

SOCIALIST PRESS



Weekly paper of the Workers Socialist League * No. 148 * May 2, 1979 * 15p

MAY DAY GREETINGS

The Editorial Board of *Socialist Press* sends revolutionary greetings to our readers, supporters and all those fighting imperialism this May Day, 1979. Forward to the reconstruction of the Fourth International!

After the Election



PREPARE FOR BATTLES AHEAD

As we go to press, the various opinion polls are haggling between themselves on the exact scale of what all predict as a Tory win on Thursday.

Certainly the gutter press is forging relentlessly ahead with its last minute propaganda campaign for the elec-

tion of a union-bashing, racist, profit-boosting Tory government.

The press barons pray it will be one with a big enough majority to slash the social services still further and hand out tax concessions to top paid managers and employers at the expense of the working class.

But even if a dramatic last minute reversal *does* take place and growing working class hostility to the Tories returns Labour to office once more, the economic crisis of British and world capitalism dictates that major battles are on the agenda.

The desperate drive by employers to increase their rate of profit demands a further onslaught on wage levels, manning levels and "non-viable" factories.

To carry through such attacks on the scale required by capitalism, the colossal strength of the trade union movement must be sapped.

"viability" and problems of the employers, have willingly co-operated in such schemes.

The result has been the historic attacks on working class living standards, mass unemployment, speed-up, and spending cuts that have now opened the door for a return of the Tories.

Most desperate

Now Thatcher, speaking directly for the most desperate sections of British capitalism, is seeking to short-circuit this process of class collaboration through wholesale spending cuts, laws against the unions, and a ruthless "lame duck" policy in industry that will trigger a major wave of closures and sackings.

She knows that the TUC collaborators will offer no resistance to such plans.

But the working class that despite its reactionary union leaders has so recently risen up in its hundreds of thousands in militant struggles to crush Callaghan's reactionary 5% Phase 4 pay limit is certainly in no mood to accept Thatcher's attacks lying down.

The question is not *whether* workers will fight such attacks, but what programme of demands is put forward in the coming struggle to show in practice the need to reject all forms of class collaboration and illusions in the Labour and TUC leaders.

Collaboration

Labour's strategy to do this has been to suck the bureaucratic union leaders into collaboration with management—through "workers' participation", the wage-cutting "social contract", and now the "Concordat"—which contains plans to attack picketing rights, the closed shop, and to impose a system of ballots prior to strike action.

The TUC leaders, who themselves have started out not from the needs and interests of their members, but from the

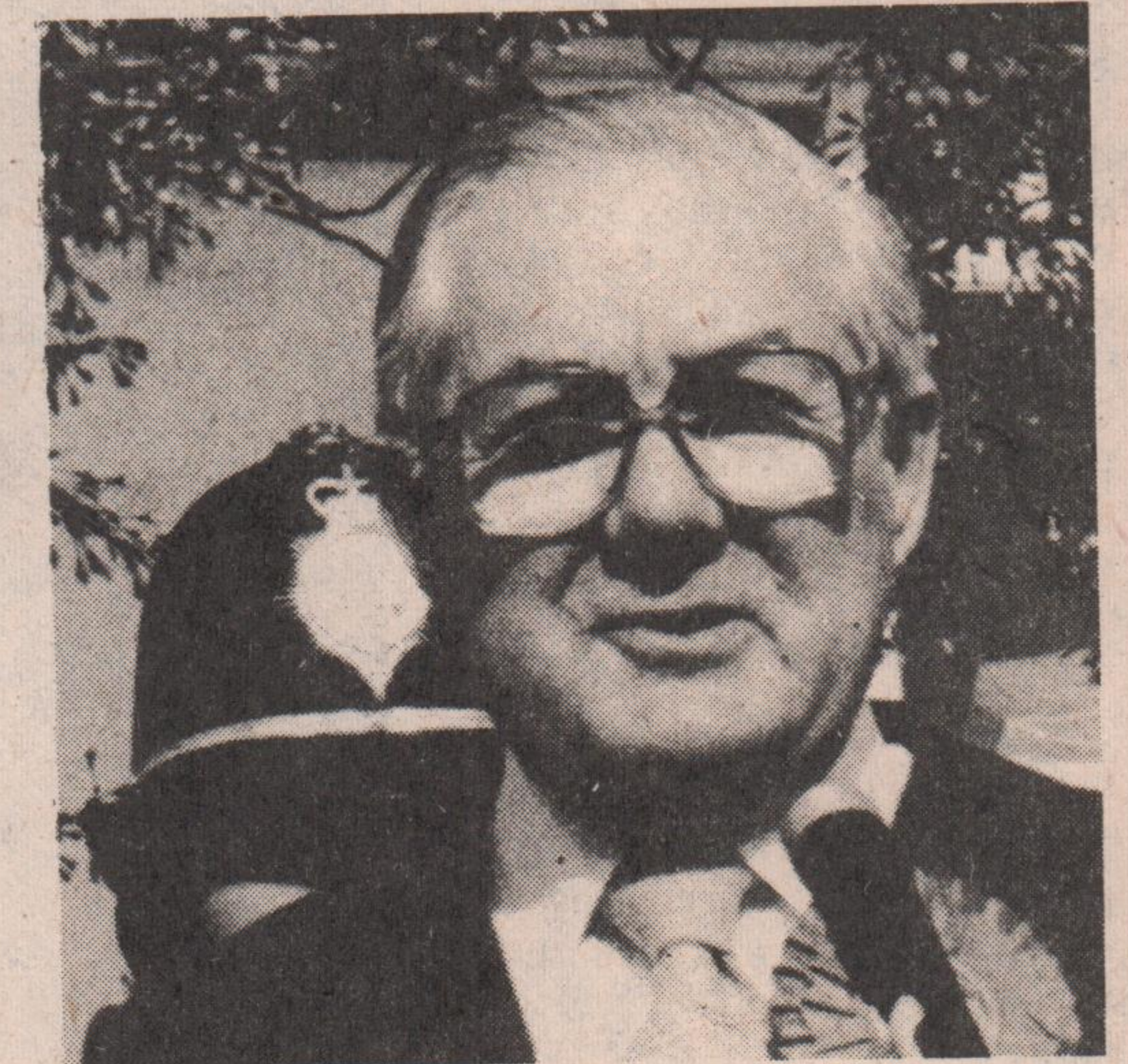


PHOTO: Andrew Wiard, Report

following central demands:

*Defend the unions! Mass action to defeat anti-union laws! Reject the Concordat!

*No wage controls! For increases protected against inflation through cost-of-living clauses!

*No sackings! Demand work sharing on full pay! Open the books of the employers that threaten redundancy or closure, to elected committees of trade unionists!

*Nationalise the major industries, banks and trusts without compensation, under workers' management!

*No cuts! Occupy threatened facilities and fight for supporting strike action.

Such socialist policies, so essential to defend the working class run diametrically counter to the needs of capitalism and the policies carried out by Callaghan.

They cannot be fought for along the road suggested by the Tribune 'left'. Though these people have claimed to oppose Callaghan, they have put up no fight to remove him, and the right wing cabinet and themselves have no socialist alternative to offer.

They can and must be exposed in the next period in the struggle for a recall Labour conference to kick out the Callaghan leadership.

Their total inadequacy points to the need to build a revolutionary Trotskyist party. We will continue with that task, no matter *who* comes to office on May 3.

Solidarity hinders Times strikebreaking

As Times Newspapers management succeeded in getting copies of their scab editions off the presses in Europe, journalists on the paper put paid to attempts to split the limited unity of the chapels in London.

The NUJ chapel, which last week voted narrowly to work on the scab edition, reversed their vote by a majority of 2-1.

It was the culmination of a series of events which had backfired on the Times management.

First, militant print workers in Frankfurt picketed the works where the so-called European edition was to be printed and forced Times management to back down.

Behind the bluster of Times editor, William Rees-Mogg, about 'criminal elements' and 'sabotage' lay the fact that a concrete exercise in international solidarity had taken place.

But the management were lying when they said that plans to print the paper had been abandoned.

The plates had been made and the simple task of getting the paper printed was clearly to be attempted. A matter of hours later the first copies had been published.

How many have been printed is immaterial. This was not a European edition at all.

Its purpose was two-fold: firstly to get even one copy of a paper printed which called for a Tory vote and attacked the trade unions in Britain;

secondly to divide the Times unions by drawing the wavering journalists back towards management.

Symbol

This 'European' edition of the Times was a symbol of the ruling classes' ability to make its voice heard.

This attempt would have foundered at once had journalists refused to work on it. But although the Sunday Times chapel did refuse the Times chapel rejected a call to black it about 102-91.

Jake Ecclestone, FOC of the chapel and NUJ President appealed to annual conference to give the chapel one more chance.

Accordingly—and correctly—the conference suspended a resolution demanding that Times journalists respect print picket lines, and NGA speakers were sent to the chapel.

The result was a vote to black the paper and a victory for the solidarity of the chapels. Some NUJ members are thought likely to attempt to go into work, and the chapel must now take the vital decision to join printers on the picket line.

The major danger to the print unions lies in compromise offers made by management.

Only a clear policy of occupation, linked to exposure of company secrets and the nationalisation of the plant under workers' management can roll back the onslaught.

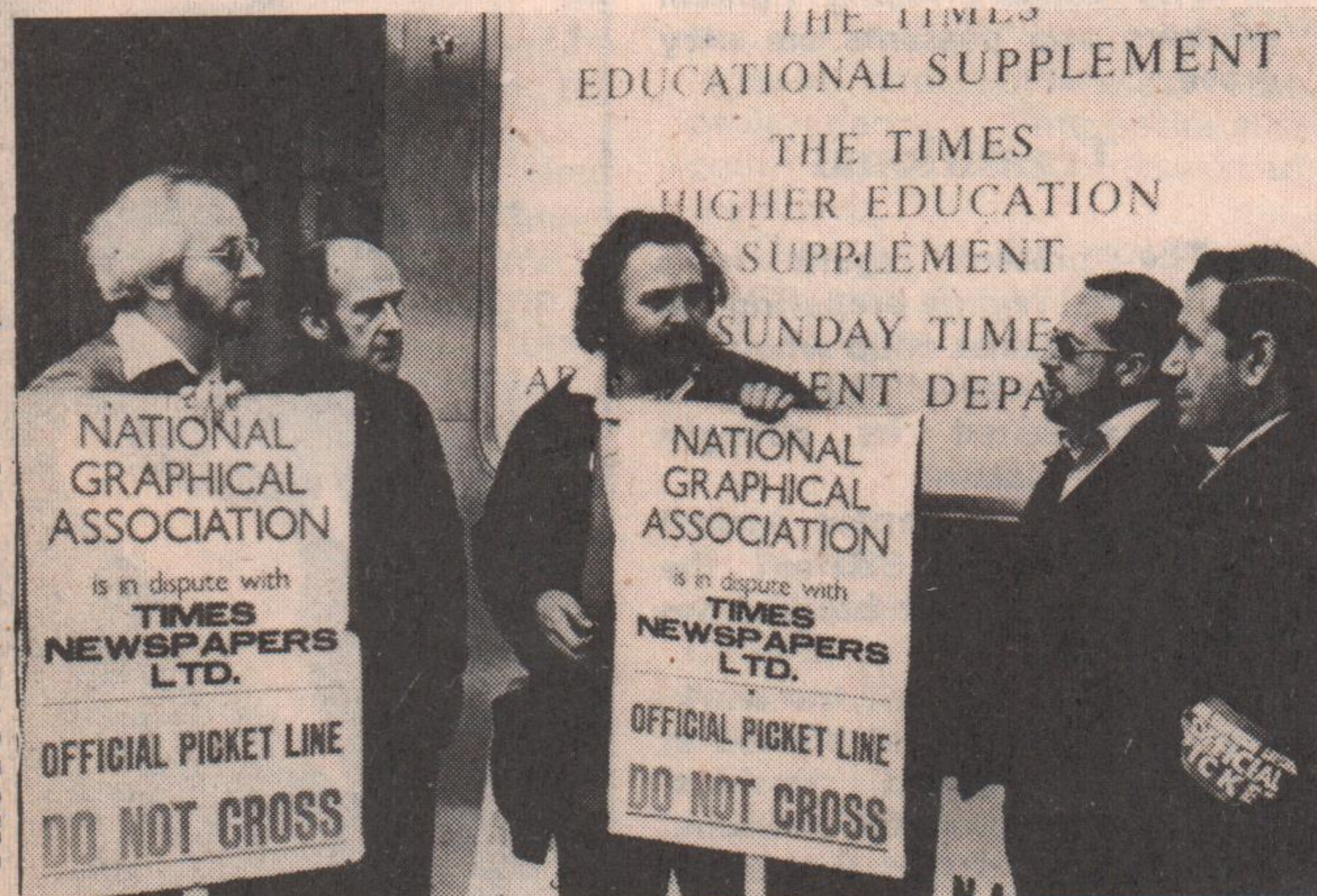


PHOTO: Laurence Sparham, IFL

NGA pickets outside the Times

Funds launched for anti-fascists

In the wake of the mass anti-fascist struggles in the last week, two funds have been launched to help victims of police violence.

Southall Youth Movement is appealing for cash to fly Blair Peach's parents from New Zealand for his funeral and to cover the fines faced by the 340 arrested demonstrators. Donations should be sent to SYM, 12, Featherstone Rd.,

Southall, Middlesex.

And in Leicester, a Defence Fund has been set up to cover fines and costs of those arrested on April 21. A march has also been called for Monday May 7. Send donations to: April 21 Defence Fund, Co-op Bank, Hotel St., Leicester. The Defence Committee is also seeking eye-witness accounts of arrests on the day.





INTERNATIONAL

Spanish leaders band together against mass militancy

It was in front of a crucifix that the new Socialist Party Mayor of Madrid, Enrique Tierno Galvan, flanked by his deputy, Communist Party economist Ramon Tamames, made his first public statement.

Its content, as well as its backdrop, was calculated to put at rest any fears which the Spanish ruling class might have had that it was unsafe for the mayoralties of 1800 out of the country's 2,000 largest municipalities to be in the hands of the main workers' parties, the Socialists (PSOE) and the Communist Party.

Left wing

Tierno Galvan, like his Socialist counterpart in Barcelona, Narcis Serra, gave an inaugural address as mayor which was designed to make Adolfo Suarez' ruling "democratic" Francoists (the UDC) look left wing.

There was no talk of municipal socialism, a denial that there would be any purge of the Francoist-ridden local administrations and most of all a passionate denial that the alliance which had placed PSOE and CP mayors at the head of over two-thirds of Spain's population represented a precedent which would be operated at the level of national politics.

Shocked

All this balm, however was not enough to soothe the troubled Spanish bourgeoisie, which has been profoundly shocked and rightly so, by the surprise deal between parties on the eve of the election.

The deal led to PSOE and CP as well as Basque nationalist mayoral candidates standing down in each other's favour to prevent the election of a UCD mayor at the head of a single one of Spain's major cities.

The deputy premier, Martorell, immediately made a near hysterical onslaught on the PSOE/CP deal which he judged "the most important political fact in Europe in the last five years".

Fanning flames

Deliberately fanning the flames of civil war memories Martorell condemned the PSOE—on whose collaboration the UCD has come to rely—for its "grave responsibility in reviving the Popular Front at the municipal level" and for fostering "the polarisation of Spanish society".

Martorell was expressing the very justified alarm of his class.

But the cause of the change is far from a deliberate break by the PSOE and CP leaders from their strategy of class collaboration.

The change of line springs from the strong



desire of the working class masses for power and for the final destruction of Francoism.

It is this militancy which has expressed itself, still in a distorted fashion, through the PSOE/CP pact.

Both the PSOE and the CP leaders realised that their own rank and file would not accept yet another capitulation to the bourgeoisie

which failure to stand down in each other's favour would have involved.

Their own rank and file was telling them plainly that they had no time for bureaucratic disunity when that would result in a new victory for the Francoists.

The deal—and therefore municipal power—therefore, was forced upon the PSOE and CP leaders as the neces-

CP election platform

sary condition to maintain political control in their own parties.

But this shows that the deal, although necessary to the PSOE and CP bureaucrats, at the same time threatens their control.

Rank and file

The rank and file working class base of the two big



Ecevit

The Ecevit government in Turkey has extended martial law restrictions to another six more cities in the eastern part of the country.

That means military rule now operates in a total of 17 cities—15 of them in or around Turkish Kurdistan.

This latest move came about after six independent ministers in the Cabinet issued a declaration urging the government to take sharper measures in Kurdistan and further measures to resolve the acute economic crisis.

All the six new cities are within Kurdistan. This development shows the extent of the growth of the Kurdish liberation struggle in Turkey, deeply influenced by the movement of Kurds in Iran.

The recent visit of the Chief of the General Staff of the Turkish army to Iraq and other high government officers to Iran indicates that Ecevit's government is seeking to establish a common strategy with Iraq and Iran to crush the Kurdish movement.

However, different strategies arose in the recent discussion in the Turkish ruling clique.

Some support tough measures, while others, such as the Environment Minister, himself a Kurd, propose a form of compromise with the Kurds by verbally recognising their rights and working for collaboration with their bourgeois leadership.

Victory to right

However, the decision to extend martial law marks a victory for the right wing parties.

Indeed the fascist NAP (National Action Party) has voted with the government for martial law.

They explained that "respect for the army" led them to vote for Ecevit's policy, while at the same time continuing to call for the overthrow of his government.

Right wing Justice Party leader Demirel was also in favour of the extension of martial law while being against the government.

This new move has caused some problems within Ecevit's Republican People's Party.

sary condition to maintain political control in their own parties.

But this shows that the deal, although necessary to the PSOE and CP bureaucrats, at the same time threatens their control.

Rank and file

The rank and file working class base of the two big

MARTIAL LAW EXTENDED IN TURKEY

terror against the trade union movement.

However, he too backed down on the May Day march, by saying "We are not going to mobilise workers against soldiers".

Three other unions, dominated by the Turkish Communist Party, which were recently disciplined by DISK because they called CP slogans on last year's May Day march have decided to demonstrate in Izmir where martial law is not in operation.

The dangers facing Turkish workers and peasants are very grave.

Transitional

The present regime is a transitional regime preparing the way for a fascist coup when the Ecevit "alternative" is judged to have exhausted its strength against the masses.

In order to prepare against a great historical defeat the working class must break from Ecevit.

A united front of the working class must be established at once and armed workers' militias to defend the workers' organisations, defeat the fascist thugs and fight for a workers' and peasants' government.

Bombs fall on Mid-East 'peace'

After 16 months of haggling, the Israeli-Egyptian peace treaty was finally ratified last Wednesday—at the US early-warning station of Um Hashiba.

At the same time, Israeli jets and gunboats blitzed and bombarded the southern area of Lebanon around Tyre.

It was the fourth day of Zionist reprisal raids after four Palestinians had been involved in fighting in the town of Nahariva.

For all the murdering and wounding, these Zionist attacks were mostly a show of strength, intended to impress the Lebanese government, and more particularly its Syrian overlords.

Only a week before, the Zionist-backed fascist militias, which also operate in the south of the country had seceded and declared an independent 'Free Lebanon'.

At the time, these 'Christian' forces controlled only a small area along the Israeli border—some 700 square kilometres, with 100,000 inhabitants.

The immediate cause of this action was an attempt by the Beirut government of President Sarkis to send in troops of its regular army to control the area.

Major Haddad, the fascist commander, announced that they would recognise the authority of the central government only when the Palestinian forces and the Syrian army had been expelled from Lebanon.

In reality, Sarkis is kept in power only by the 'peace-keeping force' of the Arab League—which means, basically 25,000 Syrian troops.

While Sarkis scampered off to the UN to protest against this latest Zionist aggression, the Damascus government played for time.

It was only when the major raids had finished, that the Syrian army wheeled out its MiG jets to fly in splendour over Beirut, at a safe distance from the battles between the Israeli army and the Palestinian guerrillas.

The Zionists clearly launched their raids to give support to their fascist allies.

Haddad has already moved to consolidate his position by expanding the territory under his control. The secession has been welcomed by ex-President Chamoun, who called on the Palestinians to surrender.

A further step in this clearly co-ordinated campaign came from Pierre Gemayel, leader of the 'Christian Phalange' Party, who argued that Lebanon would be left in peace by Israel as soon as Palestinian 'provocations' stopped.

But the reality is that there can be no peace in the Middle East until the Palestinian people have won their legitimate struggle for the restoration of their homeland, and socialist revolution has ousted the array of vicious bourgeois dictatorships that currently squander the vast oil wealth of the region while oppressing the Arab masses.



Warmonger Beigin

INTERNATIONAL



BA'ATHISM: A 'LEFT' BRAND OF NATIONALISM

By Di Parkin

While top Stalinist bureaucrats from Comecon signed contracts for the supply and construction of new oil installations in Iraq a fortnight ago, their "comrades" in the Iraqi Communist Party were themselves issuing a renewed plea for help against savage repression by the ruling Ba'athist regime.

The Communist Party's newspaper *Tareq Al-Shaab* has been closed down by the Ba'athists for one month for alleged "violations of the press law".

Leading Stalinists connected to the CP's Al Rouad publishing house—including CP Central Committee member Sulaiman Yousif Stephan—have remained under arrest since last November and Stalinist spokesmen are warning of the likelihood that these prisoners will share the fate of 31 CP members executed by the Ba'athists last year.

Opportunist

The Moscow bureaucrats of course have never hesitated in their opportunist relationships with anti-communist regimes simply because CP members were being slaughtered: but a curious feature of the Iraq situation is that as part of this two faced policy two members of the Iraqi CP remain in the butcher government which is carrying out these attacks on their comrades and closing their party press!

Apart from the repression of the Stalinists themselves, the Ba'athists have also staged a massive crackdown on thousands of oppositionists, including trade unionists, peasants, teachers and students.

The Stalinists however, are not the only two-faced operators on the question of Iraq. Last week saw *Newsline* paper of the Workers Revolutionary Party, deny that any repression is taking place in Iraq!

What then is the character and origin of this savagely anti-communist regime that chooses for its own reasons to include two token Stalinists in the diehard military government?

Oil-rich

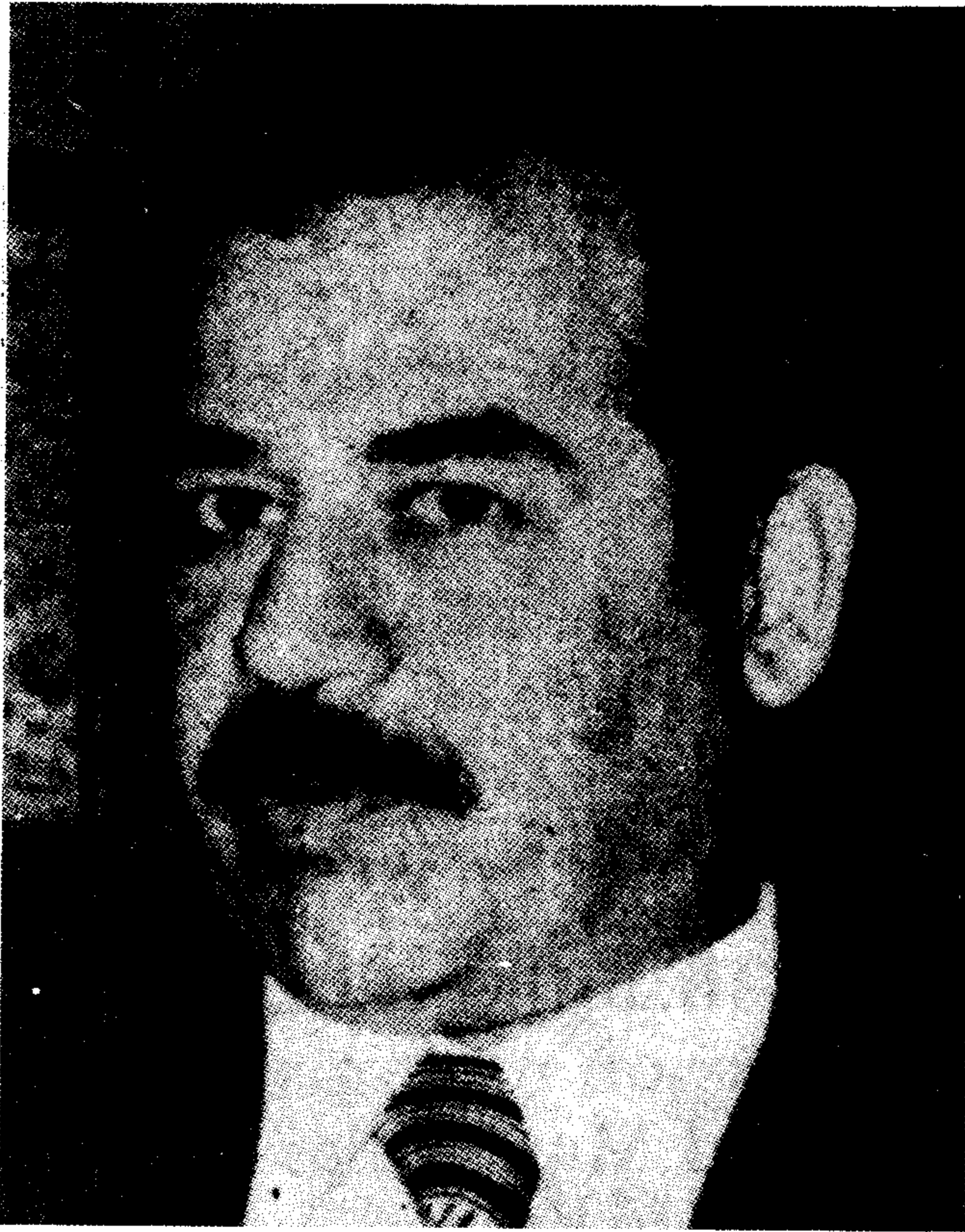
Ba'athism has its roots in nationalist revolt against the iron grip of imperialism which for centuries oppressed the Iraqi people.

From 1534 to 1918 Iraq was part of the Ottoman (Turkish) empire. World War 1 eventually shattered the grip of this "sick man", only to open the door for western imperialists, who moved in to carve up this oil-rich part of the Middle East.

Arab nationalism—at first anti-Turkish, but developing as strongly opposed to both British and French imperialism—began to grow in this period.

Though the tactics used by British and French oppressors were often different, Britain followed the French in ruling through the puppet King Faisal.

Though the British mandate ended in 1932 the regime



Iraqi Ba'athist butcher Sidsan Hussein

depended heavily on British military support and the RAF continued to be stationed there.

Faisal's rule was feudal and oppressive in the extreme. In 1958 a mere 2,000 landowners in this fertile area owned two thirds of the agricultural land!

It was against this feudal rule that a group of army officers staged a military coup in 1958 which established the rule of Quassem.

Seeing the need for some base of popular support, Quassem allied himself with the Iraqi Communist Party.

Bloody war

His government did not break Iraq from its ties with imperialism; but instead it began a bloody war against the Kurdish people who, denied their own homeland, find themselves divided between Iran, Iraq and Turkey.

In his savage, racist repression Quassem was in part acting out a response to the reactionary Arab proverb:

"There are three plagues in the world: the rat, the locust and the Kurd".

The Kurdish question then as now, is a litmus paper to test the nature of "revolutionary" regimes and tendencies: no proletarian internationalist could support the repression of the Kurds.

Quassem's war against the Kurds was to be continued—after a brief respite—when the Ba'athists came to power.

Coup

In 1961, following many earlier riots and attempts on Quassem's life, the Ba'athists merged with a group of army officers—the Joint Free Officers to form the National Council of Revolutionary Command.

On the 8 Feb 1963, by what was largely a military coup, Quassem was overthrown. Ba'athist militias with green

armbands fought in the streets against the communists who had rallied to Quassem's defence.

The Ba'athists' first president was Aref, who, though not himself a member of the Ba'ath party, shared with them their panarabism and had been in the leadership of the earlier revolution with Quassem.

Aref was well known for his pro Nasser feelings and his belief in Arab unity.

President Aref's first government was under the prime ministership of Ahmad Hassan al Bakr.

The period of the coming to power of the Ba'athists was one of considerable bloodshed and barbarity by the Ba'athist national guard in which the communists suffered many losses.

Although this merely echoed the barbarity and violence of the communists under Quassem this does not exonerate the actions of the Ba'athists.

Ba'athism came to power then in a physical battle with the Stalinists. What was the basis of such a fight?

Attack on marxism

As Trotskyists, we are in favour of the sharpest of battles with Stalinism, which is a thoroughly counter-revolutionary force within the labour movement.

But we base our fight on the ways in which the Stalinists attack and seek to destroy revolutionary Marxism and betray the independent class interests and struggles of the working class.

But for the Ba'athists, the attack on the Stalinists is part and parcel of their attack on Marxism and their moves to repress the Iraqi masses.

Ba'athism in fact stands—as distinct from many other "left" brands of nationalism—as a conscious anti marxist philosophy.

The centre point, the heart of Ba'athism, is panarabism



Kurdish freedom fighters

the desire for Arab unity.

"The Arab socialist Ba'ath Party regards all Arabs as being part of one nation both in the cultural and spiritual sense.

The different countries in which they live make up a politically and economically united fatherland. In the Party's documents, 'the Arab fatherland' means all the Arab countries".

Resurgence

The word "Ba'ath" can itself be translated as meaning revival, "resurgence", "renewal" or "renaissance".

The Ba'ath party is therefore all about the resurgence of Arab nationalism.

As a current which opposes colonial oppression, Ba'athism also opposes Stalinist domination.

Instead it advocates "positive neutrality" as a means to create some kind of "third force" based on Arab unity.

The Ba'ath party emerged firstly in Syria under Michel Aflaq and Salah al Din al Baytar in the 1940s.

It came to Iraq through the influence of Syrian teachers after the war. It formally came into existence in the summer of 1952 in Iraq.

Aflaq did play some role in events in Iraq after 1963—and his writings are the basic texts of Ba'athism.

In them he defines the Ba'ath as 'socialist'. Indeed some of the measures carried out in Iraq indicate that this is the case.

Yet the writings show that this "socialism" is a specifically anti marxist conception.

He writes of socialism: "What I aspire to in it is not the increase in the wealth of factories but the increase in the wealth of life. My concern is not that people should be equal in the distribution of food but that every individual should be allowed to realise his gifts and potential".

Metaphysical

The philosophy is extremely metaphysical and explicitly anti materialist. Aflaq takes issue with Marxism:

"Marxism is based on the denial and negation of any creed transcending nature and matter as well as perception".

He concedes that religion has historically buttressed exploitation, but then argues:

"Although we adopt a critical view of religion, and in spite of our knowledge of the reactionary use religion has been put to, making it a support for injustice, backwardness and enslavement, we trust that man can rebel against this way of using religion and against the false and distorted religiosity and at the same time give to true religion its due care and attention".

Ba'athism is explicitly connected with Islam and hostile to atheism:

"We do not approve of atheism and do not encourage it. We consider it a false attitude towards life".

The Ba'ath: "sees in Islam a nationalist aspect of grave importance in the formation of the Arab history and nationality. The

Ba'ath considers this aspect to have close connection with the spiritual heritage of the Arabs and the qualities of their genius".

Ba'athism explicitly rejects materialism as Shibli-L-Aysami in his official history puts it:

"The Party opposed numerous tenets of Marxist philosophy, particularly its positions on nationalism and the theory of historical materialism".

It is this, nationalist, anti-marxist, anti-communist Party that has received the uncritical acclaim of the British so-called "Trotskyist" Workers Revolutionary Party.

We will shortly be carrying a further article examining the record of Ba'athism in government and the curious, contradictory relationship between the Iraqi Ba'athists and the Communist Party.

TROTSKYISM TODAY

THEORETICAL JOURNAL OF THE WORKERS SOCIALIST LEAGUE
No. 4 January 1978
50p



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



NOW OUT! Trotskyism Today No. 4. Price 45p plus 20p p&p. Still available, Trotskyism Today No. 2, price 50p plus 20p p&p. (No. 3 sold out). Available from WSL, 31, Dartmouth Park Hill, London NW5 1HR.

NUJ FORCED TO DISCUSS IRELAND

Last week's Annual Delegate Meeting of the National Union of Journalists saw the leadership fail in its attempt to ban all discussion of Ireland.

Had they succeeded, this would have set a precedent for next year's conference, which is to be held at Portrush in Northern Ireland itself.

Only sustained pressure from some delegates forced the conference Standing Orders Committee to reverse its ruling that all debate on Ireland (except censorship) was out of order.

Ban rejected

But eventually conference rejected last-minute attempts from the floor to have the ban reimposed.

There was some debate about whether to hold a union conference in the North, one branch delegation arguing that such a choice of location would be taken as an expression of

CALL TO REPEAL

PTA

support for the British army of occupation.

Instead, conference responded to a call to use the occasion to bring support to the isolated trade union movement in the six counties of Northern Ireland.

Moving the first part of a composite resolution from the Book, Oxford and Magazine branches, Duncan Campbell (Magazine) condemned the detention under the Prevention of Terrorism Act of *Time Out* reporter Ron McKay, and the use of the Act to harass Irish trade unionists, and



PHOTO: Mark Risher, IFL

Duncan Campbell

called for immediate repeal of the PTA.

Peter McIntyre (Oxford) said his branch supported the composite's demands for the right of the Irish people as a whole to self-

determination, for the withdrawal of British troops, for political status for republican prisoners of war, and a campaign by the NUJ Executive to end media censorship on events in Northern Ireland.

He drew delegates' attention to the labour movement conference on Ireland which the Oxford branch is organising for 19 May.

Declined

The branch had invited Roy Mason to publicly defend the Labour government's record in Ireland, but both Mason and his two deputies had declined by return of post.

He regretted that the NUJ Belfast branch had also refused an invitation.

The call for the immediate repeal of the PTA was overwhelmingly carried.

Debate on the remaining clauses of the composite was manoeuvred off the agenda when a member of the Irish Industrial Council moved next business saying that the postal workers' strike had prevented Irish members from seeing the final conference agenda.

Despite the relief with which the reformist NUJ leadership grabbed at this opportunity to stifle further debate, the possibilities for discussion on Ireland in the NUJ and other unions have

IRELAND



PHOTO: Mark Risher, IFL

Sinn Fein demonstration

been increased by these events.

The decision on the PTA, the fact that Ireland was debated at all, and the favourable response by delegates to the Oxford conference call, are a clear indication of the desire of many journalists for serious discussion of the issues, in the face of the combined efforts of army, police, courts, media bosses and reformist leaders to suppress such a debate.

Union backing

The Oxford NUJ conference on Ireland—to which trade union, student and other labour movement organisations locally have been invited to send delegations—is already backed by Oxford Trades Council and a number of trade union branches.

Subjects under discussion will be censorship, the role of the British army, the status of republican prisoners, and the Labour government's record in Ireland.

Speakers arranged so far include Brendan Gallagher, Labour MP Tom Litterick, a speaker from *Republican News* and an ex-soldier.

Delegations or individuals from labour movement bodies outside the Oxford area will be welcomed, as will finance, since the costs of invited speakers have to be met.

The conference is at Buxton Hall, Ruskin College, Walton St., Oxford starting at 10.00 a.m. on Saturday 19 May. Further details and credentials (50p) can be obtained from the Oxford NUJ Branch secretary by telephoning 0865-775020 (evenings).

Mexican socialist faces deportation

Hector Marroquin, the young Mexican exile fighting for political asylum in the USA, has been threatened with deportation in the next two weeks by an Immigration judge.

The case, which reveals the real, squalid face of Carter's "human rights" crusade has been continuing since 1974 when Marroquin—fleeing for his life from frame-up charges, raised by the blood-stained Mexican regime—first sought refuge in the USA.

He was caught without docu-

ments and slapped in jail for three months. Since that time, backed by a growing Defence Campaign and by the Pabloite US Socialist Workers Party, of which he became a member, Marroquin has been fighting to become the first Mexican citizen ever to achieve political asylum over the border in the USA.

But his case, which centres on the exposure of the barbarism of the Mexican regime, and its frame-up, torture and murder of political opponents, has come at an acutely embarrassing time for Carter.

Lured by the scent of the

massive offshore oil strikes recently confirmed in Mexico, Carter has been attempting to cuddle closer to the Lopez Portillo regime as a means of cushioning the USA's mounting oil crisis.

The last thing Carter needs at this point is for a US court, by granting asylum to Marroquin, to effectively declare publicly that the Mexican regime is a savage and repressive dictatorship in which legal and democratic rights are an empty charade.

Obediently, therefore, Judge Smith of the Immigration and Naturalisation Service brushed aside all of Marroquin's copious and well-documented evidence to this effect, and ruled that Marroquin did not face a serious threat to his life and was not, therefore, entitled to political asylum.

He gave Marroquin 30 days to leave the USA or face deportation.

An appeal has been lodged—and can, if necessary be pursued as far as the Supreme Court.

But the Defence Committee, reflecting very much the petty bourgeois "pressure group" politics of the SWP, continues to skate very much over the surface of the US labour movement. Trade union supporters are almost exclusively individuals—many of them bureaucratic "big names" who have done nothing to fight for a working class rank and file mobilisation to back Marroquin.

The dangers of this approach will now emerge more sharply with every successive setback in the courts.

Marroquin must be defended. The Committee is seeking international support as well as backing within the USA.

Donations, resolutions of support and copies of protest messages should be sent to: Hector Marroquin Defence Committee, PO Box 843, Cooper Station, New York, NY 10003, USA.



Marroquin campaigning.

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 NW5 1HR.

PRESS GANG



Blair Peach died under a policeman's truncheon. But so far as the press went that was all right.

The *Daily Mail* described him as a 'Left wing stereotype'. The *Sun* introduced him as "a part time Maori from New Zealand who taught in an East End special school."

The *Daily Express* gave over its centre spread to the events at Southall and Blair Peach's death.

Clubbed to death

An interview with his brother was generally favourable and prominent space was given to the allegation that he was clubbed to death by the police.

But half the page was given over to an article by

the rabid George Gale 'The Red Fascists are the ones who scare me' which set the scene for the last frenzied week of the election.

Gale is not noted for originality:

"There are no good, civilised, decent, intelligent, politically or intellectually respectable answers to these questions which every law-abiding citizen must ask as he sees, hears and reads the disgusting news from Southall."

Gale linked the anti-fascists at Southall to anti-imperialists arguing for troops out of Ireland at Callaghan's election meetings.

And with one accord the press and the Tory party threw their campaign where it always looked likely to go—law and order, and the

restoration of hanging—though not, of course, for the police murderer of anti-fascist Blair Peach.

Socialist Press does not often feature in reviews of the press in the *Daily Mail* [thank goodness, ed.]. But last week an article on the leader page by ex-Labour turncoat Paul Johnson showed a montage of a paper seller and a stand covered in left papers.

The headline on *Socialist Press* is 'Vote Labour-Sack Callaghan'.

The headline on Johnson's article is 'The extremist press gets right behind Jim'.

Johnson, as former editor of the *New Statesman*, used to be able to read—even if he was unable to draw correct conclusions.

Joining the Tories is obviously bad for the eyesight.

LABOUR'S EMPTY SHOP WINDOW



As we go to press, the General Election campaign is grinding to a close. Elections are of course supposed to provide an opportunity for parties to display their programme and fight for support.

But this Election more than almost any other has served to illustrate the complete absence of any socialist perspective whatever from the Labour leaders.

As the campaign progressed it became increasingly clear that if Thatcher is indeed kept out of Number 10, then it will be through mass revulsion and hostility to the Tories' planned attacks rather than any mass enthusiasm among

workers for Labour's lukewarm collaborationist platitudes.

This has made coverage of the election a difficult issue—nothing of much novelty has been said by any of the Labour leaders, 'left' or right.

Instead the same old worn record of class collaboration, "the national interest" and the values of the bourgeois family has been tirelessly played—proving once again the necessity in voting Labour to fight also for a complete break from the reformist politics of the Labour Party and for the building of a revolutionary leadership in the workers' movement.

Holborn: it's Dobson's choice

After a farcical selection procedure (reported earlier in *Socialist Press*) Labour Party members in Holborn and St. Pancras found themselves saddled with prospective candidate Frank Dobson.

His election address well summed up the inanity of his politics, beginning with the

revelation that:

"Here in Central London it really matters whether we have a Labour or a Tory government".

But the rest of the document threw into question the advantages of a Labour over a Tory government. Certainly there was no hint of a socialist policy to be seen.

Dobson conceded that railwaymen and teachers cannot compete for flats with oil millionaires or office developers.

But instead of opposing wage controls and fighting to expropriate the capitalists, Dobson offers only rent controls and more "planning".

Indeed Camden's Labour Council is proposing to evict 200 squatters from Tolmer Square to make way for private property developers.

"Pensioners and postmen can't afford private medical attention", his election address continued.

But it is cuts under Labour that have provided a bonanza for private medical firms.

This evasion continued in the section on foreign policy. While correctly opposing the Labour government's selling of arms to reactionary regimes, Dobson said nothing of the continued repression of the Irish people by British imperialism.

Dobson's abortive and dishonest election address follows in the footsteps of retiring 'left' MP Lena Jeger who in her farewell statement declares herself proud of the Labour government's five years of wretched betrayals.

Maynard: I wouldn't back Mason

Let's get a Labour majority so that we can press for socialist policies. That was the main tenor of an election speech by Labour 'left' Joan Maynard in her Sheffield Brightside constituency last week.

But as one *Socialist Press* reader was quick to point out, it is not enough to press for socialist policies when retreats by the Labour 'left' have ensured that there are none in Labour's election manifesto.

Maynard went on to criticise those who, she claimed, attacked Labour's 'lefts' rather than the right wing.

It was pointed out in reply that principled socialists attack both the right wing and the 'left' wingers' refusal to fight them.

And Maynard's assertion that there have been no expulsions of socialists from the Labour Party was at once challenged by speakers who pointed to the expulsion of Sheffield socialist Eddie Oldhall, and the more recent expulsion of Oxford *Socialist Press* supporter Ted Heslin, an Executive member of the Oxford City Labour Party.

Maynard pledged to oppose this expulsion when the appeal comes before the NEC.

Questioned on whether she would support the candidacy of Brendan Gallagher, who is standing against Labour's torture chief Roy Mason in nearby Barnsley, Maynard declared that she would definitely not support Mason if she was in his constituency.

But Maynard's practical record over the last five years is one of a failure at any point to mount any serious move to oust Mason or his cabinet cronies from the Labour Party leadership.

Loony right wing sees red

As the line of crypto-Tories "coming out" among Labour's ranks lengthened last week, the fanatic right wingers of the Social Democratic Alliance urged workers not to vote Labour unless Callaghan denounced 59 supposed "extreme left wing" candidates.

The loony right of the SDA is claimed to number some 800 mislaid Tories, and headed by the nutty Dr. Stephen Haseler who last week challenged Callaghan to "dissociate himself from the avowed Trotskyists who are running as Labour candidates", or face abstentions in the 59 constituencies involved.

Fine stuff for the witch-hunters of the *Daily Express* and BBC Radio's *World at One*, but enough to make any Labour Party militant roll round laughing, one might have thought.

But Callaghan sprang rapidly to the defence of supposed cabinet "extremists" Foot and Benn.

"They're wonderful, patriotic citizens of this country..." he declared, to any lingering doubters.

And they, like him are loyal servants of capital and Her Majesty the Queen!

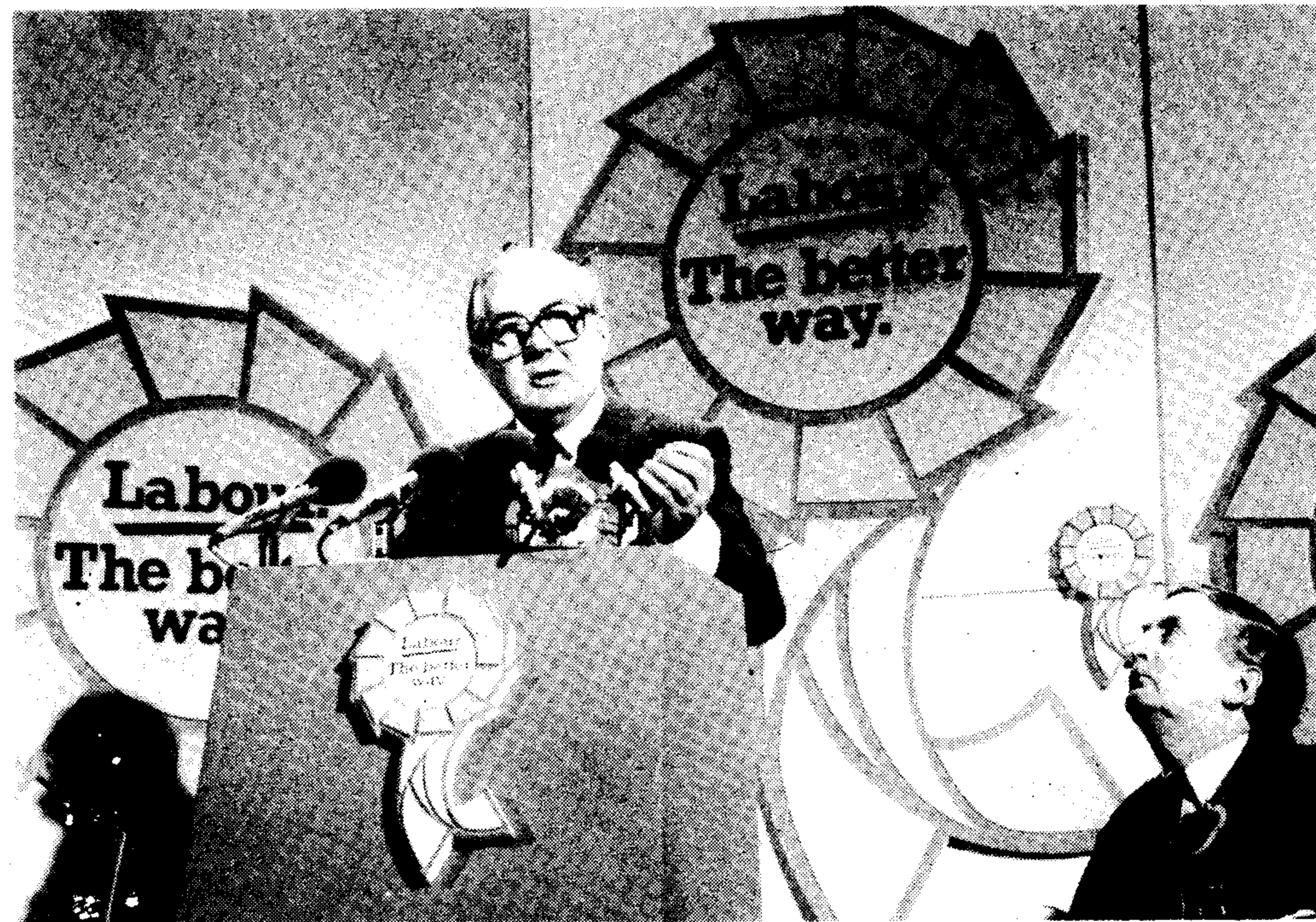


PHOTO: Andrew Ward, Report

Luard: I'd have lost my job

Evan Luard, Oxford's extreme right wing Labour MP spoke to a handful of people in Marston, Oxford, last week and defended the record of the Callaghan-Healy government.

Nobody likes strikes, he said, and a Tory government will provoke far more than a Labour government because the Labour Party has the Concordat, [their

collaborationist deal with the TUC].

What's more, he said, Thatcher actually supports free collective bargaining, an 'evil' which Luard believes to be "outdated" in today's economic climate.

Questioned on his position on British imperialism's oppression of the Irish people, Luard denied any knowledge of torture in jails in Northern Ireland or in Britain.

He insisted that all prisoners in Ireland were vicious criminals who deserved tough treatment.

When asked whether he followed the Oxford City Labour Party's position calling for a vote against the Prevention of Terrorism Act when it was recently renewed in Parliament, Luard said he definitely did not vote against since this would have "lost my position in the government".

This careerist position also emerged when he was asked whether as a junior minister in the Foreign Office he had supported David Owen's insistent defence of the Shah of Iran last Autumn.

Luard preferred "not to comment" on Owen's positions, but pointed out that the present Islamic regime in Iran "left much to be desired" on the question of human rights.

The subject of nursery provision is currently one interest in the Marston area but Luard had not done his homework in this field.

He could only read from Labour's manifesto the lie that "during the last two years of Labour government the proportion of 3 and 4 year olds in nursery classes had doubled."

He also retailed straight-faced the ludicrous promise that Labour intended to provide nursery places for 90% of 4 year olds and 50% of 3 year olds.

Luard could not even begin to explain how these electioneering promises fit in with the reality of Labour's 87% cut in the nursery building programme—a programme which now only budgets £5 million per year!

Weighell: vote Labour for wage controls

At a Labour campaign meeting on Monday in Somerstown, Sid Weighell, NUR General Secretary reported that he had "mobilised his whole membership" in support of the Labour Party.

But just what Weighell was actually supporting he made clear—the Concordat.

Wage controls, he claimed, barefaced, are "a socialist measure"! Remove them and there would be the free-for-all advocated by Keith Joseph, leading to "anarchy and violence".

Worse still, he went on, there could be a "resurgence of class conflict"! All this would, he said, be to the detriment of the "weak and unorganised".

Weighell made it clear to any that doubted it that he "did not want to pick a fight", and he saw the way forward as cooperation between union leaders and government rather than a 'bust up'.

Weighell's conception of protecting the weak and unorganised is to restrict the combativity of the strong and organised—so that attacks on living standards will be borne by the whole working class.

In a brief historical survey he pointed to the role of the forerunner of the NUR in convening the founding conference of the Labour Party in the wake of the historic Taff Vale judgement.

And he spoke also of the role of the enforced ballot of NUR members which was a major part of the defeat of the Tory Industrial Relations Act.

But for Weighell the lesson was not that the only defence against attacks by the ruling class is the mobilisation of his membership but rather to look for top level deals behind closed doors.

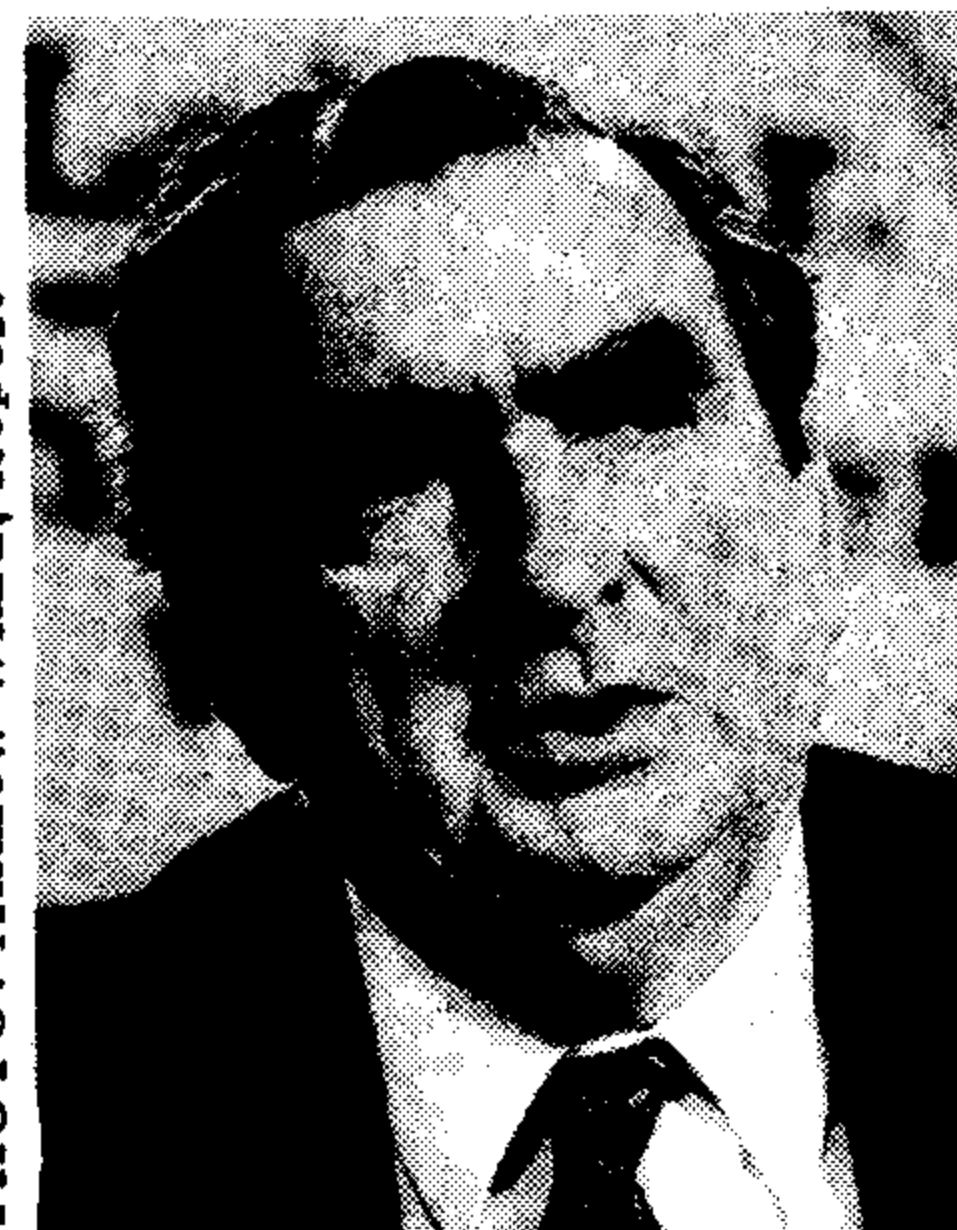
Weighell understands as well as his predecessors, his interests are best defended not by a combative membership organised in an independent workers' party, but by the parliamentary compromisers, wheelers, dealers and the crypto-Tories who form the Labour government.



Brendan Gallagher



Joan Maynard



Healey

PHOTO: Derek Speirs, IFL

PHOTO: Peter Harzap, Report

PHOTO: Andrew Ward, Report

Fighting for action against Fascism



PHOTO: John Sturrock, Report

Riot shields—continuity of police violence from Lewisham to Southall

The battle of Lewisham in 1976 marked the first time large numbers of trade unionists and youth became involved in a direct struggle to prevent the National Front from marching and meeting.

But since that point the crucial weakness in the struggle against racism and fascism has been the retreat by almost every current on the left from any fight for a policy of No Platform for Fascism.

This retreat was no accident or temporary tactical adjustment but reflected the bankruptcy of the political method of the groups involved.

Reactionary

The Communist Party, who had already spelt out their reactionary position by opposing the Lewisham mobilisation despite its mass support, sank even deeper into the moralising cant of the clergymen, liberals and professional community leaders in whose circles it finds itself most at home.

The Socialist Workers Party on the other hand, had enthusiastically espoused 'No Platform' at Lewisham and gone so far as to claim Lewisham as a victory for themselves.

But, confronted with a press witch-hunt which branded them as 'red fascists' the SWP ran from any fight for a principled position in the labour movement and scamped to the right, seeking cover.

"Victory"

Thus, at Hyde in Manchester, the SWP declared the use of a state ban (which in practice left the question of combatting fascism in the hands of the police and the capitalist state) as another "victory" for the anti-racists.

And within months the SWP's cynical Anti-Nazi League charade was on the road.

The SWP vanished into a seedy propaganda campaign which extended no further than touting for celebrities—together with Transport House and Stalinist bureaucrats—to declare their verbal

opposition to fascism.

That such a popular frontist campaign could never hope to drive the fascist gangs from the streets and was therefore a dangerous diversion should now, in the wake of events at Leicester and Southall, be clear to all.

At the time of the launching of the ANL, however, the International Marxist Group—knowing an opportunist band wagon when they see one—were only too keen to jump aboard.

Inside the ANL, any pretence at a struggle to take into the labour movement the class questions raised by the growth of racism and fascism in terms of the developing crisis of capitalism and the lessons of Germany was abandoned in favour of the pursuit of large carnivals, small stunts and mass publicity.

The two ANL Carnivals in fact, though they certainly attracted tens of thousands of anti-fascist workers and youth, by their very political aimlessness served as a major diversion from the policies needed for a real fight against fascism in Britain.

They coincided with major political provocations by the National Front in the form of a May Day march through the East End of

London—the first such fascist march since the war—and a march through the predominantly black areas around Brick Lane, where the fascist intimidation was at its highest.

Far from mobilising opposition to these provocations, the ANL actively worked to prevent any such mobilisation.

Safe harbour

At a local level the ANL groups, opposing the demand for workers defence (which would alienate its cherished celebrities) served to disorientate and disarm the various developing anti-racist organisations.

Instead they provided a safe harbour for the right wing and Stalinists in the labour movement who were desperately seeking a means to head off the growth of militant anti-racism and avoid any pressure to take up the fight to smash the National Front.

The final nadir of this disastrous, opportunist course was the cynical stitch up between the SWP's Paul Holborow and the police at Winchester to prevent anti-fascists from even approaching the same part of town as the NF march.

In 2½ years the Socialist Workers Party had moved a long way from what



Demonstrators raised clenched fists in salute as they pass the point at which Blair Peach was

remained the real need—a fight to implement No Platform, through the mobilisation of the labour movement and the black communities.

At Winchester, under the auspices of the ANL, SWP member Holborow performed precisely the role mapped out at Lewisham by the Communist Party.

It is vital, therefore, that clear and correct lessons are drawn from the events at Leicester.

In retrospect, the mobilisation there to stop the Front march must be seen as an important political victory.

The principled struggle of the Leicester Trades Council, through its anti-racist committee, within the local labour movement for a position of No Platform for Fascists and for Workers Self Defence over the past two years was crucial to the events in Leicester.

It laid the basis for a political fight against the paralysing reformism of the ANL.

To organise independently through a local co-ordinating committee, with or without the ANL, rejecting all deals with the police and appealing directly to the organised labour movement throughout the Midlands and the black community for support, made it impossible, despite Holborow's bravado at meetings, for the ANL to impose another defeat on anti-racists.

A crucial meeting on Sunday April 8 saw Holborow and the ANL defeated 26-23 on a show of hands after they had eagerly backed an LPYS plan for a diversionary demonstration.

Holborow, clearly working for a re-run of the Winchester fiasco in which the police kept anti-fascists on the other side of town from the NF, proposed that the counter-demonstration should be held at 12.00,

marching from the opposite end of town to the NF, through immigrant areas to a park miles from the Front's chosen route.

The defeat of this wretched plan and the refusal of the coordinating committee to kowtow to the ANL's bullying allegations that "the tail is trying to wag the dog", forced the Leicester ANL into a formal stance of "no platform".

But this position flowed directly from the principled political fight put up by militants in Leicester, and not at all from any change of tactic or strategy by the ANL and the Socialist Workers Party.

Indeed within a week the ANL contingent at West Bromwich was once again striking out on a demonstration headed directly away from the planned National Front meeting.

The response to the demand for No Platform at Leicester, notably amongst black youth, was subsequently repeated and amplified at Southall.

It showed beyond doubt the fighting determination of both blacks and whites when given a clear political perspective.

More particularly, it buried in one weekend the reformist double-talk which characterises ANL politics and which had been spelt out most eloquently only two weeks earlier when Arthur Scargill had called in Leicester for unity of all forces opposing fascism "whether Tory, Labour or Liberal", and denounced the fight for a class perspective as "sectarian".

But there should be no illusions on the role of the SWP and IMG at Leicester.

The same opportunism that led both groups to shamelessly liquidate themselves into the a-political, pacifist morass of the Anti Nazi League led them in Leicester to adopt a 'left'

face, posing as the best fighters for the policy of "no platform".

Indeed the IMG even temporarily dropped its customary patronising call on white workers to 'support' "black self-defence" and postured instead as advocates of the correct policy of "workers' self defence".

But these policies, so readily switched from yesterday, can as easily be abandoned tomorrow.

The cynical political manoeuvrings of these groups is only outmatched by the outright treachery of the Workers Revolutionary Party. Behind a smoke-screen of conferences on the 'Armed Forces and the State' the WRP actually attacks anyone who participates in the fight on the streets against racism and fascism.

Newsline of April 26, ignoring the obvious fact that virtually the entire Asian youth population of Southall had moved determinedly onto the streets to drive the NF fascists from their town, described the Monday night events as a "state organised provocation" and "a protest stunt" which they claimed was organised by the Anti Nazi League.

"Who cares whether 59 members of the NF meet in a hall or not?" asks Newsline.

The answer to anyone other than the most infantile WRP sectarian is that tens of thousands of immigrant workers and youth in Southall care very much and are prepared to fight on the streets to crush the fascists, despite the armchair criticisms of the WRP abstentionists!

Major onslaught

What is the reality of the political situation? The Tory campaign on law and order and to expand police



PHOTO: John Sturrock, Report

Police in action at Southall



The Leicester march—stopped by mass mobilisation

clubbed to death by police

BLOODY MURDER IN SOUTHALL



He was held until 1 a.m. before the police would even get him a doctor. Police thugs also forced their way into the medical room and made the occupants get out. The ambulanceman had to be taken out on a stretcher as a result of the thrashing he received.

Run gauntlet

All the occupants were made to run a gauntlet of cops wielding truncheons and viciously kicking. As one young girl who witnessed the event said: "They even dragged out the men with suits on." Anyone was fair game for these thugs in blue. The police have set up their own farcical inquiry into "allegations" against them. This is designed as a whitewash job in the same way that the death of anti-fascist Kevin Gately in Red Lion Square was "inquired" into.

SPG vans were driven at top speed into groups who were forced to leap out of the way and then found themselves flung onto van floors and herded away. 340 were arrested in this way. In fact it is surprising that the toll of death and injuries was so low.

Anyone who thought they would be safe from the police thugs inside a building were mistaken.

In the People's Rights Centre in Park View Road a medical room had been set up by a doctor and ambulanceman to treat victims of police brutality.

The building was also full of community workers, lawyers and local workers and youth.

Beat everyone

The police smashed into the building, rushed upstairs and proceeded to beat everyone around the head and to drag them off to jail.

A community rights worker, Clarence Barker, is still in Central Middlesex Hospital as a result of the beating and kicking he received.

have to be set up through a fight in the local immigrant organisations, trade unions and Labour Parties.

The police tactics last Monday resembled a military occupation and are an indication of the way the Tories intend to operate if they are elected, in forcing in their racist measures.

All roads to the town were blocked off. All bus routes were curtailed miles from Southall.

Searches were made at every cross roads. The police were like a pack of hounds let off a lead and thirsting for blood.

Marksman were stationed on roofs. Horses and riot shields were used by police all day to break people into groups, harass them, force them into corners where they could best be beaten with long white truncheons and then—generally bruised and bleeding—arrested.

All the police force's pent up racism and hatred of youth was allowed to pour out against the black youth of Southall.

opponents into submission. They knew well how Southall has become a symbol, particularly to the Asian community, of how to stand up for your rights and to walk the streets without fear and where it is the racists who have learned to keep out of the way.

The police were well aware that they could not seal off a town like this without the local community determinedly opposing it.

Provocation

They wanted to create a provocation, relying on the Tory stooges in the media to portray it as some sort of race riot.

They have not, however, been able to have it all their own way.

Trade unionists all over the country have been quick to condemn the police actions, as in the Leeds Trades Council where a public enquiry was also called for.

The Enfield and Edmon-ton Trade Union Council called for the removal of Merlyn Rees and wrote to the local Ealing Trades Council pledging whatever support they could give to a labour movement enquiry.

Those who, like the WRP's daily *Newsline* (Thursday 26 April) imply that anti-fascists shouldn't have gone to Southall, branding the events "sheer buffoonery" and talking about the ANL setting members up as "Aunt Sallies for the police" (25 April) show only their own remoteness from the actual struggle in the workers' movement against the NF.

Lack of leadership

There was, certainly, a criminal lack of leadership in Southall; but this is not remedied by watching from a safe distance.

Workers defence squads

The police stand condemned of the murder of NUT member Blair Peach, clubbed to death last Monday, by an SPG truncheon.

This was the culmination of a day of violence, intimidation, harassment, beatings, kickings and punching.

All of these were meted out by the police to the largely immigrant community of Southall.

It is clear that the decision to permit the NF to meet in Southall was made in the top ranks of the police with the connivance of Labour's reactionary Home Secretary Merlyn Rees.

Legitimate hostility

Every one of the 50 thugs at the NF's so-called "public" election meeting was drafted in from outside while 5,000 police, 50 mounted police and a helicopter were there to protect them from the legitimate hostility of the entire local population.

The anti-fascists, who were disgusted at this deliberate provocation, were completely caught unawares by the actions of the police.

The Indian Workers Association, headed by Stalinist Vishnu Sharma, had called for the closing down of the shops and factories at 1 p.m. and for a mass sit-down.

On its front page the IMG's paper *Socialist Challenge* had called for a peaceful protest.

But it was not up to the anti-fascists to decide. The police had already decided that violence was the order of the day.

They had deliberately picked this area of well-organised workers, active in their unions, as the arena for a confrontation in which they would seek to beat

powers and numbers, when taken together with the massive numbers of arrests, the huge fines, (£250 for threatening words) and the use of the Prevention of Terrorism Act in Leicester, and the mass arrests, brutal beatings and murder of demonstrator Blair Peach at Southall, presages a major onslaught not only against anti-racists but against strikers, pickets and the rights of the workers' movement.

Under such an attack on basic rights by the capitalist state, the fight against fascism can only be waged by taking the demands for No Platform and the formation of Workers' Defence Squads right to the centre of the labour movement and welding them firmly to the general struggle of the working class against the employers.

The decision of the Leicester anti-racists to take up precisely this fight in local union branches, with a motion supporting No Platform being passed in the ASTMS General Branch only two days after the April 21 mobilisation, is an important first step.

The fight for No Platform and for Workers Self Defence must become a national campaign which counterposes the real needs of the situation to the propaganda back-peddling of the reformists and the ANL's abject political prostration.

Only a united struggle of the labour movement, drawing in the militant immigrant workers and youth with trade unionists, tenants and workers' political organisations can create the conditions for driving the fascist gangs off the streets and out of the meeting halls and for tackling crushing material problems like housing and unemployment by independent class action.



PHOTO: John Sturrock, Report

Defence squads

As socialists we recognise that the police, as the armed defenders of private property under capitalism, are, together with the army, the backbone of the state machine.

Black and white workers must unite in the struggle for a revolutionary leadership that will spell out the necessity to disband the police force and the standing army, and substitute a workers' militia answerable to the labour movement.

In the meantime the urgent question is to defend the workers' movement and the immigrant communities from all forms of violent provocation, through the mobilisation of workers' defence squads, uniting black and white workers in struggle against the common enemy.

Two dead ends on nuclear power

Our Science Correspondent reviews *The Politics of Nuclear Power* by Dave Elliott with Pat Coyne, Mike George and Roy Lewis, published by Pluto Press, price £1.95.

In Britain those on the left commonly hold one of two main positions on nuclear power.

The first of these involves the total rejection of nuclear power as a monumental evil perpetrated on society by technology-crazed scientists.

The immediate closure of all nuclear power plants and an end to research into the nuclear fuel cycle are demanded.

A move to low-technology, smaller-scale power generation, such as wind or solar energy, is often also called for.

This position is exemplified by the various environmentalist groups who have often strongly influenced the opportunist policies of more orthodox left-wing organisations.

Essential

The second position is typified by the attitude of the TUC.

It entails a firm belief that the development of nuclear power is essential to safeguard the supply of energy to meet the future needs of capitalist industry.

Ensuring the health of British capitalism is held to be the best way of generating direct and indirect employment prospects.

Where health and safety risks to workers are acknowledged, they are claimed to be small compared to other industries (themselves often not noted for their safety record), and their so-called "minor" drawbacks are held to be far outweighed by the advantages of satisfying capitalism's thirst for energy.

It is as if, as Roland Barthes points out, "a little confessed evil saves one from acknowledging a lot of hidden evil".

Turgid arguments

Neither of these positions is in any way able to give a lead to workers in the nuclear industry, or any other.

Instead, debates on nuclear power degenerate into turgid arguments about whether a given procedure involves more health risks to

workers than the alternatives, whether projections of future energy needs are valid or not, or whether the levels of risk to the general public of nuclear power plant accidents are "acceptable" or not (to whom?).

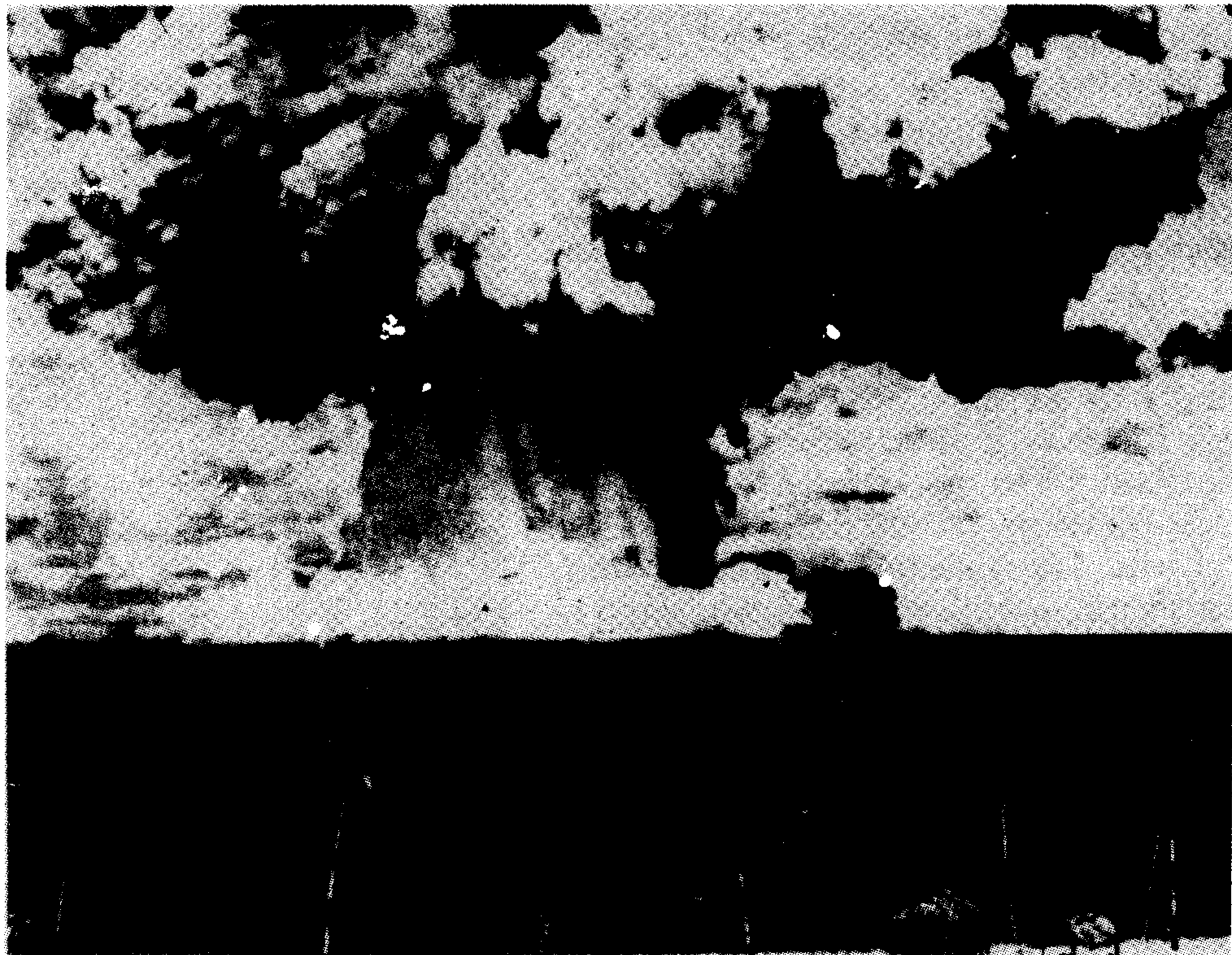
Political decision

The highly selective and often secretive way in which health and safety matters are approached by the nuclear industry and by government means that we must treat with the utmost scepticism all figures published by these sources.

Health and safety matters and projected energy requirements involve political decisions.

The struggle as to who controls these decisions is the central issue.

Calling for the abandoning of nuclear power generation and of other work on the nuclear fuel cycle (such as waste disposal) in isolation gives no perspective to those employed directly or



indirectly through the nuclear industry.

Furthermore, it closes the door on any benefits that nuclear power generation may be able to contribute under socialism.

Indiscriminate and blind opposition to nuclear waste disposal ignores the fact that even if all nuclear research ceased at once, we are already saddled with substantial quantities of high-level radioactive wastes from nuclear reactors that somehow have to be put out of harm's way.

In Britain alone there are at least 600 cubic metres of liquid wastes; and there are even more in the USA.

These are likely to remain hazardous to life for thousands of years.

Political control

It is essential to realise that until procedures are developed whereby the wastes can somehow be rendered less harmful, the placing of nuclear wastes in underground repositories (temporary resting places) if not in depositories (relatively permanent resting places) is inevitably going to take place.

What is important is who has political control over the implementation of this procedure.

Decisions concerning site selection factors and the design of the underground chambers cannot be left to capitalist governments and the nuclear industry corporations.

In *The Politics of Nuclear Power*, Elliott and colleagues have attempted to address some of these problems.

They divide their book into three parts: the political economy of nuclear power; nuclear power and employment, and political strategies.

Useful

The book is a very useful reference source, where the authors provide summary accounts of the nature of the nuclear industry in Britain and its links with similar industries in other countries.

They chart the historical development of the industry, relate the attitude of the trade union

movement to nuclear power and summarise some of the potential benefits and drawbacks of nuclear power.

Although objections must be raised in some areas, such as how unique is the nature of the government's involvement in the nuclear industry, these sections could usefully be read by all trade unionists and other interested parties. The low cost of the book is also an added bonus.

The book is especially strong where it describes the interconnections of nuclear industries in Britain and the rest of the world, to show that they form a web of enmeshed capitalist interests.

Not single issue

Where the book is weakest, is when it comes to discuss political strategies, where it had the opportunity to eclipse its numerous limp competitors.

The authors correctly point out that the political challenge of nuclear power is not a single issue, to be faced in isolation.

But they propose instead "consciousness-raising 'on a broad front'" (author's quotation marks).

Such an approach is quite inadequate in the present circumstances.

Whilst not denying the importance of making available to workers' representatives information on nuclear power, lobbying Trade Union meetings, etc. what is of key importance is the posing of demands which can enable workers to make the necessary political development to see the need to take control of the nuclear industry themselves.

The lesson of the 3-mile island nuclear plant disaster

at Harrisburg, Pennsylvania is that the posing of these demands is an urgent priority.

Government and nuclear industry officials cannot be left with the authority to pronounce on the safety of nuclear plants and the risks to the public.

Their work must be subject to control by workers' representatives.

It is essential that the workers' movement takes up the fight for demands that lead towards such control, and point to the inability of the anarchic, secretive, profit hungry capitalist system to find safe means of utilising nuclear power.

*No further work on reprocessing, fast Breeder Reactors or other reactors until safety precautions are acceptable to workers' committees drawing members from all industries and the labour movement in the locality concerned. Such committees must force access to all relevant information on the safety hazards of nuclear power generation.

*No further extension of nuclear power programmes until safe and efficient methods of disposal of existing and potential wastes is established.

*No redundancies in the nuclear industries. Work sharing on full pay and retaining for all those workers who cannot be transferred to research work pending these developments.

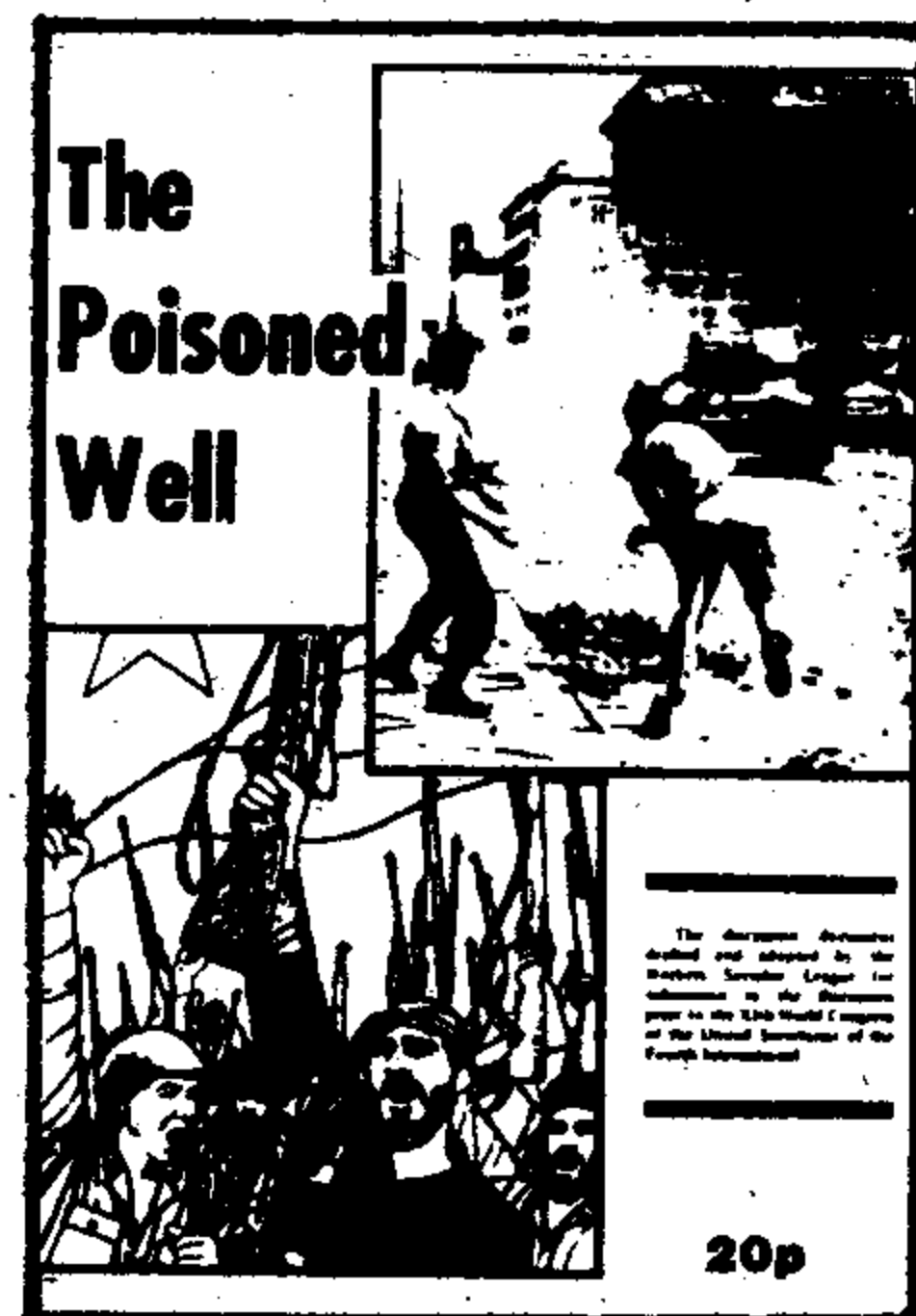
*For an increase in state spending on all aspects of research into the exploitation of nuclear power and into alternative energy sources, under the control of elected workers' committees.

*Open the books of the giant monopolies that stand to profit from nuclear power, to prove the necessity for them to be nationalised, without compensation, under workers' management.

*Publish the full details of known existing hazards! Immediate compensation for all victims of past unplanned nuclear "experiments".



Arrested anti-nuclear protesters discuss plans to further the struggle against US expansion of nuclear programme



NOW OUT! The WSL discussion document adopted for submission to the USFI XIth World Congress. Price 20p plus 10p p&p from WSL, 31, Dartmouth Park Hill, London NW5 1HR.

'NIGHTHAWKS' - A LOOK AT THE REALITY OF GAY OPPRESSION

FILM REVIEW by DAVID WHITFIELD

Nighthawks seeks to present the life of a gay teacher in London. Not a lurid melodrama, camp spectacle or tear-jerking tragedy, but in all its grey, day-to-day, repetitive reality.

The film opens with Jim—a young geography teacher in a comprehensive school—driving through London to the 'Back Streets', a disco club for gay men.

Once there, he successfully selects a partner for the night, and they retire home and to bed.

The next morning, Jim is back at work, continuing his 'normal' life at trying to present the process of urban reconstruction to groups of frustrated school students, showing a new supply teacher round the building.

The film's structure is built up by juxtaposing these two contrasted blocks of Jim's life. But as the film progresses, they are drawn into more open conflict.

Relationship

Oppressed at home, bored and frustrated, the supply-teacher Liz looks for the opportunity of an alternative relationship with Jim.

Unable to respond to her need, he at first reacts violently before being able to talk more openly about his life.

After this cathartic explanation, they are able to continue their friendship on a more stable and honest basis.

But later the same threat erupts in a more sinister form from the school students.

At the beginning of one class, Jim is taunted by a boy with 'Sir, is it true you're bent?'

In the most obviously powerful scene of the film, he takes up the question, turns it back on the class and challenges their ignorance and inherited pre-conceptions about sexuality.

The argument develops, and the class becomes divided as the girls and boys try to come to terms with the issues.

Threat

The inevitable follows when Jim is summoned to the 'liberal' headmaster, who produces the veiled but definite threat of the sack if Jim so much as mentions his homosexuality in the classroom again.

Afterwards in the pub, the three teachers with whom he has come out, pledge to fight against any victimisation. But *Nighthawks* does not proceed to any such crisis.

The film ends with Jim and his latest partner returning to the 'Back Streets', and a final disco scene of drinking, dancing and men weighing up the opportunities offered in the club that night.

This absence of high drama is crucial to *Nighthawks*.

Co-directors Peck and Paul Hallam, leading actor Ken Robertson and everyone else concerned with the production have taken huge pains to create a naturalistic film that makes no concessions to crude stereotypes

or sensational myths of the life of gay men.

Robertson plays Jim as a man of average looks and ordinary character, an averagely competent teacher in a typical teaching situation, with a pattern of sexual behaviour shared by many, many thousands of gay men.

Accurate

The clubs and bars are not glamorised or made sensational in any way. Just as the film renounces melodrama, so it forgoes the indulgence of focussing on intimate sexual practices.

The dialogue is accurate almost to the point of being realistically stilted, while the photography preserves the traditional 'neutrality' of naturalistic film.

At times, the viewers are presented with long (and in the end tedious) close-ups of Jim's face, as his eyes flick across the 'Back Streets', observing and assessing the dancers, the cruisers and the new arrivals.

This attempt to involve the audience as themselves being actors in the disco scenes is paralleled in the classroom confrontation.

There the camera-eye and the focus of the audience becomes identified with Jim's position as he is first challenged by the jeering and sniggering hostility of the school students, then becomes a spectator of their internal arguments about his homosexuality.

As a whole, the classroom scenes are all too convincing in their representation of the simmering frustration of the participants.

Authenticity

The disco scenes too have been created with impressive authenticity (although here the use of volunteer non-professional extras does have minor drawbacks).

The net result of all this naturalistic intention and technique is that *Nighthawks* frequently hovers on the edge of becoming boring, without ever quite crossing over. That effect is of course deliberate and unavoidable.

Peck and Hallam talk about trying to 'open up some discussion about the gay scene, not to ignore it and wish it wasn't there'.

The film imposes no value judgements on the gay scene, nor does it seriously attempt to contrast Jim's lifestyle with alternative patterns.

At most, his sexual behaviour is presented as real and therefore valid.

But of course this rigorous neutrality is informed by a deeper and partly unconscious vision of social reality.

Jim and the other figures move through a desolate urban wasteland, where individuals are able to make some form of contact on the sole basis of shared alienation.

It is no accident that the geography lessons revolve around shots of the demolition, the closed factories and warehouses in inner London.

Every relationship presented or mentioned in the film is fleet-



PHOTO: Laurence Spatham, IFL

March against the court ruling against Gay News.

ing, fractured or frustrated and frustrating.

As the material fabric of London is being ripped apart, so the city-dwellers are thrown together and torn apart in a totally irrational flux which is uncontrolled by any human activity.

This vision has probably been intensified by the purely economic problems of producing *Nighthawks*. Peck and Hallam were forced to work with limited financial resources since the film offered such an uncertain commercial venture for investors.

One result of these problems is the almost claustrophobic emphasis on interiors. Jim and all the other characters seem to spend every moment of their lives freely shut in by an endless succession of impenetrable walls and closed doors.

Scenes are filmed in cars and in small rooms—at their most expansive in clubs or the rooms and corridors of the school.

Life takes place in these tightly sealed cells which have little relation with each other, and apparently none at all with any wider reality.

Closet image

When the same treatment is applied to the heterosexual supply-teacher, it becomes obvious that the film-makers are not seeking to extend the image of the closet to cover every moment of Jim's life.

On the contrary, these cramped and stultifying conditions of existence are presented as the alienated reality which our society imposes, in different ways, on all of us.

Beyond this solid strength, the limitations of the film are obvious, and nobody involved in its making would be likely to deny them. There is nothing polemical about *Nighthawks*.

But one central insight does emerge with growing clarity: there can be nothing private or 'personal' about sexuality that is firmly

suppressed or brutally repressed by a hostile society.

The norms of bourgeois society and family life create homosexuality as political activity and a political issue, whatever the feelings or positions of individual gays.

Nighthawks does not begin to explore the implications for socialists which lie behind the surface of the film. But two obvious directions do appear even within its limited perspective.

Most obviously, the film points to the central importance of the gay scene. The gay liberation movement itself sprang from the 1969 Stonewall Riot against police harassment of the gay bars in New York.

But since then, there has been a strong tendency for the 'political' wing of the gay movement to become divorced and isolated from the gay scene.

Gay rights

Such a move can only hinder the political development of the mass of gays, and obstruct their mobilisation in the fight against the sexual oppression enforced by capitalism.

Nighthawks reveals the crucial importance of working within the existing social structures that bring gays together. But the film also indicates less directly the equally vital task of fighting for gay rights within the labour movement.

Reality

The threat of sacking which hangs over Jim is not a fantastic image but an example of everyday reality for many gays who come out and declare their sexuality publicly.

Immediately they face the well-practised treachery of the labour bureaucracy—from National Association of Schoolmaster's leader Terry Casey (who declared in December that gays are "an unacceptable risk in the teaching profession"), right up to the Labour cabinet, which has

refused to extend the limited gains of the 1967 law reform to British occupied Ireland.

Meanwhile Callaghan has busied himself with Marge Proops producing reactionary cant on the values of 'family life'.

Universalised

In one sense, what is happening here is that the common experience of many thousands of gays is being universalised into the 'human condition'.

In these conditions, the possibility of solidarity or joint action at any level become reduced to the brief contact of the bodies in a bed, or a few lame words spoken in the corner of a pub at opening time.

But that's not really the issue. The power of *Nighthawks* is its ability to convey something of the experience

shared by huge numbers of gays (especially gay men). That is something which has never been projected on to the screen before.

Partial truths

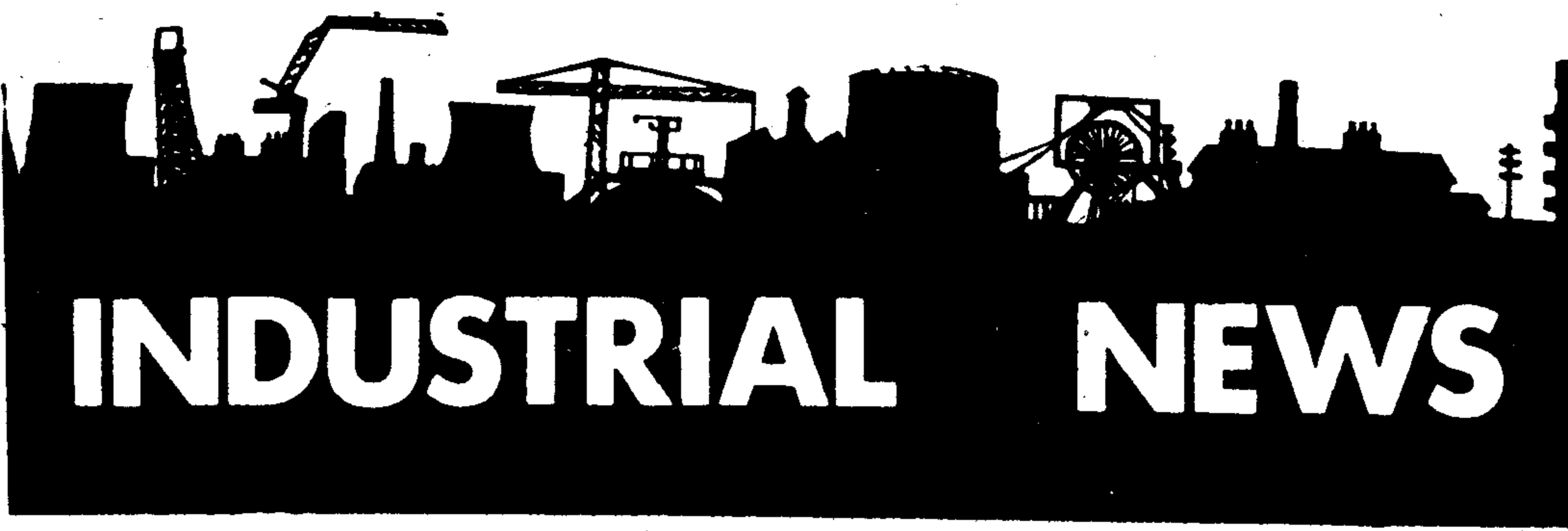
The struggles to defend gays against victimisations, and all forms of discrimination and oppression, are an inseparable part of the battle against the sexual oppression which these leaders support or their efforts to salvage capitalism from its own crisis.

Nighthawks does not pose, let alone answer their problem. It remains the task of revolutionary socialists to recognise the partial truths of the statements made by the film, and to develop them within the fight to abolish once and for all the oppression of free human sexuality.



PHOTO: Andrew Ward, Report

Callaghan—campaigning for family values



INDUSTRIAL NEWS

Garment workers demand action

The normally genteel atmosphere prevailing on the first day of the National Union of Tailors and Garment Workers Biennial Delegates Conference at the Spa ballroom, Scarborough was effectively shattered this year.

A powerful rank and file delegation from the union's Winsford branch attended and lobbied the 300 delegates representing 120,000 garment workers.

The lobbyists, mainly women, roared their disapproval and contempt for the way their full-time officials had energetically overlorded the closures of whole factories and rail-roads in a wage rise for the industry only half that of

the national average, but had developed severe rigor mortis when any action had to be taken in defence of jobs and conditions.

Slogans shouted and banners proclaimed their demands for a £60 week minimum wage for the garment industry—a sliding scale of wages to combat inflation—no more closures, no sackings—share the work.

Enthusiasm

The demands were received with enthusiasm by rank and file delegates and no doubt contributed to the next day's unanimous decision by conference to fight for the £60 minimum in September.

One of the lobbyists, Freda Grayson, told *Socialist Press*:

"We have been in the past, content to abide by

the promises of both employers and union officials but this has gone on long enough.

"We will not tolerate this state of affairs any longer.

"Action by unions must be taken to compel employers to pay increased wages automatically when prices go up."

Another lobbyist, Lilly Bradshaw was no less adamant.

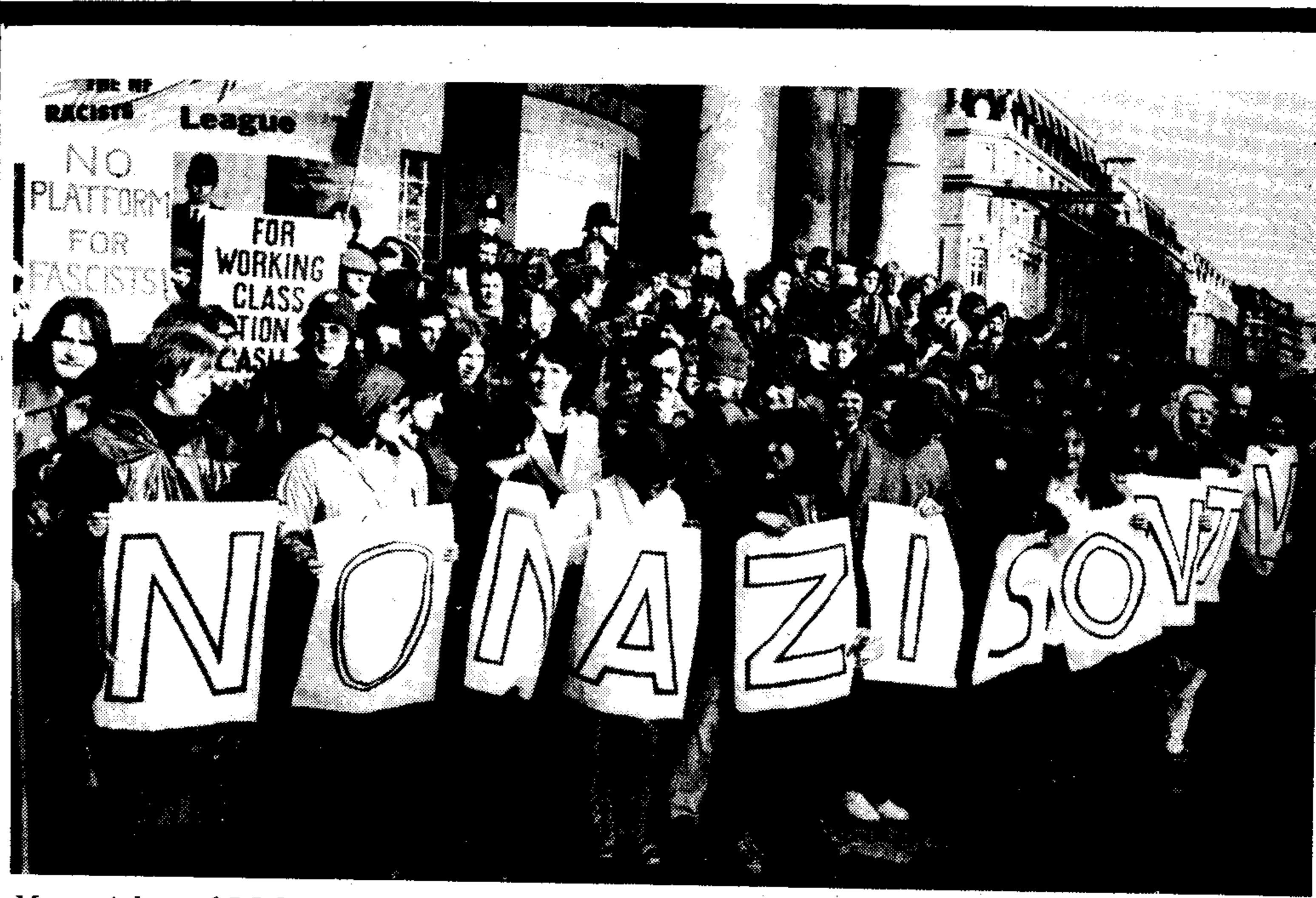
"There are too many works closing down and lots of families rely heavily on the women's wage coming into the home. We must take a stand against closures".

A leaflet issued by the protestors said that:

"... militancy simply by itself is insufficient."

And it went on to demand:

"Where the employers threaten redundancies for



Mass picket of BBC in London by Campaign Against Racism in the Media in protest at NF election broadcast

any reason including insolvency then demand to see their financial arrangements, i.e. open the books.

"If bankruptcy is proven, then nationalise the factory or section of industry involved."

Convenor and lobby organiser Winifred Murphy said:

"The lobby was organised in the teeth of opposition from management and union officers which not only increased our determination to go ahead with it but only went to prove how right it was in the first place.

"This action by women and youth in the garment industry is not a new found militancy.

"This capacity to fight is always there, the key question is leadership."

It was not a Letter stunt!

Handsworth Birmingham 18 April 1979

Dear Comrades,

As a member of the TGWU's 5/35 Branch, I was glad to see your article (11/4/79) opposing the attempt to witch-hunt Johnny Groves and Mick Regan.

But you were wrong to describe the occupation of Transport House, Birmingham on January 5 as a badly planned publicity stunt.

The purpose of the occupation was not to gain publicity but to stop the district official, A.D. Law, using his office to organise scabbing. On the previous day, January 4th, he had

told drivers who contacted him not to strike and to cross our picket lines. As a result a member of the branch was nearly run down when a driver, acting on instructions from Transport House, charged a picket line in Smethwick. This was the final straw for many of us and led directly to the occupation.

Law did not return to his office for about two weeks afterwards and was therefore unable to use it as a centre from which to break the strike. I believe that the occupation was necessary and largely successful.

With socialist greetings
Yours fraternally,
Simon Temple

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

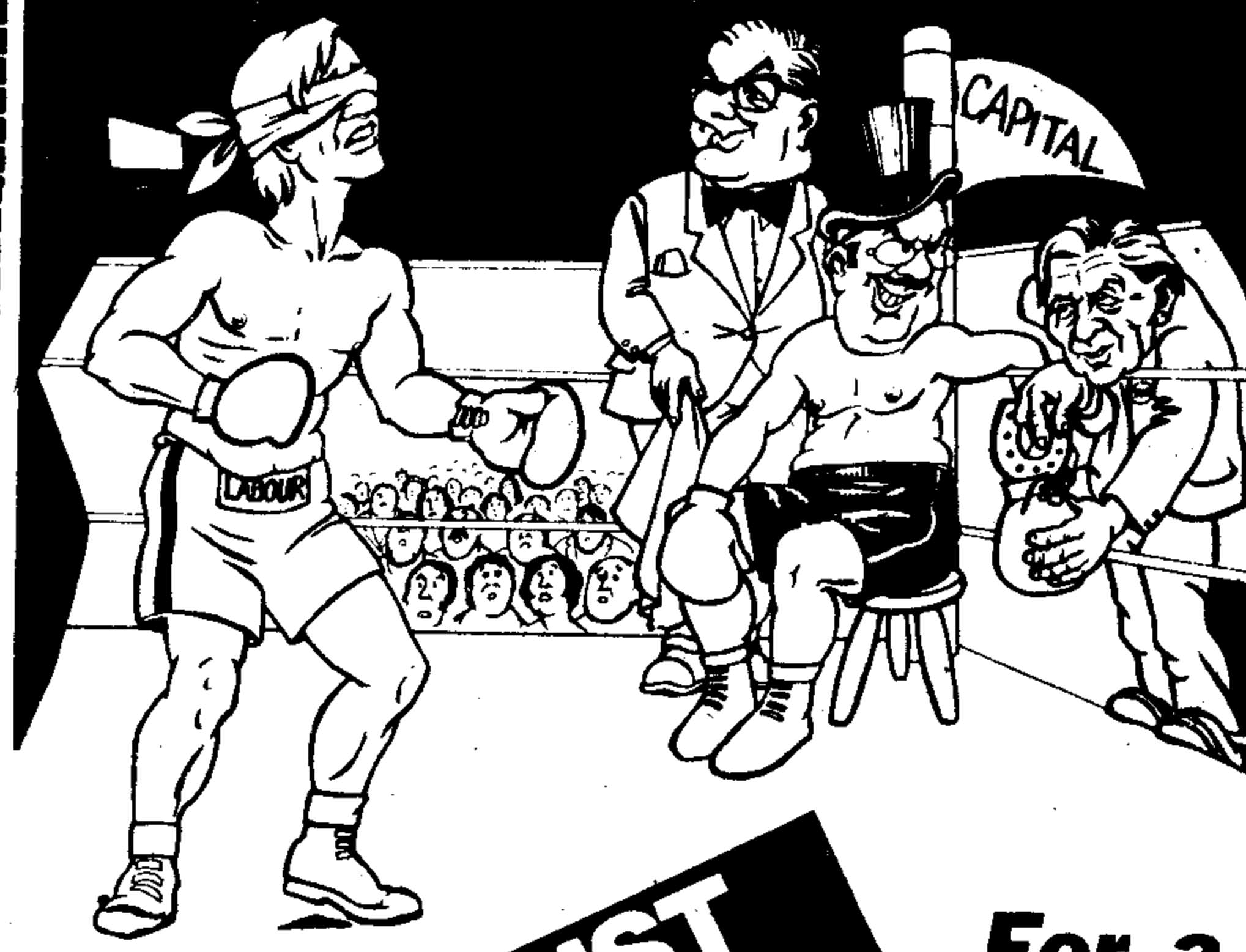
Please send me more information about the WSL.

Name

Address

Send to Workers Socialist League, 31, Dartmouth Park Hill, London NW5 1HR

DON'T GO INTO THE FIGHT BLINDFOLD!



GET SOCIALIST PRESS ★ For a clear lead in the struggle against wage control, cuts and redundancies

SPECIAL OFFER

10 ISSUES POST FREE!

If you would like to take advantage of this offer fill in the coupon below.

Please send me 10 copies of *Socialist Press*. I enclose £1.50.

Name

Address

Send to Socialist Press, 31, Dartmouth Park Hill, London NW5 1HR.

NUJ radicalised by long strike

BACKING FOR NOTTS

Evidence that the seven week pay strike by provincial journalists has produced a radical shift in the union emerged at the National Union of Journalists' annual conference in Ayr.

Garners: call for help

Preparations are now under way for a National TGWU Delegate Conference in support of the Garners recognition strike, now entering its sixteenth month.

As picketing of Garners restaurants continues ominous signs exist that the Region 1 TGWU officials are preparing to knife the strike in the period following the General Election.

Only the determination of the remaining strikers to fight on and struggle for the measures—constantly evaded by the union bureaucracy—necessary to win, acts as a barrier.

This week leading strikers continued to campaign for the widest possible support—going to the anti-racist rally sponsored by Coventry Trades Council.

Below we reprint the model resolution issued by the Strike Committee and call on all our readers in the TGWU to take it into their branches—as well as attending the Day of Picketing called for May 5.

Model Resolution. This Branch/Committee supports the call of the Garners Steak Houses Strike Committee for a Day of Picketing on May 5 and a National TGWU Delegate Conference on June 9.

This Branch/Committee resolves to elect and send (. . .) delegates to the Conference.

(The Conference will take place at 2.00 p.m. on June 9 in London. Delegates credentials are 50p and further information (venue, agenda, etc) is available on request from the Strike Committee, c/o TGWU Office, 12-13 Henrietta St., London WC2. 01-240 1056).

attacks, legal and physical, on picket lines were passed virtually without opposition in an atmosphere heightened by the killing of anti-fascist Blair Peach, and the jailing of Bristol NUJ picket Steve McKenley.

A motion tabled by the National Executive repudiated the Concordat and called for the extension of picketing rights and unequivocal commitment from the TUC towards setting up closed shops throughout the print industry.

A motion from Oxford instructing the executive and industrial councils to accept no legal restrictions on the right to strike, impose blacking and to picket was unanimously endorsed.

But the development in the union has taken place in an uneven way. The results of the national executive elections, conducted by postal ballot, showed a swing to the right with several leading lefts losing their seats.

Little known

Leading right wingers were also defeated, and several of the successful candidates were little known right wingers whose election addresses had made play for the centre.

A test of the new mood in the union came with the vote on a motion calling for immediate withdrawal from the Press

Council—a symbol of class collaboration which seeks to 'adjudicate' on press complaints.

The motion tabled by the Magazine branch called for the setting up of an alternative complaints body—without specifying that it should be a labour movement body.

In the event the debate was entirely between those who wanted continued collaboration and those who wanted trade union independence.

The motion was defeated

157-142 in favour of an amendment from the National Newspapers and Agencies Industrial Council, which called for "stronger NUJ representation" and "restructuring" of the Press Council.

A ONE DAY strike of provincial journalists has been called by the union's annual conference in support of NUJ members at Nottingham sacked by the *Evening Post* for taking

part in the seven week pay strike.

The conference also backed a call for a national ballot of the entire membership calling for a total one day strike. The NUJ rule book forbids all out strikes involving a majority of the membership unless a postal ballot shows a two-thirds majority in favour.

The strike call, though limited, is the first break in favour of using the strength of the NUJ membership against the management at Nottingham and the Newspaper Society employers' federation which is giving tacit support to the sackings.

But a curtailed debate at the conference also showed that the Nottingham chapel is still placing a great deal of misplaced faith in their alternative paper—the *Nottingham News*.

A clause in the resolution moved at the conference calling for urgent steps to raise enough finance to turn the paper into a commercially viable cooperative was passed without a speaker against.

The strike call is now in the hands of the incoming national executive and there is a danger that they might try to use the ballot to head off the definite strike of provincial journalists called by the conference. No date has yet been set.

One day strikes are themselves insufficient to win reinstatement for the 23 journalists still without a job at Nottingham. But it is now a matter of urgency to reinvoke the provincial membership, sent back to work at the end of the strike without satisfactory assurances over the Nottingham jobs.

A new mass picket has been called for this Saturday, May 5. All NUJ members and others who can get to Nottingham must support this show of solidarity.

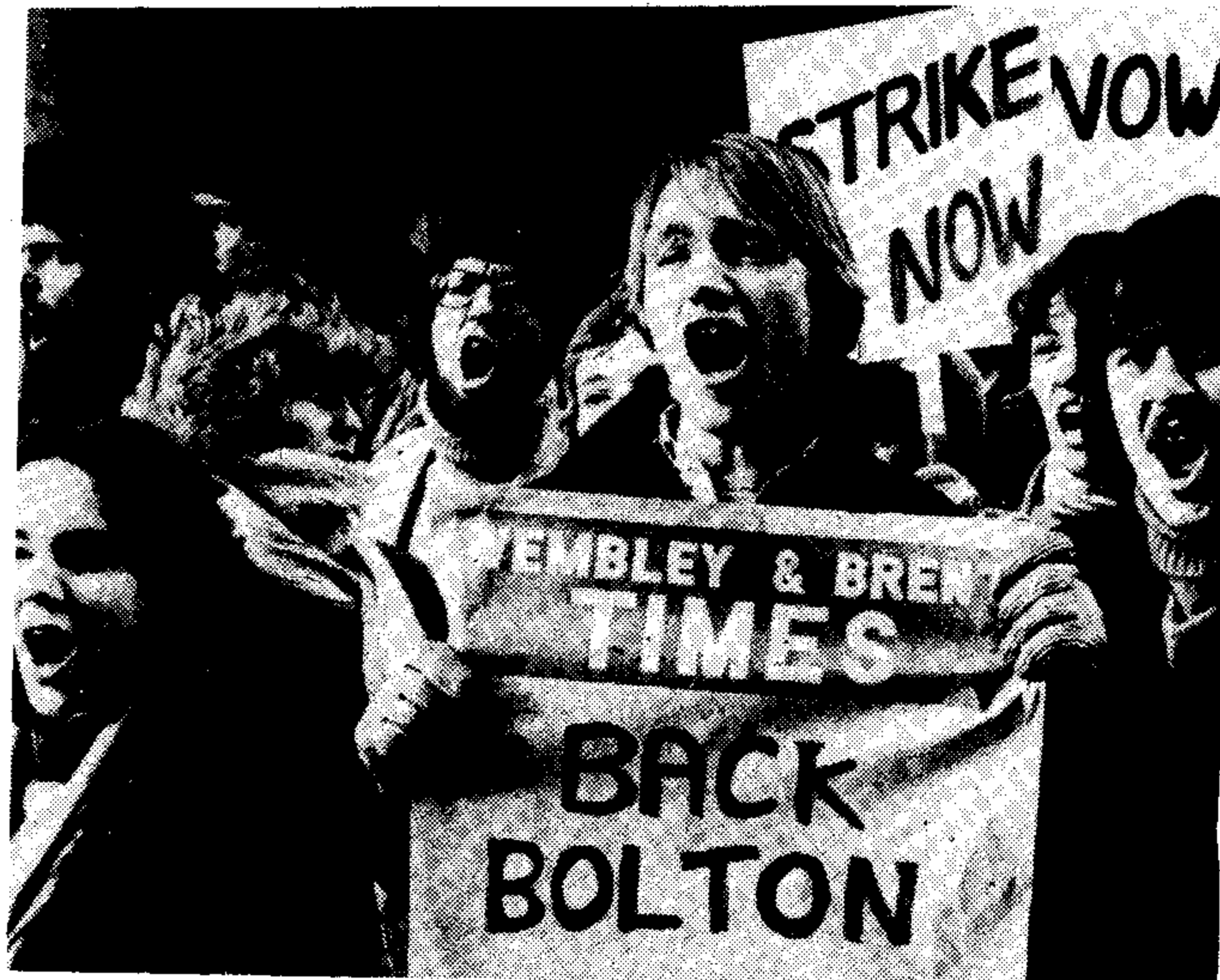
JAILED Bristol NUJ picket Steve McKenley was appealing against a sentence of three months in the High Court as we went to press.

Already Steve has served a week of a sentence imposed for a supposed assault on police who attacked the picket line.

On 'legal advice' no demonstration has been called in Bristol and an NUJ vigil at the police station—has been abandoned.

The NUJ Conference condemned the sentence as "part of a violent and provocative campaign by the police and the judiciary against trade unionists' traditional right to picket."

It called for a protest campaign and a TUC all-union conference to discuss "the threat to trade union rights and the political and industrial action which should be taken to resist it."



Striking journalists

UPW in revolt...

Continued from back page

He said that if branches had problems locally after the deal was accepted they should contact him for help at UPW headquarters.

Everyone knows that to rely on Styles for help is like seeking the aid of a vampire when in need of a blood transfusion.

Ever since this disgusting deal was known many branches took industrial action in numerous forms in protest at the sell-out.

In some cases Maurice Styles was instrumental in threatening some branches with dire consequences if they either took or continued with action, stating categorically that no support would be given to any branch or member if the Post Office suspended them.

Some branches, among them Aylesbury and St. Albans, threatened not to deliver election material. Stalinist Styles stepped in to quell the threat at Aylesbury, though at St. Albans he was warned off by the London District Council.

The feeling at branch level throughout the country has been reflected in branch ballots

which indicate a massive rejection of Jackson's sell-out package, by motions calling for the resignation of the pay negotiators and by motions of censure.

More importantly, attention is now being focussed on the UPW Rules Revision Conference which is due to be held later this year.

This presents a great chance to change some of the national rules which protect the full-time officers from the wrath of the rank and file.

The 19 lay Executive members, elected annually, can of course be removed and replaced by other workers who will do the job as their members require.

7 of the 19 lay Executive members voted for the pay sell-out whilst the other 12 fought and voted against.

But these twelve were swamped by the block vote of the 12 full time bureaucrats who also vote at Executive meetings.

The first step is to remove these seven lay members at the UPW annual conference in a couple of weeks time. In every case so far their vote to accept

has been contradicted by their branches which have thrown out the deal.

The second step must be at the Rules Revision Conference where the full time careerists should be made subject to recall every few years and be deprived of voting rights at any Executive meeting.

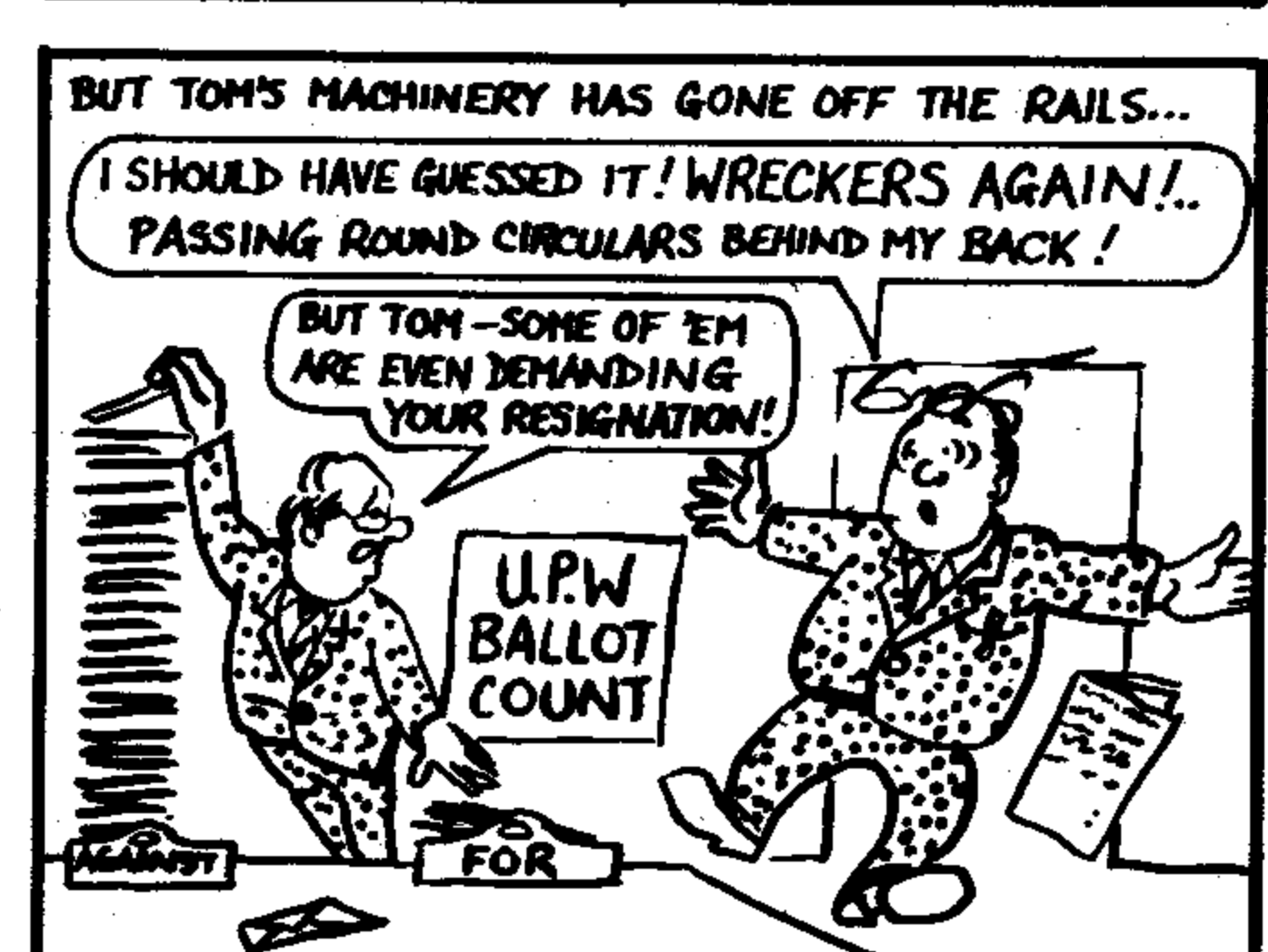
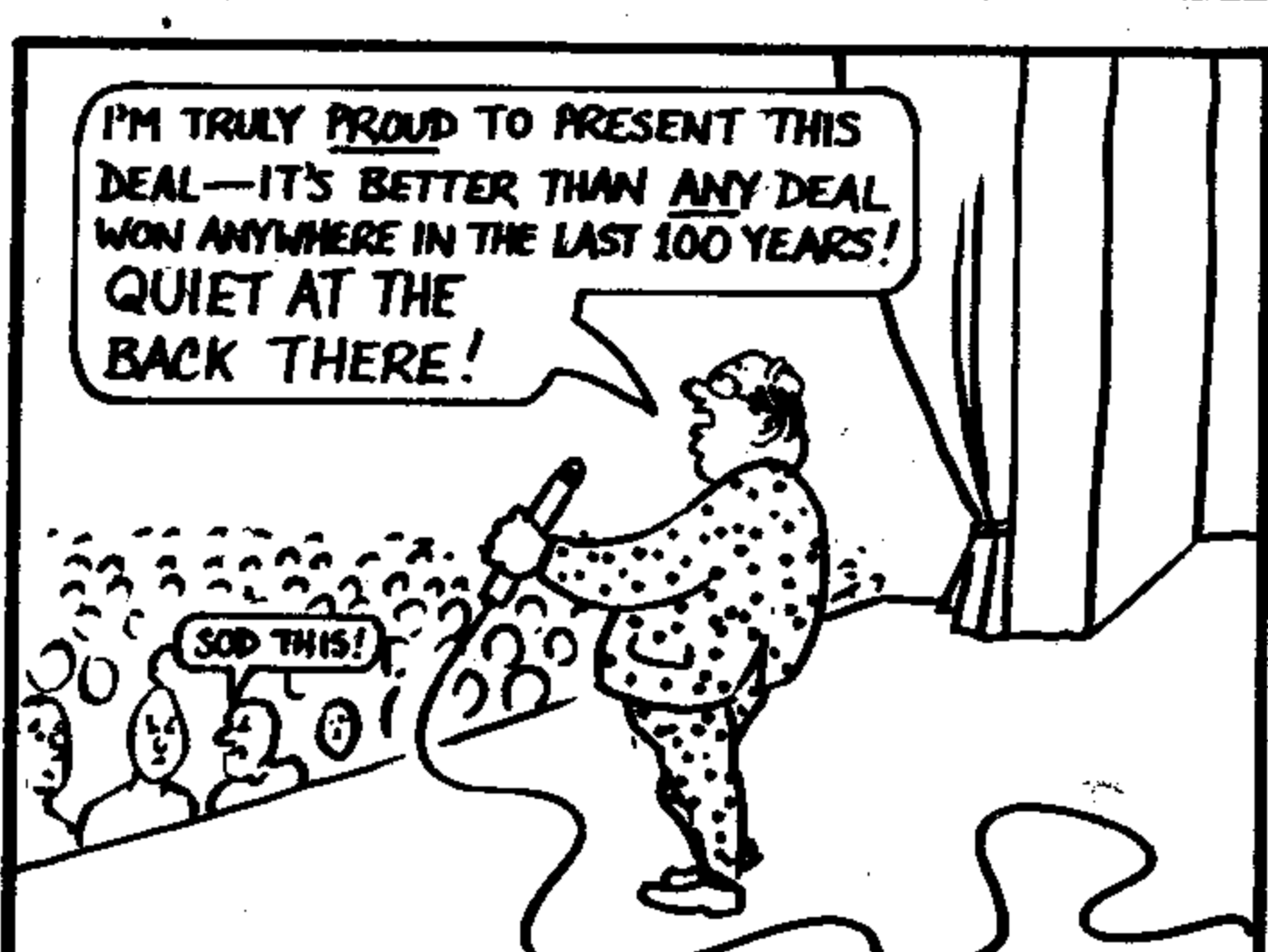
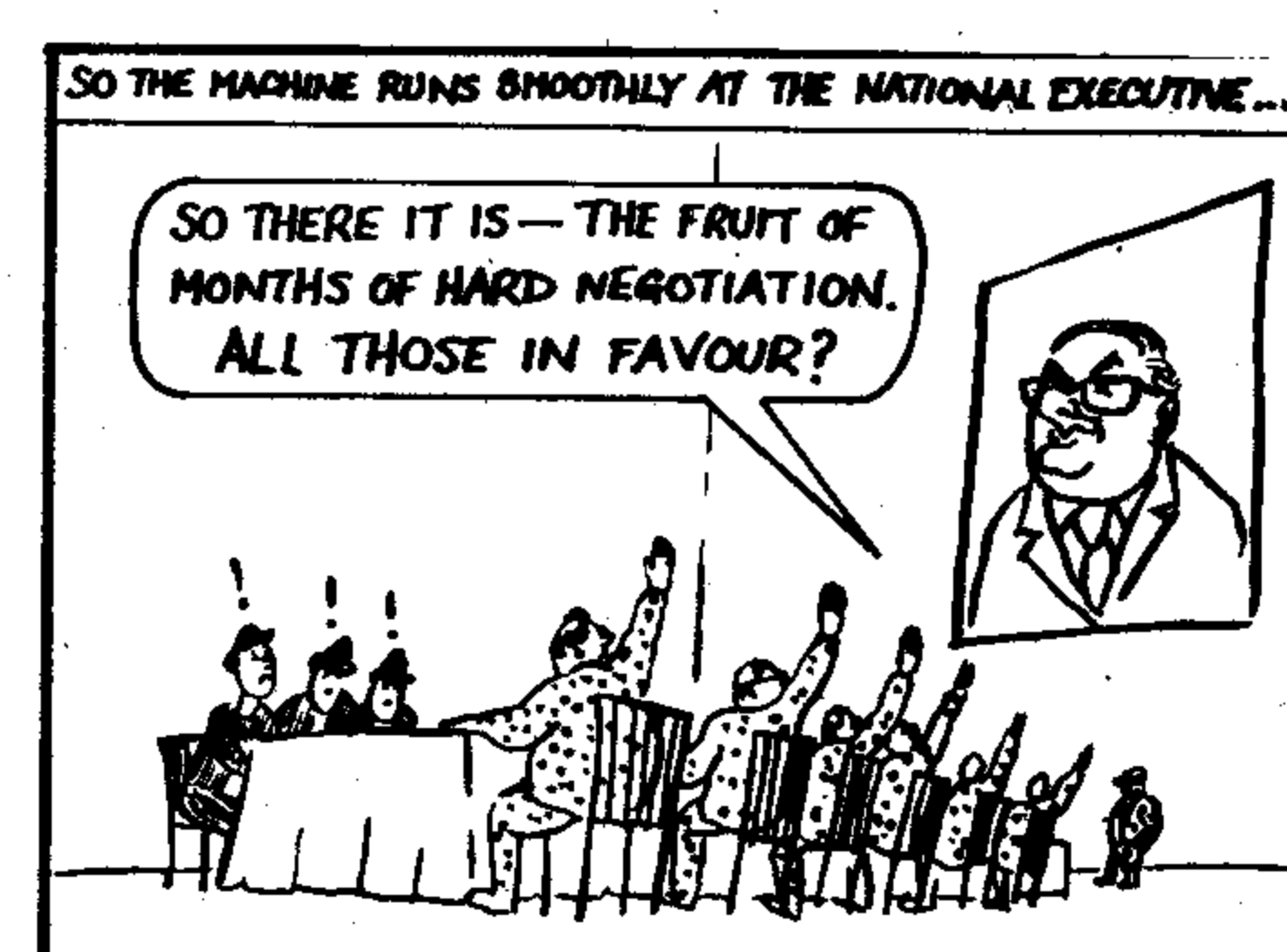
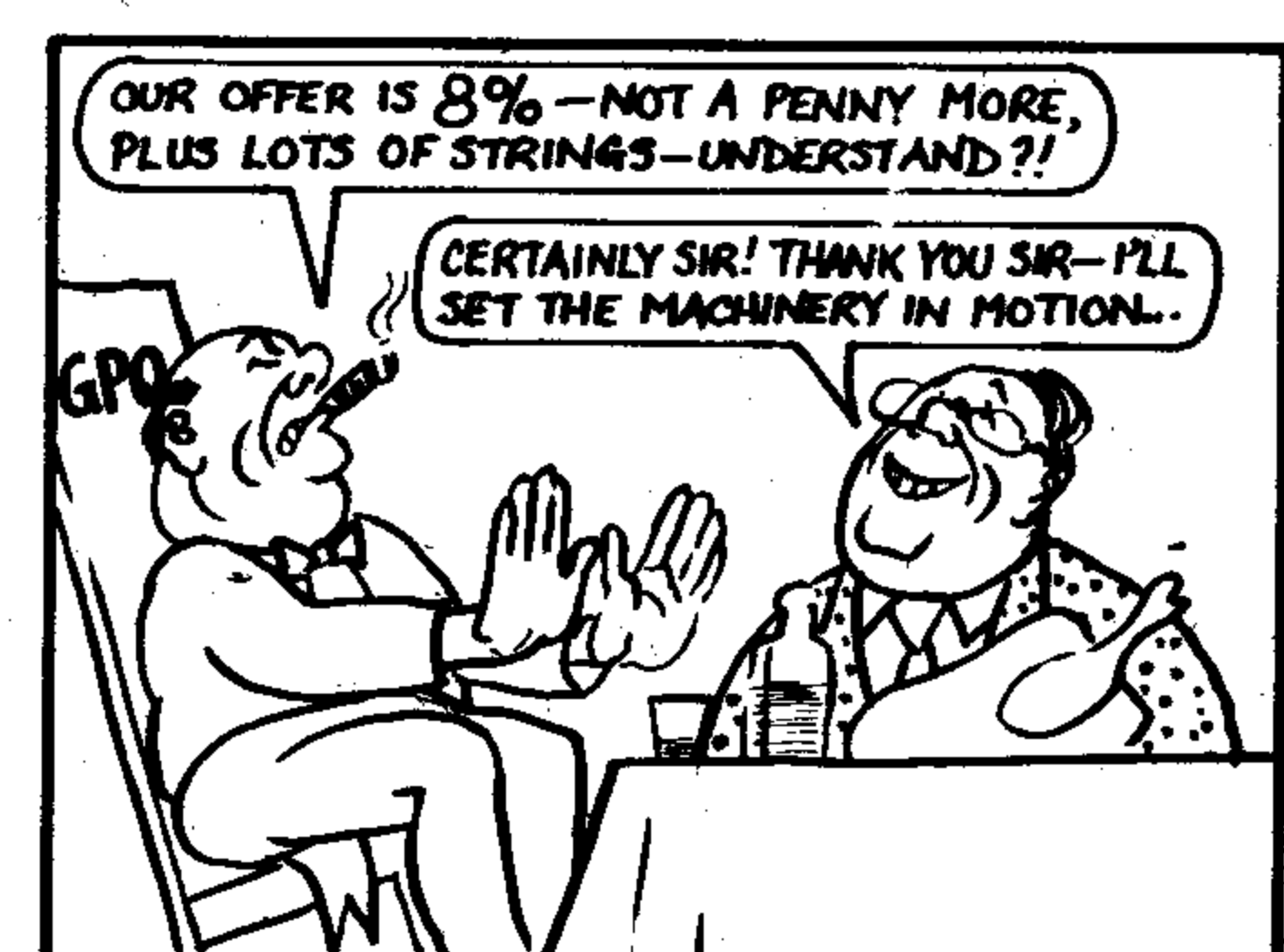
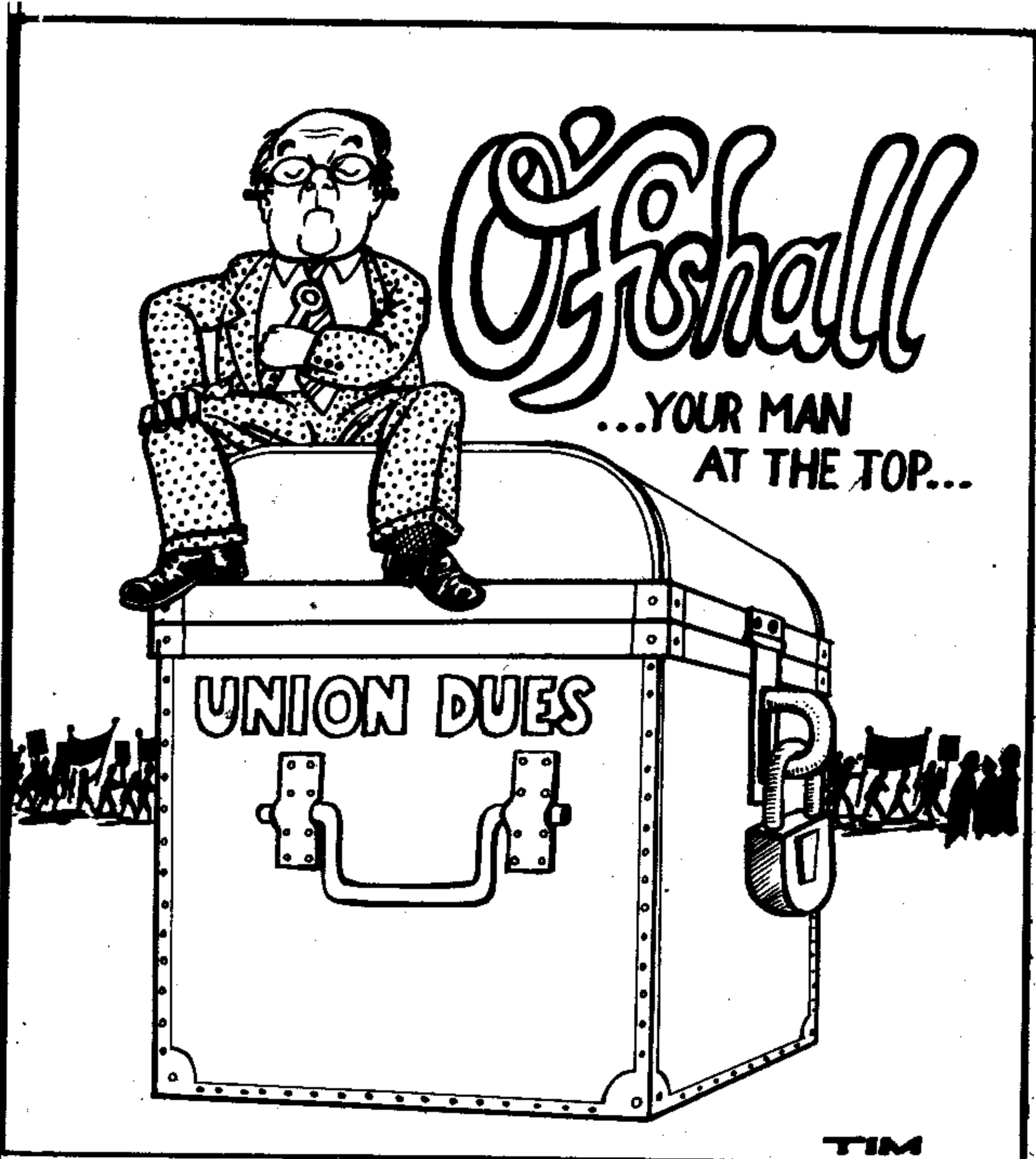
In the meantime the question of the 1979 pay claim needs to be settled to the satisfaction of the rank and file.

A special meeting of the National Executive has been called this week to discuss methods of circumventing the massive 'no' vote.

No doubt a report will be presented to delegates at conference in a bid to reverse the ballot decision.

Members want the efficiency deal kicked out, they want full consolidation without strings, and they want to know why the other parts of the deal as agreed last December have been dropped.

UPW members everywhere must be prepared to take strike action to defend themselves, their jobs and their living standards from the attacks of both the Post Office and the union bureaucracy.



Teachers' dilemma: put up or shut up

The refusal by Shirley Williams to increase the desirous 9% offer to teachers has forced even the right wing "professional organisation" AMMA to discuss taking action.

AMMA with the NUT leaders had agreed earlier in the week to refer the claim to the Clegg 'Comparability Board' after the management side withdrew their threat to bring conditions of service into the pay discussions.

Both sides of the Burnham negotiating committee also agreed to ask the Clegg board to base its study on the Houghton Relativities Working Party findings which proved that teachers' pay has fallen 36.5% behind non-manual workers in the private sector since 1974.

But the reference to Clegg was conditional upon an immediate improved offer and a shorter period of "phasing" the full aware than the present April 1981 date.

The NUT Executive is quoting the Civil Servants' case of January 1980 as a suitable date.

But in quoting the Civil Servants offer, the NUT is forgetting that Civil Servants went on strike—albeit limited one day action in most cases—before the offer was made.

The NUT leadership has even withdrawn half-day strikes from its 'Action Programme', calling instead upon its members to "withdraw their goodwill".

This involves refusing to participate in voluntary activities at lunch time and after school, and not using cars to travel from one site to another in split site schools.

The NAS/UWT leadership, who walked out of the Burnham pay negotiations in protest at the decision by the other teachers' leaders to agree to reference to the Comparability Board, are applying to the High Court for an injunction to stop the move and are demanding arbitration instead.

Their own "5-hour day" action was due to begin on 8 May but would clearly be forestalled if the claim went to arbitration.

The action by NUT teachers must take place throughout the build up to the Election and afterwards to prove to both parties teachers' determination to restore their 1974 levels of pay.

But teachers must be clear that only determined strike action as by the public sector workers in Camden earlier this year, will win the full claim immediately and halt all talk of time wasting diversions such as arbitration and the Comparability Board.

SOCIALIST PRESS



Postal union in revolt over pay

VIOLENCE GROWS IN IRAN CRACKDOWN

Many hundreds have been killed in the last two weeks in bloody clashes in Iranian Kurdistan as well as in the Turkoman region in the north.

Most reports say that these

clashes were instances of communal religious violence between Shi'ite (the majority in Iran) and Sunnite Muslims (most Kurds and Turkomans belonging to the latter branch of Islam).

It seems clear, however, that

the religious attacks on the Kurds and Turkomans were headed by Khomeini supporters and were being used by the central government against Iran's national liberation movements in circumstances where the Shah's broken army is no longer a serviceable instrument of repression.

Nonetheless army tanks were reportedly also used last week against the Kurds.

The anti-Kurdish violence can only have strengthened the resolve of the Kurdish masses to fight for their national rights.

Demands for minority and national rights have also become more insistent both from Baluchistan (which straddles Iran's border with Pakistan) and from sections of the Arab minority.

But the growing wave of national and minority feeling against the Khomeini/Bazargan regime is not the only challenge it faces.

Completely unable to offer

any kind of policy to meet such problems as 40% unemployment, galloping inflation and shortage of supplies, the regime is becoming increasingly unpopular even in the central areas of Iran.

Workers' mobilisations against unemployment continue to grow.

And in the last week a series of terrorist attacks have claimed the life of the recently replaced army Chief of Staff, General Qarani at whose funeral an attempt was made on the life of Premier Bazargan himself.

The regime has tried to use these events to drum up a massive anti-left witch-hunt.

At Qarani's funeral pro-Khomeini demonstrators chanted: "Tudeh, Fedayin, murderers!" And Khomeini has called communists "the children of Satan".

Taking their cue from this, Khomeini committee militias have attacked the local headquarters in Abadan of the



Moving in—Gadaffi

"Marxist-Leninist" Fedayin, wounding several of them and also brutally drove out unemployed demonstrators from the town hall which they had occupied.

The Bazargan regime, desperate to rebuild a more controllable repressive apparatus than the Khomeini committees, has successfully had the committees removed from army barracks in Tehran in an effort to reestablish military discipline.

At the same time Bazargan has started to look for outside sources of support.

Last week Major Jalloud, Gadaffi's deputy in the Libyan military dictatorship visited Iran and the two governments agreed to coordinate their middle eastern policies.

And Bazargan has begun to rebuild links with American imperialism.

At the time of going to press an overwhelming defeat looks certain for the UPW bureaucrats led by Tom Jackson, on their recommendation of the 1979 wage deal.

A UPW Special Conference held last December discussed the 1979 pay claim.

The Executive Council proposed an 8% increase, consolidated on basic rates, 8% increase in allowances, full consolidation, three hour reduction in the work week, an increase in annual leave, a reduction in incremental scales and an escalator clause. This claim represented (to some members) 24.4%.



After the conference decision, most of the negotiations were conducted in secrecy.

Branch secretaries were instructed not to publish, in any form, some of the very important branch circulars dealing with them.

The UPW negotiators were anxious that the mass of members should not be aware of what was going on.

What was about to come did not form any part of the claim as agreed by the Special Conference.

The first sign of the treacherous deal which included the so-called "efficiency agreement" came in March, when a branch circular revealed that the "efficiency agreement" was tied to consolidation of the 5% and £3 of the £6 from 1975.

The major part of the efficiency agreement included the introduction of part-time staff and work traffic measurement—both of which are in direct opposition to UPW conference policy.

The bureaucracy ignored completely conference decisions in even attempting to discuss them with management let alone reach agreement.



The Post Office—not for the first time—easily won over Tom Jackson's motley negotiating team at the final negotiating scene.

In fact, Tom Jackson actually tried to sell the rank and file with their own money—namely consolidation.

And so the penultimate scene was set when the efficiency agreement was tied to consolidation of 5% and £6 (still leaving 7% from 1975 unconsolidated) and was presented to a special meeting of District Organisers at a plush Bournemouth hotel on 11 April.

This meeting was supposed to be a briefing session in order that the message be spread as to how good the "deal" was.

Jackson had the audacity to proclaim that this was the best deal "won" by any union and he was proud on behalf of the executive to present it for acceptance.

Arch Stalinist Maurice Styles who has a record of sell-outs stretching back 10 years, fully supported Jackson's argument.

Continued p11 col 2



Khomeini—whipping up sectarian violence against Kurds

10,000 protest at police murder

On Saturday a crowd estimated at ten thousand marched in Southall to protest the police murder of Blair Peach.

A WSL/SYL contingent carried placards demanding a trade union enquiry into the murder and the formation of workers' defence squads.

However, much of the potential militancy of the march was defused by the organisers' policy—motivated by leading IMG'er Tariq Ali—calling for a "peaceful silent march".

By the time demonstrators filed past the spot where Peach was battered to death (slogans could be shouted afterwards) the march was almost at an end.

Workers defence

The situation today calls for demonstrations which can become militant calls for the formation of workers' defence squads to deal with the NF fascists and police attacks.

Instead the Anti Nazi League and its sponsors are concerned with applying the Christian pacifist principle of "turn the other cheek".

The extracts from the WSL/SYL leaflet distributed at Southall reprinted below stand in sharp contrast to the Gandhian-like stance adopted by the demonstration's leaders

"Blair Peach, a trade unionist and left militant, was murdered by the cops in Southall on Monday 23 April. The uniformed scum who killed him went on a wild rampage through the area. Their massive military operation had one aim—to terrorise and intimidate the Asian community, and particularly the youth.

"Blair Peach must be avenged! A powerful movement must be built to crush the National Front vermin against whom he was demonstrating. And this means a movement that can defend itself from the scabs in blue who protect the



Indian women on Saturday's huge demonstration

fascists' "right to free speech".

"No Reliance on the Bosses' State: The murder of Blair Peach shows where the State stands. The Labour 'left', the Communist Party Stalinists, the 'Anti Nazi League', and all those who have called for the state to "ban" fascism or "protect democracy", must now answer the question. What about the state's "protection" of Blair Peach?

"Be it defence of picket lines or clearing out the NF scum the need for workers' defence is more urgent than ever. In every trade union, youth and immigrant organisation the call must be for a workers' enquiry into the death of Peach and the

preparation of defensive measures—campaigning for the maximum number of serious volunteers—to organise defence of all future mobilisations.

"The coming battles will never be won by saintly pleas to "cool it" or by pious wishes for "peaceful" anti-fascism. Nor will they be won by adventurist minority confrontations with the cops that only end in fines, jail sentences or worse.

"They will be won when the enemies of the working class and the immigrant community are taught their lesson with a taste of their own medicine—through the building and training of workers' defence based on the mass power of the labour movement."

Pacifists attacked by W. Brom NF

The NF succeeded in holding their election rally in a West Bromwich school despite attempts by 500 anti-fascists to stop them.

This was due not simply to police and fascist efforts but also to the pacifist line of the Sandwell Committee against Racism and Fascism (SCARF) which is dominated by the so-called New Communist Party.

A sustained campaign by the leaders of the Sandwell council

workers had resulted in a situation where no council employee was willing to open the school.

The Director of Education himself had to step in to "defend democracy" and open the school for the fascists.

It is now very likely that the school will be blacked by local trade union members.

However this principled fight was predictably sabotaged by the Community Relations Council who, as a diversion from stopping the meeting, formed a queue of 200 people to fill the hall.

Another 400 demonstrators were present, some mobilised by SCARF and some by the Birmingham ANL.

There were also a considerable number of young blacks and whites from Smethwick and West Bromwich who gathered spontaneously to stop the meeting.

But these forces were in no way deployed to block the entry of the NF.

After 40 NF stewards had been escorted into the hall, the 200 queuing anti-fascists were allowed to enter.

They set up a chant of "Nazi, Nazi" which prevented Tyndall and his henchmen from starting the meeting.

The fascist stewards then launched an assault on sections of the audience, in which a Methodist minister suffered the consequences of his pacifist line in the form of a bloody head after being crowned with a chair.

Riot police then moved in to assist the fascists in ejecting their audience and the "public" meeting proceeded after a brief interval.

FUND

A much better response to our £2,500 Special Fund this week has brought the total to £214.25. But we are clearly only just at the start as far as this fund is concerned and a concerted effort will be necessary by our readers and supporters if we are to raise this target by the end of July as planned.

All donations to this fund and our £600 Monthly Fund should be sent to: Socialist Press Fund, 31, Dartmouth Park Hill, London NW5 1HR.

Oxford Tote winning no.

April 22, 207; 194

April 29, 242.