



The Editorial Board of Socialist Press would like to take this opportunity to send Season's Greetings to all our readers and supporters.

Socialist Press will be taking a break over the Christmas period. The next edition will appear on 3 January 1979.

Pay sanctions scrapped

NOW SCRAP CALLAGHAN!

The parliamentary defeat which has forced Prime Minister Callaghan to abandon sanctions on firms conceding pay increases in excess of 5% has given a substantial impetus to the wages struggle.

The threat of sanctions has been one of the main lines of defence of beleaguered private sector employers in resisting wage demands.

For 9,000 provincial journalists currently on strike for their £20 per week demand; and for tanker drivers and Scottish lorry drivers lining up for strike action in January, the collapse of sanctions must heighten confidence.

It must also spur on the struggle in the huge public sector, where 1.5 million workers have claims outstanding.

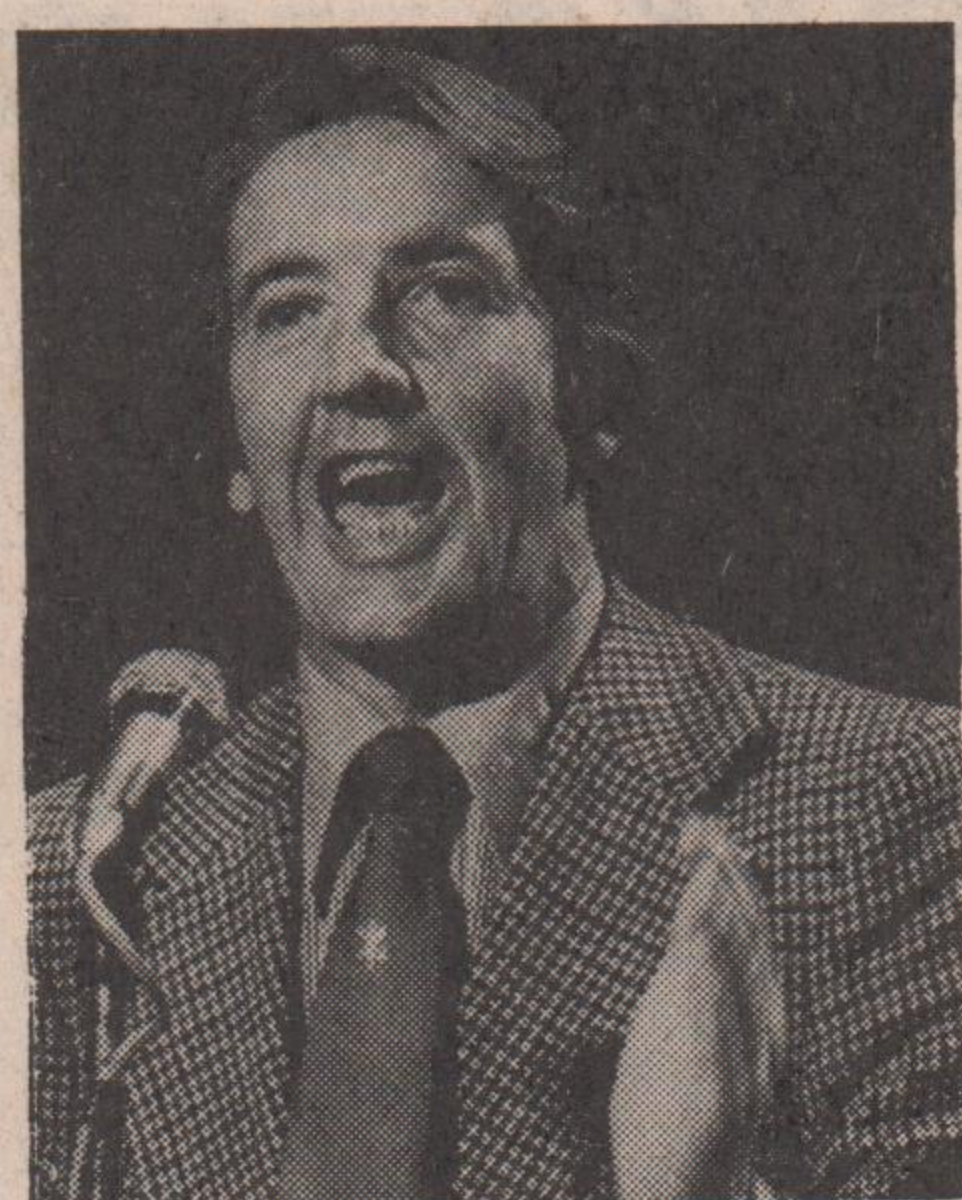
But of course this was not the intention of the Tory leaders when they moved their amendment to the government economic motion.

Shift to right

Rather the Tory move reflected a shift to the right by a crisis-ridden capitalist class, which, though it welcomes the efforts by Labour and TUC leaders to cut the real wages of their members, is unwilling to foot additional bills where such measures fail.

Despite this reactionary element in the amendment, however, it was the clear obligation of those Labour MPs who claim to oppose wage controls to vote against the government on this issue.

To defeat this main plank of the 5% pay policy in this way would have laid a firm basis for an all-out campaign throughout the labour movement for the removal of the right wing



Skinner

Callaghan-Healey leadership.

But only four Labour 'lefts'—Roy Hughes, Ron Thomas, Syd Bidwell and Eddie Loyden—responded to this challenge in any way at all.

Even they did no more than abstain—refusing to take the step of voting against the government.

And next day they obediently trekked back into the government lobbies to register their vote of confidence in the Callaghan leadership that has pledged its dedication to the 5% pay limits throughout the public sector, to mass unemployment, and to public spending cuts.

Conspicuously absent even from the abstentionists was "Bolshover Bolshevik" Dennis Skinner, elected to Labour's NEC this summer as a 'left', and the other 76 supposed supporters of the Parliamentary Tribune

Step up wages offensive!

Group.

Far from offering any real alternative to Callaghan, these Tribunites run for cover at the slightest sign of a show-down on basic issues.

But the upheavals of the last week in Parliament has driven Callaghan and Healey deeper into the arms of the reactionary Ulster Unionists who, along with the "lefts", voted confidence in the government on Thursday.

These defenders of the Orange ascendancy are giving tactical support to Callaghan for one reason only—the prospect of an increased number of Loyalist MPs following

Labour's "reform" of the gerrymandered constituencies in the British occupied six counties of Ireland.

Through this unholy alliance, therefore, Callaghan and the Labour cabinet are propping up their wage control policies only at the expense of substantially increasing the pro-Tory element in the next Parliament.

No mandate

They have no mandate from the labour movement for these policies, which survive only on the basis of the complete absence of alternative leadership in either the unions or the

Labour Party.

While 'left' MPs refuse to come forward in any challenge to Callaghan, TUC leaders such as Alan Fisher are sabotaging the pay struggle in the public sector.

NUPE, representing 700,000 public sector workers is planning no more than endless talks, one-day token protests and half-cock "guerrilla" actions—in mid January!

This is in pursuit of a claim for a £60 per week minimum wage which should have been settled on 1 November!

Health service and local authority workers must



Callaghan

draw strength from the collapse of pay sanctions in the private sector—and demand all-out strike action to win their claim in full, smashing down the 5% barrier in the public sector.

The Callaghan government has already admitted to making preparations for military scabbing on a public sector strike—yet the union leaders have not even made preparations to call one!

Thrown into crisis

Callaghan's wage control policy—the central plank of government economic policy—has now been thrown into crisis.

But for the 5% limit to be fully defeated, the right wing Callaghan cabinet must be thrown out.

In demanding that the Labour 'lefts' take this elementary step forward and offering them support should they do so, union branches and Constituency Labour Parties will be able to test out in practice these fake "socialists".

Carter drops Taiwan in deal with China

Every commentator in the world knows at least one thing about the opening of full diplomatic relations between the USA and the Chinese People's Republic—there is much more involved than a mere matter of protocol.

For the Chinese Stalinists this step represents nothing new, but an extension of their alliances around the world in opposition to the Soviet Union and other workers' states.

For the Americans, however, the abandonment of their puppets in Taiwan, represents a major change in the global strategy of imperialism.

Since the United States after the Second World War took over the role of the chief imperialist power, one of the main aspects

of their policy has been to set up chains of client states around the workers' states.

Since 1945 therefore, the United States ran the economies and foreign policies of a series of regimes surrounding China, including Thailand, South Vietnam, South Korea and Taiwan, in which the Chinese nationalists were installed after their defeat by the Red Army in 1949.

However, the victory of anti-imperialist forces in Vietnam and Cambodia and the worldwide consequences of deepening imperialist crisis have necessitated a new policy for the USA.

This policy, initiated by the ultra-reactionary Nixon and directly continued by 'human rights' advocate Carter, has been to curry favour with the Stalinists who run the Chinese

government.

With this new effort to further the efforts of imperialism, the Chinese have been only too glad to oblige.

Determined to pursue their rivalry with the Soviet Union, the Chinese leaders have never shown any compunction in allying with the imperialists.

The real meaning of the latest turn in the policies of the Chinese bureaucracy is thus clear.

However much the masses participate in the political life of China, under the present regime they remain subject to a privileged bureaucracy hell-bent on serving its own interests above those of socialism.

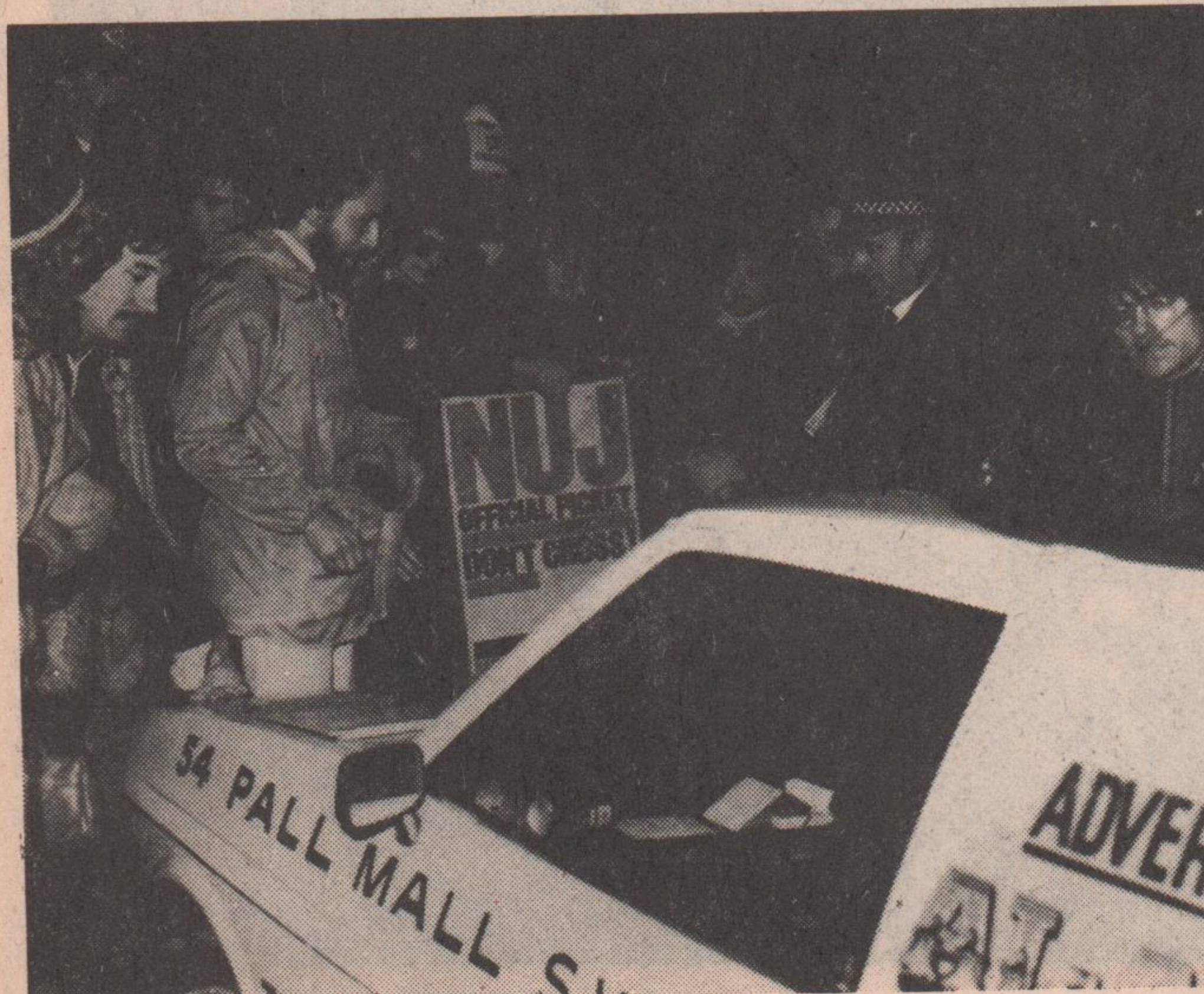
The diplomatic exchanges with the USA and the policies that lie behind them endanger all the gains of the world working class since 1917, including



Carter

the Indo-Chinese victories and the Chinese Revolution itself.

"The most appalling of all doomsday spectres", according to the reactionaries of the Sunday Telegraph would be an alliance between the Soviet Union and China. This would threaten the whole imperialist system, but the Stalinist bureaucrats who now run the workers' states are too concerned with preserving their own skins to wish to unleash the forces that such an alliance could bring.



NUJ pickets

BREAK SILENCE ON ERITREA!

Officials at the Soviet embassy in London last Saturday arrogantly refused to accept a letter protesting about the role of Soviet troops in Eritrea.

The attempt to deliver the letter was made by delegates from a 200-strong march organised by the Association of Eritrean Students and Workers in the UK and supported by the Workers Socialist League.

Apart from the strong WSL contingent on this march, there was a scandalous absence of any other contingent from the British labour movement.

Nearly all the supposed opponents of Stalinism and defenders of the right to national self-determination evaporated when called on to support a protest against one of the greatest crimes being perpetrated by Stalinism today—the participation of Soviet and Cuban troops in the Ethiopian military Derg's war of extermination against the long-oppressed people of Eritrea.

Eritrean speakers, representing the organisers of the demonstration, stressed the need for international solidarity with the Eritrean struggle, especially after the recent military setbacks.

They called for aid from working class and progressive forces.

'Socialist Press' issues a challenge to other groups which claim to adhere to Trotskyism to say why they do not support the Eritrean struggle.

In particular we call upon the IMG, British section of the USFI, publicly to dissociate itself from recent statements in the USFI journal 'Intercontinental Press' by leading members of the American Socialist Workers Party, claiming in effect that the Cuban military presence in Ethiopia is evidence of Castro's proletarian internationalism (See 'Intercon-



tinental Press' October 2 and our comment in 'Socialist Press' of October 18).

Even the French and Italian Stalinists last week issued statements showing (belated and half-hearted) support for Eritrea's right to

self-determination and criticising the role of the USSR.

Of course, this is not a sudden conversion to proletarian internationalism by these Stalinists but more an adaptation to the anti-communism of the bourgeoisie.

But, as the WSL speaker at the demonstration stressed, there was no place for anti-communism and no comfort for imperialism in Saturday's demonstration.

It had to be seen as a demonstration not against the Soviet Union and Cuba,

which the workers' movement must defend against imperialism, but against the bureaucratic rulers who usurp power in Moscow and Havana.

But imperialism, as well



as the Stalinist bureaucracy, is also the merciless enemy of the democratic rights of the Eritrean people.

The demonstration was aimed at the Soviet embassy partly because the immediate enemies of the Eritrean workers and peasants are the Derg and its Soviet and Cuban backers and partly because that Soviet bureaucracy is a permanent obstacle to the struggle against imperialism.

The WSL speaker also said that the rights of Eritrean workers and peasants could only be fully won through socialism.

And that required the building of a revolutionary Trotskyist party in Eritrea (and in Ethiopia, Cuba and the Soviet Union) as part of a reconstructed Fourth International.

In a demonstration which made up in voice for what it lacked in numbers, many of the slogans shouted by the WSL were also taken up by the rest of the march: Troops out of Eritrea! Independence now!

Mengistu dictatorship—out!

Workers and peasants government—in!

Defend the Soviet Union! Out with the Kremlin traitors!

Arms to the EPLF!

For an Eritrean Trotskyist Party!

After this demonstration it remains an urgent task to redouble the campaign for concrete international solidarity with Eritrean workers and peasants who are being so cruelly exposed to the treachery of Stalinism.

Portugal: bosses take reins

"The most conservative government team which Portugal has known since the revolution of April 1974"

That was the judgement on the regime of former Salazar technocrat Mota Pinto expressed last week by Socialist Party leader Mario Soares.

Yet it was Soares and the Socialists in parliament who treacherously brought Mota Pinto's reactionary government into office.

The Socialist MPs stood aside as the two bourgeois parties voted down a Communist Party motion rejecting the new government.

The CP motion was rejected by 109 votes to 45 with 97 (Socialist) abstentions.

The parliamentary vote has produced the first confirmed government which Portugal has had since July 27 when military President Eanes dismissed Mario Soares as Socialist premier.

But the vote has in no way solved the crisis of authority of the Portuguese bourgeoisie.

It now once more has a constitutional government by courtesy of a party which, while it remains the largest in parliament, is deeply discredited among

The masses in Portugal have been showing increasing hostility in recent months to the anti-working class austerity measures of all Portuguese governments since November 1975 and to more recent attempts to undo the land reform and other gains of the 1974 revolution.

Not reliable

As a result, neither the Socialist Party nor the Stalinists of the CP are reliable props for the bourgeoisie.

The Socialist leaders appear to have lost all credibility with the working class.

And the Stalinists gain from this only by maintaining an "opposition" to the present bourgeois government which they know is not in immediate danger of being put to the test.

For all the Stalinists' noise against the new government they refuse to take any measures to mobilise the masses, preaching

instead a reactionary and increasingly dangerous reliance on "democracy".

But it is clearer every day that the Portuguese bourgeoisie is rapidly abandoning democracy.

It has installed a non-elected government of tested reactionaries; sections of it have encouraged the recent growing mobilisations of fascists; and last week the so-called Council of the Revolution declared the electoral law unconstitutional.

This means that, until this issue is resolved in parliament, elections cannot constitutionally be held.

Desires

That at the present time coincides with the desires of both the bourgeoisie and the reformist and Stalinist leaders.

Aside from their own political rivalries, these leaders wish above all to prevent the working masses from once again taking the centre of the political stage.

SPD backs strike!

The Social Democrats of West Germany seem to have got the idea from somewhere that their party has become alienated from its traditional supporters.

At a special congress last week they took steps to correct this unfortunate impression.

Perhaps these reformists suspected that workers might have become disillusioned with the SPD after experiencing years of its union-bashing and other attacks on the working-class.

Certainly prominent trade unionists featured strongly in their list of candidates for the elections to the European parliament.

All were of course leading bureaucrats, who will now be able to carry their practice of class collaboration to a new, international level along with their companions in treachery from the other states of the EEC.

Lucrative

One of these candidates, now guaranteed a lucrative seat in six months time, is Eugen Loderer, president of IG-Metall. It is his union which organises the steel-workers currently on strike in the Ruhr.

As further evidence of its sympathy for the struggles of the working class, the SPD

conference passed resolutions supporting the demand for the 35-hour working week and condemning the use of lock-outs.

But a move to instruct parliamentary deputies to introduce legislation banning lock-outs was rejected by a large majority.

Powerless

Among their other arguments, the 'moderates' pointed out that the SPD is powerless to make such moves, locked as it is in a (thoroughly reactionary) coalition with the bourgeois liberals of the Free Democratic Party.

Helmut Schmidt and his colleagues put on a brave show in Cologne and made the best they could out of the flimsy tatters of moth-eaten, hand-me-down principles which were the only costume they could borrow for the occasion.

But the audience of striking and locked-out steel workers was not noticeably moved.

After more than two weeks of the struggle negotiations are under way between the employers and union officials.

Despite fervent declarations from both sides that they cannot forsake the principles which are at stake, it is clear that they are moving towards

a 'settlement' of the dispute.

No illusions

The strikers must have no illusions that Loderer and co. will stand out for their full demands this time, rather than dish up the usual compromise and sell-out.

They must demand an end to secret negotiations with the bosses, and call for the election of negotiators mandated by, and directly accountable to the strikers.

Pressure must be renewed on the SPD to break its coalition with the bourgeoisie and impose the ban on lockouts.

At the same time the strike has to be extended to the whole steel industry, with demands on other trade unionists for effective blacking and full support for pickets.

Same problems

The steelworkers of West Germany are facing the same problems as all other workers in the steel industry internationally.

Their struggles will be aborted if they do not take up the fight to build a new leadership with policies and a revolutionary programme in opposition to the attacks of Schmidt and the betrayals of Loderer.



Eanes

the workers who once supported it.

This was only too apparent in the recent local elections in Alentejo where the Socialists' vote all but disappeared while the CP vote grew significantly.



Portuguese demonstration, 1975

BOYCOTT THE EEC ELECTIONS

Over the last few weeks, trade union and Labour Party branches have been bombarded with literature from a motley army of bureaucrats, careerists, left talkers and geriatrics wishing to be nominated for the European Parliament.

Until recently many constituencies had a policy of boycotting these elections, but most of this resistance has now collapsed.

Central to this has been the absence of any lead from the left MPs and other "lefts" within the Party.

For instance, Terry Hunt, Vice Chairman of the Campaign for Labour Party Democracy has recently circulated a letter requesting nomination.

In this letter his only argument against a boycott is that "there is insufficient agreement on it among the Anti-Market movement for it to be anything but counter-productive."

No agreement

We could have told Mr Hunt long ago that the "anti-Market movement" will never agree about anything of importance.

This is because it is an unholy alliance of national chauvinists and left fakers with different class roles (if not class interests).

Hunt says that we must have candidates who "are absolutely genuine in their motives and politics".

He goes on to describe himself as "Party activist and not an opportunist".

It is unfortunate for Mr



Hunt that being genuine is no protection against being an opportunist.

'Socialist Press' has always argued that the Common Market is an attempt to solve European capital-

ism's problems at workers' expense and that it should be broken up as a precondition for the building of a United Socialist States of Europe.

In Britain we know that



Parliament has only limited control over capitalism. The institutions of the Common Market have been specially devised to minimise any interference by national parliaments or the "European Parliament" over executive decisions by the Commission and Council of Ministers.

Advisory only

It is openly declared that the European Parliament will have only an advisory role.

In other words the whole thing is an elaborate and expensive farce.

The only principled

position must be a boycott. Mr Hunt's letter suggests that he personally agrees with this analysis.

Boycott

But where has he fought for a position of boycott to be accepted on a wider scale?

Even if this fight had been fought and lost, surely there is only one word to describe those who actively campaign to take part in what they know is a farce designed only to fool the European working class.

Hunt is an opportunist—even if a 'genuine' one!



A heavy blow against Smith

In a spectacular attack on a fuel storage depot in Salisbury liberation forces have shown their capacity to reach right to the heart of the country and deal important blows to the Smith regime.

So important and successful was the operation that both wings of the Patriotic Front, Joshua Nkomo's ZAPU and Robert Mugabe's ZANU are claiming responsibility.

The fire at the depot

continued to rage for several days and badly depleted stocks of oil.

Smith will depend on supplies from South Africa which itself has been investigating alternative sources since the struggles of the Iranian masses began to threaten shortages.

The South African government at present depends on Iran for more than 90% of its fuel imports.

Within the country the South African government has been stockpiling

supplies and has a reserve of between 40m and 60m tonnes.

Mr Chris Huennis, Minister for Economic Affairs has made it clear that these reserves will not be used.

Although restrictions on

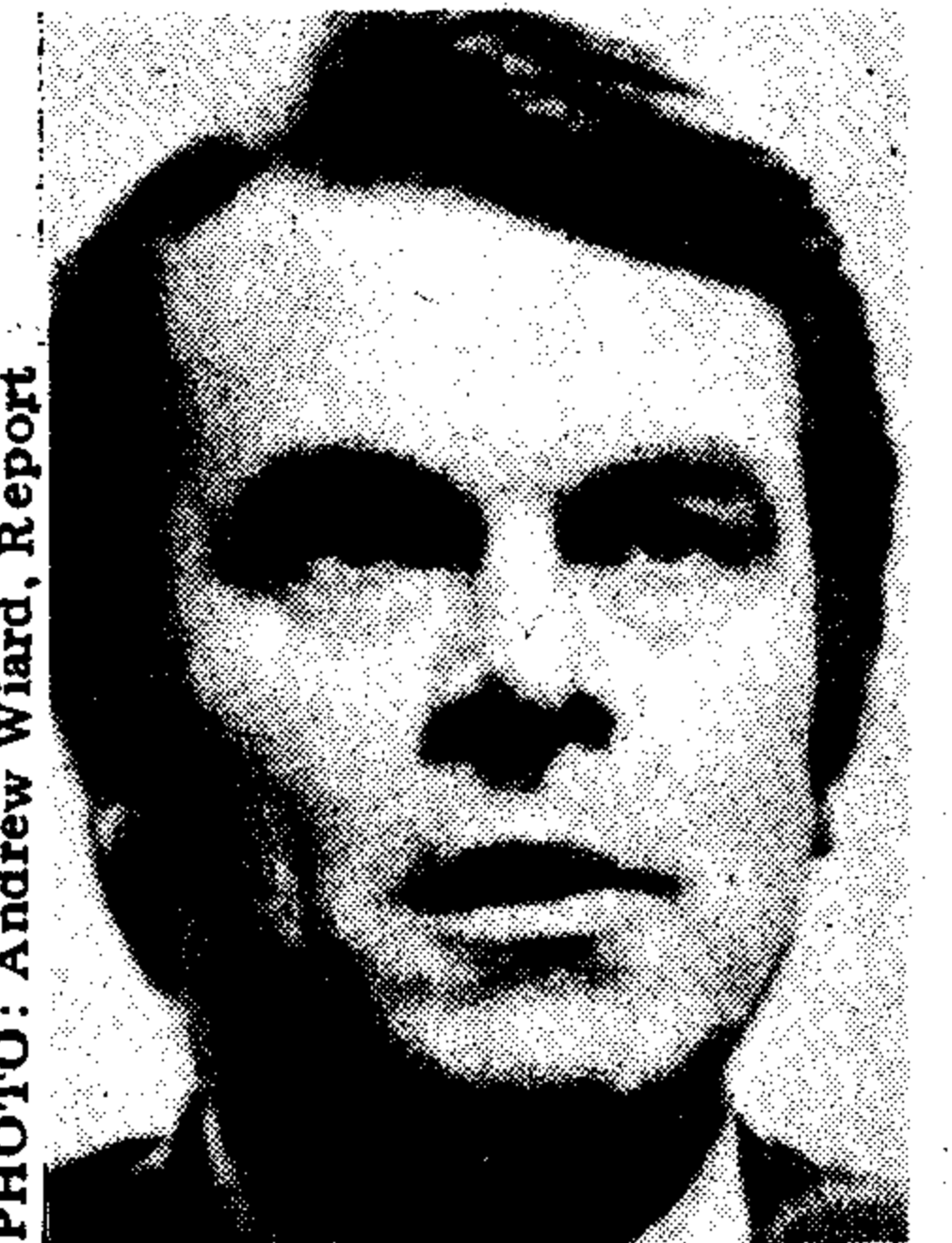
usage have not been introduced there have been regular appeals to the general public to conserve fuel.

Rhodesian oil consumption is fractional compared with South Africa's 320,000 barrels a day and it is likely that South Africa will be able to increase supplies without much difficulty.

Also, in recent months the oil companies have built up heavier commercial reserves before the expected price rise. This could well ease the immediate crisis.

The importance of the attack is that it shows the continued vulnerability of the reactionary Smith regime which could easily be swept away with a concerted effort by the Patriotic Front.

Instead Nkomo and Mugabe hold out for a deal with imperialism—manoeuvring between each other for positions in a future Zimbabwe government.



Owen

PHOTO: Andrew Ward, Report



Armagh march in solidarity with 'H' Block prisoners



Noel Murray in prison protest

We have just received news that Noel Murray and twenty-four others (the entire prison) have been 'on the blanket' at the Curragh Military Detention Camp since November 27, protesting about conditions.

Details of their protest are sketchy at this stage. Mrs. Murray arrived for her usual monthly meeting with her son to be told that no

visits were being allowed. Only later did she discover why—when asked to attend a press conference of the Prisoners' Rights Organisation.

One prisoner recently released has given a horrifying account of conditions since the appointment of a new Governor. He reports brutality from the Military Police and banging of doors and other noise during the night.

At the Press Conference

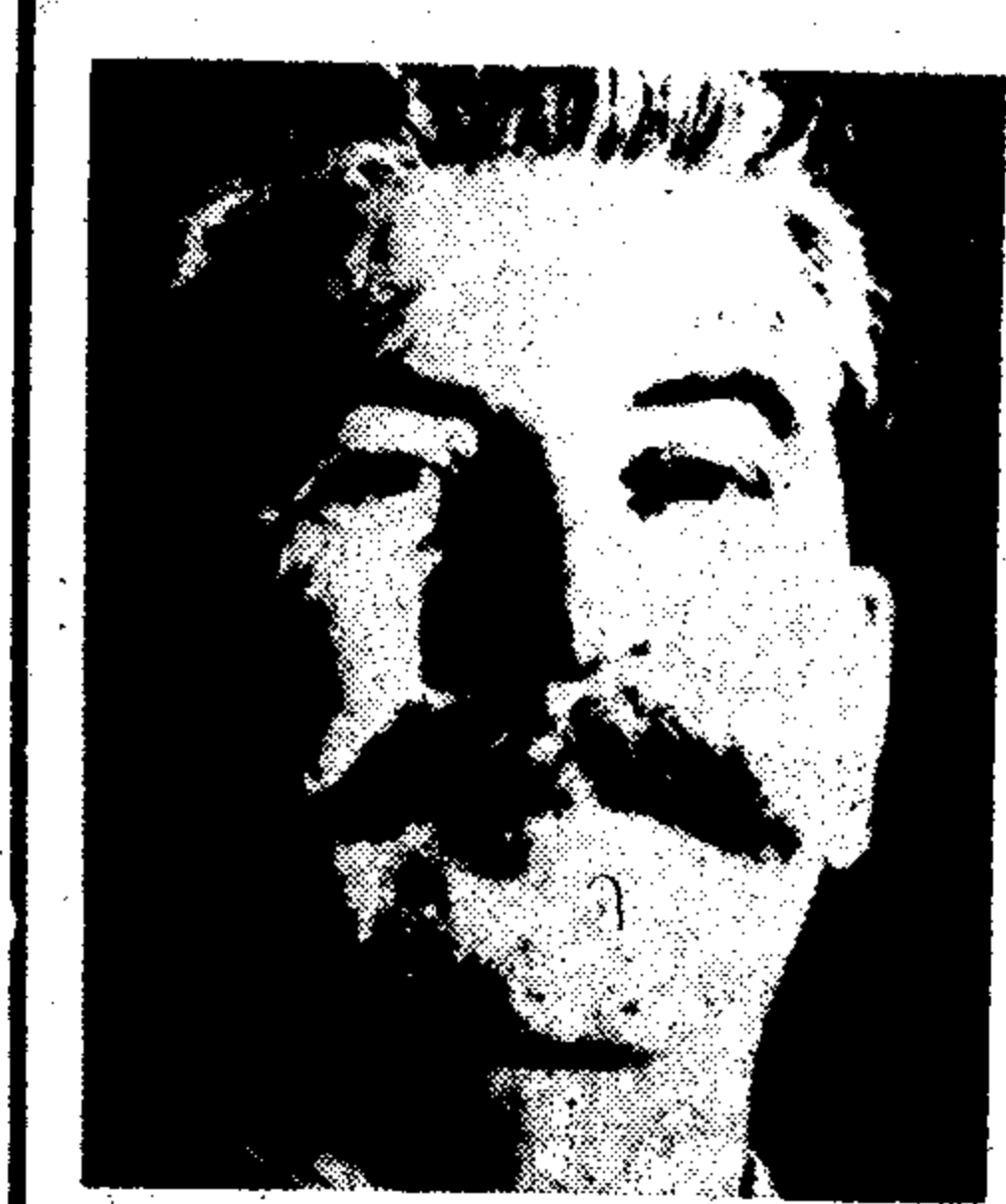
the "Punishment Cell" was described as "The Black Hole" where the prisoner's hands are manacled and he has to eat off his plate like a dog. There is no mattress and no light.

Suspended

Privileges at the prison have been suspended until January 27. 'Socialist Press' will publish further details as and when they become available.

Meanwhile the courageous men in H Block continue their campaign for political prisoner status. We salute their intransigence in the face of the brutality of British imperialism and urge the British labour movement to begin a serious campaign in support of their demands.

'Communists' Against Revolution



The key book for understanding post-war Stalinism. 166pp, £1.75 plus 20p post and packing from WSL, 31, Dartmouth Park Hill, London NWS 1HR

The Communist League of Struggle was led by Albert Weisbord who had organised important working class struggles such as at Passaic in 1926.

That particular fight had been sabotaged by the CP leadership of which Cannon was a part.

In *The First Ten Years of American Communism*, Cannon acknowledges the CP's betrayal but is careful not to go into detail about his own role.

This experience left Weisbord very critical of Cannon.

Sceptical

When he too broke with Stalinism and established the Communist League of Struggle, he was, to say the least, sceptical of Cannon's ability to build the Left Opposition in the USA.

Weisbord in correspondence with Trotsky claimed that the CLS should be preferred to the CLA as representatives of the Left Opposition in the USA.

Trotsky replied as follows: "You deride the publishing work of the League and you oppose to it 'mass action'."

"Have you any mass action behind you? Before we turn to the masses we must build a principled basis. We begin with a propagandist group and develop in the direction of mass action."

"Also your international connections, sympathies and half-sympathies speak against you. . . Tell me with whom you go and I will tell you what you are" (10-10-31).

In their reply, the CLS refuted Trotsky's charge that they derided the publishing activities of the CLA and agreed with the need to start as a propaganda group.

They went on to charge that the Cannon group wished to remain with "the quiet of the office desk".

They went on: "Attempting to win good fighters from the Communist Party they get mere college and high school students from the petty bourgeoisie. . ."

"Even when they were in the Party, the Cannon leadership has absolutely no record of mass work after they became Communists. . . Does a group deserve to be called anything better than a sterile sect when in the first two years of its existence it issued not even one agitational leaflet mobilising the workers in an independent manner?"

The CLS considered Trotsky's question about their record of main work to be wrongly posed.

Weisbord pointed to his own record in the CP and argued that at least they were now attempting mass work.

The reply to Trotsky lists attempts to build shop committees, involvement in various defence campaigns for class war prisoners, direction of comrades into larger factories and involvement in demonstrations.

Negro struggle

The Cannon group is charged with ignoring programmatic questions on American issues—in particular the negro struggle.

In reply to the charges of having doubtful allies in Europe, the CLS claimed that while they had united with no one, they were talking to some groups in Europe.

They further claimed that they were forced into this position by the refusal of the Left Opposition secretariat to answer their letters.

They went on to call for an international conference open to all who claimed adherence to the views of the International Left Opposition.

Rejecting Trotsky's claim that they had but recently split with Lovestone, they ended by arguing that it was Cannon not they who was preventing a fusion of the two groups.

Weisbord alleged that Cannon suppressed discussion within the CLA and called on Trotsky to bring together the two organisations for discussion. (Letter to Trotsky 3-11-31 quoted in *Class Struggle* 1-12-31).

Exchange

Following this, Weisbord had discussions with Trotsky and a further exchange of letters took place.

In his letter dated May 22nd 1932, Trotsky had taken Weisbord to task for his view that the CP, Lovestone and Cannon were much the same.

He also argues against the CLS positions on the Labor Party which he thinks places them in a camp with Lovestone, and rejects their call for a conference of all

THE BIRTH OF AMERICAN MARXISM

1978 marks the fiftieth anniversary of the emergence of the Trotskyist movement in the United States. The Socialist Workers Party which today claims to represent that tradition offers no more than a hollow mockery of the fighting spirit of that early movement. This article is Part 4 of a series in *Socialist Press* which will examine the early history of the SWP, the party so central in the 1930s to the launching of the Fourth International. -



Lenin and Zinoviev greet delegates to 2nd Congress of the Communist International

those claiming adherence to the Left Opposition.

"The Left Opposition is not a mechanical sum of vacillating groups but an international faction erected on the granite basis of the principles of Marxism. Marxism. . ."

"I was glad to hear from you that your group have nothing in common with Landau and his methods."

"Precisely for this reason, it is necessary to renounce once and for all the thoughts of transforming the International Left Opposition into a Noah's Ark."

"It is necessary to choose another road less precipitate but more serious and certain."

He has this to say, in the same letter about 'mass work' and a possible rapprochement between the CLS and the CLA:

"You stress with special energy the necessity of active participation on the part of the Left Opposition in general in the movement and struggle of the working masses."

"Although at the present stage the Left Opposition is, in the majority of countries, a propagandist organisation, it puts forth propaganda not in a sectarian but in a Marxist manner, that is to say upon the basis of participation in all the life of the proletariat."

"I am not able to admit that anyone of the leaders or of the members of the American League denies this principle."

"The question reduces itself to a great extent to the real possibility, to which pertains also natural capacity, experience and initia-



Poverty in 1930's USA

tive. "Let us admit, for a minute, that the American League lacks this or that possibility in mass work."

"I am ready to admit that your group would be able in that respect to complete the work of the American League."

"But mass work must be on the basis of definite principles and methods."

"Until the time that, in a number of fundamental questions, a necessary unanimity will be attained, disputes on 'mass work' will inevitably remain lifeless."

"... I have called the position of your group eclectic. By this I do not wish at all to express any condemnation as a whole which bars the possibility of a future rapprochement. . ."

"You must openly, clearly and attentively revise your baggage so as to take care to uncover by that not only your manifest political faults but also the historical and principled roots of these faults."

"I have reacted with such warm praise to the thesis of the Second Conference of the American League on the Labor Party because in this thesis there was taken not only a correct position in the essence of the question, but also there was given an open and courageous criticism of its own past."

"Only in this way can a revolutionary tendency assure itself seriously against a relapse."

Trotsky considered the Labor Party question as "the most important". So much so, that he wrote a separate letter to the CLS on it.



Gastonia textile workers strike

This is printed in Trotsky's *Writings 1932* and is in sharp contrast to the position later developed by Trotsky himself (and resisted by Cannon).

In 1932 Trotsky was of the opinion that the trade union bureaucrats would only turn towards the formation of a Labor Party under the intense pressure of the class struggle:

"The bureaucracy must receive a blow on the skull before taking such a 'radical' initiative. To prepare for that situation by calling for a Labor Party would be to ease the path of the bureaucrats."

"It was impossible to say in advance whether the development of such a party would be a step forward without being able to study the concrete circumstances and balance of forces under which such a development would take place."

"A reformist Labor Party would form a barrier to the development of a revolutionary party and Communists had no business preparing such a noose for themselves."

In attacking Weisbord's conception of the Labor Party as an integrated series of united fronts Trotsky says:

"(this) signifies a misunderstanding of the notions both of the united front and the party. The united front is determined by concrete circumstances for concrete aims."

"The party is permanent. In a united front we leave our hands free to break with our temporary allies."

"In a common party with these allies we are bound by discipline and even by the fact of the party itself."

He does, however, grant that a Labor Party created as a barrier to communism could be an arena for successful struggle:

"... but only under the condition that we consider the Labor Party not as 'our' party. . ."

Sharp battles

In reply, the CLS stuck to their view that sharp battles were approaching in which the working class would come into conflict with their bureaucratic misleaders.

They maintained that this would be reflected in a political development towards a Labor Party, initially taking an amorphous form, developing around concrete class issues.

They acknowledged Trotsky's warning about the straitjacket nature of a party which included bureaucrats and admitted that in thinking the amorphous stage of the preparation for the Labor Party to be one of an extended time scale they had indeed made an error.

A special reference supplement

What we mean when we say: ■ ■ ■

Why do we use Marxist terminology?

Socialist Press is a newspaper which presents a Marxist analysis of the events and topics that it covers.

Within the limited space available to us we present the most detailed possible examination of the class struggle both in Britain and on a world scale.

We attempt to bring into today's struggles lessons from the historical experiences of the working class movement and the long struggle for revolutionary politics.

But in doing so we are often obliged to use terminology which might strike the reader as unnecessarily complex and daunting.

Many words are used in

the pages of our press in a specific way, which may well appear to bear little or no relation to everyday language.

The reason for this is simple. Marxism is a *science*. Like any science, it needs a vocabulary to describe the forces, the processes and the changes it is analysing.

And, again like any science, it can only avoid using such a vocabulary and substitute more everyday words or phrases at the expense of brevity and precision.

We do not make a virtue out of using such terminology—which we know must present itself as a problem to many readers—and we keep it to a minimum in our

articles.

But to help even more we have taken the opportunity of this Christmas holiday issue to present a pull-out supplement offering brief explanations of some of the terms which you *won't* find explained in a dictionary.

The brevity of some of our explanations will mean that certain aspects of the terms defined will be left out. But the *length* of them compared to the term being defined will show why the use of a certain degree of scientific 'jargon' is necessary if we are to offer any serious analysis of the international class struggle!



COMMUNISM

A communist society is one in which class antagonisms have disappeared after the overthrow of capitalism by the working class.

Communism will be reached after the dictatorship of the proletariat where the bourgeois family unit has been replaced, and the wages system, the state machinery and the distinction between town and countryside have withered away.

Scientifically, then, communism would be a society where social relations are based not on exploitation but on true principles of progress that conform to the conditions of human nature." Lenin.

"The theory of the Communists may be summed up in the single sentence. Abolition of private property. By this is meant not the personal property of the wage labourer or even the petty artisan and peasantry, but bourgeois private property which exploits the many by the few." *Communist Manifesto*.

PERMANENT REVOLUTION

The theory developed by Trotsky after 1905, and subsequently adopted by Lenin, stressing the leading role of the working class in revolutionary struggles in backward, colonial and underdeveloped countries.

Trotsky showed in his book *Permanent Revolution* that in these countries even democratic demands such as national independence and land reform could only be carried out by a revolution led by the working class at the head of the peasantry.

In accomplishing these tasks, the revolution would then go beyond the limits of bourgeois private property and result in the completion of the socialist revolution.

Revolutionary defeatism

The outbreak of the First World War in 1914 brought a profound split in the ranks of the Second International, as the social democratic party in each imperialist country declared itself for the defence of its "own fatherland" against foreign aggression.

Lenin, Trotsky, Luxemburg and a tiny minority of the Second International stood out against this position, which they pointed out amounted to no more than support from these parties to their "own" ruling class.

In place of defence of the fatherland, the internationalists argue for a line of "revolutionary defeatism".

This stated that the primary question for the working class in any country is the revolutionary overthrow of its *own* bourgeoisie, and that such a struggle should be maintained even at the expense of a *defeat* in war of that bourgeoisie by a "foreign" rival.

Such a defeat, they argued, would be a far lesser evil to the working class than the formation of a political bloc between the workers' movement and the capitalist class.

Trotskyism

Leon Trotsky was, with Lenin, co-leader of the October 1917 revolution in Russia, and prominent in the founding and the first four congresses of the Communist International.

For his opposition to the growing bureaucratic power of the Stalinist clique in the Soviet Union and his outspoken criticism of their policies both within Russia and abroad, Trotsky, along with his supporters, was slandered, vilified, driven from leading positions in the government and the Party and eventually expelled and driven into exile.

But his consistent struggle for the principles of Marxism and the continuity of Lenin's fight for international revolution continued to attract the best and most tenacious fighters, and laid the basis for the formation of the Fourth International in 1938.

Trotskyism is therefore the general term for the system of ideas and the wealth of practical experience that today forms the continuity of revolutionary Marxism and the October Revolution.



Trotsky

LENINISM

Lenin's particular achievement was in taking the theoretical positions of Marx and Engels and wedding them to a particular form of the Bolshevik party, organised on a professional, centralised basis, and capable of the analysis and the sharp tactical turns necessary in

the long struggles prior to the October Revolution.

Lenin's basic positions on the party spelled out in the key 1902 book *What is To Be Done?* are summed up in the retrospective account presented in *Left Wing Communism, an Infantile Disorder* (1920).

Dictatorship of the proletariat

The dictatorship of the proletariat is a transitional period between capitalism and socialism, commencing with the seizure of power by the armed

working class led by the revolutionary party.

During this period it is necessary for the working class to establish its authority and begin the expropriation of the employers and lay the foundations for a planned economy and the social transformation of society.

While this social transformation is taking place, classes do not automatically disappear but continue to exist.

Lenin also extended and developed Marx's analysis of the capitalist state, the capitalist economic crisis and the struggle of nations for self-determination.

His lifelong commitment to internationalism was demonstrated by his fight for the foundation of the Third (Communist) International in 1919.

But his death in 1924 marked the consolidation of the power of the Stalinist bureaucracy, which usurped Lenin's name in the pursuit of their own reactionary nationalist positions.

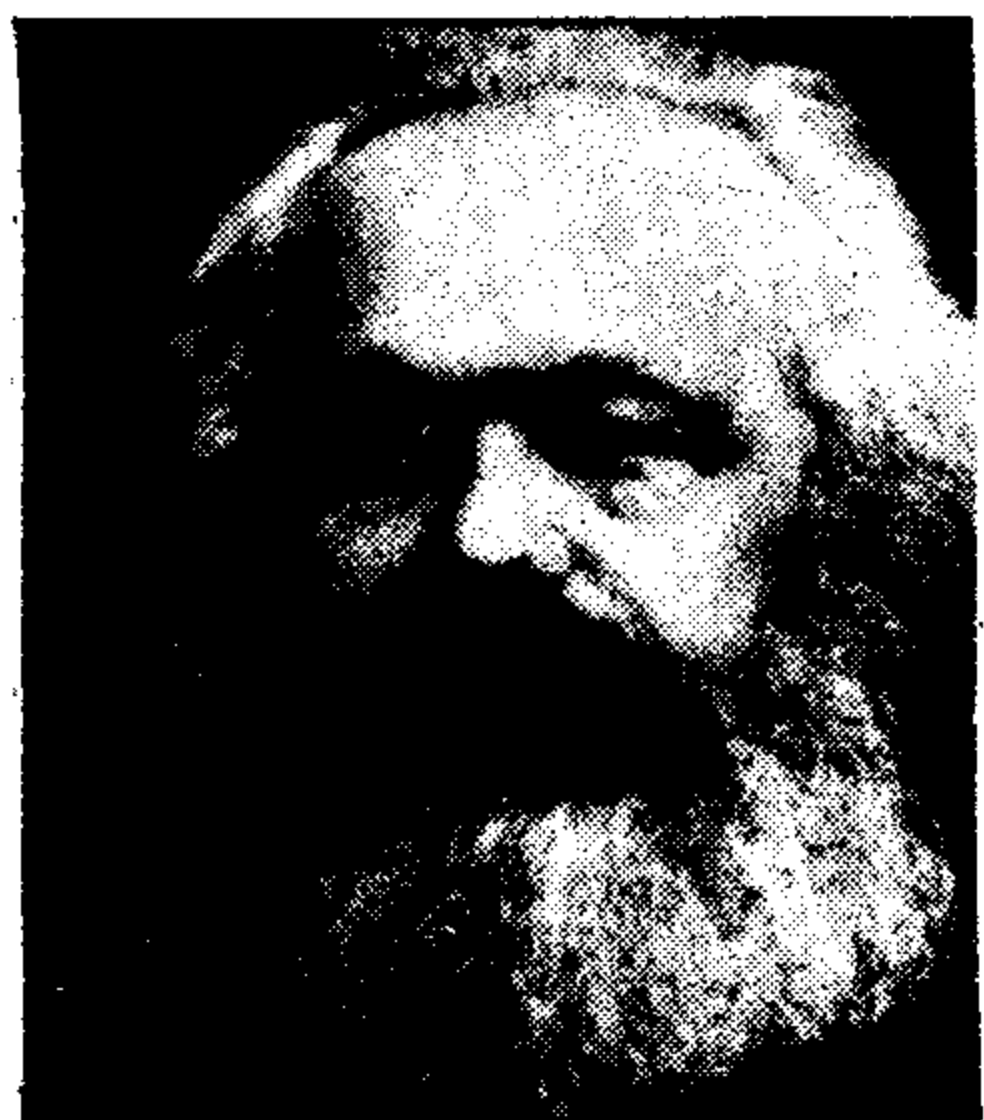
Dialectical materialism

The Marxist theory of knowledge and world-view, which understands the universe as composed of *matter in motion*.

Material reality is the product of continuing movement and change brought about through the conflict and interaction—the *dialectic*—of opposite forces.

People's ideas too, produced by the material processes of their material brains, are only one of the infinite forms of the expression of changing matter, reflecting the social, historical and economic reality of the day.

Once the world is grasped as a *process* of opposed material forces in conflict and in movement, dialectical materialism offers to revolutionary Marxists



Marx

the tools for probing beneath the surface appearance of the class struggle and analysing the

forces and laws of motion that drive it forward.

Trotsky points out: "The fundamental flaw of vulgar thought lies in the fact that it wishes to content itself with motionless imprints of a reality which consists of eternal motion . . .

"Dialectical thinking is related to vulgar thinking in the same way that a motion picture is related to a still photograph. The motion picture does not outlast the still photograph, but combines a series of them according to the laws of motion." (In *Defence of Marxism*, p.65-6).

See also Engels *Ludwig Feuerbach and the End of Classical German Philosophy*.

DEMOCRATIC CENTRALISM

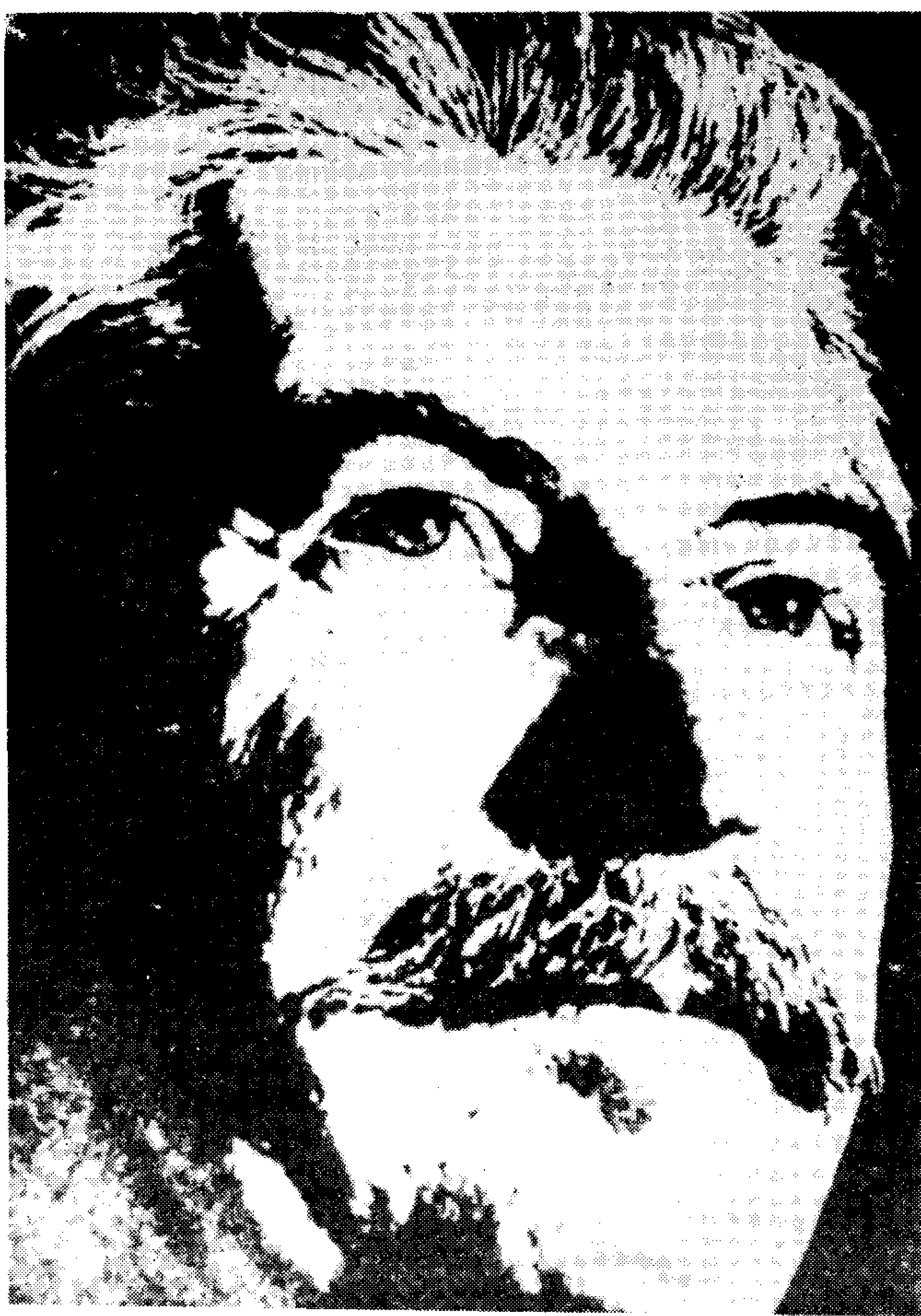
The method of organisation fought for by Lenin in the Bolshevik Party, maximising democratic discussion in the making of decisions, and then ensuring full, centralised discipline of the party in carrying out decisions.

Under the Stalinist bureaucracy democratic centralism was perverted to *bureaucratic centralism*, in which the party became simply the tool of the

leading bureaucrats.

The Fourth International in 1938 restored Lenin's form of organisation:

"Without inner democracy—no revolutionary education. Without discipline—no revolutionary action. The inner structure of the Fourth International is based on principles of democratic centralism; full freedom in discussion, complete unity in action."



STALINISM

Popul

Stalinism is the term to describe the politics of the bureaucratic caste headed by Josef Stalin, which rose to political power in the acute economic dislocation of the Soviet Union in the 1920s, and which remains there to this day.

"The Soviet Union emerged from the October Revolution as a workers state. State ownership of the means of production, a necessary prerequisite to socialist development, opened up the possibility of rapid growth of the productive forces.

But the apparatus of the workers' state underwent a complete degeneration at the same time: it was transformed from a weapon of the working class into a weapon of bureaucratic violence against the working class, and more and more a weapon for the sabotage of the country's economy.

The bureaucratisation of a backward and isolated workers' state and the transformation of the bureaucracy into an all-powerful privileged caste constitute the most convincing refutation—not only theoretically, but this time practically—of the

theory of socialism in one country.

The USSR thus embodies terrific contradictions. But it still remains a degenerated workers state." (Trotsky, *Transitional Programme*).

This bureaucratisation of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union led directly to the transformation of the Communist International and every one of the national Communist Parties from instruments of world revolution into the tools and mouthpieces of the Stalinist bureaucracy.

The Stalinists' privileges and position rested increasingly on balancing between the nationalised property relations of the Soviet Union on the one hand and deals with imperialism on the other—rationalised through Stalin's 1924 "theory" of building "socialism in a single country".

Conscious opposition

This drove the bureaucracy by the mid 1930s to a position of conscious opposition to revolutionary movements within the international working class which might disrupt this

delicate balance of forces.

When in 1933 the crushing of the German working class by the Nazis failed to raise a flicker of interest or life from the Communist International, Trotsky declared it completely bureaucratised and "dead for the purposes of revolution".

He called for the building of the Fourth International.

Stalinism, however, lives on in the various national Communist Parties, still reflecting the counter-revolutionary politics of the parasitic Kremlin bureaucracy.

In the post war period this bureaucracy has ensured that even the collapse of imperialist control over Eastern Europe, parts of Asia and Cuba has not led to independent proletarian revolutions.

In fighting Stalinism, we as Trotskyists start out from the defence and extension of the gains of the October revolution—the still-intact nationalised property relations in the USSR and the degenerated workers states.

We argue for the building of Trotskyist parties in these countries for the political overthrow of the Stalinist bureaucracy and for world revolution.

In the wake of the 1933 defeat of the German working class by Hitler, the Stalinist movement reluctantly abandoned its catastrophic ultra-left policy, and in 1934 adopted the strategy of the all-inclusive "People's Front" against fascism.



EPIGONISM: Epigones are corrupt the teachings of their leaders for the Stalinist bureaucracy, w

Revisionism

Quite simply, 'revisionism' is a general term meaning the revising, and therefore the abandonment of basic propositions, principles and concepts developed by the revolutionary movement.

Under this general heading go a wide variety of deviations

from the positions developed by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky, many of which are explained in more detail below.

When we attack revisionism it does not mean that we regard Marxism as an unchanging, wooden dogma.

But in trying to understand, respond to and intervene in today's struggles, it is necessary to start from and to defend the methods and principles established in the past by revolutionaries who have drawn on their wealth of practical and theoretical experience.

Opportunism

Within the bureaucratic leaderships of workers' political and trade union organisations, opportunism means exploiting the strength of the working class not to secure its demands, but to secure the position and privilege of the leaders themselves.

Such leaders effectively balance between the two main classes of society, but remain, in the last analysis, committed to preserving a "peaceful coexistence" between the working class and the capitalists.

But certain would-be 'revolutionaries', taking the occasional left wing speeches of such leaders at face value, seek through political compromises with them to find a short cut to the mass membership of their organisations.

Such behaviour, dropping both principles and programme in the hopes of easy pickings, is also opportunism.

Empiricism

Perhaps the most common failing of would-be revolutionaries, empiricism is an approach to the class struggle based not on any depth of analysis but on the superficial appearances of events.

The empiricist sees history as a succession of "facts" and single "exceptional" events, and not in the Marxist manner as a process unfolding as a result of internal laws of motion.

Engels summed up the empiricist approach:

"In the contemplation of individual things it forgets the connection between them; in the contemplation of their existence it forgets the beginning and end of that existence; of their repose, it forgets their

motion. It cannot see the wood for the trees." (Socialism, Utopian and Scientific).

Empiricism therefore produces in those groups which follow this method, repeated, abrupt and apparently arbitrary shifts of policy with each turn in the political situation, since for them, policies are based not on the fundamental processes of the class struggle but on surface appearances alone.

The empiricist consistently claims to recognise "reality"—but is in fact consistently surprised by events, and left chasing after them.

Pabloism, state capitalism and rank and fileism are among the most obvious empirical tendencies.

State capitalism

One of the currents that argues that the rise of the Stalinist bureaucracy in the Soviet Union in the mid 1920s amounted to a reversal of the gains of the October 1917 revolution and the establishment of the bureaucracy as a new ruling class in what was now a "state capitalist" regime.

This superficial analysis—which sees the Kremlin bureaucracy in a one-sided, a-historical way—is now most often encountered in the British Socialist Workers Party (formerly the International Socialists).

The founder of IS, Tony Cliff, was correctly expelled from the Fourth International in 1950 for his refusal to support either China or North Korea against military attack by US imperialism.

For an examination of the class nature of the Soviet Union and an answer to the "state capitalist" position see Trotsky's books *Revolution Betrayed* and *In Defence of Marxism*.



Workerism

A vague, comparatively new term, coined and generally used by petty bourgeois revisionist groups, to describe movements that are thought to be obsessive-

ly orientated towards the working class. Since it lacks any serious content, the term is not used in the pages of *Socialist Press*.

Pabloism

Michel Pablo was secretary of the post-war Trotskyist Fourth International.

Under the pressure of acute isolation and the continued survival of the Kremlin bureaucracy, Pablo was taken in by the appearances of a break from Stalinism by the Yugoslavian Communist Party under Tito in 1949.

Pablo developed the theory that the YCP had ceased to be a counter-revolutionary party, and had evolved, under pressure of its mass membership, into a centrist, even a revolutionary party. If this were true in Yugoslavia, why not in the mass Western CPs?

Seeing this as a short cut to the building of revolutionary parties, Pablo insisted on Trotskyist groups throughout Europe turning towards "entry" into the mass Communist Parties, in the hope that this would speed up their "evolution" towards revolutionary politics.

This policy led in 1953 to a split in the Fourth International.

Of course no CP did evolve in this way, and every one of Pablo's impressions was proven false.

Nothing daunted, and still seeking a short cut to the building of a mass movement, Pablo then turned towards compromises with the various nationalist forces leading colonial revol-

utions,

His method of approach to building the party was copied by many fellow leaders of the Fourth International.

Pabloism, the eternal search for a ready-made revolutionary party, and the avoidance of the principled struggle for the Trotskyist programme, thus lives on today in the opportunist politics of the various groupings calling themselves the Fourth International and is carbon-copied by the politics of the present day leadership of the 'United' Secretariat of the Fourth International under Ernest Mandel.

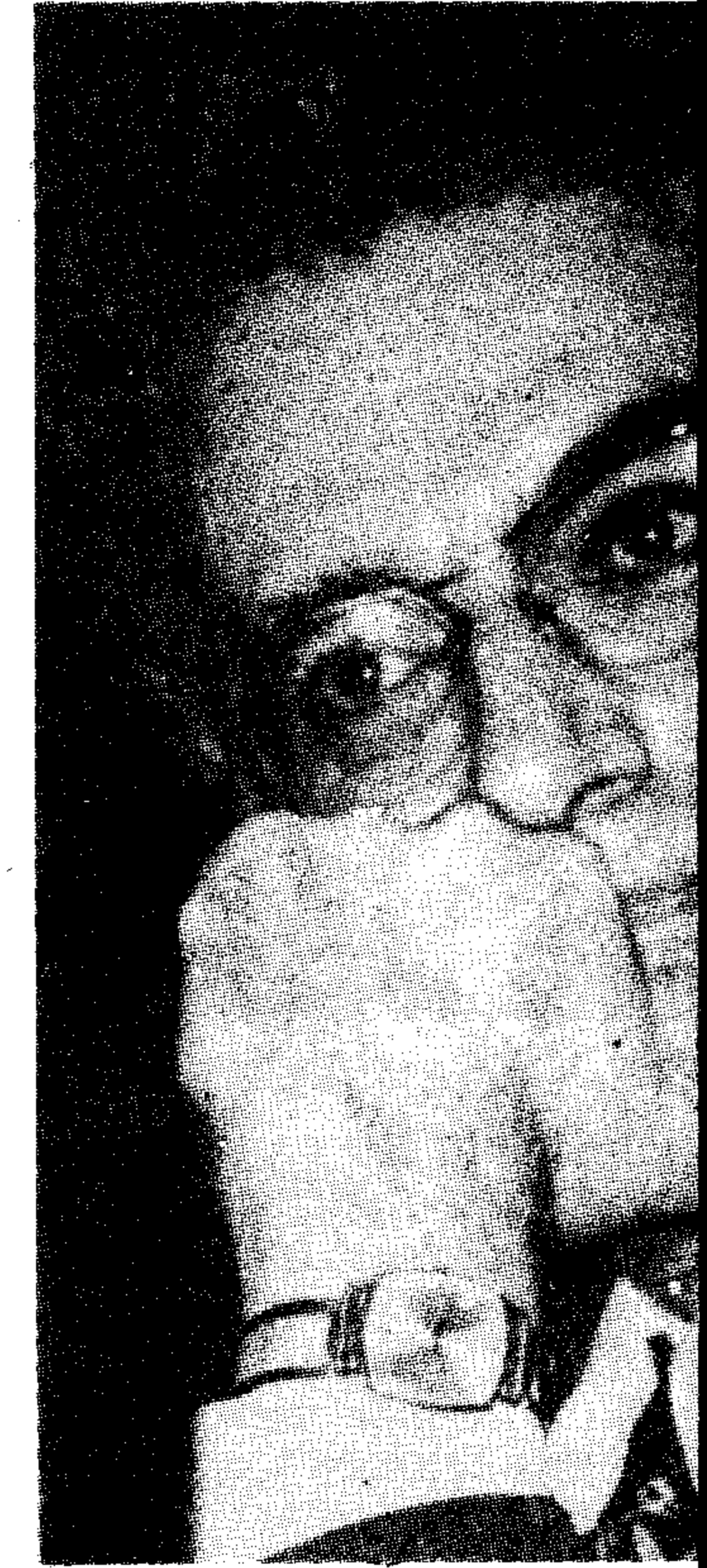
Hence Mandelism equals Pabloism.

Abstentionism

A conscious refusal by a self-styled "revolutionary" group to involve itself in the struggles of the working class.

Electoralism

Preoccupation with involvement in elections, creating the illusion that such elections in themselves offer a way forward for the working class.



HEALY

Brand of revisionism associated with Gerry Healy, currently a leader of the British Workers Revolutionary Party, and the "International Committee of the Fourth International" of which he is a founder member.

Healy's politics combine sec-

ULTRA-LEFTISM

Ultra-leftism amounts to a refusal to use bourgeois parliaments, elections or any tactics or manoeuvres in the struggle for socialism.

In particular it signifies a wrong position (Third Periodism) on the fight against the reformist leaders.

In the Third and Fourth Congresses of the Third International it was recognised that the task of breaking workers from social democracy could not be achieved by proclamations.

The tactic of the *United Front* was adopted, involving calls on the social democratic leaders to engage in joint struggles alongside the Communists, so that the treachery of the social democrats could be exposed in practice.

Ultra-leftism rejects such tactics, and attempts to substitute shrill denunciations of the

social democrats, and even the building of alternative "red" unions, for patient struggle among the mass of the working class.

The most catastrophic example of such a policy was in the period 1928-34, defined by Stalin as the *Third Period*—the final period of capitalism, heralding its collapse and its replacement by soviets.

In line with this forecast Stalin directed the Communist International on a course which involved branding social democratic parties as social fascist parties and a complete rejection of the *United Front*.

This produced a disastrous split in the powerful German labour movement, which eventually facilitated in 1933 Hitler's rise to power.

For the Marxist position on bourgeois elections, the use of Parliament, and the reformist

leaders, see Lenin, *Left Wing Communism, An Infantile Disorder*.

SECTARIANISM

The substitution of fixed formulas and abstract propaganda for a constant study of objective conditions and active intervention and participation in the class struggle.

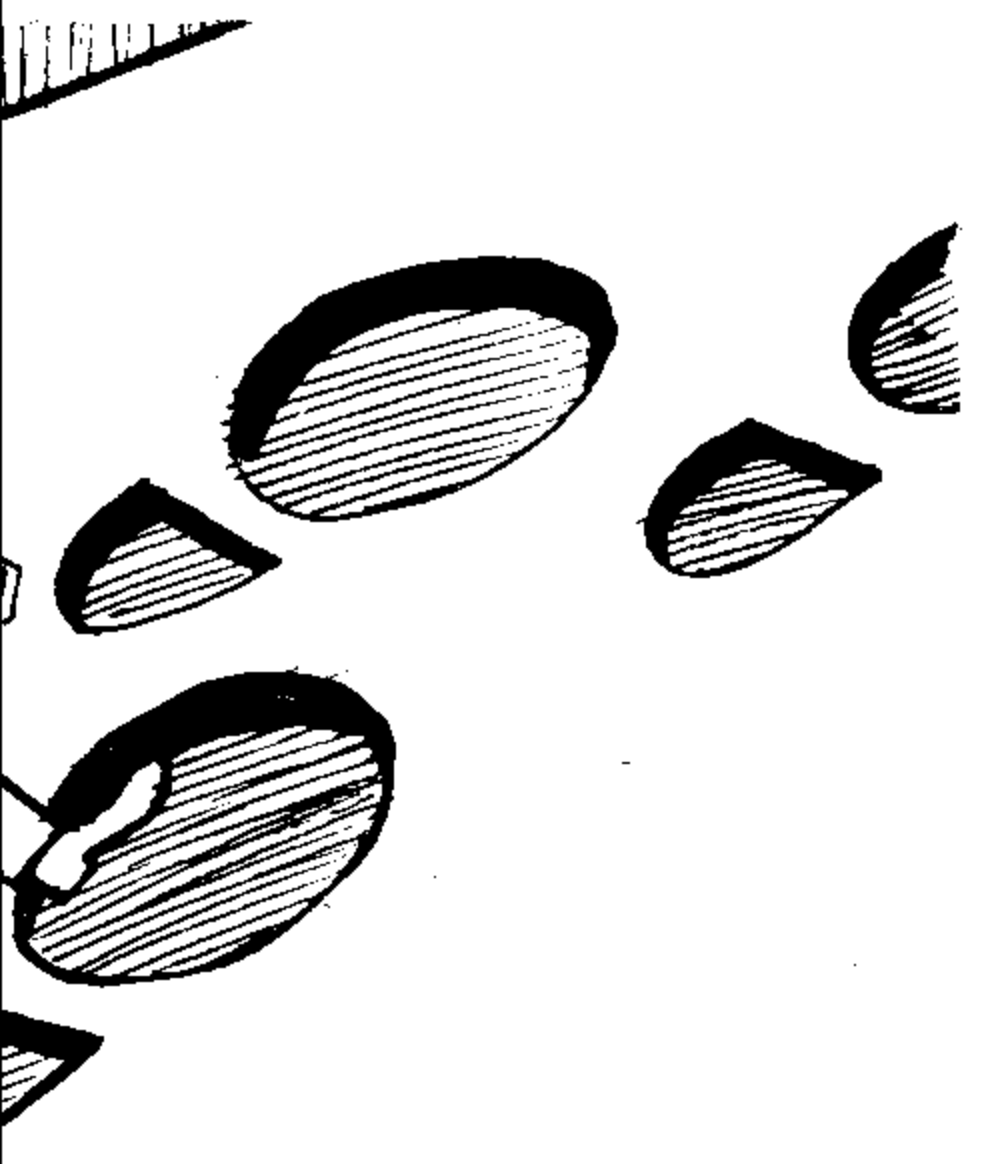
Sectarianism separates the creation of a revolutionary programme from the need for the working class to accept it, and sees political discussion, not as a functional instrument, but as a goal in itself.

Contemporary expressions of sectarianism can be seen in opposition to the tactic of voting for Labour in elections.

Sectarianism is often accompanied by a haughty and arrogant manner and a pronounced tendency towards intrigue, gossip and hysteria.

Populism

These "fronts" included not only the other mass workers' parties—the social democrats hitherto branded as "social fascists"—but also so-called "Progressive" sections of the bourgeoisie, who were supposedly allies of the working class in the struggle for democracy



followers who falsify and leader. Trotsky used the term to pose as "Leninists".



YISM

tarian abstention from the struggles of the working class with an ultra-left refusal to fight for transitional demands, and an opportunist adaptation to petty bourgeois nationalist leaders such as Yassir Arafat, Libyan dictator Gaddafi and the Iraqi Ba'athist regime as well as the Vietnamese Stalinist regime in Hanoi.



Healy

against fascism. In order not to alienate such parties, the Popular Fronts were built on a programme which excluded socialist policies of nationalisation or any independent mobilisation of the working class. As a result the Spanish Popular Front paved the way for the victory of Franco in 1939.

This same policy of subordinating the workers' movement to bourgeois parties re-emerged in the post-war period, and is now the predominant policy of the Communist Parties of Western Europe and internationally.

The policy has been raised to the level of a "theory" in the work of Italian, Spanish and French Stalinist leaders and their 'theory' of Eurocommunism, in which verbal criticisms of the degenerated workers' states is combined with support for bourgeois governments and political blocs with bourgeois parties.

Liquidationism

The term liquidationist is now applied to political groups and tendencies which seek to dissolve the independence of the revolutionary party of the working class in an opportunist relationship with another, broader, often politically hostile or non-proletarian formation.

Thus Pabloism in the 1950s threatened to liquidate the forces of Trotskyism into Stalinist parties, and, later, into petty bourgeois nationalist movements in the colonial countries.

Liquidationism does not necessarily result in the organisational loss of membership; but it does, invariably mean an abandonment of the independent programme of Marxism.

Propagandism

While any revolutionary movement must argue the case for revolutionary socialism through the distribution of propaganda material—leaflets, newspapers, pamphlets, books—this is only part of the work necessary to construct a revolutionary leadership in the working class.

The Trotskyist Transitional Programme adopted in 1938 clearly states that the task of the Fourth International is to carry out a combination of "agitation, propaganda and organisation" in the fight to build parties in each country.

Lenin defined agitation as conveying few ideas to many people, as opposed to propaganda work which consists in conveying a whole complex of ideas to a comparatively few people.

Propagandists are those groups which get so immersed in the production of abstract propaganda that they are unable to relate to the working class.

Guerrillaism

Seeking to substitute armed guerrilla struggle by small groups based in rural areas for the necessary mobilisation of both workers and peasants around a programme of transitional and democratic demands.

Guerrillaism in relation to Latin America became a majority trend within the 'United' Secretariat of the Fourth International in the 1960s, in the aftermath of the Cuban revolution.

The very document on which the 1963 'reunification' took place talked of inserting the 'strategy' of guerrilla warfare into the Trotskyist programme.

The policy, enshrined in the 1969 9th World Congress, led to wholesale confusion and to tragic losses among the USFI forces in Latin America, but has only recently been formally discarded by the USFI leadership.

Centrism

A general term for a party, political current or an individual vacillating between reformism and revolutionary politics.

As Trotsky points out, the centrist hates all precise characterisations, and is "unable to understand that principles are not dead ballast, but a lifeline to a revolutionary swimmer".

MENSHEVISM

The opportunist wing of the Russian Social Democratic Party which split with Lenin in 1903 over the issue of party rules.

Lenin wanted a strongly centralised party with discipline over its membership; the Mensheviks wanted a party which would accept "any striker" as a member, without obligation to act under the party's control.

The Menshevik politics reflected their view that the working class should combine with the liberal bourgeoisie to overthrow Tsarism and establish a "democratic republic" as a stage prior to social revolution, and eventually opposed the October 1917 revolution.

REFORMISM

The view developed by Bernstein and others in the German Social Democratic Party (2nd International) at the turn of the century that the ultimate goal of socialism could be achieved by the "gradual", "peaceful" and "democratic" reform of the capitalist system.

The material basis on which the ideas of reformism came to dominate the European labour movement—leading to the degeneration of the Second International—was the increasing prosperity of European capitalism as a result of the huge drive to colonise the world in the second half of the nineteenth century.

The crumbs from the super profits were made available to, in particular the organised skilled sections of workers thus strengthening the view that gradual reform could lead towards socialism.

In reality the reformist leaders, for example, of the Labour Party and the TUC, have no intention of fighting for socialism and are only concerned with preventing conflict between the working class and the capitalists through their "skills" at negotiating



Healy

higher wages and better conditions for the working class.

As capitalism enters a crisis the objective needs and requirements of the working class come into increasing conflict with the needs and requirements of the bosses.

Unable to win further reforms from crisis-ridden capitalism, the reformist leaders are forced to turn to a defence of the capitalist system against their own members and supporters.

Such actions inevitably provoke conflicts between the cratic reformist leaders and the

reformist ideas that they peddle.

This conflict brings with it the possibility of a complete break by whole sections of the working class from reformism.

At such a point the role of the left reformists is to try and head off such a movement with their left wing rhetoric.

But these spineless talkers (e.g. the Tribunes) are completely unwilling and indeed unable to lead a consistent fight against the right wing.

They are just as wedded to reformism as the most die-hard right wing reformist.

Maoism

The particular brand of Stalinist politics linked with Mao Tse-tung, leader of the Chinese Communist Party, which had ridden to power in the wake of the collapse of the imperialist-backed Chiang Kai-shek regime in 1949.

Mao remained a diehard defender of Stalin and of "socialism in a single country", but from an even weaker material base than the Kremlin bureaucracy in the Russia of the 1920s.

Economism, spontaneity

Trade unions have historically been built by workers who lack any depth of political awareness.

They arise from the spontaneous desires of the working class to fight back against the attacks of the employer, and to improve

their working conditions and living standards.

As such, therefore, trade unions are reformist organisations fighting for concessions within the framework of capitalism.

These struggles are for this

Syndicalism

Here, trade unions are seen as sufficient ends in themselves. The syndicalist argues that politics should be kept out of the trade unions and in fighting for this opposes revolutionary politics.

This can lead militant workers completely away from becoming revolutionary because it plays on their hostility to bourgeois, parliamentary politics and, using this progressive feeling, turns workers away from their only source of development, i.e. revolutionary

politics.

This is basing itself on the backward consciousness of sections of the working class and attempting to limit the development of revolutionary leadership in the working class.

Revolution will not come through trade unions alone, it will only come through the development of a revolutionary party that fights within the trade unions but also in all spheres where capitalist oppression takes place for soviet-type organs of power that include all the oppressed sectors of society.

Trade unions are defensive organisations that are not designed for state power.

Within them the forces can be developed that take state power and they should be the educational training ground for the working class.

But the working class needs to develop new organs for its dictatorship over the capitalist class.

The syndicalist wants to limit the working class to defensive, reformist struggles within the trade unions; but the revolutionary wants the working class to learn within those struggles of the necessity to take state power and so he struggles for a communist perspective in those struggles.

Subjectivism Individualism

The objective processes of the class struggle and the necessary response by the revolutionary movement can only be understood if the individual is prepared to subordinate his/her personal moods, feelings, preconceptions and prejudices to the task of analysing the conflicting forces at work.

If this is not done, then the subjective feelings of the individual can distort the analysis or cut across the necessary intervention by the revolutionary party in the given situation.

Subjectivism, this failure to engage dispassionately in political analysis, is particularly hard to overcome in the case of people with a professional or petty bourgeois background, whose entire educational and social training has taught them to value themselves as individuals and their personal prestige.

Individualism, an expression of subjectivism, arises when individual members of the revolutionary party seek to act not under the discipline of the party, drawing on its strength and assisting its work, but on their own personal whims and decisions, thus cutting themselves off from the party's experience and often sabotaging its actions.

Bourgeois ideology, which portrays everyone as "individuals" and fails to recognise the class divisions of society, reinforces this tendency, and ensures that it is a continuing problem to be fought within the revolutionary movement.

reason in general not political, but economic, in that what is at stake is seen not as the ownership of a particular factory or industry, but the wages and conditions meted out by the owners to the workforce.

Such an approach leaves political control firmly in the hands of the bourgeoisie and the labour bureaucracy.

Lenin, in *What is to be Done?* pointed to the need for revolutionaries to wage a fight against this, the existing level of consciousness of the working class, if a leadership is to be built capable of leading the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism.

Those who took the opposing view were termed 'Economists'—since they believed that the task of revol-

utionaries was merely to support and "link up" the spontaneous, trade union struggles of the working class, and "lend them a political character".

Lenin referred to these daily trade union struggles of the working class as "spontaneity" and stressed the need for the scientific method of Marxism to be fought for within such struggles.

The anti-political approach of the Economists, and their pandering to the most elementary levels of trade union consciousness are today aped by the British Socialist Workers Party.

Their political method—sometimes referred to as *rank and fileism*—avoids any fight within the working class for the programme or methods of Marxism, substituting in their place militant trade union demands.



ADVENTURISM: Willingness to enter into major struggles without political preparation or adequate forces to protect those involved. Ill-conceived actions in response to provocations by the forces of the state.

FEMINISM

Militant advocacy and struggle for women's rights. Bourgeois feminist movements seek such rights within the framework of capitalism, whereas socialists recognise that the full equality of women is unachievable without the socialist transformation of society and the elimination of the oppression of the bourgeois family unit.

politics and single-issue campaigning put forward by the bourgeois feminists.

This leads them into the swamp of "autonomous" women's groups excluding men.

Taken to extremes, radical feminism winds up as active hatred of men.

While revolutionary feminists see the struggle for women's rights as inseparable from the struggle for the liberation of the working class, the bourgeois feminists see it as a separate and distinct struggle.



Trotsky

BONAPARTISM

"The decline of capitalist society places Bonapartism—side by side with fascism and coupled with it—again on the order of the day . . . It suppresses civil war, or precedes it, or does not allow it to rekindle." (Trotsky)

The scientific understanding of Bonapartism was developed by Marx and later Trotsky when they analysed the dictatorships of the emperors Napoleon Bonaparte and Napoleon III in France.

Bonapartist regimes can appear in various guises—headed by bureaucratic cliques

(Tunisia), military juntas (Pakistan), or fascist parties, or emerging from within parliamentary democracy (the process under way in Sri Lanka).

In his writings on Germany in 1932, Trotsky showed the conditions under which such regimes are created, and the historical task they are required to perform.

"Two mighty camps are locked in irreconcilable conflict. Neither side can win by parliamentary means. Neither would

willingly accept a decision unfavourable to it. Such a split in society foreshadows a civil war.

"The threat of civil war creates a need in the ruling class for an arbiter and commander, for a Caesar. That precisely is the function of Bonapartism . . ."

" . . . a Bonaparte is by no means indispensable for Bonapartism. The existence of two irreconcilable camps is enough.

The role of the all-powerful arbiter can be filled by a clique instead of a person . . ."

"Every regime claims to stand above classes, safeguarding

the interests of the whole. But the effects of social forces cannot be so easily determined as those in the field of mechanics.

The government itself is made of flesh and bone. It is bound up with certain classes and their interests.

In peaceful times a democratic parliament seems to be the best instrument for reconciling conflicting forces. But when fundamental forces veer off at 180-degree angles, pulling in opposite directions, then the opening for a Bonapartist dictatorship appears."



ZIONISM

A reactionary doctrine invented in 1895 by a Hungarian-born Jewish journalist called Theodor Herzl.

Herzl, who was an admirer of Cecil Rhodes and other nineteenth century colonialists, wrote in his pamphlet *The Jewish State* that anti-semitism should be opposed not by fighting those responsible for it or by changing the economic and social conditions that brought it about but by setting up a state for Jews, from which all other nationalities would be excluded.

The Zionist movement has always operated by obtaining support from the chief imperialist powers and anyone else available.

Thus in the early period, it convinced the British government that it would be in their strategic interests to set up 'a new Ulster' in the Middle East against the development of Arab liberation movements.

So in August 1917 the

Conservative-Liberal coalition published the 'Balfour Declaration' supporting a Jewish state—though not, it should be noted, at the expense of the local inhabitants.

The Zionists later turned against the British and won the support of Stalin's Russia and of the US imperialists for the setting up of the racially exclusive state of Israel in 1948.

This state has never occupied merely the territory set out for it by the United Nations in 1948, but has expanded its frontiers by a series of predatory wars in 1948, 1956 and 1967, carried out in alliance with various sections of imperialism.

The development of a militant movement of the dispossessed Palestinians since the 1960s and the setback of the

Zionist military forces in the 1973 war have brought the Zionists to concentrate on establishing friendly relations with those sections of the Arab bourgeoisie, notably Sadat of Egypt who have little chance of getting support amongst the masses in their own countries.

The Zionists have won the firm support of a number of British reformist leaders—from Ramsey MacDonald to Harold Wilson and a number of Tribune 'lefts' today.



Fascist dictator Franco

FASCISM

Desperate 'last card' of crisis-ridden capitalism whereby the most prosperous section of the capitalist class mobilises a rabble of ruined petty businessmen, backward layers of workers, and other reactionary currents around racist, nationalist and anti-union agitation and uses them as a battering ram to attack and destroy the organisations and democratic rights of the working class.

Against fascism, Trotsky argued for a united front of all

workers organisations, the establishment of workers' defence squads, and a programme of socialist demands designed both to defend past gains and to lead on to the socialist revolution which alone could put an end to the fascist menace.

NATIONALISM

The working class, as Marx and Engels said, "has no country".

It is an *international* class, the first class in world history, capable of creating a society without class or national antagonisms.

Revolutionary Marxism, therefore, is hostile to nationalism in general since it is an obstacle to world socialism.

Lenin, however, pointed out that in its imperialist epoch capitalism "formerly the great liberator of nations had become the great oppressor of nations".

So although the nationalism of the imperialist nations is unambiguously reactionary, the struggle of the oppressed nations for national liberation can play a temporarily revolutionary role.

Marxists *always* oppose national oppression and support the right of the people of all nations to self-determination.

The objective of proletarian internationalism is the *voluntary* union of nations in a United Socialist States of the World.

Internationalism is rejected not only by the nationalist bourgeoisie, but also by even 'left' reformism (e.g. the Tribune group's cherished import controls) and by Stalinism in its pursuit of alliances with the bourgeoisie in the capitalist countries and "socialism in one country" in the degenerated workers' states.

Imperialism

Marx showed how all class societies passed through two stages—the first, in which they were historically progressive and developed humanity's forces of production; and the second,

retrogressive, stage when the class relations became a *fetter* on further development.

"Imperialism" is the term which Lenin gave to this second

retrogressive stage of capitalism, which began around 1900.

His book, *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism*, analysed the characteristics of this stage: monopoly, the dominance of money over industrial capital; the growing export of capital by the advanced (imperialist) countries; and the division of the world market among the capitalist monopolies along with the completion of the territorial division of the world.

Politically Lenin's *Imperialism* was the theoretical foundation of the Third (Communist) International.

It showed how the First World War (in which most of the parties of the Second International had supported "their own" bourgeoisie) was the result of the destructive rivalries of the advanced capitalist nations.

Imperialism was, therefore, the age of capitalism's decay; the age in which capitalism had achieved all it was capable of for humanity—it was rotten ripe.

Imperialism to revolutionary Marxists, therefore, is also the age of a new social revolution—the socialist revolution.



'Imperialism' a mural by Diego Rivera

CHAUVINISM

This term is derived from the legendary Nicolas Chauvin, a Napoleonic soldier of obsessive patriotism and devotion to his general.

Marxists use the word to describe support, particularly by

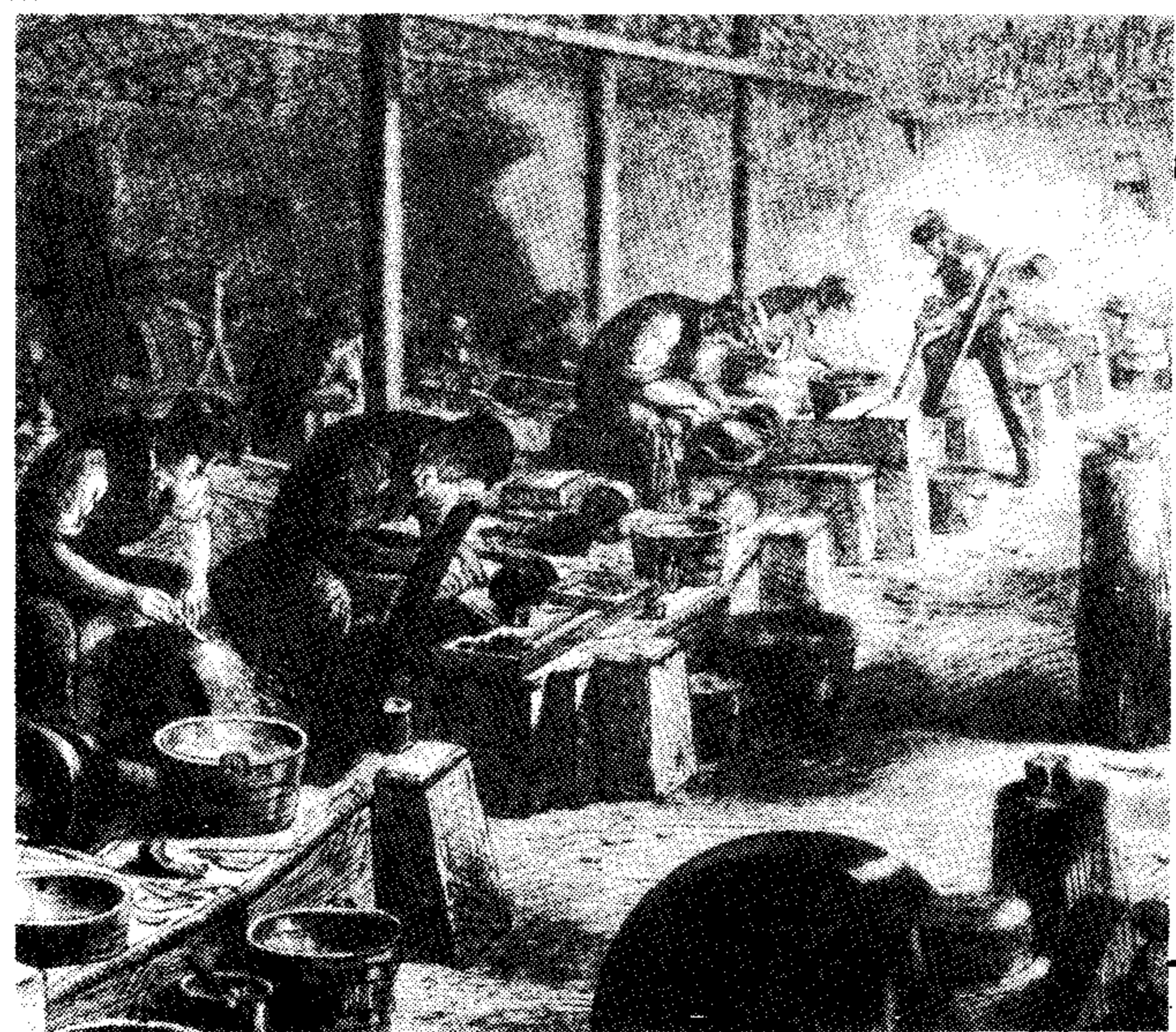
Sexism

Insistence on maintaining rigid stereotype views of the role of either women or men in society—leading to discrimination, inequality, or anti-gay propaganda.

The sexist attitude towards women brands them as inevitably a 'wife', a 'mother', a 'home-maker' and a sex-object, whereas men are pressured to conform to the bourgeois notions of masculinity—aggressiveness, dominance, virility and unquestioned heterosexuality.

Particular victims of such views—which are promoted on every side by the press, the media, the arts and the education system as well as by the existing social system—are women and gay men.

Sexism and male chauvinism are particularly rife within the bureaucratic leadership of the Labour and trade union movement.



Early capitalism

bureaucratic leaders of the workers' movement for the war efforts by imperialism, or for nationalist economic policies pursued by a section of capitalists at the expense of "foreign" competition (e.g. import controls).

Male chauvinism

In the sense of "support for the oppressor", chauvinism has also been extended to the arena of the struggle for women's rights, where "male chauvinism" describes support for the continued oppressive role of men in relation to women.

Unfortunately in the hands of the women's liberation movement the term has been so slackly, and frequently incorrectly, used that its real content is often obscured.

Capitalism, bourgeois

A historically-evolved mode of production in which the *means of production* (factories, tools, raw materials, etc) are

privately owned by a minority capitalist class—the bourgeoisie, which uses them to accumulate *surplus value*, profit, through the exploitation of a propertyless *working class*—the proletariat, which owns nothing but its ability to work.

It is an anarchic system in which each individual capitalist competes against each other concern for a share of the market in which the supreme issue is the accumulation of capital, not human need.

Between the two main classes, lies an ill-defined *petty-bourgeoisie*, which ranges from professional and managerial workers, through intellectuals, self-employed and small farmers and businessmen.

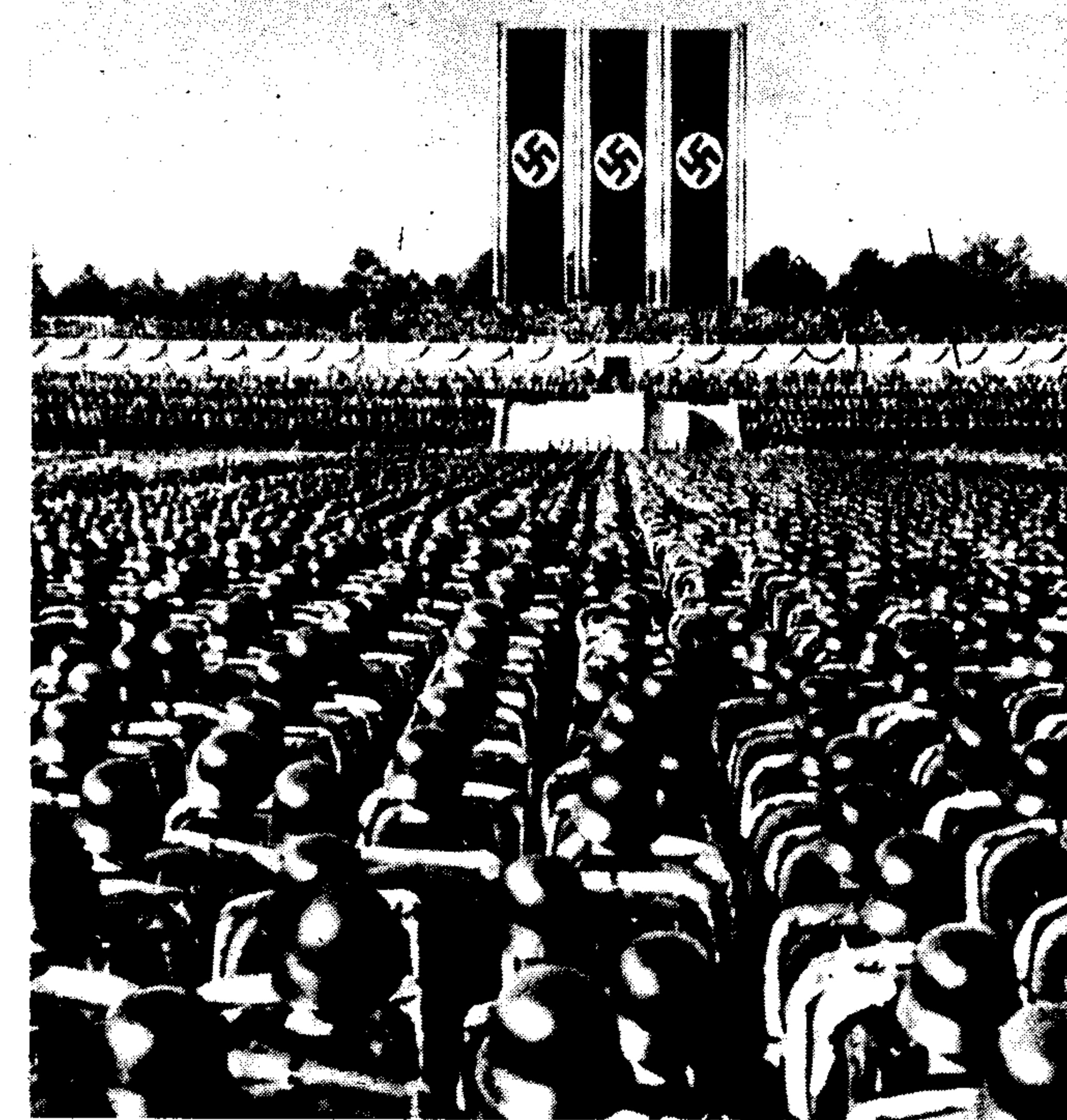
The petty bourgeoisie in backward capitalist economies overlaps with the peasantry—small holders on the land.

Both the urban petty bourgeoisie and the peasantry can and must be won to the side of the working class in revolutionary struggles, given a firm leadership and a correct combination of democratic and transitional demands.

If this is not done, then this unstable social stratum will fall under the leadership of the bourgeoisie, providing the raw material for reactionary and even fascist movements designed to smash the working class movement.

Bourgeois ideology is the term used to refer to the system of laws, customs, ideas and philosophy elaborated by the bourgeoisie in defence of its class interests—its private ownership of the means of production and other property, and its "right" to exploit the working class.

Also within the scope of *bourgeois ideology* are those



Fascism—a last resort for imperialism

political currents within the workers' movement that seek to liberate the working class

without changing the fundamentals of the capitalist system—reformism.



Bolshevik-led factory committee

A further example of Cannon's attitude to this question, considered "the most important" by Trotsky, is that in his book *The History of American Trotskyism* he does not see fit even to mention the Theses on the Labor Party so warmly received by Trotsky.

As a matter of fact Cannon does not even mention the Second Congress of the CLA which was held in September 1931.

Most important

However irrelevant the rest of its deliberations might have been, we would have thought that "the most important" question might have merited a brief comment.

In *The History of American Trotskyism* Cannon devotes two pages to the debate with Weisbord.

In such a short space as this he is not able to deal with anything other than Weisbord's 'mass work' perspective.

It is claimed that Weisbord was not able to do any mass work because he didn't have any members—something quite manifestly false.

Jump over

It is claimed that he wished to "jump over the head of the CP" and form a new party—something which Weisbord rejects as a slander, claiming that the CLS put forward the demand for readmission of the

Left Opposition to the Communist International.

It is claimed that much time was spent debating with Weisbord.

The CLS letters to Trotsky are full of charges that Cannon refused to organise joint work and serious discussions towards fusion, that Cannon refused to come to the aid of the CLS when it was the subject of attack by the state and so on.

So much vituperation on both sides went on that it is not possible to make any serious assessment.

What is clear is that Weisbord did win a section of the CLA and that Cannon was forced to admit him to an internal CLA debate.

In November 1943 Cannon writes as follows:

"When I came out of the nine years of the CP I was a first class factional hoodlum. If not, how would I ever have survived? All I knew when somebody started a fight, let them have it." (*The SWP in World War Two*, p.374).

It is not inconceivable that this factional attitude was directed at Weisbord and his group.

For his part Weisbord made it plain that he regarded the Cannon leadership as rotten to the core and vowed to remove it should the CLS and CLA fuse.

"The sole value of the Cannon group is that it has published the writings of L.D. Trotsky in this country."

Despite Trotsky's partial attempts to smooth the way to a rapprochement, he himself must have known that a fusion would lead to a protracted factional battle.

Not orders

He suggested the documents of the CLS could usefully be printed in the International Bulletin but went on "Naturally the question will be decided by the American League".

Here he displays an important example of how a national organisation is built with international aid.

He does not give *direct orders* but invests the national organisation with *responsibility* for its own area.

This, alongside sharp political, programmatic discussion at each point around the central issues is how to construct an international tendency.

From our reading of the letters exchanged between Trotsky and Weisbord it is clear that there were important misunderstandings over differences.

On the main political question—the Labor Party—Trotsky was, in our view, wrong.

Some positions of the Weisbord group (e.g. on China)

don't appear to have been debated.

It seems to us that Cannon did not wish for a rapprochement (but it is not possible to say) and that Weisbord was simply prevented from entering the ranks of the Left Opposition.

Certainly Weisbord's attitude to the Cannon leadership was bound to have encouraged factionalism.

The test of history justifies Cannon as against Weisbord. The CLS was never a significant force in the building of the Fourth International, or in the building of anything for that matter.

The CLA went on to play a central role in the history of the world Trotskyist movement.

Precisely how much the CLS's failure resulted from its isolation from the international movement we shall never know.

But considering the number of times Cannon stresses the centrality of international leadership in the building of his group we can say that that isolation must have played a great part.

Openings

We are quite frankly sceptical of Cannon's view that no mass work was possible.

There are always openings if you look for them. Certainly we agree with the centrality of the publishing work and propaganda around it but fail to see in Cannon's account of the period a reflection of Trotsky's view that the task of the Left Opposition was to "put forth propaganda not in a sectarian but in a Marxist manner, that is to say upon the basis of participation in all the life of the proletariat".

From the first the WSL has seen the need to do "mass work". We have fought the conception of training cadres in a 'discussion circle'.

While noting Cannon's

statement that the CLA was necessarily turned in on itself and did not, like the present day Spartacists, choose to turn in on itself, we should also point to some of the effects of this.

In his book Cannon talks generally of the problems posed by the CLA's isolation—of the tendency on the part of some to wish for endless discussions, of the squabbles and factionalism that existed from the earliest years.

No detail

Interestingly he does not detail these faction fights and omits to mention Trotsky's letter "On the Situation in the American League" (March 1933) which outlined a solution to the factionalism centred around the expansion of mass work (which had incidentally already begun).

Even Weisbord's charge that the CLA failed to win CP workers is partially borne out by Cannon's description of the doubtful human material attracted to the CLA during the period of its isolation from the class.

In 1932-33 the CLA moved out of its propaganda period and into mass work—primarily work around the unemployed.

As the situation in Germany sharpened the CLA was able to attract larger numbers to its public meetings where Trotsky's analysis and programme for the German working class was put forward.

The debate with Weisbord showed that the CLA had weaknesses but on balance these were outweighed by its strengths.

The "three generals without an army" had laid a sound political basis for the growth of the Trotskyist movement in the USA.

While it is necessary for Trotskyists of today to look critically at all aspects of Cannon's history we must remember that we are producing Socialist Press today because of the fight carried out then.



However, the CLS also argued strongly that they *never* saw it as the role of Communists to build a reformist party and saw it as their task to stress the limitations and dangers of such a party.

"Rather we have constantly stressed that only by a relentless fight against the opportunism embodied in a Labor Party would the workers be able to cross over the bridge the Labor Party offered them, and move to the Proletarian Revolution.

"However, since the Labor Party was not actually formed we were not able to show in practice how entirely different our whole conception and action was from that of the right wing". (Lovestoneites).

Trotsky had said that the turn to a Labor Party by the bureaucrats would be primarily to head off the development of a Communist Party.

The CLS disagreed. In their view the predominant force behind a Labor Party development would be not the threat of a Communist Party but a massive movement of the working class.

"... even if such a movement were to have in it capitalist elements who are primarily concerned in utilising the Labor Party against Communism and even if those conscious anti-Communist elements were dominant the Labor Party movement itself would be unleashing those very forces destined to overthrow all anti-Communist plans."

This stress on the dynamic in the situation was one which by the late 30s, Trotsky himself was to argue.

He changed his position—while maintaining the view that the earlier position had been correct for the times but that the times had changed.

He recognised that the upsurge of the American workers in the mid 30s had not led to the expected development of a mass revolutionary party.

Trotsky's emphasis on the dangers of bureaucratic misleaders using the Labor Party movement were as true in the late 30s as they were a few years earlier.

In our opinion Trotsky gives no convincing arguments about the correctness of the Labor Party demand at one stage and his previous rejection of that demand.

Capitalist parties

The major barrier to the political development of the American working class has always been its ties with one or other of the capitalist parties.

The demand for a Labor Party is in our opinion a very powerful one in the struggle to develop an independent working class perspective.

The fruits of Cannon's failure ever to take this demand seriously can be seen even today in the present SWP's sectarian and propagandist approach to the question.



Trotsky with Natalia in exile in 1932

NUS Conference at Blackpool

No challenge to the Broad Left

As reported in last week's 'Socialist Press', the Broad Left have retained their bureaucratic hold over NUS, despite mounting and increasingly militant opposition from students who are attempting to defend their unions and fight the education cuts.

The problem which militant students now have to confront, is the task of building a principled alternative leadership to that of these Stalinists and reformists who are determined to allow the state to crush independent student unions and dismantle the education system.

The IMG-dominated Socialist Students Alliance, and the Socialist Worker Student Organisation (student wing of the SWP) have both showed that, despite their "far left" posturing, they are incapable of leading a principled fight against the Broad Left.

Their political bankruptcy was most clearly revealed in the debate on "Human Rights", which the Broad Left had decided to stage to celebrate the 30th anniversary of the UN Declaration of Human

Rights. The Stalinists put forward a resolution with which President Carter or Thatcher would have found it hard to disagree.

Full of abstract calls for freedom of speech, freedom from slavery, etc., it offered no class analysis of the state and no perspective of mobilising the working class to defend and extend its hard-won democratic gains.

Above politics

Furthermore, it offered the capitalist class a handy stick with which to beat the Soviet Union and other workers' states, by condemning violations of "human rights" wherever they occur, but posing bourgeois democracy and not workers' democracy as the alternative.

Speaker after speaker from the Broad Left stood up to declare that this debate was "above politics" and one on which "all sides" of the student movement could be united.

What was the alternative posed by the "Trotskyist" IMG?

Capitulated

Did they call for defence of the Soviet Union and other workers' states from ideological or military attack from the capitalist states?



Did they call for a political revolution in these states to overthrow the parasitic bureaucracy and establish workers' democracy on the basis of soviets?

Did they place the struggle for democratic rights in the capitalist coun-

tries in the context of mobilising the working class and its allies in the struggle for socialism?

Did they call for the disbandment of the bourgeoisie's police, or the army, or attack the law courts as instruments of class repression?

Did they hell! None of these Marxist positions were to be found in the SSA resolution.

Instead it was a series of liberal demands starting with an uncritical quotation from the UN Declaration of Human Rights, and ending with a call to support Amnesty International.

The SWSO, on the other hand, at least offered a class analysis of the nature of repression under capitalism - pointing out that repression of democratic rights is an integral and necessary part of capitalism.

However, they capitulated to right wing attacks on the workers' states by

refusing to defend these states, and declaring that they are not socialist, but capitalist countries.

The militancy of students was particularly evident in the crucial Student Union Finance debate, during which Trevor Phillips, NUS President, came very close to being removed from his responsibility for this area of NUS work.

He was censured over his handling of the Student Union autonomy issue and for the Broad Left's failure adequately to protect student unions from the current government attacks.

The actual vote was taken over a rather confused objection to a letter which Phillips had written to a delegate from Dorset, who claimed he had been insulted by the President.

However, the significance of this vote goes beyond a few personal insults and points to more general dissatisfaction with the Broad Left.

The Broad Left's proposals on a new system of negotiation over Student Union fees were eventually accepted, despite the setback of the censure of Phillips and their defeat at the previous week's emergency conference.

NUS is now committed to a disastrous policy of national negotiations over general fee levels through a council composed of NUS, the local education authorities, and the DES.

The council will operate

in a "semi-consensus" way and its decisions "will be final".

In other words they will be imposed on college unions by the national union leadership.

The conference ended with the "formal" procedure of adopting the Executive Report as a whole.

A WSL delegate got up to argue for a rejection of the report.

He argued that the Executive had throughout the conference exposed themselves as both unwilling and incapable of giving their members a lead on any of the important issues facing the student movement.

On youth unemployment they had given support to the government's cosmetic measures; on hall fee increases, they had refused to coordinate the rent strikes; on grants and cuts they had organised stupid publicity stunts instead of mobilising their membership; on student union autonomy they had capitulated to the government's demand for public accountability.

The response to the call for rejection of the report was warm on the part of the conference, and nervous on the part of the Executive.

However, few people were prepared to take a step which would have been tantamount to calling for the resignation of the whole Executive.

The task for the student movement now is to make that possible by building the necessary revolutionary alternative to the Broad Left.

Why join the WSL?

Quite frankly, we're unique!

We're the only movement that fights patiently and relentlessly for the building of a Trotskyist party capable of mobilising the working class in the struggle for state power and the establishment of a socialist society.

In doing so, the WSL alone does not shrink from head-on battles with the existing leaders of the working class - whether these be 'left' talking Labourites union bureaucrats, or Stalinists of the Communist Party.

In these battles we set out to prove to workers both in theory and in practice the necessity for a new leadership and for a programme of transitional demands which, starting from today's problems and today's consciousness within the working class, lead workers in struggle to grasp the need for socialist revolution.

For this reason, though we are smaller than some self-styled 'revolutionary' groups, the WSL has featured in the forefront of pay struggles in British Leyland,

in the fight against the sale of jobs by TUC leaders, in the struggle against the cuts, in unionisation struggles, and in the fight against bureaucratic dictatorship within the unions.

This method of approach - rejecting any descent to simple trade union militancy, and any form of concession to the counter-revolutionary reformist or Stalinist bureaucracy - is of course essential for the working class not only in Britain but internationally.

In taking up international issues the WSL points out not only the obligation of British workers to support the Irish liberation struggle and revolutionary struggles such as those in Iran and Southern Africa, but also the necessity for the reconstruction of the Trotskyist Fourth International as the organising centre of the world party of socialist revolution.

The WSL is not the biggest movement on the left in Britain nor is it the easiest to be a member of. But in its approach to both theory and practice it is

the only really serious revolutionary movement.

When you look at the struggles now under way and the problems faced by the working class, the necessity for a principled leadership is unmistakable.

WHY NOT JOIN US? Fill in the form below for more details, or approach your local branch, who will gladly supply more information about our programme, policies, and perspectives.

Threat of violence against opponents

Dear Comrades, As a delegate to NUS conference and a reader of *Socialist Press* I thought it important that your readers should know about the methods the Broad Left Stalinists have resorted to in their attempts to restrict discussion within the left of the NUS and to intimidate opposition to their political line.

The Broad Left is ostensibly an alliance of Labour students, members of the Communist Party and non-aligned socialists, purporting to stand for the unity of the left within the NUS.

However, this sham unity was shown up for what it was when, on the first night of conference, members of the National Organisation of Labour Students were barred from participating in a Broad Left caucus on the basis that they had in the past been critical of the politics of the Broad Left leadership.

Before the caucus began a NOLS member from Thames Poly was approached by Martin Currie, CP member and Chairman of NUS Scotland, leading three or four other Broad Left functionaries. Currie said, and I quote:

"If you don't leave this caucus I'll throw you through that fucking window".

We of course refuse to be intimidated and remained. Under the direction of NUS

President Trevor Phillips they moved the caucus to another room. When the NOLS delegates concerned approached the door, Currie, and a number of other Broad Left functionaries blocked the door and physically refused us entry.

We lobbied the delegates going in and out of the caucus asserting our right to take part in the discussions and calling upon delegates to condemn the threats of physical violence.

Some were disturbed by the incident and some were embarrassed.

However, some like Fiona MacTaggart, NUS Vice President in reply to our request of her to condemn the threat to push NOLS members through windows said:

"You deserve it!"

Clearly the deepening discontent amongst NUS rank and file with the Broad Left leadership's positions on Autonomy, Racism, Education and Constitutional Review is driving the Broad Left Stalinists to use the methods they 'refined' in the late 1920's and in the 1930's, i.e. restriction of discussion, denial of freedom of criticism, and naked violence—in an attempt to contain the thrust against their reactionary policies and their bureaucratic stranglehold on the NUS.

Yours fraternally
John Ford
Vice-President
Thames Poly Students Union

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Tin-pot employers cock a snook at TGWU CHRISTMAS ON THE PICKET LINE

Socialist Press looks at two recognition disputes

Sandersons: re-run of Grunwicks

The continuing defiance of the Transport and General Workers Union by the bosses and scabs at Sandersons Forklift plant near Skegness is a challenge of prime importance to the labour movement.

For 19 months factory owner Roy Sanderson has stood out against demands for the reinstatement of workers sacked for organising the union and taking strike action in defence of Phil Gillet, their victimised shop steward.

Last Wednesday, having given ten days previously an assurance to TGWU National Organiser Ron Todd that he would concede both reinstatement and union recognition, Sanderson publicly snubbed the two million strong union by going back on that agreement.

This was done under the guise of concern for the scab workforce, who had been involved in an anti-union protest 'strike' in company time the previous week and had voted against a settlement in a management-run factory ballot.

Those who have followed other unionisation struggles over the past few years will not fail to notice more than a passing similarity between the Sandersons developments and what happened in the battles at Grunwick, against Trust Houses Forte and the still-running Garners strike in London.

Not only was the TGWU the union involved, wholly or partly, but the employers tactics are seen to be almost identical.

For example, the recent "demonstration" organised by Sanderson management was precisely the same method used at THF's Night Out club in Birmingham during that six month long strike in 1977, when the company was resisting official strikes both there and at hotels in Sheffield and Oxford.

Defeat

It was those actions which ended in outright defeat with the union's membership in the firm wiped out, that revealed starkly the limits of support from the union leadership.

Like at Sandersons, solidarity blacking action was the only effective weapon that could make victory possible.

Yet this policy, which had been the strikers' demand from the beginning, was only ever taken up in one area with supplies of petrol being cut off from Forte's motorway service station near Birmingham.

Regional Officer Alan Law, took a typical 'left' stance and demagogically declared his determination to win, even bringing 200 or more drivers from his now broken-up 5/35 branch for periodic shows of strength on the Night Out picket on Saturday evenings.

Though limited, the blacking had an immediate effect which

brought a storm of abuse from the media.

It also resulted in the union national leadership bringing Law to heel and getting him to call it off.

That capitulation put paid to any chance of victory.

Not the least significant link concerns the involvement of the National Association for Freedom.

A major factor in the failure to implement blacking was the union leaders' fear of court orders and injunctions from the NAFF who had publicly championed the employers cause both in the hotel strikes and at Grunwick.

A further connection between these anti-union companies and NAFF was the common theme of the strikers threatening to infringe the 'rights' of the 'loyal' scabs.

THF spent thousands of pounds in a media campaign to that effect.

George Ward at Grunwick made it a main plank of his resistance, and like his successor Sanderson, turned increasingly to Franco-style referendums to back it up.

Ward had, of course, refused to accept the outcome of the ACAS ballot which declared in the union's favour—just as Sanderson ignored the result of a similar pro-union vote in the period leading up to the strike.

This new-found concern for workers' "democratic rights"



The Sandersons mass picket



Garners' December 8 Day of Action

(in every case discovered only after the employers had carried out mass sackings) has also emerged, coincidentally, in Garners.

There, almost on the same day as at Sandersons, employer Cyril Margolis was reassured that the hundred or more people he had taken on to replace the sacked workers, did not after all favour joining the union they had spent the last ten months trying to break!

Claims by employers like Sanderson that scabs have to be consulted before a settlement can be made are nothing less than ridiculous.

In the one hotel strike last year where victory was achieved at Oxford's Linton Lodge, TGWU members won reinstatement and recognition after six months on the picket without any such phoney consultation.

Yet the most important link of all between these common struggles must be the weakness of the TGWU leadership.

Sanderson plays cat and mouse with Ron Todd in much the same way as Ward did with Roy Grantham of APEX.

These employers are very well aware of the spinelessness of such reformist leaders.

They reject the collaboration and double dealing which is the staple diet of these bureaucrats and feed instead off the raw meat of confrontation.

Though Todd, unlike Grantham, has a 'left' face (particularly when as at Fords

there are 57,000 of his members on all-out strike) his record in defence of union rights is no better.

It was Todd who led the TGWU's powerful London region throughout the Grunwick strike and personally instructed his members not to support the August 8 mass picket.

He held the same position for the first three months of the Garners dispute, again resisting calls from the strike committee for mass picketing and a regional financial levy.

And it was blacking initiated from rank and file shop stewards, not the national leadership which brought Sanderson so near to collapse.

Mass pickets of the factory have received only a token mobilisation from the union's national and regional officials.

Barry Cooper, Skegness District Secretary has now threatened to bring 3,000 pickets to the plant if Sanderson failed to settle.

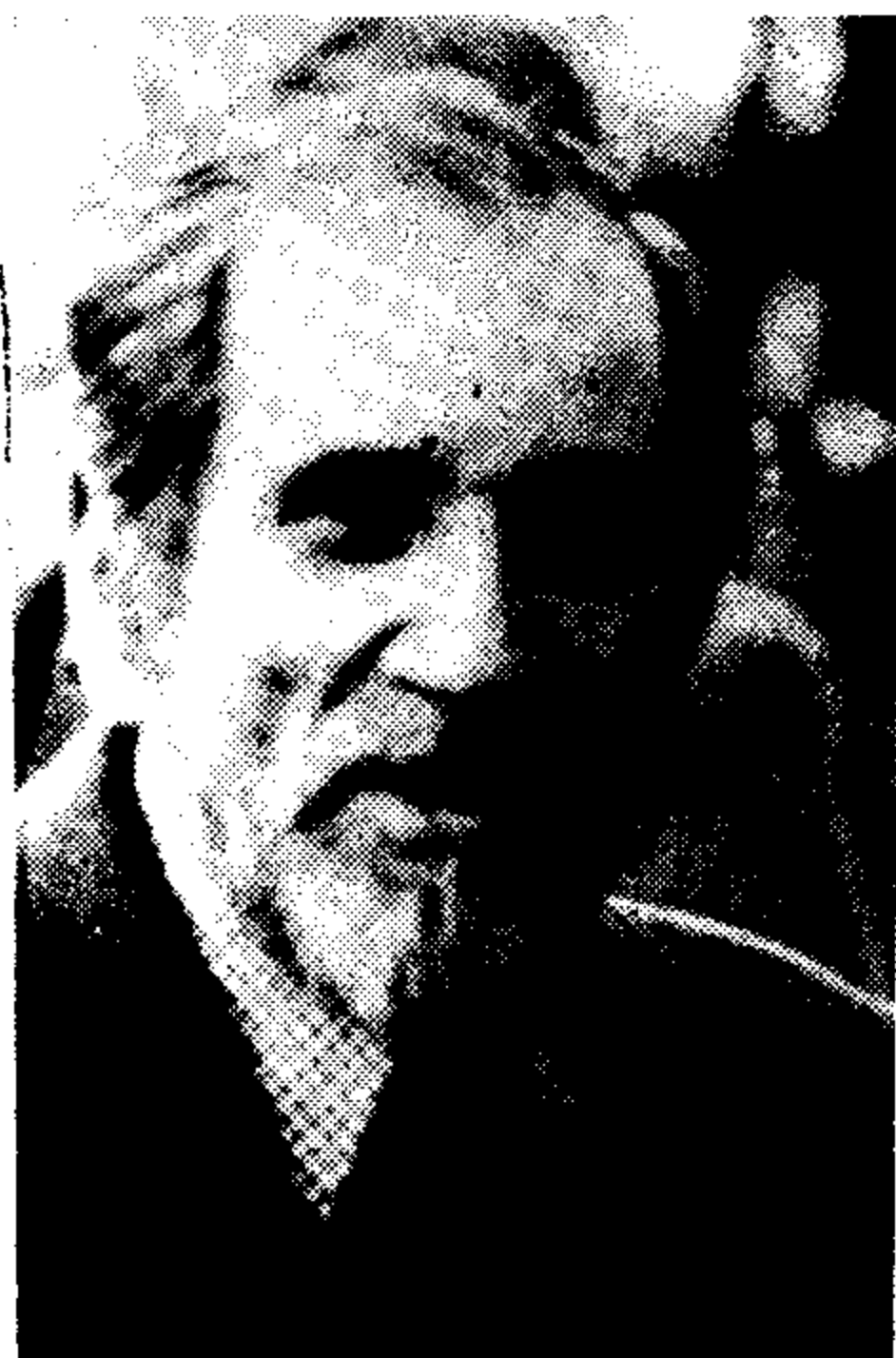
He must be instructed to get busy with making that pledge good as soon as the strike committee sets the date.

Calls must be made for General Secretary Moss Evans to issue a personal statement to the whole membership outlining how he proposes to organise action to use the power of the union in support of Sandersons and against all those who deny workers the right to organise.

Garners: Margolis "ballots" his scabs

"Gradually, as has happened elsewhere, the picketing is drifting out of the hands of the more responsible union officials into the hands of the gaggle of political extremists.

"We believe this has alarmed the TGWU, but of course they are now so committed they do not seem to know how to disengage.



Margolis

"... So it will continue to be business as usual at Garners Steak Houses.

"We hope that somebody on the other side will have the authority and common-sense to terminate activities that will never break our resolution and that of our employees, but will bring continuing discredit upon the TGWU."

This was Garners' boss Margolis's message to his demoralised, worried staff on the 8 December 'stake-out' of Garners organised by the Greater London Association of Trades Councils.

Line

But clearly his statement is aimed beyond his own employees.

In his tired old line about "political extremists" he puts out his hand to the TGWU bureaucracy who are desperately looking for a way to end the 11-month strike.

Margolis broke his silence with statements to the press which appeared in the Telegraph and Express on the day of picketing.

"I am not against trade unions at all" said Margolis to a pliable Express reporter.

Pathetic

Even the vicious manager at the Whitcombe Street branch was cast in the pathetic role of someone who wanted to be left alone.

Margolis announced his intention to hold a "ballot" of the scabs to see if they wanted a union.

Surprise, surprise, the results announced this week show a 120-34 vote against the TGWU.

This week's strike committee bulletin points out that even the scabs most hostile to the strike have stated their willingness to have union recognition and are very sceptical about the ballot result.

It seems incredible that only a couple of months ago the Region 1 leadership was trying to get the strike committee to agree to a ballot as one of the conditions of calling off the strike.

TGWU Regional officials have a number of other things to answer for in this strike.

For example, although last week's Time Out in London said that the "police enforced an arbitrary limit of six people



Todd

on a picket line", this is not the case.

The "arbitrary limit" was agreed to by the Region 1 Secretary Staden and Organiser Les Shorter.

This is written for all to see in the minutes of the Regional Committee held in the summer.

Rescind

The strike committee this week called for the rescinding of this agreement and for Region 1 to organise a national delegate TGWU conference to decide the steps to be taken to win the strike.

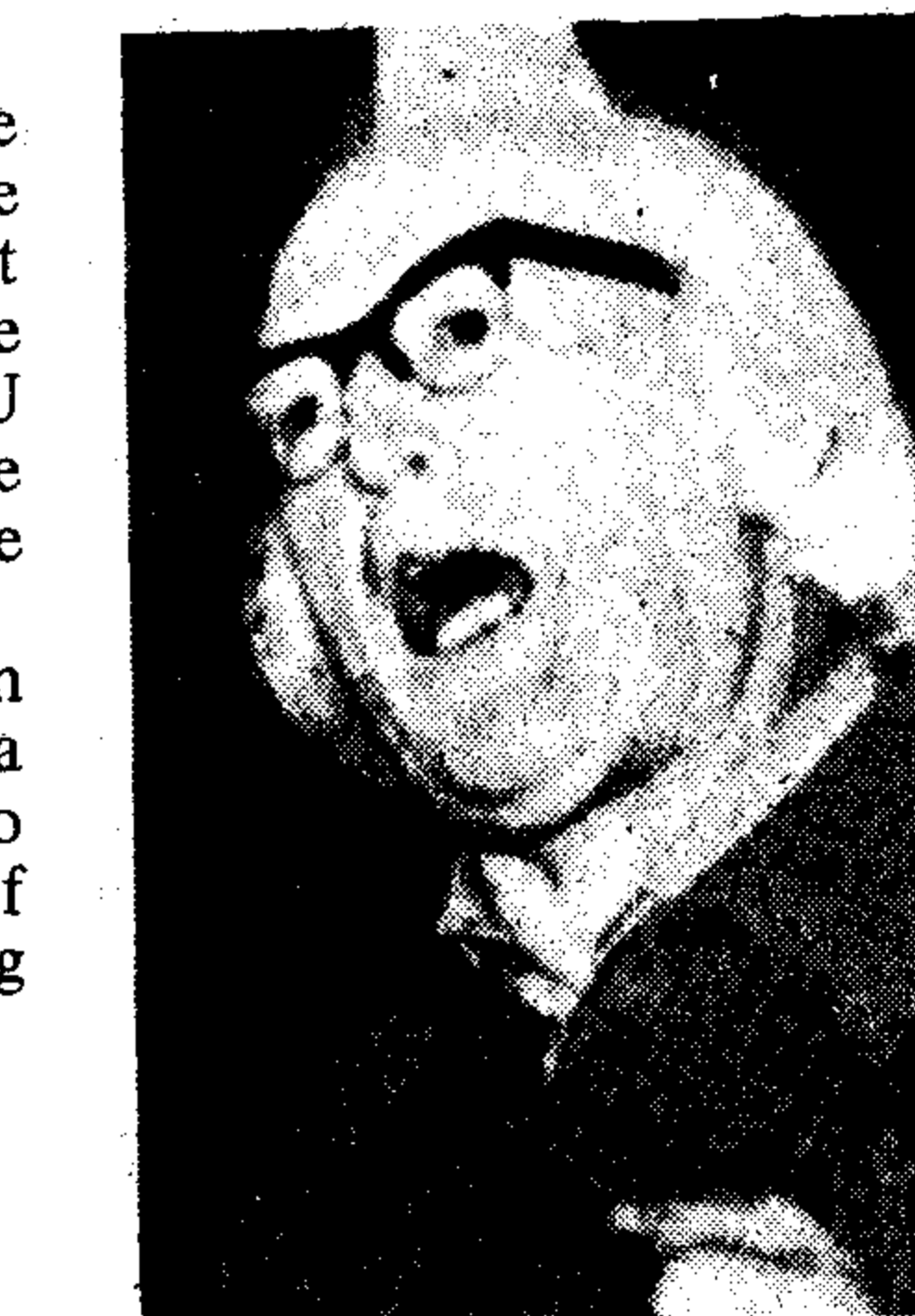
The latest strike bulletin also asks for donations to a defence fund set up to defend and pay fines of those arrested for exercising their legal right to picket.

Fund

GLATC must urgently organise support for this fund especially since the

arrest of one of their number, Tom Durkin.

Support must be built now for the first anniversary of the strike when the strike committee has called a day of action on 27 January, which must be used to build for mass picketing to win the strike.



Durkin

PHOTO: Mark Rubner, IFL

SOCIALIST PRESS



Khomeini

Defeat for sanctions aids NUJ

The first crisis in the NUJ national provincial strike over wages showed the leadership of the union and of the TUC running for cover.

The emergency committee of the NEC called off the blacking of Press Association copy at the *Daily Express* within hours of a High Court injunction being won by Beaverbrook Newspapers.

It was a move designed to take the dispute over pay to a new level and has vivid links with the decision by the UPW in 1976 to call off their blacking of phone calls to South Africa after an injunction was served.

When the injunction was granted, NUJ president Denis MacShane and deputy general secretary Charles Harkness were immediately summoned to the TUC.

There they were told that on no account must they stand up to the court ruling.

Now the leadership of the union is leaving it to the *Express* chapel to decide whether to continue with the blacking, while they cover their retreat by saying that the TUC is prepared to finance an appeal "all the way to the House of Lords".

The blacking of PA is a vital action in any strike on provincial papers.

PA management have refused to accept that copy can be sent to some offices and not others.

It is therefore essential that PA copy is stopped every time a regional paper is in dispute.

But even after being instructed to strike under conditions where virtually every NUJ member in provincial journalism is on strike, the PA chapel has continued to vote against strike action.

Blacking is therefore the only answer.

The NUJ leadership must refuse to allow the blacking to be taken off and must call on the TUC for direct strike action to prevent the state from seizing the union funds.

If the blacking of PA can be stopped by a court injunction then every piece of secondary blacking can be stopped by NAFF or the employer through the courts.

The defeat of the government sanctions in the House of Commons, followed by Callaghan's removal of sanctions has left the employers—the Newspaper Society—naked and exposed.

The Newspaper Society immediately made its 'special case' offer unconditional and agreed to meet the NUJ for talks if the strike is called off.

But journalists have taken 70 years to reach the point of this strike and there must be no question of any return to work until the strike is won and the full £20 is paid.

Steps must be taken to build on the limited solidarity shown by print workers in Kent and van drivers and warehouse workers in London.

More papers have been stopped, and one employer—the *Belfast Telegraph*—has left the Newspaper Society to settle almost in full.

Journalists must stay out till they win.

fight



As *Times* Newspapers finally sacked its printers last week the *Financial Times* management threatened to sack printers over disruption over a pay claim.

The threat underlined that the drive towards job stripping being spearheaded by the *Times* is being closely followed by all Fleet Street papers.

The FT pay dispute is directly over a move to print pages in Frankfurt, West Germany.

After the gigantic demonstrations of last weekend, the crisis in Iran has entered into a new phase.

The millions of workers, peasants and students, who massed in the streets of Tehran and the other major cities, expressed their opposition to the Shah's dictatorship on a larger scale than ever before.

Their largely peaceful protests were impressive in their discipline. But the power of this unity remained chained by the authority of the religious leaders.

As the tanks and troops of the Iranian dictatorship circled Tehran, the demonstrators occupied the heart of the city with their numbers.

By their action they showed how near Iran has come to a state of dual power and the problems that can still prevent that dual power from developing.

As they marched through Tehran, the crowds declared yet again their loyalty to the ayatollah Khomeini—a loyalty that can bring them only defeat.

Khomeini has never wavered in his statements of opposition to the Shah's regime.

Since the mobilisations of last week, he has repeated his calls for increased strike action and a campaign of civil disobedience.

But these are not the acts of a revolutionary who will lead the masses of Iran to win their freedom from oppression and material want.

Even during last week Khomeini has been dropping

Iranian workers need new leaders



Crowds in Tehran

hints that he would ban the Communist Party if he came to office.

For the fate of the Iranian workers and peasants, it is irrelevant whether Khomeini is a sincere fanatic or a hypocritical demagogue and opportunist.

The ayatollah offers no perspective beyond the overthrow of the Shah but loose generalisations about a democratic Islamic republic.

The old lures of popular religion are once again laid out before the oppressed masses—a society of equality, where religion transcends the class struggle and all strife has been abolished.

But these opium-dreams will soon give way to living nightmares of reality, if the mass movement is not broken from the domination of superstition and idealism.

Khomeini's leadership offers Iranian workers only one

prospect—a step into an abyss of chaos and defeat.

The military government of General Azhari has been unable to restore imperialist stability in Iran.

The army leaders showed their weakness when they were forced to allow the mass demonstrations to proceed.

They have made little impact so far with their latest threats of more effective repression of strikes and protests.

But the generals grow objectively stronger with every day that the working class remains tied to the religious opposition and held back from taking the revolutionary leadership of the struggles against imperialism in Iran.

Talks between the Shah, military leaders and the bourgeois liberals of the National Front are clearly reaching new levels of agreement on what action must be taken to restore capitalist order in Iran.

The strengthening of this alliance has been a major factor in providing the latest militancy of the mullahs, who wish to reassert their claim to power by showing what forces they can call for support.

The imperialists and their agents know very well that they cannot as yet impose a 'satisfactory' solution on the crisis.

But they can also see the opportunities opening up for them while the proletariat remains bound in religious fetters and does not strike with all the might of its independent political strength.

The strike wave has renewed its forced in the oil field, crippling production once again.

Workers in other sectors are holding firm in their action, and still pressing their political demands. But this movement must be co-ordinated to gain the full force of its power and develop the potential of this movement.

Independent militias need to be formed immediately to protect strikes, occupations and demonstrations against state repression and attacks from reactionary forces.

Soviet-type bodies must be built to represent the political needs of the working class and all other oppressed classes, including the rank and file soldiers.

Such bodies could extend and develop the struggles of the Iranian masses to a higher level where the leadership of the working class can offer a socialist alternative to the oppression and brutality of imperialist rule.

Bakers leaders rail road sell out

Five weeks after they were called out with virtually no notice by their leaders, bakery workers last week found the carpet pulled from under them.

After a succession of almost unparalleled 'left' speeches, and apparently determined action from their officials who led a correct move to expel scabs from the union, the action was brought to an abrupt halt with a sell-out settlement only 3% higher than that offered before the strike.

No recommendation

The decision of the union's National Executive to put the offer forward in a ballot with no recommendation effectively put the whole affair into the hands of the Tory press, which waged a conscious campaign of distortion.



Maddox

Every capitalist paper set out to convey the impression that the vote was going heavily in favour of a return to work—and at least one branch clearly based their decision on their belief that the strike was all but over.

Yet this was not the case at all. 36 branches voted to reject the deal and 28 to abstain, with only 40 voting to accept the deal, which includes a commitment to

work with scabs, cut manning levels and readmit expelled strikebreakers to the union.

The method of voting on the basis of branches not membership was itself a travesty of democracy with large bakeries effectively getting only the same voice as small bakeries.

The strike is now over. But bakers will have to live with this betrayal for a long time to come.

Left talk from General Secretary Maddox is no substitute for a principled leadership that is prepared to go onto the offensive against TUC sabotage of the struggle, and develop the independent strength of the rank and file in the struggle for jobs and living standards.

We would like to thank Ann Ward and Carol Turner of Rye Express without whose cooperation this edition would not have been possible.

NUPE militants under attack!

Health and social service managements throughout the country are waging an offensive against militant NUPE stewards and branch officers.

They clearly hope that a pre-emptive strike against leading union members will stifle the growing threat of action by manual workers in support of their much delayed £60/35 hour week claim, and resistance to the closures and attacks on manning levels now gathering pace as a result of spending cuts.

Recent weeks have therefore seen a string of victimisations nationally:

In the West London Hospital, management sacked the chairman, secretary, and one other member of the left-wing led NUPE branch.

This has been followed by the sacking of two militant stewards at Hammersmith Hospital.

In Birmingham, too, a NUPE social services branch secretary has been sacked.

And in Oxford the NUPE convener at the Radcliffe Infirmary, Jimmy Koudous, has also been sacked.

Last week also saw the sacking of NUPE members and withdrawal of union recognition by management at the Liverpool Cheshire Home.

While North-West Divisional Organiser Colin Barnett has made grand verbal statements about defeating this reactionary employer, NUPE members must take a warning from the pathetic line taken by NUPE officials elsewhere.

Rather than mobilising the membership in all-out strike action to force reinstatement of victimised stewards, officials have insisted on delaying action and diverting the struggles into the diversionary and dangerous blind alley of industrial tribunals and "independent inquiries".

Without defence of their own elected representatives NUPE members stand no chance of defeating the government and the employers on cuts or on the 5% pay limit.

They must take up the fight now:

- *No victimisations!
- *Immediate reinstatement!
- *Action now on the £60/35 hour week claim!