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CALLAGHAN BACKS 'LEFTS' IN NEWHAM

United front against socialism

Dunlop: 'workers' plan' axes jobs

Last week's surprise events in Newham North East Labour Party confirm once again the dependence of Callaghan's right wing anti-socialist leadership on the aimless 'lefts' of the Tribune Group.

As former Tribune Group chairman James Dickens resigned in a huff as prospective candidate after failing to get a unanimous vote for his draft election address, Callaghan and fellow right wing Transport House bureaucrats nominated Tribune editor Richard Clements as one of their three proposed substitutes for the seat.

Flushed out

Still mourning the desertion of Tory infiltrator Prentice, who was eventually flushed out by a sustained struggle in the Newham Party, Callaghan clearly sees Tribune's politics as a crucial barricade to halt any advance of principled socialist policies.

The Newham Party however had registered considerable opposition to basic elements of Tribune's so-called "left wing" platform as put forward by Dickens in his proposed election

address.

Some members of the General Management Committee had challenged his refusal to oppose immigration controls.

Nationalist

Others opposed the nationalist call for import controls which, under the guise of "defending jobs" in this country, seeks to create an alliance between workers and "British" employers and threatens to create unemployment in other countries.

Delegates also challenged Dickens' failure to call for the withdrawal of British troops from Ireland.

And there were demands that his address should include an explicit commitment to fight for the removal of the present right wing leadership of the Labour Party and against wage controls in particular.

Dickens however refused to concede on any of these issues and clung doggedly to his support for the reactionary TUC-government Concordat.

Instead, he launched a vicious attack on Labour Councillor John Plant, who last year himself stood in the local elections and unseated a Ratepayer on a socialist manifesto opposed to the Callaghan-Healey

PHOTO: John Sturrock, Report



Callaghan

leadership.

He declared that Plant—who has since been suspended by the Labour Group for his consistent struggle against the right wing, and is a well-known supporter of *Socialist Press*—should not be in the Labour Party.

Yet it was clearly Dickens himself who was refusing to put forward a programme to defend the working class.

When his adoption was formally put to the vote, Dickens' position achieved a 17-13 majority. Petulantly declaring that this was inadequate, he stormed from the meeting and submitted his resignation as prospective candidate.

Predictably, the Tory press—which, along with Labour's entire right-wing, defended crypto-Tory Prentice until his final gasp in the Labour Party—has now rallied to the defence of supposed "left winger" Dickens against "extremists" and "Trotskyists" in Newham.

For the Tories, for Callaghan and for Tribunites like Dickens it is unthinkable that Labour Party members and the trade unionists who sponsor the Party should have the slightest control over the MPs that they put into office



Tribune—no fight

But while these people openly argue against moves to make Labour MPs accountable, the so-called "Trotskyists" of the Militant Group have back pedalled frantically away from any confrontation with the Callaghan leadership in Newham.

Denied moves

Militant supporters Andy Bevan and Nick Bradley have fallen over themselves to deny any attempt whatever to stand Bradley (Dickens' runner-up in the selection procedure) as a possible candidate in Newham against Callaghan's chosen three-man list.

Though some Militant supporters spoke up against Dickens, none wish to risk a serious fight against the Callaghan clique that might endanger their cosy relationship with the party bureaucracy.

It seems therefore, that having disposed of Tory Prentice and exposed a Tribune 'left' the Newham GMC will this week face a Hobson's choice between his fellow Tribune Clements, right winger Bryn Jones, or anti-EEC 'left' Ron Leighton.

Nevertheless the Newham struggle, rudely disrupting the reactionary election truce within the Labour Party and forcing

PHOTO: Chris Davies, Report



Prentice

the reactionary politics of the Tribune Group into the limelight shows the necessity to carry forward the struggle within the Labour Party against not only the right wing but also the 'left' fakers who claim to represent a socialist alternative.

In exposing the hollowness of the rhetoric of Tribunites and Militant supporters alike, such struggles point unmistakably to the necessity for the construction of a principled Marxist leadership in the labour movement which alone can take forward the fight for a programme to defend the independent interests of the working class.

Oppose Concordat

This must include opposition to all forms of wage control, the Concordat and all anti-union laws; the fight for a sliding scale of wages to defend living standards; opposition to public spending cuts; the withdrawal of British troops from Ireland; and a programme to mobilise the working class in the struggle to force the nationalisation of major industry, without compensation, under workers' management as the basis for a planned, socialist economy.

Only days before redundancy notices expire, the Dunlop "Action Committee" supposedly leading the fight to defend 2,500 jobs at the firm's Speke factory has produced its own plan for mass sackings and speed up.

Again and again the "Action Committee" has vigorously denounced Workers Socialist League leaflets which have called for a policy of occupation linked to the fight for solidarity strikes throughout the Dunlop combine as an essential starting point for a fight to save the jobs.

Instead, led by TGWU General Executive Chairman, Stan Pemberton, they have headed down the blind alley of protest gimmicks, wheeling and dealing, and seeking alternative ways to make the plant profitable for Dunlop management.



Pemberton

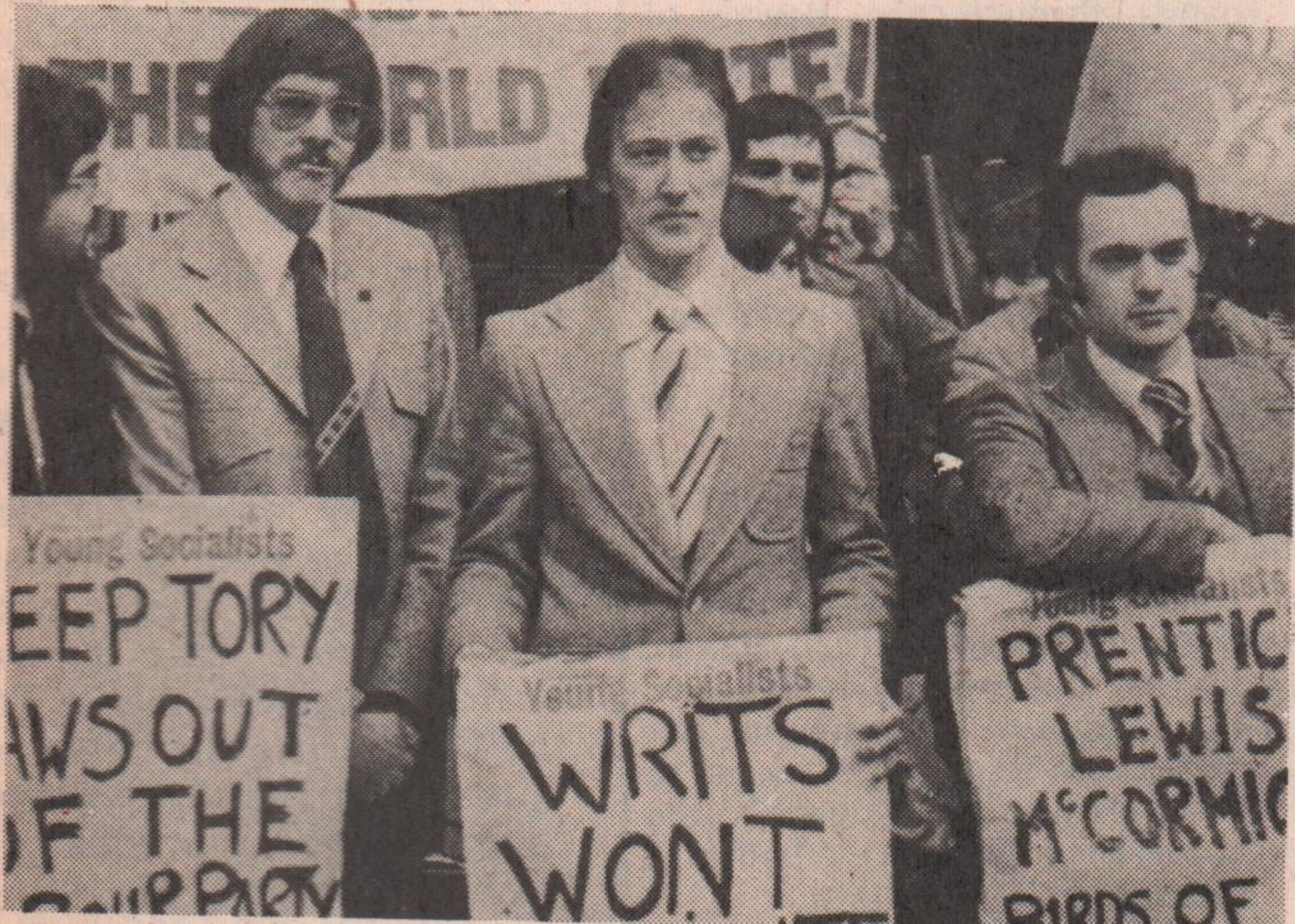
Last week's mass meeting saw the bitter fruits of this policy, as Pemberton unveiled the "Action Committee's" "workers' plan", which proposes the scrapping of 1,000 jobs through 'voluntary' redundancies and the renegotiation of all manning levels and present agreements on mobility and flexibility of labour.

To spell out the abject collaboration of this line, the "Action Committee" went on to cancel the Day of Action planned for this Wednesday (the day before the redundancy notices expire) in order to allow Dunlop managers to look at their scheme "without undue pressure".

So wretched was this plan that for the first time three speakers from the floor got up at the meeting to oppose the platform and call for a defence of all jobs.

But with the closure due this Thursday and management showing no interest in even the sky-high rate of exploitation offered by the "workers' plan", this resistance may well have come too late to avert the final betrayal by the plant's belly-crawling convenors.

Only a cynical turn-round by management or a last-ditch move by workers to vote down their convenors and occupy the plant can prevent another 2,500 joining the dole queues of Merseyside.



Bevan (far right) during fight to remove Prentice

VOTE LABOUR: SACK CALLAGHAN!

INTERNATIONAL

Workers' struggles frighten South American dictators

The upsurge of workers' struggles in Latin America in the last month has struck terror into the hearts of military dictators in four countries—Argentina, Brazil, Peru and Nicaragua.

In Argentina, the military junta which seized power three years ago has failed totally in the task it set itself to make the country safe once again for capitalism.

Recent figures show that workers' real wages have now fallen to 50% of their value in 1976.

The rate of inflation continues (at 175% a year) to erode these even further.

But these wage cuts, resulting from Eton-educated economy minister Martinez de Hoz's rigid austerity programme, have brought no bonanza to Argentine capitalists.

Last year industrial production fell by 7% and the regime is increasingly riven by internal disputes about whether to abandon austerity.

Anti-union law

They remain united on plans to introduce another tougher anti-union law.

The practical problems of this, however, are growing as workers resort to increasingly militant actions to defend their living standards and assert their trade union rights.

Over the last month a new wave of strikes has broken out, both in Buenos Aires (centred on the engineering and textile industries but spreading also into other sectors) and in Cordoba, where 10,000 Renault workers stopped work.

In Brazil the newly "elected" military president Figueiredo faced an even more powerful strike the day he took office.

This was the militant strike of 180,000 metalworkers in the 'ABC' industrial district of Sao Paulo, Brazil's major industrial city.

The strikers who had organised themselves independently of the official trade union were asking for a 77% wage rise now, a minimum of \$200 a month, and recognition of shop stewards.

Pickets

For the first time since the military coup of 1964, strike pickets were used on a wide scale.

The trade union bureaucracy tried as hard as it could to sell out a strike which created panic in their own ranks as well as in the new regime which was seriously split on how to deal with its first confrontation with the working class.

In the end it decided on brutal repression.

The union was taken over by the government and numerous leaders arrested—in particular members of the

Socialist Convergence group who were blamed as the main "agitators" behind the strike.

At the same time the bureaucrats did their best to head off the fight.

The national head of the metalworkers, Argeu Egydio dos Santos, made a settlement for 63% with no other benefits—which was contemptuously rejected by the ABC workers, who declared themselves independent of the national union.

But it was the well-known 'left' union leader Luis Ignacio da Silva (known as Lula) who in the end, by addressing a mass meeting of 15,000 workers, played a crucial role in getting at least a temporary return to work.

To get the vote to return to work 'Lula' was forced to promise that if demands were not met by the

employers, and the government takeover of the union lifted, within 45 days, the stoppage would begin again.

The fact that employers have begun the 45-day "truce" by sacking hundreds of 'ringleaders' almost certainly means the strike will resume.

Peruvian strikes

Across the Andes in Peru recurring strikes of this kind have now continued for almost a year.

The latest strike of copper miners has been going on since March 13.

The crumbling military regime of General Morales Bermudez has so far found no answer to it, aside from repression.

Two prominent leaders of the mineworkers union (FNTMMP)—Victor Cuadros and Hernan Cuentas, both left-wing deputies in the

Constituent Assembly—were arrested along with several other Constituent Assembly members.

The thirty left and workers' party members are now boycotting the Assembly.

At the same time recognition has been withdrawn from the union and hundreds of militant miners have been sacked.

Less and less able to rely on the increasingly exposed Stalinist leaders, the military regime now rests on nothing but the nationalist party APRA which dominates the Assembly.

But it is beginning to look as if relying on APRA means relying on a ghost—APRA's senile leader Haya de la Torre is struggling for his life in an American hospital.

If he dies, then there will be no obvious candidate of

the right for the presidential election due to take place after APRA has railroaded its constitution through the Assembly in about two months.

While a would-be dictator may be dying in Texas, an existing dictator trembles "on holiday" in Kansas.

Anastasio Somoza, whose dynasty has trodden down the masses of the Central American republic of Nicaragua for 40 years, is now facing the second major threat to his regime in a year.

The civil war of last autumn has now re-erupted in the two north-western cities of Esteli and Leon.

The rebel army is again led by the Prolonged People's War faction of the nationalist Sandinist National Liberation Front.

The military commander

of Esteli resigned as the Sandinists were reported to take over the city.

Last year, despite widespread popular support, the Sandinists showed themselves incapable of offering the revolutionary political leadership necessary to crush and replace the Nicaraguan dictatorship.

The renewed mass upsurge now makes the building of such a leadership a priority task of the masses of exploited workers not only of Nicaragua but of the whole Latin American continent—in no part of which does imperialism have a secure resting place.

New crack-down in Iraq

The Ba'ath "Socialist" regime in Iraq has stepped up its anti-Communist repression.

On April 5 it imposed a 30-day ban on the newspaper (*Voice of the People*) of the Iraqi Communist Party after the paper carried a reply to a recent attack on the CP by the "Progressive National Front".

This Front, which nominally rules Iraq, comprises the Ba'ath Party, the Kurdish Democratic Party and—the Iraqi Communist Party itself.

The CP says that the Front "still officially exists but is dead in practice".

The Stalinists say they have not been to its meetings for two years.

Despite the fact that the CP claims it has had 15,000 of its members arrested and 31 put to death in the current wave of repression, the party obligingly keeps two ministers (of Transport and one without portfolio) in the coalition government with the Ba'athists.

It has called for no mass struggle against the reactionary, repressive regime (which is scandalously supported by Gerry Healy's British "Trotskyist" Workers Revolutionary Party).

In fact last week an Iraqi Communist Party spokesman, pointing to the increasingly warm relations between the Iraqi Ba'athists and the feudal kingdom of Saudi Arabia, said it was "hardly conceivable" for the CP to leave the coalition "just when their opposition to the Israel-Egypt treaty is allowing the Iraqi leaders to emerge from their isolation".

The Iraqi Stalinists' treacherous attitude to the bloody repression of their own members, therefore, flows from an abject hope that the oppressors will reform themselves.

Uganda: new regime no answer

Eight years of brutal tyranny were ended in Uganda this week as Amin and his Libyan supporters were driven out.

The Ugandan exiles and Tanzanian regulars made the final push of their five-month long drive against Kampala.

They had taken the military police headquarters in Makindye the same day as Amin, in a final act of bravado, was strolling about Kampala's central market shaking hands with terrified shoppers and stall holders.

Then Amin abandoned the city with no one sure where he went next.

He may be in Jinja to the east of Kampala, or in Northern Uganda; possibly Libya or even with his family who have been moved from Libya to Iraq.

One thing is certain: Amin will not be welcomed with open arms in Libya after the way Gaddafi reportedly duped troops into going to Uganda by telling them they were going on parade, packed them into planes and sent them to Entebbe!

Two of the planes never even got there. One crashed in Zaire and another landed in an area of Uganda already in the hands of Tanzanian troops!

The new government sworn in last week was promptly welcomed by both the British and American imperialists.

President Lule is the pro-British, pro-Commonwealth leader they had hoped for in Amin when he first deposed the 'left' nationalist Obote.

Britain and Israel (who trained Amin's army till he threw them out) were the first governments to recognise Amin.

The fulsome praise for Lule from imperialism's errand-boy David Owen should confirm beyond any doubt that the overthrow of Amin is far from ending the oppression and exploitation of the Ugandan masses.



Somoza's soldier rounds up civilians in Leon

Call-up for election

As the Smith regime in Zimbabwe prepares the farce of elections under the "internal settlement", their forces launched a vicious attack on guerrilla bases near the Zambian capital of Lusaka.

A reported 350 people were killed. Several days later racist troops destroyed the HQ and home of ZAPU leader Joshua Nkomo in a raid inside Lusaka itself.

These desperate measures are designed both to indicate the continued resilience of the internal settlement, and to head off plans by the Patriotic Front to disrupt the elections.

The voting itself has been held in two stages.

The whites, coloureds and Asians voted last week; the black Africans vote this week.

The plans laid under the internal settlement provide for the election of a 100 member assembly.

Twenty places have been reserved for whites directly elected and, as only in four of these were Smith's Rhodesian Front candidates opposed (by little-known independent candidates), it was only for these four places that elections took place last Tuesday.

The elections for seventy two places will last from Tuesday until Saturday of this week (April 17-21).

A massive security operation, involving the call-up of all whites between the age of 18 and 50, is being mounted to defend the 2,000 polling booths.

Arrests

It is also reported that a large number of arrests are taking place.

The country has been divided up into eight constituencies, each of which has been given a stated number of seats, and voting will be by proportional representation.

Five black parties—the United African National Council (of Bishop Muzorewa); ZANU (of Ndabaningi Sithole); ZUPO (of Chief Jeremiah Chirau); the United National Federal Party (of Chief Ndiweni) and the small National Democratic Union—are contesting the elections.

The remaining eight seats are also white only and will be contested by 16 Rhodesian Front nominees.

The eight to take these seats will be selected by the 92 directly elected MPs.

The agreed constitution

provides for one cabinet seat for every five MP's and thus Smith can count on at least five seats in the new government.

As we have reported previously the control of the security forces and top civil service jobs will remain in white hands—through the device of the qualifications necessary for these top jobs.

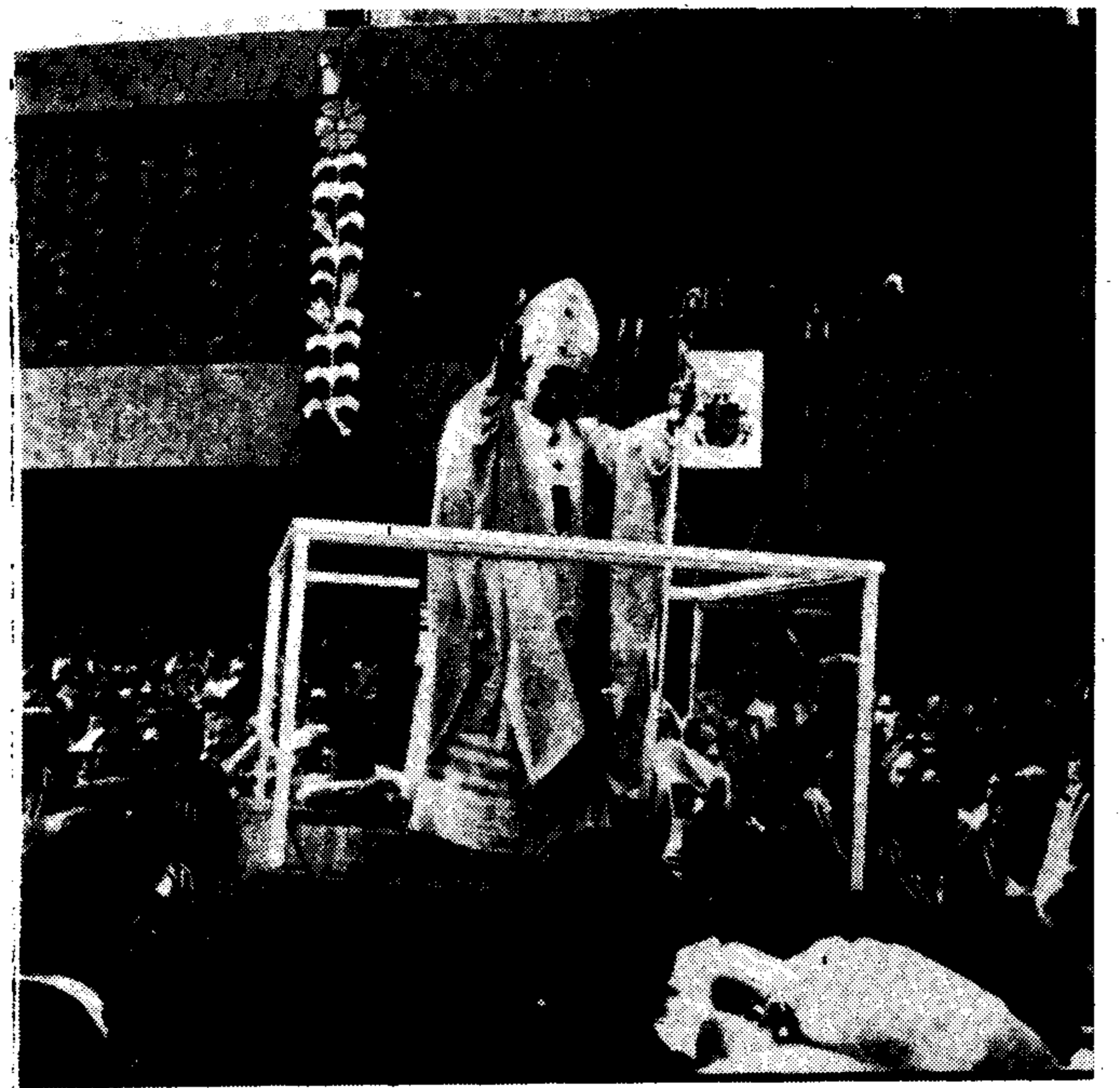
Whatever happens in these elections the task will remain to throw out Smith and all his black collaborators.

The Tories have indicated that they will recognise the government elected in Zimbabwe.

Labour Party members and trade unionists must remember that despite its verbal opposition to the internal settlement, the Labour government has done everything in its power to bring Nkomo and Mugabe to the conference table to organise a sell-out deal with Smith.

The rank and file in the Patriotic Front whether in Mugabe's ZANU or Nkomo's ZAPU must watch out for such moves by their leaders and demand the pressing forward of the struggle to destroy the internal settlement and establish an independent socialist Zimbabwe.

INTERNATIONAL



ITALIAN CP STEPS UP ITS COALITION CALL

The banner which hung over the XV Congress of the Italian Communist Party—which with 1,750,000 members, is the largest CP outside the workers' states—was inscribed:

"A great popular and democratic force to open a new way for Italy and for Europe"

The absence of any mention either of the working class or of socialism set the tone which the Stalinist leaders wished to give to the Congress.

The decisions of the Congress were very few—but they also reflected the leadership's drive to destroy even the formal socialist and proletarian aspects of the party's identity and turn it into an effective instrument of "historic compromise" with the Italian bourgeoisie.

Abolished

The Congress abolished statute 5 of its constitution, which had obliged its members to

"acquire and deepen knowledge of Marxism and apply its teachings to the solution of concrete problems"

Now, under the substituted statute, they are enjoined to do no more than

"increase their cultural and political knowledge, deepening their study of the history and heritage of ideas of the Italian CP and the whole revolutionary and workers' movement"

The party still refers coyly to a "tradition" which has its "framework in the thought of Marx and Engels and which was given a historic impulse by the innovative ideas and the work of Lenin".

But there is no longer even a formal pretence that the Italian CP is a party of Marxists.

Catholics

These concessions were made explicitly to Catholics. And it was only half in irony that party General Secretary, Enrico Berlinguer referred to the CP as "Italy's second Catholic party".

If that was one aspect of his courtship of the unholy Christian Tories of the Christian Democratic Party, the other was to declare the Christian Democrats Italy's third workers' party.

To a handful of delegates who criticised the party's line of collaboration with the Christian Democrats, Berlinguer replied that "their membership does not only consist of conservatives but also the popular middle classes, and, in some areas, the presence of the working class is greater in the Christian Democrat Party than in the Communist Party.

Convergence

He called for "convergence and meeting between the Socialist, Communist and Catholic masses".

This flattery of the Christian Democracy was part of the central theme of

Berlinguer's essentially uncontested line in the Congress—the necessity for a "government of national unity" comprising all the "democratic forces" from the CP to the Christian Democrats.

The tasks of his government, according to Berlinguer, are:

"To save Italy, to save democracy, to put an end to disorder and inefficiency, against violence and privileges, for social justice, it is necessary for the CP to enter the government"

The present function of the CP, he added:

"is to unite all forces to save this fatherland of ours according to the teaching of Togliatti, who said that the country is not governed by one class alone nor by one party alone"

With this reactionary demogogy as the line of the leadership, it is appropriate that it no longer expects the membership to be versed in Marxism.

Support for this political line requires the forgetting of every one of the basic principles of Marxism, for which the independent interests and organisation of the working class are paramount.

The Italian Stalinist leadership explicitly rejects any attempt to form an independent workers' government—either alone, or with the other main workers' party, the much smaller Socialist Party.

There was, however, a good deal of talk from the leaders about the need for a new "unity of the left",



Berlinguer

specifically with the Socialist Party whose representative at the Congress was given a standing ovation.

Far from being a step towards independent class politics, this turned out to be yet another aspect of the overall strategy of "historic compromise".

Closer entente between the Communists and Socialists, said Berlinguer, must be the "driving force" behind a government of national unity with the Christian Democrats.

Aftermath

The CP's position for the immediate aftermath of the early general election to be held in early June was that it must be given ministries in a coalition government or else it would go into opposition.

The recent experiment whereby the CP became part of the parliamentary majority without being part of the government was from now on completely unacceptable.

"The country is ungovernable without the Communists" warned Berlinguer.

And Christian Democrat leader Giulio Andreotti clearly agrees. Last week he

CP capitulates to Catholics

And then Berlinguer returned to close the Congress by agreeing with everything that had been said.

The real and growing tensions in the party remained largely hidden.

But no-one doubted their existence. They showed for instance in the party's admission that in the last year it had lost 24,000 members after many years of continuous growth.

Militant

One long-standing party militant certainly spoke for tens of thousands when he said to a journalist:

"In my time when we asked a federal party leader what he had done in the last year he would say—I've led so many struggles, or organised so many demonstrations. Today he replies—I've written a beautiful document with the local Christian Democrats"

A closer alliance with these forces of capitalism and reaction is the very reverse of what is needed by the Italian working class.

And an increasing proportion of the rank and file of the CP are aware of that contradiction.

Berlinguer and his fellow bureaucrats are as always totally unwilling to lead a struggle for the independent interests of the working class which they know could only be successful through a revolutionary struggle for power.

Their counter-revolutionary role requires them to persist with their efforts to tie the working class to political representatives of the capitalist class whether this is by being members of or supporters of a bourgeois government even through what they call "opposition".

Polls

A month after the British general election, Italy will go to the polls on June 3 and 4. Although the CP is widely expected to lose some of the record 34% of the poll it got in June 1976, the results are most unlikely to do anything to resolve the semi-permanent crisis of the Italian bourgeoisie.

The elections however, can only bring one step closer the explosion of the political tensions between the counter-revolutionary Stalinist leadership and its working class base which this pre-election Congress tried to hide behind clouds of demogogy and ambiguity.

Ambiguous

After a long and carefully ambiguous report by Berlinguer (accepted unanimously), selected leaders were permitted to express a limited amount of divergence to left or right—but always in the context of agreement with one or other of Berlinguer's clever ambiguities. Everyone was wildly applauded.

PRESS GANG



It was good to see Reg Prentice again, standing up at the Tory Party press conference to relive his last days at Newham and telling the world how the dreadful extremists had called him a Tory of all things!

Meanwhile back in the paper mache world of Fleet Street the red scare had reached such epidemic proportions it is doubtful whether anything as subtle and moderate as the Zinoviev letter would have got much of a look in.

It began with the publication of the Communist Party manifesto. Any similarity between the CP manifesto and the Labour manifesto is purely deliberate, as the Stalinists seek ever more ambiguous ways of refusing to fight for the same non-existent reforms.

The *Express* found comfort in this. Heading their front page The Red Face of Labour, the paper listed 14 points of 'policy' which could be found in the programmes of both parties. Its prose was a masterpiece of ambiguous inuendo.

"This 'carbon copy' of policies is embarrassing for Mr. James Callaghan. For he has projected his own manifesto as a triumph of moderation..."

"In fact it means that Labour and Communist

candidates will be campaigning on almost identical manifestos during the General Election, with Mr. Callaghan and Communist President Mr Mick McGahey marching together under twin banners."

The rest of Fleet Street was dutifully following Prentice in declaring the Labour manifesto would be a time bomb, whose revolutionary explosive would become evident after the election. It was not the words on the page of course but...

Then came Newham. For the *Express* all their birthdays had come at once. With flashbacks to the two other red scares of the week, the paper proclaimed "Forced Out By the Reds".

John Warden, the author of all the *Express* red scares wrote: "The Red Face of the Labour Party which Mr. James Callaghan has tried to hide, came into the open last night in a split damaging to his election chances."

"It happened in Newham North-East, the London seat where Reds ousted ex-Cabinet Minister Mr. Reg Prentice and drove him to be a Tory MP."

"Now they have so sickened the Left-wing successor they chose, Mr. James Dickens, that he has resigned as prospective candidate."

"For the first time the extreme left has taken over

from the far left, to the dismay of Labour moderates who warned Mr. Callaghan this week that it could happen..."

"Shaken officials were asking themselves last night what had become of the Labour Party when a life-long activist of the Left like Mr. Dickens could take no more..."

The *Sunday Telegraph*, like the *Express*, has now come to terms with a carefully graded series of lefts, like contagious diseases, some of which are curable and others of which are not.

"If this is what happens before the revolution, what would it be like afterwards?", asked the paper's leader column. "Perhaps the constituency should be renamed Tehran North-East".

"Times have indeed changed. In the days of Attlee, Gaitskell and even Wilson, it was the Tribune group which seemed too left wing for the leadership's comfort. When those three leaders won victories for moderation they were over the Tribune group. Today Mr Callaghan seems to think that those particular Left-wingers are on the side of moderation—and so, no doubt, they are, compared with the Trots".

Telegraph defends *Tribune*. There must be a moral there somewhere.

IRELAND



Home Secretary Rees

PHOTO: Andrew Ward, Report

"Anti-terror" Act harassment exposed

The arrest of Ron McKay, reporter for *Time Out*, in Glasgow on March 31 on his return to Britain from Northern Ireland, is just one of the many hundreds of arrests that take place under the Prevention of Terrorism Act each year.

But as McKay himself has pointed out, the fact that he is a reporter has forced the event into the news and highlighted the way that the Act can be used on almost any pretext.

McKay's charge (if it is eventually brought) is that he failed to fill in, on a landing card in Ireland, the full address of the person he was staying with.

His real "offence" of course was that he was interviewing IRA leaders—a policy which according to the late Airey Neave should be banned by law.

Oppressive

The Prevention of Terrorism Act competes on equal terms with any piece of repressive legislation in any country in the world.

Under its provisions the police have unlimited powers of detention with no obligation of subsequent justification.

Being held for a few hours or days without access to a lawyer is not of course comparable with much of the treatment handed out to republicans in Ireland.

But it is a demonstration that the repression cannot be confined (as the powers of the state would prefer) to the north of Ireland. It inevitably spills over into the south and into Britain.

While the demand for the abolition of the Prevention of Terrorism Act is supported by a wide variety of radicals in Britain, they should recognise that it is the inevitable consequence of Labour's policy in Ireland—which differs in no way from that of the Tories.

The Diplock Courts, the ending of political status for republican prisoners, and the repression and torture practiced by the army and the RUC are all the inevitable consequences of British rule of the north of Ireland.

New torture protest

A SECOND civilian member of the RUC Police Authority has resigned, in protest at the refusal of Labour's Torture Minister Roy Mason to take any action against the abuses revealed in the Bennett Report.

Announcing his resignation Belfast solicitor Donal Murphy revealed that Mason had cancelled a meeting with the Police Authority (the complaints body for the RUC), saying that his successor as Secretary of State for Northern Ireland could look into the issue of systematic RUC torture of republican suspects.

Murphy had represented the Law Society on the toothless "watchdog" body. Another member, Dungannon councillor Jack Hassard, also resigned recently in protest at the cover-up of RUC brutality.

But while these conscience-stricken petty-bourgeois make their gestures of protest, the root cause of the torture and violence—British imperialist oppression—can only be ended by mass mobilisation to force the troops out of Ireland.

Jackson scorns UPW pay claim

The arrogance and contempt with which Tom Jackson treats his union membership were fully displayed last week when he called together the UPW district organisers to feed them the official line on the Post Office wage offer.

Jackson, who negotiated an 8% deal in exchange for 'efficiency' clauses and the replacement of full time workers by part time, had thrown out of the window not only large parts of the UPW claim, but also

conference policy decisions. The meeting of district and assistant district organisers was called in a plush Bournemouth hotel at a cost of £14,000.

Jackson, top of the bill for the stage managed meeting, said he was proud, pleased and delighted to have negotiated the deal and that it was as good as or better than any deal won by any other union this year apart from the water-workers!

Lay members on the executive (who are elected) had voted 12-7 against the deal, but non-elected full timers had swayed the out-

come by giving it the unanimous backing of their 12 votes.

Jackson made no apology for breaking conference policy on part time staff and works studies and said that as far as he was concerned that issue would be decided by the membership in the vote now taking place.

Large sections of postal workers have already shown their hostility to the sell-out by staging unofficial action.

Opposition within the telecommunications sections of the union has been much more muted.

Jackson said that 'if postal workers voted against the deal they would threaten the 'unity' of the union.

Stalinist

He was supported by Stalinist Maurice Styles, who was called on to answer criticisms on the proposed agreement on part time staff.

Styles said that no section should take action if part time staff were introduced by management against their will. Full time officials would sort out the



Jackson

PHOTO: Chris Davies Report

problem. Jackson claimed that all the productivity promises were really only a sham, to cover up increased pay—but that he was prevented from saying so in public!

The vote is not a foregone conclusion. Despite the best efforts of the officials to sell it to their members, the East London district has already voted to reject it by more than 2,000 votes to five!

If the vote nationally does go in favour of the deal

through acceptance by telecommunications sections, then postal workers must be prepared to take action against it, unofficial if necessary.

But all UPW members should recognise that the deal means declining living standards, fewer jobs and harsher working conditions. It should be rejected.

Strike action should be prepared and plans laid for the removal of Jackson's right wing leading clique of full timers and time servers.

Socialist Youth League FIRST ANNUAL CONFERENCE

Whittington Youth Centre,
Rupert St., London N19

Saturday May 19 2pm to 11pm

For more details write to SYL, 31, Dartmouth Park Hill, London NWS 1HR.

TORY-BASHING 'LEFTS' KEEP HEAT OFF CALLAGHAN

Tony Benn, Audrey Wise, Brian Mathers and Moss Evans spoke at a Labour Party election rally in Coventry last Monday.

Although they sat on the platform, local MPs George Park and William Wilson did not speak.

Perhaps it was felt advisable to keep Wilson—a co-signatory of the infamous Commons Select Committee report on Race Relations—off the speakers list.

Chairing the meeting Mathers—Midlands Regional Secretary of the TGWU—made the usual anti-Tory comments and looked forward “to North Sea Oil directing us down the road to a new technological age”.

Differences

Despite four years of wage control the only references made to this by Evans were oblique.

“We’ve had our differences but they’re differences between friends”.

This assertion obviously referred to his and other bureaucrats’ cringing subservience to the Callaghan/Healey wage-cutters and not to the internal workings of the TGWU—where officials have pursued vicious vendettas against opponents of wage control in both the 5/293 and the 5/35 branches.

Evans went to town on the Tories, attacking their plans to reduce the top rate of tax from 83% to 60% and to increase indirect taxation.

He listed the firms who contribute to Tory Party funds.

One of the firms on his list was United Biscuits—the bosses responsible for the legal action on so-called ‘secondary picketing’ during the lorry drivers’ strike.

Of course as someone who has fallen in with every move by the Labour leadership to restrict picketing, Evans was unable to focus on this aspect of basic trade unionism so central to the plans the Tories have to curb the unions.

Ignored

And in the week following the NGA court decision on blacking this historic attack was completely ignored.

Indeed as with wages the real issues were constantly avoided by Evans and the rest of the speakers.

One revealing aside was made by Evans when midway through his anti-Tory rhetoric.

Ridiculing Tory complaints about lack of toilet paper during the lorry drivers’ strike, he said:

“I remember taking the *News of the World* into the backyard—of course I’m different now”. He can say that again!

Audrey Wise revelled in her left reputation, her self-styled role as “shop steward” of her constituents and her 24 public report-back meetings since the last general election.

“The Tories say I won’t win because I’m too left-wing. If that means I’m on the side of working people

then I plead guilty”.

She did not mention that no discussion on her record or political positions was allowed at the pre-election GMC meeting.

She posed as a left but friendly critic of the government:

“I see it as my job to improve the Labour government—to make it responsive to working people”.

The bulk of her speech was routine anti-Toryism and a defence of the government’s measures to prop up failing capitalist concerns while the redundancies are carried out over a longer period.

“Ordinary working people need a government responsive to their wishes”, she said—totally ignoring wage control, the battles against it and her previously stated opposition to it.

Workers were also told that they can read “the truth” in *Labour Weekly*!

Benn’s speech lived up to the occasion—so much so that he received generous if slightly grudging applause from the syndicalist Socialist Workers Party.

The SWP is vying for the role of best anti-Tories under the lame slogans “Labour isn’t working—the Tories never will. Rely on the rank and file”.

Don’t apologise for being left wing said Benn.

“Wealth and the power of trade unions is what this election is all about”.

How did Benn avoid dealing with any of the background to this election: the four years of cuts, unemployment and wage control?

PHOTO: Laurence Sparham, IFL.



Benn

Simple! He talked about another election—the 1945 Labour Party landslide.

“In 1945 we had a full-blooded programme, we did what we said we’d do and we never lost a by-election.

“It was a programme we could be united on—that’s the sort of thing we have to aim at now”.

Benn boldly castigated the owners of wealth:

“The Duke of Westminster left £2,000 million and in the same newspaper I read about the greedy ambulance men”.

But he offered not one word of explanation of how he had sat in the Labour cabinet which denied increases to the ambulance men!

Wealth tax

The concentration on landed wealth (the Duke of Argyle was also attacked) is of course no accident.

It prepares the way for the ludicrous diversion in Labour’s Manifesto—the wealth tax.

While millions are poured into the pockets of shareholders in manufacturing industry, the ‘leftism’ of the Labour Party leadership is protected by vague talk of eventually taxing the personally rich.

But it is on their policy of state aid to ailing capitalist enterprises that the Labour traitors place their biggest hopes of gaining anti-Tory votes.

Despite the fact that thousands of jobs have been lost in firms such as Alfred Herbert, Rolls Royce, Chrysler and British Leyland, the Labour leadership have to a certain extent successfully argued that, left to the Tories, there would be no jobs at all in these firms.

Cosmetic

Revolutionaries must show that these cosmetic, stop-gap ‘solutions’ only pave the way for more decisive attacks on jobs as the economic crisis sharpens and divert workers away from the only genuine solution to unemployment, cuts and inflation—a socialist planned economy.

The other central theme



Mathers



Wise



to Benn’s speech was democracy—“bankers never have public conferences like the TUC does”.

There was also a side-swipe at Benn’s erstwhile cabinet colleague Roy Jenkins and the undemocratic EEC.

No mention

Of course, the lack of any real democracy a little closer home—like at the Labour Party conference—did not get a mention.

And Benn’s answer to all this lack of democracy and power vented in the hands of the wealthy was characteristic.

In his view the answer does not lie in him taking up any fight for socialist policies as a member of the government.

Instead it is up to everyone else, to the mobilisation of the trade unions for a change in parliament.

And, of course, Benn wants a big Labour majority on May 3.

Despite all the rhetoric workers were not given any inkling of how the trade unions should mobilise to force a change.

While the Labour Party audience cheered enthusiastically the Communist Party beamed.

During Wise’s speech prominent local Stalinist Eddie McClusky could be observed creeping obsequiously onto the platform with glasses and a jug of water for the bureaucrats and left reformists.

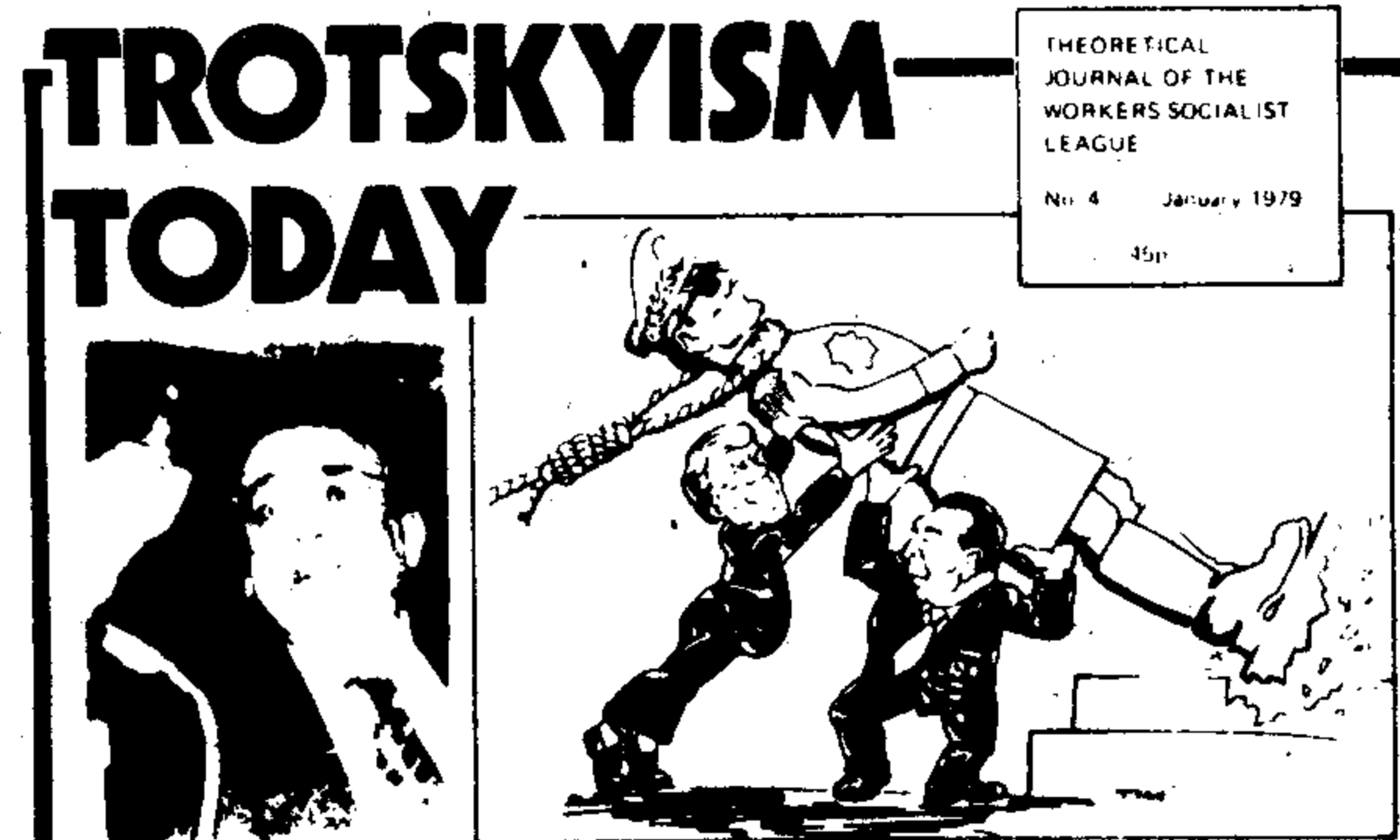
Servility

Later described by the local YCL secretary as ‘an important contribution to left unity’ this grovelling act symbolised graphically the prostration and servility of the Stalinists before the misleaders of the working class.

In all, the meeting, at which no questions or discussion was allowed, was a good example of the way ‘left’ reformism helps to keep the heat off the right wing.



Chrysler workers made redundant at the Stoke Plant in Coventry in 1975



INSIDE: • Mandel’s dance with Stalinism
• The significance of the Transitional Programme
• The U.S. SWP 40 years on.



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Tory manifesto builds on Labour's years of betrayal

By Terry Smith



Thatcher

The publication last week of the Tory Party's election manifesto brought predictable squeals of rage from trade union bureaucrats and Labour leaders.

They railed at its proposals for new anti-union laws, its proposals to hold down wages in the public sector, its planned spending cuts, and its hopes to denationalise the ship-building and the aircraft industry.

Such anti-working class policies are of course no surprise from the Tories. As the party of big business they have never bothered to hide their bitter hatred for the workers' movement.

Indeed, though the Heath wing of the Tory Party is now conventionally portrayed in the mass media as "moderate" by comparison to the Thatcher gang, Heath's 1970-74 government was only prevented from fully implementing its savage Industrial Relations Act by a massive, spontaneous strike movement against the jailing of the Pentonville dockers in 1972.

Similarities

But what every TUC leader was careful to avoid in his comments on the Tory manifesto was any reference to the obvious similarities between the Tory proposals and the Labour policies imposed with full TUC collaboration over the last five years.

Indeed in a whole number of areas Tory policy can be seen as simply building on a foundation laid down by Wilson and Callaghan.

The anti-union laws, for instance, centre on precisely those issues—picketing, the closed shop, and public sector strikes—which were conceded as "problems" by the TUC and explicitly dealt with in the reactionary *Concordat* signed with Callaghan in February.

The difference between this and the Tories' approach is that the TUC leaders—themselves scared stiff by the scale and scope of the massive offensive movement of trade unionists in defiance of Phase 4 of wage seek, as bureaucrats, to restrict their members by



Thatcher government would intensify Healey's cuts

their own time-honoured method of administrative sabotage and further suppression of democracy with the unions.

The Tories on the other hand, expressing the historic scepticism of the ruling class as to the capacity of the TUC to control union members, prefer the reassurance of legislation on the statute books.

This way they can exploit the services of the trade union bureaucracy under conditions far more favourable to the employers.

Headed off

And, remembering the helpful way in which TUC leaders under Heath headed off working class resistance to the hated Industrial Relations Act into the blind alley of protest marches, they feel confident that they can bring in such legislation with little organised resistance.

Clearly the Tory pledges to wield an even sharper and longer-handled axe on public spending is based on a similar cynical calculation as to the likelihood of any concerted resistance from the trade unions.

Sitting back

Having seen NUPE's "left" demagogue Alan Fisher, along with every other public sector union leader, sit back and allow Healey's spending cuts to

close hospitals, schools and nurseries, cut Manning levels and cripple whole departments, the Tories feel certain that they would be allowed to get away with more of the same.

The rigid cash limits on the social services introduced by Labour Chancellor Healey will therefore be continued, and used as a means for rigorously controlling wages in the public sector. And huge new Tory cuts in public spending will hit at jobs and services affecting millions of workers, while counting on cowardly submission from union officials.

In general the Tories declare themselves for "responsible pay bargaining", a phrase which, echoing the diplomacy of a Jack Jones or a Len Murray, avoids either an explicit policy of wage limits (as implicitly advocated in Labour's manifesto)—or free collective bargaining.

Thatcher will remember that, under Heath, the TUC "reluctantly acquiesced" to two and a half years of savage wage controls, until the miners' strike broke the silence and signalled Heath's downfall.

She therefore wants to leave her options open on the issue of future wage controls, seeking if possible simply to weaken the unions and strengthen individual employers to enable them to hold the line against wage demands.

The series of secret meet-

ings between TUC leaders and Tory chiefs has no doubt confirmed for Thatcher that whichever course she adopts, these servile bureaucrats will lead no concerted action against her.

There are numerous reasons for this servility. Of course the union leaders fear that a new upsurge of militant struggles will leave them exposed as obstacles to workers' struggles.

Union bureaucrats also dread struggles that disrupt their cosy relationships and collaboration with the employers and force them into acting as spokesmen for the demands of the workers they supposedly represent.

But another key factor is that, as reformists who seek merely to improve the conditions and wages of workers within the context of a continuing capitalist system, the union leaders are as committed as the Callaghan-Healey cabinet to preserving the viability of capitalist firms.

This is a cause dear to the hearts of the Tories, too. Their whole strategy revolves around cuts in taxation and spending designed to bolster the profitability of private industry, while dismantling "non-viable" sections of nationalised industry.

Their manifesto points out that:

"Profits are the foundation of a free enterprise economy. In Britain profits

are still dangerously low."

The manifesto goes on to reveal how the boosting of profits is connected to the axing of jobs, arguing that the Labour government which itself jacked unemployment from 550,000 to nearly 1½ million in five years—places "too much emphasis on attempts to preserve existing jobs" As evidence for this they point to the cash handouts made by the NEB to ailing firms.

But not even the dullest witted or most doctrinaire of Tories could claim that the TUC leaders have emphasised defence of existing jobs.

On the contrary union officials have usually been the first to agree with employers that manning levels need to be cut back or plant rationalised—even at the expense of thousands of jobs.

Since the isolated and unsuccessful occupation of the Imperial Typewriters Plant in Hull in 1975 there

PHOTO: Mark Risher, IFL



Police powers, stepped up by Labour, will be increased by the Tories



Would-be Tory Chancellor Howe



Social service slasher Joseph



Failed hardliner Heath

has been no officially-led occupation or serious fight against a single factory closure or redundancy.

The few occupations that have occupied against hospital closures—such as the EGA and Hounslow in London have all begun as rank and file initiatives only belatedly followed by union officials.

Such weakness and betrayal by union leaders has gone alongside more open forms of collaboration—such as the 'worker participation' schemes rail-roaded in despite shop floor hostility in British Leyland.

Under the BL 'participation' set-up convenors and leading stewards were together with union into joint bodies with management whose task was to impose speed-up, redundancies and corporate-level bargaining throughout the combine.

It led quickly to Jack Jones and Hugh Scanlon featuring on the front page of the company's *Leyland Mirror* witch-hunting strikes and instructing their members to accept management attacks on jobs and conditions and "keep working";

It led last year to the reactionary meeting of top managers and convenors which voted, with only five votes against, to accept Michael Edwards' plan for a cut of 12,000 jobs in Leylands Cars.

Closure

And this in turn foreshadowed the closure of the Triumph plant at Speke and Merseyside adding another 3,000 workers to the already swollen Liverpool dole queues.

The essence of 'participation' of course is that for all its pretence of democracy and shop floor involvement, decisions are taken by management. Convenors become mere errand boys for Leyland bosses.

The Tories have little time for this charade. Since management are going to decide anyway, they see no

point in pretending otherwise. Hence this manifesto gives participation the back of the hand, and relies rather on more blatant methods of weakening the power of workers on the shop floor—through black-mail and confrontation.

Having established to their own satisfaction that not only union officials, but widelayers of convenors too, have been completely bureaucratized to the point of becoming completely incapable of leading a fight in defence of jobs or conditions, the Tories intend to play on this crisis of leadership.

Independent interests

The only answer to their planned attacks is the fight in every industry for the construction of a revolutionary leadership that starts not from the "viability" of the employers but from the independent interests of the working class.

But it is not only in industrial matters that the Tories find much of their spade-work already done by Labour and TUC collaborators.

On the question of "law and order", for instance, it has long been a valid boast of Labour leaders that they have vastly increased spending on the police and raised police pay to giddy heights.

Successive Labour Home Secretaries have supervised the setting up of the Special Patrol Group—a hand-picked body of loutish thugs designed to smash through picket lines and attack workers' demonstrations.

They have armed the police to an unprecedented degree. They have issued blanket bans on demonstrations and even meetings. They have masterminded the drawing up and enactment of the Criminal Law Act that outlaws occupations and squatting. They forced through and implemented the so called "Prevention of Terrorism" Act.

Everyone of these reactionary steps could now put a deadly weapon in the hands of a Tory determined ruthlessly to confront and defeat the working class.

Democratic rights

And the Tories will also trade heavily on Labour attacks on democratic rights—the use of the Official Secrets Act to intimidate journalists as in last year's ABC trial, the deportation of ex-CIA agent Phillip Agee without trial or charge; and the mounting wave of precedents attacking union rights that have been amassed in the courts over the last 15 months.

The Tories also pledge themselves to build further on Labour's sickening record of racial discrimination by extending the existing Immigration Acts to further restrict the right of black workers' families to enter Britain.

Coupled with their other

policies of wage cutting and mass unemployment this would ensure that the Tories added to Labour's record of fostering racist division within the working class and fascist violence against immigrant workers and the the labour movement.

This would of course be coupled with a continuation of the full-scale military repression of the Irish struggle for self-determination, and of course a further lurch to the right in foreign policy.

But though the Thatcher gang's anti-communist rhetoric and defence of racist regimes and imperialist oppression would be more dramatic and uninhibited than that of the Callaghan cabinet, there would be no reason for them to change the fundamental drift of policy.

Errand boy

Labour's imperialist errand-boy David Owen has

sweated night and day to preserve the stability of capitalism in Southern Africa—and the decision of whether to stand by the Anglo-American "peace plan" for Zimbabwe or simply go along with Smith's racist "internal settlement" is a question of tactical not principled disagreement between Tory and Labour leaders.

Praise for Shah

Owen stood second to noone in his fulsome praise and support for the butcher Shah of Iran right up until his fall. His dire warnings against Communism provide a starting point for any Tory Foreign Secretary.

In short, both in Britain itself and on a world scale the record of the Labour government and their TUC colleagues is one of opening the door for the return of a full-blown Tory

Should the Tories be defeated in the election it will mark not a vote of con-

fidence by workers in Callaghan's reactionary policies, but a class move by the workers to keep the bosses' party out of office and thus stave off the attacks lined up in the Tory manifesto.

But the return of Callaghan and Healey will in itself solve nothing for the working class. Their policies offer only more of the same cuts and class collaboration.

The task facing workers is a combined one: to return Labour to office; and to prepare the revolutionary leadership that can mobilise the working class in defence of its independent interests, and fight for the complete exposure and removal of the Callaghan-Healey cabinet.

Only the Workers Socialist League, basing itself firmly on its record of principled practical struggle against both right and "left" wings of the Labour and trade union bureaucracy, offers workers such a perspective.

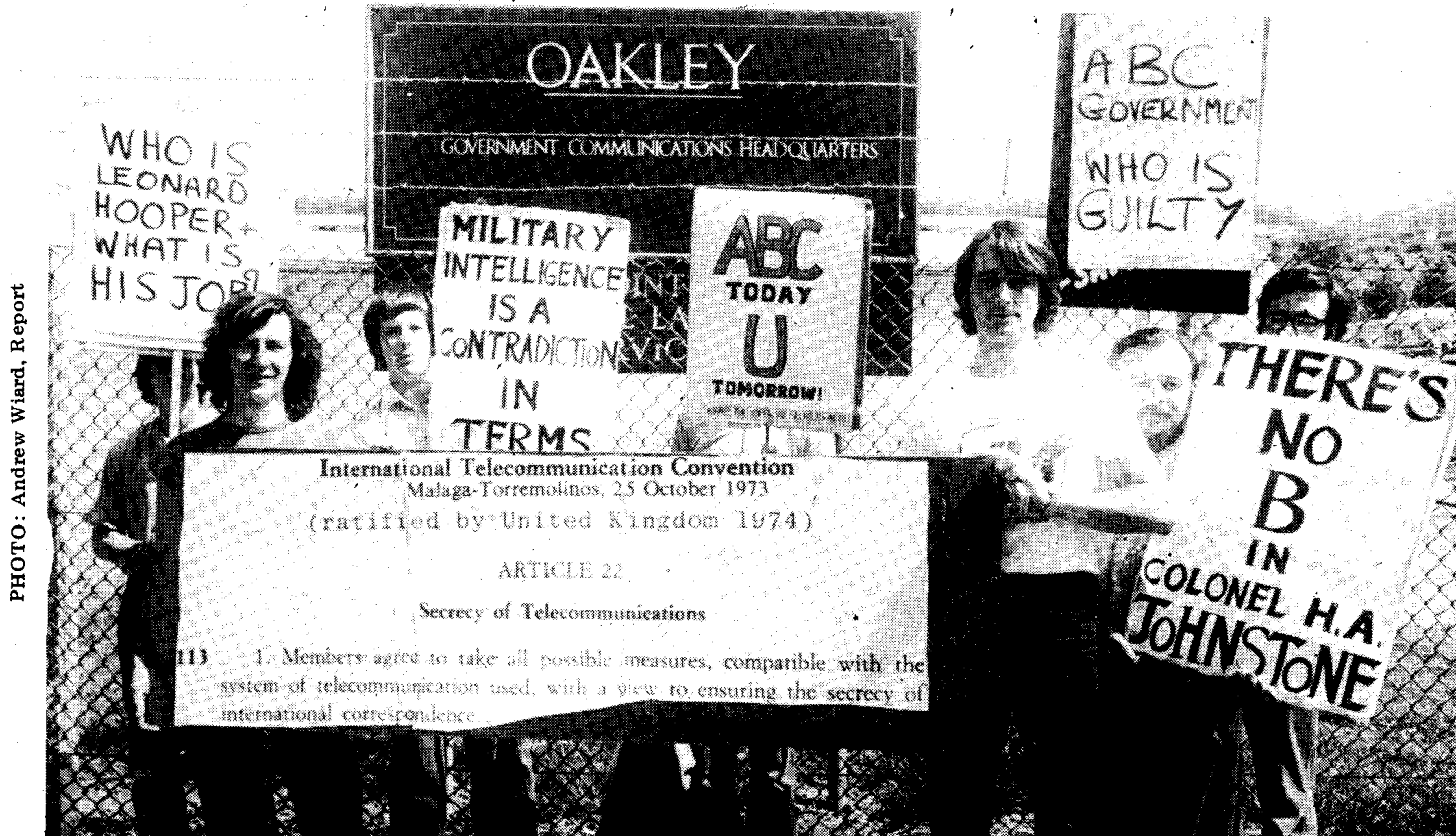


PHOTO: Andrew Ward, Report

Labour leaders have spearheaded attacks on democratic rights—reviving Official Secrets Act in ABC case



BEHIND NEWSLINE'S FRENZY, REDGRAVE FETED BY FEUDAL

TYRANTS

By John Lister

It is not very often that a Workers Socialist League leaflet becomes the subject of a double page article in a daily newspaper.

So when the Workers Revolutionary Party takes two pages in its daily *Newsline* to launch a violent attack on a WSL leaflet handed out on a march organised by the General Union of Arab Students, we must look seriously at the reasons for it, and the arguments put forward.

Of course we welcome this belated attempt by the WRP leadership to publicly defend their Party's opportunist positions on the struggles in the Middle East against the long-standing criticisms we have raised.

Less detailed

But it is revealing that sooner than answer the extended and documented polemical articles that we have carried in *Socialist Press* in booklet form (*WRP Leaders Junk the Old Trotskyism*), the *Newsline* editorial board chooses instead to take up the far less detailed points contained in one leaflet.

Clearly they hope that this provides them with an easier task. But so indefensible is their policy of giving uncritical support to a motley assortment of bourgeois and petty bourgeois nationalist leaderships in the Middle East, that they fail to achieve even this limited objective.

Sensing their failure they desperately throw in lying allegations about the WSL's record in British Leyland at Cowley and on the Labour government which we do not intend to bother with here.

Quaint

From their characteristically quaint style of polemic—a mixture of arbitrary insults combined with distortions of both fact and Marxist theory—two points clearly emerge.

One is that the WRP leaders are incensed that the Workers Socialist League should put out a leaflet to Arab and Palestinian students (whom they regard as their own property).

But, more important, they are furious that our leaflet should put forward a class analysis of the



Sadat (left) with Arafat and Boumediene in the days when they all posed as opponents of Zionism and defenders of Palestine

struggles in the Middle East, and differentiate sharply between the interests of the Arab and Palestinian masses and the policies of the petty bourgeois and bourgeois nationalists uncritically supported by the WRP.

This is so unthinkable to WRP leader Gerry Healy and his *Newsline* scribes that they are almost beside themselves with rage, wildly alleging that:

"The leaflet began by pouring scorn on the entire history of Arab liberation struggles, maligning every leadership, including the past Nasserite leadership of the Egyptian nation [!]—as a leadership which has 'sold out that struggle to the dictates of imperialism and their own political needs'.

What did our leaflet say? Not even mentioning Nasser, it simply pointed a finger at the obvious truth:

"Again and again the Arab leaders who claim to support the Palestinian struggle have been in the forefront of deals which sold out that struggle to the dictates of imperialism and their own political needs.

"Sadat's sordid peace treaty with the Zionist state is only the latest in a long line of many such betrayals".

Fear of struggles

It showed that the impetus behind this back stabbing treaty was imperialism's fear that the aftermath of the Iranian revolution would unleash

mass struggles throughout the Middle East.

And it showed how this same fear of mass revolutionary struggles also haunts the feudal and bourgeois heads of state within the Arab League.

"It has driven the Ba'athists of Damascus and Baghdad back towards each other in search of comfort. It has forced the Iraqi and Saudi regimes to renew their military understanding. The first fruits of that strengthened agreement have already been seen in their defence of the reactionary Yemen Arab Republic".

Home truths

For the WRP, who were busily distributing a Ba'athist leaflet on the demonstration, these home truths were too much to take. Stung into a reply, they spell out in *Newsline* their explicitly revisionist view of the struggles in the Middle East.

"Marxists, however, begin not with the individuals or aspects of reality, but with a comprehensive analysis of the whole—i.e. the nature of the imperialist epoch whose central feature, as Lenin explained, is the division of the world into oppressed and oppressor nations".

All of a sudden the WRP while still posing as a 'Trotskyist' movement has ceased to pay any regard to the class struggle that continues within both the



Arafat with 'moderate' Arab leader Hussein—he wiped out PLO forces in the Black September massacre

oppressed and oppressor countries.

Instead the question of a policy for the Arab masses is crudely simplified as "whose side are you on; the oppressed or the oppressor?"

Lamely

If you are on the side of the oppressed "nation", then this in the WRP's eyes now means you trail lamely and uncritically along behind every twist and turn of policy of Yasser Arafat, Gaddafi, the Iraqi Ba'athists and the Ayatollah Khomeini and their chosen allies of the moment, (up to and including the Ugandan butcher Amin).

But of course this policy is not without contradictions. For instance, the "oppressed" Iraqi Ba'athists are also the oppressors of the Kurdish national minority imprisoned within the Iraqi state.

Khomeini (whom the WRP defend against our description of him as a religious bigot) is also engaged in oppressing the Kurdish, Azerbaijani, Turkomeni and Arab minorities in Iran.

Annexed

Gaddafi's "oppressed" Libyan dictatorship has only recently annexed a substantial chunk of northern Chad.

It is not good enough therefore, to place such general labels on Middle

East regimes.

It is necessary to analyse the class contradictions within these states as well as their relationship to imperialism if the masses are to be offered a revolutionary way forward.

But the WRP dodges any such analysis. Its position is an almost exact echo of the revisionist conceptions of Michel Pablo who in 1951 put forward the non-class view that the world was divided into simply the "Soviet bloc" and the "capitalist world", as a premise for his adaptation to the Stalinist bureaucracies.

Liquidated

By leaving out both the independent struggles of the working class in the capitalist countries and the struggle for political revolution in the deformed and degenerated workers states and badly posing the question of "which side are we on?" Pablo's position effectively liquidated the programme of Trotskyism.

Now Gerry Healy and the WRP leaders, who correctly fought and broke from Pablo in 1953, and fought the drift of the American SWP back to Pabloism in 1963, explicitly turn their backs on their own history and embrace Pablo's method and politics in their adaptation to the Ba'athists, Gaddafi and Arafat.

Their uncritical support for bourgeois leaders leads

inevitably to support for bourgeois policies. Thus the *Newsline* waxes indignant that the WSL leaflet should have criticised the Arab League's economic boycott of Egypt, branding it as a sop to head off the militancy of the Arab masses.

Financial Times

In arguing in support of the boycott policy, the *Newsline* scribes rely extensively on quotations from the *Financial Times* and the *Economist* to 'prove' that the boycott will be effective.

Of course they ignore evidence to the contrary put forward in the analysis in the *Daily Telegraph*, which points to the fact that there was no decision to withdraw the Arab League countries' huge investments from Egypt, and that Egyptian trade with these countries accounts for only 6% of its exports.

But even if the boycott were effective, the central point made in our leaflet would remain valid: that the bourgeois Arab leaders remain implacably opposed to the mobilisation of the Arab and Palestinian masses, which is the only means of successfully carrying through the Palestinian revolution and the struggle for a Socialist United States of the Middle East.

This is why our leaflet stated clearly:

"The Palestinian liberation struggle will not be won by any number of boycotts or other actions from the Arab nationalist leaders.

"The workers and peasants of Iran have clearly shown the way—only mass mobilisations of the oppressed classes can lift the yoke of imperialism in the Middle East".

Does this mean that, as the *Newsline* article falsely suggests, we draw no distinction between the role of imperialism and that of its satellite bourgeois leaders in the colonial countries? Clearly not.

But we stand by the position cogently argued in 1963 by the WRP's forerunner, the Socialist Labour League. Challenging the opportunism of the Pabloites on Algeria, the SLL pointed out:

"In Algeria, the revisionists, as we have seen, in fact give support to the petty bourgeois, nationalist government.

"There was even published an article by one Sadi both in the SWP International Socialist Review and the Pabloite Fourth International advocating 'entry' into Nasser's national movement, and specifically disavowing any organised independent

GRANDDAD JIM AND AUNTIE MARJE PLAY "HAPPY FAMILIES"

By Sheilagh Priestman



Zionist chief Begin

opposition. "A class characterisation of nationalisation is incomplete and turns into its opposite if it does not sharply define the role of the proletariat in opposing the petty bourgeois nationalists". (Fourth International, Spring 1964).

Describing and attacking the Pabloite attitude to petty bourgeois led nationalist revolutions, the article went on to show that, in the Pabloites' view: "When these revolutions occur, Marxists have no alternative but to participate in them 'wholeheartedly', i.e., they must not appear as opponents of the petty bourgeois leaderships

"In Algeria they must work for Ben Bella, and join with him in denouncing and imprisoning any opposition movements, Right or Left [...] It is precisely in the revolutionary situations of Algeria and Cuba that the building of the independent party has been most blatantly abandoned, on the assumption that the petty bourgeois leaders will become revolutionary Marxists..."

Ten years

This correct criticism and orientation was maintained by the SLL for more than ten years. In 1972, in a major article on Algeria and the dictatorship of the then President Boumedienne, Tom Kemp (now editor of the WRP's "theoretical" journal *Labour Review*) wrote in *Workers Press*:

"As Algeria celebrates its tenth year of independence it is clear that President Houari Boumedienne presides over one thing above all—the plunder of the country's natural resources by international capital..."

"Development which leaves the masses in misery means jobs and opportunities for the new rich petty bourgeoisie upon which Boumedienne's rule is based". (July 12, 1972).

Kemp, in a passage that now reads as supreme irony, explains that this was because:

"the workers and peasants were never able to find a party which gave expression to their historic needs as part of the international struggle of the working class..."

And he stresses that: "In Algeria today there are no democratic liberties or working class rights. The only party is the FLN, which is more a bureaucratic machine than a political party..."

Yet, six years later, all this is thrown aside by *Newsline*, which in December published a grovelling eulogy to the dead Boumedienne, in which the WRP's "own

correspondent" declared that his 'Council of the Revolution' directed the country:

"along socialist programmes of the distribution of the land to peasant co-operatives and the nationalisation of the oil, banks and minerals". (emphasis added).

This conscious switch of line on Algeria follows on similar calculated about-turns on Libya and Iraq, and Healy's scandalous abandonment of support for the Kurdish liberation struggle.

It goes hand in hand with a curious analysis of Middle East politics that views every tyrant and despot not from a class standpoint, but from the angle of his verbal stance on the Palestinian liberation struggle.

This, the WRP's substitute for the method and principles of the Trotskyist movement, explains the state visit of WRP leaders Vanessa Redgrave and Gerry Healy to the feudal sheiks of Abu Dhabi—following the illustrious footsteps of Queen Elizabeth II and Prince Philip.

We await with interest a *Newsline* report on the stage of development of a Marxist party in Abu Dhabi in solidarity with Healy's so-called "International Committee" as a result of this lavish visit.

Indeed we await any evidence whatever that the WRP still believes it correct to build Trotskyist parties in Iraq, Libya, Iran, Palestine, and the other oppressed nations of the Middle East.

Failing this we challenge the WRP leaders, once again to explain publicly why they have abandoned this central task facing revolutionary Marxists, and how they see the existing petty bourgeois nationalist regimes leading the masses to the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of a Socialist United States of the Middle East.

STILL AVAILABLE

WRP leaders junk the old Trotskyism



Price 45p plus 15 p p&p from WSL, 31, Dartmouth Park Hill, London NW5 1HR.

Marje Proops and Jim Callaghan make such sickening bedfellows that it was difficult to believe that even the Labour Party would really bring out anything as nauseating as an election document written by the two of them.

But the actual document is worse than nauseating; it drips through and through with every idea that is anti-socialist.

Callaghan uses the family to boost his position; and uses his position to boost the family.

On the one hand this shows the depths that Callaghan has stooped to in his desperate attempts to scrape up electoral support from somewhere.

Pillar of support

On the other it points most sharply to how and why it is that the family as an institution is such a pillar of support for bourgeois rule.

Marje Proops begins in tones of sickly saccharine, urging us to count our blessings; lauding the "unit, closely knit by very special ties of blood and tradition."

Blood and tradition are terms which are the hall mark of every fascist vision; blood and tradition are totally dangerous concepts entirely opposed to the change, progress and solidarity upon which communism is built.

"Blood and tradition"; we might almost expect a fuhrer to stalk across the page.

But no, we are only presented with the grotesque image of good old Grandpa Callaghan, whose "nine year old grandchildren ask him and Audrey"—what was it like in the old days?

For Proops the "old days" weren't so good. (Were they perhaps less full of the glorious bonds of family life?)

Class distinctions

In the bad old days, she tells us, class distinctions existed—some people wore collars and ties and some didn't!

Thankfully, she thinks, all this is gone!

The sheer stupidity of believing that class distinctions are about what you wear round your neck rather than about who owns and controls the wealth and factories is quite incredible.

But Proops' witless remarks on the class structure of society aren't what she's wheeled in for.

Mrs Family Life's blatherings about "purpose, justice and decency" are but a prelude to Callaghan's



...BY MARJE PROOPS

The infamous handout

own trumpeting of every right wing attitude. He argues for "a national family policy". Again, we are reminded of Hitler's determination to bolster the family.

For every capitalist politician worth his salt is aware that the family is a sensitive area, one of the few places where under capitalism individuals feel that they can escape from the alienating meaninglessness of their working existence into an area which should be one of human warmth, comfort and affection.

He specifically lauds the 1977 Criminal Law Act which made "trespass"—factory and other occupations and squatting—a criminal offence.

These assaults on workers and youth are dressed up behind the camouflage of the family: "a contented nation depends on a contented family."

The rest of the pamphlet, rather desperately in the face of Labour's appalling record of cuts in social services, and falling living standards, tries to produce some examples of contented families.

Despite all the evidence on how Labour governments have increased the numbers in the poverty trap—the numbers paying tax on low incomes—Callaghan's piece tries to argue that

NATIONAL ABORTION CAMPAIGN

Labour's cuts have attacked abortion rights

Labour has fought against this.

But the handout's own examples belie his case. It refers, glowingly, to one young couple who it admits are unable to afford a colour TV or a phone.

The other example is an even greater indictment of "family life".

No model

A single parent—hardly a recommended model for Proops' "happy families"—describes how as a student at college, there were no nurseries and she had to pay a childminder.

"Now with a degree behind her, she is looking for a job. Unfortunately she is caught in a situation which many woman workers find themselves trapped in—low wages for hours which suit their family commitments."

Precisely it is the shackles of the family unit in a period of capitalist crisis which oppress this student mother.

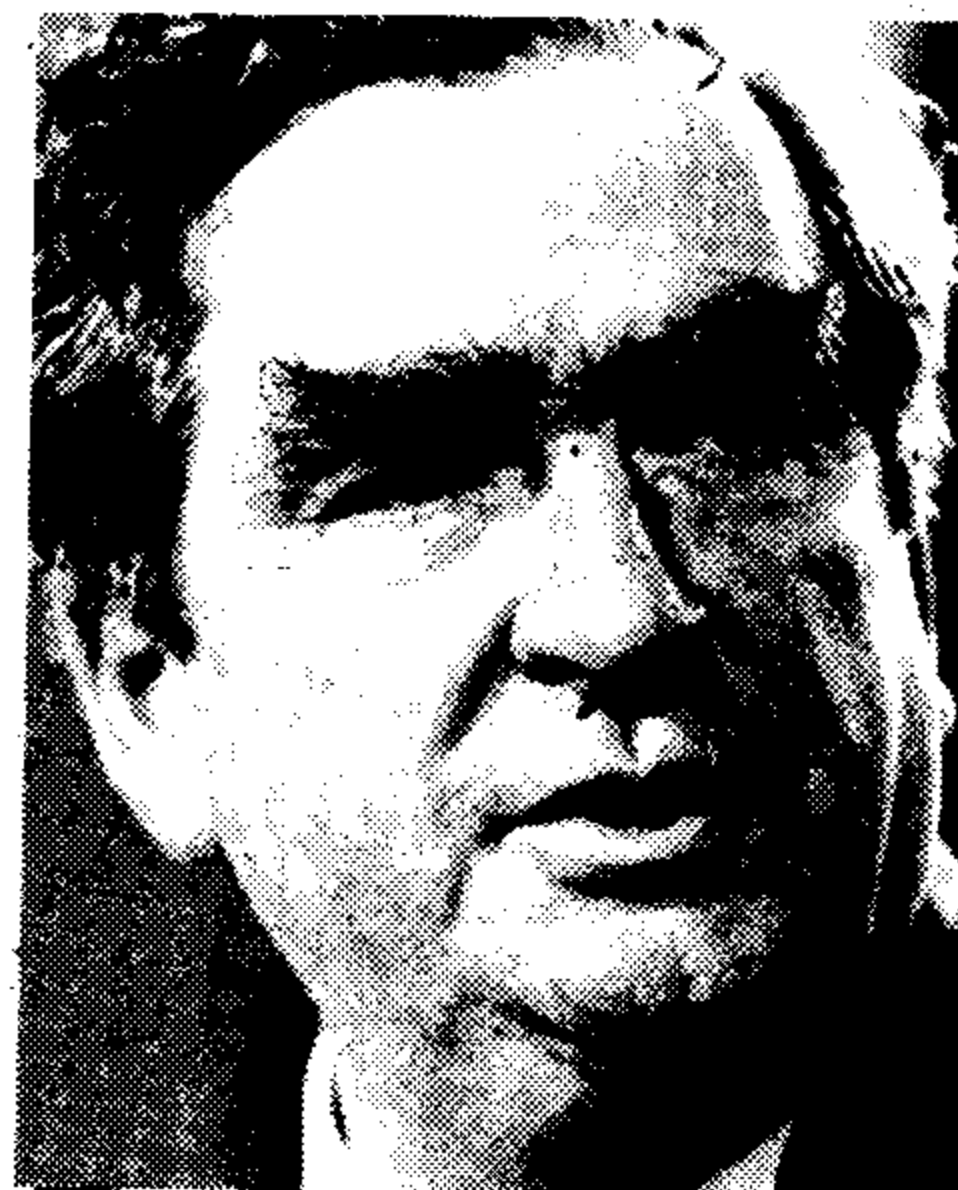
It is the failure to provide any alternative child care provision to the individual family unit which keep her and countless other women from full-time employment to match their qualifications and ambitions.

Reactionary

Producing her as evidence for the value of family life is the final twist in this pernicious, reactionary anti-socialist piece.

Only a Marxist approach, starting from the need to provide socialised child care, catering facilities and laundries, can begin to replace the domestic drudgery that is the central facet of life in the individual bourgeois family unit.

And the fight for such policies means fighting to expose and remove Callaghan and his fellow reactionaries, and build a revolutionary leadership in the working class.



Healey

The actuality under capitalism, however, is a set of relationships which oppress women and the young and tie all its members often in unhappy bondage to one another.

This environment is a breeding ground for individualism.

Workers' class connections with one another are divided by their particular individual family ties.

The family is consciously used by Callaghan and the bourgeoisie to divide and weaken the working class and as a weapon to buttress right wing attitudes.

"We are the implacable

PHOTO: Andrew Ward, Report



PARTIAL VICTORY IN HOSPITAL FIGHT

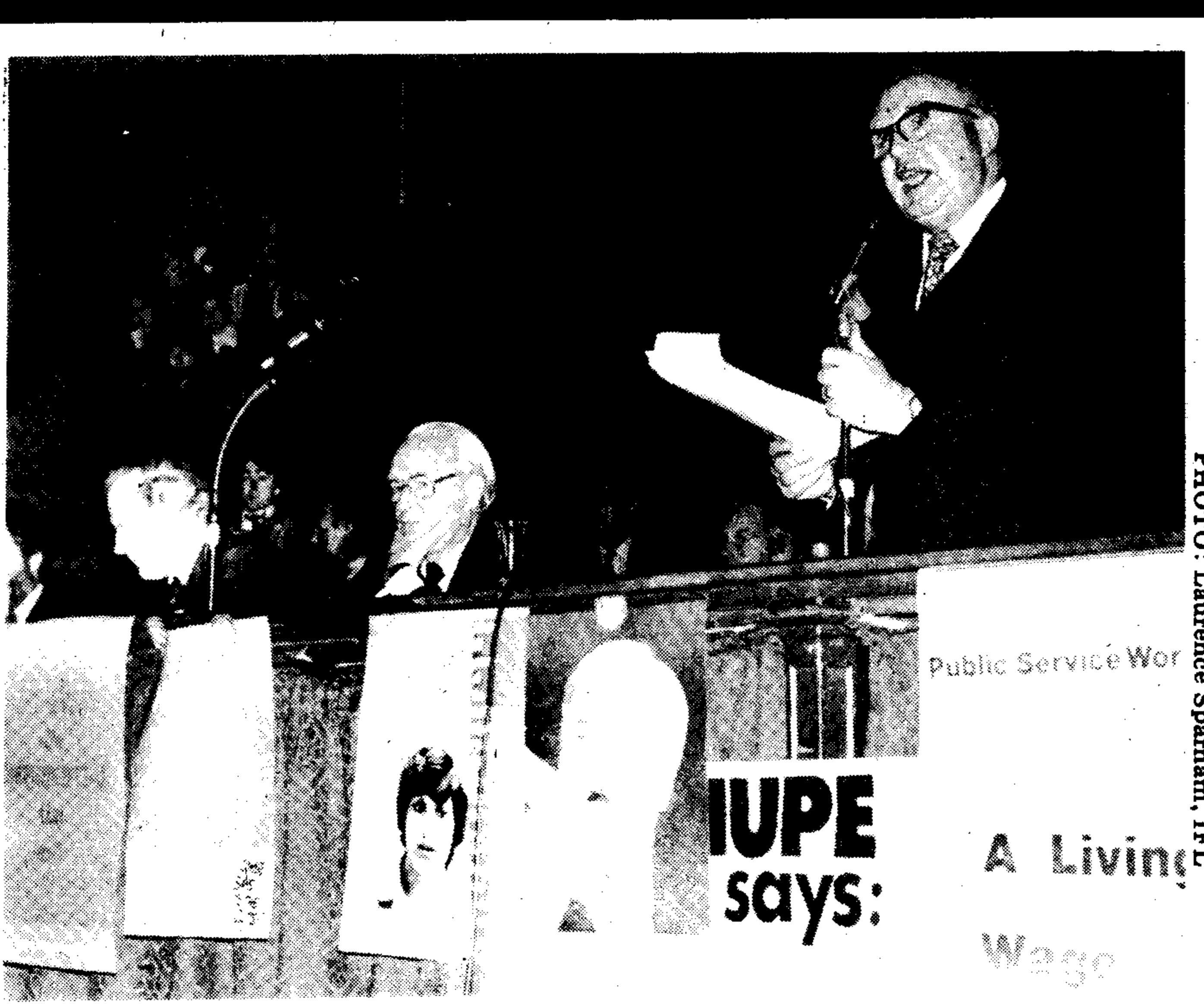


PHOTO: Laurence Spaham, IFL

St. Columba's Hospital on Hampstead Heath is still open and the health authorities have been forced to concede that normal patient admission procedures can be resumed for three months.

This partial victory is a tribute to the workers at the hospital—who declared an occupation to prevent closure—and to persistent and principled opposition to cuts by the joint shop stewards committee for the health district to which St. Columba's is attached.

The District JSSC has now won three important battles in the last 12 months against the local District

Management Team and the Kensington, Chelsea and Westminster Area Health Authority.

Leading role

They have played a leading role in delaying the decision to run down St. Mary's Hospital in Harrow Road; in reversing the decision to close Hereford Lodge in Bayswater, and now in forcing the AHA to call off its 'temporary' closure at St. Columba's.

The AHA decision to close St. Columba's 'within four weeks' was taken on 14 February 1979.

On 26 February, the DJSSC held a meeting at St. Columba's at which a unanimous decision was taken to support the

workers there if they decided to occupy it against closure.

The stewards pledged to call for supporting strike action in their own hospitals if any attempt was made to go ahead with the closure.

A week later the occupation was declared.

Following direct approaches by the shop stewards, the medical staff at the hospital agreed to defy the DMT and admit some new patients on 'humanitarian' grounds.

Lobby

On 6 April, the shop stewards held a further meeting at St. Columba's at which they urged the staff to attend the next Area Health Authority meeting

and to fight for the resumption of normal admissions.

On 11 April, shop stewards and St. Columba's workers, together with supporters from the local community, attended the AHA meeting.

After the protestors had presented their arguments by constantly interrupting the meeting, the AHA voted overwhelmingly to re-open the hospital to full admissions pending the outcome of the statutory consultation procedure.

The sudden and callous move to close the hospital had been made as part of a plan to cut back on £400,000 overspent against 'cash limits' by the North West District of Kensington, Chelsea and Westminster

Area Health Authority.

Since not a penny has yet been saved at St. Columba's, the DMT is frantically trying to increase and implement the other cuts planned for the bigger, less vulnerable hospitals in Paddington and North Kensington.

These take the form of leaving vacancies unfilled, axing overtime, introducing new rotas and limiting expenditure on advertising for new staff.

It now seems very unlikely that the authorities have succeeded in their aim of saving most of the £400,000 by 5 April, the end of the financial year.

Cash limits

The 'cash-limit' system means that the remaining amount will have to be found out of the allocation for the new financial year.

But the local management's problems have only just begun.

In the recent White Paper that accompanied the so-called 'neutral' pre-election budget, the Labour government has stated its intention to make sure that any pay increases above 7% in the public sector will be paid for out of existing revenue allocations, by cuts in services and jobs.

Tories promise the same ruthless policies if elected.

Add to this the effect of increases in oil prices and the certainty of accelerating inflation and it is clear that we are about to see the struggle against cuts spread to every NHS hospital and a heightening of the consciousness of all hospital workers of the real meaning of 'cash-limits', public expenditure cuts, resources re-allocation and the policy of low pay.

Last but not least, the AHA announced at the meeting on 11 April the 'discovery' of a £450,000 deficit on its expenditure for the financial year just ended (5 April 1979), apparently because the DHSS was refusing to

allocate this amount to cover London Weighting payments.

In their resistance to the closure of St. Columba's the hospital staff, mainly NUPE members, and the District Joint Shop Stewards Committee, (DJSSC) have received minimal assistance from the NUPE apparatus.

At the meeting of staff called on 6 April by the DJSSC, NUPE full-time officer Mike Cunningham opened the meeting by declaring that he knew nothing about the hospital and asking the politically inexperienced staff what they thought he should do to help them.

This statement on its own is an indication of the lack of leadership given by the NUPE full-timers, Divisional Council and NEC to a hospital that might have been closed many weeks ago.

While the NUPE leadership have been treating St. Columba's as just another hospital closure and working out various face-saving schemes with the Labour government, the hospital workers and shop stewards have kept the hospital open and at the same time obtained token support from Westminster and Camden Trades Councils, the Greater London Association of Trades Councils and the SE Region of the TUC.

At the NUPE conference of London public sector shop stewards on 15 March, Samaritan Hospital shop steward, Arthur Steele, successfully moved a resolution calling for supporting strike action if any step was taken to force through the closure of St. Columba's.

Though the immediate threat of closure has receded, it is likely soon to prove necessary to transform these pledges of support from paper resolutions to concrete solidarity action.

WHY YOU SHOULD JOIN US

Whichever way you look at the struggles and problems now facing the working class throughout the world, one thing stands out above all: the necessity for a principled leadership capable of leading the struggle for state power and the establishment of a socialist society.

The massive revolutionary upheaval that has now toppled the seemingly impregnable might of the Shah of Iran and which is now already coming into conflict with the restrictions placed upon it by its Islamic 'leaders' serves as a vivid reminder that socialist revolution is not only possible, but essential if the apparatus of capitalist repression and exploitation is to be destroyed once and for all.

But such a revolution requires a conscious Marxist leadership. And the fight to construct such a leadership is inseparable from the fight in the day-to-day struggles of the working class internationally for the principles, method and demands of the Trotskyist Transitional Programme. The Workers Socialist League has time and again proved to be the only movement in Britain that fights patiently and relentlessly on such a perspective.

We alone are the movement that does not shrink from even head-on battles with the existing leaders of the working class — whether these 'leaders' be open right wingers, 'left' talking Labourites or Stalinists of the Communist Party.

Of course this policy has made us no friends in the trade union and Labour bureaucracy, or amongst the opportunists and centrists of the British 'left'. But it has meant that the WSL has consistently offered the most powerful lead to workers in struggle.

The strength of our movement lies precisely in our rejection of any attempt to find "short cuts" around the necessary fight to construct a Marxist leadership in the working class.

In each struggle we set out to prove to workers both in theory and in practice the necessity of a new, revolutionary 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.

This is why the WSL has featured at the forefront of pay struggles in British Leyland and the public sector, in the fight against redundancies and closures, in struggles against the cuts, unionisation fights, and the fight for democracy in the labour movement.

This method of approach — rejecting any descent to simple trade union militancy or concession to the labour bureaucracy — is of course essential not only in Britain but internationally.

In taking up international issues in the labour movement the WSL stresses 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; but its approach to both theory and practice make it the only really serious revolutionary movement.

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.

More details

Please send me more information about the WSL.

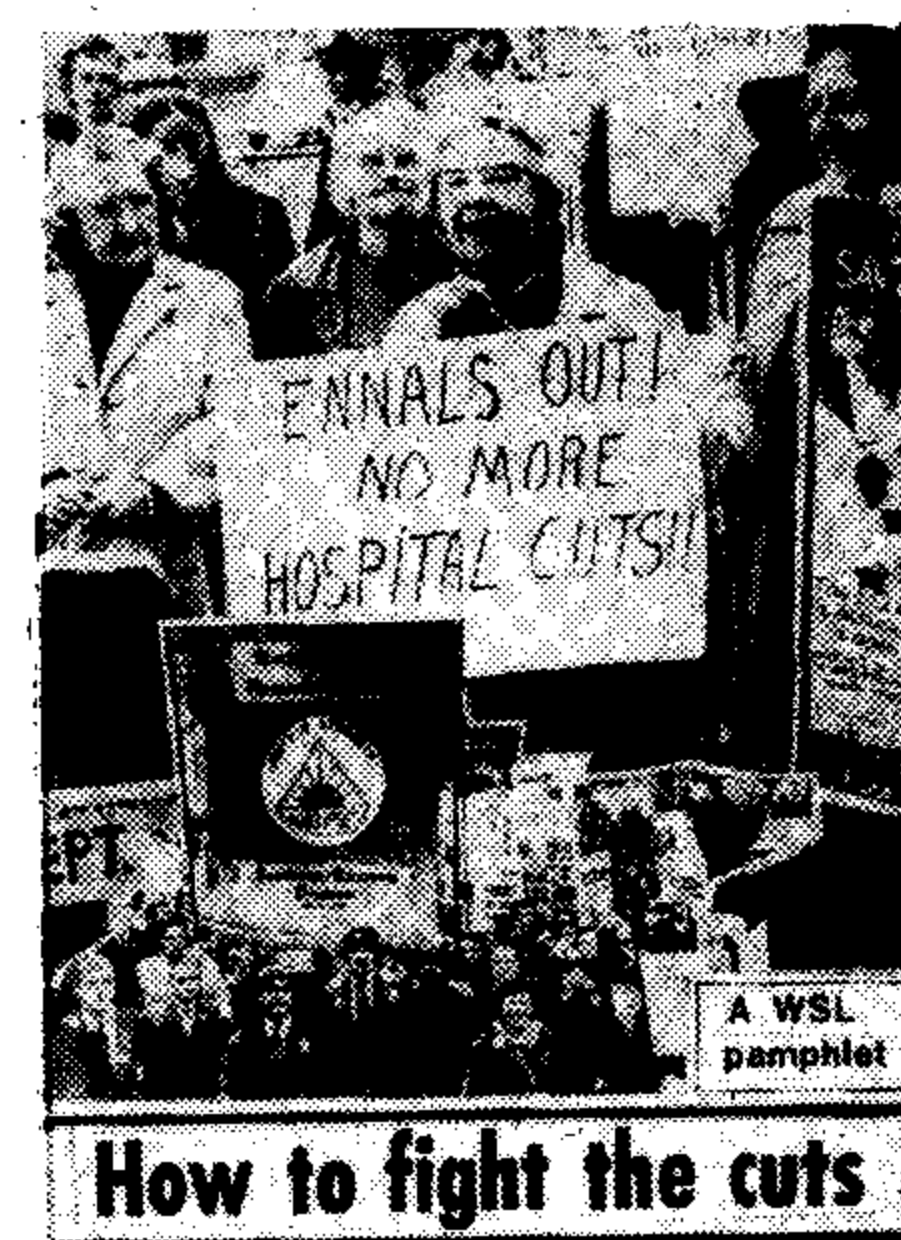
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HOW TO FIGHT THE CUTS

A WSL pamphlet, based on our experience of struggles in London and Oxford. 30p plus 10p p&p from WSL, 31, Dartmouth Park Hill, London NW5 1HR.



How to fight the cuts

Firm stand by Garners strikers

The Garners Strike Committee has taken a brave stand in defiance of moves by TGWU officials to stab their struggle in the back.

At a strike committee meeting last Monday the committee decided to go ahead with arrangements for the Day of Action called for May 5 and the

TGWU delegate conference called for June 16.

They went on to demand that the TGWU's massive London Regional Committee give official support to these events.

These initiatives have cut across Regional Committee moves to declare at their next meeting that the strikers want to call off the 15-month struggle

for union recognition.

The Garners strike has severely embarrassed Regional TGWU officials by highlighting their abject refusal to use the colossal strength of the London Region's 500,000 membership to crush tin-pot employer Cyril Margolis into submission through a campaign of blacking and mass picketing.

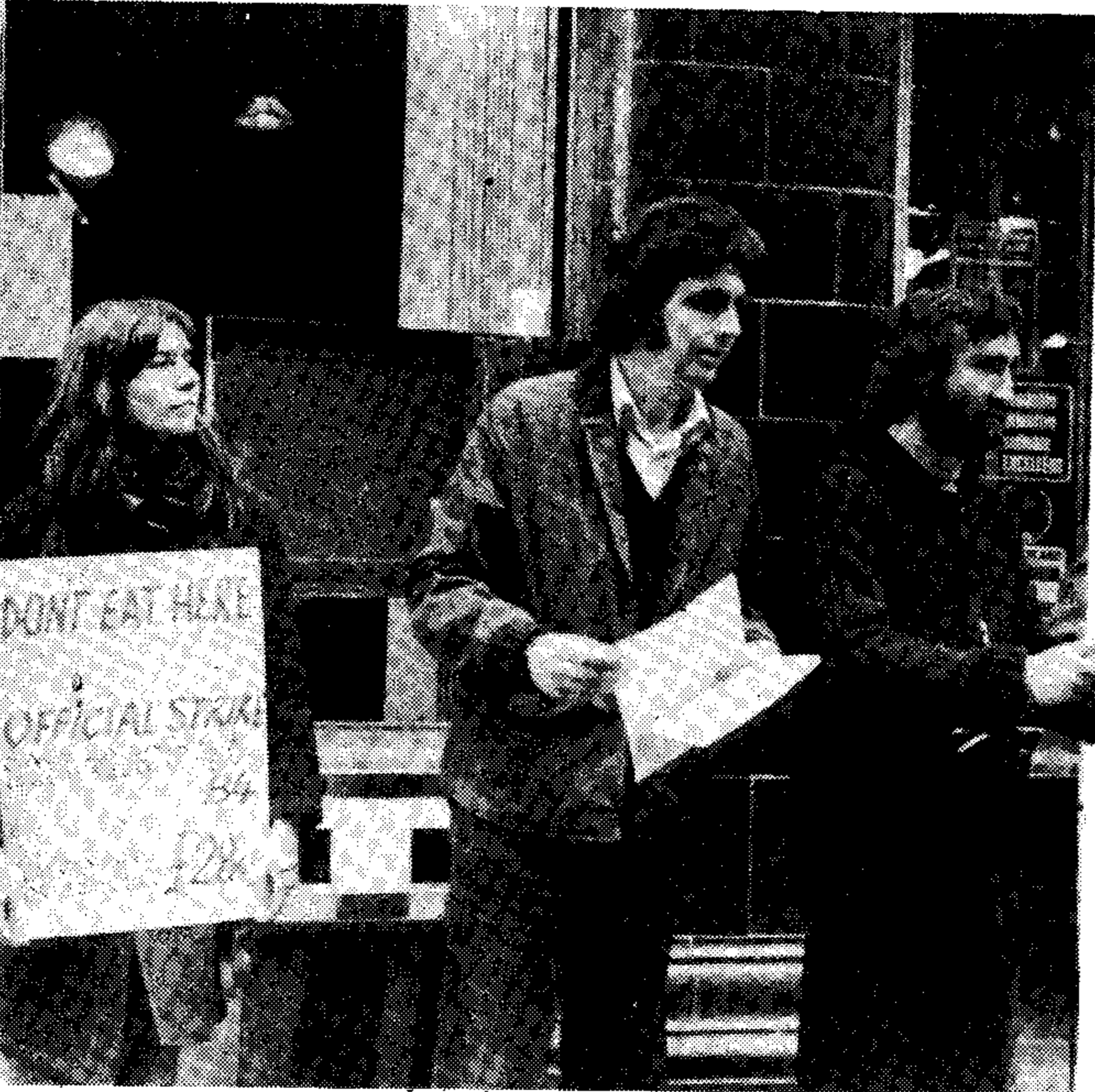
Every attempt to break through to mobilise support from factories, docks and other TGWU-organised workplaces in the London area has been beset by sabotage and inaction by full time officials who would sooner see the strike defeated than their bureaucratic control challenged.

The strike committee however has shown once again that it is not prepared to sit meekly and wait for the final stab in the back from Regional Secretary Staden and "Organiser" Les Shorter.

All militants within the TGWU must fight for support to the 16 June delegate conference and every supporter of this heroic struggle for basic union rights should mobilise now for the May 5 Day of Action.

Resolutions, donations and messages of support should be forwarded to the strike committee at 12/13, Henrietta Street, London WC1.

Demands that the Region 1 Committee support and build for the delegate conference must be forwarded to the Regional Committee.



Garners pickets

Notts fight key at NUJ ADM

NUJ members meet in Ayr next week for their annual conference with the question of the reinstatement of Nottingham journalists, sacked during the provincial journalists' strike, likely to be high on the agenda.

An emergency motion from Leicester calls for a national one day stoppage by all NUJ members in support of the sacked members.

But the fate of the Nottingham 28 will be central to every discussion on the handling of the seven week strike, which ended in January. Motions from Bristol and Swindon both

criticise the return to work, and the failure of the NEC to tell members that the future of the Nottingham journalists had not been secured.

Court rulings

Two motions from Oxford, one an emergency motion, attack recent court rulings which inhibit the right to impose blacking and one calls on the union to disregard all such 'legal' limits on the right to take action, whether strikes, blacking or picketing.

A motion from the Magazine branch, which has been backed in substance by the national executive, calls on the union to

withdraw from the Press Council, publicise instead its own code of conduct, and propose a new body to handle complaints against the press.

Although the terms of this new body are left vague, this motion is likely to invoke the most united opposition from the right in the union, backed by those who claim to occupy the middle ground.

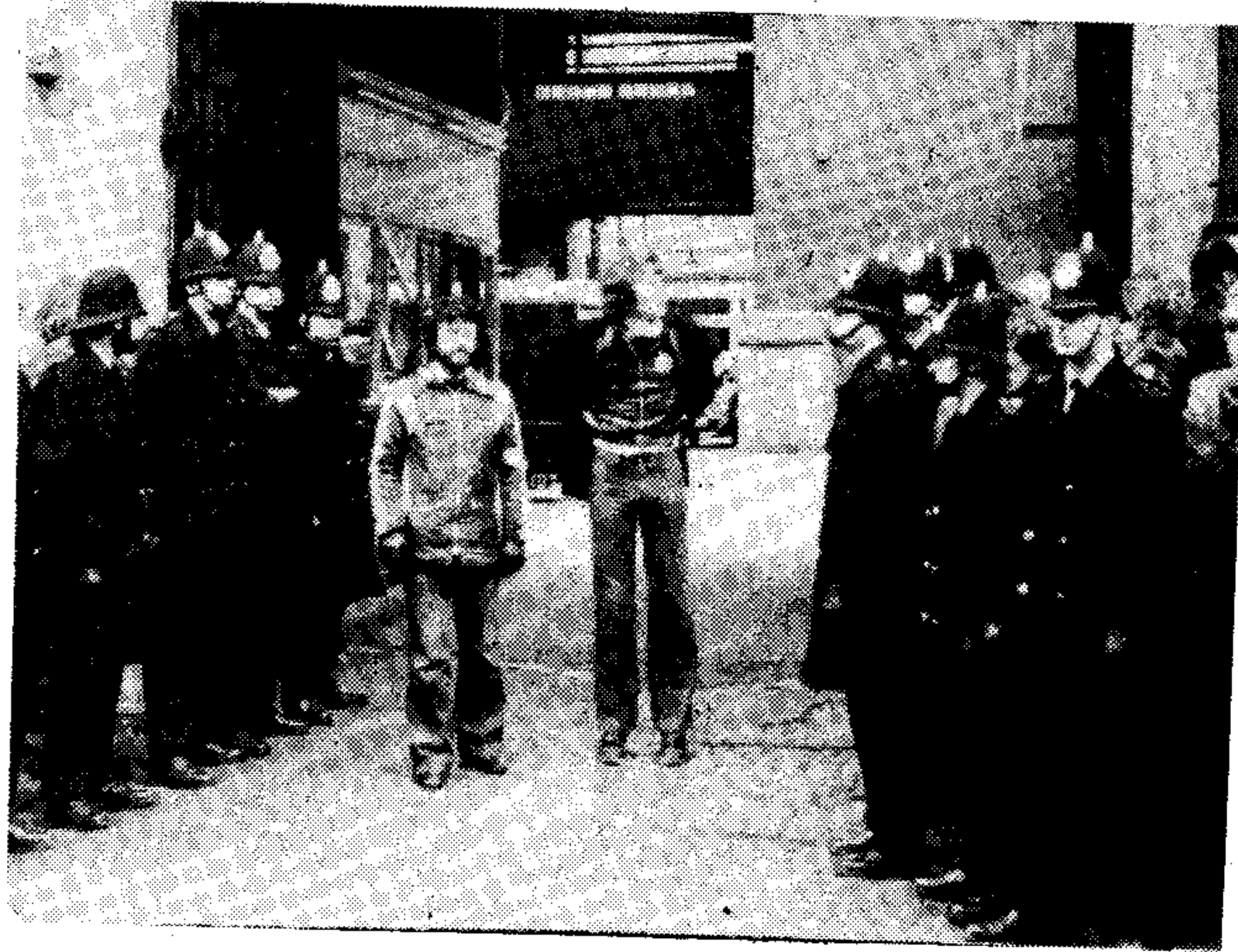
The Press Council, a joint body of employers, union members and others (usually more employers) is one of the ways in which the NUJ has historically given backing to the claims of the employers to run a free press. A decision to break from this body will be a step forward for the NUJ.

A motion from Sheffield calls for the election of officials every three years, by telling the NEC to bring such a proposal to the 1980 conference (a rule changing conference).

The standing orders committee this year has excelled itself. Not only did it introduce a bureaucratic procedure which threatened to axe many motions off the agenda but it has ruled out of order both motions on Ireland on the grounds that they are not of interest to the membership.

A motion against the public expenditure cuts and even a pious expression in support of the International Year of the Child received the same treatment.

A motion in support of Human Rights is included. The further those rights from Ireland the better so far as the standing orders committee is concerned.



Scene at a Nottingham mass picket

NUT drops pay fight

This year's National Union of Teachers' Conference began with a damp squib—the decision effectively to abandon this year's pay claim.

After impassioned attacks on the management panel's refusal to increase their 9% offer, the Executive called not for strike action but the "withdrawal of goodwill" as their method of fighting for the 36% claim.

All this involves is voluntary dinner duties and the use of cars for school business.

But even the "alternative" moved by the IMG-inspired Socialist Teachers Alliance and the SWP's "Rank and File" group offered nothing but more



PHOTO: Chris Davies, Report

NUT leader Fred Jarvis

of the same thing—calling for half-day strikes, 'no cover' action, and for the Executive to arrange a strike of "extended duration" in "selected areas".

Yet at a fringe meeting at the conference an IMG member

from the CPSA in Scotland could be heard correctly denouncing selective strikes as "a complete and utter bloody fraud".

Monday's debate on salary policy for 1980-81 saw Mark South from Havering moving the opposition to the Executive Memorandum, pointing out that it contained not a single policy for action, or inking of how to defend members' living standards against inflation.

NUSS lobby

A highlight of the conference was a lively lobby of 40 youth from Leeds NUSS demanding recognition of the school students' union and an end to corporal punishment.

But in the event there was no motion on the agenda through which delegates could respond to these correct demands.

A full report on the week-long conference will appear in next week's *Socialist Press*.

Chrysler reprieve

Convenors at Chrysler UK's Stoke Engine Plant, Coventry, reported to a mass meeting last Friday on negotiations over the future of 1200 workers laid off since January.

The lay-offs were due to the suspension of production at the plant in Iran which assembles kits made in Britain.

Although production resumes in Iran on May 31 and the company was 'optimistic', workers were not likely to be re-called until July—and this was not definite.

The convenors have been thrown a life-line by the Labour government in the shape of a new scheme which came into force on April 1 and which appears to be an extension of the Temporary Employment Subsidy.

Government grant

Under the scheme any firm declaring more than 10 redundancies can apply to the govern-

ment for up to 75% of the normal weekly wage for any worker at work for one or more days a week.

After a hectic series of meetings with management the Department of Employment, ACAS and local 'left' MPs, the convenors were able to persuade management to apply for this temporary subsidy and provisionally signed a joint appeal to the Department of Employment. (They came to the mass meeting for support for this action).

Work sharing

The company was then persuaded to increase the 75% to 85% from their own pockets.

The convenors then negotiated a plan for work-sharing which involved a return to work on April 23.

The actual work-sharing has involved significant re-organisation of gangs, the implications of which are not as yet clear.

The wages to be paid go from £70.73 a week for a grade

one worker working a one day week upwards. This compares with a £79 a week normal wage. The plan was accepted almost unanimously.

The closing speeches stressed the role of the Labour government in "saving jobs" at Chrysler and workers were urged to remember this on May 3.

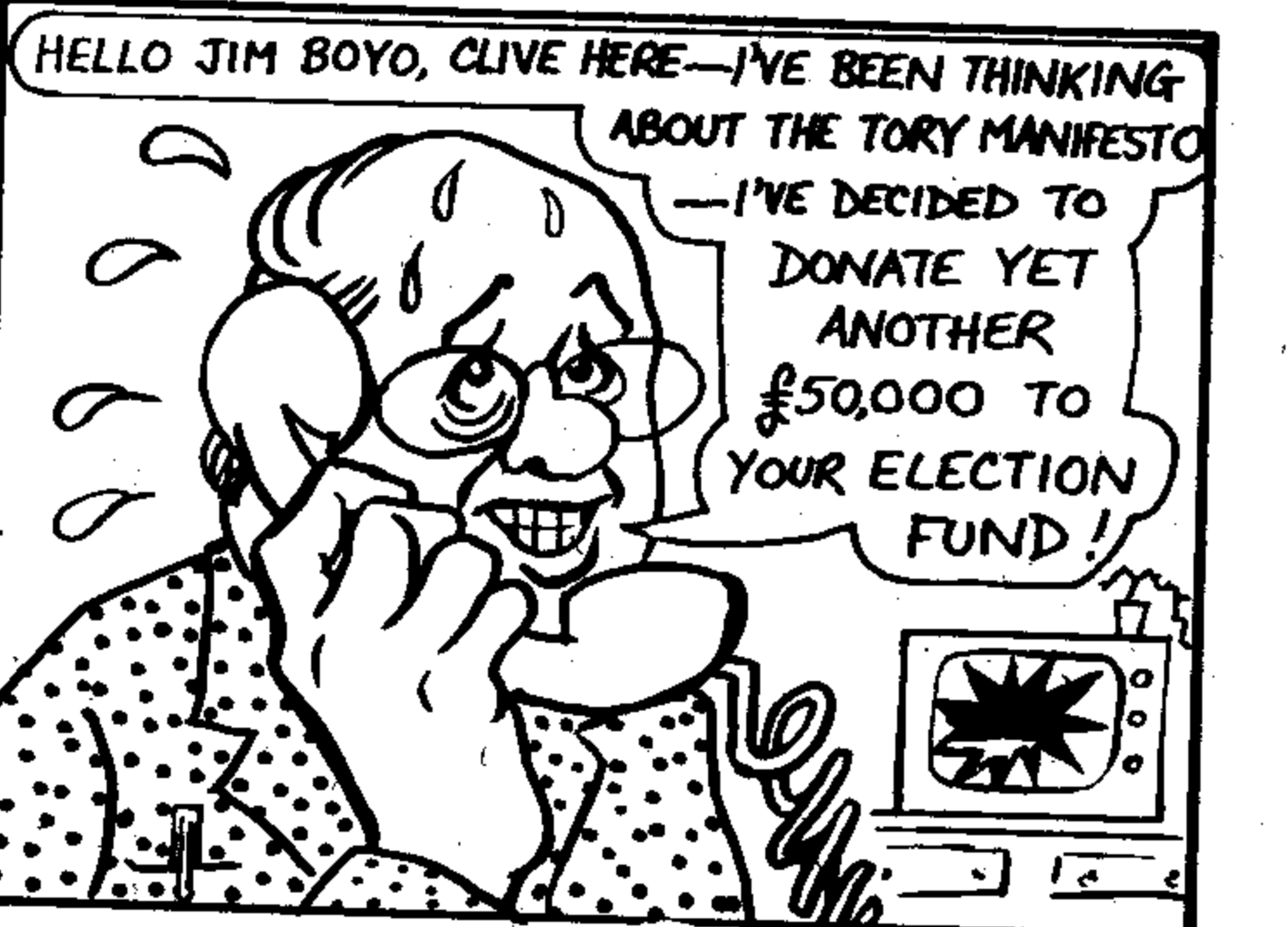
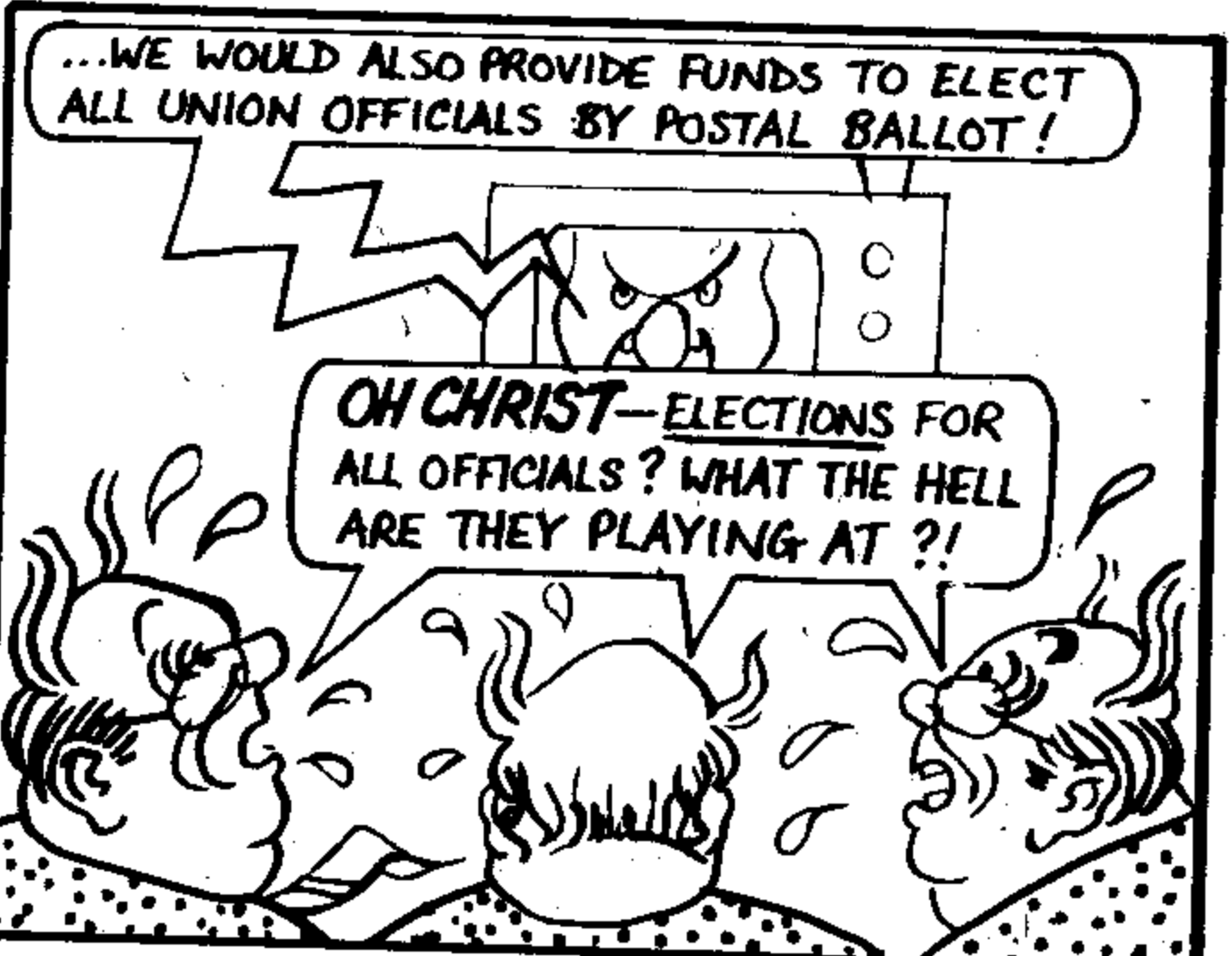
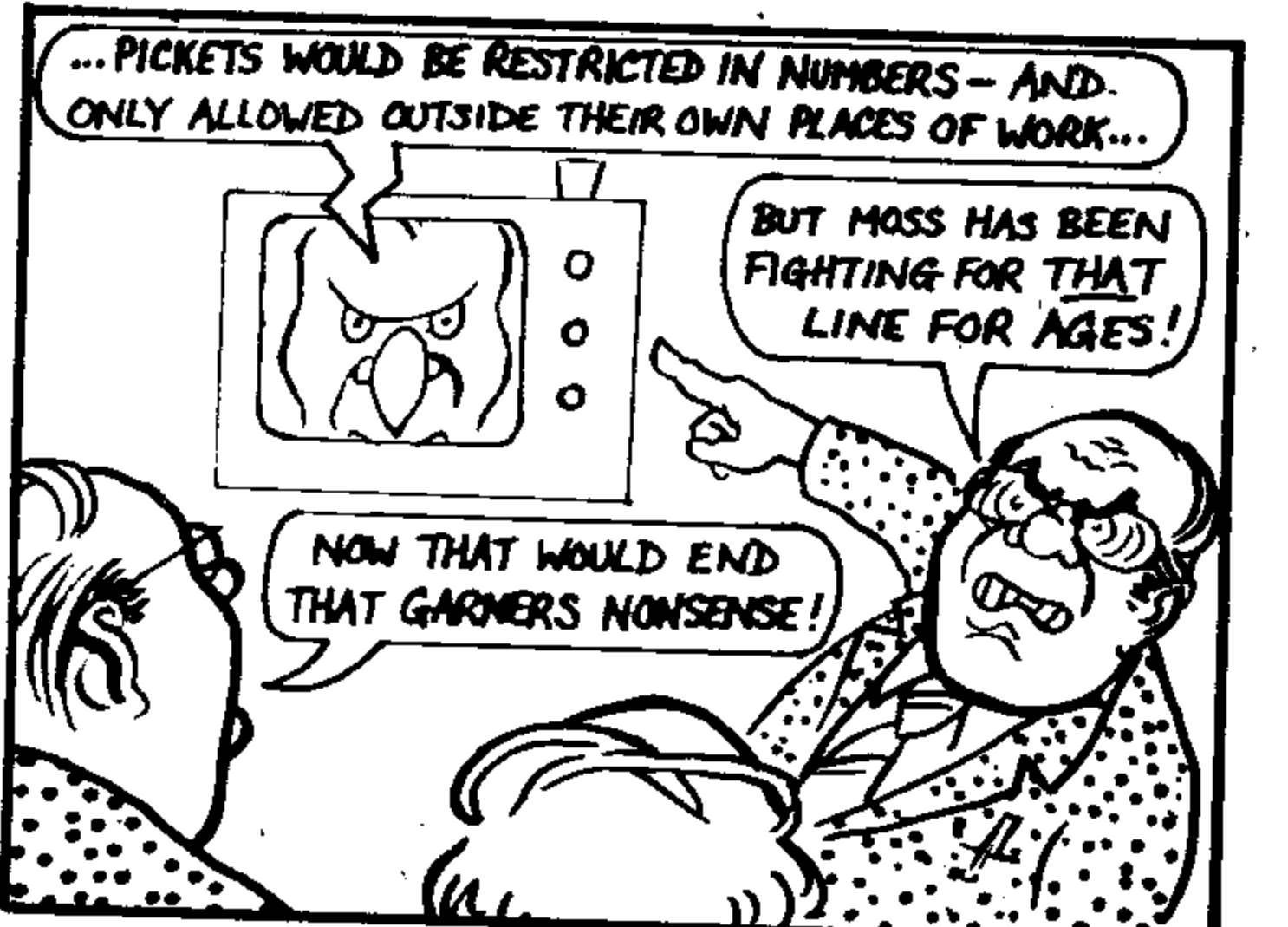
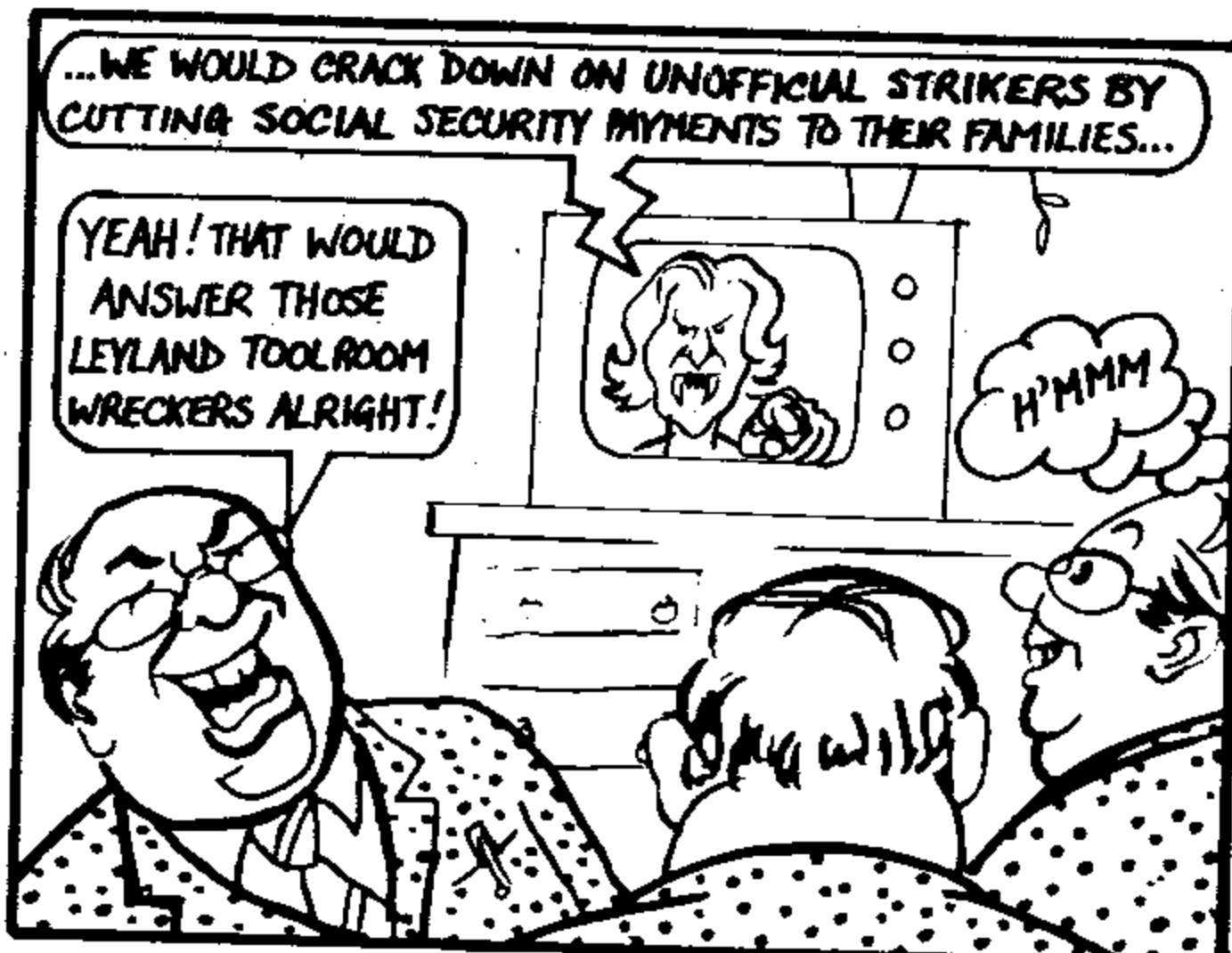
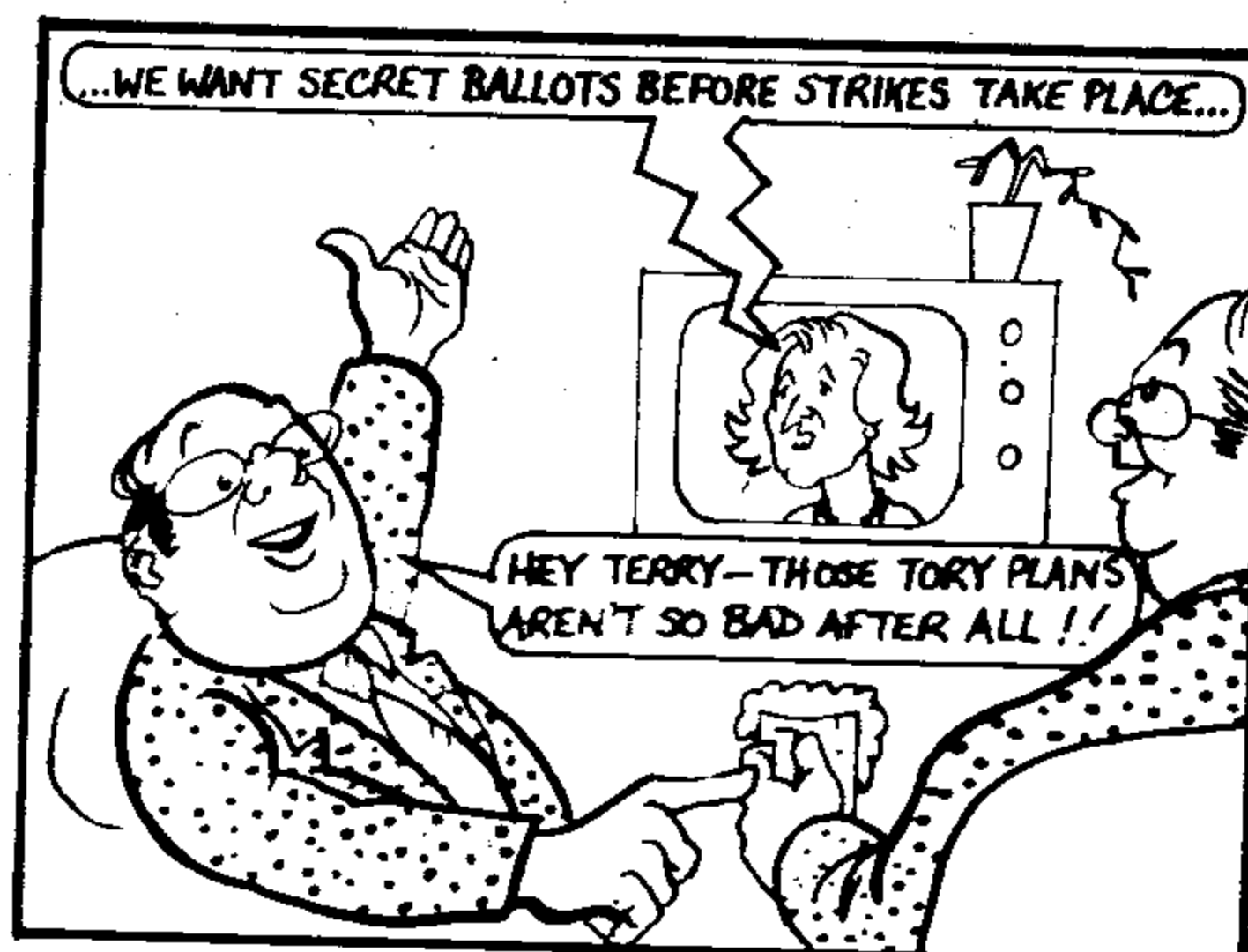
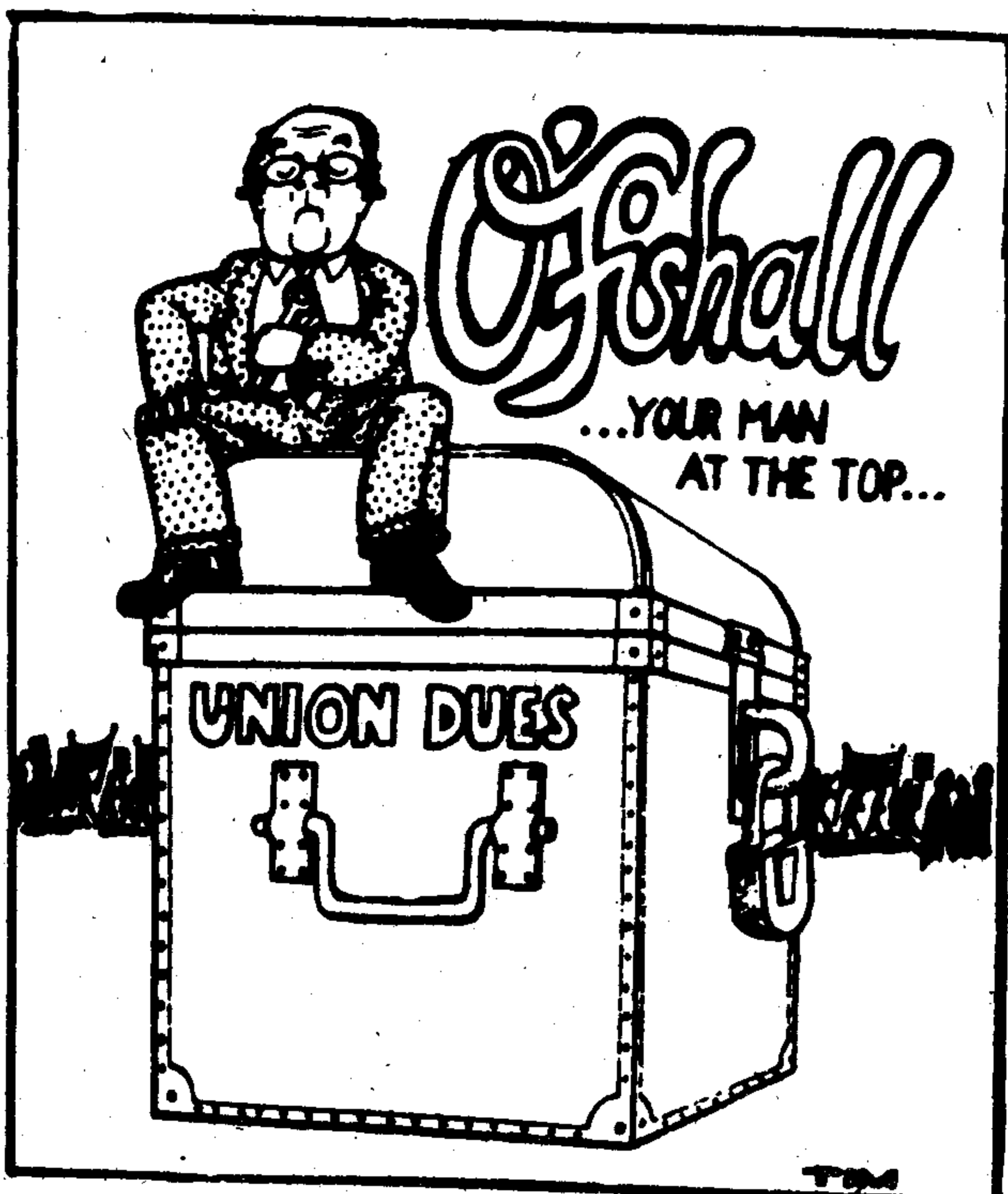
Several questions remain open. The convenors stressed the temporary nature of the solution.

What do they have to offer if the Iran contract does not recover the levels of production which are planned?

Also why did the government agree to this massive hand-out without a clear and open examination of Chrysler's books?

And why, if Chrysler didn't have the money, was it not nationalised?

The plan has yet to be agreed by the Department of Employment and even if it is, the fundamental problems remain unanswered.



SOCIALIST PRESS

BL - RIGHT TO STRIKE ATTACKED

BL management have made it clear to BL's National Negotiating Committee that they intend to forcibly impose their controversial new five grade wages structure.

The structure is central to the corporate bargaining system which BL is trying to achieve—a system which would place wage negotiations in the hands of full-time National officials.

The new grading structure is opposed by the bulk of the 90,000 manual workers in BL Cars because it widens differentials and puts the majority of production workers down to grade 3.

Management have made their move in an effort to use the two week old strike by 4,500 of BL's 9,000 craftsmen as a lever to get the new structure in.

They hope to do this either by persuading the craftsmen's leaders to drop the demands of the strike and settle for a return to work on the basis of the imposition of the new grading; or—even worse for all BL workers—by the defeat of the strike.

Management would then have the power to dictate terms.

In their bid for these objectives, the door has been opened for management by the national leaders of the major unions in BL.

They have given complete support to unprecedented scabbing and strike breaking which has kept the BL plants in production—even if at a reduced rate.

This has meant that vital plant and equipment has been repaired by supervision and managers.

In some cases this has involved managers in expensive suits climbing into roofs with welding torches to get the tracks moving.

But right wingers such as Terry Duffy, President of the AUEW, have not been content with active strike breaking.

Duffy has joined with BL chairman Michael Edwardes in what has become the biggest witch-hunt against a strike leader for years.

Soon after Edwardes



AUEW leader Duffy—

PHOTO: Laurence Spatham, IFL

denounced strike committee chairman Roy Fraser as "simply out to wreck the industry", Duffy weighed in with an almost identical statement, and launched a union "inquiry" into his activities.

Echoing Duffy, the AUEW Birmingham District Secretary described the United Craft Committee as "BL's demolition squad".

The last time BL engaged in such a massive witch-hunt—against Alan Thornett in 1974—it signalled the start of a protracted assault on manning standards and on the power of the shop stewards movement.

This time, even if the witch-hunt is successful and they achieve their immediate objective of forcing in the 5 grade structure, it will not end there.

They will use that victory to carry through the speed-up which they have noticeably failed to achieve up to now, along with the proposed 7,000 redundancies required by the parity package.

Until now management have failed to make any significant inroads into manning standards in most plants.

Now in the Cowley Assembly and Body plants, resistance to manning cuts has forced management into recruiting labour well before redundancy targets have been reached.

In forcing in their new payments plan BL have laid a careful strategy.

In order to split the unity of the plants, they now intend to pay the so-called 'parity payments' to those plants which have met their productivity criteria.

They say five of the 34 plants have met this criteria—which has been unilaterally decided by them—Swindon, Cowley Body, Cowley Assembly, Common Lane and Llanelli Pressings.

These payments, which differ in each plant will only be paid when the new grades are accepted or successfully imposed by management.

Until then the money is being banked by the Company. These carefully laid plans of the management make it crucial that the scabbing and strike-breaking is stopped.

The craftsmen's demands for a substantial wage increase and separate negotiating rights are legitimate demands which they have the right to fight for with the protection of the trade union movement.

All BL workers must act to defend the craftsmen and stop a major defeat taking place.

To do this production workers must refuse to operate equipment repaired by management or scabs.

This is not easy, because of the attitude of the Duffy leadership and because it leads to layoffs without pay—but it can and must be done.

In the Cowley Assembly Plant a start has been made. The TGWU shop stewards committee meeting last week adopted the following resolution:

"That this TGWU stewards committee deplores the scabbing by supervision and management. The committee also deplores the actions of those trade union leaders who are supporting this scabbing".

This resolution must be translated into action. Bob Fryer, convenor of the plant has said he will support any section which acts on this resolution.

The craftsmen's strike remains strong despite exaggerated press reports that 'hundreds' are drifting back to work.

It is true that a few electricians have returned in Cowley, but this is offset by the probability of more plants joining the strike after the Easter-holiday.

It is crucial now that the strike is spread and strengthened.

The LCJNC and the convenors conference (which meets as we go to press) should throw out the hated corporate bargaining package and unite BL workers behind a struggle to restore the fight of individual plant bargaining and the presentation to management of proper wage claims to restore wage levels.



The rally that concluded the Sinn Fein march

Ireland march

Scarcely more than 400 marchers took part in two separate demonstrations in London on Sunday against British imperialism in Ireland.

Sinn Fein called a demonstration from Hyde Park to Kilburn Square. After a dispute over speakers (Sinn Fein allowed no other speakers on their platform) the Irish Republican Socialist Party called their own march through Kilburn at the same time.

Given the extreme likelihood of fascist attacks on Ireland marches it was an act of criminal folly for two separate marches to take place.

Defence

The physical defence of anti-imperialist forces demanded one march and the fact that both marches escaped serious attack does not mitigate this.

As it happened the IRSP march, supported by a handful of SWP members, totalled no more than 75, vastly outnumbered by police.

Sinn Fein pulled more—perhaps 300-350. Apart from those marching under green flags, the WSL contingent was the largest. The RCG, RCT, Maoists and UTOM also supported.

WSL placards and slogans demanded the immediate withdrawal of British troops; the restoration of political status for republican prisoners, an end to the torture, blacking of supplies to the British army, and called on Scargill to drive out the NUM-sponsored butcher, Mason.

The WSL cut across nationalist slogans with a call for a workers' republic of Ireland.

A leaflet handed out by the WSL saluted the courage and endurance of Irish republicans but contrasted the class approach of the WSL with the nationalism of Sinn Fein.

"We reject any notion that

The summary trials and executions of well over 100 of the highest officials of the Shah's tyranny (including a Prime Minister, heads of SAVAK and of the armed forces) have

provoked widening ripples of hypocritical protest throughout the world.

Many who had not uttered a word against the Shah's 25 years of oppression and brutality have now found the execution of its agents and perpetrators "contrary to human rights".

A prize for cynical hypocrisy must go to British Labour Foreign Secretary David Owen, who backed up the Shah's regime to the end. Last week he expressed his "total opposition to summary trials and executions which failed to guarantee basic human rights in Iran".

To Owen, no doubt, "human rights" were safer when they involved huge arms deals with British capitalism.

However, the priest-dominated, Islamic courts which are carrying out the trials are not democratic courts which directly represent the masses of workers.

The Islamic courts should be replaced by courts which consist of the direct representatives of the working masses who suffered the worst effects of the tyranny.

The stepping up of the much publicised executions over the last two weeks (though the promised trial of the Shah in his absence has still not begun) is partly a demagogic effort to avert the attention of the masses from the rapidly worsening economic situation.

Angry demonstrations by unemployed workers demanding that the government provide work have been reported in the last few days in Tehran (in front of the house of the powerful "progressive" Ayatollah Taleghani) and in Isfahan, Tabriz and Shiraz.

Long before they have run out of agents of the previous anti-working class regime to put on trial, the new Islamic anti-working class regime of Khomeini and Bazargan have started to face their own political trial in front of the masses whose problems they fraudulently offered to solve.

WHEN IT LOOKS LIKE THERE'S NO WAY OUT



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FUND

It's been a very quiet week over Easter with only £59.63 coming in for the April monthly fund, bringing the total so far to £239.53. This clearly leaves us with a lot of ground to make up in the next seven days.

The £2,500 Special Fund moved forward by only £1 with a donation from a supporter in the BL factory at Cowley. A major effort will have to be mounted by our readers and supporters to get us back on target for this fund.

All donations for either fund should be sent to: Socialist Press Fund, 31, Dartmouth Park Hill, London NW5 1HR.

Oxford weekly tote winner: Card no. 154

Leicester Trades Council
Mobilisation against National Front march
No platform for fascists
April 21, 1975
Assemble at 12.00 noon at Victoria Park, London Rd., Leicester.