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**SWP politics
tail Labour
traitors
Centre pages**

MPs' pay shows the way: go for cost of living clauses!

Thanks to Tory policies, inflation is now raging out of control. Working class families face a 20% increase in the cost of living over the next year.

But MPs don't care. Not only have their already fat salaries been boosted by a £50 per week increase, but next year they will get an additional cash

hand-out topped up to take account of inflation in the next 12 months!

Provocation

This decision—branded as an unacceptable "provocation" by the *Sunday Telegraph*—shows that where their own fortunes are concerned MPs know full well the kind of policies that are necessary.

Workers should take note. MPs calmly vote to protect their own pay against inflation. Trade unionists should do the same.

Wage claims for the coming pay round must all include the demand for cost-of-living clauses to provide monthly increases to keep pace with inflation, assessed by trade union committees in each area. It would be interesting

to find out how many of the £9,000 a year Labourites in Parliament would support such demands.

The chances are that the Labour MPs most eager to get their hands in the till now will be the most vicious in witch-hunting low-paid workers who fight for a living wage in the next pay round.



Feelings run high at the conference of the National Union of School Students held this weekend, where a unanimous motion of no confidence was carried against President and YCL member John Munford. Full report next week.



Joseph

"The Tories must be mad!"

"How did anybody ever vote for them?"

"They don't know what they're playing at."

These are typical responses by workers to the Tories' huge increases in the cost of living, and the wholesale cutbacks in the public sector that herald 2 million unemployed.

On the face of it, the Tories have gone berserk. Social services face devastation: and the already crumbling health service will be deprived of more staff, more vital equipment and more hospitals.

Working class children face the prospect of the school starting age being raised to six or the school leaving age lowered to fifteen, along with crowded classrooms, harassed teachers, antiquated books and equipment, decaying buildings and even an end to school meals.

In the private sector the law is being changed to encourage employers to sack "surplus" labour and further speed up production: in the nationalised industries jobs by the thousand

CRISIS SPEEDS TORY ATTACK

are being lined up for the axe, and profitable sections lined up for sale to Tory businessmen.

But the Tories are *not* mad. Their wild, all-round attacks on the working class are entirely logical. They flow from the desperate world-wide crisis and galloping recession of the capitalist system, and in particular the dramatic fall in the rate of profit in British industry.

Last Saturday's *Financial Times* revealed that the impact of the slump and of uncontrolled world inflation on private industry has been to cut profits over the last 12 months by at least 7%.

Decline in output

And in a major economic assessment published in the *Guardian* last week the Independent Treasury Economic Model (ITEM) anticipates an actual *decline* in output beginning this year and reaching a level of minus 4% by the second half of 1980.

Unemployment, according to ITEM will rise continuously from the present official level of 1.35 million to over 2 million at the end of 1980.

And despite the massive income from North Sea Oil, the weakness of British capitalism in

the world market leads to the forecast of a mounting balance of payments crisis. Inflation, it says, will remain at least at the 16% mark.

The Tories' strategy for driving up the rate of profit in private industry did not take into account the full dimensions of this crisis.

World wide

Nor did Thatcher grasp the world-wide dislocation of the capitalist system which is symptomised by the oil crisis.

The 50% increase in oil prices is a reflection of the crumbling value of the dollar and other paper currencies and the refusal of the nationalist oil states to carry the burden of the capitalist crisis.

The imperialist leaders now face the task of imposing that burden on the world's working class.

This reality was rammed home to Thatcher at the recent summit-meetings at Strasbourg and Tokyo.

Hell for leather

And this has spurred the Tories into their hell-for-leather rush to drive up the rate of exploitation of the British working class.



Thatcher

In fighting on wages, against the cuts and against sackings the working class can combine defence of its conditions with the fight to bring down this reactionary Tory government.

Those TUC leaders who have been vainly pleading with Thatcher to "stimulate growth" and bring in import controls, and the Labour leaders who talk of waiting five years to the next election are completely out of step with the mood of the workers and have no answers to the gathering crisis.

Indeed the question many workers are asking is not whether the Tories can be brought down, but what kind of government is needed to replace them.

Political struggle

Workers look at the treacherous record of Labour governments in office, and correctly question whether a returned Labour government would not be pressurised into similar measures to those of Thatcher.

The answer to this lies in the outcome of the political struggle that must now be waged inside the labour movement.

The only way a government representing the independent interests of the working class can be brought to power is through a sharp struggle against the existing leadership of the working class.

New leadership

This creates a favourable opportunity for the development of a new, revolutionary leadership within the labour movement, based on a programme of demands that start from today's problems and show workers in practice the necessity for the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of a planned socialist economy.

Within the unions this means confronting and fighting for the removal of all those officials and convenors who argue that workers should base their demands on the "viability" of the employer, and refrain from the all-out action necessary to drive Thatcher from office.

Instead a leadership must be built that will challenge the viability argument by fighting for the opening of the books of the employers — in both public and private sectors — to elected committees of trade unionists.

This will reveal to workers beyond doubt that unemployment, speed-up and wage-cutting are an integral part of the capitalist crisis; they cannot be

trade union bureaucracy to bale her out: conference after conference has revealed right wing officials under huge pressure from their membership for *action* in defence of basic rights — pressure which threatens to burst the banks of official control.

Already this militancy has forced spluttering declarations of opposition to Tory plans from leaders of the teaching unions, NALGO and the TGWU.

Isolated

Right wing miners' leader Gormley, who has denounced political action against the Tories, found himself isolated at the NUM conference, where the solid vote for strike action to stop the closure of Deep Duffryn colliery has forced talk of a climbdown by the Coal Board.

And the demands that union leaders act against the Tories will intensify with the moves to rush through the government's new anti-union laws within four months—giving TUC bureaucrats little or no time to head off resistance.

The latest turn in the crisis has disrupted the Tories' plans: but it now offers workers their opportunity.

Nor can she count on the

Cont'd back page, col. 6

BOLIVIAN NATIONALISTS CANNOT SOLVE PROBLEMS OF MASSES

The elections held in Bolivia on July 1 have been widely reported as the 'cleanest ever' and have passed without major upset for the government of General David Padilla.

Nevertheless, the bourgeois press has been reluctant to wax lyrical on the subject—primarily because constitutional niceties have never cut much ice in Bolivia.

But it also seems unlikely that a clear victor will emerge, thus increasing once again the ever-present possibility of a coup.

No 'official' results will be issued until the end of the month but at the moment Hernan Siles Suazo, leader of the 'left' MNR and the Popular Democratic Union (UDP) alliance, is leading with 37% of the poll. Victor Paz Estenssoro of the 'right' MNR follows with 29% and ex-dictator Hugo Banzer has scored a remarkable 18%.

Reliable

These figures come from reliable sources and have been produced with the aid of a computer, a somewhat farcical item of uneven development when one considers the rudimentary and often brutal conditions under which votes are squeezed from the masses in a predominantly rural and backward society.

It is, of course, largely the peasantry that swings the elections, and the leading candidates of the bourgeois parties have been putting a good deal of effort into their perambulations across the countryside.

Paz in particular spent much energy in an attempt to refurbish his populist credentials by reminding the backward sections of the peasantry of the MNR's 1953 Agrarian Reform.

Siles, on the other hand, well aware that the Reform was strangled by the MNR's alliance with imperialism through the US "stabilisation plan" of 1956, has turned to the more militant and advanced sectors with promises of "deepening the process".

Banzer

"Process" is a word that looms large in the bourgeois nationalist vocabulary and it is often shunted up against "revolutionary"; but any "process" offered by Siles will be far from revolutionary and, unless he is removed by a coup, still further from rapid.

It is Banzer, who despite his intervention in the formal contest, threatens to head such a move by the military.

His return to the lime-light reflects the failure of the right to find an alternative figurehead as well as its continued reliance upon widespread repression to keep the capitalist economy alive.

Banzer is from the



Padilla

eastern city of Santa Cruz which has in the last decade become the dynamo of Bolivian capitalism through oil and agro-industry.

Santa Cruz flourished under Banzer's rule and it is the heartland of the falangist party which nurses fond remembrances of Mussolini and Franco beneath an insubstantial skin of technocratic jargon.

Distinct interests

It is legitimate to see the capitalists of this area as distinct in their immediate interests from those of the highland cities and the "Altiplano" who currently hold the initiative in their support for 'democratisation'.

Even Siles was forcibly presented from entering Santa Cruz to give a speech and it is apparent that a major part of Banzer's 18% of the poll was collected in the department.

Nevertheless, the growing combativity of the expanding proletariat in the east of the country has stalled the conspiratorial progress of the bourgeoisie on several occasions.

The latest was when the local branch of the COB (Centra' Obrera Boliviana—the Bolivian TUC) refused to support a departmental strike for more aid to the sugar industry on the grounds that it was provocative and designed to pave the way for a rightist coup.

Banzer was faced with another setback when he was forcibly prevented from entering the mining camp of Huanuni during the campaign.

His bodyguards had to shoot their way out when the entourage was surrounded and stoned by workers.

This prompted calls for 'order' and a denunciation of the election as a "tedious obligation" by the leading bourgeois daily *El Diario*.

This is little more than a clear invitation to the military to settle the whole affair in their time-honoured manner.

Needless to say fears of a coup have been amply supported by constant sabre-rattling on the part of the army, which officially interviewed all presidential candidates to ascertain the degree of "house-cleaning" that was being threatened.

They appear to be satisfied on this count but this is no guarantee that large sections of the officer corps will be prepared to surrender the enormous privileges they have acquired after fifteen years in power.

Not necessary

In the immediate future the intervention of the army may not be a necessity for the bourgeoisie since the coalitions of Siles and Paz are beginning to show a flexibility towards co-operation in government.

Should this come about—and the only previous case of a minority government was in 1931 when the bourgeoisie was in a strong political position and on the offensive—it might stave off military intervention.

But it would also nullify even the most limited progressive measures.

It would additionally bring the Maoists of the PCBM-L and the petty bourgeois radicals of the guevarist MIR (Movement of the Revolutionary Left) into league with the most resolutely ultramontane sectors of the bourgeoisie—precisely those sectors that supported the overthrow of the populist Torres regime (1970-71), condoned the massacre of hundreds of militants and backed Banzer's bloody repression of the working class for seven years.

Deal with bourgeoisie

The Maoists have already laid bare the total bankruptcy of their politics by throwing their lot in with Paz as the representative of 'the most advanced sector of the bourgeoisie'.

The MIR, currently inside Siles' UDP along with the pro-Moscow Stalinists and a hotch-potch of eloquent reformist groupings, continues to make demagogic gestures.

It has, however, clearly pledged itself to Siles' programme which will increasingly require the army's services to police the masses.

The action of the masses will determine the success or failure of the bourgeois electoral operation.

The largest parties of the working class, the Stalinists and the MNR are, of course, deeply committed to the 'democratic process' and have become integral parts of the bourgeois coalitions.

No more attacks

However, the most advanced sectors of the Bolivian proletariat, the miners and the factory workers of La Paz, Oruro and Cochabamba, have given clear notice that they will countenance no further attacks on their living standards, their trade union independence or their political freedoms.

This is why the Padilla regime continues to maintain hundreds of troops in the mining areas and has enacted various laws to suppress strikes as 'anti-democratic' and 'subversive'.

Yet the miners, who have an unparalleled record of struggle and militancy, are still in the process of reorganisation and the working class as a whole remains cautious and disoriented after seven years of vicious dictatorship.

Confusion

This has led to extensive confusion in the face of the elections.

Siles' policies of wage increases, nationalist agitation and reintroduction of



Siles Suazo

formal democratic freedoms have been perceived in many quarters as the 'safest way', the best guarantee against fascism by virtue of their moderation.

But the reverse is true. The Bolivian economy is in acute difficulties; all the major state enterprises including the oil and tin corporations are near to collapse.

The daily demand for dollars is now 1.4 millions against a usual 700,000 and this demand is likely to increase three- or four-fold.

Reserves

The reserves of the country are extremely low and even the slightest redistributive measure would put them in grave danger.

Put bluntly, the Bolivian economy cannot support increased wages without entering severe crisis.

Trotskyists, while recognising that the elections were a bourgeois operation,

cannot dismiss them as a mere sham.

There is every indication that the masses participated and that a bourgeois nationalist regime of one type or another will emerge in August as the first popularly elected government for fifteen years.

Blind alley

The political consequences of such an event cannot be lightly cast aside.

On the contrary, it is only by recognising this fact and at the same time drawing the most incisive critique of the blind alley of bourgeois nationalism in a period of capitalist crisis that Trotskyists will be able to deepen the struggle for working class independence and for a series of transitional demands to strip the veneer off the class interests of the reformists and deepen the revolutionary mobilisation of the masses in the coming period of acute crisis and conflict.

In this conflict the neat prescriptions of the reformist wing of the capitalist class will be swept aside as the interests of imperialism return to their most logical and loyal servant—the armed forces.

Fascism

Thus revolutionaries face two closely connected tasks—to deepen the offensive against the new regime through the multitude of basic demands thrown up by the grinding poverty and oppression of the everyday life of the masses and, at the same time, to mobilise for the fight against fascism.

Such tasks are at the core of Trotskyism and it is only a Trotskyist programme that can respond to them.

The trajectory of Bolivian history has made this clear time and time again.

More strikes against Fraser

The spate of strikes that have brought chaos to docks, telecommunications, iron ore mining and a range of other industries in Australia shows no sign of abating.

Last week saw the collapse of talks between the Australian TUC and the extreme right wing Fraser government.

Australian papers are publishing daily lists of strikes to keep readers aware of the reasons for shortages and delays.

Berlinguer seeks scapegoats to mask CP bankruptcy

Confronted with rising disillusion among his members after the Italian Communist Party's electoral setbacks, Party Secretary Enrico Berlinguer has predictably moved to head off a revolt.

In a speech to an important meeting of the Central Committee, Berlinguer indulged in a lengthy "self-criticism" of the CP's recent practice.

He denounced a certain "bureaucratism", excessive centralisation, the misuse of the mass media, and the systematic alliances with Christian Democrats at all local levels instead of evaluating the forces in each area.

The last criticism is particularly pernicious.

It is a scandalously hypocritical effort by the Stalinist leaders to devolve the responsibility for the hated policy of class collaboration (the "historic compromise") away from the top leadership to the lower echelons of the party.

In this way along with an apparently ruthless (but really cosmetic) reshuffle of the top leaders, Berlinguer hopes to redirect the anger of the rank and file towards a lower section of the party bureaucracy.

"Self-criticism" turned out to be criticism of everyone else, including by implication the party's rank and file for not understanding the policy.



Berlinguer

Nonetheless, this is still a dangerous line since if lesser heads can roll, then why not the greater ones too?

It is a sign of the depth of crisis in the party that Berlinguer regards it as necessary to allow or even encourage the rank and file to rid themselves of even a lesser section of the bureaucracy.

Berlinguer, however, has taken pains to give no sanction to any attack on class collaborationist policies themselves.

To make them more palatable however he has rechristened the "historic compromise" as "giving the labour movement a part in governing the nation".

All the "self-criticism" was a smokescreen to cover up the fact that, despite its move into "opposition" the CP envisages only one route

into the government of the nation—through an alliance with the bourgeoisie.

"You don't govern Italy", Berlinguer says, "with 51% of the votes".

The opposition to the alliance with Christian Democracy has grown particularly fast in recent months as the massive material costs which it imposes (and is designed to impose) on the working class have become apparent.

Unemployment

The policies of the Christian Democratic government which the CP in parliament supported until a few weeks ago, have produced a rise in unemployment, a sharp cut in real wages and an enforced delay in the long postponed round of wage negotiations.

In the last two weeks, however, there has been rapidly growing action by workers (strikes, go-slows and demonstrations) in support of their demands for wage rises and reductions in working hours.

25 million hours of strikes were reported in the official figures for May—nearly three times the level in recent years.

These actions have been widespread throughout the engineering and metal working industries.

They have increasingly escaped the control of the bureaucracy.

They are signs of the difficulty which the ruling class and its allies, the CP bureaucrats, now have in reestablishing the political alliance through which Italian capitalism has tried to survive the economic crisis for the past three years.

The difficulty expresses itself in the apparently complete impasse in the formation of a new government.

As expected, it was Giulio Andreotti, the outgoing Premier, who was first asked by State President Pertini to form a new government.

With the CP leaders unable to give him the support they would like to for fear of worsening their own crisis with the rank and file, and the smaller parties not daring to move without the CP, Andreotti seems doomed to fail.

And at a moment when

working class demands are becoming more insistent, Italian capitalism seems condemned to a long period without a government.

There is no doubt that the more conscious sections of the ruling class are beginning to look for non-parliamentary solutions to their crisis, but there is no obvious route towards this at present.

A decisive opportunity now exists for the building of a new revolutionary leadership of the working class.

Only with such a leadership can the working class defend its existing conditions and launch a united struggle against Italy's politically weakened bourgeoisie which will culminate in the taking of power.

Autonomous

The Trotskyist Party needed for such a leadership will have to be built not only against the still dominant Stalinist leadership of the labour movement but also against the "autonomous" currents in the labour movement.

Though these forces reflect the rejection of the Stalinist leadership in favour of policies more in the interests of the working class, they are led by anarcho-syndicalists and others who are deeply hostile to the building of an authentic revolutionary party.

Will Eanes call election?

In Portugal, as in Italy, the weakness of the bourgeoisie takes the form of a complete failure to find a government with a parliamentary majority.

For nearly a year parliamentary government, so laboriously set up in 1976 by the bourgeoisie with the help of the Stalinists and reformists as a way of neutralising the revolutionary situation which broke out in 1974, has been effectively paralysed.

Two efforts by the military President Ramalho Eanes to impose governments of "technocrats" from outside parliament have broken down completely.

Last week a series of discussions with parliamentary leaders simply confirmed the impasse.

The leaders of the largest party, the Socialist Party, are unable for fear of losing even more working class support to join a coalition with either of the two big bourgeois parties (the Social Democrats and Christian Democrats).



Eanes

But those two parties together don't have a majority.

Of course, the one possible parliamentary majority which no-one is daring to mention is a coalition of the Socialist and Communist parties, a possibility which would be outlawed by the bourgeoisie and the army.

This is not of course because of the policies of the leaders of the two main workers' parties (which are no threat to capitalism) but because of the way such a government would arouse working class expectations and demands.

The alternatives for the bourgeoisie, however, are not any more satisfactory.

The ending of the parliamentary system and the reimposition of full military rule (recently foreshadowed in a speech by Eanes) would provoke massive workers' and peasants' resistance.

The other "solution"—immediate parliamentary elections a year before they are due—is a double risk.

For one thing it will allow the masses to speak speak after a long period when both the bourgeoisie and the labour bureaucracies have been trying to silence them.

But second, elections are more than likely to confirm the present parliamentary impasse, just as they have done in Italy.

Nonetheless, Eanes seemed this week on the brink of calling elections—not because he expects them to resolve the political crisis, but because he cannot think of anything else to do.

Iran regime declares war on Marxist left-wing

Bazargan and his bourgeois cabinet in Iran have declared open season on their self-styled 'Marxist' opponents in the Fedayeen-Khalq.

The prime minister last week denounced the Fedayeen as traitors to the 'revolutionary' government, and so stamped his seal of approval on the persecution of left-wing forces which has been unleashed through the 'revolutionary committees'.

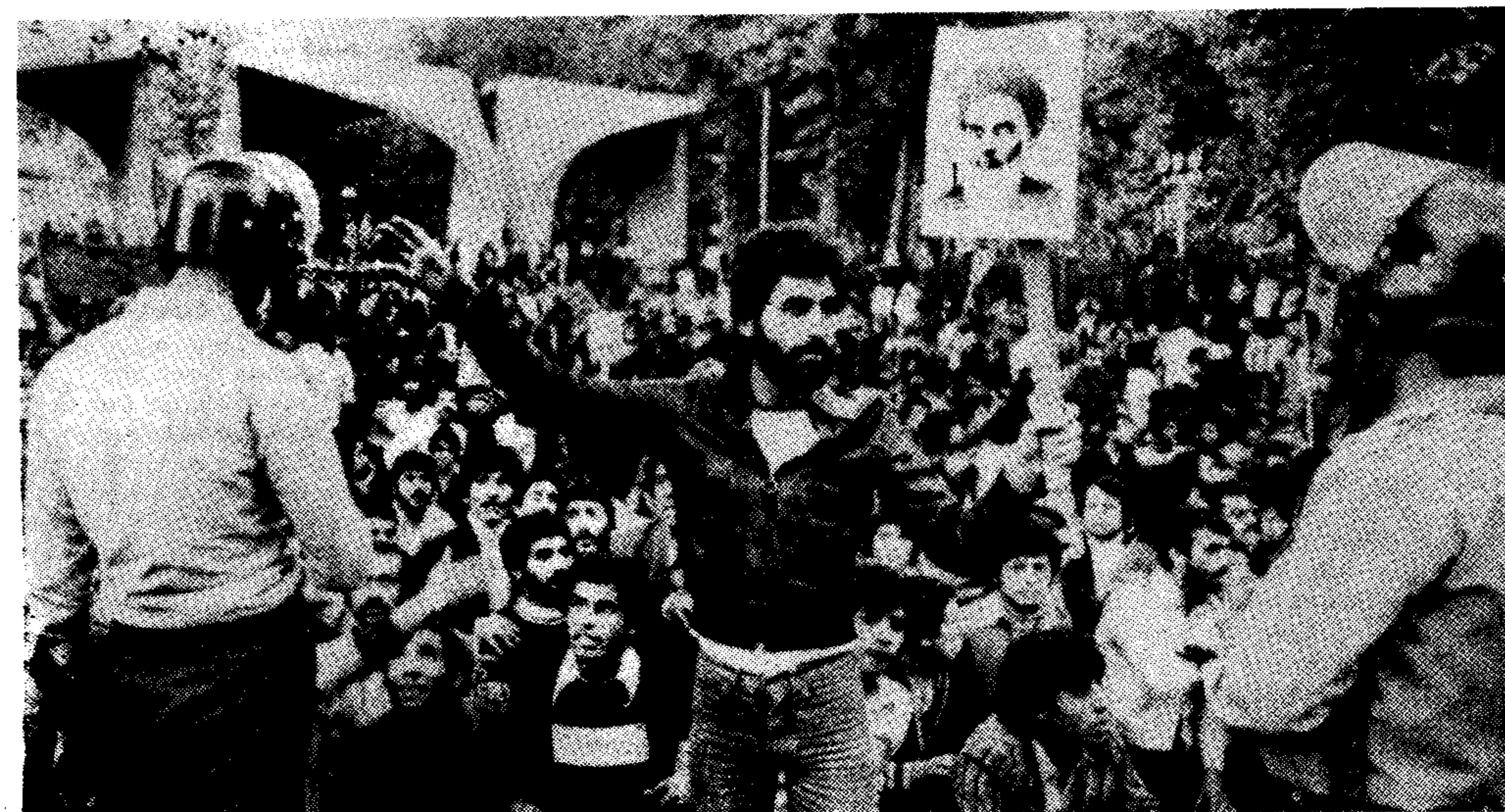
Members of the Fedayeen have been arrested and imprisoned by the 'revolutionary guards', their mobilisations have been attacked by gangs of reactionaries, set on beating up and driving them off the streets.

Sharp blows in this campaign have also been struck at the HKS (Socialist Workers Party, supported by both the USFI and OCRFI), nine of whose members have been arrested (see page 4).

Khomeini, Bazargan and their supporters are aiming to destroy any and every organisation which claims to represent the independent class interests of the proletariat, and works to organise opposition to the 'Islamic Republic'.

Armed attacks

'Revolutionary guards' have launched armed attacks against strikers, and the whole apparatus of local 'revolutionary' committees and tribunals stands in real opposition to the demands of workers and their



Islamic regime now set against independent mass movement

independent organisation in factory committees and strike committees.

The budget announced by Bazargan's cabinet shows quite clearly the direction which these 'revolutionary' leaders wish to follow, but also points to the major obstacles blocking their path.

After the colossal spending of the Shah's dictatorship, state expenditure has been reduced by about one fifth.

This includes a major cut-back in purchases on arms to around one third of its previous annual level.

But at nearly £500 million, this is still a massive sum.

By building up stocks of spare parts and ammunition for existing equipment and weapons, Khomeini and Bazargan are fully determined to ensure the efficiency of the army they are building from the 'revolutionary guards' and the remnants of the Shah's armed forces.

They need such an army to suppress with violence the movements for self-determination of the Kurds and the other oppressed national minorities.

And above all they need an army to impose their counter-revolutionary dictatorship on the Iranian revolution and the working class which formed the driving force in those struggles.

Large sums have also been allocated to honour the payment of arms contracts made by the Pahlavi tyranny.

This in itself is enough to expose the sham radicalism of the nationalisations proposed.

These measures (like earlier moves in relation to banking and insurance) must be seen in the context of the continuing economic and political crisis within Iran.

A major part of the nationalisations are scheduled for sectors which were already massively dominated by direct state ownership or the personal control of the Shah's family.

Some nationalisations have been used as a form of political

control against major capitalists who supported the Shah and depended for their profitable survival on his tyranny.

But the main thrust of the nationalisations has been determined by the activity of the working class.

Over the last year, huge numbers of capitalists and managers have been forced to flee Iran as workers took prolonged strike action, and moved in to occupy factories and establish workers control.

When Bazargan talks about 'inefficient' companies, he is referring to areas which experienced such developments and where workers are no longer directly subjected to capitalist exploitation and the drive for profits.

These occupations are much more than just an economic threat to a regime determined to establish capitalism on a new footing in Iran.

As embryonic forms of workers' power, the strike committees and workers' committees represent a major political threat which must be crushed if Khomeini and Bazargan are to hold on to power.

This knowledge has forced them to respond to workers' demands for an end to economic exploitation by these distorted 'nationalisations'.

These concessions will be transformed into outright attacks if the working class does not reject their government and mobilise its independent strength behind a revolutionary leadership to establish a workers and peasants government in Iran.

SAS CASE GIVES ARMY LICENCE TO KILL

Last week a no-jury special court in Belfast gave the British army and its undercover SAS squads unrestricted licence to kill Irish workers and youth.

Lord Chief Justice Lowry acquitted SAS gunmen Alan Bohun and Ronald Temperley of the murder of 16 year-old John Boyle in a Dunloy graveyard last July.

A post-mortem had shown that Boyle—who had been alleged to have picked up an Armalite rifle and aimed it at an SAS 'stake out' manned by Bohun and Temperley—was shot in the back.

Bohun, the only one of the accused to go into the witness box, made the claim that Boyle had seemed to aim the weapon at him.

No evidence

But no forensic evidence was forthcoming to prove that Boyle had even handled the unloaded rifle, and Bohun himself was described by the judge as "an untrustworthy witness" whose

evidence was "vague and unsatisfactory".

When asked by the prosecution if his briefing before the stake-out had included reference to the fact that a "killing" would be preferable to a capture, Bohun also admitted that this could have been the case.

But no such evidence influenced judge Lowry; his commitment to the defence of the lawless acts of British imperialist terror squads made him impregnable to the facts, and the absence of a jury facilitated an easy acquittal.

Indeed despite attempts by the 'liberal' British press to create the impression of divisions between the RUC and the army over this court case, the whole affair has been marked by a grand-scale cover-up on all sides.

RUC investigations into the killing were hampered from the outset by the fact that at first the army would only identify the killers as 'Soldier A' and 'Soldier B'.

Then at the initial hearing the proceedings degenerated to outright farce as a crowd of seven men walked into the dock, with no clue as to which were the two actual defendants.

Photofit

But as *Republican News* has pointed out, as the trial began the RUC made a major bid to provide the SAS men with a rational explanation for their murder by issuing a photofit of Tyrone youth Eugene O'Neill, supposedly wanted for offences in South Derry.

O'Neill's mother immediately protested that the RUC had not even sought to find him



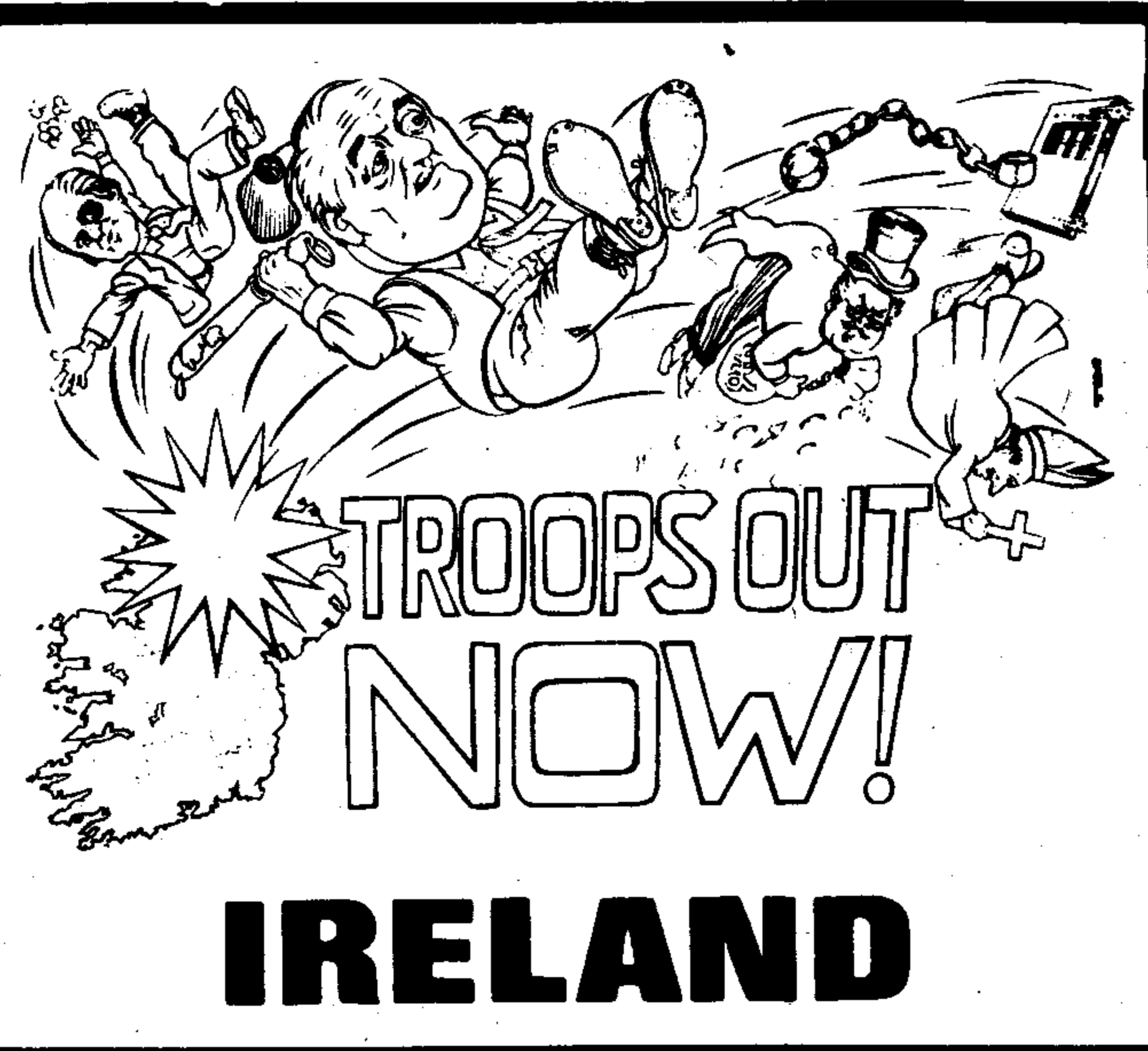
PHOTO: Derek Speirs, IFL

Mason

at home, and that he was working in the Republic—but to no avail.

A few days later the defence counsel referred to O'Neill as a "suspected terrorist" for whom John Boyle had been supposedly mistaken and shot in the Dunloy cemetery!

The whole affair, and the brazen bias of the judge in acquitting the murderers spells out the reality of British army terror in Ireland—that it is above and outside the law, and that any hired imperialist gunman



has licence to kill.

This licence was dramatically extended by the last Labour government, under which Ireland torture chief Roy Mason stepped up SAS activity and urged troops to shoot first and ask questions afterwards.

Last week saw the Labour leadership continue this policy by voting once more to renew the Emergency Powers Act through which imperialist rule continues to be imposed on the Irish people.

But the 'licence to kill' is not restricted to British state forces in Ireland: the recent murder of Blair Peach in Southall by the Special Patrol Group shows the meaning of such unrestricted powers.

The British workers' movement must take up its historic responsibility to force the immediate withdrawal of imperialist troops from the occupied six counties of Ireland, and settle accounts with those reactionary Labour leaders whose

savage hatred of the Irish people is matched only by their hostility to the British working class.

It is for this reason that the Workers Socialist League will be fighting for the maximum possible labour movement turn out on the August 12 national demonstration on Ireland to take place in London.

Within that mobilisation we will fight for the clear policies of:

*Troops out now! Self determination for the Irish people.

*Restore POW status to the heroic 'blanket' protestors in the 'H' Blocks and Armagh jail!

*Down with capitalist exploitation, North and South: for an Irish workers' Republic!

Racist laws claim fresh victim

A Pakistani worker who has been living and working in Britain for more than six years was seized by immigration police last week and bundled from the hospital where he worked to Heathrow.

The plan by the immigration authorities was to get him on a plane to Pakistan before any protest could be raised.

Farooq Chaudry, a porter at the Churchill Hospital, Oxford for the past four years, had just come off duty and was returning to his room when the immigration police arrived.

They told him he was being deported immediately as an illegal immigrant.

The arrest was seen by a fellow porter who raised the alarm.

Harrassed

Chaudry is just one of thousands of Asians each year who are harassed by immigration officials.

He arrived in Britain in 1972 in the boot of a car, smuggled through immigration by a man who dumped him in Bradford to fend for himself.

For years he has lived in the twilight of legality in Britain backing down from demanding

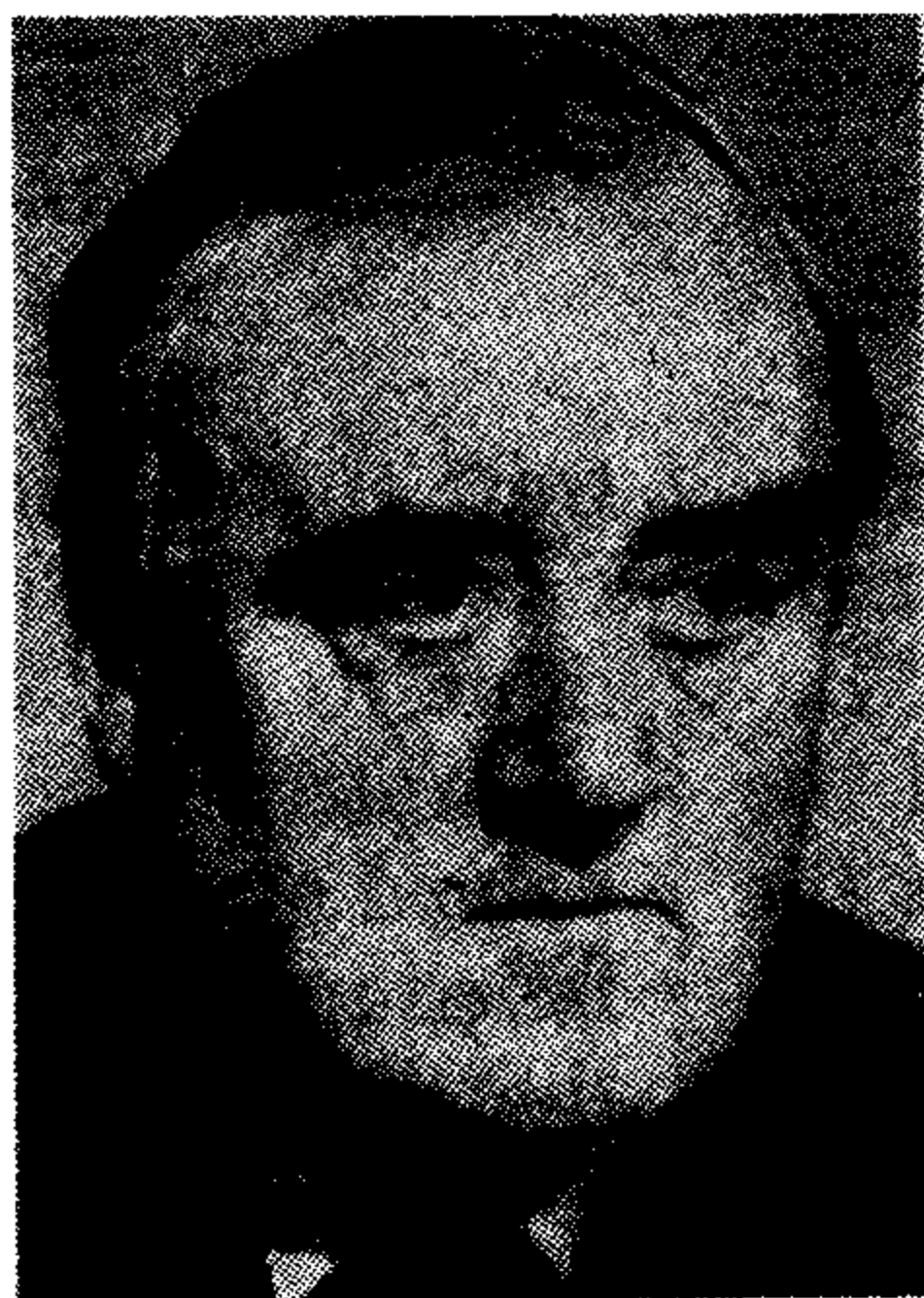
any rights for fear that he would be discovered.

Meanwhile in Pakistan his father died and his family were growing up and he could not leave the country to visit them.

Last year, before the Labour Government brought the amnesty to a halt, he decided to apply under it for permission to stay.

For months the Home Office told him that his appeal was being processed.

Lawyers acting on his behalf said that evidence he had presented showing that he was living in Bradford in 1972 was



Whitelaw

being examined.

In fact immigration officials made one visit to the home of the builder he had been working for in Bradford, and finding him out refused to discuss the matter with his wife and spoke to the builder only on the phone.

Without telling Chaudry or his lawyers that his application was unsuccessful they moved in to arrest him.

The case has been protested against by NUPE and Oxford Trades Council.

Even the Tory MP for Oxford John Patten, has protested that he should have been allowed time to pack.

Now the Home Office has suspended deportation for a week while they 'reexamine' the evidence.

Meanwhile Chaudry is being held in Pentonville Prison.

Under the racist immigration laws of Britain Chaudry has to prove he was in Britain in 1972—the latest date for which the amnesty applies.

The immigration officials do not have to provide any evidence that he was *not* here then, and there is no court appeal against a purely administrative decision.

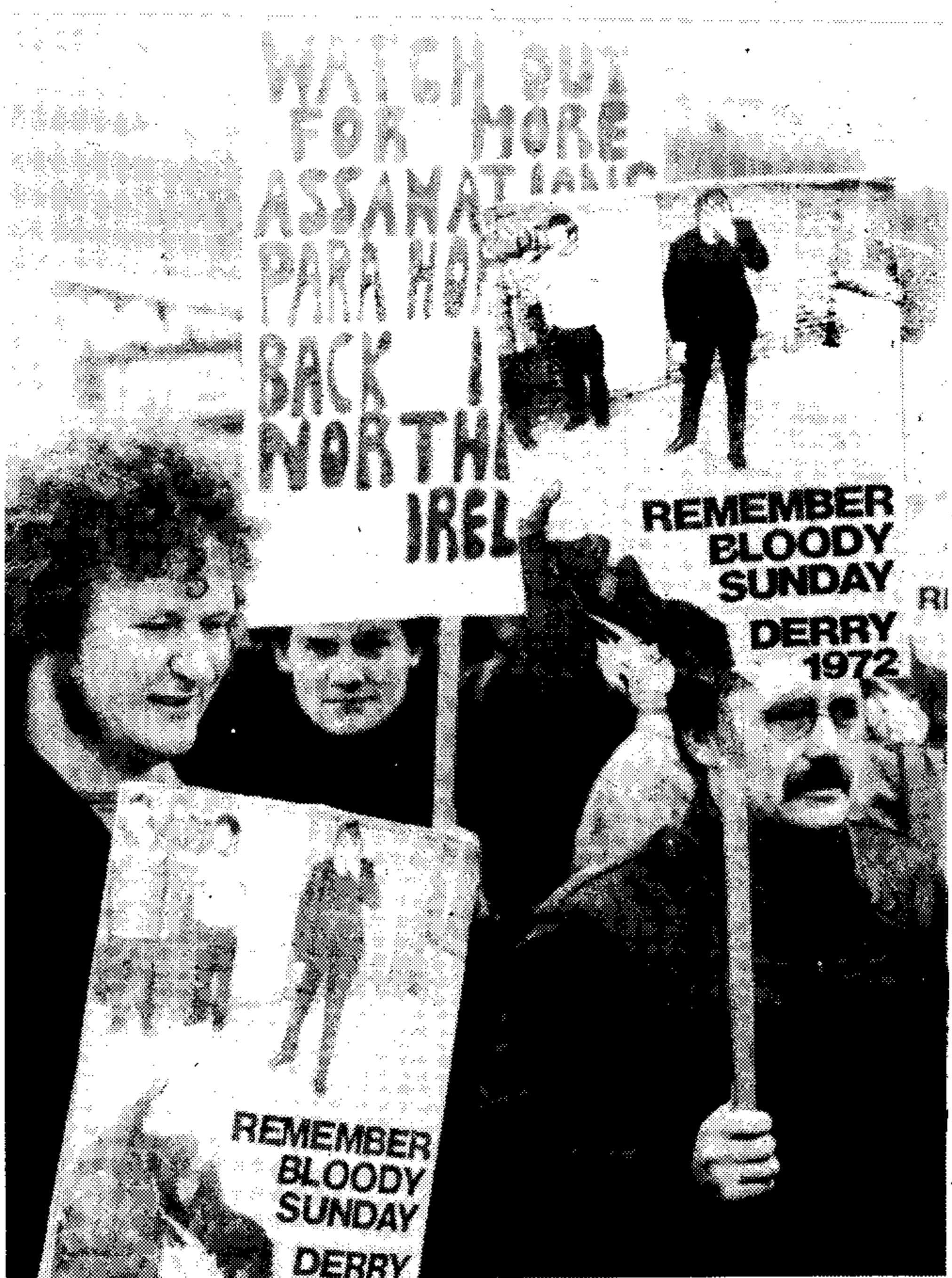
In taking up the case and in defending what is in fact a legal right to be in Britain, NUPE must be pushed to make the connection between this one individual case and the racist immigration laws which have been supported by Tory and Labour governments.

There is only one way to prevent workers finding some illegal way to travel to a country which offers them a chance to improve their standard of living.

That is to end the racist immigration laws and defend the right of workers to travel where they will in the world.

End all immigration laws! Disband the immigration department!

Last week the *Guardian* revealed that special marks are being put on passports by immigration officers to indicate secretly, and unknown to the passport holders, that they consider they might be a threat to national security or an illegal immigrant.



Most brazen example of licence to kill: Bloody Sunday, 1972

PHOTO: Vernon St. Helens, IFL

Campaign to defend Iran socialists

Members of the London area of the WSL joined a 40-strong picket on Saturday last, 7 July, at the offices of Iran Airways in Piccadilly, London.

This was part of an international campaign of protest against the arrest in Ahwaz of three members of the oil workers council, about twenty steelworkers and fifteen members of the Habz-Kargarene Socialist (Socialist Workers Party), the Iranian section of the 'United' Secretariat of the Fourth International.

This campaign should be continued by resolutions through labour movement organisations demanding the release of these militants, and sent to M. Bazargan, Office of the Prime Minister, Islamic

Revolutionary Council, Tehran, and Karger, PO Box 41/3586, Tehran.

During the week there will be a delegation to the Iranian Embassy, and a further picket at the Iran Airways office on Saturday next, 14 July at 2pm, which all readers of *Socialist Press* are urged to support.

One group whose supporters will definitely *not* be present to support this solidarity action will be the Healyite Workers Revolutionary Party.

The WRP has scandalously endorsed the jailings of the HKS members, retailing as good coin the Khomeini/Bazargan regime's claims that the HKS have been in contact "with a network of United States agents operating in Iran".

Newsline on June 11 accuses the HKS of: "trying to undermine the

revolutionary authorities by distributing leaflets ostensibly calling for Arab and Kurdish self-determination".

And *Newsline* fails to report that the same sloop that arrested the nine HKS members also rounded up three militant oil workers, twenty steelworkers and hundreds of other militants—who were all held *without charge* in a bid to break strikes in Khuzestan.

The WRP for its part openly supports the continued *oppression* of national minorities and of women by the reactionary Islamic regime that is attempting to consolidate capitalist rule in Iran following the overthrow of the Shah.

This latest act of class treachery by the WRP is further confirmation of the fact that their opportunist political alliance with reactionary Middle East bourgeois regimes has led them into complete *opposition* to the independent struggles of the masses and to proletarian revolution in Iraq, Syria, Libya or Iran.

WOMAN WORKER

Women's paper of the
Workers Socialist
League

Available price 6p plus 7p p&p
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Hill, London NW5 1HR.

woman worker

New paper gives a
lead to women's fight
against Tory attacks





Newham inquest opens door to fresh witch-hunt

Following the General Election and the EEC election fiasco, Constituency Labour Parties up and down the country have been receiving Agents' Reports examining the campaigns.

For many of these people

covering up the fact that Labour's May 3 defeat was brought about by the treacherous anti-working class policies of the Callaghan-Healey leadership is a full-time job and a strenuous one at that.

This task is even less enviable if you are in Newham North East, where the crisis-ridden party saw its substitute for Tory turn-coat Reg Prentice James Dickens, walk out on the eve of the election in the face of mounting opposition.

Of course in an ultra-safe seat the last minute stand in, Ron Leighton easily got his free ride to Westminster (where he has subsequently distinguished himself by making a maiden speech in favour of import controls and other such capitalist trade war measures favoured by Labour's 'left fakers').

Unseemly

But a problem remains. Dickens was a Tribunite. The local party is dominated by Tribunites.

How come this much vaunted 'democratic socialist' blotted the copy-book in such a messy and unseemly manner?

The real answer is simple enough.

Dickens was only unusual in so far as his spinelessness, lack of devotion to the labour movement and out-and-out careerism (so characteristic of his ilk), chanced to come into conflict with his 'left' bureaucrats arrogant hostility to criticism and his desire for an easy life.

In short, Dickens bottled out when he saw that the office of



PHOTO: Angela Phillips, IFL

Prentice

MP in Newham carried the unpleasant overhead of a permanent battle with a left wing hostile to wage controls, public spending cuts and cheap free-loaders like himself.

But Mr Phil Bradbury, Tribunite agent, could hardly say these improper things.

So instead the report he presented made three points.

First it warned against spending 'a long time arguing and recriminating' about the incident. (A wise move!)

Criticism

Second come a few mild criticisms of Dickens plus the admission that he must accept a great deal (!) of responsibility for what happened!

Third, however, we find the old trick. Bradbury's report seeks to divert the whole issue and in doing so prepares the ground for a future witch hunt

by the bureaucracy and the Tory press against the whole left wing.

His report declares:

"... we must ask ourselves why Jim Dickens found it necessary to take these generally unreasonable steps..."

"Some members of the GC made no secret of their wish to try and make Jim Dickens resign before the Election and to use the issue of Incomes Policy to do this."

The fact that they were successful must, as a matter of principle (!) be of great regret to this Party.

Minority factions within this Party, especially those having allegiance to outside groups such as Militant and the Workers Socialist League, should not fly in the face of majority decisions which are democratically taken by this party."

It is hard to imagine a more wretched passage.

And the witch-hunt is even more contrived when Bradbury is forced later in the same report to admit that the Labour vote in the constituency went up in the election.

In other words the struggle for socialist policies against the line of Callaghan/Prentice and their apologists found a real response in the working class voters of Newham N.E.

But for the Tribunites every shred of principle must be sacrificed if it obstructs relations with the right wing leaders.

In the GC meeting the offending passage was proposed that this section be deleted from the report, but the vote tied 18-18.

The chairman refused to use a casting vote and so the section stayed.

The report as a whole was then passed 20-17, laying the basis for future attacks.

It is vital that those who are duped by the 'democratic' pretensions of the Tribunites recognise that this is no more than a cover for their refusal to fight for a socialist alternative to Callaghan!

PHOTO: Andrew Wiard, Report



Callaghan—now canvassing TUC leaders for support

'Lefts' jockey for position on NEC

Opportunists of every colour and stripe are frantically manoeuvring to capitalise on the present disarray of the Labour Party.

The right wing Manifesto Group has moved forward with proposals to enhance the powers of the Parliamentary Labour Party.

They propose that this reactionary rump body—which already freely flouts Labour Party conference decisions—should have the major say in the appointment of Labour ministers and Party policy while Labour is in government.

Hollow show

Meanwhile the so-called 'lefts' on the Party's National Executive, who still refuse to mount any campaign within the Party's rank and file for the removal of the Callaghan-Healey leadership, last week put up a hollow show of a fight in the hopes of containing the growing opposition currents.

A motion moved by Anthony Wedgewood Benn proposing that, in line with the Party's conference policy of abolishing the House of Lords Callaghan should create no more Labour peers, was carried 14-10.

But Callaghan was allowed arrogantly to declare that he will take no notice of the decision, and bury it in the recesses of his right wing Shadow Cabinet.

No intention

Another motion calling for the waiving of the Conference's three year rule to make way for a fresh debate on the question of the election of the Party leader was also carried—but not before Callaghan had made it clear that he had no intention of stepping down of his own accord.

In reply to Eric Heffer who suggested that a change of leadership seemed likely before the next election, Callaghan replied that this was merely "wishful thinking".

Certainly the abject failure of Heffer and his fellow 'lefts' to raise the slightest campaign for Callaghan's removal leaves the initiative entirely in the hands of the right wing leading clique to create the best conditions for a hand-over to a selected reactionary—whether that be Dennis Healey or a second-string right winger like Roy Hattersley.

There is certainly little prospect of the Party conference this year deciding to change the system of electing the leader.

Instead there are already signs that Callaghan is working closely with top TUC bureaucrats to use union block votes in order to consolidate the right wing hold on the 1979 Labour conference.

This is likely to mean that although the NEC voted—again in the face of Callaghan's vigorous opposition—to reopen the question of reselection of MPs at the conference, it will again be blocked by union bureaucrats.

Peerage

Last year then AUEW President Hugh Scanlon consciously broke his union's mandate to abstain in the vote—ensuring that the call for reselection of MPs was defeated.

Scanlon—erstwhile darling of the Broad Left—was rewarded with a peerage.

This year the AUEW is dominated by forces to the right even of Scanlon. They have no interest whatever in establishing democratic procedures within the Labour Party.

Every one of the manoeuvres and ostentatious displays of "socialist" opposition by Labour's 'left' fakers spells out beyond doubt the impossibility of simply manoeuvring around the right wing leadership of the Party through nifty resolutions.

The Callaghan leadership is an integral part of the bureaucratic apparatus that has for so long shackled the potential power of the British working

class. To fight Callaghan requires therefore an all-sided and serious campaign to mobilise the working class both in opposition to its reactionary leaders in the unions and in the Labour Party.

Parliament

The 'lefts', committed to 'Parliamentary' forms of action and the introduction of 'socialism' through piecemeal reforms of capitalism can offer no such perspective.

Benn, Heffer and Skinner, for all their 'left' rhetoric, have in reality far more in common with Callaghan's line of class collaboration than they have with the independent interests of the working class.

In demanding these fakers take up a practical fight for the removal of the Callaghan leadership, and at the same time spelling out the necessary programme of demands to mobilise workers and point to the necessity for the overthrow of capitalism, Marxists must pose the 'left' talk, fight to break workers from their illusions in these 'lefts' and point to the vital task of building a revolutionary party.



PHOTO: Laurence Sparham, IFL

Scanlon

PRESS GANG



While two SAS soldiers were being acquitted by the Lord Chief Justice of Northern Ireland of a murder which they had plainly committed, another soldier, Captain Adrian Amber was recovering from a ticking off at Shrewsbury.

Amber had been convicted at a court martial of giving 'water torture' to trainees by having towels placed over their face and pouring water over them. This torture is commonly alleged to be used by the army in Northern Ireland.

Brutalisation

He had also ordered other soldiers to urinate over trainees ordered into a pit.

It might be thought that such practices demonstrated the brutalisation of the army and that those who—like Amber—had learned their trade in Belfast and

Hong Kong, had become incapable of living without an occasional fix of sadism and torture.

The Sun was the only paper to lead on the story. A photograph of an arrogant looking officer in uniform filled half the front page under a headline "The Shame of Captain Amber".

Lessons

Far from drawing the lessons that the incident in Shrewsbury barracks supported allegations of brutality in Northern Ireland and Hong Kong, the Sun proceeded in the opposite direction:

"Dashing young Army captain Adrian Amber, described as an "excellent" soldier, walks shamefaced from a court martial yesterday..."

"The hideous act was said to be completely out of character. At 25, he had already led platoons in Ulster and Hong Kong... and seemed destined for a fine military career."

Amber was fined £500 and lost seniority—but not

his captain's rank.

What throws interesting light on Amber's preference for torturing his own troops is a report in the Observer last Sunday saying that torturers in the military dictatorship of the Colonels in Greece were themselves tortured as part of their training.

"New evidence collected by a Greek academic shows how the military regime brutalised its recruits to turn them into blindly loyal servants..."

"The single most important factor in building up the esprit de corps of the potential torturers was the violence inflicted on them..."

"They were forced into instant obedience to any order, however degrading or irrational."

"They had to eat grass, make verbal love to a lamp-post, eat a burning cigarette or run on their knees."

Could it be that, sparing the Sun's blushes, Captain Amber's actions had more method in them than appears at first sight?

SWPs LEFT TALK NO ANSWER TO LABOUR BUREAUCRACY

PART FOUR of a series of articles by Keith White on the politics of the Socialist Workers Party and of the International Marxist Group's "unity" drive.

Last week's article in this series showed how the Socialist Workers Party's theory of the spontaneous development of working class consciousness flies in the face of everything Lenin stood for.

For the SWP, political preparation for a victorious overthrow of capitalism is no more than the linking together of advanced worker militants.

This is an *administrative*, not a political theory of the role of the revolutionary party.

Those who address themselves to the struggle for leadership and programme are regarded as 'substitutionalists'. Perhaps the greatest 'substitutional' act that Trotskyists are guilty of in the eyes of the was the formation of the Fourth International.

The SWP argues that parties can only grow out of the struggles of the working class and that the formation of an international party must await the growth of strong national parties.

Latched on to

Now this does not mean that the SWP completely neglects the building of sympathetic organisations in other countries.

What it does mean, however, is that it looks round for virtually any group with significant membership and to the left of social democracy and Stalinism to latch onto.

A complete list of these is beyond the scope of this article.

But it is worth reminding SWP members (and those within the International Marxist Group who wish to build a 'unified revolutionary organisation' with them) that throughout the course of the upsurge in Portugal the SWP acted as an attorney for and cheerleader of the PRP.

That group systematically adapted to the 'left' wing of the Armed Forces Movement and its fake 'workers' councils' policy.

The disastrous politics of the PRP culminated in the ill-fated 'insurrection' in November 1976 which was a complete adventure and an important weapon in the hands of the right-wing.

The PRP however had the initial advantage of being large—and that was enough for the SWP.

The objection which the SWP has to the formation of the Fourth International in 1938 and to 'substitutional' internationalists today is rooted in their objection to the very concept of transitional demands embodied in its founding programme—the two cannot be separated.

Opposed

The SWP's notion of workers spontaneously developing revolutionary consciousness drives them to challenge and oppose those Marxists who consciously fight to bring about such a development through fighting for demands which start from today's problems and today's consciousness of the working class, but lead workers



PHOTO: John Sturrock, Report

Stalinist Leyland Convenor Derek Robinson: SWP covered up up his role

in struggle to grasp the necessity for socialist revolution.

For opposing such an approach to the political development of working class consciousness, the SWP naturally oppose building the kind of parties necessary to develop such a programme, defend it and fight for it.

Their attempt to tailor their politics to fit in with the *existing* level of consciousness of the working class means that they reject the constraints of any international line or centralist international.

National level

Instead their 'programme' and perspective starts firmly from the *national* level, referring to the international class struggle and international capitalist crisis only in passing or for general interest.

In this respect, also, the SWP flies in the face of everything Lenin and Trotsky fought for in the formation of the Communist International.

So when the IMG declares that it would like a 'unified revolutionary organisation' with the SWP, within which it would fight for affiliation to the 'United' Secretariat, it is biting off more than it can chew.

The IMG is in fact setting itself the task of convincing the SWP to stop being anti-Leninist.

On the other hand perhaps the IMG would find it easier to get round the problem by convincing the SWP that the rest of the USFI is *not* an organisation of 'substitutionalists' fighting for the Transitional Programme! In short the road to a joint

organisation with the SWP involves either convincing the SWP to be Trotskyists or stopping being a Trotskyist yourself.

It is no wonder, then, that the USFI leadership is so alarmed by the IMG's courting of the SWP—and that a substantial section of the IMG itself is opposed to the project.

Our differences with the SWP can be best outlined by looking at the practice of our two organisations.

We shall start by examining the SWP's attitude to the Labour Party.

For the SWP the election was seen as an intrusion into the real day to day class struggle.

Their rejection of the con-trick of parliamentary elections is essentially one in which they reject any notion of politics which is outside the scope of

'build the SWP'.

The WSL like all revolutionary socialist organisations, recognises the dead-end of the parliamentary road but we do not regard social democracy or what happens in parliament as irrelevant.

We recognise the importance of the hold over the working class exercised by social democracy primarily via its 'left' variety which is bolstered and defended by the trade union bureaucracy and the Stalinists.

Time and time again while workers were in struggle with the last Labour government, prominent 'lefts' descended on mass meetings to confuse and misdirect workers with promises of 'a real fight'—with the Secretary of State for Industry, or with the government in general.

Barrier

In the aftermath of the Tory victory, the fake lefts are once again parading their 'socialist' credentials.

These people represent a barrier to political development which must be broken.

Our campaign for a Labour victory in the election was directed to combining a vote for Labour with a fight *against* the right wing leadership.

In the process of that fight we can train workers in the real nature of the 'lefts'.

Our election policy was a continuation of the line fought for before the election and we continue that policy under the Tory government.

The SWP rejects such a fight and in the process—no matter how ultra-left their rhetoric—capitulated entirely to *Labour*.

In 'Voting Labour without illusions' (S.W. 28/4/79) we read the following:

"whoever wins on May 3rd there will be further attacks on working class living standards and working class organisations.

"Then does it make any difference who wins? Yes, it makes a difference.

"Labour and Tories alike are bent on propping up British capitalism whatever the cost to the working class. But the methods they can use depend on the nature of their support.

"A Tory victory will make it easier for the bosses, the police and the racists."

This penetrating analysis of the difference between Labour and Tory misses out the importance of putting Labour back in

power as part of the struggle to break workers from reformism.

Instead it breeds illusions that the severity of attacks from a Labour Government will be not so extreme as that from the Tories.

Off the hook

Little wonder then that the SWP's main slogans—one of which is reproduced below the editorial quoted above—were 'Defend our unions—keep the Tories out', and 'Labour isn't working—the Tories never will'.

Both of these slogans completely let Labour off the hook and despite the occasional insertion of 'Build the socialist alternative' into the first slogan, the thrust is entirely towards asserting that there *is* a difference even if the SWP isn't much interested in it between elections.

The culmination of the confusion paraded by *Socialist Worker* during the election came in the May 12th issue which under the headline 'Defend our class' announced that 'The ruling class is back in power!'

The refusal of the SWP to carry the battle for a 'socialist alternative' into the Labour Party has led to disastrous results in respect of weakening the fight which is going on there against the right wing.

In the aftermath of the election *Socialist Worker* carried two articles by Labour Party activists who left the party and joined the SWP.

In the May 26th issue Bert Ellicot, Chairperson of the Stalybridge and Hyde Constituency Labour Party announced that he had quit the party for the SWP.

On June 2nd Denise Fenn wrote that her 4½ years fighting the right-wing in Newham NE had been a waste of time and she was joining the SWP.

Strengthen right

Both these comrades were ideally placed to deepen the fight against the right-wing and raise a revolutionary programme within the Labour Party—their not doing so will weaken the left and strengthen the right.

The battle against Prentice has been of the most enormous significance in the fight against reformism.

A leading Labour right-winger has been forced to show his true colours. All the ques-

tions of the relationship between an MP and his constituency party and the programme on which professed socialists should fight have been raised over the last few years.

The task now is to deepen that development by fighting to expose and defeat the fake 'left'—the Tribunites.

The winning of Newham NE to a revolutionary position would be a qualitative development in the struggle against reformism.

The SWP have abandoned the fight for this.

But let us not forget when we are castigating the SWP for its refusal to go into the Labour Party and fight that when the IS group was in the Labour Party it didn't fight the right-wing then either.

When the crunch with Wilson came in 1964 IS members did nothing to oppose the mass expulsions of Trotskyist supporters of the Socialist Labour League in the Young Socialists.

In the late 60s the student radicalisation—particularly around Vietnam—and the hostility in the working class to Wilson's policies led IS to *walk out* of the Labour Party—they didn't need to be helped out by the right-wing!

Disaster

The whole logic of the SWP's attitude to social democracy is the adoption of an abstentionist position in elections coupled with the standing of 'revolutionary' candidates.

The SWP, however, does not do this—for basically three reasons.

Firstly, their period of electioneering was a disaster in terms of votes and recruitment; secondly because they think that elections don't matter much anyway; and thirdly because to argue for abstention when the working class was voting Labour as a class response to the Tories would bring them into conflict with the layer of trade union militants they want to accommodate to.

This "lowest common denominator" approach to trade union militants was graphically shown in the SWP's recent Rank and File conference.

For the IMG the most important thing about this conference was its size—producing a grovelling response:

"A determined national lead in the fight against Thatcher's union-bashing plans came from 1,100 delegates at last Saturday's 'defend our unions' conference in Manchester"

(*Socialist Challenge* 27/6/79)

According to *Socialist Worker* there was discussion on unionisation struggles, unemployment, redundancies, cuts in public spending, and incomes policy and the Tory offensive.

However, at no stage does there appear to have been any *policy* put forward by the SWP other than its minimal code of practice:

"1) No crossing of picket lines.

2) For defence of 100% closed shop and for sanctions to be applied against any individuals breaking closed shop.



SWP leader Tony Cliff

PHOTO: John Sturrock, Report



Stalinist-led LCDTU Conference

- 3) For full rank and file discussion and decision making by traditional democratic procedures—no enforced secret ballots.
- 4) Strikes to be run by elected strike committees. Pickets to be positioned at whatever locations necessary to win the dispute and in sufficient numbers to ensure that picket lines are observed.
- 5) All appeals for blacking and financial assistance for disputes to be carried out wherever practicable.
- 6) Support calls made by strike committees for mass and sympathy pickets.
- 7) No settlement of disputes without full report backs to, and decision making by, the members concerned—no enforced 'arbitration' or enforced 'official' settlements."

Unity

The whole thing was topped off with continual calls for 'solidarity' and 'unity'.

Now the WSL is not and never has been opposed to unity. We will fight alongside anyone who takes a principled stand against the employer and their agents in the labour movement.

But we have denounced the simple slogan of 'unity' on two counts.

Firstly, as a slogan it is consistently abused and exploited by the trade union bureaucracy in order to whip militant sections into line.

Secondly we are opposed to 'unity' at the expense of the struggle for a clear perspective and programme.

Our practice brings us into conflict with the SWP for the simple reason that every time we put forward policy on the crucial questions facing the working class—be it unionisation struggles, inflation, unemployment or the cuts we are saying something different from the SWP.

Leadership

Our policies are centred round the struggle for leadership their around simply 'linking up' existing struggles.

The abandonment of the struggle for leadership has led the SWP to a position where it rejects the need to confront and defeat the existing leadership of the working class.

Living in the real world of course you cannot avoid recognising the existence of Stalinism and social democracy and issuing routine denunciations.

However, if you have no recognition of the hold of social democracy and Stalinism over important sections of the working class then you cannot have a strategy for destroying that hold.

If you start as do the petty-bourgeois leaders of the SWP from what you perceive to be the consciousness of workers you could quite easily deduce that the working class has no interest in the Labour Party.

If you do not recognise that a systematic struggle is necessary to break workers from social democracy and Stalinism and you have purely a militant

trade union policy, you end up inevitably capitulating to, or are simply bamboozled by, the bureaucracy.

Speke fight

One example which illustrates the hole into which the SWP digs itself in relation to the trade union bureaucracy and Stalinism is that of the struggle to defend jobs in British Leyland, Speke.

In *Socialist Press* 108, we summed up the struggle as follows:

"... When Leyland announced their derisory planned voluntary redundancy payments thousands of workers, who had been held back and demoralised by weeks of bureaucratic haggling and deliberately created confusion, came to a mass meeting ready to follow any lead given by the platform.

"They found none. Leyland Combine Committee chairman and Longbridge convenor Derek Robinson, a leading CP member and part of the 'participation' set-up that planned the Speke closure, took the stage and in a conscious display of completely hollow 'left' rhetoric on resisting the closure steered the meeting away from any practical action whatever.

"Speke stewards following Robinson's lead, omitted any call for occupation.

"This lack of leadership at a crucial turning point proved the key to the eventual closure of the plant six weeks later.

"At each point *Socialist Press* stressed the need to combat this crisis of leadership. But all these lessons have been deliberately concealed by the SWP whose members and supporters—in the guise of their front 'Right to Work' organisation—failed at any point to take up the call for occupation, and whose paper *Socialist Worker* gave over its entire front page on April 22nd to an uncritical eulogy of Robinson and that very same abortive mass meeting, describing it as 'A Match to fire the Mersey'.

"From that point onwards as the sell-out took shape *Socialist Worker* virtually dropped the issue.

"So wretched is the SWP's record in the Speke struggle that an article by John Deason in the July 1st *Socialist Worker* had to attempt a cover-up, had to attempt a cover-up.

Blaming the 'ruthlessness' of the company, "the . . . media; the Prime Minister; and the offers of redundancy pay . . . Deason nowhere mentioned Robinson's role, or the lack of any call for occupation!

Deason writes "Nothing saps the workers' confidence more than the blind faith in union officials or even in convenors and combine committees".

But if anyone peddled such illusions it was the SWP, with its talk of the 'brilliant' mass meeting at which Robinson successfully derailed any real fight!

The Right to Work bulletins at no point called for occupation and Deason himself advised stewards not to call for too much 'all at once' but to go

'first' for a general statement of opposition to closure. That was as far as they got".

SWP members should compare the approach of *Socialist Press* to that of *Socialist Worker*. We fought to get the stewards to give a positive lead.

Socialist Worker started instead from the supposed backwardness of the workers and helped actually foster backwardness and pave the way for defeat.

In the struggle to come under the Tories the lessons of Speke must be understood and the disaster there not repeated.

There was of course no discussion of Speke at the Rank and File Conference.

Many speeches, however, did refer to the defeat of the Garners strike. In *Socialist Press* 154 we reported at length on the Conference held June 9th to discuss the lessons of this dispute and the points at issue there between us and the SWP.

On June 16th *Socialist Worker* printed a report of the Conference which gave no report on the discussion and no comment whatsoever on the resolution passed by the delegates there.



The Garners Conference: will SWP really fight to remove TGWU traitors?

Socialist Worker reported the Conference as follows:

"The 120 delegates (. . .) approved a strike committee's . . . report and passed a resolution calling for the removal of both TGWU Regional Organiser and Secretary.

The delegates demanded action in future recognition disputes which will ensure a full timer under the control of the strike committee, effective picketing and blacking and special strike pay.

All trade unionists, especially TGWU, were urged to pass similar motions in branches". (*S.W.* 16.6.79)

We look forward to reports of resolutions along these lines



Mass strikes forced release of Pentonville dockers: IS tailed behind movement

being put by SWP members. We would gladly co-operate in branches where both our organisations have members.

But if the comments about 'going round the officials' which were continually voiced at the Rank and File Conference are to be taken into account, then we can expect no such co-operation from the SWP.

In our opinion the Rank and File 'code of conduct' is so rudimentary as to be automatic and completely insufficient to meet the needs of the struggle against the Tories.

But of course its minimalism allows the SWP to approach the Stalinist dominated LCDTU for 'unity', a call scandalously echoed by the IMG in the pages of *Socialist Challenge*.

The SWP are obviously working on the basis that a simple re-run of the 1970-74 Tory government is on the agenda.

Their scenario is one of a massive campaign against Tory anti-union laws in which the SWP will grow at the same rate as it did during the last Tory government.

They have forgotten the problems which simple trade union militancy got them into

will come up against a number of political problems which the conference with its "rally atmosphere and harking back to 1972-74 tended to gloss over."

Workers' solution

The article finishes with a call for a workers' solution to the crisis after suggesting that Thatcher and Co might have learnt more from the experience of the last Tory government than the SWP has.

There is, however, nothing in the article to suggest what the IMG's 'workers' solution' might consist of.

The most substantial criticism which the IMG do have of Rank and File is the lack of democracy at the conference, something they compare—in the most fraternal way, of course—with the behaviour of the LCDTU.

What the IMG do not understand is that the SWP's stage-managing of the Rank and File conferences paralleled by the internal regime of the SWP itself, reflect both the inability of the SWP to deal with political criticism, but also, and more importantly, the vast gulf which separates the politics of the SWP



Toppled—Heath

local authorities which are carrying out cuts—all prepare the way for an understanding by workers of the need to replace capitalism by socialism.

The WSL of course argues for militant action. For example, we argue—often against the SWP—for strike action and occupation against cuts: but unless that is taken further then workers will not know how to go onto the offensive.

For us unity of the class will come around specific struggles—and we will work for it.

But within that unity a sharp fight for programme will be necessary.

Of course the attacks of the Tory government will pose the need to remove it in struggle.

When that is posed revolutionaries must be ready with clear demands.

In 1972 the jailing of the dockers led to a spontaneous move towards a general strike.

The correct demand for revolutionaries to put forward was for the removal of the government.

Preparation

The IS however, only belatedly came out with the general strike call and in no way connected it with bringing down the government.

In directing towards the Labour leaders out of office we are preparing for the situation in which mass action will force the removal of the Tories and the Labour leadership will step forward to do its dirty work again.

The precise slogans which will be necessary in relation to the Tory government and its removal will have to be worked out as the struggle unfolds.

We will be preparing for that. The SWP will not.

Members of the IMG will we hope consider the vast gulf between Trotskyism and the SWP. Which way do you wish to go?

In the final part of this series we will examine the joint declaration of the IMG and the International Socialist Alliance and review the IMG Central Committee debate on unity with the SWP.

Workers control

The fight for the development of workers' control—through demands for committees to investigate prices, organise work sharing, examine the books of capitalist firms and

Continued next week

Reject WRP cowardice: PREPARE TO BRING DOWN THATCHER

We reprint below a leaflet distributed by WSL members to the 400-strong conference of the Workers Revolutionary Party's "All Trade Unions Alliance", held at Wembley Conference Centre on July 1.

At the door of the conference duly delegated trade unionists thought to be members or supporters of the Workers Socialist League were formally barred from entry.

They therefore missed a hysterical speech from WRP leader Gerry Healy who predicted the immediate collapse of capitalism.

On this basis Healy offered

no policies for workers' struggles other than the immediate establishment of socialism—presumably under the leadership of the WRP.

The other notable aspect of the conference was that 50% of its diminutive audience appeared to be Iraqis who had come to hear a speech by a flunky of the Iraqi Ba'athist bourgeois regime, in his capacity as a leader of the so-called Iraqi trade union movement.

The WSL leaflet threw the WRP leaders into paroxysms of fury and drew forth a lengthy reply in the pages of *Newsline* in which Alex Mitchell proudly paraded his political illiteracy and unlimited capacity for brazen lying.

Since Mr. Mitchell's acquaintance with Lenin appears to be restricted to a single sentence, and his awareness of Trotsky does not extend to any grasp of Trotsky's struggle for a programme through which workers can be broken from the hold of social democracy and Stalinism, his polemics seldom produce anything of substance.

But further evidence that the WRP is desperate to cover over their ATUA fiasco has appeared in last weekend's issue of *Newsline*, which parades carefully angled full colour photographs of the conference and a completely imaginary account of the attendance.

They claim, for instance, an attendance of delegates

from no less than 80 unnamed TGWU branches, 75 AUEW branches, and 29 ASLEF branches! This is the 'big lie' par excellence!

Socialist Press challenges *Newsline* to present a detailed list of branches to back up these utterly absurd claims. If the WRP can prove that even 20 TGWU branches sent official delegates to the ATUA conference we are prepared to donate £5 to the *Newsline* monthly fund.

In the meantime the leaflet reprinted below sets out to analyse the significance of the latest turn in the line of the WRP.

The working class in Britain has now entered a new period of unparalleled opportunity.

The capitalist class internationally have their backs to the wall—unable to find solutions to inevitable slump without vicious attacks on hard-won conditions and democratic rights.

The undefeated workers movement in Britain will have no difficulty in defeating and pushing aside this uncertain, reactionary Tory government.

Yet how have the organisers of this Conference reacted to this? The diminishing band of ex-Trotskyists and guilt-ridden middle class hucksters who run the so-called Workers so-called Revolutionary so-called Party have now lost all confidence in the working class and its ability to fight and defeat the Tories.

In recent issues of *Newsline* and in internal aggregate meetings called specifically for the purpose, the leaders of the WRP have tried to impose on their own members the same blue funk in the face of the coming offensive of the working class that they clearly feel themselves.

Internal crisis

Despite the combative mood of the working class the WRP have become wracked by internal crisis with wave after wave of expulsions that they are never able to refer to publicly, and faced with financial problems which they say are worse than at any time since they started running a daily paper in 1969.

After ten years of calling ceaselessly for general strikes to overthrow every government—Labour or Tory—the WRP leaders have now suddenly changed their position:

On 15 June the *Newsline* alleged that 'the danger in the present situation is that the working class might be goaded into industrial action of general strike proportions.'

WRP leaders refuse to raise the burning question of the preparation of action by the working class to bring down this reactionary government, they bleat pathetically about the 'problem of what is to take the place of the Tory government' and assert what is quite the opposite to the case, that mass action by the working class 'would only facilitate those ultra-reactionaries who want to see a police-military dictatorship'.

Afraid of action

The 'ultra-revolutionaries' of the WRP are now so afraid of



WRP refuse to concede that Fords strike defeated 5% pay policy

the action of the working class that they line up with the notorious right-winger of the NUM, Lawrence Daly, who says in this week's *Tribune* that: 'We will not be panicked into ill-considered action'.

This is because the WRP leaders, like Daly, do not fight for the development of revolutionary leadership in the working class through the relentless daily struggle of the masses.

This struggle must take up every issue and fight the trade union consciousness of workers by finding a bridge to the objective tasks of the overthrow of capitalism according to the method of Trotsky's *Transitional Programme*.

The frightened petty bourgeoisie in Clapham Old Town have completely turned their backs on Trotsky's principles.

No policies

They have no policies to place before workers involved in struggle except maximalist calls for the overthrow of the capitalist system.

Thus in *Newsline* on 16 June we are informed that 'in each and every struggle that unfolds against the Tories the masses must be mobilised on a revolutionary socialist programme to nationalise basic industry, banks and land without compensation and under workers control.'

Such statements have more in common with the incantations of witchdoctors than with

the struggles of serious revolutionaries.

Lawrence Daly, Len Murray or any other treacherous buffoon will agree to such abstract statements which commit nobody to anything.

What bureaucrats and ultra-lefts will always shy away from is policies to challenge the reformists and social democrats at every turn.

No development

The sectarians and reformists are completely at one that there is no development of struggle, no bridge at all between routine reformist struggle and the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism.

The WRP leaders have presented for today's conference a 'Programme for Discussion' which calls on nobody in particular to 'Nationalise banks, land and basic industry', even for 'a sliding scale of wages' and the 'disbanding of the standing army', yet no possible way of achieving such aims.

In Saturday's *Newsline* they are reduced to a pathetic plea to 'the TUC to fight the Tories and their budget'.

Incapable

What participants in today's conference must ask themselves is this. Why is it that the WRP, and its so-called 'Industrial Section', the ATUA is incapable of participating in any way in any of the real struggles facing

the working class or providing any policies for their victory?

Why have they played no part in the big unionisation struggles in hotels and catering?

Why did they line up with the bureaucracy and the Stalinists at their rare appearances opposing mass picketing at the Garners strikes?

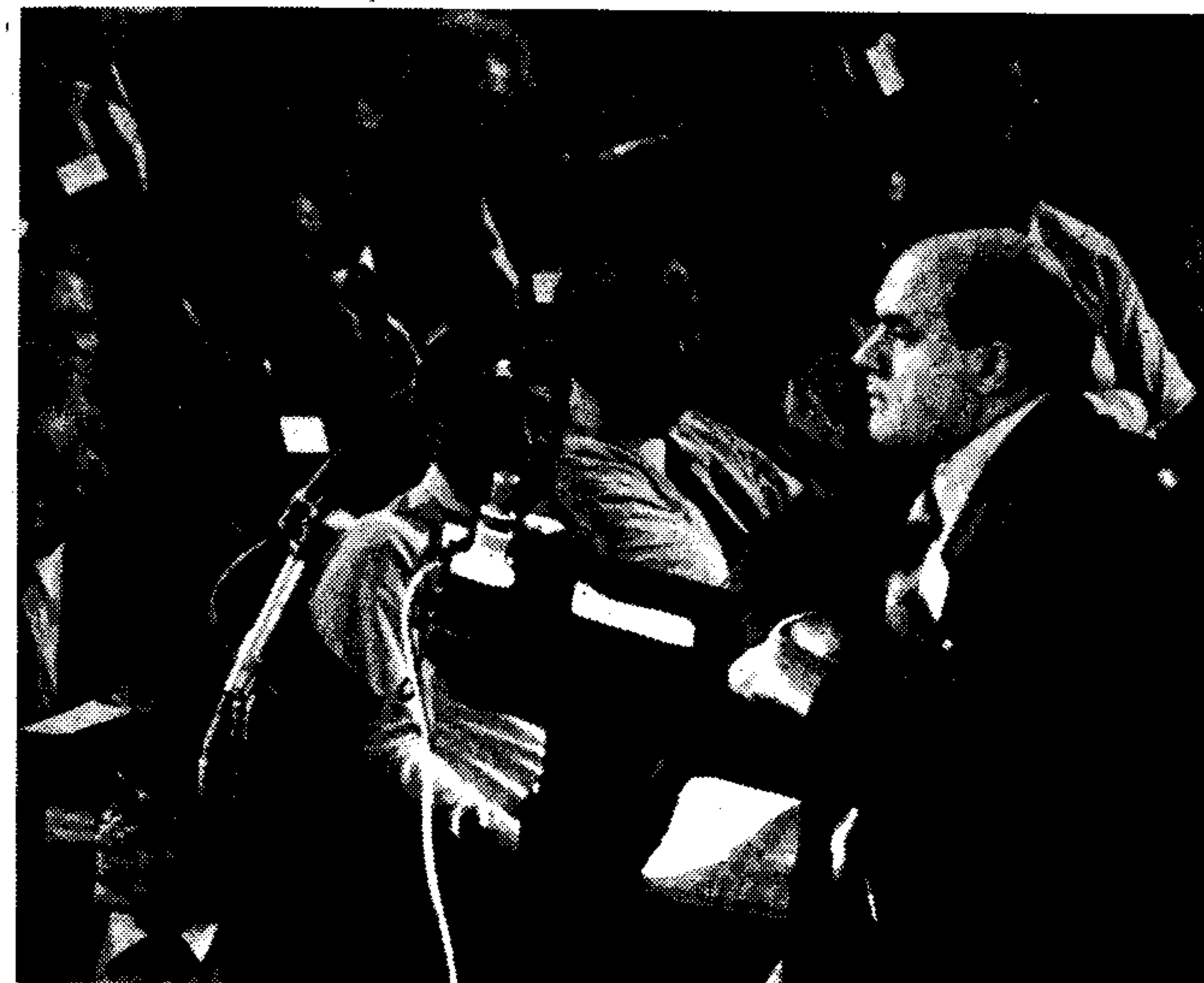
Why did they fall back paralysed last winter when after years of calling for 'the immediate overthrow of the Labour government' the victorious lorry drivers and Ford workers were going ahead and doing precisely that. The WRP found themselves unable even to call these struggles victories!

Like witchdoctors who prayed for rain, they refused to acknowledge the existence of the thunderstorms that fell upon them.

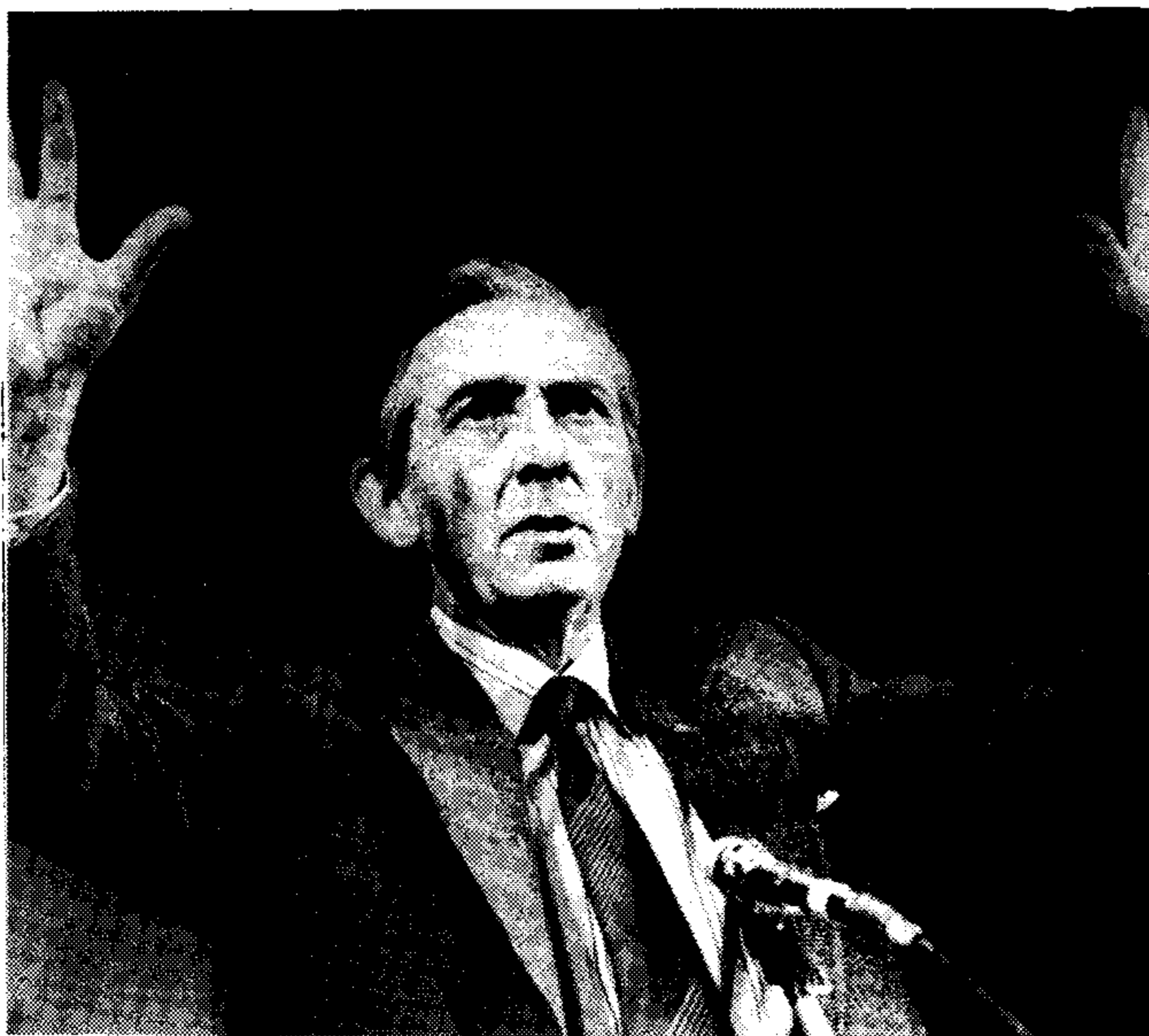
Confident

We say that the WRP is in crisis now that the working class is strong, confident and capable of building revolutionary leadership.

The expulsion of the founder members of the WSL in 1974 and the recent spate of expulsions and walk-outs following the 1979 WRP congress take place not only because the despotic clique at the head of the WRP are unable to answer internal criticisms, even the mildest form, but also because they have long since rejected policies which provide a way forward for the fighting



NUM General Secretary Daly



Len Murray

working class.

The WRP leaders have abandoned the fight for revolutionary policies in the Iranian revolution, lining themselves without question behind its bourgeois leadership, refusing to defend those they persecute.

They have long since heaped praise on the bloodsoaked bourgeois nationalist regime in Iraq and the political capitulations of the Palestinian Liberation Organisation.

Now they are coming closer to home by presenting an ultra-left apology for every hesitation and betrayal of the trade union bureaucracy in Britain.

Today's conference will provide no policies, no perspective and no principles on which workers will be able to overthrow this Tory government.

It will present no alternative to the syndicalist claptrap of the Socialist Workers Party or the

capitulations of the International Marxist Group.

Only the Workers Socialist League fights in the working class on the basis of traditions of Trotskyism to deal with the problems that every day face workers confronted with capitalism.

That is why we invite all those who are fed up with the opportunism, despotism and lack of principle by the present leaders of the WRP to join us in the fight for revolutionary leadership, to participate in the theoretical and historical discussions at our International Summer School on July 21-29, and to discuss whatever differences and problems they may have with us in the fullest and frankest way.

*Return to the policies of the Transitional Programme.

*Prepare now for the overthrow of Thatcher!

The following resolution was passed by Lambeth Trades Council on 2 July 1979.

We note with extreme concern the exclusion from the ATUA conference on 1 July at Wembley Conference Centre of 2 properly appointed and accredited delegates from the GLC branch of NALGO on the grounds of their political disagreements with the WRP.

We condemn this action as incompatible with the principles of workers' democracy and demand of the WRP/ATUA that it apologises to the GLC Branch

of NALGO, that it publicly renounces such practices and repudiates the decision by the WRP/ATUA stewards and officials, particularly Mike Andrews, Chairman of the Security Committee, Alex Mitchell, editor of the *Newsline* and Sheila Torrance, Assistant National Secretary of the WRP, to exclude the GLC delegates.

We resolve that until such time as these demands are complied with we will support no activities of the WRP/ATUA and that we will inform all affiliated organisations of this decision and seek their cooperation with it.

WRP junks the old Trotskyism



The only serious examination yet produced of the opportunist political line of Gerry Healy's Workers Revolutionary Party in relation to the petty bourgeois nationalist regimes of the Middle East. 45p plus 15p p&p, from: WSL 31, Dartmouth Park Hill, London NW5 1HR.



Training scheme for mentally handicapped youth

NO PROFITS FROM MENTALLY ILL

The last week in June was 'Mental Handicap Week'.

Between 7 and 10 of every 1,000 children born in Britain today are likely to suffer from some form of mental-handicap and many more are destined to become mentally-handicapped as a result of infection, accidental injury or assault in later years.

Yet few people who do not come into direct contact with the mentally-handicapped, either through their work or in their own families, are aware of the disabilities and capabilities of those affected, or of the problems faced by relatives who have to try and cope with a situation they hardly understand themselves.

Range

The scope of mental-handicap reaches from those who are completely dependent, often with accompanying multiple physical handicaps such as spasticity, blindness, gross disfigurement, to those who would usually be considered merely "backward".

In between these extremes is a whole range of people with various differing talents and abilities and degrees of responsibility.

Each requires a variety of facilities and different degrees of support, to enable them to advance and realise their full potential.

Under threat

Facilities and support are sadly lacking and the little that is available is now under threat following the publication of the "Jay Committee" recommendations.

More than four years

after its inception, the Committee of Enquiry into provisions and care for the mentally-handicapped finally published its report in March.

The Committee was set up in 1975 by the then Minister of Health, Barbara Castle, to investigate residential care provisions, following suggestions in the Briggs Report on Nursing.

This had advocated the establishment of a "new, caring profession" to deal with mental-handicap.

The Committee's proposals centre upon the removal of mental-handicap as a responsibility of the NHS putting it instead under the auspices of the Local Authority Social Services Departments.

This goes alongside eventual phasing out of the large subnormality hospitals with a shift in emphasis towards "community care".

Explaining these proposals, Peggy Jay, Chairman of the Committee and the mother in law of Callaghan's daughter, wrote:

"Although the basis of our beliefs is simply that mentally-handicapped people should have the right to be treated as individuals, to live life to the full and to have the same access to services of all kinds as everyone else, some of the detail may appear idealistic to some.

In particular, our insistence on small-group living which goes beyond what is now generally regarded as ideal, many seem unobtainable at a time of economic restraint. But our idealism, if that is what it is, is deliberate.

We agreed we should aim for the most appropriate solution even though we realised that its achievement might take some time . . ."

This generalisation of the mentally-handicapped person's rights is so vague as to be almost impossible to disagree with.

But the proposals of her Committee will do absolutely nothing to uphold or to further these rights. Having already conceded that they are subject to economic requirements, she continued:

"We also looked carefully at the idea of a separate caring profession for mental handicap care staff.

We believe . . . that this would not be a good idea for either the staff or for the mentally-handicapped themselves.

One of the elements of our model of care is normality and we see a separate caring profession as being opposed to this principle . . ."

Mentally-handicapped people are not 'normal' and treating them the same as everyone else will not make them the same as everyone else.

They need special considerations and have special requirements which are in addition to those of 'normal' people and their basic right is that these should be met. The argument for 'normality' can be used as an excuse for denying them their requirements.

'Normality'

It is not sufficient simply to call them 'handicapped' rather than 'subnormal' or 'client' rather than 'patient' and it does not make sense to dispense with much needed facilities for the sake of 'normality'.

If someone needs a wheelchair it is inexcusable to refuse it because most people walk, or to offer

them crutches because that's all that can be afforded.

The Jay Report is another example of the polarisation which has taken place in attitudes towards mental handicap care.

This has resulted in debate largely being reduced to a question of hospital care versus "community" care.

Unfortunately, the mentally-handicapped are in danger of becoming pawns in the game between the two sides.

Upper hand

The supporters of community care have undoubtedly had the upper hand so far, and this has been reinforced by the Jay Committee.

There are two main reasons for this: firstly, they have been able to point to the good results achieved by numerous special test community projects and secondly to the sensationalist press headlines following various hospital exposes. What more proof, they ask, could be required?

This, however, paints a rather biased picture.

Experimental community units have tended to be provided with model facilities and a good staff-patient ratio.

Also, patients have often been picked according to their ability to fit into the scope of particular projects.

Many hostels, for example, will not accept people who are incontinent or non-ambulant.

Results have then been compared with under-financed, under-staffed and over-crowded hospitals which are trying to cope with inadequate and obsolete equipment and many of the more deman-

ding and troublesome patients.

Community care may benefit a great many patients presently in hospitals; but it should be borne in mind that it is not the 'universal panacea'.

The Jay Committee is right to stress the need for smaller and more homely residencies and also right in its criticisms of the hospitals' 'clinical' approach.

However, on a ward with fifty or more highly dependent patients, many of them with multiple-physical handicaps and with often only three or four staff—some untrained—the only way that ward can possibly be run is around a strict routine.

This can all too easily lead to a clinical approach and a situation where patients have to cater to the needs of the routine rather than the routine being able to accommodate for the individual and varied needs of the patients.

Condemned

The large hospitals have also been widely condemned for their institutionalisation of both patients and staff.

But institutionalisation does not necessarily stem from the size of an establishment so much as the type of regime that operates within it.

Small community residences can often be much more closed and restrictive than the large hospitals.

Indeed, the hospitals usually lie in extensive grounds which, if utilised to the full, could provide more freedom of movement and occupational facilities than could the confines of a small hostel in the suburbs or the High Street, and also an environment free of much of the stress which accompanies living outside.

Living in the community does not mean being a part of the community or accepted as such and the hospitals, provide a valuable option which can exist alongside community facilities.

The need for a more personal and homely atmosphere should not be an argument for phasing the hospitals out, but should instead be the impetus for reorganising them and planning them accordingly.

It should not be a case of either/or, but which is the more suitable for a particular person and their individual capabilities and requirements.

What is not generally realised is the fact that the vast majority of mentally-handicapped people do live in the community and not in hospitals.

They live at home with their families and on the whole receive precious little assistance.

Minority report

David Williams, the Assistant General Secretary of COHSE sat on the Jay Committee and refused to sign the majority report.

He produced his own minority report in which he called for a "properly integrated and unified service" which would still be within the framework of the NHS and encompass the facilities presently administered by the local authorities.

He also points out that a good many local authorities are not even meeting the requirements placed on them by the 1959 Mental Health Act and declares that it would be folly to entrust them with responsibility for the entire mental-handicap service. In his report he states:

"Mental-handicap is not

necessarily considered by the local electorate to be a high priority and the extent of social provision will, eventually, be determined by rate-payers priorities.

This was amply demonstrated prior to 1948 when the NHS took over the administration of local authority hospitals which were showing signs of chronic under financing and the NHS was seen, quite rightly, to be the only way of providing the necessary resources to raise standards to a national level of acceptability.

Mental-handicap had proved to be the lowest of priorities for the majority of local authorities.

To accelerate the transfer of residential care from the NHS to the Social Services is, in my view to risk reverting to that form of inconsistent and inadequate provision for the mentally-handicapped".

The utter hypocrisy of Williams's words is astounding.

He is wrong to say that social provisions will be determined by "rate-payers' priorities"—they will be determined by capitalism's priorities and neither he, the COHSE Executive, nor the TUC Health Council have lifted one finger to challenge those priorities.

Williams and the rest of the trade union bureaucracy have done everything in their power to uphold the reactionary policies of Callaghan and his cronies in the Labour leadership by selling out the struggles and demands of the workers they are supposed to represent.



PHOTO: Andrew Wiard, Report

COHSE leader Spanswick

They have paved the Tories' road to power by their abject acceptance of wholesale hospital closures, the imposition of rigid cash limits on public expenditure, and four years of strict wage control.

The very existence of the NHS is now in jeopardy, and the responsibility can be clearly laid at the feet of the likes of Williams.

Capitalism does not cater for social need; it caters for profitable demand; unfortunately mental-handicap is not profitable.

Increased technology has drastically reduced the employment open to the mentally-handicapped and cash limits and lessening of overcrowding in the hospitals has drastically reduced residential places.

Provisions are presently inadequate and even these face further reduction.

Whatever type of service results from the Jay recommendations, it will have to fight for its existence.

However, fundamentally the requirement is for a caring society and to build that we must rid ourselves of the bureaucratic parasites which presently control the labour movement and prop up the capitalist system and fight for a programme which will open up the dealings of the private monopolies which bleed dry the NHS and expose the fraud they call democracy.

FIGHT THE NHS CUTS WITH STRIKE ACTION!



PHOTO: Laurence Sparham, IFL

Strikers defeat anti- union boss

JOIN OUR FIGHT AGAINST TORIES!

Returned to office after five years of Labour betrayals, the Tory government has immediately begun wielding a sharpened axe on jobs, conditions and social services. Trade Union rights face imminent legal attack. Prices are already beginning to rocket upwards.

Plum sectors of state industry will be handed to the Tories' profiteering big business backers; and the pay rises to police and armed forces mark only the prelude to increased state violence against pickets and anti-fascists, and an intensified army crackdown in the occupied North of Ireland.

The Callaghan-Healey leadership has made it clear that it will oppose any perspective other than settling down and meekly accepting five years of Tory devastation.

And, though they have once more dusted off their near-forgotten "socialist" speeches, Labour's "left-wing" MPs have continued to duck away from any fight to remove Callaghan.

TUC leaders, too, have set out to establish a basis for collaboration with Thatcher and the Tory cabinet, paralleling their anti-working class alliance with Wilson and then Callaghan.

But the working class has experienced and overcome such betrayals before—to topple Heath's union-bashing government in 1974, and smash through Callaghan's reactionary Phase 4 of wage controls in a series of monumental pay battles last winter.

These experiences are not dead. They point to the way that jobs, social services and hard-won union rights can be defended against renewed Tory attacks.

But a principled, revolutionary leadership is needed if the Labour traitors, the TUC collaborators and their hangers-on in the Communist Party are to be exposed and pushed aside, and the mass struggles mobilised that can defeat and remove the Tory government.

Such a leadership must fight day in and day out for a programme of *transitional demands* which, starting from today's conditions and today's consciousness within the working class, lead workers to grasp the necessity for socialist revolution.

And in taking up democratic demands—such as an end to racial and sexual discrimination, it must show the crucial role that must be played by the working class as the only consistently revolutionary class capable of leading the struggle for the emancipation of mankind.

And it must fight on an *international* basis—mobilising solidarity for anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist struggles—whether in Ireland, in Southern Africa or elsewhere throughout the world, and drawing strength and political lessons from revolutionary upheavals such as that which ousted the hated Shah in Iran.

This means fighting for the reconstruction of the Trotskyist Fourth International.

This method of approach, rejecting any descent to simple trade union militancy, or concessions to any wing of the labour bureaucracy, is the method fought for by the Workers Socialist League.

The next period will see major class struggles in Britain. A principled, Marxist leadership is essential. Our movement though strong in programme remains small in numbers.

JOIN US and take forward the struggle for socialism!

NUJ members at Pergamon Press, Oxford, returned to work last week after three days on strike with a major victory under their belt.

For the first time in the history of the firm a union has stood up to Labour millionaire Robert Maxwell's policy of indiscriminate sackings and won.

A sacked member, Louise Guidery, was reinstated in a different part of the same department from which she had been sacked, and the company promised to observe disciplinary procedures in future.

Maxwell moved to settle the strike as soon as he was sure that the NUJ national executive would make it official.

Part of his thinking was almost certainly to prevent a prolonged dispute drawing out for the NUJ members involved the full lessons.

The NEC in fact hedged over the question of making the strike official, seizing on the assessment of the full time organiser Gary Morton, that it was about to be settled.

If Maxwell had learned that, the dispute would probably still be on.

The tame unions in Pergamon, the NGA and APEX have been shaken up by the dispute after refusing to take any action in support.

In the NGA a petition was circulating demanding a meeting and in APEX the FOC was on the point of resigning when the strike ended.

The NUJ Oxford branch must now take up a fight against those in the Labour Party and ASTMS who continue to provide cover for this reactionary employer by keeping him in membership.

The Tory offensive to smash the basic right to a decent health service now takes on a particularly sharp form in the London area.

On Wednesday 11 July Kensington, Chelsea and Westminster Area Health Authority meets to discuss proposals from its three Districts to cut spending by £2 million in the remainder of 1979-80 financial year.

These cuts will give effect to government imposed 'cash limits' aggravated by increased VAT.

Socialist Press has warned that such an attack would come, but the speed and scope of it is still breathtaking.

Risk to life

As a Joint Shop Stewards Committee Bulletin points out:

"The administrators themselves say that clinical services will be drastically cut, standards will fall, resulting in increased illness and risk to life."

The list of closures and cuts is too enormous to recount, but virtually every variety of staff cuts, bed closures, ward closures and closure of hospitals as a whole is posed, as well as cuts in training, catering, drugs provision, maintenance, research and other vital services.

The AHA expects resistance and has made plans accordingly.

To avoid lengthy consultation procedures all the cuts will be called 'temporary' and commence immediately.

Further, the standard grievance procedures are to be suspended making it impossible for workers

affected to appeal.

The AHA has been aided in its build-up to these attacks by the attempts of the press to confuse workers.

For example both the *Paddington Times* and *Nursing Times* presented the plan as one aimed at saving St. Mary's Hospital on Harrow Road.

Vengeance

In fact beds would be reduced from 400 to 100, supervised by local GPs, around 500 jobs would go.

It is not merely within this authority that attacks are coming through with a vengeance.

The Tories had claimed in their first few weeks of office to have 'saved' the Elizabeth Garrett Anderson women's hospital in Euston.

But now, with £1½ million slashed from health services in Camden and Islington this year and more cuts on the way, the EGA is to be wound up as a general hospital and will receive funding only for gynaecol-

ogy and related outpatient services.

Beds will drop from 137 to 40, outpatient clinics will close, jobs will be lost with no security to staff; and the gynaecological unit itself will not open for *three years!*

Campaigns are underway to fight these attacks, but the urgency of the fight must now be brought home to every worker.

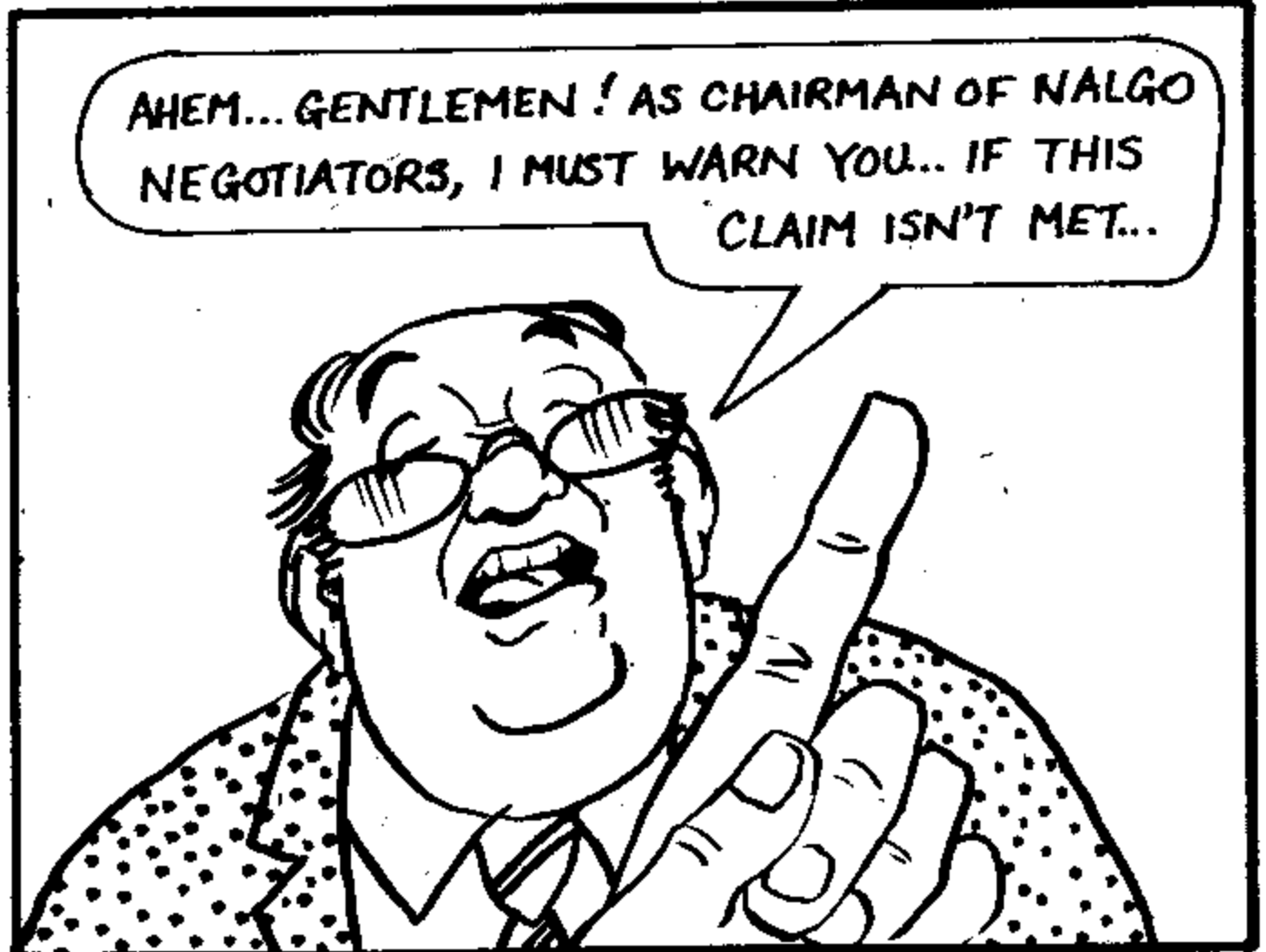
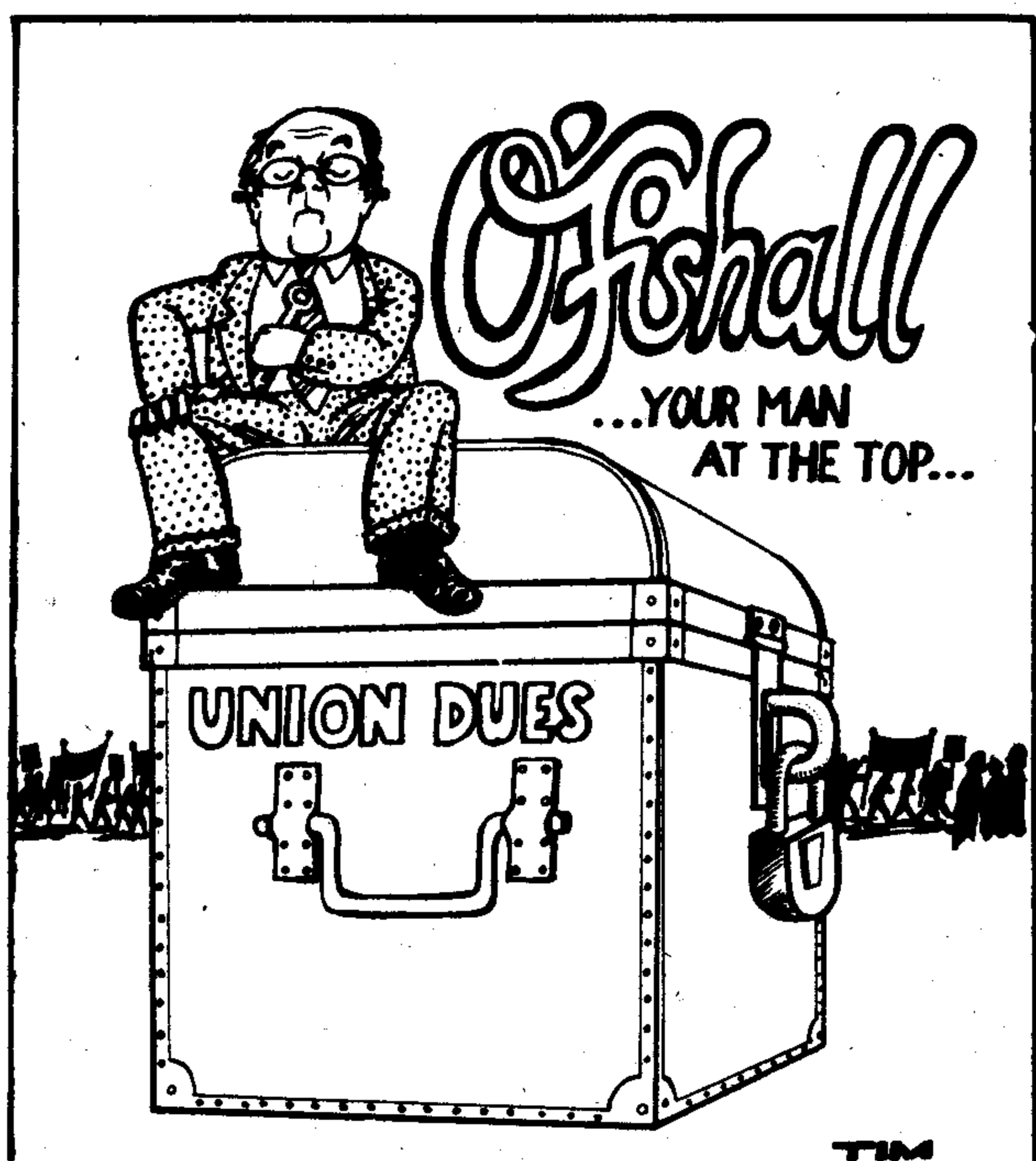
Particularly central is the task of transforming lobbies of AHAs and protest meetings into a fight to commit the powerful NUPE Divisional Committee and other union bodies to honour their stated opposition to the cuts.

This means that they must back an extensive programme of strikes and occupation action against them, calling on other unions and the whole of London's labour movement for practical support.

Only the mobilisation of the power of the unions—which requires a fight against those 'leaders' who stand in the way—can save London's health service now.



PHOTO: Laurence Sparham, IFL



Didcot bosses rally against union fight

After much publicised threats that he would place the firm in voluntary liquidation, it seems that Selected Toys Limited boss Young has had second thoughts.

A statement in last week's *Oxford Mail* by his accountants declared that Young had declared only "his intention of going into liquidation", and that they had not been appointed to take any action on the matter.

Recognition

The strikers, however, who are demanding union recognition; reinstatement of five victimised union members, and increased wages at the Didcot factory, have shown no signs of liquidating their picket lines. They have basked in the

sunshine outside the small dart-board factory—to the obvious annoyance of Young and his son-in-law John Carlton, and the embarrassment of local union officials.

Law on his side

Carlton emerged last Monday and threw water over the pickets in a vain effort to force them off the grass.

He then called a police sergeant, who, after hearing the slave labour wages and conditions that have prompted the unionisation struggle, proclaimed that "the law is on Young's side".

Local employers have also been showing their solidarity with Young, by blacklisting STL strikers—raising the threat of long-term unemployment for any worker who dares to fight

their vicious exploitation.

Meanwhile TGWU official Phil Eynan continues his wretched search for "solutions" through ACAS or industrial tribunals, lifting not a finger to mobilise the full weight of the TGWU in support of the strikers.

Donations to the strike fund should be sent to Brian Grimes, 97, Wessex Road, Didcot.

Nurseries Conference

Over 50 delegates attended the Oxford Trades Council Conference on the TUC Charter for the Under Fives on Sunday 8 July.

The conference drew out the strengths of the Charter but also highlighted its complete avoidance of the cuts question.

The history of the Oxford City Nursery Campaign and its occupation of a closed nursery class last year was discussed in detail as pointing a way forward in fighting the cuts.

Right wing

Notable by their absence were the right wing leadership of Oxford Trades Council, and County Councillor Olive Gibbs, who had promised to speak.

Clearly they knew that their purely verbal support for nurseries would be mercilessly exposed by a conference that was eager to hammer out policies that would actually smash the cuts.

In addition to approving a detailed resolution on extending nursery facilities and fighting the cuts the conference agreed to initiate campaigns to unionise nursery nurses and child-minders; to produce a full conference report for union branches; and to make contact with Trades Councils and unions in Clwyd where the entire nursery service of 52 classes is to be closed down.

A full report with the text of the resolution will appear in next week's *Socialist Press*.

The strike may have been sold out but the debts linger on

GARNERS BENEFIT

Sunday July 22
The Roebuck
Tottenham Ct. Rd
7.30 p.m.
Admission £1

Sponsored by Central London Branch of the Musicians Union

Artists include Leon Rosselson, Flowers and Frolics, String Quartet

Tickets available from Clare Almond, 14, Ladbroke Terrace London W11 3PG

Leyland workers rebel at job-slotting decisions

On Tuesday of last week the Leyland Cars National Joint Negotiating Committee (LCJNC) met.

This is the body that is working out the job slotting for all manual workers within Leyland, in a new national five grade pay structure.

The LCJNC is a joint union/management body.

They were the ones who first worked out the 60 "benchmark" jobs on the basis of which every section of workers is supposed to be slotted at plant level.

The plant level decisions then go to the LCJNC for endorsement or not.

Last Tuesday's meeting was going to discuss the Swindon plant level decision to place the production workers above their benchmark place, i.e. Grade 3.



Mass meeting at Cowley assembly plant

The whole grading exercise is an essential part of corporate bargaining in Leyland whereby all wage negotiations are to be carried out nationally by

the LCJNC in place of plant level negotiations.

Individual plants would not only lose the power to negotiate wages but this set-up would eliminate all

future grading struggles, as workers would become part of a national grade structure.

Needless to say the LCJNC union side is made up in the main of full-time officials and their appointees.

Most Leyland production workers are hostile to their proposed grading.

They will get only a small increase to bring them in line throughout Leyland.

Since they are close to making up an overall majority of Leyland workers, their low grading seems to be in order to keep the cost of the new scheme as low as possible for Leyland management.

The principled position in relation to the grading is to get every section as high as possible and thus raise their wages.

We support the fight to place production workers into the highest possible grade.

If this breaks up the company's corporate bargaining plan, then that is all well and good.

But the policy applies equally to other sections, many of whom are dissatisfied with their grades.

This latter point was graphically illustrated last week when there was a lobby of the LCJNC by 50 or so leading stewards from the Oxford factories, Swindon, Llanelli, Longbridge and other Birmingham plants.

To coincide with the lobby the forklift truck drivers in the Cowley Body Plant went on a one-day token strike, saying that they would not accept their grading (4). This shut down all production in Cowley.

This action strengthened the hand of the lobbyists.

Four grades

The result of the lobby was that the union side of the LCJNC voted by 11-9 that they were against the five grade structure and would be in favour of a four grade structure.

The LCJNC was due to meet again on Monday to discuss the union

position.

This will severely disrupt the company's carefully laid plans to introduce the scheme by 1 November.

In the meantime, after Tuesday's strike and lobby nearly all the production workers in the Cowley Body Plant have gone on an overtime ban and work to rule.

Impossible

The right wing leadership have at the moment managed to control this move by turning it into a claim for payment for the Tuesday.

All of this shows that the company faces an almost impossible task if it tries to force its scheme in.

As the November 1 Leyland wage review gets nearer it will be possible to turn the workers' frustrations into an open wages fight.

This is something the company and the right wing union leaders fear above all.

They were hoping to use the low wage situation that they have created to get their corporate schemes adopted and so take a tight grip on the workforce.

NALGO leaders hoist white flag

A lobby of 400 militant local government workers turned out in Norwich on Friday in a bid to avert the sell out of NALGO's 15% pay claim.

But no sooner had local authority employers offered a 9.6% increase and an "internal comparability study" than NALGO's right wing negotiators' chairman Mike Blick, agreed to recommend the settlement to a delegate conference.

Thus the bureaucracy has finally run up the white flag in one of the last pay reviews in the public sector—with a deal

which offers NALGO members little more than half the going rate of inflation over the next twelve months, and a notional 'comparability' increase.

Blick described the offer as 'the best they could get in the circumstances'.

The 'circumstances' faced by NALGO members are dominated by a toothless bureaucratic union leadership that refuses to mobilise the strength of the union to fight in defence of jobs or wages.

Before this time next year steps must be taken to construct a principled alternative leadership in this giant union.

WHEN IT LOOKS LIKE THERE'S NO WAY OUT



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MINERS' STRIKE

Summer Fete brings Fund boost

A big boost to our fund came this week when the Oxford Summer Fair raised £340. A fine day and a lot of hard work from our members and supporters ensured a successful day. *Socialist Press* readers and supporters responded with donations which took our total to £1547.70. With the London Summer Fair due to take place this coming weekend we are looking forward to another healthy boost to the fund.

However, we have only three weeks to complete the fund and almost £1,000 still to raise so we must pull out all the stops in fighting to reach this total.

All donations should be sent to:

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SUMMER FAYRE

Saturday 14 July at Lyndhurst Hall
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McGahey

While press attention at the miners' conference centred on the unanimous decision to submit a 65% pay claim for settlement by the old review date of November 1, the most immediate impact of the conference was on the fight against closures.

The militancy of NUM delegates in supporting the struggle by South Wales miners against the closure of Deep Duffryn colliery forced even right wing President Gormley into calling on the Coal Board to reverse its decision.

It became unmistakably clear that the South Wales decision to ballot members for strike action would produce an overwhelming 'yes' vote, and that miners in Scotland, Yorkshire, Durham and other areas

THREAT WINS DEEP DUFFRYN REPRIEVE

would mobilise in support. Within hours of the conference ending these developments had their effect.

The NCB began making noises about reconsidering the closure plan: and by late Sunday night it was reported that the threat of widespread action had persuaded them to pull back and reprove the 450 jobs at Deep Duffryn.

The struggle marks a major victory by the union and is particularly significant in that Coal Board figures show Deep Duffryn as a substantial *loss-making* pit.

The fact that in this instance union leaders have been forced to wage a struggle that flies in

the face of the standard employers' argument on "viability" is of importance to workers in other "loss-making" sectors such as steel and shipbuilding.

But it also points the way forward in the struggle against the cuts in service, sackings and closures in the public sector.

The Workers Socialist League has consistently argued that immediate strong action—strikes or occupations in the area concerned—could, if linked to official trade union action on a national level, pose a major challenge to the cuts in public services. Now the NUM has proved it in practice.

At a time when the jobs of

every section of workers in the public sector are at risk, it is small wonder that little press publicity has been given to the NCB's climbdown.

Meanwhile the forward movement of the working class in conflict with its right wing leaders was also reflected in the leftward shift in the NUM Conference.

Right wing General Secretary Lawrence Daly came within one vote of losing his seat on the TUC General Council to Scottish Stalinist Mick McGahey whose remarks were recently witch-hunted in the press by Gormley.

Top of the poll came left-talking Yorkshire President Arthur Scargill. The question outstanding is whether he, or the other lefts on the NUM Executive will press forward the fight for the 65% pay claim.

Crisis... from front page

TORY WAR ON NATIONALISED INDUSTRIES

"Ungracious and mean-spirited". That was the response from Labour's Shadow Cabinet to the government's "ill-considered threats" of breaking the Post Office monopoly on mail delivery.

John Silkin's "attack" on Sir Keith Joseph shows the abysmal inability of the Labour leadership to offer any resistance to the Tory plans for dealing with the public sector and the nationalised industries.

There is nothing "ill-considered" about these threats. The Tories have consistently argued that they would end the Post Office monopoly on telecommunications by hiving off the most profitable sections of the industry to private capital.

Logic

By considering such plans for the postal sector, they are simply extending the logic of their economic and political arguments.

For the Tories—more openly than for Labour governments—the public sector exists to serve



PHOTO: Laurence Sparham, IFL

Labour 'left' Kinnock the needs of private capital and the profit-system.

Through its ownership and control, the state provides the bourgeoisie with the communications and infrastructure that it needs but can barely operate at a profit.

And, since the second imperialist world war but especially in the current crisis, the state has also moved in to rescue from

collapse sectors such as coal-mining, the steel industry and shipbuilding—sectors most severely hit by the crisis and essential to the national strength of the imperialist bourgeoisie.

But as the crisis continues to deepen, the Tories see the necessity of revising the situation.

Divert investment

Intent on boosting the profits and profitability of private capital, they are determined to divert investment and resources from the public sector.

This plan operates on several levels. Thatcher and her pack of profit-thirsty wolves want to reduce state spending and increase productivity in the public sector.

Cuts in the social services are one obvious method—combined with appalling low pay they aim to reduce employment drastically.

The drive on "efficiency" extends to every area—the threatened closures in mining and steel are the obvious examples.

Threats to end the postal monopoly are designed to pro-



PHOTO: Andrew Ward, Report

Steel industry faces new attacks

duce the same effect by forcing the UPW leadership to collaborate further in massive attacks on working conditions within the Post Office.

With these viciously direct methods, the Tories are seeking to drive workers out of state employment and at the same time operate cheaper, more 'efficient' services for private capital.

Unemployment

In the long term of course they also look to a massively increased pool of unemployment as a means of reducing all wages in every sector of industry.

Such attacks cannot be thrown back by snivelling whines from the Labour front-bench or TUC bureaucrats.

Kinnock from the Labour 'left' has called for the next Labour government to renationalise without compensation all sections de-nationalised by the Tories.

But the threat exists now, and a response cannot wait on the machinery of parliamentary elections.

Jobs and conditions in the social services, civil service, local government and state-owned or controlled industry must be defended by action now.

Closures, redundancies and speed-up must be fought with a

clear programme of demands.

Occupations must be planned and organised to unite every section of the labour movement in supporting strike action.

Demands for a massive increase in expenditure on the social services to meet existing needs, with a sliding scale to counter inflation, must go alongside the demand for work-sharing on full pay in the state industries and a sliding scale of wages throughout the public sector (not just for MPs) with the abolition of low wages.

Against the exploitation of nationalised property as a service for the profits of private capital, all the books and accounts of the public sector must be opened to the scrutiny of elected committees of trade unionists (with housewives, claimants, pensioners, school and college students).

With the help of sympathetic technical advisers these committees can assess the use and abuse of funds and resources which is operated through the present system.

In the struggle to defend all these sectors against the openly pro-capitalist attacks of the Tories, the fight must be taken up to develop workers control and build the basis for workers management of nationalised industries in a planned socialist economy.

ended through concessions and piecemeal compromises. Only nationalisation of major industry without compensation under workers' management can defend existing jobs and create new ones.

Within the Labour Party the extreme right wing Callaghan leadership that rejects any form of socialist answer to the crisis and opposes action to bring down Thatcher, must be removed.

This entails a fight to expose the treachery of those 'left' poseurs on Labour's National Executive who mouth opposition to Callaghan but refuse to lift a finger to campaign for him to be thrown out.

The working class has the strength to defeat the Tories and carry through the struggle for socialism.

But it is saddled with a reactionary, reformist leadership that seeks only to preserve its own privileges within the capitalist system.

A revolutionary alternative can and must be built if these leaders are not to pave the way to serious setbacks for the working class.

This is the task undertaken by the Workers Socialist League.

Workers Socialist League
MANIFESTO

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THE CRISIS OF CAPITALISM

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