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New turn in WRP slander campaign

(CENTRE PAGES)

Lessons of Low Pay Fight.....Page 8

NO COMPROMISE WITH THE TORIES!

Thatcher's new right wing government may be home, but they are certainly far from dry.

It is one thing to take the formal reins of office. It is quite another to impose the defeats on the working class that are necessary to make Tory policies stick.

Indeed whether the Tories, the open political representatives of the employers and bankers, or their loyal servants in the Labour leadership had emerged as the Election victors, the unbroken strength and militancy of the working class was certain to be their most stubborn problem.

The Tories remember all too vividly how workers' readiness to fight every attack on their trade unions and living standards led in 1974 to the premature fall of the Heath government; and Callaghan was in turn forced into the 1979 Election with his policy of wage controls torn to tatters by the massive pay struggles in both private industry and the public sector.

Pay struggles

Even as the Election took place, thousands of teachers were engaging in partial action over their 36.5% pay claim, with growing voices demanding an all-out strike. Postal workers voted 7-1 to throw out a pay and productivity package recommended by their right wing leaders: and power workers are reportedly about to reject an 11% package offer endorsed by their officials.

The reality is that the conditions under which the new Tory government has ridden to office have been created not by any weakness or retreat of the working class but by its historic crisis of leadership.

Five years of Labour government, in which the Callaghan-

Healey leadership has shamelessly implemented Tory policies in deep collaboration with the capitalist class, cut social services and driven up unemployment, offered no socialist alternative to attract the middle class forces that were skilfully whipped up by an orchestrated Tory press campaign.

Labour's betrayals

The door for every one of the Tories' major election stalking horses—anti-union laws; racist immigration laws; social service cuts; tax concessions to the rich; and "law and order"—was opened by similar moves by the Labour government which, like the Tories, started not from workers' interests but from preserving the profitability of British capitalism.

Yet despite the most sophisticated populist election campaign, carried out at lavish expense with the guidance of top advertising salesmen, the Tories failed to win significant layers of Labour voters to their anti-working class platform.

Instead, in this highly polarised election, the Labour vote marginally increased compared with that in 1974. The rise in the Tory vote came from a 20% slump in support for the second-string capitalist party, the Liberals, coupled with the extra forces that turned out for this Election.

Racist policies

As an added bonus, Thatcher's racist immigration policies appear to have won a number of votes from the fascist National Front, which, saddled also with the 'Nazi' label, suffered a severe electoral setback.

Whatever minimal consolation Labour leaders may try to draw from all this, one fact emerges unmistakably from



PHOTO: Mark Rusher

Thatcher's impregnable overall majority of 43 in Parliament: **this government cannot be 'pressured' to change course by innocuous protest actions.**

There are no peaceful, parliamentary solutions to the wholesale attacks now being planned by the Thatcher cabinet.

Lay waste

And if these representatives of crisis-ridden British capitalism are allowed to run their full five year term of office they will lay waste jobs by the thousand, destroy social services fought for by generations of workers, and outlaw trade union rights established in centuries of struggle.

Let there be no mistake. This government must be brought down by the mass action of the working class, just as Heath's attacks were stopped in their tracks only by the most widespread and determined struggles.

The task now is to prepare for such action.

But workers should not expect the trade union officials and Labour leaders who have shamelessly collaborated with the capitalist class for the last five years to spring forward now to lead such struggles.

Callaghan spoke for his whole right wing cabinet last

Friday when he wished Thatcher "success" as Prime Minister, stressed that she will need 'a lot of support', and promised that she will face no 'factitious opposition' from Labour MPs.

But equally pernicious are Labour's fake 'lefts' who, after five years of bootlicking support for Callaghan's policies and refusal to challenge his leadership of the Labour Party, now pose as critics of the 5% pay limit and defenders of socialist policies.

Certainly Callaghan and his right wing cronies must be removed from the Labour leadership. But the socialist alternative that is needed has nothing in common with the reformist notorious and nationalist pleas for import controls peddled by the Tribune Group: it must be based firmly on the fight to mobilise the working class to force the nationalisation of basic industry without compensation under workers' management.

This requires the construction of a principled revolutionary leadership in the working class.

Meanwhile Len Murray and other TUC leaders are already eating their dark threats of 'confrontation' with the Tories, and offering Thatcher friendly advice and consultations.

Their answer to earlier calls for anti-union laws to restrict picketing and the closed shop was to sign the Concordat with Callaghan which set out "voluntarily" to impose crippling limits on their members.

The danger is that they will offer similar concessions and compromise to Thatcher, while continuing to head off the militant struggles of their members.

Relentless

Such compromises and betrayals are a sure-fire guarantee that the Tories, sensing weakness and indecision, will press relentlessly forward onto the offensive.

We say that offensive can be halted; the Tory government can be defeated.

With this in view, the Workers Socialist League will continue to struggle in the workers' movement for the construction of a revolutionary leadership capable of strengthening and generalising every one of the struggles that will break out in conflict with Tory policies—whether this be against anti-union laws, spending cuts, closures, sackings or racist immigration laws.

And we invite workers who share these objectives to join with us in this fight.

Fresh Court attack on unions

In a new round of the mounting legal offensive against picketing, a temporary High Court order was issued last week to restrain stage hands from the National Theatre from stopping supplies crossing their picket line.

The injunction was obtained on the request of the NT's management, the South Bank Theatre Board Ltd., who have already declared their intention to sue six of the pickets—members of NATTKE—for £193,000 damages, alleging that this is the loss of business caused by their action.

But the ancestry of the temporary injunction shows a clear continuity from the spate of anti-union judgements that have multiplied since the NAFF-sponsored injunction last year to prevent the UPW blacking mail to South Africa.

'Secondary picketing'

In particular, similarities were drawn between this case—where it was claimed that building materials irrelevant to the dispute were being stopped by pickets—and the January injunction against haulage driver Reg Fall for the so-called "secondary picketing" of United Biscuits.

These legal rulings can be expected to grow further in scope and number under the Tories, while Thatcher's union-bashing cabinet draw up plans for more comprehensive laws to shackle the unions.

The only answer to such judicial harassment is the mobilisation of the full strength of the trade union movement to assert the basic right to impose blacking, to picket and strike, wherever that right is threatened.

The National Theatre judgement, like the Nottingham Evening Post ruling, the United Biscuits injunction and the ban on NUJ blacking of Press Association copy, stands as a monument not only to the class character of the courts, but also to the spineless nature of the trade union bureaucracy.

This can only be changed through the struggle for a new, revolutionary leadership in the workers' movement.



Anti union Judge: Denning

-INTERNATIONAL-

White rats desert as stooges move in

Bishop Abel Muzorewa will next month be installed as Prime Minister of "Rhodesia-Zimbabwe".

His victory in the "elections" organised under the internal settlement gives him 51% of the 100 seats in the assembly and 10 of the 20 cabinet seats.

As we pointed out in SP 147 the large turnout was secured through intimidation—a British observer, Lord Chitnis, claimed that Rhodesian troops and white employers had pressurised many blacks to vote in order to prove to the world that the election was popular.

"The one factor that should not be taken into account is that this was a fair and free election. It wasn't; it was a fraud".

As was to be expected the "elections" were no sooner over than the thieves began to fall out.

Ndabaningi Sithole, whose "ZANU" won only 12 seats (and thus 2 cabinet places)—obviously realising his weakened position—accused the authorities of "irregularities".

He threatened to boycott both the assembly and cabinet unless an independent inquiry was set up.

Sithole's appeal for such an inquiry has been brushed aside and we can expect him to manoeuvre further in the months to come.

No seats

Another member of the transitional government Chief Jeremiah Chirau, whose party won no seats at all, had the nerve to call for the continuation of the so-called transitional government until the war against the Patriotic Front was won.

Despite the obvious fraud involved in the election, however, it has been an important temporary success for the beleaguered Smith regime.

The establishment of a regime with the appearance of some degree of popular approval will strengthen Smith's demands for international recognition.

This would be an important weapon in his campaign to split the Patriotic Front or better still to convince it of the need to

come to an agreement.

That said, Smith's time is still running out.

White departures from the country reached 1,555 in March—a 300% increase over the March 1978 figure.

9,000 whites have now left over the last six months (nearly 5% of the total white population).

As they leave, the backbone of the security forces is steadily weakened.

The imperialist response to the election has been as expected.

In the USA Carter, who is at present opposing moves in Congress to drop economic sanctions, is reported as saying that he wouldn't give a definite judgement until the government was actually formed but that it was a 'step in the right direction'.

'Black' imperialist

Andrew Young, Carter's "black" ambassador to the UN, said that:

"An election supervised by the UN and the presence of a UN peace-keeping force is the

only option that makes sense".

Carter's main ally has up to now been the British Labour government.

The election of a Tory government, which in the run-up to the General Election called for recognition of the internal settlement, is a factor which will upset the plans.

The treacherous Labour leadership has paved the way for a Tory recognition of Smith through its manoeuvring.

Abstained

Only two days before the British General Election the Callaghan government along with the USA and France abstained on a vote (carried 12-3) in the UN Security Council which condemned the Rhodesian elections and declared them null and void.

Muzorewa has pledged himself to continue the war, which rages at a level higher than ever.

Despite the fact that the Patriotic Front did not succeed in stopping the election the very low vote in some areas (only 30% in Matabeleland South) is



Muzorewa

testimony to the influence of the guerrillas.

Robert Mugabe (ZANU) said in an interview with *Le Monde* that he thought the new regime would not last any time at all.

"Whether its head is white or black it is still a monster... If South Africa recognises the regime and sends troops we will also appeal for troops—initially from within Africa".

Speaking of Britain and the

US he said:

"Their positions are more or less favourable but leave some room for doubt.

"Carter's declaration augers ill. He has accepted that the elections are a step in the right direction—exactly as he has accepted the formation of the internal settlement regime.

"If we can organise pressure from certain large countries—Nigeria, Egypt and the Front Line states—then I don't see how the US or Britain can move in the direction of the Salisbury regime."

Mugabe went on to call for an inter-African High Command to defend the Front Line states.

The emphasis of pressure on Britain and the US is symptomatic of Mugabe's whole strategy.

CHINESE STALINISTS LURCH INTO REVERSE GEAR

The watchword appears to be "All change!".

Under Mao the growth of the population was sanctified; now stringent measures have been brought in to penalise couples having more than one child.

Under Mao, People's Communes and collectivisation in agriculture were the order of the day; now a fundamental revision, and breaking down of the old structures is in progress.

Under Mao incentives were out; now lively debates centre on how to "encourage the ardour of the peasants".

In the past population control was decried as a bourgeois notion.

Now the Hua-Deng regime in China has set out major restrictions on the number of births allowed.

Repayment

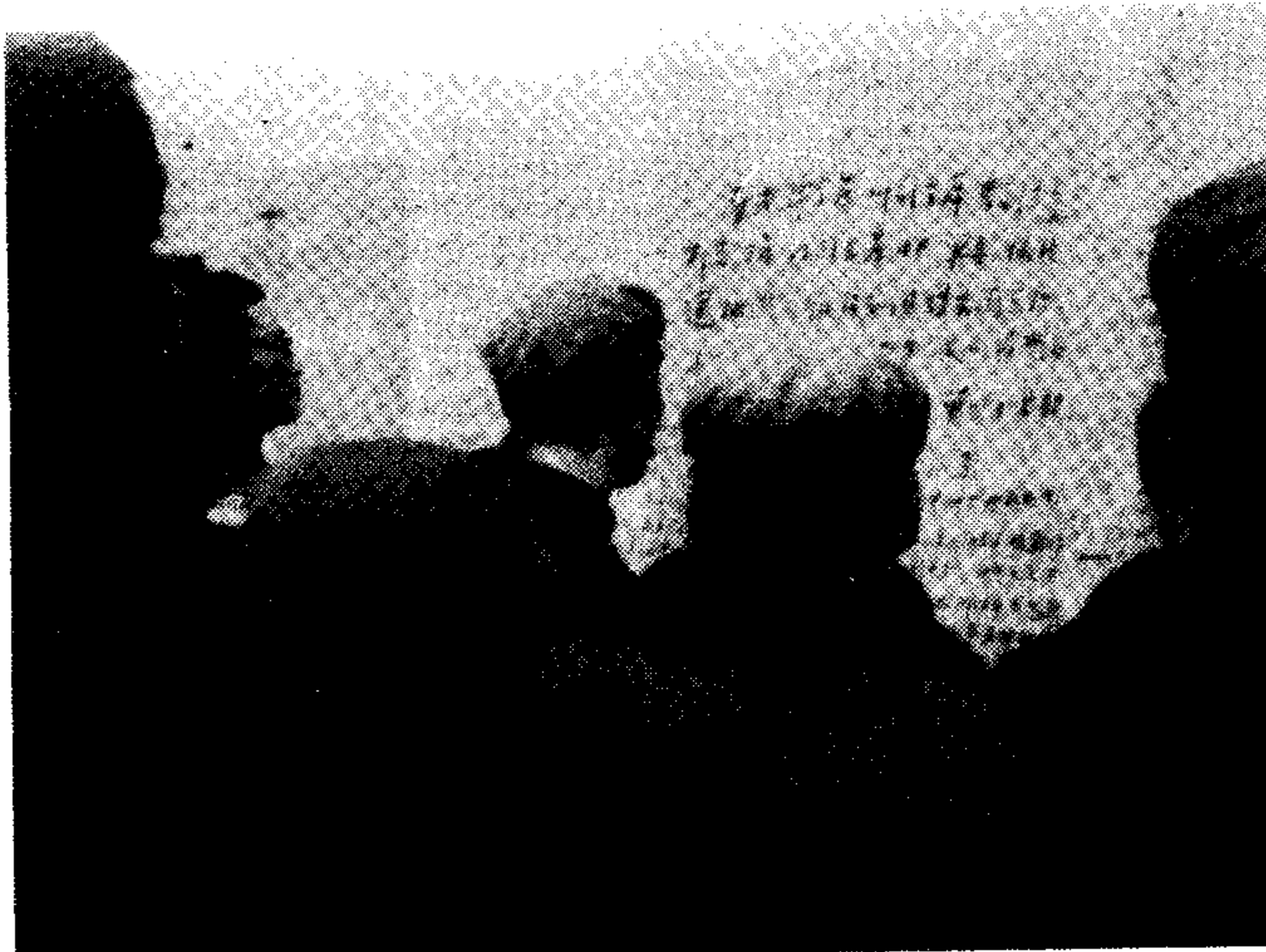
A couple are gladly allowed one child and receive allowances, etc.

However, if another child is born, all the previous allowances have to be repaid: and if a third comes along, their taxes are increased to penalise them.

It is too early to say what sort of reaction will grow against these dictates.

However, it is clear that great anxiety has been expressed to the chaos that has resulted from the "readjustments" which have been proposed in the agricultural sector.

The *People's Daily* in Peking in fact expressed its anxiety in a front page attack on the risks of chaos which the dismantling of



the production teams heralds.

With the exception of State farms, the People's Communes are organised into several brigades which are sub-divided into production teams.

But two Central Committee documents, unpublished, adopted last December (*On several problems of the accelerated development of agriculture and The work rules of rural People's Communes*) which were widely circulated in the provinces, put forward as their main line the "criticism of the ultra-left line".

Leftist errors

It claimed that many "leftist" errors had been committed over the years.

Now under the pretext of giving maximum 'autonomy' to the production team, comes a dismantling of all agriculture which was the responsibility of brigades and communes.

In Hunan, for example, one brigade which reared pigs collectively has seen its

animals either killed, sold or distributed to the peasants.

The same happened in forestry and orchards.

What is in practice happening is a return to the family unit and individual plots.

Disruption

Thus the debate in the pages of the *People's Daily* between local peasants and sections of the party leadership worried at the disruption to production.

This has been followed by the announcements from the second session of the 5th Assembly which stated that the rhythm of modernisation is to be slowed down, more investment is to be channelled into agriculture, light industry fostered rather than heavy, and more 'rational' use is to be made of resources.

Opposition has of course continued in the base of the party.

In one magazine, *Tansuo*, given out in front of the "wall of democracy" there

is a violent attack on Deng Xiaoping as well as an overall critique of the regime.

Most of the authors of this text were subsequently arrested.

The choices facing the Chinese people according to *Tansuo* are:

"Either we wish that society will progress, that the standard of living and production will develop rapidly and that the social system is completely reformed.

Or we want to perpetuate the class dictatorship in Mao's way, that is to say to refuse democracy, and therefore never to achieve the modernisation of production and the way of life of the people."

The ex-Red Guard leaders who now produce *Huang He* (Yellow River) in Hong Kong have a more politically worked out analysis.

They point out the desire of Deng to modernise and agree with him that the small and middle cadres act as an obstacle to liberalisation.

Deng describes them as "The people who monopolise the toilets but do nothing in them."

Dangerous

The problem is that it is dangerous to change line under conditions of continual purge.

Therefore they take no initiatives.

However, the *Huang He* points out:

"When you want to proceed to make some adjustments, you quickly realise that it is necessary to change everything."

This understanding of the need to completely overthrow the bureaucracy from the Chinese workers' state is essential to tackle the fight for the mobilisation of the workers and peasants.

The political weakness of the leading clique is still obvious from the continuing repression.

The opposition group, the Alliance of Human Rights has protested against the "illegal" arrest of three of their members including Ren Wandong.

The April 5 *Tribune* has criticised:

"those who think that by adopting administrative measures and methods of violent repression they will bring together different movements of thought."

About 30 dissidents are said to have been arrested since the beginning of April.

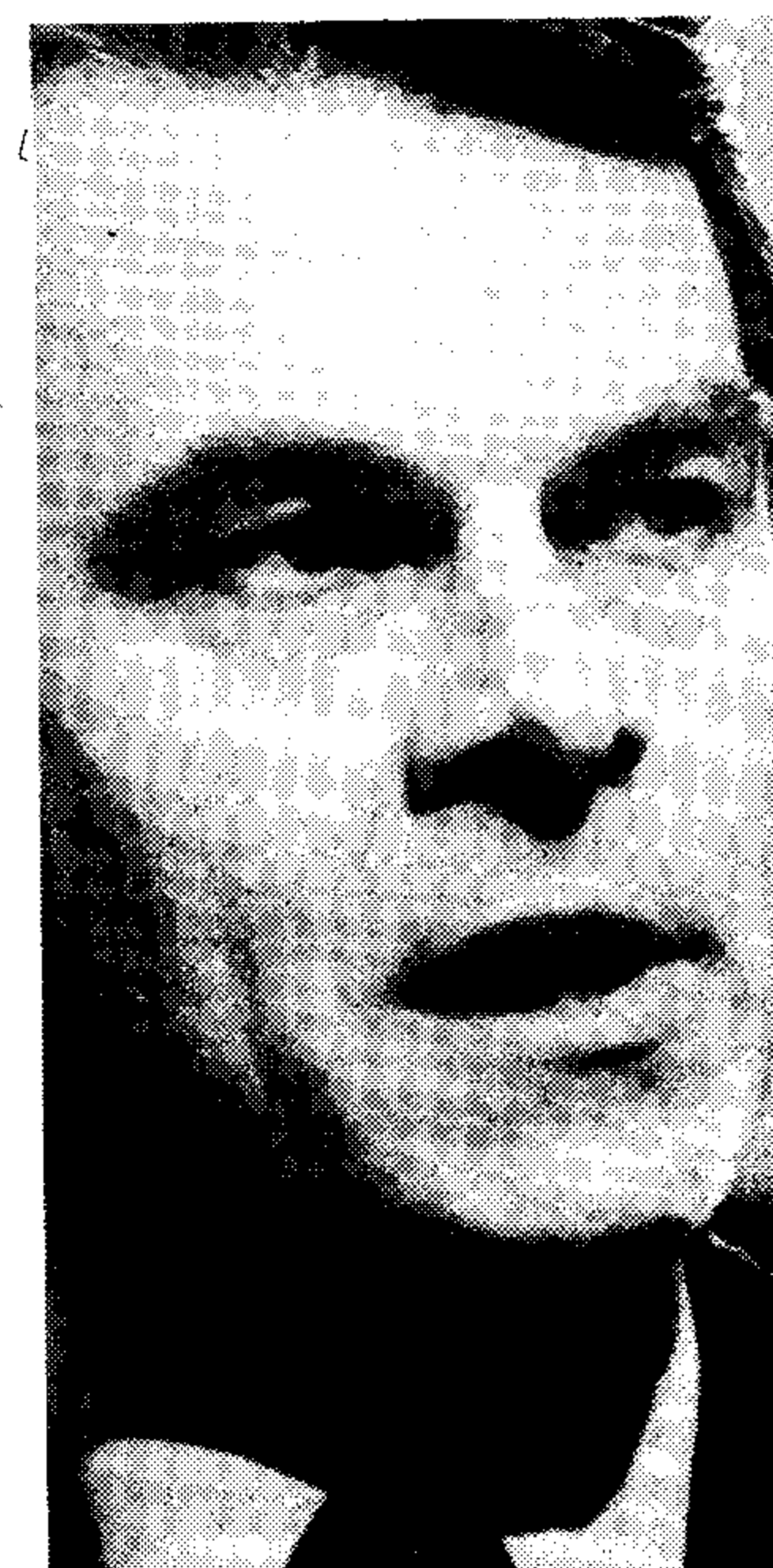
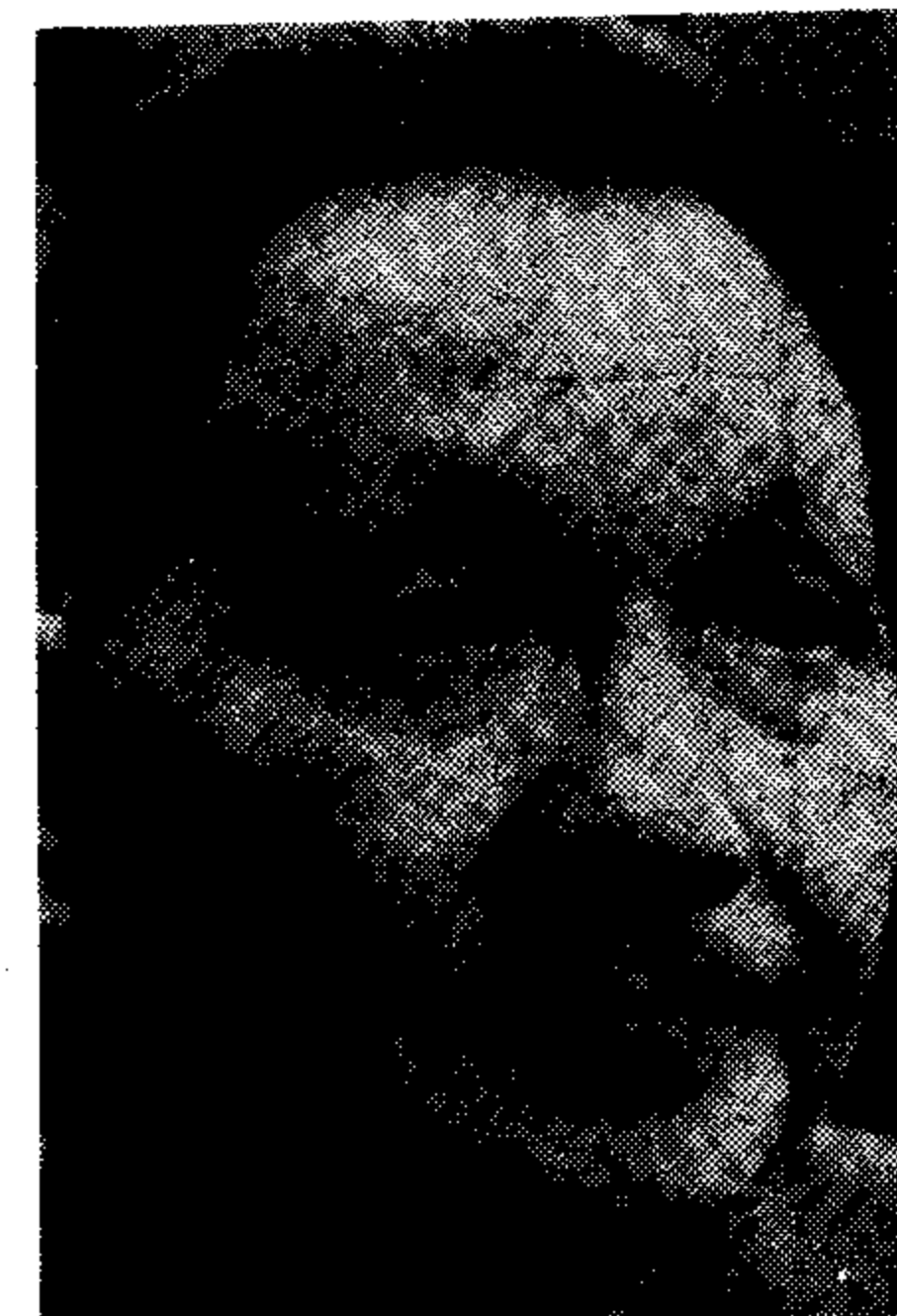


PHOTO: Andrew Ward, Report



Young

Whatever he says about no collaboration with Muzorewa, the political direction the struggle has taken is one in which secret diplomacy and manoeuvring is the dominant method.

In the imperialist nations the workers movement must prepare a campaign of solidarity with the guerrilla struggle focussed around independent workers' action to block the supplying of materials to the Smith/Muzorewa regime and opposition to recognition or the dispatching of imperialist troops as "peacekeepers".

In the Labour Party the despicable record of pro-imperialist Owen must be placed systematically before the membership and a fight taken up for a Labour leadership which supports anti-imperialist struggles to replace the one which has done so much to knife them.



Bolivian workers in the streets opposing Banzer's coup in 1971

BOLIVIAN BOSSES USE ELECTION PLOY

The election scheduled to take place in Bolivia in July is not, as anybody with a passing knowledge of the country will know, an established feature of its political system.

This poll, like those held in Ecuador and planned in Peru, is the manoeuvre of a bourgeoisie ceding ground in the face of popular mobilisation.

Ploy

The ploy is not new—it was tried by General Banzer in 1978 after he had failed to halt opposition to a regime that had imposed the most severe repression on the masses of Bolivia for seven years.

The present military president, General David Padilla,

faces the same basic problems of serious economic crisis and widespread unrest.

But the Padilla regime, unlike that of Banzer, has from the start manifested the changed tactics of the political control of capital. It has focussed on the motifs of 'democracy', human rights, return of the army to a 'civic' role, and the handing back of power to the professional 'politicos' of the bourgeoisie.

Such policies do not only emanate from the shift in the imperialist design for the sub-continent.

They are also rooted in the ambitions of the reactionary but still powerful MNR (National Revolutionary Movement—the petty bourgeois populist party that initiated the revolution of 1952).

Moreover important sections of the army, divided and dis-

illusioned by the failure of its seemingly endless task of killing workers and peasants to maintain 'peace' and 'order', have shown themselves to be at least temporarily acquiescent towards the new mandate from the Pentagon.

Contradictions

First and foremost, however, it is the Bolivian masses who, through reconstructing their organisations and re-engaging in political activity have deepened the contradictions inside the power bloc and obtained the promised concession, as yet unrealised, of bourgeois democratic rights.

When in January 1978 Banzer attempted to stamp out a national campaign for amnesty for political prisoners he was unable to impose his character-

istic blood-letting without risking the total collapse of his regime. Banzer had long been the leading hatchet-man for Santa Cruz, the 'boom town' in the east of the country with strong political and economic links with Brazil.

But by the Spring of 1978 he was obliged to transfer this role to a lacklustre airforce general, Juan Pereda.

Pereda and Banzer between them masterminded such a blatant and massive fraud in the ensuing elections that not even the hand-picked electoral court could countenance ratifying the results.

International observers witnessed the dumping of hundreds of ballot boxes in Lake Titicaca, the murder of opposition election officials, multiple voting and a whole series of dirty tricks.

These went way beyond the



beer and sandwiches for bemused peasants ferried to voting stations by the army, which is the customary practice of Bolivian governments when obliged to hold elections.

Pereda, faced with an embarrassing mishap, duly proceeded with the preferred activity of the Bolivian army and carried out a coup, claiming fraud on the part of the

opposition and the threat of a 'communist takeover' as his reasons.

Pereda, however, was not Banzer.

His rule was short. In announcing that new elections would not take place until May 1980, he not only ignored the precarious position of his government in face of the revolutionary currents inside the proletariat and the peasantry, but he also antagonised the MNR and sections of the officer corps.

These dissident officers were not so much followers of the populist General Torres, whose regime (1970-71) had witnessed the establishment of the workers' and peasants' Popular Assembly.

They were rather a group of officers outraged at their failure to achieve promotion and influence under Banzer and frightened of the effect on the unity of the armed forces if some concessions were not made to popular demands for democratic rights.

Some of these officers had links with the MNR and particularly with that faction led by Hernan Siles Zuazo who was the 'legitimate' victor in the elections.

Figurehead

Consequently in November these men, taking the Commander-in-Chief Padilla as their figurehead, reversed Pereda's coup.

In preparing the ground for the return to civilian rule the Padilla government has refused to court the risks of 'stabilising' the economy by approving widespread price rises, which are considered essential by its economic advisers and by the US embassy.

Yet the military have not hesitated to declare that all strikes that are not preceded by a prohibitive arbitration process are illegal, anti-democratic and liable to immediate repression.

Neither have they withdrawn the troops from the mining areas where, with the exception of the Torres period, a state of siege has existed since the early 60s.

As yet very little has changed but the prospect of 'civilian rule' goes far beyond the trite self-congratulation put about by the bourgeoisie.

Leading the field of candidates is the electoral front Unidad Democratica y Popular (UDP) headed by Siles Zuazo's MNRI (left-wing MNR), which is attempting to recapture the populist heyday of the original party after 1952.

Siles is pledged to Carter and has the advantage of his success last year. However his strategy goes little further than drawing on the White House purse to pay the large wave rises that he accepts are unavoidable if he is to stem renewed militancy.

Even in the short term Siles' chances of success in this are bleak, for while the general workers' federation—the COB—and the powerful miners' union—the FSTMB—have placed the struggle against the rises in the cost of living at the forefront of the campaign, not even the most bureaucratically riddled and politically degenerate organisations are succeeding in holding back demands from the rank and file which outstrip any possible concessions envisaged by the UDP.

Left nationalist

Allied to the MNRI in the UDP is the MIR (Movement of the Revolutionary Left), a 'left-nationalist' party originating from the radical wing of the Christian Democrats, staffed mostly by petty bourgeois elements, strong on blustering anti-imperialism but in practice aiming at little more than some timid tinkering with the management of the economy.

The third major member of this unholy alliance is the pro-Moscow CP which has an even lower standing amongst the masses than most other Stalinist parties in Latin America since its failure to provide a revolutionary leadership has been shown up by strong Trotskyist traditions, particularly in the mines.

The inclusion of the Stalinists in Siles' front is likely to do him more damage than good as it antagonises the army and does little to broaden the appeal of the 'reforms' with which the UDP hopes to transfix the electorate.

Strikes hit Argentine junta

It is now over three years since the Argentine armed forces overthrew the corrupt regime of Isabel Peron and launched upon an unprecedentedly ferocious repression of the working class.

On March 29, the third anniversary of the coup, President Jorge Videla was sufficiently confident of his position to dismiss plans for allowing civilian political activity and to confirm that new measures would be introduced to curtail yet further the powers and rights of trade unions.

Union law

The 'new mode' of trade union activity, laid down in a document known as the 'Law of Professional Association', has for several months been the subject of heated negotiations between the military and two trade union groups, the Comision Nacional de Trabajo (CNT) and the 'Grupo de 25'

which comprises a broad spectrum of Peronist leaders.

No doubt Videla was unhappy that the negotiations were necessary, let alone that they had become so extended.

Cronies

But this had little to do with the conciliatory nature of his cronies.

It is the growing resistance of the Argentine workers to the crippling rise in the cost of living caused by the austerity measures of Economy Minister Martinez de Hoz that has been the cause of delay and the object of increasing concern on the part of the regime.

It was the intention of the military to impose upon a defeated and demoralised working class the most stringent legal sanctions and obtain compliance with the austerity plan.

This had already proved less easy than they imagined but it was put right out of court on Friday April 28 when the '25' called a one

day general strike in protest both at the plan and the restrictions on union activity.

The CNT, which had already entered into a working alliance with the '25' refused to obey the strike call but appreciable numbers of its members joined the stoppage and a 30% turnout was reported—an impressive achievement in view of the extraordinarily difficult conditions under which the workers live.

'Official'

The CNT is now being labelled as an 'official' organisation and is losing members to the '25' who, despite many arrests, have ensured that the economic policies of the regime will continue to be challenged and accelerated the growth of resistance that has been evident for some time now.

Massive difficulties remain but the events of recent weeks show that the Argentine working class can no longer be seen as in retreat.



Videla

Rattled Callaghan hounded on Ireland

Nothing got more under the skin of Callaghan's avuncular electioneering campaign more thoroughly than the systematic interventions into Labour Party rallies by opponents of British imperialist repression in Ireland.

Despite police harassment, and violent intimidation by Labour Party 'heavies', supporters of the United Troops Out Movement and the RCG's 'Hands Off Ireland' group managed time and again to bring the Irish war to the forefront of stage-managed public meetings.

Lies and slanders

So rattled was Callaghan by this determined campaign that he resorted to outright lies and slanders against the hecklers, branding them as a "flying squad" of agitators which he



PHOTO: Andrew Ward, Report

Callaghan

claimed was 'paid' to disrupt his meetings.

And so devoid are the Labour leaders of any answers

when challenged on Ireland that at "public" election meetings in Speke and in Cardiff "Hands Off Ireland" supporters were illegally excluded at the door, in defiance of the Representation of the People Act.

Hecklers ejected

Elsewhere hecklers were ejected from meetings only to be faced with police charges.

In the North East, Colin Randell, Secretary of Newcastle Trades Council and a long-standing Labour Party member, was thrown out of Callaghan's rally for asking if there would be time for questions, since he wanted to ask one about Ireland!

In Cardiff Pat Arrowsmith, running as a candidate against Callaghan on a 'troops out' platform, was continually harassed and once arrested by police.

Though Arrowsmith

attracted only 132 votes, 'troops out' campaigner Brendan Gallagher, who ran as an independent socialist against Roy Mason in Barnsley, won a respectable 638 under very difficult conditions, and with a manifesto focussed exclusively on British repression in Ireland.

But while there was a definite propaganda value of Gallagher's candidacy—in which he stood clearly as a representative of the Irish struggle against Labour's torture chief—the impact of the interventions by 'Hands Off Ireland' supporters was minimised by their wrong call for abstention in the Election.

The task of mobilising the British working class against the imperialist repression of their "own" ruling class cannot be achieved through abstentionism, but only through the struggle to expose the reactionary role of the Labour leaders in office.

It is to be hoped that those

IRELAND



PHOTO: Derek Speirs, IFT

Mason

courageous forces that took up the challenge of making Ireland an issue in the election will now

join forces with those socialists fighting in the Labour Party and the unions to make Ireland an issue on which to struggle for the ousting of the Callaghan-Healey leadership and the construction of a principled socialist alternative.

The embattled 'blanket' prisoners in 'H' Block at Long Kesh, and the republican forces continuing the war against British imperialism will soon discover that the Tories can crack down still harder than their Labourite lackeys.

The task for the next period is to build the mass opposition to Thatcher's reactionary government side-by-side with the fight for new leadership in the labour movement.

LEICESTER: THE ANL'S COVER UP

Oxford Anti Nazi League
April 30, 1979

Dear Editor,

The *Socialist Press* report on the ANL demonstration in Leicester was indeed 'special'—a special effort in calumny and fabrication against a national anti-fascist organisation, which is unlikely to do your organisation or your paper much good.

1) The Anti Nazi League did not organise the pacifist and diversionary march away from the National Front, as claimed in para. 10 of your report. In fact, as reported in a rather garbled way in para. 13 of the same article, that march was organised by the "All Leicester Campaign against Racism" supported by the Leicester branch of the Indian Workers Association. (However other IWA branches followed the lead of the ANL and joined in opposing the NF in the centre of the town with the main body of anti-fascists).

2) 48 hours beforehand, the ANL organised to bring as many of its members and supporters as possible to a central venue—the bus station—instead of the advertised venue of Victoria Park, thus effectively countering the police plans to cordon our demonstrators off from the city centre.

It was thanks to this coordinated ANL manoeuvre that the Oxford WSL contingent, travelling on an ANL coach, were able to arrive at the centre of Leicester at the start of the day alongside the

Oxford ANL contingent, to meet ANL stewards who directed the anti-fascists thus assembled towards the National Front's assembly point and projected route, a route which our demonstration forced them to abandon.

3) By late morning this ANL leadership and organisation had succeeded in bringing large numbers of anti-fascists into the centre of Leicester as intended.

However it was also necessary to bring people from Victoria Park to the city centre, since the change of venue could not possibly have been conveyed to all our supporters in advance. This task was also carried out successfully.

An ANL platform was set up in Victoria Park, and ANL secretary Paul Holborow and other speakers effectively called on people at the Park to go down into the centre of the city to oppose the National Front march, rather than marching off ineffectively away from the Front with the "All Leicester Campaign".

Out of some 1,500 people at the Park, roughly two-thirds were led through and round police cordons to join up with the main body of the demonstration in the city centre. Socialist Press reporters were seen at the Park where these facts were plain for all to see, so why were they not reported correctly?

The fact is that your report was muddled by sectarian malice. That is why you say both that the diversionary march was organised by the ANL and that it was organised by the "unity" forces.

That is why you say both that the ANL called its supporters to Victoria Park, and that 'only about 400 ANL supporters were caught behind the police cordon—the rest had travelled directly to the city centre'.

And that is why you have to lie that the ANL did not call on its supporters to challenge the National Front's attempt to march through the centre of Leicester, when that is precisely what the Anti Nazi League did, and did successfully.

Rip Bulkeley

We admit that our (edited) article in SP 147 left room for

misinterpretation. But it is interesting to note the way in which ANL supporters, and in particular members of the Socialist Workers Party, have eagerly seized on this in order to cover up the real position of the ANL.

Firstly we should state clearly that it was the case that the ANL organised in advance to divert contingents from the pre-arranged Victoria Park venue to the city centre in order to confront the fascists.

It was never our intention to deny this.

But the question to be asked is why the ANL in Leicester departed so far from the official pacifist line of the movement nationally, which is not to confront the fascists on the streets but to campaign against them through propaganda and protest stunts.

The answer, spelled out in our feature article on the background to the Leicester events in SP 148 is that national Anti Nazi League spokesman Paul Holborow was voted down 26-23 at a meeting of the Leicester Trades Council co-ordinating committee when he proposed a diversionary march to take place on the other side of Leicester from the NF.

Defeated and in danger of standing completely exposed in Leicester, the ANL on this one occasion opportunistically, but correctly switched its line to one of 'no platform' for the NF fascists—and sent its supporters into the city centre.

The fact remains that this is not a consistent or official policy of the ANL, which not only in general avoids such clashes with the NF but resolutely opposes calls to use its considerable numerical strength to campaign for the building of workers' defence squads in key areas to defend the immigrant communities and the workers' movement against fascist violence.

Indeed only two days later after Asian youth had fought on the streets of Southall to keep the NF out of their town, Peter Hain, leading ANL spokesman made it clear on TV that he was opposed to the use of violence and supported peaceful protest against the NF.



PRESS GANG



The press seems strangely muted. The orgy of trumpet blowing and red baiting is over. The editorial columns, done with campaigning, seem to have little enthusiasm for celebrating.

It is as if the Frankensteins of Fleet Street were so intently concentrating on breathing life into their Thatcherite monster that they scarcely seem to know what to do with her now that she has sat up and opened her eyes.

Despite the ringing war-like tones that filled their pages before last Thursday, it is clear that the Tory press does not believe that the weapons of social democracy are outdated. Having urged Thatcher for three weeks to smash this and bash that, the press now advises her to try first recruiting wholesale the army of fifth columnists inside the working class who worked so hard for Callaghan.

The *Daily Telegraph* in a leader devoid of any specific immediate demands urged Thatcher to have courage and confidence.

But it also recognised that the world has not been changed: "Disaffected schoolteachers, inordinate wage claims, inflation, terrorism in Ulster and mugging in the streets of urban Britain cannot simply be voted out of existence".

It also went out of its way to stress the similarities between the Labour right wing and the Tories.

Sister paper, the *Sunday Telegraph*, was still more cautious. On 'trade union power' it said:

"Precipitate action in this field would be imprudent, since Tory economic policies will be challenging enough without the extra provocation of legal reform. That gun should be handled with care... Mr Len Murray is not being unreasonable in asking for consultation first."

The *Observer* warned that union explosions over pay claims was the number one danger, and that Thatcher had much to learn from Callaghan, "a man of public spirit who put country before party ideology".

The *Financial Times* called for "tact and patience" and said

bluntly that promises of tax cutting were impossible to implement.

"Mrs Thatcher will have to establish working relationships with trade union leaders, many of whom have stated repeatedly that her victory would be a disaster, and who have become used at least to the appearance of having a major influence on government decisions."

Not only has the Tory press—shaken perhaps by the fact that the Labour vote did not collapse—urged caution, but almost all of them have gone into mourning for the defeat of Shirley Williams, the Labourite who epitomised everything in social democracy most acceptable to capitalists.

Fear that a swing to the left inside the Labour Party would strengthen working class resistance has underlined what *Socialist Press* has said for more than a year.

The capitalists chose to go for power in their own name—not from self confidence—but from desperation.



PHOTO: Andrew Ward, Report

Hain

'Left' fakers crawl from the wreckage

Scarcely has the dust settled on Labour's election defeat and the hastily-prepared political coffin of Shirley Williams, than the fake 'lefts' have rushed forward with cheap militant demagoguery.

Party chairman Frank Allaun who had lifted not a finger to fight Callaghan prior to the election, led off with a blustering statement warning Thatcher that if she proceeded to attack working people, they would adamantly resist.

"Governments come and governments go, but the Labour Party goes on. Our job is to defend resolutely those who work by hand and brain".

Less waffle

If Allaun and his fellow 'lefts' had done a bit more actual defending of workers and a bit less waffle and covering up for Callaghan perhaps the Labour Party would not have gone into the election so bereft of socialist policies.

Tribune Group vice-chairman Martin Flannery also

offered a belated attack on Callaghan who, as "undisputed leader of the Labour Party" had held onto his policy of:

"a rigid and dogmatic five percent long after his position on this had been overrun."

This, claimed Flannery, was "the fundamental cause of Labour's defeat".

What, then, did Flannery do to oppose this policy? Of course nothing. Nor do he or his Tribune pals intend to do anything now to remove Callaghan as party leader.

The Parliamentary Labour Party meeting to re-elect the



PHOTO: John Sturrock, Report

Allaun

leader is regarded as a mere formality for Callaghan, the doorman for Thatcher.



LUARD BACKS

"HEATH'S PLAN"

At his last meeting before the election Evan Luard, who is now the ex-Labour MP for Oxford showed what little alternative he presented to the Tories.

He argued for a permanent incomes policy and said it should be "the same as Heath's", though without legal backing.

He admitted that the Labour government had carried out cuts but argued, as one of the other speakers said "it is better to have cuts under Labour than under the Tories".

The meeting was well attended by about 50 people

and every mention of Labour being elected was applauded.

Critics

There was great initial hostility towards outspoken left wing critics. But it soon became clear afterwards that this hostility was because the workers in the meeting were against Labour being elected.

In reality many of the audience, were hostile to Callaghan and Healey and to Luard's policies. It is important that this hostility is now turned into the struggle to remove Labour's right wing leaders whose betrayals have brought Thatcher to power.

Last gasp from Wise-against nationalisation

Nationalisation? "It's a cold word. I think some things should be run by the state—gas, electricity, etc—but not everything."

This pre-election confession by supposed 'left' MP Audrey Wise prior to her defeat in Coventry spelled out the abject confusion of Labour's Tribune Group.

Having been ritualistically asked by the tame-cat "Marxists" of the Militant Group what her attitude was to nationalising the 250 monopolies under workers' control, Wise waffled on with increasing embarrassment:

"I prefer 'common ownership', but the whole thing's very complicated—it needs a lot of discussion.

"The multi-nationals are too

big. They need to be broken down to a more manageable size."

Making a bad answer even worse, Wise blundered on:

"I agree with workers' control, but there has to be consumer control as well".

This however was only one instance of Wise's avoidance of a fight for socialist policies. When challenged on her consistent refusal to vote against Callaghan's wage-cutting pay limits, she produced a long rigmarole of excuses.

The most spectacular evasion was when she claimed that she went along with wage controls last July because if the government had been defeated and an election called, the Tories would have been able to pose as defenders of free collective bargaining!

In other words, to forestall



PHOTO: Chris Davies, Report

Wise

this possible Tory ruse, Wise herself cleverly acted as an opponent of free collective bargaining—a position she maintained in votes on government economic policy even after the 5% pay limit was thrown out by last year's Labour Party confer-

WRP's 'mass party' fraud exposed

The farcical position of the Workers Revolutionary Party—an organisation of no more than a few hundred active members—standing 60 candidates in the Election has been shown up by events.

In many areas, where WRP presence was clearly restricted to the candidate and agent, little or no canvassing was done. Even election addresses, freely distributed by post, were not sent out.

Abortive

And WRP "public meetings" attended by WSL members proved to be either completely abortive or to be attended by audiences numbered in single figures.

Of course the '60 candidates' stunt was designed to capture TV time and thus portray the WRP as a mass organisation.

But this impression did not have much impact on voters.

Even the WRP broadcast's presenter, Corin Redgrave, pulled only a derisory 152 votes.



Corin Redgrave

Elsewhere WRP candidates received votes mainly ranging from 45 (Luton East) to 200.

An exception was Ormskirk, where Simon Pirani standing against only Labour and Tory candidates attracted 800 votes.

And in four areas WRP candidates—who presumably did mount a campaign—won over 400 votes.

But in the main the 60 candidates avoided standing in areas where the WRP had previously campaigned. Where this was not the case—as in Vanessa Redgrave's campaign in Moss Side—the WRP vote actually fell.

An interesting victory in the local council elections was the success in Nuneaton of Labour candidate Ivor Timson—a Socialist Press supporter.

Timson objected strongly to

the official policy statement punted by the Labour Party and secured agreement to distribute his own, alternative, leaflet.

Support for strikes

This included specific opposition to wage controls, support for direct action including occupations and strikes against social service cuts, the call for the opening of the books of private suppliers to the public sector to trade union committees, and for nationalisation of these firms and the banks.

Calling for a new leadership in the Labour Party and the labour movement as a whole, Timson went on to support the demand for workers defence squads to protect immigrant workers against racist and fascist violence, and to demand the withdrawal of British troops from Ireland.

Elected

An impossible ultimatum for the Nuneaton electorate? Hardly!

Timson was elected, while his two fellow Labour candidates, running on the official platform were defeated by Tories!

Socialist win in Nuneaton

STILL AVAILABLE



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

'Socialist Unity' no answer to Bidwell

Asian workers turned out in their thousands to vote for Sydney Bidwell in Southall.

Against the trend elsewhere

in London, his vote increased by 4,000.

The turnout was a direct result of the recent police brutality and the growing realisation of the working class in the area that they have to participate in political life in Britain.

They turned, of course, to the Labour Party as the main workers' organisation and rejected the parachute intervention of "Socialist Unity" candidate Tariq Ali who got a miserable 477 votes.

Bidwell himself however acted as a block on this politicisation.

His pathetic performance, both in fighting for the rights of his constituents, and in the pre-election meetings, might well have discouraged even the most class conscious voters from putting their cross in his box.

He is infamous for his authorship of the Select Committee Report, which called for tighter immigration controls and discussed the possibility of passes for immigrants.

When challenged at the eve-of-poll meeting to justify his involvement he simply claimed that the five Tories on the Committee "weren't all Thatcherites" and some of them were quite moderate!

He said that he had argued with his wife about it and anyway he knew more about racism than anybody else in the room (with the exception of Vishnu Sharma, secretary of the IWA Southall).

Bidwell declared that everyone should read his book on the subject before attacking him, and then resorted to vulgar personal attacks on his questioners, calling one a "thickhead", and saying sarcastically to another "you're such a clever boy, you don't need help with learning English".

Another was accused of

coming "from the petty-bourgeois end of the constituency".

The rest of his contribution rambled through his working class youth, his local connections, and his Trotskyist past.

To a questioner from Socialist Unity about Troops Out he revealed his adherence to the Stalinist position of "troops to the barracks".

The Socialist Unity campaign however offered neither an adequate programme for struggle nor a direction into the Labour movement to remove fakers and traitors like Bidwell.

Indeed while Bidwell was facing opponents at his eve of poll meeting and discrediting himself in front of Asian workers, Tariq Ali's campaign was juddering to a halt down the road in a tiny meeting populated almost exclusively by IMG members and an assortment of sectarians and abstentionists.

Workers of Southall were right to vote Labour on 3 May.

Now the election is over, Asian workers must take up the struggle in the Labour Party to clear out such racists as Bidwell, and join the practical fight to construct a new, revolutionary leadership.



WRP extends its international campaign

WSL leadership branded

Healy backs Ba'athist

"When in doubt—lash out". This has been the consistent motto of the leadership of the Workers Revolutionary Party in the 4½ years since they bureaucratically expelled 200 members who supported a return to the method and principles of the Trotskyist Transitional Programme.

The chief target of the WRP's increasingly frenzied political attacks has been the Workers Socialist League, which was formed by a nucleus of those expelled forces and today alone carries forward a principled struggle for the Trotskyist programme in the British workers' movement.

Our movement has been falsely accused of a whole spectrum of crimes dreamed up by the fevered imagination of leading WRP sectarians—varying from our supposed "softness" on social democracy and the trade union bureaucracy, through alleged WSL collaboration with the Stalinists of the Communist Party, to imagined "adventures" and even "provocations" which they claim have been carried out by WSL members in British Leyland's Cowley car factories.

Falsified

Our political positions have been falsified; quotes from our press bowdlerised; our members slandered; and photographs of them have been offered up in the WRP's press for witch-hunting employers and bureaucrats.

But never, until last week, had the WRP quite sunk to the depths of accusing the WSL and its leading members of acting as paid police agents.

This fresh departure took place in an article "FBI Discover an Oxford Attorney; The Strange Case of John Lister" in *Newsline* of Tuesday May 1.

The article, itself a classic example of WRP falsification and double-think, marks a further extension of the WRP's efforts to avoid political discussion by throwing around wholesale allegations that political opponents are not legitimate opponents but "police agents".

Article

The *Newsline* attack takes the form of a reply to an article by *Socialist Press* editor John Lister in issue 147, which dealt with the crisis point reached in the 5½ year \$40 million lawsuit brought by the US Socialist Workers Party against the FBI.

The case stands at present at a stalemate, caused by the adamant refusal of the Carter's Attorney General Griffin Bell to comply with a court order to hand over files on a sample of 18 FBI informers who operated in and around the SWP during the FBI's 16-year programme of illegal harassment and disruption.

Lister's article, headlined "US Appeal Court rules the FBI above the Law", set out to draw a balance sheet of the court struggle so far—which has brought to light 180,000 pages of hitherto unknown documents, and whole dossiers on FBI disruption programmes, as well as forcing the highest law enforcement officer in the USA into a brazen defiance of the courts in order to keep the identities of FBI informers secret.

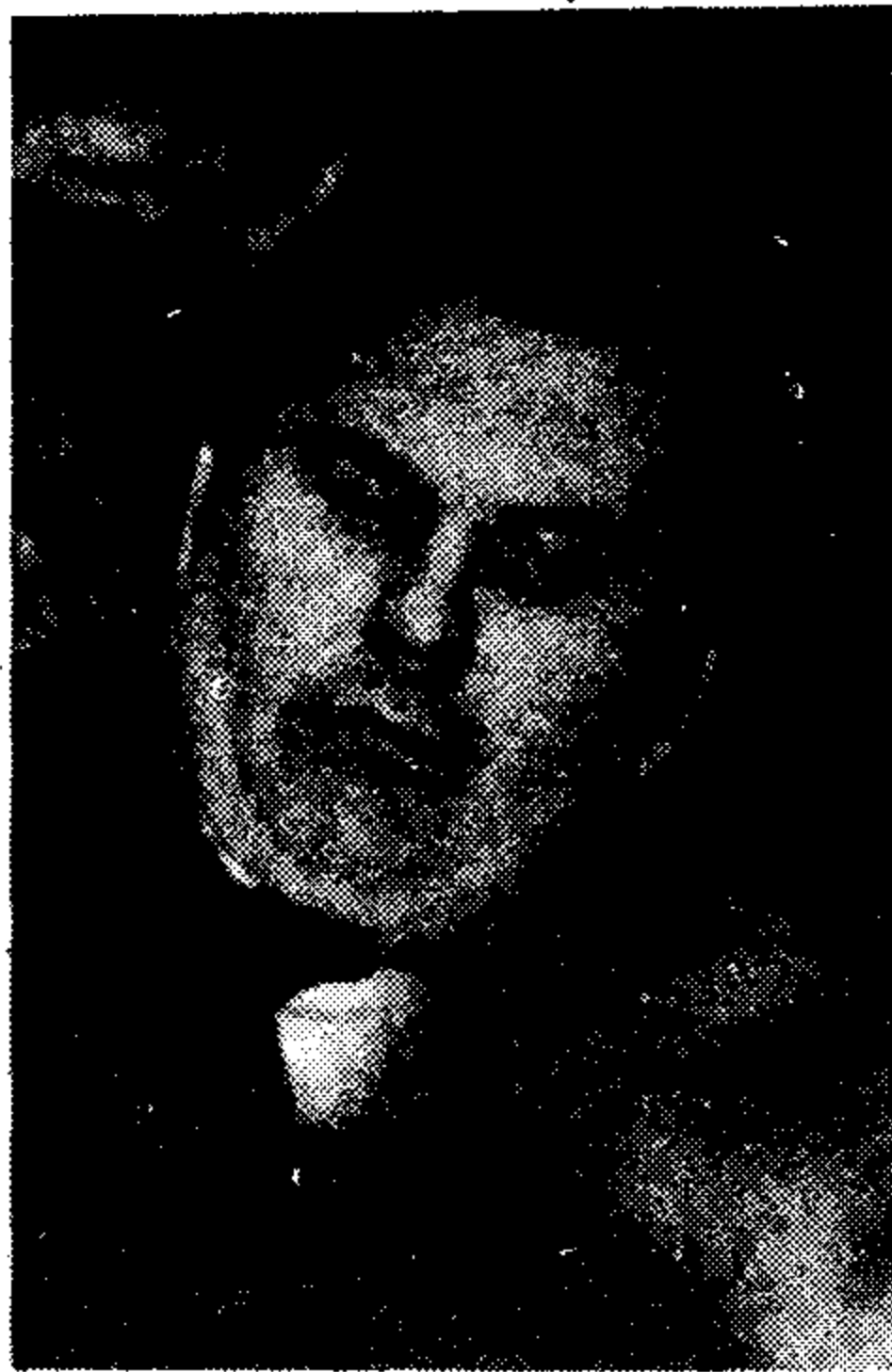
Lister contrasted this balance sheet of achievement with the political method of the SWP, which now threatens to



WRP leader Healy

allow Bell and the FBI to keep the 18 files (and those of the other 1,300 marks and stool pigeons used illegally by the state against the SWP over 16 years) safely under lock and key.

The SWP opportunists have proposed a possible \$5 million settlement, linked to an injunction debarring the FBI from continuing its illegal programme of surveillance, harassment, infiltration, phone-tapping and sabotage of the SWP, along with a formal government declaration of the SWP's legal status.



Newsline editor Mitchell

Lister's article pointed out that a March 19 Court of Appeals ruling that upheld Bell's decision to withhold the 18 files, effectively rules that the FBI and its "dirty tricks" are above the law.

It therefore shows beyond doubt that an injunction against FBI harassment along the lines proposed by the SWP is not worth the paper it is written on.

"Such a settlement would amount to little more than an opportunist truce", wrote Lister, who also challenged a statement by SWP spokesman Larry Seigle which claimed the question of the identities of the 18 informers was "a secondary issue in this case".

"though it may appear as a 'secondary issue' to the SWP, the massive cover-up of the 18 informers by the FBI has emerged politically as the main question at stake", stated Lister.

The *Socialist Press* article went on to attack the failure of the SWP to take the campaign and the lessons of the lawsuit against the FBI into the organised US labour movement. Lister called clearly for a full-scale challenge to the Appeal Court ruling, backed by a labour movement conference on the issue.

"Rather than seeking any kind of settlement with the capitalist state, the SWP should be seeking means of exposing more clearly to workers that this repressive state machinery, supported by both Republican, and Democratic parties, can be



The late Joseph Hansen

defeated only through the construction of a Labour Party based on the organised strength of the trade union movement with the task of representing workers' independent interests.

There is, however, little likelihood of any such change of course by the SWP leadership, which is tied to the opportunist politics of the "United" Secretariat of the Fourth International (to which it is prevented from affiliation by reactionary US legislation that should also be challenged).

As a result of this political weakness, a campaign that could still strike further heavy blows at the FBI's network of political sabotage seems likely to be kept alive in the next period more through the Carter regime's heavy handed refusal to concede on the issue than any such rigid stand on the part of the SWP leadership.

But these sharp criticisms are too political for the liking of the WRP leadership.

In any event the WRP's slander-merchants had scented a faint chance of bracketing the Workers Socialist League with the SWP, a party whose veteran leaders have for years been vilified by the WRP as "accomplices of the GPU" and "agents of the FBI".

The anonymous *Newsline* article therefore rips out a couple of partial quotes from Lister's article to distort its content, before moving in for the kill. The author baldly pronouncing that:

"the agents being protected by the FBI are the leaders of the Socialist Workers Party".

Without pausing for breath or thought, the *Newsline* rushes on to claim:

"Lister knows this [!] but he has written this article as a friend and political accomplice of the international network of police agents whose centre is located in the SWP Political Committee".

So not only the SWP leaders but now Lister, are branded "police agents" with a stroke of the pen!

Invented facts

Groping round for an explanation to fit this tissue of invented 'facts' the WRP hacks have only this to offer:

"[Lister] tries to pose as a 'left critic' of the SWP in order to soften the impact of the international exposure of its role as an instrument of the FBI and the US State Department".

Of course, Lister's article actually exposed the SWP leaders as opportunists, whose Pabloite methods make them incapable of utilising even the exposure of the US capitalist state by their own lawsuit as an agitational weapon in the American working class.

It takes the crazed sectarians of the WRP to see such a political attack as simply a 'left cover'. The main issue in the WRP's eyes is much simpler: to denounce the entire SWP leadership as FBI agents!

They go on lyingly to claim that "Lister has no objection at all to the SWP's willingness to take blood money from the US government."

But it is the conclusion to the *Newsline* article which

marks a new depth of filthy slander carried out through transparent innuendo.

"A question which naturally arises is; why has Lister decided to assume this role?"

Is it because Lister himself and the WSL would be prepared to take this kind of ruling class blood money if the occasion should arise?

Or is it, perhaps, because the FBI leaders of the SWP have promised Lister himself a cut of the proceeds if and when the blood money is delivered?"

In this one, squalid, rhetorical question—without a scrap of proof for any of its assertions—Healy demonstrates how far he has regressed from the principles and traditions of Trotskyism to the smear tactics and frame-ups of the Stalinist bureaucracy.

But at the same time he digs himself further into a trap woven from the WRP's own tissue of lies and distortions.

Of course we have never wanted to deny the possibility the SWP leadership contains an FBI infiltrator—any more than the WRP leaders can be certain that one of their number is not an undercover cop. The Bolshevik Central Committee was infiltrated up to the very eve of the revolution itself.

But Healy goes overboard. Ask yourself, for example, if the FBI really does run the SWP, then how can Healy explain the fact that the \$40 lawsuit was begun in the first place, 5½ years ago?

Remember, prior to the lawsuit, the FBI operated underground with impunity and no chance of being exposed: but since the lawsuit 100,000 pages of documents, revealing an inkling of the extent of illegal harassment of the SWP and radical movements have been forced into the open: whole books have publicised the FBI's spying programme, alerting people to the danger in an unprecedented way.

These are strange tactics indeed for FBI agents supposedly controlling the SWP! But there is stranger still.

A major recurrent form of surveillance revealed in these documents is the technique of breaking into local SWP offices and stealing or photographing membership lists, etc., at considerable risk and expense to the FBI.

But if FBI agents really ran the SWP, why go to such trouble and expense to obtain information that well-placed agents inside the Party could obtain openly?

Nor can Healy's slander-mongers demonstrate any way in which the SWP's Pabloite policies reflect the interests of the FBI or the US state machinery. In fact, while successive US imperialist regimes have stoked up witch-hunts and maintained an economic blockade against the Cuban revolution, the SWP leaders—foremost among them supposed "FBI" man the late Joseph Hansen—have slavishly and almost uncritically defended Castro's Stalinist bureaucracy.

As US imperialism mounted its major war effort in Vietnam, the SWP for all its weaknesses in programme, emerged in a central role in the huge anti-war movement amongst students and radicals—a role which, as released FBI documents show, the FBI was particularly anxious to sabotage.

Strange tactics indeed for "the FBI leaders of the SWP"!

Double bluff?

Let us even assume for a moment that the lawsuit against the FBI was a bizarre FBI-inspired double-bluff that backfired; but why did the "FBI leaders of the SWP" press ahead with it for five solid years, revealing more and more damning information about their own organisation's clandestine activities?

Some examples of the way in which the SWP law suit has publicised FBI crimes even in bourgeois press

onal slander as FBI agents while butchers

As for the WRP's argument that the \$5 million settlement is a cranky way of making the remaining informers the "best paid" capitalist agents inside the workers movement, it all falls a bit flat when *Newsline* concedes that the SWP opportunists are: "Publicly asking for \$5 million, privately asking for \$1 million, and willing to settle for much less".

This of course leads to the question of whether there will really be any "blood money" to share out among the WRP's growing list of supposed SWP/FBI accomplices.

For this to be the case, the Carter administration would in effect formally have to concede defeat.

Though they might secure the security of the 18 files, the payment of even the more likely *one dollar* damages would still represent a political defeat which the US bourgeoisie seems stubbornly unwilling to concede.

This means that there will be further legal stages to go through.

The WRP, of course, takes no sides in the lawsuit. For them it is a simple (?) question of the FBI on the one hand suing the FBI on the other.

Newsline puts forward no demands to further the fight against the Court of Appeal's ruling; it scarcely bothers to mention the fact that it is the state which has blocked the release of the 18 files, and not the "State Department" SWP.

Healy's attacks on the SWP, in short, serve neither to clarify political questions for the Party's thousands of members and supporters in the USA (and its thousands of co-thinkers in the Pabloite 'United' Secretariat of the Fourth International) nor to advance one iota the class struggle or the political consciousness of the workers' movement in the USA.

Cover for Carter

Indeed if *anyone* can be said to be providing a cover for Carter and the FBI, it must be the WRP, with their absurd claim that the files are being withheld *not* by the US state machine but on the instigation of the SWP leaders themselves!

Finally, it is worthwhile looking at the WRP's overall strategy of mudslinging as an easy alternative to political analysis and polemic.

The question must be asked; even if the WRP were actually correct, and the SWP is headed by a panel of FBI agents, then what is the best way of winning the honest militants from the SWP's large periphery and membership in the USA towards Trotskyism?

Hysteria

Is it through hysterical allegations that their political leaders are police spies? Or is it not rather through patient political exposure of the opportunist politics of the SWP, and its obvious inability to offer a revolutionary lead to the US working class?

The answer is obvious to all but the most hare-brained Healyite factionalist.

But then Healy has lost all interest in challenging the politics of the Pabloites.

His own deals and grotesque alliances with anti-communist and even feudal despots in Libya, Iraq, Syria, Kuwait and Abu Dhabi go far beyond even the worst political compromises proposed by arch revisionist Michel Pablo.

WHICH SIDE IS THE WRP REALLY ON?

By John Lister

The whole sorry episode highlights the growing question mark that must be placed over the WRP in the recent period.

Which side of the class lines is this supposedly "Trotskyist" party really on? What does the WRP represent in class terms in its practice in the class struggle?

Again and again Healy's pernicious blend of sectarianism and opportunism have been seen to lead WRP members onto the wrong side of the barricades.

But at each point Healy has covered up by accusing others of the crimes he himself was committing.

Framed

In 1974, when the founder members of the WSL were expelled, we were framed with the charge of being "soft on social democracy" and seeking to "cuddle up to the trade union bureaucrats".

Healy even produced a set of falsified Central Committee minutes to "prove" that such a position had been taken.

What was the reality? Within months of the expulsions it was a WRP Central Committee member, Tom White who plunged into British Leyland's class collaborationist "participation" scheme in Cowley.

Right wing slate

White was also consciously selected for the slate of anti-communist "moderates" in the deputy convenors elections by witch-hunting right wing convenor Reg Parsons.

Last year saw the WRP reinforce their role as the lackeys of the TGWU bureaucracy by carrying extensive lying attacks on the supposed "adventurism" of militant Cowley TGWU shop stewards who were facing a witch-hunting "enquiry" and possible expulsion from the union at the hands of top bureaucrats.

No support

WRP members in the TGWU were meanwhile

instructed not to support the Cowley 9 Defence Campaign—even though White himself was one of the nine accused!

Instead White looked vainly for ways of getting the capitalist courts to intervene into the union and preserve his position.

Yet it was the Defence Campaign that played the key role in preventing the planned wholesale victimisations going ahead.

Organised abstention

Elsewhere the WRP's record in the class struggle is one of organised abstention, covered over by skillful use of the *Newsline* to create the impression of involvement in struggles.

The abstentionism has reached the level where WRP members have even been instructed *not to join* picket lines supporting the Garners Steak Houses strike!

But worse by far was the scurrilous WRP attack on the thousands of Asian workers and youth who turned out to drive the National Front out of Southall.

Branding anti-fascist demonstrators as "wild-eyed (!) middle class protesters", the WRP slammed the massive mobilisation against the NF—in which ANL supporter Blair Peach was murdered by police—as a protest stunt.

"This isn't political struggle. This is sheer buffoonery!", proclaimed the armchair critics of the WRP, who have lifted not so much as a finger for the recent anti-fascist demonstrations.

The Asian masses of Southall get no more than an arrogant back-of-the-hand from *Newsline*:

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

Stay at home

And the WRP effectively urges its abstentionist members and supporters to stay at home during anti-fascist marches:

"Do not fall for the provocations of the NF and the police. They simply want to use these episodes as training exercises for civil war".



Southall demonstrators mourn Blair Peach

Coupled with this brazen attack on Southall anti-fascists is an equally scurrilous attack on ANL leader Paul Holborow, who attempted to raise funds to fly Blair Peach's parents from New Zealand for the funeral by selling photographs of him to the Tory press at £250.

Not only is this entirely permissible behaviour from Holborow—facilitating the maximum publicity for the case, and raising money in the process—but the WRP's protests are entirely hypocritical.

Healy knows full well that during the 1974 national press witch-hunt against Alan Thornett—then a WRP member victimised from his deputy convenor's position at BL's Cowley Assembly plant—it was Healy himself who pressurised Thornett for agreement to sell pictures of him to the Tory gutter press!

Prime target

Had Thornett agreed and such pictures been published in the midst of the media barrage against Thornett, he could have become a prime target for any crazed right winger in the town.

But now Healy has the gall to object to Holborow—for perfectly legitimate reasons—selling photographs of Peach that could not harm or jeopardise him in any way at all.

Again and again Healy accuses others of the crimes he himself is committing. He accuses us of compromises with Stalinists—and then himself uncritically endorses the Vietnamese Stalinist regime's invasion of Cambodia and whitewashes its history of murdering Trotskyists.

He accuses us of refusing to support anti-imperialist struggles—but himself produces a 1979 Election Manifesto that signally fails to call for defence of the Soviet Union or the deformed workers states of East Europe, Asia and Cuba.

He accuses us of "revisionism"—while *Newsline* daily pumps out policies on the Middle East and other issues which are diametrically opposed to correct positions argued by the WRP as recently as five

years ago.

And, most brazenly of all, Healy falsely accuses us of being paid agents of the FBI, while the *Newsline* has unmistakably become the obedient mouthpiece for butcher nationalist regimes throughout the Middle East.

Bloodstained

We have time and again asked the WRP to explain to the workers' movement: what is their relationship to the bloodstained Iraqi Ba'athist regime, which officially reprints *Newsline* articles while it executes Communist Party members and jails militants?

What is their relationship to the Syrian Ba'athists, whose army props up the Lebanese capitalist state and represses the actions of the PLO against the Zionists?

What is their relationship with the Gaddafi dictatorship in Libya that outlaws political parties in general and Marxist parties in particular?

Why did Healy and Redgrave visit the feudal Sheikdoms of Kuwait and Abu Dhabi, only to return and launch an extravagant election campaign, standing one candidate for every five or six WRP members, with many of them not even pretending to carry out any campaign?

Why won't the WRP reply to the extensive critique of their political positions on the Middle East

carried in *Socialist Press*—contrasting previously correct positions taken by Healy to his present abject grovelling?

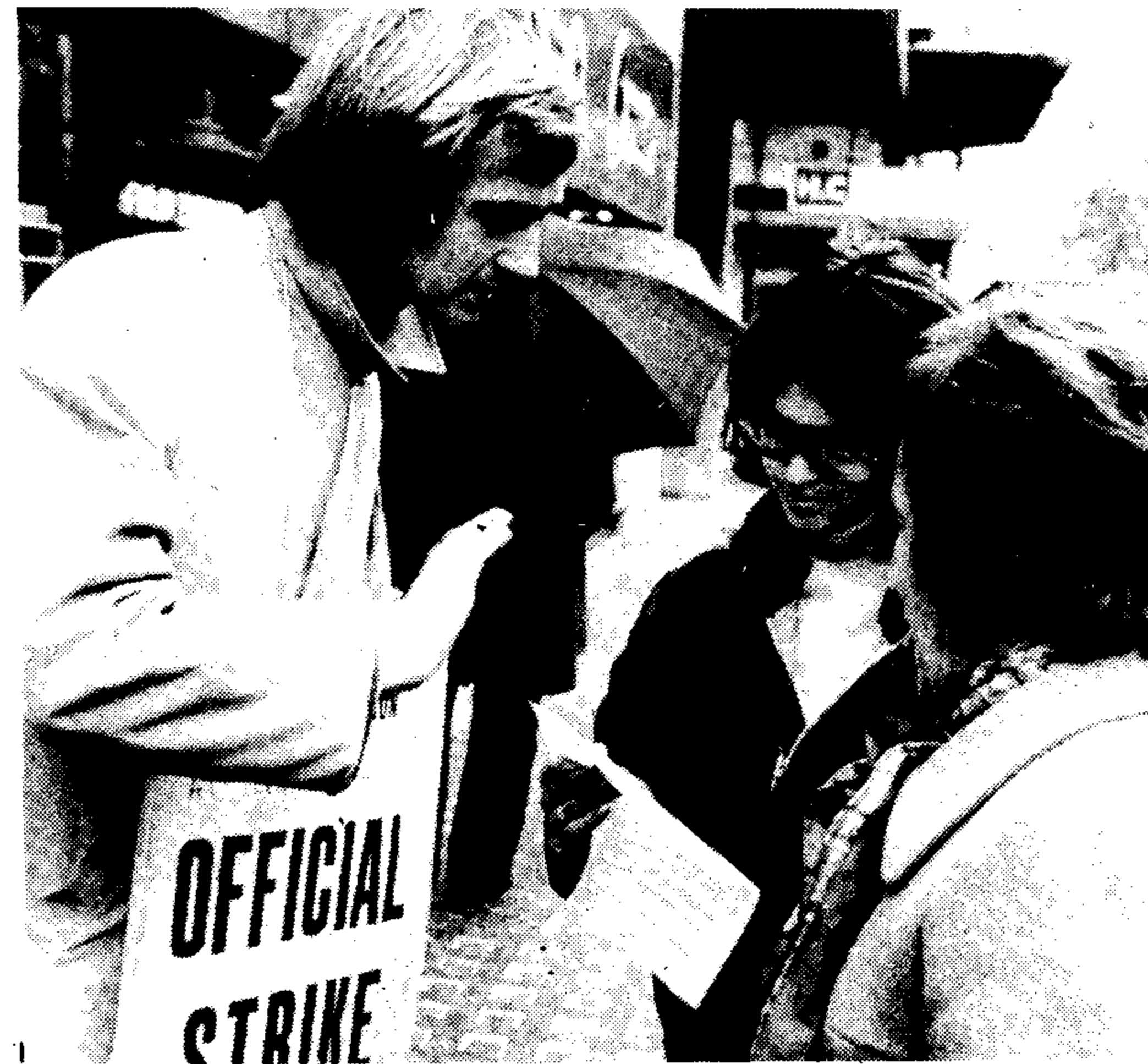
The answer is clear: they cannot honestly face the workers' movement with the squalid fact that their so-called Trotskyist party has become simply a tool in the hands of oil-rich 'left' nationalist fakers; that it is cut off from the class struggle in Britain and internationally, and struggling to retain control of its dwindling and demoralised membership and preserve its top heavy apparatus and daily paper.

Suppression

This is the explanation for the slanders, the lies, the strange silences and the suppression of all discussion within the WRP itself.

WRP members and supporters who wish to fight for Trotskyism must take note. The Trotskyist banner is still held aloft—but no longer by Healy, the puppet of Ba'athism.

Only the Workers Socialist League offers an analysis of the WRP's degeneration, a principled record in the class struggle and a perspective for the reconstruction of the Fourth International on the basis of Trotsky's Transitional Programme.



Garners picket line—WRP tells members not to participate



PHOTO: Laurence Sparham IFL

GMWU leader Basnett at the head of the January 22 demonstration

Bitter lessons of Low Pay betrayal

As public sector workers receive the miserable £2-£3 extra in their pay packets over the next few weeks, they will realise more fully the extent to which they were sold out by their own leadership on their pay claim.

After two months of the most intensive industrial action ever seen in the public services, hospital staff, ambulance drivers, local authority, water, sewage, university, and school staff have ended up with a 9% increase which leaves them worse off against inflation.

The comparability study is unlikely to promise much more when it puts forward its findings on August 1, and what increase it does recommend will be tied to productivity deals and attacks on manning levels and working conditions.

Thatcher

More significant than this, however, is the statement by Thatcher that she will only honour the comparability findings "if the money is available". The new Tory government will at this moment be planning the most vicious series of cuts in public spending which will include closure of public amenities, speed-up and redundancies on an unprecedented scale.

Whatever the Tories plan, there is no doubt that there will be major battles ahead for public sector workers over the defence of jobs and living standards.

It is important at this time—

with the approach of union annual conferences—that militants in the public services look closely at the record of their own leadership, and begin to build a principled opposition with concrete policies to fight future betrayals.

Failure

The most important lesson to be learnt from the pay strikes is that the failure to win the £60/35 hour week claim was in no way due to the weakness or inactivity of the membership.

Over 1 million workers took strike action on January 22 and 60,000 marched through London.

After the 22nd, hundreds of sections of workers showed time after time that they were prepared to face the most massive scabbing operation organised by the Labour government, involving the use of the troops, police and volunteers, and backed up with a large-scale Tory press witch-hunt.

They organised strike committees which virtually controlled the public services of whole cities, and formed links with trade unionists in the supply industries.

The strikes were defeated not by the membership and not even by the scabbing operation.

Treachery

They were defeated above all by the treacherous policies and practices of the public sector union leadership.

The claim for a £60 minimum wage and 35 hour week was launched at the NUPE annual conference in 1978, and

soon became a common claim in the other three unions with members in the public sector—COHSE, GMWU and TGWU.

Despite frequent public appearances, where he preached and bellowed about the plight of the low paid worker, Alan Fisher soon showed that he was not prepared to lead a fight for the full claim if it meant the slightest confrontation with the Labour government.

Instead of calling for action from the earliest settlement date in November—when the Ford workers were already on strike against the 5%, and soon to be followed by the bakers, tanker and haulage drivers—Fisher kept delaying the start of the action, hoping that the militancy and anger of his members would die away as the successive pay strikes were defeated.

Determination

The strikes were not defeated, however, and the militancy of the members grew as each blow was dealt to the government pay policy.

The response to the call on 22 January was beyond all expectations, and at the rally in Westminster on the same day and in the weeks following the 22nd, thousands upon thousands of workers throughout the country showed that they were determined despite the waffling of their leaders—to take action for the full claim.

The bureaucracy were forced to maintain the public appearance of fighting for the claim—for fear of losing complete control of the membership—but at the same time they did everything possible through their

A London NUPE ambulance driver looks at the record of the recent public sector pay struggles.

policies and practice to isolate and demoralise those sections who were taking action and prevent the strikes from spreading.

The leadership announced a strategy of 'selective action' to win the claim, and it was this disastrous policy—plus the almost complete lack of opposition to it throughout all the lay bodies of the union—which did most to weaken and divide action.

If there had been a call for all-out, indefinite strike action with no return until the full

claim was met, then the militant sections could have come out immediately and fought to bring out other sections, building the strike with the full backing of the leadership.

Instead, selective action presented enormous difficulties for militants at branch level.

There was quibbling between sections over who should come out; the partial action often meant that non-unionised or weaker sections would do extra work; the levy was organised nationally and meant no extra



PHOTO: Laurence Sparham IFL

strike pay; and most important, it allowed management to step in and victimise a divided workforce.

This happened at the Westminster Hospital NUPE branch, where management were able to provoke an all-out strike on their terms by suspending the six domestics who blacked the private patients' wing as part of the branch's selective action.

Only WSL members and sympathisers in NUPE put up a consistent, relentless opposition to the policy of selective action, both in propaganda—by demanding that the leadership call all-out action right from the beginning of the campaign in June 1978—and in practice.

All out action

WSL member John Seymour, steward for the Cressy Road refuse section of Camden General NUPE branch put up a tireless fight along with other WSL sympathisers in London to force the London Divisional Council to call for all-out indefinite action.

At the same time the Cressy Road section took all-out action—despite the branch's suicidal policy of trying to win the claim by pulling out only four petrol pump attendants!

This contributed to bringing the whole branch out along with other refuse sections in Brent and Barnet, and played a large part in winning almost the full £60/35 hour week claim in Camden.

The Camden victory is held out by the NUPE leadership to be a shining example of how the full claim can be won—yet the fight for all-out action in Camden had to be waged against the open hostility, sarcasm and manoeuvrings of the London NUPE leadership.

Defeated

Largely because of the Cressy Road initiative, the London Divisional Council held an emergency meeting in January where the call for all-out action was defeated only by the chairman's casting vote.

Although they did finally put out the call, and organised a mass stewards' meeting which voted overwhelmingly for all-out action, they waited until conveniently late in the day, when the action was on the downturn and then sat back and hoped that the full-time officials would organise the strike!

The full time officials themselves, whilst agreeing that branches were "permitted" to take all-out action, did everything in their power to isolate and demoralise those sections who were on strike.

During the Westminster Hospital strike, WSL sympathisers were working all the time to turn the strike back onto the issue of pay, and actually played a crucial role in bringing out three other hospitals in the Westminster area.

The full timer in charge, Godfrey Eastwood, played no part in this and was constantly trying to contain the dispute as an isolated issue, arguing for the use of ACAS and arbitration—when to build and spread the hospital strikes at this time could have turned the whole campaign towards victory.

The other main plank used by the leadership in selling out the claim was their refusal to challenge management on the question of control of emergency services and supplies.

Following on from the lorry drivers strike, where pickets continued to control the flow of supplies in the face of a huge press witch-hunt, public sector strikers time and time again showed their willingness and ability to take over the running of hospitals and other public services.

In the London area alone, sections of home helps from the Camden NUPE branch drew up lists of patients whom they regarded as requiring essential treatment.

Agreements

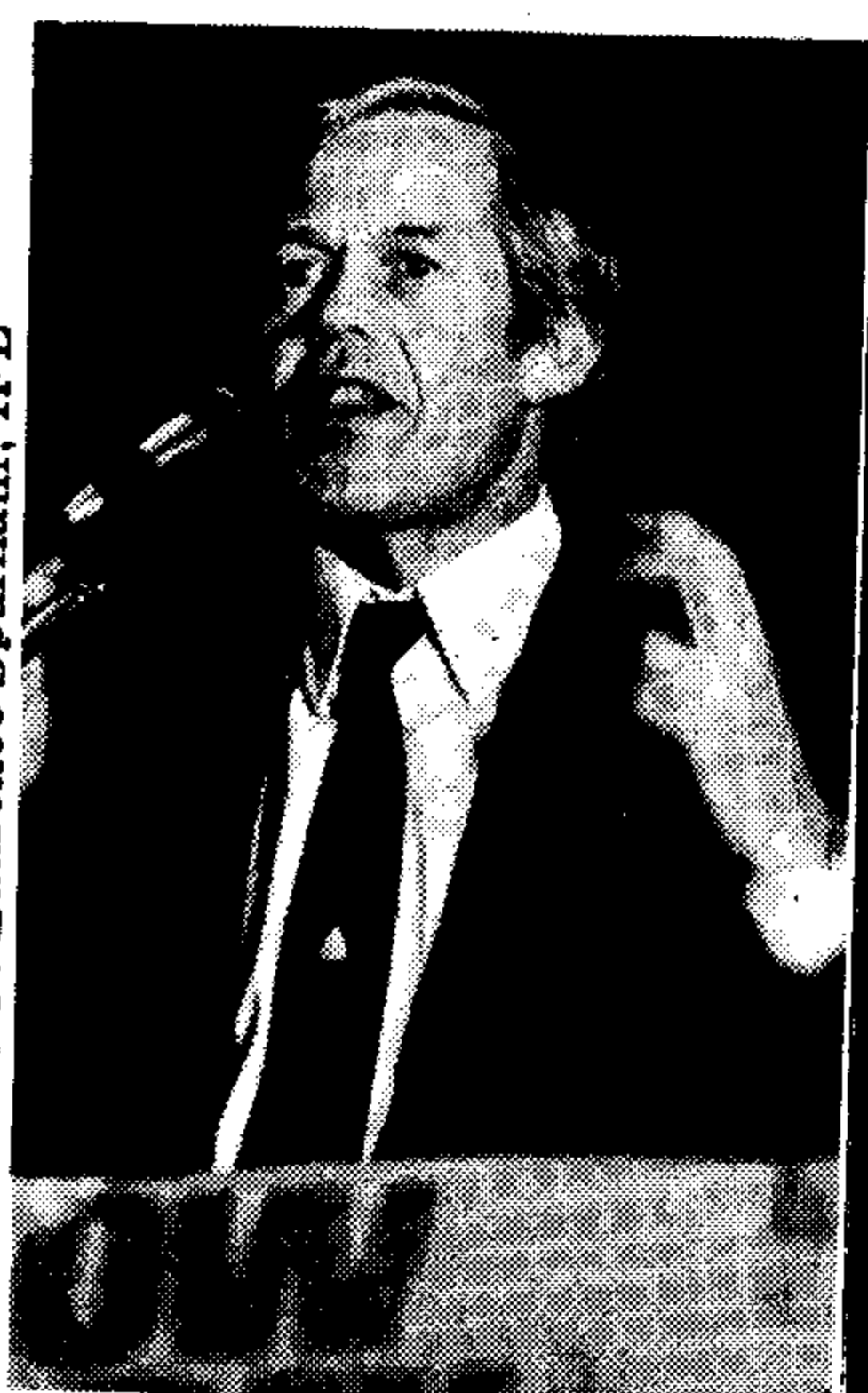
And at the Westminster and St. Mary's hospital strikes, pickets made agreements with stewards from the Esso tanker drivers' branch that delivered oil to the hospitals, maintaining a supply of oil only sufficient to keep essential parts of the hospital heated, to be cut off at any time at the discretion of the pickets.

Despite these, and many other examples of embryonic forms of workers control, the

Marie Stopes: pioneer and reactionary

Sheilagh Priestman reviews *Marie Stopes* by Ruth Hall, (Virago Books), price £2.95.

PHOTO: Laurence Sparham, IFL



NUPE leader Fisher

bureaucracy used the issue of "emergency cover" and their so-called "code" for pickets to withdraw support from and sell out many sections of workers.

Without making a single mention of massive army scabbing, the leadership refused to give official backing to ambulance drivers on the grounds that they had ignored the union's instructions to maintain emergency cover.

And on the nurses claim, NUPE instructed nurses that they could take any action "short of strike action" in pursuit of their claim—thus bureaucratically isolating a potentially powerful group of workers from the whole struggle.

After two months of efforts designed to kill off the strikes, the bureaucracy finally managed to sell out the claim with a series of blatant bureaucratic manoeuvres which accepted the 9% offer at a time when many sections throughout the country were still taking action.

Conferences

As the NUPE conference approaches on May 20, and the other public sector conferences during the summer, it is essential that workers realise the scale of the betrayal carried out by their leaders "left" and right alike.

Much more important than this, they must begin now to formulate the correct policies to steer them through future struggles, and prepare for a major battle with the leadership that sold them out during the low pay strikes.

The comparability study will offer no significant improvement in living standards, and whatever it does offer is likely to be tied to a form of wage bargaining in the public sector which will attempt to rule out any form of industrial action in pursuit of wage claims.

Workers must prepare now for action against the comparability findings and link this with building for action on the review date in pursuit of the claim formulated at the conference.

Public sector workers can only protect their living standards by winning a substantial wage increase, and protecting this from erosion by inflation through cost of living clauses based on figures compiled by elected trade union committees.

If they are to win such a claim, public sector workers must fight for the policies and leadership which will mobilise their enormous strength and determination.

The WSL despite its small resources, pointed the way towards beginning this fight in the low pay strikes, and workers have only to look at the record of WSL members and sympathisers during these strikes to realise what can be achieved with fighting on a principled revolutionary programme in the trade unions.



Marie Stopes

In the early 1960s the Marie Stopes memorial clinic in Whitfield Street was the only place in London where an unmarried, unengaged woman could get birth control advice.

My gratitude at that has always made me view Marie Stopes through rosy spectacles.

This was the woman, I thought, who as pioneer of birth control had saved me and thousands of others from an unwanted pregnancy.

Birth control advice and the distribution of diaphragm caps was much to be prized in that period before the pill and the gradual liberalisation of the attitude among family doctors and the family planning association made everything rather easier.

Different picture

However Ruth Hall's biography published by Virago gives a very different picture from the progressive thinker I had so fondly imagined.

Indeed the reality of Marie Stopes' life reveals how complexly interwoven are progress and reaction both within one individual and within social movements.

It is necessary for us to understand that the world has never been full of the simply black and white, the good and the bad, the progressive and the reactionary. Reality is more complex than that.

Nonetheless it is important, despite the complexity, to assess the overall contribution an individual or movement makes in favour ultimately of progress or reaction.

Crazy lady

Marie Stopes was, it seems, a fairly crazy lady. She was incapable of co-operating with others also fighting for the extension of birth control,

and blinded by an egotism and a disproportionate notion of her own importance.

Nevertheless Marie Stopes' contribution to the furtherance of birth control was of significance and importance.

Hostile to workers

How that contribution was shot through at every turn by her hostility to the working class is a fascinating tale. Whatever her motives in wishing to keep the working class from breeding, the historical outcome is that birth control advice is now freely available to working class women.

Marie Stopes played a role in allowing that to happen, a role of lesser significance than the struggle by the labour movement for the welfare state, but a role nonetheless.

Marie Stopes was born in 1880, the daughter of a pair of middle class radicals.

Her mother was perhaps as eccentric and domineering as Marie herself was to become, supporting such causes as 'Rational Dress' for women, opposing frozen meat and later supporting the suffragettes.

Sense of sin

She brought Marie up with a strong Victorian sense both of sin and of her duties to the 'lower orders'.

Marie was to devote her early adulthood to a scientific career as a botanist, but throughout her later life the strong sense of moral fervour and the need somehow to 'deal' with the working class remained with her.

Marie Stopes' interest in birth control was initially a byproduct of her work and writing on human sexuality, for which she is now scarcely remembered.

Her work in this area sprang from the sadness and frustrations of her own sexual biography; she was determined that no other women should go through

the kind of experience which total ignorance of human sexual behaviour had led her, an ignorance all too common in Victorian England and later.

Having had few dealings with men, Marie married late, at the age of 31. This marriage was annulled in 1916 on the grounds of non-consummation because of her husband's impotence.

This in itself is evidence enough of personal unhappiness; but what is more striking is that for almost two years Marie Stopes had continued, unaware that there was anything out of the ordinary about their sexual relationship.

Ignorance

So totally in ignorance were many Victorian women about the sexual act (which was commonly regarded as an unpleasant experience to be put up with) that many of them must have received a considerable shock on their wedding night, while others, like Marie, had only the vaguest sense that all was not right.

The suppression and repression of women's sexuality, the view that women did not experience sexual desire, pleasure or ecstasy is age old in Christian culture and used as one of the mechanisms keeping women in their place as mere objects for their husbands' enjoyment.

This view was not quickly altered; despite the work of Marie Stopes and others, standard pamphlets on sex education in schools as late as the 1960s and maybe still today contained no mention of female sexual desire or orgasm.

Anguish

Thus even in the permissive 1960s a girl experiencing sexual desire for a man for the first time could easily come to think of herself as 'perverted' or 'dirty'.

Marie Stopes must have had considerable anguish coming to terms with the realisation of her own sexuality; all this is evidenced in the many passionate poems and plays she wrote throughout her life.

As a scientist her response to the dawning realisation that her husband was impotent led her to research and she read up all the material then available on the subject of sexuality.

It was on the basis of this written material and not of personal experience that she wrote her controversial book 'Married Love' first published in 1918, with the preface "In my own marriage I paid such a terrible price for sex ignorance that I feel knowledge gained at such a cost should be placed at the service of humanity."

While writing the book she became aware of the need to include information on contraception and sought the advice of the American champion of birth control, Margaret Sanger, on

whose behalf she was to write to President Wilson asking him to drop one of the many prosecutions against her.

Stopes' letter is an emotional statement of her views on why women needed birth control.

"Have you, Sir, visualised what it means to a woman whose every fibre, whose every muscle and blood capillary is subtly poisoned by the secret, evergrowing horror... of an unwanted embryo developing beneath her heart?"

"While men stand proudly and face the sun, boasting that they have quenched the wickedness of slavery. What chains of slavery are, have been, or ever could be so intimate a horror as the shackles on every limb, on every thought, on the very soul, of an unwillingly pregnant woman?"

The logic of this is of course also to support abortion. But Stopes always failed to do that.

Her commitment to birth control and to sexuality was always to be contained within marriage—"The happiness of a perfect marriage which enhances the vitality of the private life."

Barrier

Stopes herself was to remain a virgin until the age of 38, so committed was she to the barrier that only within marriage could sexual fulfilment be discovered.

Her writings on the whole nature of sexuality whilst confused by her within these limitations were part of a movement which could and did later transcend her own narrow bourgeois thought.

Similarly her work on birth control had later to be transcended by those in support of both abortion and birth control outside marriage.

It was not merely in this restriction that Stopes' views were however reactionary.

Her views on eugenics—patterns of breeding—were enough to put any socialist quite off family planning.

Having herself married and had one still-born child, she set up a birth control clinic in a working class district of North London.

She thought that "Class C" (working class) women were producing too many

children:

"Are these puny-faced, gaunt, blotchy, ill-balanced, feeble, ungainly, withered children the young of an imperial race?..."

"Isn't it for the leisured, the wise, to go to her [the working class woman] and tell her what are the facts of life, the meaning of what she is doing and what she ought to do?..."

"The serious truth is that not many of the leisured and the learned have bothered to think out the meaning of what she is doing."

"If they realised it, surely an outcry of dismay would be raised; for Mrs Jones is destroying the race."

She explicitly saw birth control as a way of ridding the "English race" of:

"the diseased, the racially negligent, the thriftless, the careless, the feeble-minded, the very lowest and worst members of the community."

Birth control would, she hoped, prevent the danger of revolution.

She was anxious for this and in 1921 she attempted to intervene in the dispute with the miners, writing to Lloyd George:

"May I implore you on no account to yield to the threats of the miners' leaders."

Despite her anxious support for the ruling class and the "imperial race", Stopes was herself somewhat of a threat to some of them and lived throughout her life in constant battle through various lawsuits and others with the opponents of birth control, notably the Catholic church.

Her last years were increasingly spent alternately haranguing the Catholic church and campaigning for birth control both in Britain and elsewhere—including India.

Swamped by hordes

She was terrified of being "swamped by hordes of Indians and Chinese".

By the 1950s, Stopes stood still eccentrically fighting bygone battles. But as Ruth Hall comments:

"It is important to see these ideas in their context... Many of Marie's ideas would not be tolerated by modern proponents of the women's liberation movement—in particular, her restriction of sexual activity to those bound in holy matrimony, and her disapproval of abortion, masturbation and lesbianism."

On the other hand, "Marie pre-echoed in 1918 the central tenet of the modern movement for women's liberation—that a woman should be allowed to exercise 'control over her own body'."

We disagree that this is the central tenet of her approach; we are deeply hostile to Stopes' view of the working class.

Yet we must recognise the contradictory contribution of this rather awful woman to the struggle against women's oppression.



PHOTO: Mark Risher

Also afraid of being swamped - Thatcher

PHOTO: Andrew Ward, Report



COHSE leader Spanswick



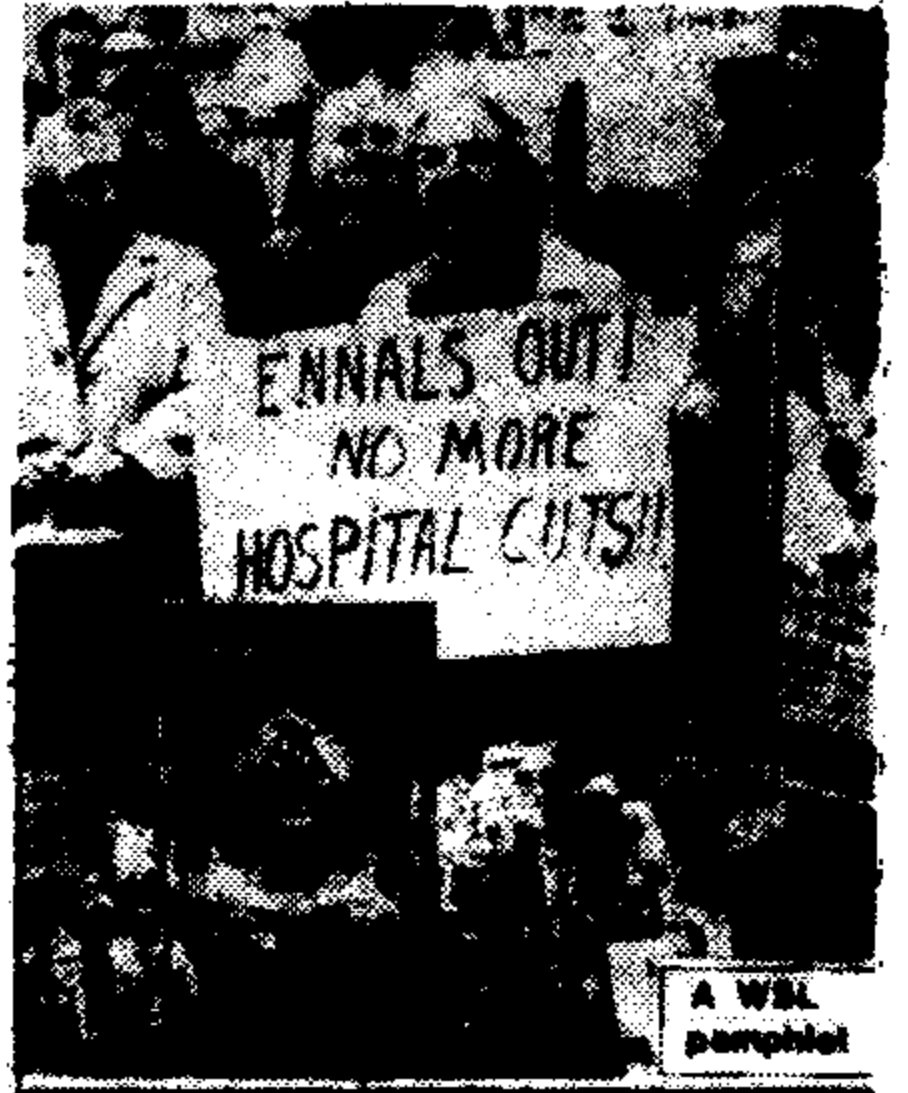
PHOTO: Chris Davies, Report

Ennals

How to fight the cuts

WSL members draw out the lessons of two important struggles against the cuts in which they have been centrally involved—the occupation of the Elizabeth Garrett Anderson Hospital in London and the occupation of the South Oxford Nursery.

Price 30p plus 10p postage from WSL, 31, Dartmouth Park Hill, London NW5 1HR.



How to fight the cuts

EGA—first fight against Tory cuts?

A parting gift from the defeated Labour government appears to be a renewed and even more determined move by the Camden and Islington Area Health Authority to close the beleaguered Elizabeth Garrett Anderson hospital.

measure in the "interests and safety" of patients. ("Temporary" closures are becoming a regular feature of management strategy—it was recently employed in the case of St. Columba's Hospital—because it by-passes the necessary consultation period which applies to proposed permanent closure).

told by the AHA chairman that: "There will be no sudden closure of the EGA. Work at the hospital will continue as before. The situation will be discussed at the next AHA meeting on May 14".

London health workers. The London Division of NUPE was forced to call a mass meeting of shop stewards, which threatened "rolling strike action" if the EGA was closed.

Arguing that the hospital faces a shortage of nurses, the AHA has called an emergency meeting for May 9 which is expected to endorse a plan that will:

- *Stop all admissions to the EGA immediately.
- *Close all wards by May 14.
- *Close outpatient facilities by May 28.

The closure is supposed to be a "temporary"

Pretext

The "nursing shortage" is no more than a flimsy pretext for a crash closure programme designed to take the labour movement by surprise and speedily axe this hospital which staff and local trade unionists have stubbornly defended since 1975.

Indeed as recently as 23 April EGA doctors were

Since then, four staff nurses have been taken on improving the situation substantially.

But the EGA, representing a national focus for the struggle against the cuts, is a thorn in the side of the AHA and of the new Tory government. What is involved is not an argument about staffing levels but an all-out struggle in which full-scale support from other hospitals is needed to save the EGA.

When Ennals last threatened closure on July 21 last year there was an immediate response from

Strike action

And nearby hospitals organised through the South Camden District Joint Shop Stewards Committee passed a resolution calling for indefinite strike action the moment the EGA was interfered with.

At St. Pancras Hospital, the COHSE branch endorsed this call and pledged itself to all-out indefinite action.

Backed off

Seeing the scope of this movement Ennals backed

off, seeking a more opportune time to press the attack.

The aftermath of the election, whatever party was returned to office, seemed to offer the best prospect. Hence the current management offensive.

The Save the EGA Campaign has called an emergency meeting to discuss this grave situation, to be held on Tuesday 15 May at 7 p.m. at the hospital.

It is essential that NUPE and other public sector union leaders are forced to turn last year's paper resolutions of support into the practical solidarity action which alone can keep the EGA open.

This means supporting the 24 hour picket, prepar-

ing to occupy the premises, and building the basis for supporting strike action throughout the London health services.

DUFFY'S RISE

ALL AUEW officials have just received a 20% wage increase. This will mean President Terry Duffy's wages up by £30 per week to £8,802 per year.

The hypocrisy of these trade union leaders can be seen when you remember Duffy's witch-hunting, scabbing attacks and threats to discipline Roy Fraser, the Leyland Craftsmen's leader, when he led a fight for a £90 per week wage for craftsmen.

WHY YOU SHOULD JOIN US



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

workers in struggle to grasp the need for socialist revolution.

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

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

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

The WSL is not the biggest movement on the left in Britain; but its approach to both theory and practice make it the only really serious revolutionary movement.

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

More details

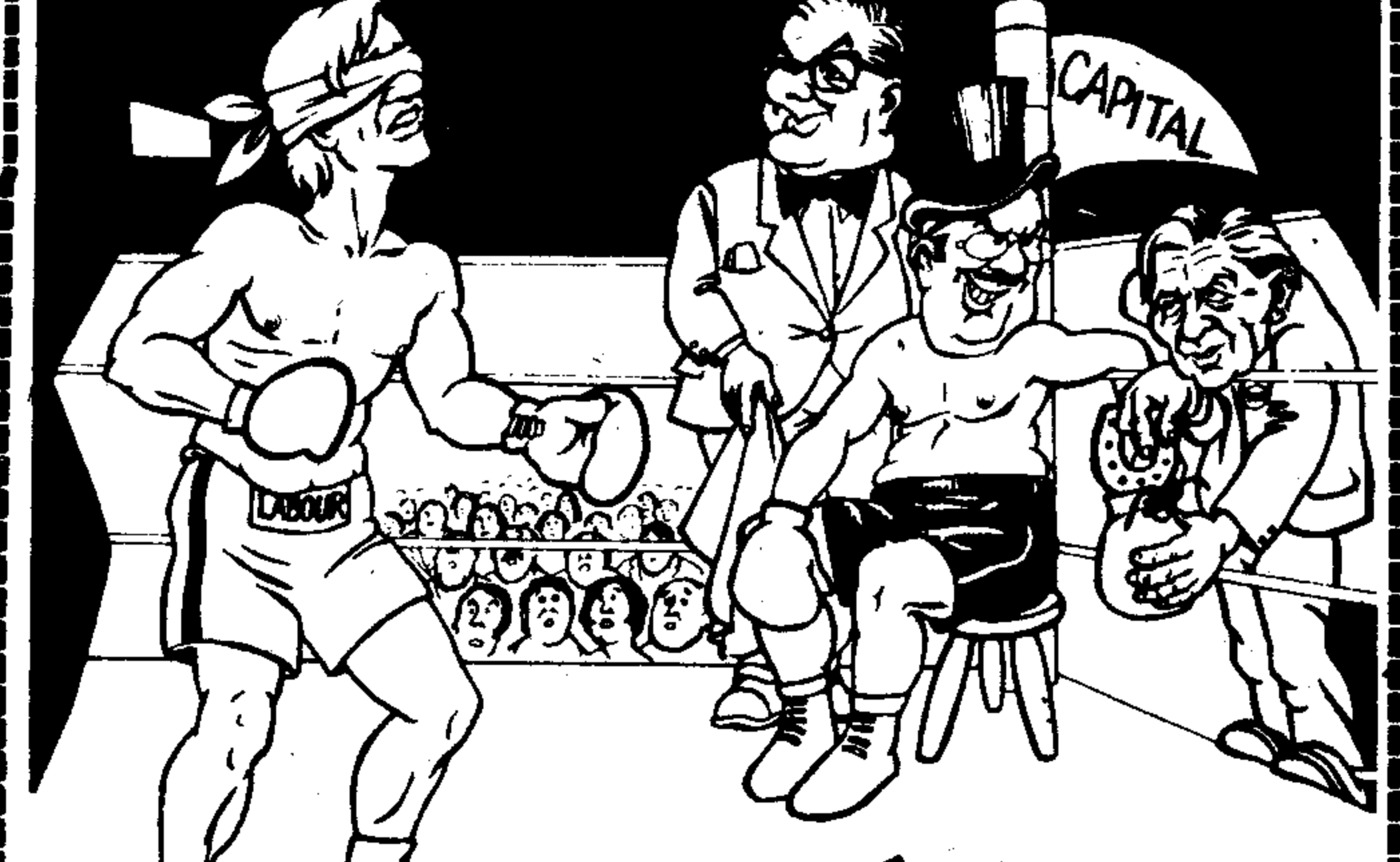
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Jackson's sell-out bid flops

Tom Jackson's nightmares came true with frightening reality last week.

When all the ballot votes were counted it was clear that UPW members had, overwhelmingly, rejected the 1979 pay deal recommended by the union executive.

288 branches cast their votes in favour of the deal, while 738 voted for rejection.

But this understates the real majority, as it was the larger branches that threw out the deal most violently. Branches receive one vote for every ten members.

On this basis, the result was only 2,700 votes in favour of the Executive recommendation, with a massive 17,008 votes against.

Barbed hook

The Executive held an emergency session last week to work out some way of getting off this unpleasantly barbed hook. This year's crushing defeat for Jackson's decades-old policy of collaboration was ensured by the so-called 'efficiency' agreement.

In this clause partial consolidation was traded off against the introduction of part-time staff and a 'work study' scheme of speed-up preparations.

Jackson and his band of bureaucrats decided to put this part of the deal on ice, and press ahead with demands for the rest of the agreement to be met by Post Office management.

This is only a stalling manoeuvre. Jackson's main concern now is to avoid the alarming possibility of a strike.

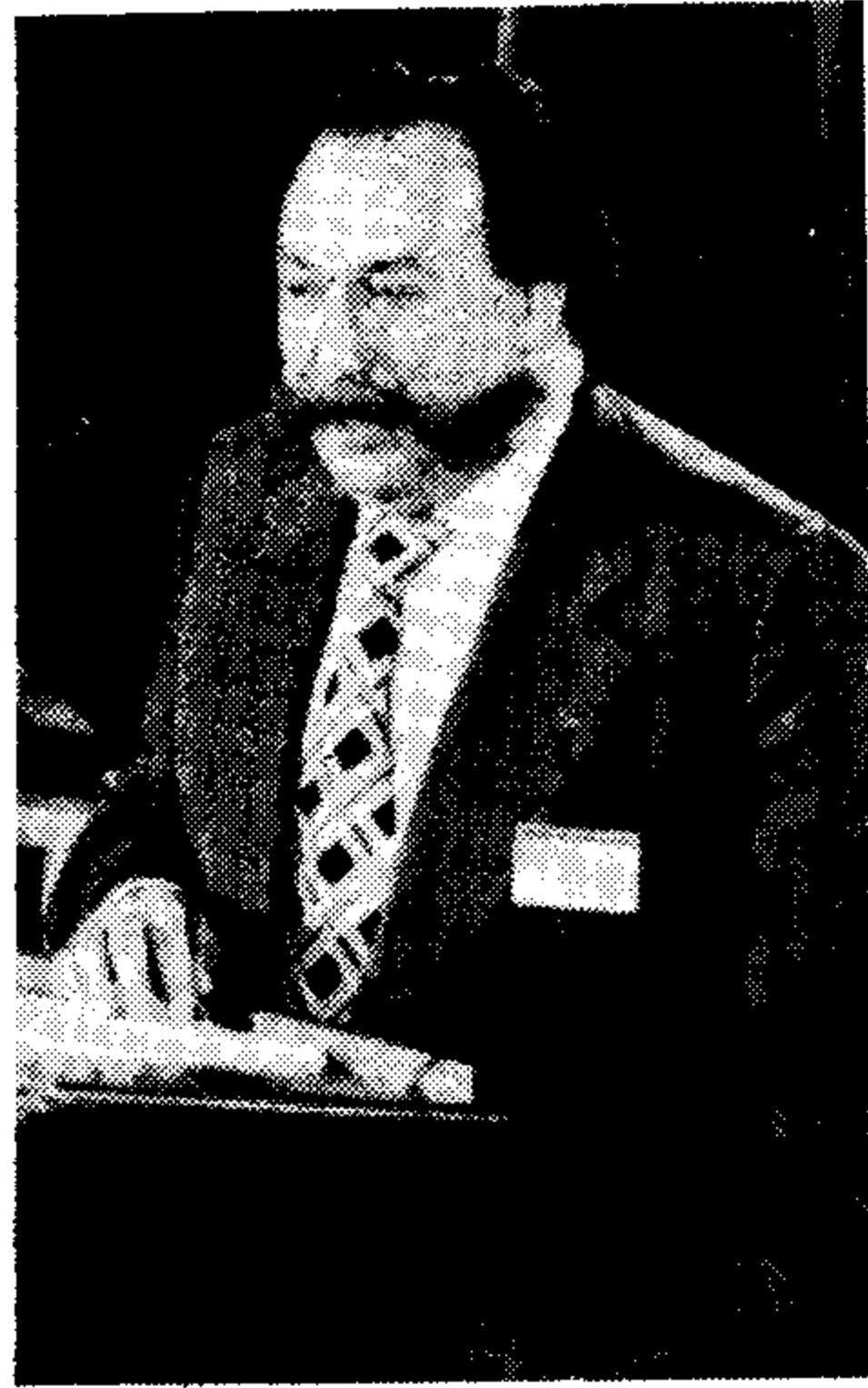
Management, clearly determined to launch a widespread attack on manning levels throughout the Post Office, is unlikely to concede any significant ground at this stage.

At the same time, the scandalous offer recommended by the Executive has provoked anger and fierce militancy throughout the UPW. There is little doubt that the present deal would have been accepted two months ago, if it had excluded the 'efficiency' agreement.

No confidence

Now Jackson can have no such confidence. The annual conference later this month will certainly see unprecedented attacks on the sordid betrayals of the union bureaucracy.

In this context, Jackson will have to pull out every stop to



Jackson

prevent a movement gaining ground for strike action against the Tory government.

In 1971, postal members were among the first to move into action against the Heath government's policy of confrontation with the working class.

That bitter strike was sold out on a colossal scale by

Jackson and his fellow officials.

Today, postal workers may once again find themselves in conflict with the vicious anti-union policies of a Tory cabinet.

This time, the UPW leaders have already shown in advance their willingness to stab postal workers in the back at the first available opportunity.

Success on Garners Day of Picketing

The London Regional Committee of the TGWU meets this Tuesday and Wednesday.

On the agenda will certainly be the fate of the 16-month long dispute for union recognition at Garners Steak Houses.

Before the General Election rumours spread and bureaucrats made open remarks revealing their desire to sell out the heroic group of strikers.

Despite the fact that union rights and the question of police limits on pickets will now be an even more central issue than before, the full time officials such as Shorter and Sid Staden, refuse to organise the militant picketing and blacking action necessary to secure a basic right.

However, a sell-out is not so

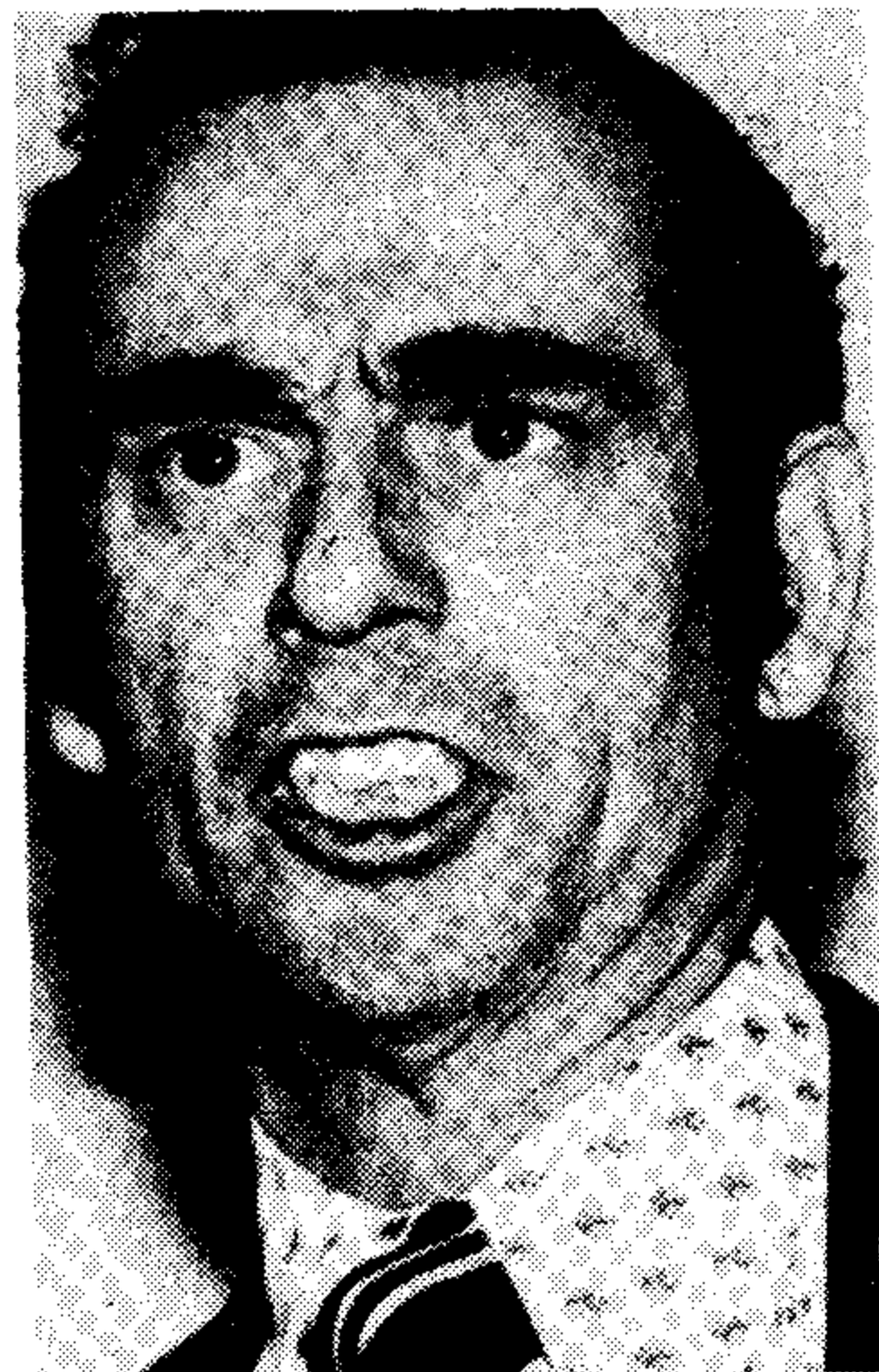
easy to engineer since the strikers have shown a real determination to fight on.

A Day of Picketing—organised with no aid whatever from officials—led to effective picketing all day on Garners restaurants in the West End last Saturday.

And a conference for TGWU members (see advert below) is still planned by the Strike Committee for June 9.

At a lobby of the Regional Committee the measures necessary to win will be demanded.

And it will be made clear that any moves to stab the strike will be met with resistance so sharp as to deal hammer blows at any remaining credibility of TGWU Region 1 bureaucrats in the eyes of their membership.



Shorter

TGWU DELEGATE CONFERENCE
The Garners Strike Committee is calling a TGWU Delegate Conference on Saturday 9 June. For more information write or phone Garners Strike Committee, TGWU Room 84, 12/13 Henrietta Street, London WC2. Tel: 01-240 1056.

Pressure grows on teachers' pay

Teachers in the NUT are now taking action in every one of the 104 local education authorities in England and Wales over their 36.5% wage claim.

Shirley Williams' pre-election postponement of negotiations

only served to fuel teachers' anger, and branches are now sending resolutions to the NUT Executive demanding strike action be organised.

These calls have already come from Birmingham, and Witney and Burford in Oxfordshire.

The '5-hour day' action by

the NAS/UWT is due to begin on Tuesday May 8 amid speculation that some authorities may disagree with their interpretation that teachers are only bound by contract to work 5 hours in school per day.

As a result they may deduct pay from the 'NAS/UWT teachers.

'Professionals' strike

Even some members of the AMMA, the non-TUC teachers 'professional body' took strike action (for the first time in 100 years) on Wednesday afternoon in order to attend meetings which passed motions condemning Shirley Williams' postponement of the talks.

The NUT Executive must meet immediately and plan national strike action which is the only weapon teachers have to force the Thatcher government to restore the 1974 level of pay as awarded by Houghton.



Teachers protesting against the cuts—now fighting on pay

BL shoves 'carrot' down workers' throats

British Leyland management have taken an important initiative in their drive to force in their corporate bargaining package.

They have declared that five of BL Cars' 34 factories—Cowley Assembly, Cowley Body, Swindon, Common Lane and Llanelli—have met management's unilateral and very obscure productivity criteria and thus qualified for the first two stages of 'parity' payments—averaging about £5 per week for each worker.

The payments they said would be 'banked' on behalf of each individual worker and only paid when every group in the plant had accepted their highly contentious new grading structure—which downgrades large sections such as direct production workers and creates a differential from top to bottom of £20 a week.

This set the scene for Cowley Assembly Plant management to inform Senior Shop Stewards that they intend, following the craftsmen's strike to implement the new grading structure—which is key to their corporate bargaining plans—with or without the agreement of the trade unions on the plant.

In order to increase the carrot—the lump sum in the bank—they also announced that they have unilaterally introduced the incentive scheme which was rejected by mass meetings a year ago.

This, they said, had paid out £4 per week in March and £2

per week in April in addition to the parity payments.

To facilitate the forcing in of the grading, management invited all three unions on the plant—AUEW, TGWU and EETPU—to what they termed a 'job slotting' exercise at the end of last week.

The exercise was a means of claiming that they had had some consultations before forcing the grades in.

The AUEW and the EETPU accepted the invitation but the TGWU refused to attend.

Two weeks ago negotiations

agreed between management and the Confed.

Although the LCJNC accepted these proposals by a majority of 14-12, talks broke down again when it was revealed that the productivity target that must be attained by manual workers to trigger the parity payments had been inflated to include financing payment to supervisors and staff employees in BL, as well as the whole cost of paying rises to manual workers arising from the recent national agreement on premium rates.

This information resulted in the matter again being referred to the CSEU Executive.

The Cowley management initiative has gone ahead despite this deadlock and reference back.

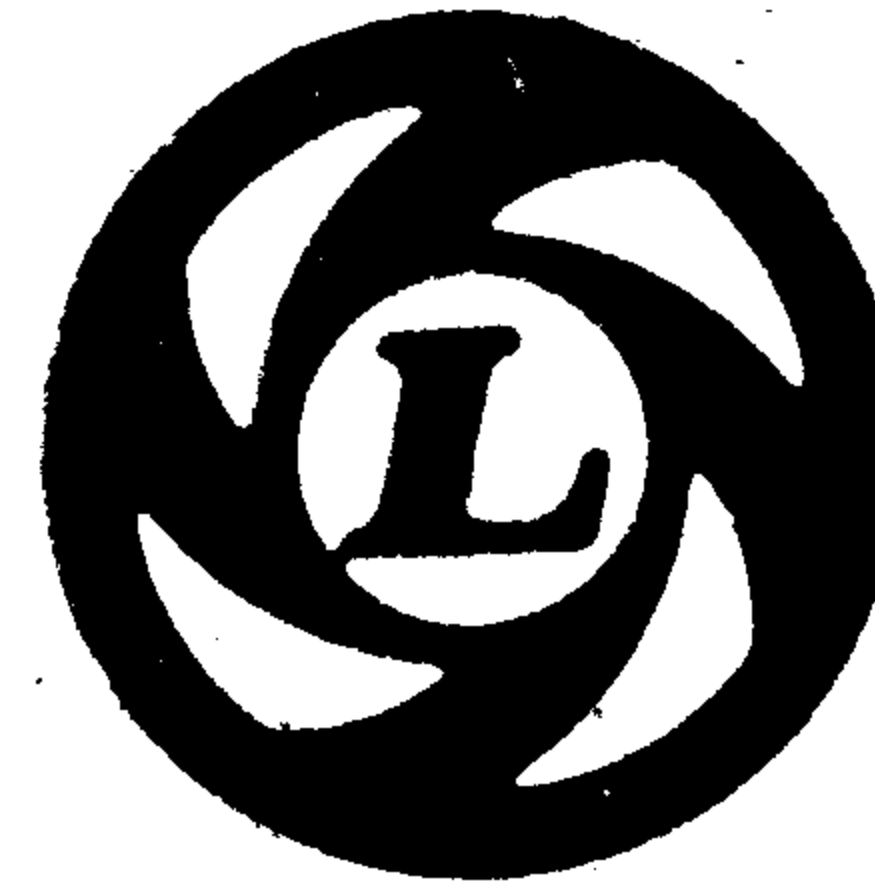
Condemned

They claim to be acting on a commitment they gave to the convenors of the craft unions in the plant at the end of the craftsmen's strike.

A meeting of TGWU stewards on the plant has condemned the actions of the craft unions in allowing themselves to be used as a tool of management policy.

There is little doubt that semi-skilled workers will resist the implementation of the new grading when the company make their next move.

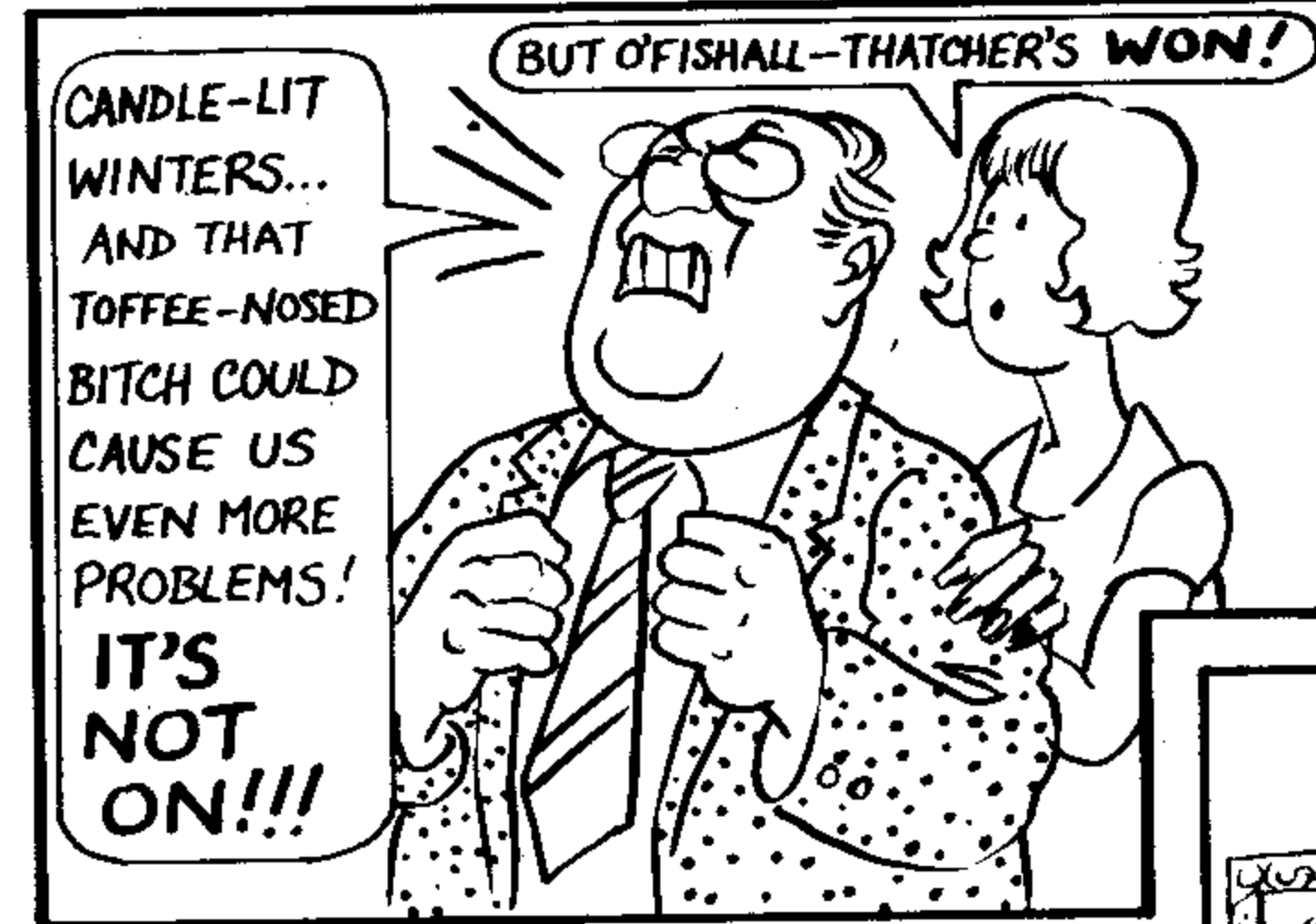
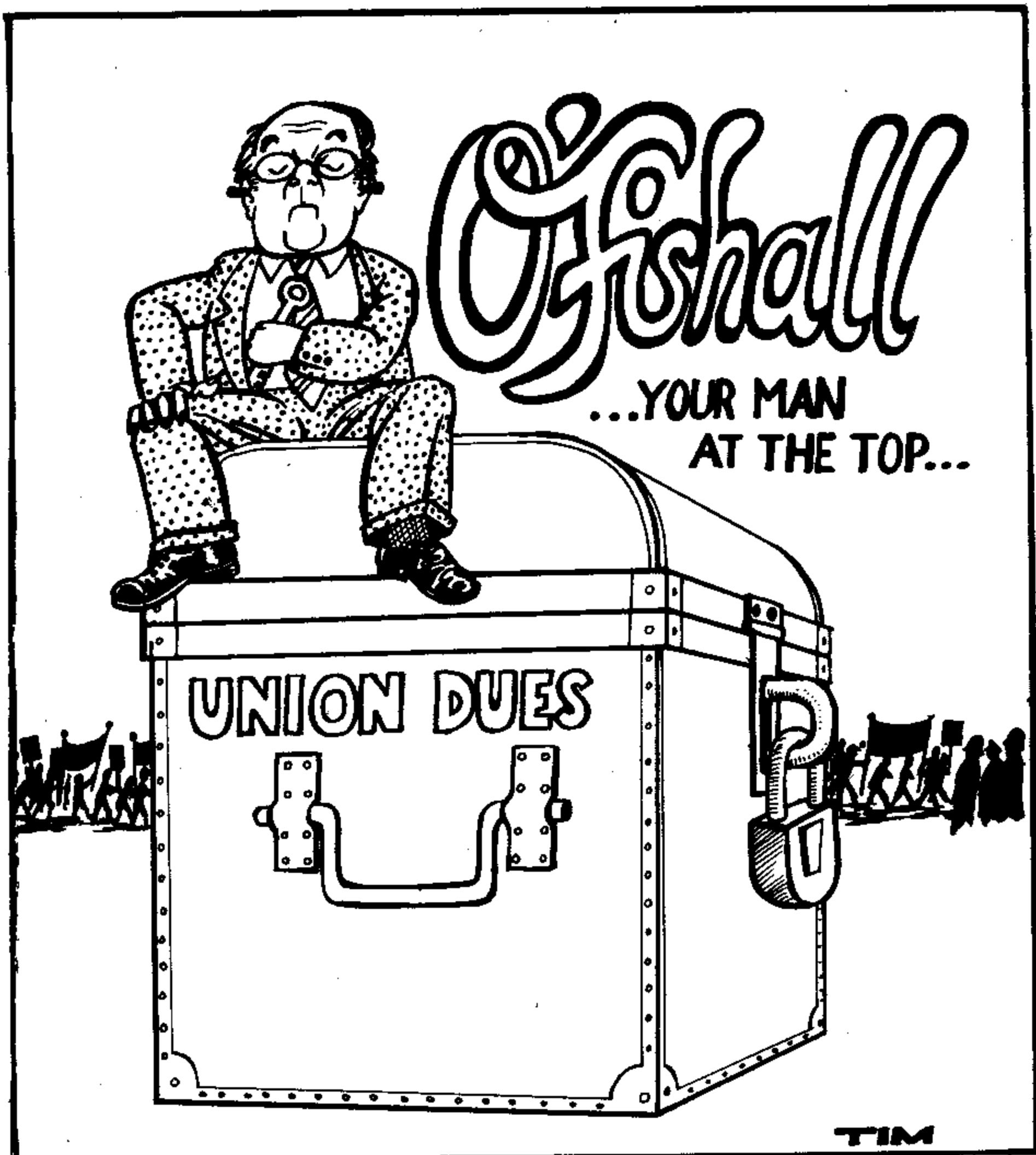
If they don't, management will certainly use their success at Cowley to force it in throughout the rest of BL Cars.



on the parity package broke down at BL National Negotiating Committee level when management refused to honour the principle of mutual agreement on productivity criteria.

The deadlock was referred to the Executive Committee of the Confed, which then met with BL management at the highest level.

The result of this meeting was a joint recommendation to the LCJNC to accept new productivity criteria mutually



SOCIALIST PRESS



Apartheid reforms a front for fresh

attacks

The Wiehan Report, whose general recommendations have been accepted by Minister of Labour Fanie Botha, is a tactic to defend the capitalist-apartheid state against the challenges to it from the black working class.

The Report has been widely and warmly reported in the bourgeois press as a proposal to extend black trade union rights and abolish statutory racial job reservation.

Not lessened

But the recommendations do nothing to either promote the democratic rights of black workers or to lessen their exploitation and repression.

In fact, the report represents a further threat to the struggle of black workers.

Statutory job reservation (now to be abolished) affects only 3% of all jobs.

The vast majority of black workers are excluded from jobs by agreements between employers and white unions.

The Minister of Labour has made it clear that he endorses the Commission's recommendation to keep

these racist restrictions legal.

In any case the mass of other controls (the pass laws and the lack of training and education opportunities for blacks) ensure the continuance of a de facto racist job reservation.

Extending control

Whatever changes are made to legislation about industrial organisations will have the sole purpose of extending control over the organisation of black workers.

By imposing extremely stringent conditions for registration, legislation will aim to destroy those few black unions, now unregistered, through which some workers have sought to build an independent trade union movement.

The stringent rules will most likely outlaw all except the most docile and controlled black unions. Or black workers will be forced into unions totally controlled by whites.

Warm response

Already, black reformist unionists have responded warmly to the recommendations, which they realise are perfectly suited to their own capitulationist



South African Prime Minister Botha

argument that the extension of legal union rights to blacks would safeguard against extremism!

Skilled labour

In a situation in which the international crisis of profits has led South African capitalists to turn to increased mechanisation, the Wiehan Commission recommendations are designed to meet their demand for a large and cheap skilled and semi-skilled labour force.

Clearly it is in defence of profits, at the expense of workers, that 'progressive' sections of capital have been loud in their demands for greater freedom to fill the shortage of skilled labour.

And politically the ruling class seeks to develop and exploit divisions inside the working class—between skilled and unskilled,

between urban and migrant, between manufacturing and agricultural workers.

The Wiehan recommendations are one part of a rigidly controlled and limited programme of reforms through which the ruling class aims to co-opt a layer of black allies, drawn from the small but politically significant black petty bourgeoisie and an upper layer of skilled black workers and union bureaucrats.

Even while the programme of reforms is carried through, the repression, control and super-exploitation of black workers is extended and even more oppressively enforced.

The only real defence against that is the building of the organisations and political programme which embody the independent interests of black workers.

FUND

At last we are beginning to see some movement in the Special Fund. A good week last week has brought our total so far to £432.35. But with a target of £2,500 to be reached by the end of July there is clearly still a long way to go.

At the same time we cannot afford to let our Monthly Fund slip behind in the drive to raise the Special Fund.

Readers and supporters are urged to support these funds on which the maintenance and development of our paper depends.

Donations should be sent to: Socialist Press Fund, 31, Dartmouth Park Hill, London NW5 1HR.

May Day fight in Turkey

The May Day celebrations in Turkey went ahead, in defiance of the massive repression mounted by Ecevit's government and the military to suppress them.

In Istanbul, a 29-hour curfew was imposed and enforced by the tanks and armoured cars which patrolled the streets to make sure that the ban on marches was not broken.

The picture was the same in all the other 19 provinces where martial law is in force.

Nearly 2,000 trade unionists and left-wing militants were arrested in various towns all over the country—in Istanbul, the leader and 400 members of the Turkish Labour Party among them.

The leaders of the DISK trade union confederation were

also arrested before May Day, and all the trade union headquarters were raided by the police and army.

Yet despite this massive repression, May Day was celebrated in 43 provinces by thousands of workers and left wing militants.

Kurdish fighters

On the marches in the eastern part of Turkey, hundreds were arrested—some of them wearing the uniform of the Pesh Merga Kurdish liberation fighters, which has not been seen on Turkish May Day celebrations until this year.

In Izmir, more than 80,000 workers participated in a march organised by the Turkish Communist Party, and another 30,000 took part in a march called by different left wing groups.

May Day was celebrated. But the ability of Ecevit's government and the military to suppress the march in Istanbul must be recognised as a setback for the workers movement, since this is the province where the working class is strongest.

The Stalinist Turkish CP and the reformist trade union leaders bear the major responsibility for this blow.

Right up to the last moment they continued talks on a compromise with Ecevit.

When the talks broke down, the CP shifted its forces to Izmir and the Stalinist leaders did nothing to mobilise forces but confined themselves to militant speeches.

Their sectarian action enabled the DISK leaders to cover their own capitulation by blaming the CP for the split in the trade union movement.

The May Day demonstrations also exposed once again the nature of Ecevit's regime and its shift further to the right.

There are rumours of further splits in the government and military hierarchies.

The chief of general staff threatened to resign if the curfew was not imposed in Istanbul. There is significant opposition also emerging within Ecevit's RPP party.



Ecevit

However the turning point for the present regime will be the ability of Ecevit to introduce the anti-working class measures demanded by the IMF.

30% devaluation is a major item in this catalogue. The confidence of the bourgeoisie in Ecevit will depend on his ability to impose these measures on the working class.

Should he fail then the Turkish ruling class has already prepared the ground to install military or fascist dictatorship as an alternative to Ecevit.

Tory plan for jobless

In her final statements before May 3 Margaret Thatcher began to let some more Tory cats out of their election-time bag.

One of these was that she would force the long-term unemployed to accept any job, whether they were suitable or not.

"We will look at rules to see that such people take jobs which are available".

This is a clear threat to the benefits of the unemployed who correctly refuse to take low-paid jobs or be used as scab labour.

This is the way the Tories plan to use the unemployed to force down wage rates.

Thatcher also gave her opinion of the stopping of production of the *Times* in Germany:

"The Communists are now destroyers and wreckers wherever they appear".

There is a reason why Thatcher should feel strongly on this.

The Tories will not be long in embarking on their planned campaign of wreckage and destruction of trade union rights and working class living standards.

And the most resolute force fighting these attacks and defending the workers' movement will be not the moth-eaten collaborators of the TUC, but revolutionaries dedicated to the struggle for the overthrow of capitalism.

WORKERS SOCIALIST LEAGUE

Public Meeting
OXFORD
Friday May 11, 8pm
East Oxford
Community Centre,
Princes St.

WORKERS SOCIALIST LEAGUE

LEEDS
'Capital'
Reading Group,
commencing May 26.
for details ring
LEEDS 864579

Socialist Youth League
FIRST ANNUAL CONFERENCE

Whittington Youth Centre,
Rupert St., London N19
Saturday May 19 2pm to 11pm

For more details write to SYL, 31, Dartmouth Park Hill, London NW5 1HR.

TROTSKYISM TODAY



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• The significance of the Transitional Programme
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