hypnotised by a Soviet "para-psychologist" who is one of Karpov's supporters.

Encouraged by their seconds, the players have already reached an extreme level of personal bitterness.

They have, for instance, abandoned shaking hands before games and now only communicate through the referee.

Hysterical

The main responsibility for this atmosphere, which is designed to upset the usually phlegmatic Karpov, seems to lie with the small group of hysterical anti-communist seconds—with whom Korchnoi has surrounded himself—the leading one being the British grandmaster Raymond Keene.

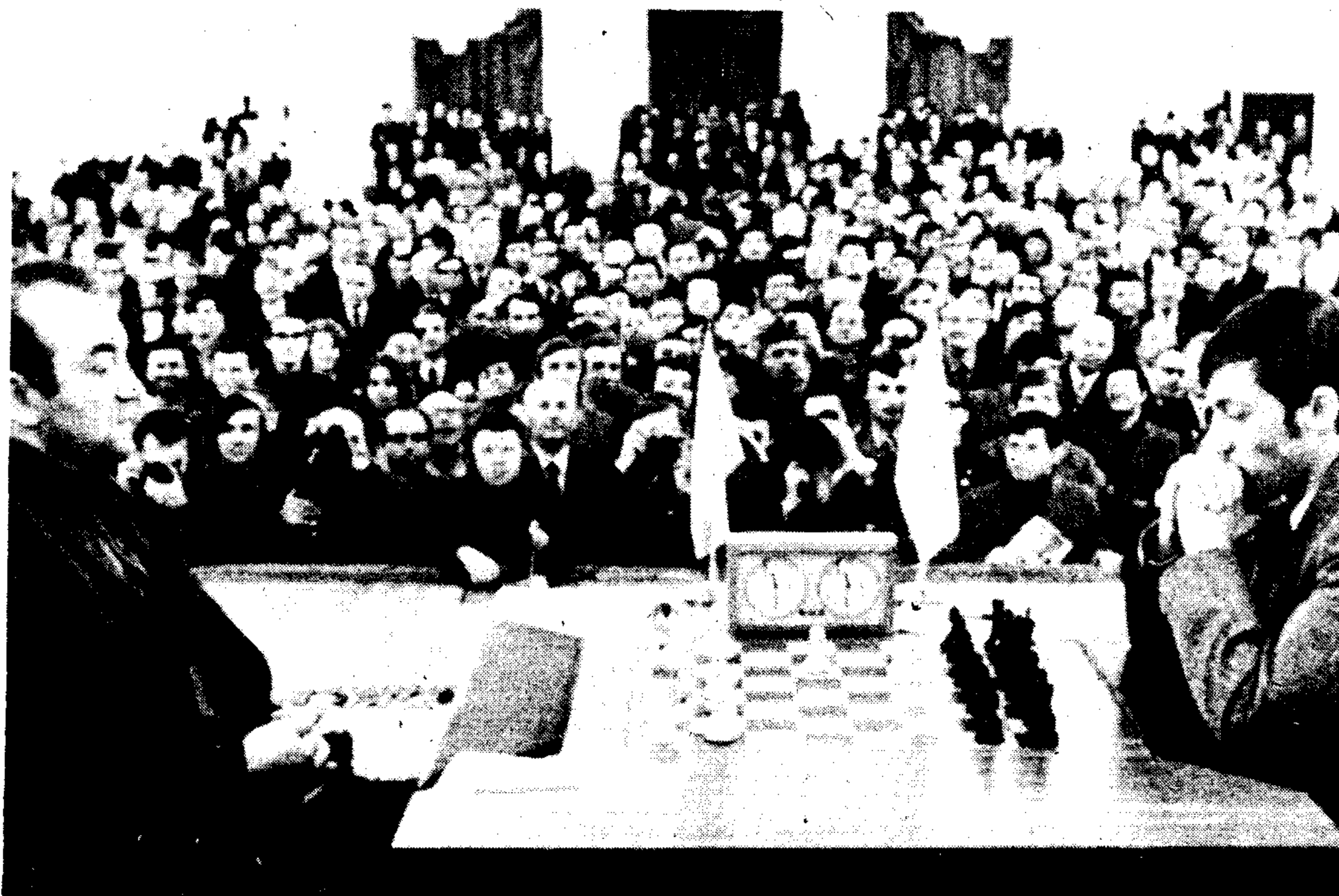
They organised a provocative party to celebrate the anniversary of Korchnoi's defection from the USSR and have kept up a revolting stream of vitriolic abuse against Karpov and his seconds.

In a series of undistinguished games Korchnoi has had more positional advantages but has failed to carry them through to victories.

But Karpov lost the 11th game through an elementary error which can only be explained by severe psychological pressure from the hysterical antics of the Korchnoi camp and from his own anxious backers in the Soviet chess establishment.

After Karpov, still only 27, The Soviet Union have no younger players capable of beating Korchnoi, Fischer if he returns, or even the best European players.

After a golden age on the world stage Soviet chess looks to be heading for stalemate.



The opening of the match. The audience has since dwindled to 75



# Papal bull as fascists' friend meets his maker

By Ann Evans

The adulations of Pope Paul which have appeared throughout the capitalist press since his death, the tedious coverage of his saintly life, and the speculation about his successor have possibly outdone the excesses which accompany a royal death.

This man, who has been worshipped by reformist party leaders and Stalinists alike as 'peace loving' and 'progressive', was the head of one of the most viciously reactionary international institutions: an institution which controls the lives of 700 million people.

All religions are built up around rhetoric about love and spirituality.

By concentrating the minds of the masses on the 'other world' and convincing them that happiness cannot be sought on earth, religion is used by the ruling class to divert the attention of the oppressed from their material deprivation.

Marx described religion as the 'opium of the people': it numbs the mind to create false sensation of happiness, whatever the reality.

The Catholic church is particularly experienced at dispensing its opiate: it's been at it for 2,000 years.

## Spiritual drugging

The elaborate mystical ceremonies, complete with intensely emotional music, and wafts of incense are the most unsophisticated form of spiritual drugging.

However, behind the cardinals' purple robes, the miracles, the processions and the glorification of a gory execution 2,000 years ago, lie the much more worldly corridors of the Palace of Rome.

The cynical dealings and power-seeking of the Vatican has not changed in essence since the Borgias murdered their rivals for the papacy during the Middle Ages.

## Manoeuvres

The mysticism that surrounds the Vatican cannot conceal the reality of the church's manoeuvres to preserve its wealth and power.

Battista Montini, as he was known before he became Pope Paul VI, was a careerist Vatican politician, who found himself a post in the Catholic diplomatic service in 1922 before he had even finished his theological studies.

His father, a newspaper editor who used his paper as a rallying point for anti-Communists, was a co-founder of the Partito Popolare, the forerunner of the Italian Christian Democrat party.

One of Montini's first jobs for the papal court was the control of FUCI, the Catholic youth organ-

isation: and it was through these links that he formed an alliance with Aldo Moro, the man, recently killed by the Red Brigades, who was to become a Christian Democrat Prime Minister of Italy.

The links with Moro and the Christian Democrats are significant because they relate to one of Montini's most important traits: his crusading anti-communism.

## Anti-communist

As Archbishop of Milan, he declared himself 'Archbishop of the workers' and sought to undermine Communist influence in the factories by organising clerical anti-Communist demonstrations and building up the Christian Democrats while at the same time proclaiming his sympathy for the trade union movement.

Like the rest of the bourgeoisie and Catholic Church in Italy, he saw the rise of fascism as a bulwark against the Communist atheism which he saw as poisoning the minds of the working class.

## Needed support

Although bands of fascist black-shirts displayed their anti-clericalism by beating up FUCI members and breaking up meetings of Catholic Action, Mussolini knew he needed the support of the Catholic church to consolidate his hold over the Italian state—and the Vatican was quite willing to give that support in return for certain freedoms for itself.

Mussolini curbed the actions of his anti-clerical followers and made Catholicism the state religion, integrating the Catholic church into the fascist state.

The most significant point in this process was the signing of the Lateran agreement in 1929.

Since the unification of Italy in 1870 the popes had declared themselves 'prisoners of the Vatican' and refused to recognise the new Italian kingdom.

Their reason for this was quite simple: the process of uniting the various small states that now make up Italy had reduced the central wealth and power of the pope and Catholic church.

## Lateran treaty

Prior to 1870, the pope had been ruler of the Papal States, a large area around Rome, but since unification, this area belonged to and was under the jurisdiction of the King. The popes wanted their worldly power returned—and Mussolini was willing to return it.

By the terms of the Lateran Treaty, the Italian fascist state recognised the sovereignty of the pope over the Vatican state, and paid him £30 million for the property he had lost through the reduction in the



Cardinals with Mussolini, giving the fascist salute

# Stalinists mourn the spiritual leader of capitalism

size of the Papal state.

The Concordat that accompanied the treaty confirmed Catholicism as the religion of fascism, and led to repressive enactments on matters such as divorce.

Non-Italian speaking priests were forbidden to have parishes—an outright attack on the German and Slav minorities who lived in the Northern and Eastern parts of Italy.

Mussolini gained enormous prestige from his resolution of the 'Roman Question' and the Catholic church became thoroughly integrated into the apparatus of the fascist state, despite the minor protests it occasionally felt obliged to make about fascist excesses

Montini, for his part, employed his journalistic talents in a vigorous defence of the Lateran Agreements to silence those who pointed out the contradictions between 'Christian Love' and the brutality of the fascist regime.

The reigning pope, Pius XI, described Mussolini as a man sent by God—no doubt to save Italy from a militant working class.

Vatican officials also supported the invasion of Ethiopia: one of Montini's predecessors as Archbishop of Milan described the March on Rome (which brought Mussolini to power) as having:

... prepared souls for the redemption of Ethiopia

from the bondage of slavery and heresy and for the Christian renewal of the ancient Empire of Rome".

The adulation of the Roman empire combined with Catholic crusading zeal was a hallmark of Italian fascist propaganda.

The alliance with the fascists was not just a temporary aberration on the part of the Catholic Church.

At decisive moments, the church will always side with the capitalist class against the labour movement.

One of Pope Paul's most influential decisions was his decree *humane vitae* (on human life).

## Household slavery

With that decree—which must be obeyed on threat of excommunication since the pope is held to be infallible—millions of women in the Catholic church and in Catholic countries have been condemned to lives of household slavery.

According to the teaching of Pope Paul, abortion and all forms of 'artificial' contraception are interfering with the life-giving process, which only God is entitled to control.

## Repressive

Such a decree was very welcome to the heads of government in Catholic capitalist countries, eager to control the lives of their women workers and conceal unemployment by confining women to their homes.

The Catholic church is also, of course, directly repressive of homosexuals, who, they declare, violate God's plan of nature.

By attacking women and gays in this way, the church bolsters up the bourgeois ethics of the family, the basic unit of capitalist society.

Not satisfied with threat-

ening erring Catholics with excommunication and existence in hell after death, Pope Paul and his cohorts have always been keen to impose a little of hell's suffering on earth for those who disobey their edicts (whether Catholic or not).

In Italy, this has meant close collaboration between the Christian Democrats and Pope Paul's Vatican, to impose and preserve repressive laws, particularly on abortion, contraception, divorce and homosexuality.

An important element of this has been the 'historic compromise' between the Christian Democrats and the Italian CP.

Aldo Moro, Pope Paul's closest friend from the 1920s, was famous as a principle architect of this understanding with the Stalinists.

## Corollary

The alliance between the Stalinists and these Catholic Tories has its corollary with the church.

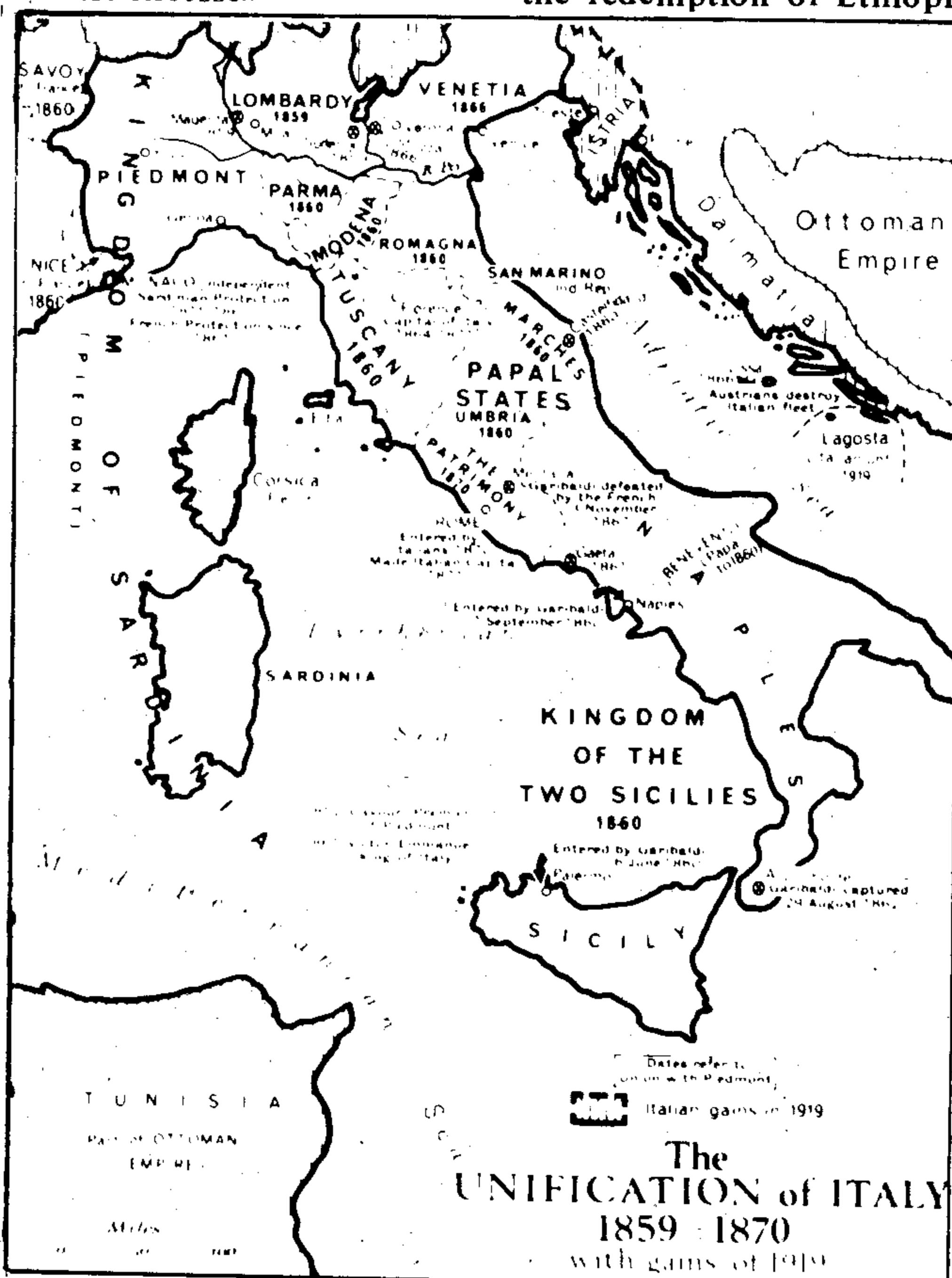
The Stalinists' eagerness to peacefully coexist with the bourgeoisie in each capitalist country and with imperialism internationally leads them to make deals with the church, which in its own particular way is an agency of imperialism.

Berlinguer, the co-architect of the historic compromise on the Stalinist side, mourned the passing of a 'Pope of peace'. He is not alone in the Stalinist camp, however.

Throughout the world, Stalinist leaders have been eager to find progressive aspects of the Catholic church. The reaction of President Tito perhaps sums it up:

"All mankind has suffered an irreparable loss in the death of a convinced champion of peace and understanding".

The working class has not suffered an irreparable loss. Pope Paul and any other minion of Catholicism does not serve God, peace understanding of mankind, but clearly serves the capitalist class.



Map showing original size of the Papal States



# WSL

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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# INDUSTRIAL NEWS

## Build strike to reinstate Parsons

## Call council of action to back pay strike

The pay strike by 1000 shop floor workers at Hickson and Welch chemical plant this week enters its third week.

AUEW convenor Bob Gillogley told *Socialist Press* that there was no change in the situation and there had been no new offers from management.

The whole AUEW at the plant backed the strike, he said. The factory is Castleford's major employer after the mines and is therefore central to the wages level in the town.

Consequently, Gillogley pointed out, there was large-scale support for the strike in the town, reflected in donations of food, tea and coffee to the pickets.

Bob Gillogley said that supervisors and laboratory technicians in ASTMS had failed to provide supporting strike action, making strikers in the TGWU and AUEW particularly bitter since only last month they had supported a half-day strike call by ASTMS.

In contrast, there had been 100% support on the AUEW District Committee to make the strike official.

While management appear prepared to discuss with the union, they seem unwilling to formally negotiate the claim which they estimate would increase the wages bill by 17.50% and force them to consider closing the factory.

## Militants fight for convenor

The ditching of the Yorkshire-based Hepworth Iron Company convenor, Barry Almond, by the local TGWU regional officer, Pearson, has met with stubborn resistance from some of the militant stewards and workers in the plant.

Many of them travelled to London on Tuesday of this week to lobby the TGWU headquarters, demanding the recall of the rigged mass meeting at the plant which voted to return to work with Almond still sacked.

An important division in the ranks of the bureaucracy has opened the way to retrieve the position. The original meeting was held—as reported last week—under conditions where management heavily influenced the attendance by circulating those workers who had scabbed on the strike with a letter urging them to go, and where Pearson accepted a company edict that Almond would be arrested and charged with trespass should he attempt to attend and address the meeting.



Pickets outside Hickson and Welch

Hickson and Welch are investing £5½ million for expansion while only offering the workers an extra penny an hour.

The demand must be raised for the opening of the company's accounts books to an elected committee of trade unionists in preparation for a fight against possible closure.

ASTMS must stop scabbing and join the strike. And in view of the widespread support from workers in the town and the coming struggle over the

## Ex-Speke workers sacked

Four Speke ex-Standard Triumph workers have been sacked from the Dunlop factory in the town.

Stewards—defending a policy of not working with workers made redundant from factories where no fight was made against closure—called on management to suspend them on full pay while they discussed the case at a branch meeting.

### Open books

Management responded with immediate sackings.

The stewards' policy is misconceived. The rank and file at Speke were not to blame for the lack of leadership. A policy of calling for Leyland books to be opened, and for occupation of the plant, would have won a response.

### Direct efforts

The rank and file were left to their own devices, which was bound to lead to closure.

The policy of the shop stewards' committee at Dunlops should be to fight for the reinstatement of these four ex-Triumph men and instead direct its efforts towards building a principled leadership in the town.

Workers at the Milthorpe International are fighting a tough battle to have their AUEW shop steward Gordon Parsons reinstated.

Parsons was dismissed from the Wakefield plant, after reporting an industrial accident to the union. He carried on working, but his machine was turned off and he was finally carried out by police.

A strike immediately began, but only seven of the 140 workers are outside the gates despite the fact that the AUEW has now made the strike official.

### Equivocation

Management have tried to confuse the workers as to the official status of the strike, but equivocation on the part of AUEW officials is also to blame for the lack of support.

A picket on the gate has, however, been successful in turning away lorries.

The AUEW must stop equivocating and issue a clear strike call to its 138 members in the plant.

Workers must also demand the withdrawal of ACAS from the dispute and make clear their intention to remain on strike until their steward is reinstated.

At the same time, picketing must be stepped up and a complete black imposed on the factory.

## Strike stops sacking

A strike of 70 dustmen in the London Borough of Camden has won almost immediate reinstatement for a dustman sacked by management on the basis of a forged letter.

Within one day of the first ever all out strike at the depot the victimised dustman, Joe Corbett, was reinstated with a guarantee that no further action would be taken.

Corbett was sacked after a laundry worker claimed that he had asked for money to collect refuse.

Management claimed that she had written a letter, which they refused to allow the steward to see, outlining her complaint.

A visit to the laundry worker established that her original complaint (a telephone call) had been wrong since Corbett had made no such demand, and that she had never written to management to complain.

The next morning, 70 dustmen at the depot voted unanimously to come out.

The dustmen returned to work the next day having given an object lesson in the defence of victimised workers.



# LONDON HOSPITALS

## Harrow Rd.

### Reject death by strangulation

Health Service shop stewards in Paddington and North Kensington are preparing to defend St. Mary's hospital in Harrow Road which is threatened with an irreversible sentence of death by slow strangulation.

In a discussion document issued by the local Area Health Authority, the local community and the staff in the hospital are being invited to agree that the hospital will be slowly run down and finally closed in 1986 or soon after.

#### "Redevelopment"

To induce the necessary complacency and confusion the paper promises in its place a big shiny new £13 million hospital in the form of the "redevelopment" of the other St. Mary's Hospital, 1 mile away in Praed Street, W2.

The catch is that if the scheme to develop St. Mary's in Praed St. is to be started, decisions will have to be made now that will set the bureaucratic seal of fate on St. Mary's, Harrow Road.

The land that would be required to complete the new St. Mary's is currently owned by the British Water Board and could only be obtained by exchanging the land occupied by St. Mary's in Harrow Road.

#### Unworkable

If there is no agreement to exchange the land the whole scheme becomes unworkable.

Meanwhile there is of course no guarantee that a future government will go ahead with the new hospital scheme.

In any case, the running costs of the new hospital will only be available if the other St. Mary's—a 414-bedded hospital—and Paddington Green Children's Hospital are both closed.

Thus to turn St. Mary's in Praed St. into the kind of prestigious hospital that befits the sanctuary where the Royal Family have their babies, two other hospitals of value to the

local community are to be sacrificed.

In the context of overall cuts in health services, clearly all such plans for new facilities at the expense of old must be viewed with the utmost suspicion by the working class.

The AHA document carefully selects its evidence to prove the benefits of their plan.

For example, it claims that no-one will have to travel more than an extra ½ mile to hospital after completion of the scheme.

What it doesn't say is that for many of those who would normally attend St. Mary's in Harrow Road, the facilities will be on the other side of a railway, a canal and a major motorway: and the extra ½ mile is across an area with one of the highest traffic densities in Britain.

#### 183 beds lost

The plan will mean an overall loss of 183 beds in the health district and there will be only two emergency and accident departments in place of the present three.

The document provides clear evidence that the plan involves a huge loss of local jobs for health workers.

It appears, however, that no figures are to be given or negotiations conducted until after final decisions have been made to proceed with the changes.

With rumour widespread that the decisions have been made, the staff at Harrow Rd. are already becoming demoralised and beginning to leave: vacancies are becoming harder to fill.

This plan will have to be vigorously opposed. A new hospital—yes! But workers have been promised pie in the sky many times before.

All existing facilities must be defended and maintained at least at present levels until new services are fully available.

The AHA's consultations have proved to be meaningless rituals. No decisions must be made except on the basis of a labour movement enquiry into health needs in the area and into

## EGA

### Defend EBS 7!

The seven COHSE members of the Emergency Bed Service who defied Regional Health Authority orders and sent patients to the Elizabeth Garrett Anderson Hospital remain disciplined and threatened with the sack if they do not follow orders in the future.

Meanwhile, Albert Spanswick, General Secretary of COHSE, is deflecting pressure to mobilise workers against the RHA's action by continuing to claim that he is using his personal influence to persuade Minister of State Roland Moyle to intervene on the side of the seven.

The recent battle around the defence of the EGA has shown the potential effectiveness of the threat of industrial action in the run up to the general election.

#### Closure date

The EGA closure date has been postponed four times. On 9 June, Secretary of State David Ennals announced an indefinite "reprieve" pending an inquiry.

This followed a build up of demands for continuous strike action if he went ahead with the closures together with the determined support shown by the EBS staff.

Yet the role of union leaders like Fisher of NUPE, Spanswick of COHSE and Jenkins of ASTMS—for all their clever talk about cuts in general—is to stand back from such local, specific battles and where possible, to divert all militancy into protests and so-called "independent" inquiries.

It has been left to the EGA Joint Shop Stewards Committee to make a stand by demanding that the disciplinary action must be dropped before they will enter into any discussion with Ennals on the future of the hospital.

#### Boycott inquiry

Socialist Press continues to believe that the EGA shop stewards should press ahead with their partial victory over Ennals by boycotting his inquiry completely since it was dreamed up specifically to head off the developing confrontation and to try to manoeuvre the hospital staff into accepting a move to another site.

Conflict with Ennals now would provide a new focus for the movement to defend the EBS workers and to defeat the Labour government's social service cuts by the independent action of the working class.

# FIGHT!

the profits made by supply industries like food and drugs. Not a single health service job must be bargained away. The fight has to be taken up to

reverse all health service cuts and to protect the health service budget against inflation by a sliding scale of expenditure.

The management intends to close its consultations by the end of September. These demands have to be taken immediately into the trade unions, the trades councils and local tenants associations. There is no time to lose.

## Bethnal Green Strike to stop cuts



Ms. J. Wall, Bethnal Green Hospital matron, locks the drugs cabinet to close the casualty department

## Reprisal threat against picket

Staff at Bethnal Green hospital are being threatened with reprisals if they continue to give active support to the fight to defend the hospital from health service cuts.

Junior nurses who gave up their own time to support the picket of the occupation casualty department have been told by the hospital secretary that they will be denied jobs when they qualify if they repeat this action.

#### Personally liable

This was a follow up to the incident in which the same administrator was able to effectively close the casualty by threatening nurses that if they didn't leave the occupation they would be held personally liable for the care of any patients brought in.

This intimidation of staff combined with a damaging lack of leadership from the health service unions has produced a gulf between the hospital workers and supporters from outside.

If this is to be overcome there must be a fight to turn the campaign firmly into the trade union and labour movement and away from reliance on protest and publicity seeking.

The health service trade unions must be forced to lead the boldest possible campaign to strengthen resistance to the

management's threats and to recruit non-union staff.

At the same time the demand for determined strike action must be the central focus of the struggle within the labour movement.

Every trade union official must be relentlessly faced with the demand for the organisation of all-out strike action on a wider scale.

This is not a matter of persuading these "leaders" through friendly debate—they must be told to put the interests of the working class before the interests of the Callaghan-Healey-TUC traitors or stand aside.

In the same way, left talking MPs like Mikardo must be placed in the position where they either give full support for widespread strike action to defeat the policies of Callaghan-Healey or stand exposed as windbags who in reality only protect those leaders from the anger of workers.

#### No hint

Unfortunately a recent bulletin published by the Campaign to Keep Bethnal Green, which in the past has been heavily influenced by the politics of the Socialist Workers Party gives no hint at all that any of these questions have been understood. The bulletin entitled "Come Inside, Love", talks only of the need to "protest" and of the possibility that management might "change its mind".

#### WORKERS SOCIALIST LEAGUE

Public meeting

#### DEFEND BETHNAL GREEN!

Tuesday 29 August, 1978 at 7.30 p.m.  
Oxford House, Derbyshire St., Bethnal Green

# OPEN BOOKS COMMITTEES VITAL IN CHRYSLER

Senior stewards from all Chrysler UK plants met in Coventry last Friday.

They passed a resolution condemning the Chrysler Corporation for not informing the workers or consulting the government about the Peugeot-Citroen takeover.

The resolution went on to demand "meaningful guarantees" on future job security and full consultation at each stage of the takeover.

#### Information

Earlier in the week Moss Evans, General Secretary of the TGWU who had led the union delegation to see Industry Secretary Eric Varley said the unions were embarking on a programme to obtain the maximum possible information on the effects of the takeover and research officers from all the nine unions at Chrysler UK have begun drawing up an assessment of its likely effects.

At no stage, however, has any union leader demanded full access to Chrysler's books nor have they demanded the same of Peugeot-Citroen.

A brief statement to employees by Chrysler UK management leaves the future of Chrysler jobs wide open.

For example, "PSA Peugeot-Citroen have expressed their intention to assume in a form appropriate to the new circumstances, all the obligations of the agreement between Her Majesty's Government and

Chrysler Corporation". (Our emphasis).

"In order to ensure continuity of operations and a smooth transition PSA have indicated there will be no major changes to management organisation during the transition period and have further stated that it is their intention to preserve as far as possible the organisation structures within Chrysler UK". (Our emphasis).

These extracts speak for themselves. They are designed to smooth the transition period.

The Chrysler senior stewards' statement also calls for the implementation of the June planning agreement outlining expansion of production.

Some Chrysler workers feel they would be better off with the opportunities opened up by the Peugeot-Citroen deal.

But all they face is the deepening of competition between the car giants leading inevitably to speed-up and sackings.

The way forward is the fight for the nationalisation of the whole motor industry without compensation and under workers management as part of a socialist planned economy—not the division of car workers into profit fodder for different car firms.

The immediate fight is for information. Militants in Chrysler should put forward the demand for the election of Open the Books Committees in all the Chrysler plants.

## Vauxhall set for pay fight

The strike over tonnage allowances by 100 drivers at Vauxhall, Ellesmere Port, ended after a sell-out by national officer Eric Bone and the plant leadership in the person of convenor John Farrel.

After five weeks of 24-hour picketing right the way through the shutdown and after 3,000 TGWU members had voted to support them a fortnight before the holidays, these two traitors negotiated a shabby compromise of a back-room deal in which the drivers will receive a sop "meals allowance" worth "up to" £6 a week, and subject to all kinds of bureaucratic red-tape (e.g. receipts on headed note bills! How many transport cafes have headed note bills?)

How a demand for a tonnage allowance came to be changed to a meals allowance overnight is still a mystery.

#### Hard case

It reveals another side to Convenor John Farrel who has a reputation as a hard case.

Apart from the abysmal leadership, the strike faced a number of difficulties.

\*The relatively high stock levels of Chevettas.

\*The timing of the strike, engineered by the company a fortnight before the holidays.

\*The fact that only the drivers stood to gain directly from the strike (although 3,000 TGWU members came out in support a fortnight before the holidays).

\*The notoriously bad relations between the TGWU and AUEW at Ellesmere Port and also between Ellesmere Port and the two southern plants at Luton and Dunstable—a result of lack of political leadership in these areas, and bureaucratic wranglings.

The Company has now gone on the offensive against the rest of membership, the AUEW who failed to support the drivers.

As soon as work restarted everyone was moved off their old job and put on another job.

This caused endless arguments and an unusual amount of stoppages for rectification work.

It is clear that the company is trying to rail-road through a cut in manning levels, particularly in the hard-trim area, the most labour intensive part of the factory.

#### Final finish

In the final finish (garage), a well-organised high manning level area, management stopped long established working practices.

With pay negotiations next month it is clear that the company has engineered this dispute to soften up the TGWU.

This is even more apparent when one considers the long battle over "relativities" going on since last year when the fitters were smashed in their strike for higher differentials.

#### Track workers

The Company evidently wants to appease the fitters at the expense of the track workers who have been most consistently represented by the TGWU, hence the need to knock the TGWU into line.

It also explains the stopping of all overtime by the Company. It is to be hoped that this last move by the company will at least make the membership aware of the low level of the basic rate and more determined to fight to defend living standards.



# SOCIALIST PRESS

## Reject new Zimbabwe betrayal

Zimbabwe's internal settlement is dying and about to be buried.

Smith's support among the whites is crumbling since the settlement with the three stooge black leaders has failed to stop the war of liberation.

At the same time, Smith's white opponents seem now too demoralised and disorganised to launch an effective coup against him though a direct military takeover cannot be ruled out.

Since they entered the coalition with the racists the limited popular support of the three stooge leaders (Muzorewa, Sithole and Chirau) seems to have vanished.

Last week, though, Muzorewa staged a rally of his party at which he unconvincingly trooped out what he said were guerrillas who had joined voluntarily the racist regime's security forces.

But other black leaders of the interim government faced great apathy and hostility in public meetings designed to sell the internal settlement.

It is the growing success of the guerrilla struggle led by ZANU and ZAPU (the 'Patriotic Front') which has destroyed the internal settlement.

It has become clear to Smith and his collaborators that they cannot save anything unless



Mugabe

they can coopt the leadership of the guerrilla struggle and be physically defended from the masses by imperialism.

So the growing collapse of the internal settlement once again raises an enormous danger to the Zimbabwe masses: the neo-colonial settlement which the US and British governments have for months (with the South African racists' tacit backing), been trying to impose.

### Dictator

This plan involves the installation of a British "temporary" military dictator (Lord Carver) who with the help of Nigerian, Indian and other Commonwealth troops would supervise the disarmament of the guerrilla armies and then, once every-

thing was safe for imperialism, allow "democratic" elections to bring Nkomo and perhaps Mugabe to power either in coalition with Muzorewa and some whites or at least in such a way that they have no political independence.

### Conference

Through a complex web of secret and not-so-secret meetings over the last two weeks, a conference to reach some variation on this deal appears to have been set up.

The interests of the Zimbabwe masses can only be advanced by a boycott of this conference by their organisations and the uncompromising continuation of the liberation war which is undermining the present regime.

### Secret meetings

But the Patriotic Front leaders have not adopted an uncompromising opposition to a deal with imperialism.

Both Nkomo and Mugabe have made statements which leave the door open to a compromise.

Nkomo is even reported to have had a secret meeting with Smith's puppet Chief Chirau.

The Patriotic Front leaders may be themselves looking towards a settlement because they fear the consequences of an outright military victory on

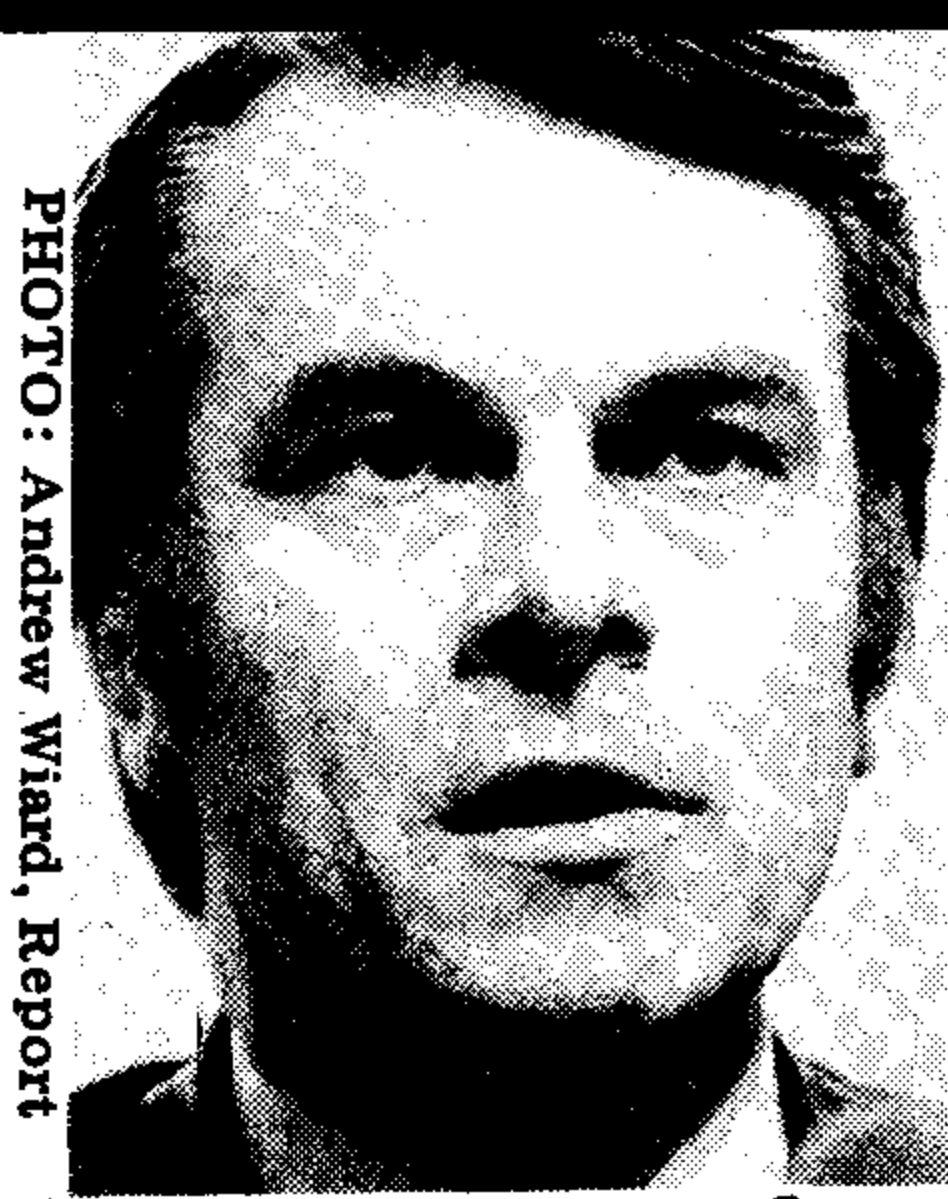


PHOTO: Andrew Ward, Report

Owen

the most radicalised of their own supporters.

And also, perhaps, because in the last ten days they have seen a new highly significant mobilisation of the Zimbabwe masses which is outside their control.

This is a strike for a pay increase by 3,000 workers at the Mangula Copper Mine who failed to be intimidated even by the murder of four of their comrades by Smith's murderers.



PHOTO: Andrew Ward, Report

## Prepare workers defence

Several thousand anti-fascist demonstrators assembled at Brick Lane last Sunday to make the point that fascists should be prevented by mass action from selling their publications, and attacking and intimidating black workers.

The demonstration marched through Hoxton, supposedly an NF stronghold, but the fascists covered out of sight.

Rings of police surrounded and protected the few that dared to come out at various points on the route.

The demonstration, though containing many Asian groups such as the Indian Workers Association and Bengali Workers Association, was lacking in trade union support.

The Anti Nazi League is incapable of fighting in the working class because its politics are those of the 'liberal' bourgeoisie which make up a tiny minority of its membership and almost its entire programme.

The role of the police in protecting the fascists was taken up by the WSL delegation with the slogan "The police protect the fascists: Workers self defence!"

The politics of this demand contrasted with the idiocy and liberalism of the ANL and its supporters calling out "Pogo on a Nazi" and "The ANL is Magic".

However magic and the occasional protest, like sitting down by Brick Lane, will not drive the fascists from the streets.

Demonstrations cannot be called every night when fascist thugs attack immigrant workers.

The need is for organised, trained workers defence squads based on the local labour movement and immigrant organisations, to patrol the area and protect black workers from fascist attack.

## ERITREANS HIT BACK

The forces of the Eritrean revolution have struck a major blow against the invading armies of the Derg.

The Ethiopian military dictatorship is seeking to wrest control of the three major routes which run from Asmara across western Eritrea. It aims to seize these vital communication routes before moving against the central bases of the Eritrean Popular Liberation Front in the rural areas.

But last week the EPLF struck back in a major attack, reporting that 750 Ethiopian soldiers had been killed in a battle south of Asmara, between Dehamhare and Digs.

The EPLF is now moving in to retake positions abandoned by the Eritrean Liberation Front, but the main focus of the war has now shifted to Keren.

### Repulsed

The Ethiopians have launched three attacks in the last five days in their attempt to take Keren, but the EPLF have successfully repulsed each of these.

To the north-west of the capital Asmara, Keren was liberated by the EPLF last year and their ability to defend this strategic strongpoint will be a crucial test of the balance of forces at the present stage of the war.

# Where does CP stand on Garners?

Continued from Page 1

based to individuals on the General Executive Council, such as dockers' leader Brian Nicholson, the leadership of the union has remained opposed to these demands.

Consequently day-to-day practical support has rested largely with individual trade unionists, and members and supporters of political organisations.

Without this, the dispute could almost certainly not have been sustained. In this context, it is necessary to look at the involvement of the CPGB.

To our knowledge, which is based on the close involvement of the WSL during the whole of this period, the only delegations from your organisation to have appeared on the picket lines have been from the Camden Town CP branch and the YCL in East London.

### Greater forces

While we note your membership nationally continues to fall, nevertheless, at this point you have substantially greater forces in the London area than any other on the left.

From within your own ranks you could, quite easily, organise sufficient people to maintain the pickets. Yet even on the occasions when mass pickets have been called, representation from the CP has consisted only of isolated individuals.

Again, on the strike committee, TGWU Region 1, and GLATC demonstrations of May 20th and July 8th, you produced not a single party ban-

ner, despite there being delegations from the WSL, SWP, IMG and WRP, and though you yourself, along with other leading CP members, marched at the head of the July demonstration with sections of the TGWU bureaucracy.

But your lack of public involvement in the strike as an organisation is much less significant than your role within the TGWU itself.

Without doubt, it has been the combination of delay and inaction by the Region 1 full-time officials and their supporters which has been the biggest single obstacle to the strike having been already won.

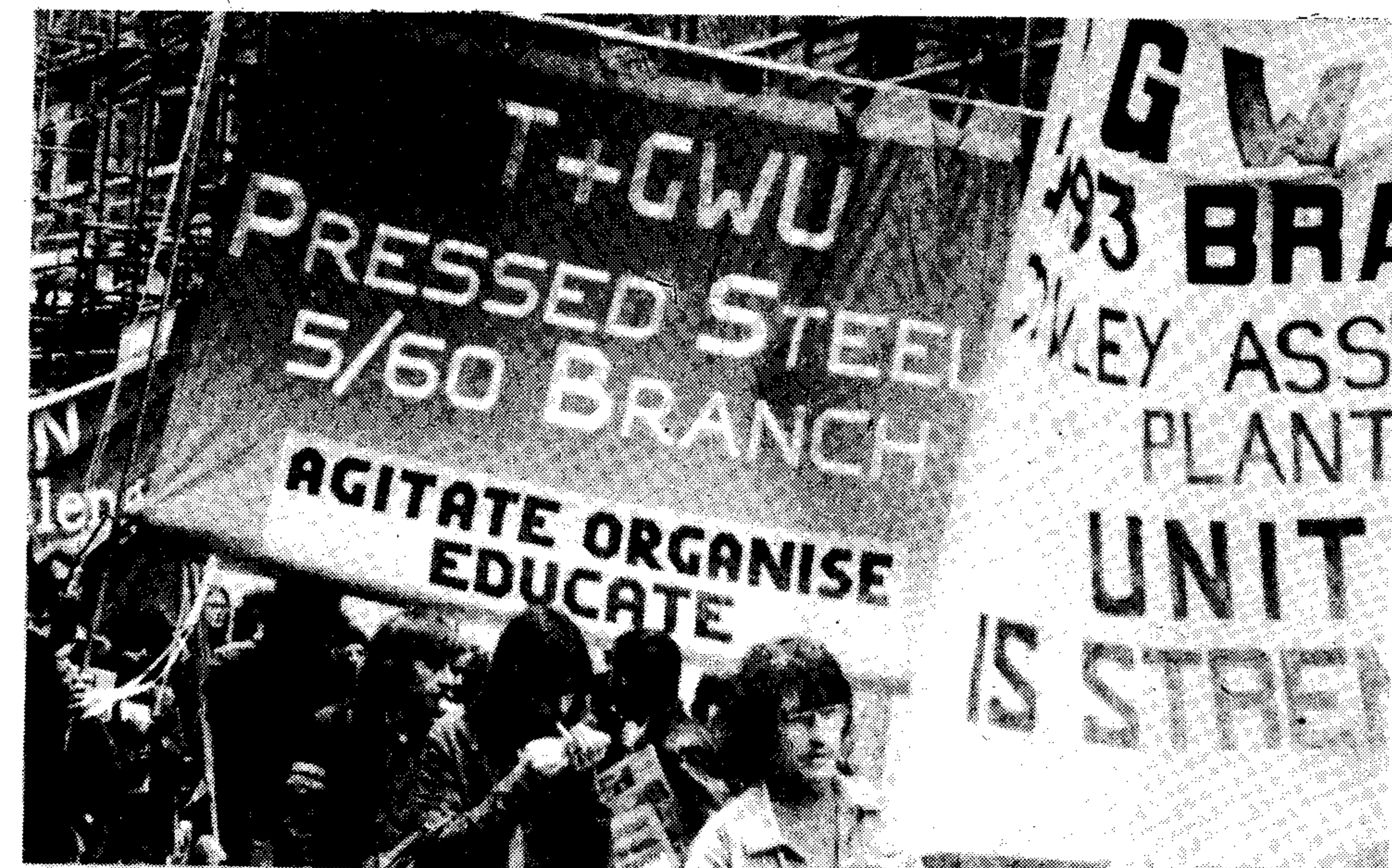
Instead of mobilising the full weight of the membership around the strikers' demands, they have sought at every point to prevent their involvement.

Despite persistent calls they have refused to circulate material to the union's branches. Though financial hardship has forced some strikers to leave, they have failed to organise proper financial assistance.

Even though other unions have begun to impose blacking of the company and its suppliers, some TGWU members continue to service the company.

### No delegation

On the July 20th demonstration, there was not a single delegation or banner from the whole of Region 1's 500,000 membership. The sole TGWU branches represented were contingents from Oxford. This



TGWU banners from Oxford on a Garners demonstration, but where was Region 1?

record of sabotage speaks for itself.

Considering your influence within many Region 1 bodies, and particularly with individuals holding key positions, you are, politically, heavily implicated in this treachery.

In fact, the officials most directly responsible are acknowledged as your supporters. Les Shorter, regional organiser, described himself at the last Transport House Garners conference as a supporter of the *Morning Star*. Sid Staden, newly appointed Regional Secretary, is known as a long-standing member of your party.

We regard your record in this struggle and the matters raised in this letter as extremely serious, and believe they require a public reply.

### Added urgency

In particular, where do you stand on the Strike Committee policies of mass picketing, blacking and Region 1 financial levy? Where have your members and supporters fought for these policies within the TGWU?

The defeat of the Grunwick strikers and unionisation struggles in the catering industry, at the hands of the trade union bureaucracy and the mounting

attacks on basic rights, gives added urgency for a full accounting before the working class between those who are prepared to struggle against all obstacles and those who choose accommodation and compromise, whilst posing as defenders of workers' interests.

From Executive Committee Workers Socialist League

### WORKERS SOCIALIST LEAGUE

LOBBY THE TUC  
Wednesday 6 September  
Brighton

- \*Action now to defeat Phase 4!
- \*For catching up pay claims with cost of living clauses based on figures from trade union price committees!
- \*Strike action to stop the social service cuts!
- \*Occupy to defend all jobs! Work sharing on full pay! Force Labour to nationalise without compensation!
- \*Kick out the Callaghan-Healey Labour leadership! Fight for socialist policies!