

SOCIALIST PRESS



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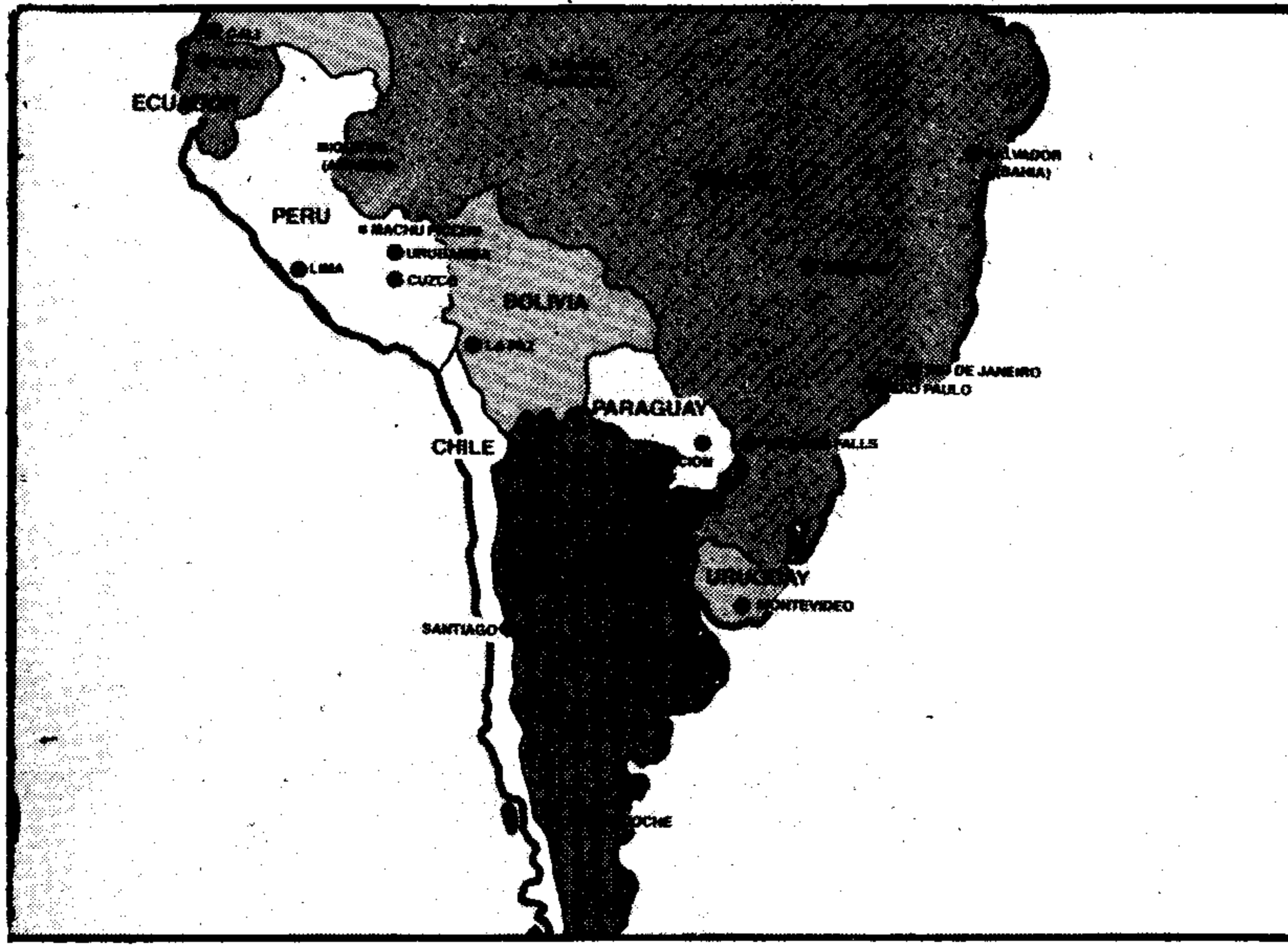
Affiliated to the Trotskyist International Liaison Committee

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Bolivian miners armed with dynamite



Junta chief Garcia

The driving force behind the vicious right wing coup unleashed by the Bolivian armed forces on July 17 is the relentless demands of world imperialism.

And of course the main target of the new military junta is not the ousted President, the lacklustre Lydia Gueiler, or the scattered remnants of the charade of parliamentary democracy in Bolivia.

The target is the Bolivian working class. The new junta seeks to eliminate the leadership of the workers' movement and assail the ranks of the working class with unrestricted violence until, through sheer brutality, hunger and fear, its resistance is broken.

What is occurring in Bolivia is an attempt to inflict a massive and decisive defeat on the working class in the manner of Chile and Uruguay in 1973 and Argentina in 1976. But as yet it is far from clear that the junta will succeed in this task.

Dictatorship

The first week of Garcia's dictatorship appears in many respects to be similar to that of the ill-fated regime established last November by Colonel Alberto Natusch Busch.

There are, however, important differences. Natusch, despite the violence employed by his troops, attempted to portray his regime as 'populist'.

He entered into negotiations with parliament and even the COB (Bolivian TUC). Natusch was also opposed by a significant sector of the army.

Even though faced with massive popular resistance, he was unable to control the right wing; and with the military divided it was necessary to concede the day to the advocates of bourgeois democracy.

The overthrow of his dictatorship after sixteen days was celebrated as a popular victory but in point of fact the right simply retreated to reorganise its forces; it was far from defeated.

Nine months later General Garcia Meza, presiding over a united military apparatus, after months of preparation and careful cooperation with both the civilian right wing and the dicta-

DEFEND BOLIVIAN MASSES AGAINST IMPERIALISM



Lydia Gueiler

torships of Chile and Argentina was better prepared, both politically and militarily to bring to a halt the "anarchy and chaos" of successive elections and the lame Bolivian parliamentary pantomime.

Disarmed

He was also, however, greatly aided by the fact that the working class had been politically disarmed and fed grotesque illusions in parliamentary democracy during the election campaign by the petty bourgeois nationalists (MNR), the Stalinists and the reformists.

Yet the facade of the Bolivian elections was vividly exposed when a 'dry run' coup attempt was made in mid-June

before the poll.

This was stopped as a result of open hostility from the US, unrest among army conscripts and hopes amongst the officer corps that the eventual result might place rightist Victor Paz Estenssoro in power.

Alliance

The elections therefore were allowed to take place. But the victor, it soon became clear, would be Hernan Siles Suazo of the Popular Democratic Union (UDP) in alliance with the pro-Moscow CP and the reformist MIR.

The prospect of seeing "communists" elected to power was too much for the military high command.

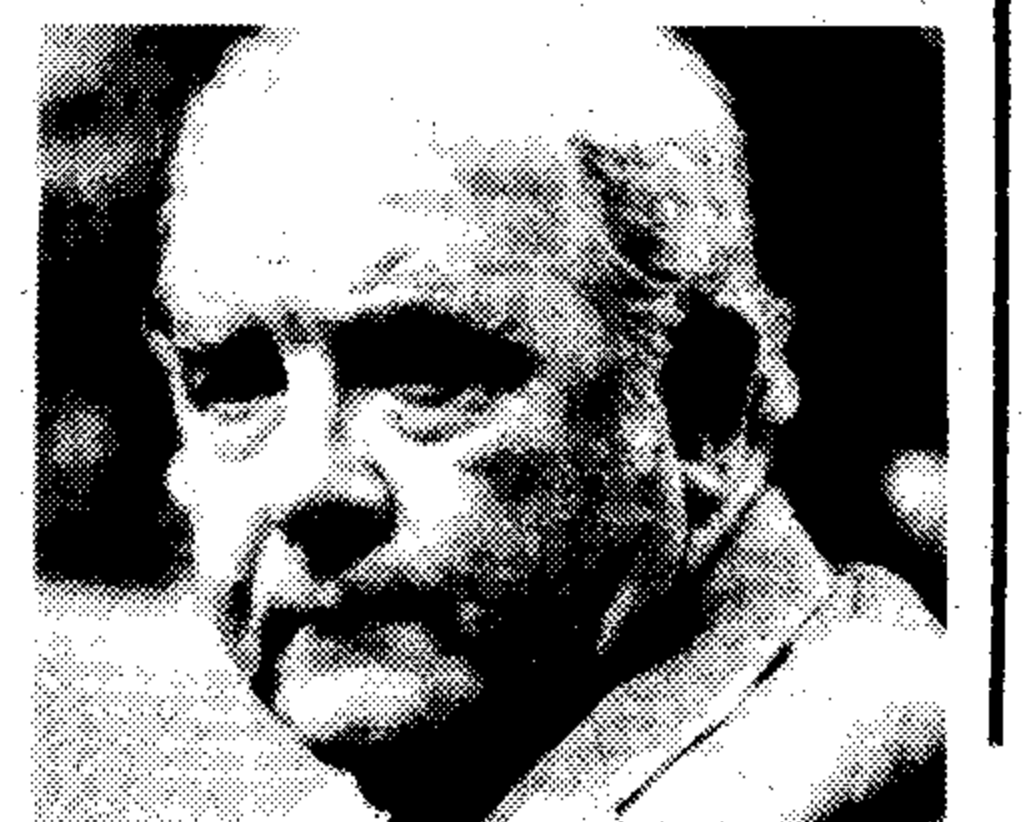
Troops took over the major cities, meeting little organised resistance for the first 24 hours, despite the anti-coup preparations made by the National Committee for the Defence of Democracy (CONADE), a broad civic front supported by all the main bourgeois parties and the Church as well as the COB.

The COB headquarters were attacked by rightist vigilantes

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TGWU leaders on Chile demonstration



Gormley

Fight for blacking action!

The Thatcher government stands four-square behind the most barbaric dictatorships in Latin America. That is clear from the decision last week to lift the six year ban on sales of British-made arms to Chile.

There is no doubt that this move will be followed up by sales of arms and other trade with Bolivia, Argentina and other equally blood-stained regimes.

The British labour movement—many of whose leaders declare a verbal commitment to solidarity with the Chilean working class and the Bolivian miners—must take active steps to force a halt to this trade.

Bolivia in particular is a landlocked country particularly vulnerable to blacking action by the international labour movement. The Bolivian COB (TUC) has appealed for such support.

Moss Evans, who headed the last Chile Solidarity march, must be called upon to instruct

TGWU dockers and transport workers to black all trade, especially arms and military equipment, to Chile, Bolivia and Argentina.

And NUM leaders Daley and Gormley must be forced to mount an urgent fight for an all-out TUC programme of action in solidarity with the besieged Bolivian miners.

Pressure must be placed on union leaders in Peru to ensure that Bolivia's main trading route is cut by blacking and strike action.

Black all arms to the Junta!

RISING TIDE OF VIOLENCE AGAINST TURKISH WORKERS

The killing of the leader of the Metal Workers' Union and a founder of DISK, Kemal Turkler, indicates the depth of the crisis in Turkey.

Political killings are running at nearly ten a day. In the last two months a reactionary former Prime Minister, an RPP deputy and a leader of the fascist NAP have been killed.

This latter killing sparked off an offensive by the National Action Party. For centuries the

Islamic religion in Turkey has been divided between the Sunni majority and the Alevi minority who are a branch of the Shi-ite sect.

Ambush

The deputy chairman of the NAP, Gun Sazak, was killed in an ambush on May 28.

A Sunni shopkeeper in Corum explained:

"Everything started after Sazak was killed. The NAP boys decided to teach the left a

lesson but they could not raise popular support. So they decided to turn it into a religious battle. They succeeded".

In December 1978 a similar fascist-inspired sectarian massacre left over 130 dead but in Corum the minority areas were armed and organised. Barricades and automatic weapons prevented a massacre the army were prepared to allow.

The comparative failure in Corum provoked the government to assert the authority of

the state at the Black Sea port of Fatsa.

A left-wing petty bourgeois party, Dev Yol, has established control of the town council, introducing price controls and eliminating the black market.

According to Prime Minister Demirel this left-wing "commune" threatened the state. A dawn curfew was followed by a house to house search.

Over 500 were arrested. No resistance was put up to this army operation. Unlike at Corum, no fascist forces were involved.

The sophisticated combination of parliamentary tactics and extra-parliamentary violence practiced by the NAP contrasts starkly with the bankruptcy of Ecevit and the RPP.

Exploiting their relationship with Demirel to the full, the NAP are using the support of the local administration and police to try to establish control of towns like Corum.

Where the fascists are unable to operate, as at Fatsa, the NAP can rely on the army to restore 'law and order'. When the fascists hold rallies no police are in sight—the fascists provide their own security.

When Ecevit and a party of MPs were stoned recently they appealed to Demirel and then to Chief of Staff Evrun for state protection!

While fascists escalate the crisis in the country they can look on with satisfaction at the farce presented by the 'normal' bourgeois form of rule in Parliament. For over four months no Parliamentary business has been enacted because, despite over 100 ballots, no President has been elected.

Although the candidates including the RPP's nominee, are ex-generals, no one party can assemble a majority for their candidate.

Ecevit's solution to this deadlock is a coalition of everyone but the fascists. Demirel won a vote of confidence at the beginning of July one week after Ecevit's vote of censure failed.

The reactionary religious NSP, who are normally allies of the RPP, demanded the premiership of any future coalition with the RPP as a condition for voting against Demirel. Even Ecevit could not concede this condition.

Unresolved

The crisis in Turkey is far from resolved. As yet the military are unwilling to tear away the veil of Parliamentary rule.

The fascists, although their support is far stronger than in the army, are not strong enough to move outside the umbrella of martial law imposed

by the army.

The vote of confidence can be seen to reflect imperialism's judgement on Demirel's government so far. Over the last few weeks \$3 billion in loans and rescheduled debts have been granted by the IMF/OECD. A new defence agreement does not limit imperialist forces to activities within Turkey's borders, preparing Turkey as a bastion which imperialism has lacked in the area since the fall of the Shah.

However, this can only be accomplished after the crushing of the Kurdish and Turkish masses' resistance to Demirel's IMF-inspired policies of free trade and wage freezes in the context of inflation over 100% and 4 devaluations since January.



Turkler

As yet the Turkish working class has not suffered irreversible defeat. Their ability to organise and fight was clear at Izmir earlier this year.

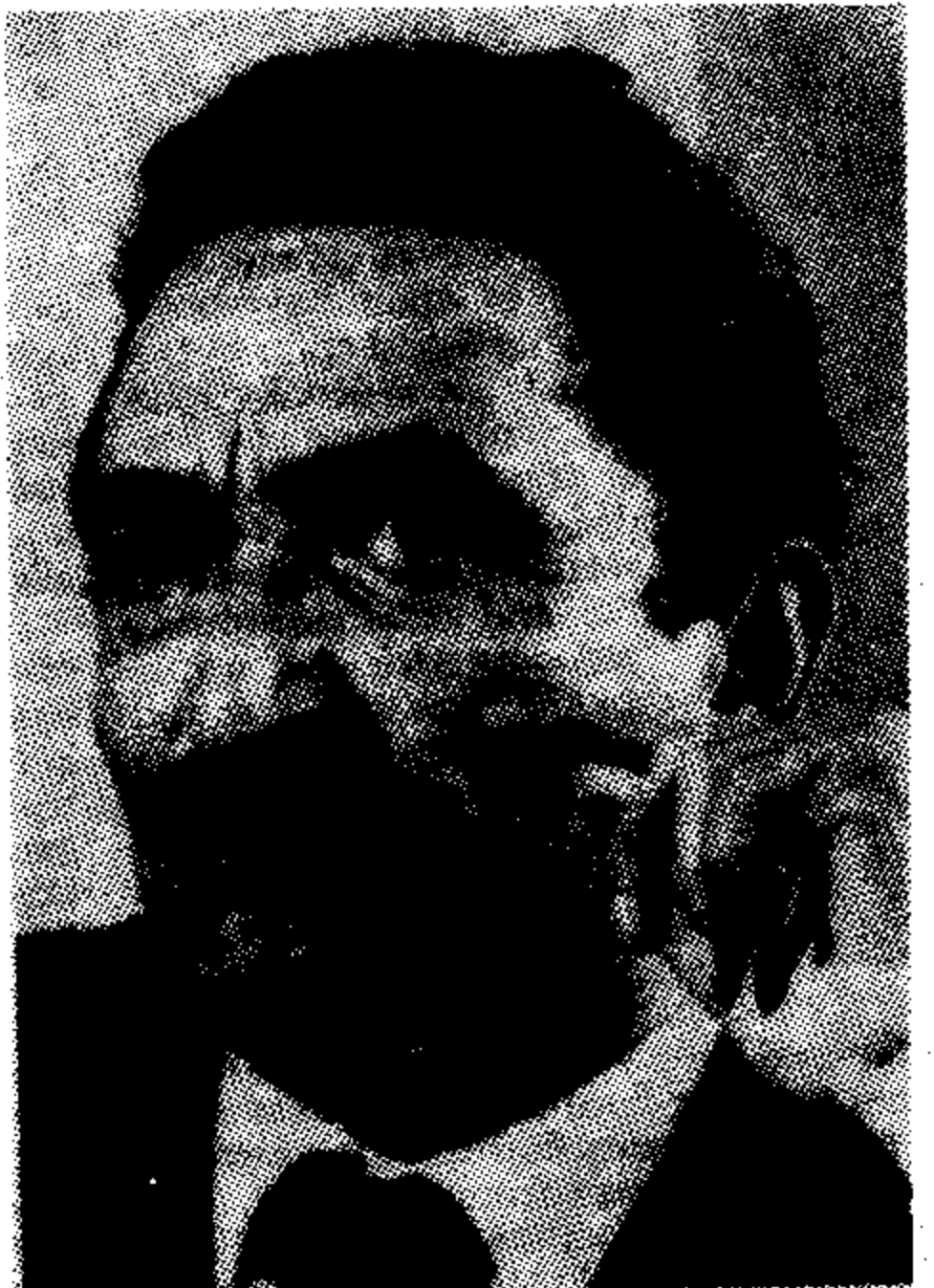
The continued resistance as in towns like Corum shows why the fascists as yet "cannot raise popular support" and why the army tries to stay in the background.

In Turkish Kurdistan the army is even less strong and only capable of token removal of barricades and short-lived occupations of towns. Also, the failure of the reactionary Iranian regime's attempts to crush the Kurds enhances the resistance to Turkish oppression.

The key to the situation lies with the Turkish working class and in particular the question of its leadership. Without a break from the pacifist parliamentarianism of Ecevit a military-fascist coup is inevitable.

The questions of the defence of the working class now allow of no other answer than that of socialist revolution.

To this end the first step is a united front of workers organisations to build a basis for an effective workers' militia, and to campaign for a workers' and peasants' government that would eliminate the basis for fascism provided by the bourgeois regime in crisis.



Ecevit



Turkish police in action



TILC supporters picket the Turkish Embassy in protest at the murder of Turkler

Defeat Turkish state repression!

A statement adopted by the Trotskyist International Liaison Committee Summer School, July 1980, and signed by the following organisations: Workers Socialist League (Britain); Socialist League (Democratic Centralist) (USA sympathising section); Trotskistisk Arbejder Forbund (Denmark); Gruppo Bolscevico Leninista (Italy); Liga Obrera Bolchevique de Chile.

*Against state repression! Smash the fascist bands!

*Break from the RPP—For a united front of workers organisations!

*For a workers' and peasants' government in Turkey!

The fascist attacks on the Turkish working class have reached a new stage with the assassination of the MADEN-IS metal workers' union leader Kemal Turkler, founding member of DISK.

Following spontaneous strikes by MADEN-IS members, the DISK leadership's response to the outrage was to call a 24-hour strike. By restricting through this action any possible developments of independent struggle by the working class, the reformist and Communist Party of Turkey leadership once more act in vain to protect the remnants of bourgeois democracy and with it their own heads.

Behind the political crisis of parliamentary rule, and the stalemate of the presidential elections, lie the effects of the deepening world capitalist crisis on the ruined Turkish economy.

Astronomic levels of inflation, throwing the banking system into chaos, and a quarter of the population unemployed, has forced the Turkish ruling class further into the arms of imperialism and its credit agencies, who exploit this situation to further their counter-revolutionary strategy in the Middle East.

The destruction of the Shah's regime in Iran has forced imperialism to find new gendarmes through which it can maintain its weakened authority in the region. For NATO, Turkey's role today therefore takes on a greater importance.

In addition, US President Carter's new cold war anti-Soviet policies means the Pentagon generals step up their military collaboration with their Turkish counterparts.

Turkish workers and

peasants must now confront a ruling class desperate to impose its rule by new means.

Increasingly it is not to parliament but the police, army and to the fascist bands on the streets that the bourgeoisie now turns.

Yet the working class shows again and again its willingness and ability to defend itself from these attacks.

From the barricades built by TARIS workers in Izmir a few months ago to the continuing armed defence of Corum against fascist provocation today, resistance is strengthening to martial law and the increasingly paralysed Demirel government.

In the East the oppressed Kurdish people, inspired by their successes in the armed struggle for independence in Iran, remain a major obstacle to the military and fascist leaders' plans for dictatorship.

With whole areas of Turkey now beyond its control, the Ankara government's attempts to impose its authority in the left-wing town of Fatsa confirm

the increasing drive towards civil war.

Yet still the fate of the Turkish masses remain tied to bureaucratic leaders who use anti-imperialist and anti-fascist demagoguery as a cover for maintaining their class collaboration with an illusory 'democratic' section of the bourgeoisie.

Under these conditions no reliance can be placed on, or strategic alliances tolerated with Ecevit's bourgeois Republican Peoples Party pretenders.

The defence of democratic rights cannot be separated from the struggle for socialist revolution itself.

Only through a united front of workers' organisations and workers' militias behind which can be rallied the Kurds and the proletariat's petty bourgeois allies, can the reactionary offensive be defeated and the basis laid for the construction of a mass revolutionary communist party.

Coventry nursery fight: occupation ended—battle goes on!

Since the last issue of *Socialist Press* the occupation of Wheatley Street Nursery School in Coventry has ended.

No doubt because of the widespread support which the campaign against the school's closure has generated from the final hours of occupation the Labour Council lost no time in obtaining a possession order and carrying out the repossession of the building.

It should be noted in fact that the Labour Council moved to end the occupation more quickly than any council has in other nursery occupations.

The decision by the council to lock the building a few hours after the occupation began should also be brought out for all workers to know about.

Here was a Labour council—which only last December held a fraud of a conference to supposedly plan a co-ordinated fight against the cuts by councils throughout the country—taking the decision to lock people into a building!

Despite appeals for at least one door to be left open as a fire exit, this Labour Council locked the doors and simply visited the occupation every morning at 8.00 a.m. to find out "if anyone wanted to be let out".

It was decided in advance of the bailiffs' arrival to withdraw from the building at that point

and to continue the struggle from the outside.

A picket of the school was immediately established in order to prevent any attempt by the council to remove the furniture and other equipment.

The campaign has received a letter from the Deputy Education Officer giving an undertaking that no furniture or equipment will be removed from the school in advance of a decision by Secretary of State Mark Carlisle on the application for closure made by the Labour Council.

Support

The letter also states that the Council would be legally obliged to re-open the school at the start of next term if Carlisle's decision has not been made by that date.

After months of asking for such a written statement and getting no response it is clear that the campaign's support is worrying the Council.

However, it is also clear that Carlisle's decision is likely to be speeded up and that the campaign must redouble its efforts to press forward its central demand of "re-opening the school at the start of next term fully staffed and equipped with no loss of pupil places.

Four hours after the occupiers were evicted, over 100 supporters of the campaign marched from the school to the

Education offices singing songs and chanting slogans.

The high spirits on the march reflected very strongly the feeling outlined on a leaflet distributed alongside the march that "the Council may have won a battle but they have not won the war".

Petition

The campaign's momentum has continued and grown since the eviction took place.

Regular Saturday sessions in the city precinct have been established—where hundreds have signed a petition to the council supporting the demand to re-open the school, calling for an emergency council meeting to reverse the decision to close it, deploring the eviction and calling for a public inquiry into the council's plans for the school site.

Alongside this the Nursery Campaign has launched an investigation into nursery needs in the City.

It is argued by all those involved that part of fighting the cuts is establishing that the starting point must be the assertion of what is needed, not assessing what we can get out of the capitalist state.

The investigation is also seen as an important way of drawing in further support—both directly, from parents of nursery age children, and from trade unions, shop stewards



Rally in support of Wheatley Street

committees, etc., who are being asked to help in the enquiry.

From the start NUPE gave its full support to the occupation and it is important that that support is made concrete in the weeks ahead.

It is no accident that it is NUPE which has given the strongest support statements. The members of this union face the most savage attacks on jobs and services launched by the Tory government and implemented in Coventry by the Labour council.

It is also important that the verbal support given to the campaign by the NUT and NALGO before the occupation be made into a reality.

Wider than these unions, of course, all unions have a direct interest in the fight for nursery places and against the cuts.

As we reported in the last *Socialist Press* the occupation won the support of a wide section of Coventry's Labour Party and the campaign's supporters there are deepening their struggle.

The campaign is demanding that an emergency council meeting be held to reverse the decision to close Wheatley Street and all councillors are being urged to take up that call.

In particular the 'rebel' councillors who defied the Labour whip in the last council meeting and voted against school meal price increases have a responsibility to take up this demand.

Some of the 'rebels' gave their full support during the occupation.

As we go to press a lobby is being held of the Labour Group

of councillors to press forward the campaign's demand for a change of policy.

A major fight is already taking place in the Labour Party over the cuts which are being implemented.

The Wheatley Street occupation and campaign is one of the sharp edges in the fight against the cuts in Coventry.

Indications immediately after the occupation are that the Coventry Nursery Campaign (Wheatley Street) can generate enough support to reverse the closure and has already laid a firm basis for the development of the struggle over other cuts.

Further details of the campaign can be obtained from:

Coventry Nursery Campaign (Wheatley Street), 37 Beaconsfield Road, Coventry.

Daily



MONDAY, JULY 14, 1980

Mail

PRESS GANG SPECIAL

EXCLUSIVE

TORY 'MOLES' EXPOSED!

A row has broken out over an international conspiracy to subvert working class organisations.

Today—after an investigation lasting several minutes—*Socialist*

Press exposes the role of one of the leaders of this conspiracy—the *Daily Mail*.

From a grim faced building in Carmelite Street, London, strategically placed for a view of the other side of the street, a

network of ruthless, highly trained plotters are sent out daily to spy on militant workers, revolutionaries and Labour Party members.

The *Daily Mail* has registered as a newspaper with the Post

Office and duped the publicly-subsidised postal service into allowing it to send out copies 'newspaper rate'.

In fact, despite the veneer of cartoon characters, cross-words and 'stars', the *Mail* is the centre of an international network of subversion of working class organisations.

This week we spoke to hundreds of 'supporters' of the *Daily Mail*.

Although some have been taking the *Mail* for years and repeating its poison in bars and at cocktail parties and rugby club stag nights, not one of them would admit to being a member.

"I just support its policies", said 46-year-old accountant 'Hatchett' Jones from Buddleigh Salterton, Devon. He denied that the *Mail's* policy on the family was designed to oppress women and brainwash children.

As he lectured us for half an hour on his freshly washed doorstep on the 'joys of family life', his children could be heard sobbing from the bedroom where they were locked in, and his wife was peeling potatoes in the kitchen—as a punishment for having expressed an opinion.

The *Mail's* front organisations range from the 'Ideal Home Exhibition' (where instruments for women's oppression are bought and sold freely) to show jumping (where members of the 'Royal Family' and

others are invited to whip horses while crowds pay to watch them).

Behind the facade of the *Mail* lies a shadowy organisation known as 'The State'.

Secret

Armed men are dispatched all over the world—some in openly terrorist organisations such as the SAS—and uniformed 'constables' patrol the streets.

Were the *Mail* to succeed in imposing its full programme, life would assume some of the horrors of Pinochet's Chile.

The *Daily Mail's* direct relationship with the State is a closely guarded secret but extends to providing photographs of demonstrations in return for Special Branch information.

The *Mail's* 'reporters' and the State's 'police' are almost indistinguishable.

Mail staff are apparently 'licensed to let down tyres' and are often to be found carrying 'tyre levers'.

Mail 'supporters' have infiltrated the Labour Party, where they move model resolutions on 'moderation', 'pay control' and 'immigration laws'.

Pinnacle

By spinning out meetings

with interminable speeches in support of the ruling class they seek to drive workers out of the Labour Party.

The pinnacle of the *Mail's* success is to succeed in getting one of its 'supporters' elected as a Labour prime minister.

Mail 'chiefs' are however worried that their international plot is failing. Falling circulation, increasingly angry workers and a backlash against their policies are threatening to destroy their power base.

Now supporters have been told to work urgently to:

- *Break up the trade unions.
- *Abolish rights for women.
- *Jail revolutionaries and strikers.
- *Sack militants from their jobs.

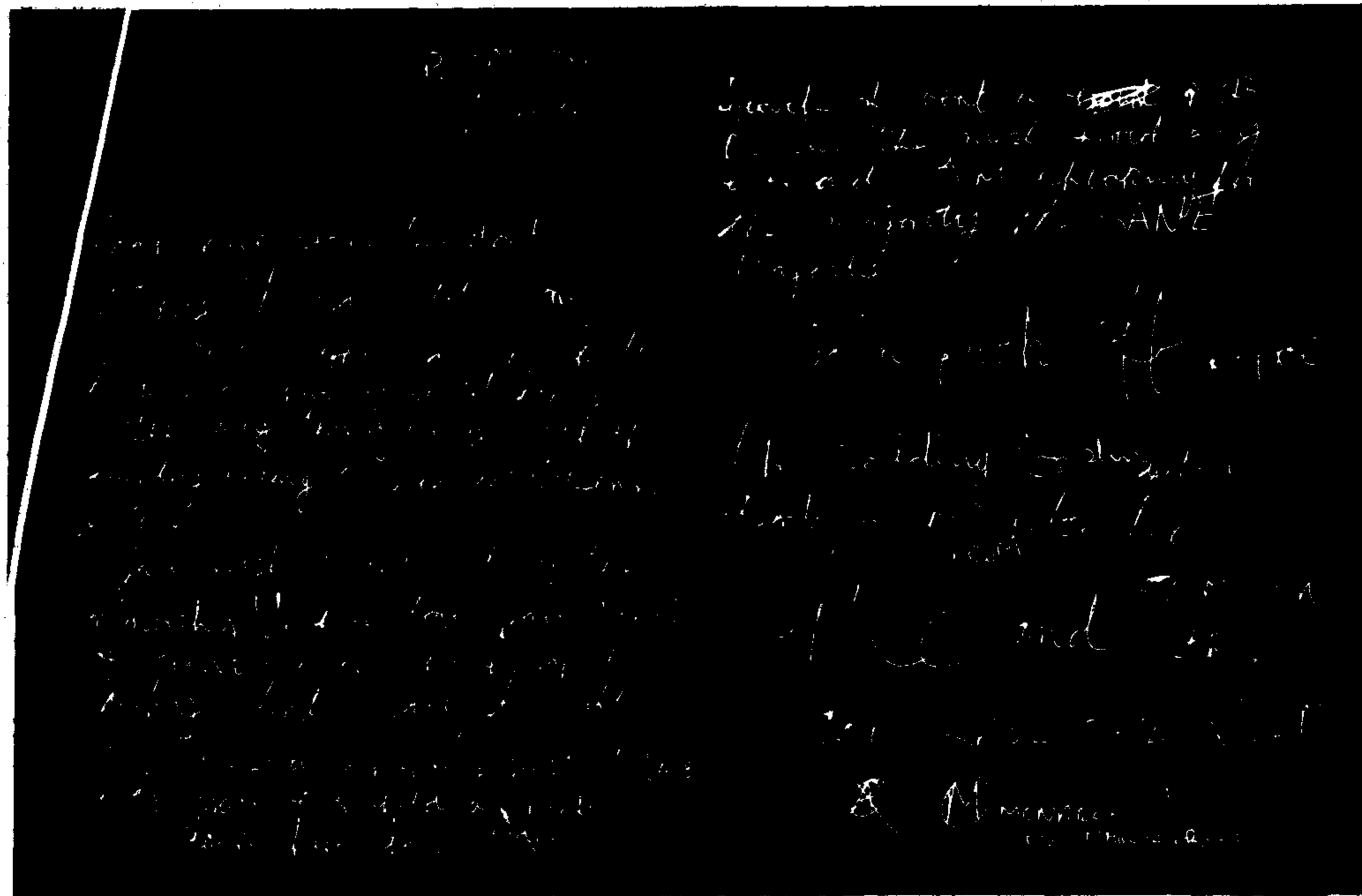
TOMORROW

How the *Mail* turned my wife into a Maggot, by Prince Philip.

SURVEILLANCE of the TILC International Summer School kept some of Britain's wonderful police from their holidays.

Special Branch officers struggled to keep pace with the discussions as they listened in.

The *Daily Mail* commandeered a nearby flat and patrolled the perimeter of the school photographing people at the school and passers-by indiscriminately.



Labour's new Draft Manifesto: a move to the left?

By John Lister



Callaghan

the Party, dictate the terms of the Manifesto, and determine the line of any future Labour government.

The production of radical-sounding if wrongheaded resolutions and Draft Manifestoes by the NEC 'lefts' is thus meaningless unless linked up to launching a struggle within the Party for the removal of Callaghan/Healey and the abandonment of their policies of class collaboration in Britain and internationally.

That the 'lefts' have no intention of waging such a fight is indicated by the Draft's specific pledge to world imperialism that:

"The next Labour Government will maintain its support for NATO..."

The Draft calls not for the unilateral disarmament of British imperialism but for the utopia of "multilateral mutual disarmament". And even its pledge to reduce defence spending is simply to bring the defence budget 'into line with that carried by our main European allies'.

And while notionally supporting "the rights of all peoples and nations to self-determination", the Draft makes no break from the British imperialist repression in Ireland or pledge to withdraw troops.

As a statement of confusion, diversionary policies and class collaboration in Britain and on a world scale, the Draft is useful evidence of the inability of the Labour 'left' to offer any serious socialist alternative to the Callaghan leadership.

Only insofar as it reflects the forward movement of Labour's rank and file and offers an opportunity for a discussion and debate on policies within the party itself does the Draft represent a step forward.

In the course of such a debate, the most advanced workers will come to see the folly of attempting to reform the bankrupt capitalist system through Parliamentary tinkering and recognise the necessity for a revolutionary leadership in the workers' movement.

"Britain needs a new Government. A Government determined to get the economy moving and get inflation under control: a Government able to rebuild our industry and create the jobs we need to restore full employment".

With these grand words the Labour Party's left-wing led National Executive begin their Draft Manifesto—which has been stridently attacked by right wingers ranging from Tory Norman St. John Stevas to crypto-Tory Dr. David Owen.

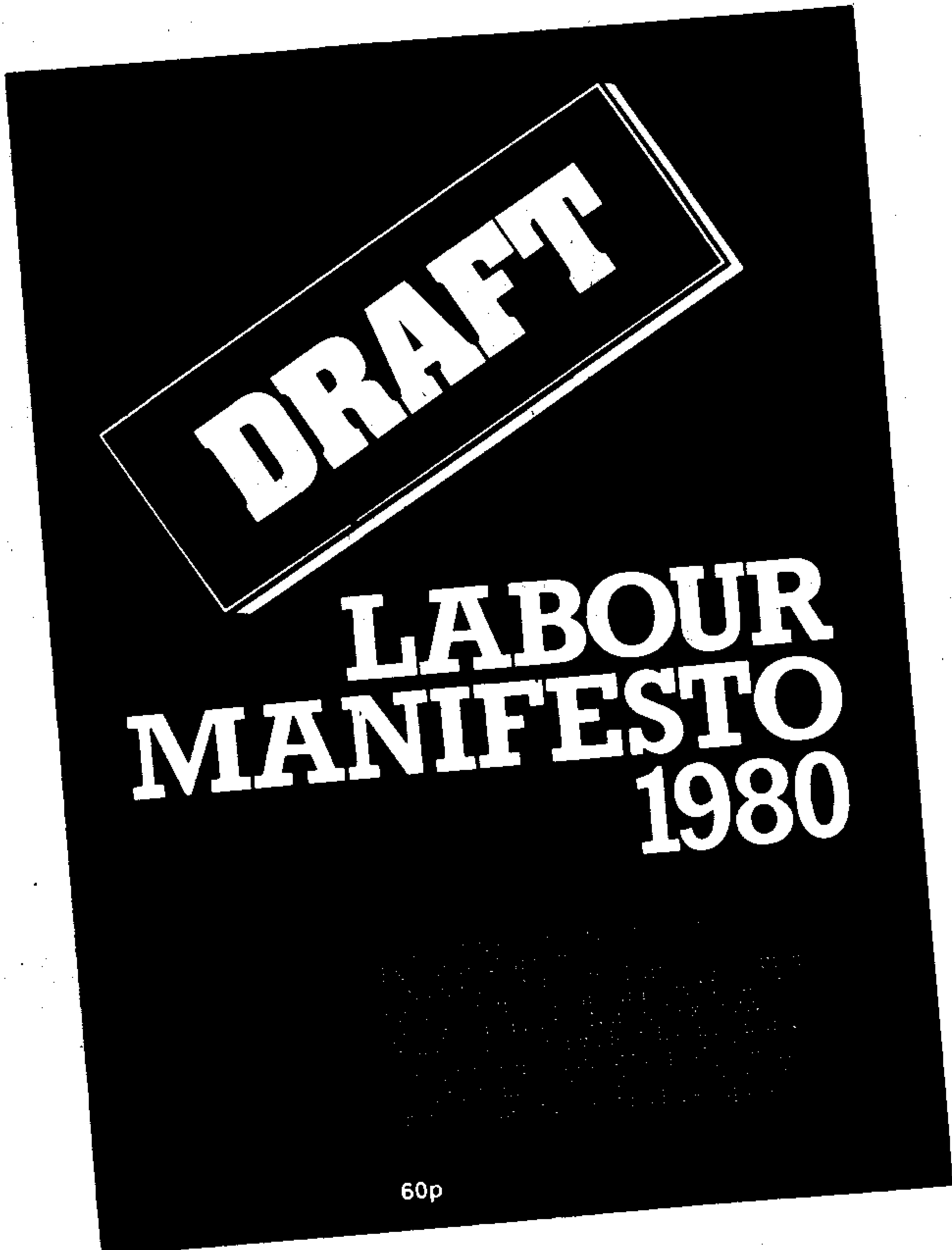
Confusion

Yet these very words also sum up the confusion that besets the left wing of the Labour Party as they seek a parliamentary answer to the galloping crisis of capitalism.

How is it possible by a few adjustments to "get the economy moving" when the capitalist system on a world scale is plunging headlong into recession, and when it is precisely its inability to produce an adequate rate of profit which has brought British industry to the brink of collapse?

How can the Labour Party—which refuses to question the 'right' of the employing class to protect its profits at the expense of workers' jobs and living standards—hope to rearrange the existing chaotic system to "create the jobs we need to restore full employment"?

How, without the nationalisation of the major corporations, the capitalist banks and trusts



and the establishment of a planned, socialist economy (none of which is proposed in the new Draft) can the dreamers on Labour's NEC hope to "rebuild our [!] industry"?

The Draft Manifesto skips nimbly between these contradictions, offering workers the

illusion of a gradual, parliamentary evolution towards—well, not socialism (the word barely appears in the draft), but a 'fairer' kind of capitalism:

"We are seeking nothing less than a fundamental and irreversible shift in the balance of power and wealth in favour of

working people and their families".

In reality of course the Labourites are seeking nothing more than a few piecemeal reforms within a system whose anarchy and decay has for the last decade brought a barrage of mounting attacks on the working class at the hands of capitalist governments run by Tory and Labour alike.

"Pick up pieces"

The Draft points out that the first task of a re-elected Labour government would be "to pick up the pieces" and "salvage what is left of British [capitalist] industry".

The National Enterprise Board would ride again, once more pouring thousands of millions of pounds drawn from taxes on the working and middle classes into the coffers of ailing capitalist corporations—or as the Draft puts it:

"a huge injection of state finance... a tough new planning framework and a significant extension of public enterprise".

The Labourite bid to resuscitate floundering employers would run alongside nationalist import controls aimed at penalising foreign competitors:

"we are determined not to allow manufactured imports to continue to destroy our [!] industries and jobs".

It is of course not imports, but British employers who are closing factories and sacking workers: yet these employers face a future not of nationalisation but of generous Labour cash transfusions:

"Labour's aim is to double the level of manufacturing investment within our first Parliament".

The government's cash hand-outs to the employers will take various forms—ranging from "a significant public stake" in such companies as pharmaceuticals, medical equipment, micro-electronics, construction and build-

ing materials; powers to buy up individual companies; and "very considerable" resources to be furnished through the NEB.

Pension funds and life assurance schemes would also be diverted into "industrial investment".

Yet what form would such investment take, if not undertaken within the context of a socialist planned economy?

"Investment" at present in capitalist corporations means precisely the introduction of new equipment and technology that speed up production and axe jobs by the tens of thousands: without a plan for work sharing on full pay to preserve full employment, such investment can only mean still further workers on the dole.

Yet private employers will only invest in order to increase the exploitation of their workforce as a basis for increasing their rate of profit: creating full employment plays no part in their calculations.

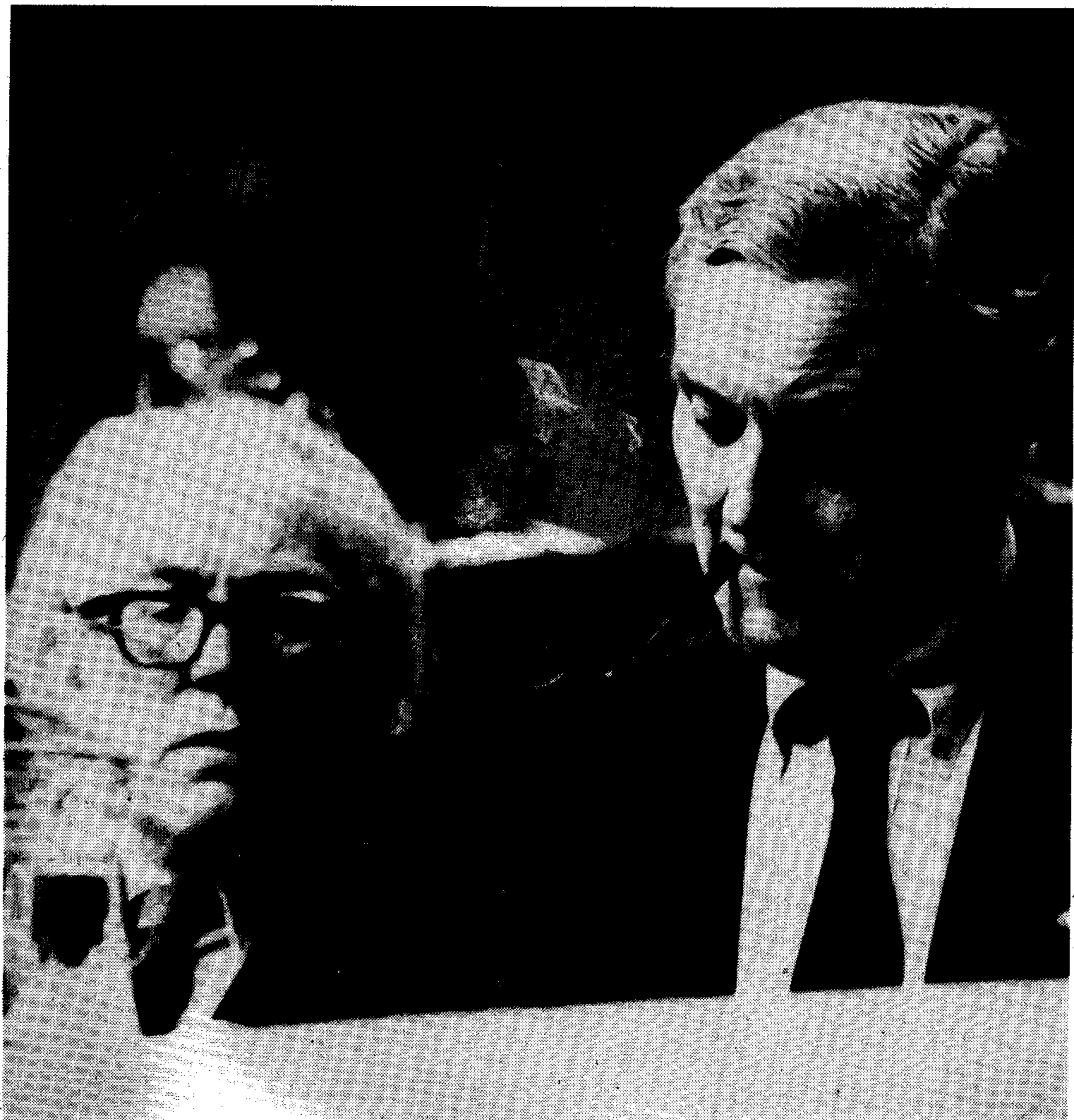
The Labourite dream of vast sums in investment mopping up unemployment bears no relation to the workings of capitalism—as the doubling of unemployment under the Wilson/Callaghan government painfully confirmed.

True, the NEC's new Draft Manifesto does talk occasionally about—well, not nationalisation as such but "extending public ownership".

Among candidates for this tentative process are parts of banking and insurance, North Sea oil, the power plant industry, the building materials industry, road haulage, commercial ports and cargo handling.

In this respect therefore the new Draft can be seen as a certain shift to the left by an NEC under pressure from the working class.

But not even this piecemeal and inadequate programme is ever likely to see the light of day so long as the right wing Callaghan/Healey leadership are allowed to rule the roost within



Benn: peddling confusion and class collaboration

Musicians must reject deal

Whenever there is a dirty deal to be done, especially in the arts or the media, Lord Goodman, Harold Wilson's legal fixer, is seldom far away.

It was Goodman who was the architect of the proposed agreement in the seven week old musicians' strike against the BBC.

The settlement reached last Wednesday between the BBC and national officials of the Musicians Union "saves" three out of the six orchestras which the BBC wanted to close.

But the internationally known BBC Scottish Symphony Orchestra will be maintained as a smaller orchestra than before.

The London Studio Players will be retained in a new form.

And the BBC Northern Ireland Symphony Orchestra

will be "saved" and enlarged only by being supported by "independent financial sponsors" as well as on the BBC, whose contribution will be restricted to £100,000.

But there is nothing in the agreement which will guarantee these "independent funds".

And the three other light music orchestras will close, though the BBC agrees to offer freelance "contracts" to their players for part-time work.

Concessions

The BBC has made concessions compared with its earlier proposals.

But the new plans fall far short of the musicians' demands and, despite freelance "contracts", will still lead to 63 redundancies.

MU assistant secretary Stan

Hibberd praised the sell-out saying "the entire musical profession owes Lord Goodman an enormous debt now and always".

It remains to be seen what 42,000 MU members, now voting in a ballot, will think of it.

But already the "saved" BBC musicians in Scotland are saying in a most principled way that they do not accept the settlement even though it "saves" one of their orchestras.

Also MU members in Northern Ireland have said that they will continue their strike because the proposals for Northern Ireland are so vague.

Despite the executive recommendation for acceptance, the only way to fight effectively for the severely threatened interests of musicians will be to vote 'no' to the Goodman settlement and to continue the strike.

Fighting for a workers' government

'WORKERS ACTION

THE MISSING LINK

"How are the different demands and forms of struggle to be harmonised, even if only within the limits of one city? History has already answered this question: through *soviets*. These will unite the representatives of all the fighting groups . . . Soviets are not limited to an *a priori* party programme. They throw open their doors to all the exploited . . . All political currents of the proletariat can struggle for leadership of the soviets on the basis of the widest democracy. The slogan of *soviets*, therefore, crowns the programme of transitional demands".

(Trotsky, *Transitional Programme*).

"What then are the tasks of revolutionaries?"

1) To put forward in the labour movement a full programme for the beginning of the socialist transformation of society . . .

2) To crown that programme with the call for the creation of a *workers' government* which will at least fight for the immediate interests of the working class, breaking with the bourgeoisie where necessary and to the extent necessary . . .

We agitate and make propaganda for the specific measures and demands of the action programme, fighting to commit the *organisations of the labour movement* [our emphasis] to struggle for them . . .

In Britain there is *already in existence* [our emphasis, SP] a vast network of factory committees which could expand their activities and functions to the point of being dominant over the organs of the bourgeois state and, even before creating soviets, could be the basis of a decisive struggle. (. . .) the working class must, in the course of the struggle, learn confidence in *its own democracy* and in the potential of its own *existing factory organisations* [our emphasis, SP] to expand into a framework of working class self-rule in the whole of society . . .

We point to the need to renovate, reorganise and reconstruct the *existing* [our emphasis, SP] labour movement as an essential prerequisite for a workers' government, a government essentially different from the bourgeois Labour governments of the past . . .

We pose as a central task of the period ahead the creation of unity of the forces of revolutionary Marxism around this perspective: of a serious and realistic orientation to the political and trade union wings of the labour movement, and to the work of *organising* the forces of Marxism within the *only mass labour movement which exists* [our emphasis, SP] in this country".

(*Workers Action*, articles on workers' government, No's 174, 175).

There is clearly a yawning gulf between the formulations of Trotsky in the Transitional Programme and the above quotations taken from a major series of articles in *Workers*



Russian workers carry the slogan "All power to the Soviets" during the 1917 revolution

Action on the question of the workers' government.

Trotsky specifically directs to the fight to build *new*, all-embracing and independent bodies—soviets—to bring together the political movements, trade unions and other various organisations of the working class in a united challenge to the power of the capitalist state.

The Transitional Programme states that:

"From the first moment of their appearance, the Soviets, acting as a pivot around which millions of toilers are united in their struggle against the exploiters, become competitors and opponents of local authorities and of central government.

If the factory committee creates a *dual power* in the fac-

tory, then the soviets initiate a period of *dual power* in the country."

Yet the extracts from *Workers Action* show a very different emphasis. Far from stressing the need for *new*, independent organisations to unite and mobilise the various struggles of the masses, the perspective offered is one of reshaping, rearranging and "renovating" the *existing*, limited organisations of the working class.

Dual power

Trotsky's "crowning call" for soviets is replaced by *Workers Action's* "crowning call" for a "workers' government".

And the Transitional Pro-

gramme's focus on the question of *dual power* is replaced by *Workers Action's* stress on the view that "only a central government can carry the programme through".

The counterposition of organs of *workers' power* to the centralised authority of the capitalist state is indeed the crucial element *omitted* from the *Workers Action* perspective for a workers' government.

So exactly what kind of government does *Workers Action* have in mind?

To answer this question it is necessary to look more closely at the *Workers Action* analysis of the present stage of development of the crisis in the Labour Party.

In their view, the entire complexion of this 75 year old

reformist party has been fundamentally changed by the decisions of last year's Labour Party conference at Brighton.

"... it was necessary . . . for the political wing of the labour movement to begin (it is as yet no more) to change—and to begin to change sufficiently for it to be now not fantastic to set as a goal its transformation (at least partially, and on condition that further changes are pressed through) into a real instrument of the working class.

The decisions of the Brighton conference, if they are pushed through and consolidated to make the Parliamentary Labour Party accountable and therefore more or less controlled by the Labour and trade union movement, open up a new perspective . . .



Delegates to All Russia Congress

It is not necessary that the Labour Party becomes a revolutionary party—or that one should think it can or will become that . . .

The Brighton decisions are—or rather can be made to be—the beginning of a process of renovating and reconstructing the labour movement in all its wings and sections, from shop stewards' committees through to the Parliamentary Labour Party.

Brighton demonstrates that transforming the political wing of the labour movement is a possibility, and thus that it is possible to raise the transitional demand for a workers' government in Britain, where in the initial stages such a government would inevitably have the Labour Party as its major or only component".

We will leave aside, for the purposes of this article, *Workers Action's* extravagant view of the impact of the Brighton conference decisions on the Labour Party, and their conception of the reformist party being in some way "transformed" into "an instrument of the working class".

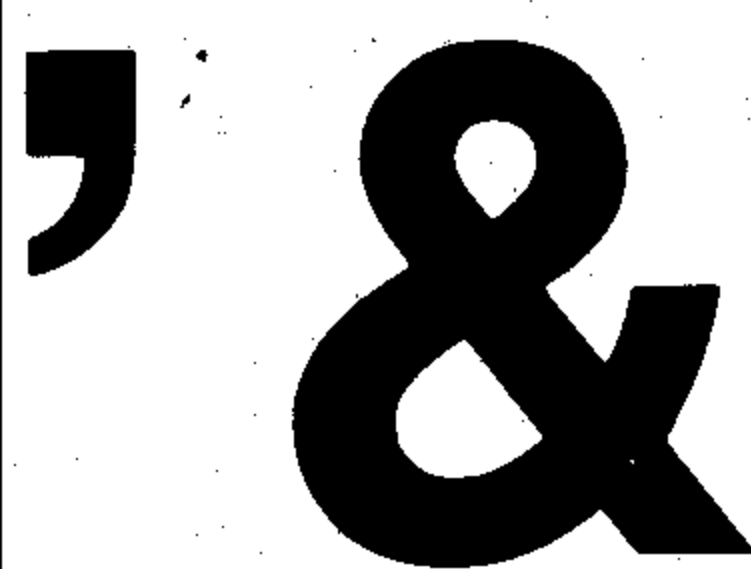
We do not share their views on this, and these questions will be dealt with in a further article.

The point to be made here, however is that everything in these passages points towards the fact that the *Workers Action* version of a "workers' government" is essentially little more than a *Labour* government which arises from the struggle for accountability within the Labour Party.

Roundabout

Is this not a more roundabout way of calling for a 'left Labour government'—in the time-honoured manner of the Communist Party and others?

Workers Action of course denies this, and struggles heroically but unsuccessfully to draw a distinction between their



Colin Morrow and
John Lister



The storming of the Winter Palace 1917



of Soviets, June 1917

tions, too, the crucial element of securing workers' control over blacking and solidarity actions is left out, while the Action Programme calls vaguely for "a state monopoly of foreign trade" without in any way explaining how workers are to influence this new state of affairs.

When the *Workers Action* Programme declares in general terms therefore that "Revolutionaries fight for a state based on workers' councils"—it does so without offering any suggestion as to how such councils might actually emerge in the course of an intensified class struggle.

Instead, much of the *Workers Action* perspective for a "workers' government" is based on the supposition that it would be an elected, Parliamentary government.

"Even if resting on a Parliamentary majority (which is the most probable variant, at the beginning) [it would base] itself on the working class, and rely on its mobilisations in the struggle against bourgeois resistance".

What tangible form could such reliance on the working class take, in the absence of any organs of workers' power capable of challenging the centralised power of the capitalist state? *Workers Action's* perspective hangs in a political limbo, vehemently denying that it offers a Parliamentary road, yet failing to spell out and insist upon the vital extra-Parliamentary support which alone could offer an alternative.

All this is very different from the approach to the demand for a workers' government in the Transitional Programme.

Far from suggesting that revolutionaries should simply support such a government and await its initiatives from above, Trotsky spells out a *dynamic* strategy in which revolutionaries fight to drive forward the class struggle under such a government in order to expose the reformist and Stalinist misleaders:

"Of all parties and organisations which base themselves on the workers and peasants and speak in their name we demand that they break politically from the bourgeoisie and enter upon the road of struggle for the workers' and farmers' government."

On this road we promise them full support against capitalist reaction. At the same time we indefatigably develop agitation around those transitional demands which should in our opinion form the programme of the 'workers' and farmers' government'.

... In any case, one thing is not to be doubted: even if this highly improbable variant somewhere and at some time becomes a reality and the workers' and farmers' government in the above mentioned sense is established in fact, it would represent merely a short episode on the road to the actual dictatorship of the proletariat.

But what for Trotsky is a "short episode" on the strategic

road to proletarian revolution appears to be portrayed by *Workers Action* as the end of the route!

By leaving out the perspective of developing soviet-type organs of workers' power in the struggles ahead, and leaving out the question of arming and organising the workers' militia, *Workers Action* winds up capably explaining its readiness to defend a Labour government against reactionaries but offering its readers and supporters not the slightest hint of how it would see the process of political development passing beyond the stage of left reformism.

Theses

The first *Workers Action* article for instance quotes from the Comintern Theses of 1922, which declare that:

"The most elementary tasks of a workers' government must consist in arming the proletariat in disarming the bourgeois counter-revolutionary organisations..."

Can *Workers Action* seriously envisage even a totally "renovated" Labour Party supervising the arming of the working class? Is the tragic example of Chile already forgotten?

If not, what course of action do *Workers Action* propose to the working class when the Labourites refuse to carry out this elementary step?

The silence on this—as so many similar questions—is an

eloquent testimony to the fact that the entire trajectory of the *Workers Action* "workers' government" articles is in fact towards a leftward-moving parliamentary government, which they envisage being driven on in spite of itself by the objective forces of the class struggle.

Of course it is true that the 1922 Comintern Theses on the workers' government slogan—quoted in the first of the *Workers Action* articles—include a passage stating that:

"Thus the revolutionaries are prepared, under certain conditions and with certain guarantees, even to support a merely ostensible workers' government (naturally only insofar as it represents the interests of the workers)".

But it is absolutely clear from both the Comintern Theses and the Transitional Programme that Marxists could only support such an "ostensible workers' government" critically, while maintaining the struggle for the independent development of organs of workers' power around a programme of action.

Coalition

The Comintern indeed explicitly states that a left Labour government along the lines implied by *Workers Action's* "workers' government" formulation would be:

"not a revolutionary workers' government, but a disguised coalition between the bourgeoisie and anti-revolutionary groups. Such workers' governments are tolerated at critical moments, by the weakened bourgeoisie, in order to dupe the workers as to the true class character of the state or with the aid of the corrupt leaders to divert the revolutionary onslaught of the proletariat and to gain time".

It is obvious that such a desperate tactic on the part of the capitalist class in the face of workers' struggles would open up enormous opportunities to further the revolutionary mobilisation of the workers' movement.

But such mobilisation must be fought for *independently* of the "ostensible workers' government" itself, and by no means depend on the government's willingness to arm the workers!

Independence

For revolutionaries the task would be to consistently fight for the political independence of the working class around a programme of class demands which were counterposed to the vacillations and compromises of such a government, bogged down in reformist "parliamentarianism".

Thus, as with the Bolshevik

demand in 1917 that the Mensheviks and Social Revolutionaries should take the power, the exposure of the ostensible workers' government could then become a means to precipitating the destruction of bourgeois power.

Yet the failure of *Workers Action* to spell out any such independent road for the working class makes it plain that their conception is very different from that of Trotsky and the Comintern.

Overstating

In response to our critique it is of course possible that *Workers Action* might accuse the Workers Socialist League of arguing an ultra-left or maximum programme.

After all, the Transitional Programme's section on Soviets from which *Socialist Press* quotes extensively in this article, does declare that:

"Soviets can arise only at the time when the mass movement enters into a revolutionary stage".

But if anything it is *Workers Action* that is overstating the development of the political situation. The first of the three articles in question begins with their stark analysis that:

"A catastrophe threatens the working people of Britain..."

The ruling class can settle for nothing less than a decisive defeat, perhaps a fundamental and crushing defeat of the working class...

The prospect ahead is one of bitter class struggle. To imagine that in the next period the class struggle will not escalate is to imagine that the working class will bow down before the life-destroying Tory offensive and accept defeat peacefully. Nothing in the post-war history of the working class suggests this is even a possibility...

It is probable that the 1980s will see either the conquest of power by the British working class or the destruction of the British labour movement by the forces of capitalist reaction".

If these are not conditions in which revolutionaries should spell out a perspective for the emergence of Soviet power in Britain, and make clear the centrality of councils of action to the fight for what *Workers Action* calls "an immediate socialist solution", then perhaps *Workers Action* could inform us what are?



Mass demonstration in Petrograd two weeks before 1917 revolution

No exception

Instead, the initiative on this matter is left in the hands of the central government to "support" or "(less probably) initiate" working class action.

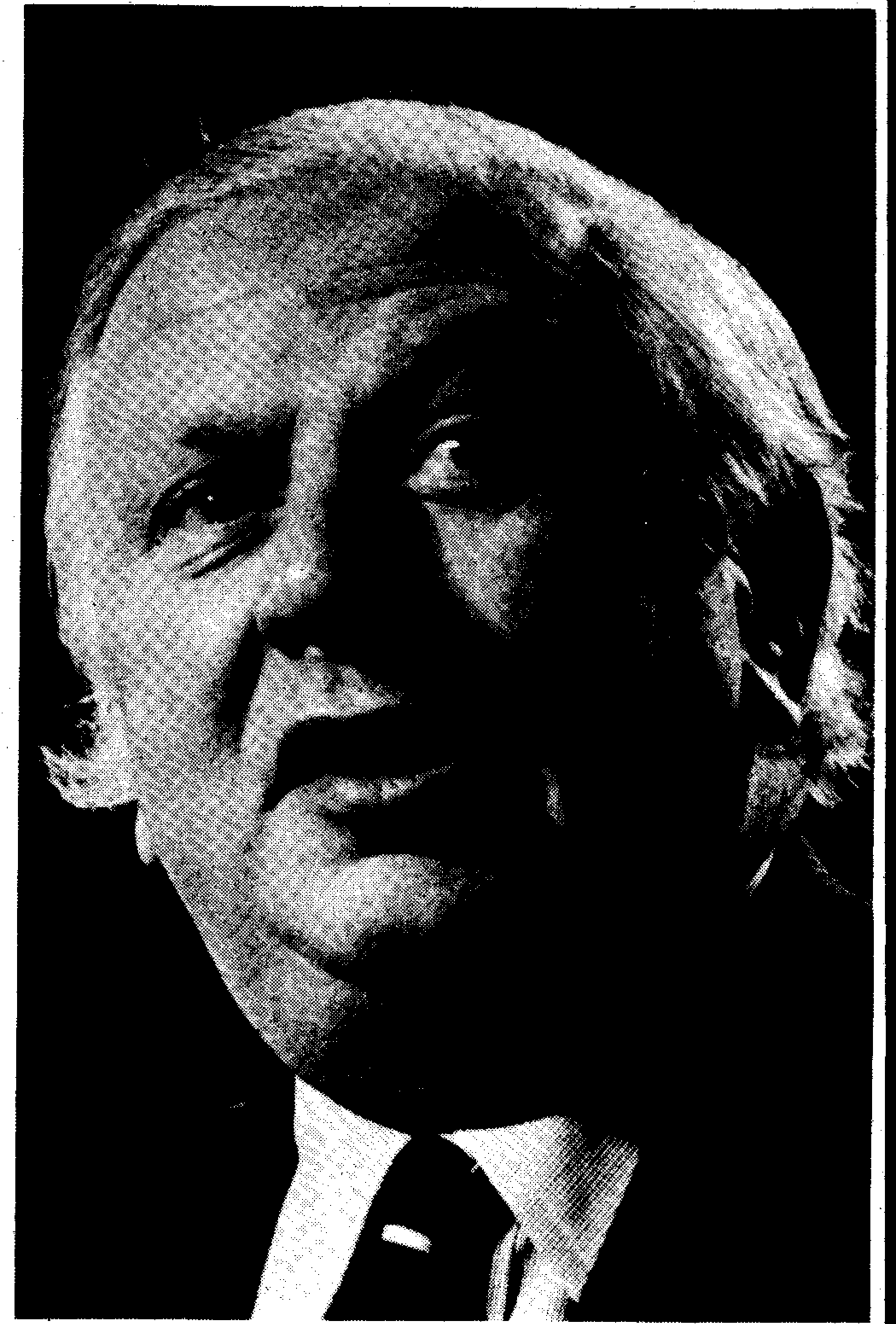
This is no exception: all three *Workers Action* articles, for example, fail to link up the demand for nationalisation of basic industry with any call for workers to organise independent trade union committees and councils of action to coordinate factory occupations and open the books of the employers, preparatory to a socialist plan of production.

They likewise fail to spell out the kind of independent organisations and actions needed to halt the public spending cuts and launch the struggle for a programme of public works under workers' management.

And on international ques-

Prior's Bill—a straitjacket for the unions

By Jack Burnett



If the hydra head of revolution lurks potentially within the bosom of every strike then nothing expresses this challenge to the rights of property as forcefully as a picket line.

The employer frequently perceives this threat with a far greater consciousness than the average trade unionist.

The bought-and-paid-for scribblers in Fleet Street and the licensed wind-bags in Westminster defending the same social system share this alarm and critical times for employers such as today will find these individuals expending much energy and ingenuity in emasculating labour's capacity to defend itself against the rapacious, insatiable demands of capital.

The picket line must be a prime target for such individuals. So it is not surprising that the press and all the media unleash a campaign whose purpose is to inculcate the impression in the public mind that the picket line is a site of violent and wanton destruction.

Threat to life

With that happy facility that the middle classes possess for seeing everything upside down, the picket line is presented as a murderous threat to life and limb (not to mention a denial of the personal liberty of those who wish to hurry unimpeded towards their own exploitation).

The real maiming of body and soul that daily grates on behind those picketed gates and brought the picket into existence in the first place intrudes not at all into the anguished reflections of these formidable freedom fighters.

For whenever the social reality behind capitalism's contract with labour comes to the surface these pen pushing prostitutes find themselves to be out of ink.

To gauge the measure of the attack proposed in Prior's Employment Bill it is useful to set up a hypothetical situation in which workers in response to an attack upon their organisation by their management retaliate with a series of actions that are all lawful under the present legislation.

Hypothesis

Hypothetical situation. The management at one of Dunlop's plants in the Midlands sacks a shop steward. They allege persistent bad time keeping but the shop stewards' committee know that her time keeping is no better nor worse than other workers who haven't received a first warning. The committee feel she has been victimised as a young militant, a potential leader in the factory who will give management plenty of trouble. Although management have not followed procedure the committee decide not to fight it that way. For some time the shop stewards committee has felt that the Dunlop management badly need a short sharp shock and they believe that this is the issue with which to administer it.

Action

Action. They strike and with support from fellow trade

Current law:

It shall be lawful for one or more persons in contemplation or furtherance of a trade dispute to attend at or near—

- a) a place where another person works or carries out business; or
 - b) any other place where another person happens to be, not being a place where he resides,
- for the purpose only of peacefully obtaining or communicating information or peacefully persuading any person to work or abstain from working.

Prior's law:

- 1) It shall be lawful for a person in contemplation or furtherance of a trade dispute to attend at or near—
 - a) at or near his own place of work; or
 - b) if he is an official of a trade union, at or near the place of work of a member of that union whom he is accompanying,
 for the purpose only of peacefully persuading any person to work or abstain from working.

- 2) If a person works or normally works—
 - a) otherwise than at any one place; or
 - b) at a place the location of which is such that attendance there for a purpose mentioned in sub section (1) above is impracticable, his place of work for the purposes of that subsection shall be any premises of his employer from which he works or from which his work is administered.



PHOTO: Andrew Ward, Report

unionists.

Virtually all supplies and movement of goods in and out are stopped and to prevent management transferring production to other plants in the company they have asked the union there to black any extra work.

Dock workers

For further publicity the shop stewards send a delegation down to London to picket the company's head office.

But Dunlop have associate companies all over the world and the committee hear that some UK orders are being met by exports from an associate company in Italy.

So the committee approach dock workers to black imported components that are suspected of meeting orders usually filled by the factory in dispute.

The committee also feel that they should persuade the union in the company receiving components from Italy to black them as well if they manage to

Prime target for Tories: unionisation struggles get through the docks.

Illegal

Prior's Bill would have this to say about the picketing that

this shop stewards' committee at Dunlop's is organising:

- 1) the picket at the factory in dispute would be illegal—as it consists of two groups of

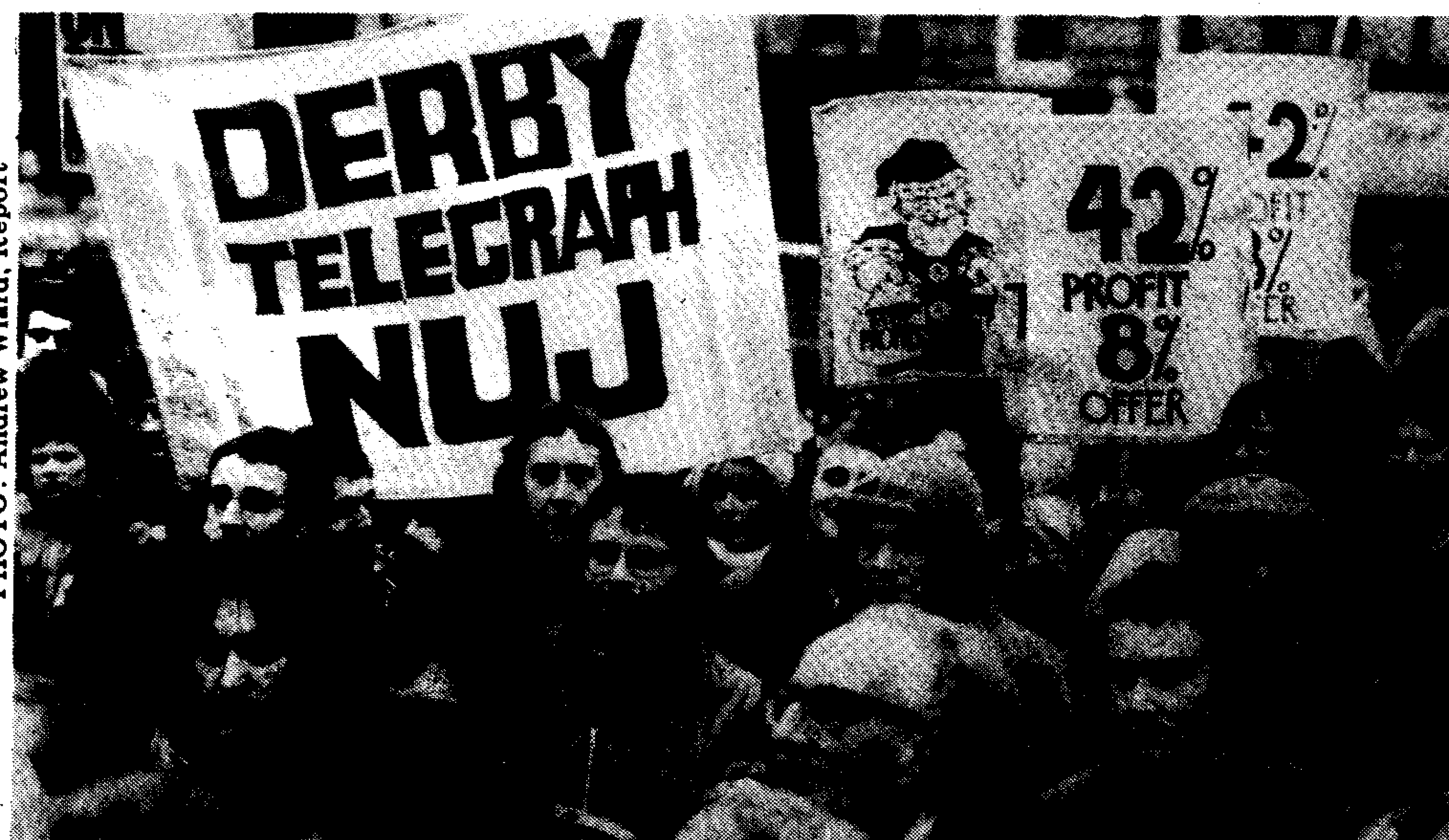


PHOTO: Andrew Ward, Report

Many unions depend on the fight for solidarity action by fellow workers

workers who according to Prior have no right to be there, the workers from a local plant of the same company and the local trade unionists not employed by that company who turned up in solidarity.

2) Let's suppose this illegal picket line reduces its numbers (and therefore its effectiveness) to bring it in line with the proposed Tory law. Would it then be legally entitled to stop all supplies and movement of goods?

The answer is no—only goods directly affected by the dispute. So even a lawful picket meeting all Prior's restrictive criteria would be ruled unlawful if its picketing impeded passage of goods not involved in dispute.

Too vague

An employer trying to break a picket line could just throw one extra item onto a wagon that was not involved in the dispute and he would have a case against a picket line that attempted to stop that wagon.

3) What about blacking extra work at other plants within the company? Well you can't picket those other plants—so you have to find other means of communicating with the workers at the other plants.

And just blacking extra work is too vague. Some of that extra work might not be from the plant in dispute; and if you encouraged the blacking of that, the shop stewards committee either as a body or individual members of it could be sued for damages resulting from unlawfully encouraging the breaking of contracts of employment!

4) The idea of picketing the company headquarters—which is no doubt a good way of drawing attention to the dispute—would not be allowed in this case, as the workers are already picketing their place of work.

They can't do both. People who would find it difficult to picket their place of work (caretakers in schools, oil

rig workers in the North Sea or workers who work at more than one place or who don't work at a place that is owned by their employers) can picket the Council of the local authority or Wimpeys offices appropriate.

5) A trip to Italy (provided the committee can get through customs) would be legal—but it would be quite unlawful to ask Dock workers, railway workers, or lorry drivers to black any goods.

Can't picket

Picketing the docks is in any case illegal as the Dunlop workers don't work there; but the dockers cannot black the goods nor can transport workers refuse to carry them.

They are not, according to Prior, directly involved in the dispute; they are concerned with carriage only!

6) If the Dunlop workers felt that an Italian firm was supplying work they had previously done to one of their regular customers, they could persuade the workers at that firm to black the Italian exported components.

But they couldn't picket to help enforce the blacking; and if the firm receiving the Italian goods applied for a court injunction to prevent the blacking the judge would grant an injunction to the employer unless the Dunlop workers could show:

a) a regular contract for this work existed between the firm and Dunlop;

b) the purpose of the blacking was just to disrupt that regular contract and not inspired by any other motive or pressure;

c) that the judge had reason to feel confident (!!) that by blacking supplies to this firm the Dunlop workers were materially improving their chances of winning their dispute.

It is not just one of these criteria but all three tests that the Dunlop workers must "pass" before a judge would decide not to grant an injunction to stop the blacking!

TROTSKYIST
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NEW ADVANCES IN BUGGING TECHNOLOGY

THE LEX COLUMN
Untapped potential in telephones

Financial Times, July 22.

By our
Science Correspondent

Speculation is rife amongst computing experts that British Military Intelligence have developed a computer-based system for transcribing human speech into typescript.

A series of recent articles in *Computing* magazine strongly suggest that the Home Office may be about to use such a system for processing tape recordings of conversations.

The source of these recordings could be "bugged" telephone calls. However, in answer to a recent Parliamentary question, the Home Office Minister, Leon Brittan, has flatly denied that his department has bought a computer capable of transcribing the human voice.

Advanced work

Until a few months ago a human voice transcriber was thought to be a vision of the next decade. In April, however, IBM announced details of advanced work on an automatic dictation machine that has already been refined to the point where it can transcribe the vast majority of English language words from continuously spoken input.

IBM's efforts are aimed at speeding-up office work. But, the implications of this technical achievement for telephone "tapping" are enormous.

The interception of telephone conversations has been limited to date by the labour-intensive process of listening to each tape recorded conversation for significant information.

However, new telephone exchanges can be rigged so that tape recorders are only switched on when a suspect number calls another suspect number.

According to the *New Statesman* such a "tapping" centre exists at 93 Ebury Bridge Road, London SW1, with the



capacity to "tap" 1,000 lines simultaneously.

With the newly available transcribers, the recordings obtained could be analysed by computers to yield essential information, resynthesized and output in some intelligible form, such as a typescript.

Computers

This could be scanned quickly by a human operator for significant information. Better still, the transcribed recordings could be scanned by computers for key words or

phrases that have some significance for the Security Forces.

Transcribing telephone conversations is much more difficult than transcribing a dictated message.

But it would not matter greatly if the transcriber was not 100% accurate as useful information could be obtained with even a low level of comprehension.

Computing magazine claims that the secret British Joint Speech Research Unit has a system that is able to produce intelligible printed versions of at

least 30% of phone conversations "bugged" by the Post Office.

This unit is believed to be based in the Post Office's Martlesham Heath Centre and to be run by the Post Office and the British Security Services.

The unit is thought to be headed by John Bridle, widely acknowledged as the leading world authority on voice transcription, but who has not published any significant work for five or six years. Presumably all his work is classified as secret.

The Home Office's denial of being involved in computer-based voice transcription is belied by the revelation in *Computing* that they have just ordered, and perhaps received, an American number-crunching device that is ideally suited to the processing of speech recordings.

In April, the Home Secretary was forced to give in the Commons official figures for the number of warrants issued for 'phone tapping' for the first time in 23 years.

These showed that there had been a dramatic increase in "tapping" in the last decade. This is commonly held to be a result of terrorist activity in Britain. However, the Ebury Bridge Road centre was apparently planned in the late '60s—well before the onset of terrorist activities in the '70s.

Further cause for concern lies in the fact that the number of Home Office warrants to intercept 'phone calls includes many "general" warrants which allow all calls to be intercepted from an address, such as Congress House, the TUC headquarters, or the offices of a political party. Also, several government secret agencies are not covered by the Home Office figures.

The Ebury Bridge Road centre seems to use only 10% of its capacity for the police, the rest being used by the security forces, such as MI5.

No Act

There does not seem to be an Act of Parliament that confers on the state the legal power to intercept communications. The various relevant Acts merely recognise the practice of interception by the state.

The House of Commons was told by William Whitelaw in April that a continuous independent check on "tapping" would in future be made by a senior member of the judiciary.

In view of the enormous increase in the level of 'phone "bugging" that is possible with the new computer-based techniques, the watchdog's efforts will be laughable. Moreover, the reports of the watchdog, apart from the first, won't even be published!

The new 'phone "tapping" technology and Whitelaw's attempts to hide the extent and significance of interceptions represent a new and ominous enhancement of the state's illegal and reactionary surveillance of individuals and organisations.

French anti-union laws on the way

By Jim Fields

In the grip of an ever deepening economic recession the French government has now unleashed another vicious attack on the democratic rights of the working class.

Along with the Berger law dismantling social services, the Imbart law on education and the Bonnet law on immigration, Giscard's government has armed itself with another powerful weapon: the Peyrefitte law.

After a ten-day debate in Parliament—and thanks to the cooperation of Communist and Socialist Party deputies who walked out of the house before a vote in protest against the use of reactionary procedure by the Speaker, the law was passed by a comfortable majority on 21 June.

This law bears many similarities with the Tory Employment Bill.

Various categories of trade union struggles are now declared illegal, and the law is designed to reduce to the bare minimum if not totally undermine the efficiency of trade union struggles.

For instance, the traditional tactic of occupation of rail

tracks during a dispute with the French railway corporation SNCF could now lead to an imprisonment of between three months and two years.

The law gives the police carte blanche to harass and imprison workers in struggle.

Another aspect of it is that damage to a bosses' property during a trade union dispute is now covered by stringent criminal legislation and incurs the same penalties.

The Peyrefitte law also goes far beyond simply attacking trade union immunities, extending various aspects of criminal legislation in order to strengthen the arm of the law.

1) A second offender will receive at least a doubling of normal sentences for the same crime. In the past one needed to commit the same crime more than twice before any increase of the average sentence is imposed.

This provision would also limit considerably the ability of workers to argue mitigating circumstances.

2) Sentences without privileges (leave, conditional discharge, open prison, etc) will be extended to cover all important crimes and offences. It will automatically operate for

sentences of more than five years.

3) "Conspiracy to commit a crime" has been more broadly defined, and the sentence incurred has been increased.

New powers

4) Other measures relating to the procedure of defence have been changed, giving new powers to courts to speed up trials if, in the eyes of the prosecution, there is enough evidence to proceed—leaving offenders

with little time to prepare an adequate defence.

5) The last clause epitomizes the anti-working class character of all these procedures and could pave the way to the establishment of a police state:

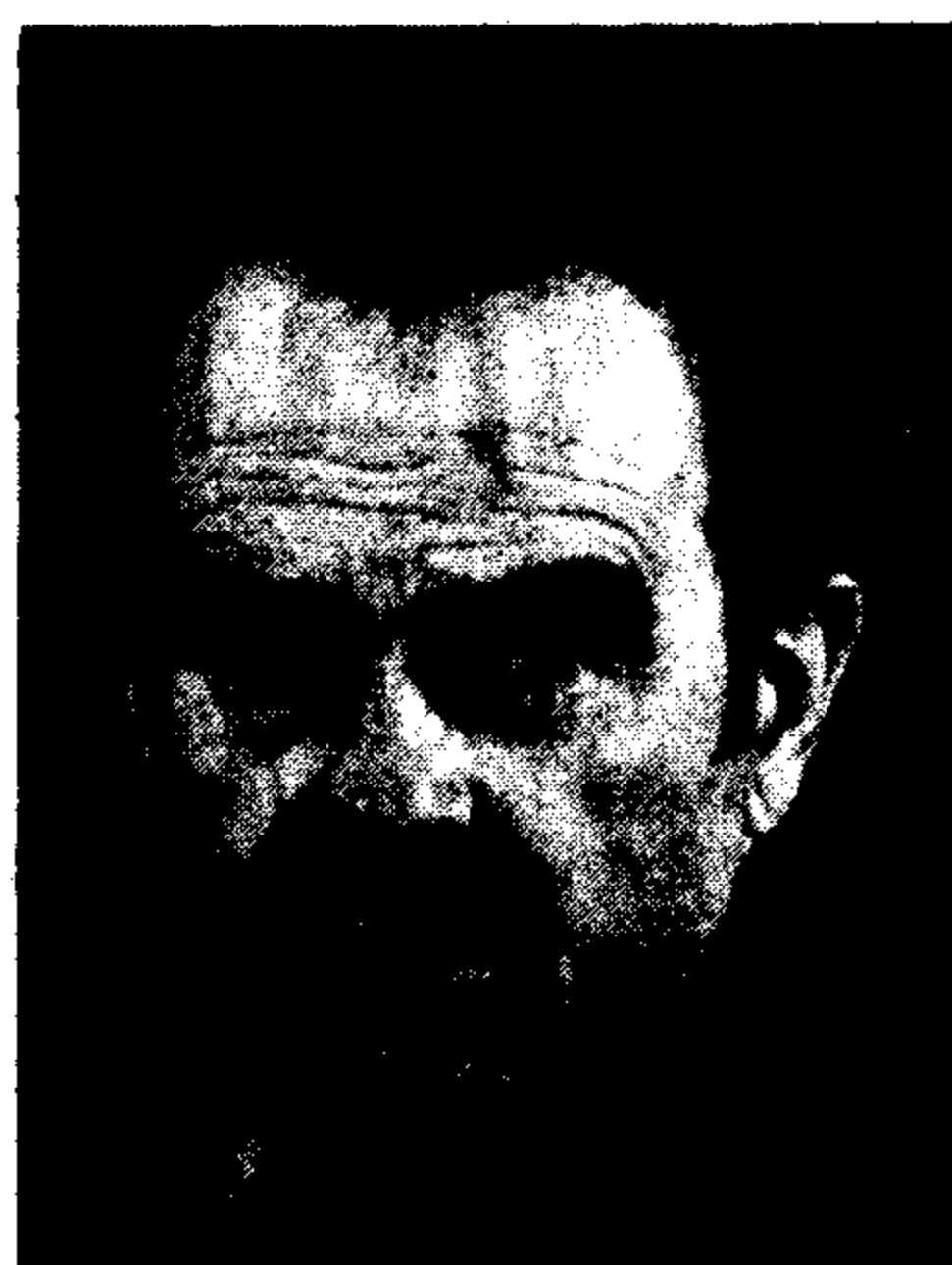
"A refusal to produce identity papers when requested by the forces of the State is a criminal offence and will carry a sentence of 10 days to three months imprisonment."

While the Berger law on social security was met with hostility by a determined working class, the Peyrefitte law was introduced in a hurry without any of the reformist or Stalinist leaders attempting to mobilise the working class.

Quibbles

On the contrary their divisive tactics bogged down the whole issue in endless procedural quibbles in Parliament.

Giscard's bosses' government will continue its onslaught on the working class and encouraged by the lack of CP or SP opposition, is already preparing another law to limit and undermine the right to strike.



French CP leader Marchais



Giscard with Thatcher



Howell

Jackson

PHOTO: John Sturrock Report

State sector carve-up

TORIES SEEK RICH PICKINGS

Tory vultures are hovering over the most profitable sectors of the nationalised industries.

They are waiting for the fruits of the labours of Thatcher's asset-strippers and axemen.

And they are getting impatient at the initial caution of the moves towards handing over the richest pickings to the exploitation of "private enterprise".

Assault

Important though they are as an assault on the state sector, the Tory moves so far announced are clearly more designed to test out the response of union leaders than to fully implement Thatcher's plans to hand over whole areas of the public services to private capitalists.

In electricity supply, for example, the EETPU leadership is verbally committed to defending the 71-year old state mono-

poly. Energy Secretary David Howell has challenged this by announcing the intention of ending the monopoly regulations which ban firms from producing and selling electricity as a main business.

Subsidiary

At present, firms—such as chemical firms—can produce their own power and sell any excess, so long as it is only a subsidiary part of their business. There is no known queue of private businessmen wishing to set up their own power stations: it would be a risky, highly expensive and dubiously profitable venture.

But there is no limit to the number of businessmen who would like a slice of the colossal profits made by the state-owned electricity boards.

If the right wing EETPU leadership do nothing to oppose the attack on the Board's monopoly, there is little doubt that

the next step will be towards selling shares in the existing state electricity supply industry.

This is already the case in the docks: the Tories plan to change the British Transport Docks Board into a company—and sell shares in it to their friends, the bankers and speculators.

Elsewhere, the Tories are focussing their attention on forcing in the thin end of the wedge—a comparatively small initial breach of existing state monopolies—as a prelude to a full scale strategy for the "hiving off" of the most lucrative sectors.

Telecommunications

Thus in telecommunications, Sir Keith Joseph has announced plans to breach the monopoly on the supply and maintenance of equipment, and to allow private firms to offer services such as data processing using Post Office circuits.

"Initially" these would be allowed only where they did not compete with the Post Office; but this condition will quickly be dropped.

One problem Joseph faces in implementing this policy is the prospect of unleashing a massive flood of imported high technology equipment which British telecommunication firms are at present incapable of producing at competitive prices.

Embarrassment

It is this embarrassment which explains the period of delay before the Tory plans are implemented: even the most rigorous monetarist must quail at simply handing over the potential profits of telecommunication supply to rival electronics firms in the USA, Germany, Japan and the Far East. Things are rather simpler on

the postal side: the Tory objective here is to create the elbow room both for profitable private enterprise to move in and for the axing of the least profitable services.

The immediate compliance of UCW leader Tom Jackson in these schemes will no doubt encourage Joseph and his henchmen in their next moves.

But a growing body of opposition to hiving off proposals in two other fields—British Rail's non-rail subsidiaries and the British National Oil Corporation—has forced an unexpected Tory climbdown.

British Rail is to have 100% ownership of a new company to cover its non-rail activities—and plans for private investment

have been deferred.

And the long awaited plan to sell shares in the BNOG has also been aborted by Energy Secretary Howell, who is now proposing to leave BNOG intact and to sell not shares but bonds—to the annoyance of Tory right wingers.

Meanwhile elsewhere in the public sector the Tories are investigating ways of bringing in contract firms to carry out laundry, catering, cleaning, building and estate management in the National Health Service.

But with NHS ancillary workers' wages at poverty level already, it is hard to see how private enterprise could hope to undercut the present cost of these services—unless a supple-

mentary charge was levied on patients for clean sheets and food.

The Tory offensive on the state sector is only beginning: but as rationalisation strips away much of the traditional industrial base of British capitalism it is obvious that bankers and investors are now looking for lucrative areas in which their capital can be used for the direct exploitation of new sections of workers.

These attacks can be stopped—by mass action by workers in the public and private sectors to bring down the Tories, and demand the Labour leaders implement their promise to renationalise "hived off" sectors with no compensation.



Joseph

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A Socialist Press pamphlet

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JOIN THE WSL!

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

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

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

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

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

But the working class has experienced and overcome such betrayals before—to topple Heath's union-bashing government in 1974, and smash through Callaghan's reactionary Phase 4 of wage controls in a series of monumental pay battles in the winter of 1978.

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

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

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

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

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

To this end, the Workers Socialist League is affiliated to the Trotskyist International Liaison Committee which fights to reaffirm and develop the method and principles of the 1938 Transitional Programme, and for full discussion in the world Trotskyist movement.

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

JOIN U.S and take forward the struggle for socialism!

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School meals axed!

The logic of the Tories' Education Bill is now working through with a vengeance in the county of Dorset—giving a preview of the things to come elsewhere in the country.

Using their new discretionary powers to vary the price and provision of school meals—powers which less than 12 months ago seemed a mere sick joke in the minds of a few extreme right wing Tories—the Dorset County Councillors agreed on Thursday to end school meals for all primary and middle school children thus sacking 700 school meal workers.

Police

The demonstration mounted by parents and trade unionists against this horrendous decision was met by police who cleared petitioners out of the Council chamber.

The total lack of fight nationally by the major trade union involved—NUPE—was reflected by the plaintive cry of the local official, Paul Dunn, when he bleated:

"When the government announced its intention to change the Education Act it was not its intention to see the school meals service collapse".

Dunn is totally wrong. For



NUPE leader Fisher

many reasons, this is precisely what the Tories do want.

A complete end to the 'welfare state' with individual family units taking full responsibility for all care of children, the sick and the elderly, placing women firmly back in the home is a central plank of the Tory strategy to divide and weaken the working class.

Tory determination must be met with the determination of

the trade union movement, leading parents and other community groups.

As long as the trade union leaders—including Alan Fisher of NUPE—avoid or dissipate the fight with half hearted 'work to rule' sanctions and allow jobs to be lost through 'natural wastage' and voluntary redundancy, the Tories will viciously proceed with their plans to end the whole state welfare system.

TUC: no action on anti-union laws

Encouraged by the complete refusal of the TUC leaders to mount any struggle to prevent the passage of James Prior's anti-union "Employment" Bill, the Tories are sticking the boot in.

It has been announced that the Bill will be supplemented by a code of practice limiting any picket line to a maximum of six people.

This proposal will not be passed through Parliament—but will simply be enforced by the police.

Coming over and above the legal restrictions on picketing contained in the Employment Bill, this new move is designed to complete a full-scale scabs' charter.

Mass strength

But the Tories know that in restricting the size and scope of picket lines they have the tacit support of many trade union leaders, who hate nothing more than the working class feeling and using its mass strength against the class enemy.

The Labour/TUC Concordat concluded by the Callaghan government proposed restrictions on picketing; and TGWU officials during the marathon unionisation struggle at Garners Steak Houses in London struck a secret deal with the police to limit picket lines to six strong.

The only way TUC leaders are likely to be driven into even verbal opposition to this latest Tory attack is through annoyance at the prospect of it being

laws



Basnett

defied by their members in mass action.

Indeed it is largely the prospect of an upsurge in the class struggle that enrages TUC leaders over Prior's second proposed code—to introduce a periodic review of existing closed shop arrangements, requiring an 80% ballot vote for them to continue.

GMWU leader Basnett complained that "this would destabilise industrial relations".

Indeed the Tories' course of confrontation does disrupt the cosy collaboration established between employers and union bureaucrats over recent decades.

It is forcing the TUC leaders to choose between either fighting for the removal of the Tory government or acting even more openly as defenders of a bankrupt and vicious capitalist class in a ruthless drive for profits.

Agenda

But a good indicator of the path the TUC leaders have chosen can be seen in the agenda for this year's TUC congress.

While a record 48 motions blast out heated anti-Tory rhetoric, there are unmistakable moves towards a new wage-cutting "social contract" with the Labour leadership.

There is no hint of action to challenge or defy the Tory anti-union laws—and general calls to "fight the cuts" are detached from any practical proposals on action to be taken.

Only the Bakers Union calls for a campaign "to bring down the Tory government and bring to office a Labour government pledged to socialist policies contained in Clause 4 Part 4 of the Labour Party constitution".

Waste-basket

And with last year's TUC as a sorry example, it takes little imagination to predict that the Bakers Union motion is destined for Len Murray's waste-paper basket.

The struggle against the Tory anti-union laws, like the struggle against any of the present barrage of attacks on the working class, requires a new, revolutionary leadership in the trade unions and labour movement.



A protest picket was staged last week outside the court, where the cases of 24 pickets arrested outside the Adwest Engineering plant at Reading were due to be heard.

The pickets were seized on the July Day of Action by police, who have now repeatedly denied strikers the right even to approach workers going into the plant in defiance of the three-month strike against victimisation. The TGWU is still refusing to make the strike official, and funds are dangerously low. Donations are urgently needed: they should be made payable to J. Dhoot and rushed to Danny Broderick, 46, Berkley Avenue, Reading.

2 million... from back page

workers denied the right to a job. Murray whined that mass unemployment would lead to:

"social disturbance (!) and youngsters having resentment created in their minds as a way of life".

Above all the right wing TUC and Labour leaders want to forestall any rise in class consciousness—particularly among the youth, who are by no means reconciled to the miserable future planned for them by Thatcher and Callaghan.

Destruction

Yet there is no solution to unemployment without an all-out struggle for the overthrow of the crisis-ridden capitalist system in which the pursuit of profit now entails the vandalistic destruction of whole sectors of industry and social services, and the utilisation of the vast pool of unemployed

workers as a lever to force down wages and divide the labour movement.

Socialist

The struggle for full employment in a planned, socialist economy requires the fullest mobilisation of the working class to remove the Tory government and establish a new, socialist leadership in the labour movement.

But it can and must begin with a fight in today's conditions to:

*Stop the sackings! Occupy threatened plants; fight for supporting strikes and blacking action. Demand work-sharing on full pay to preserve all jobs.

*Open the books of industry to elected trade union committees, to show the need to nationalise basic industry and the banks without compensation under workers' manage-

ment.

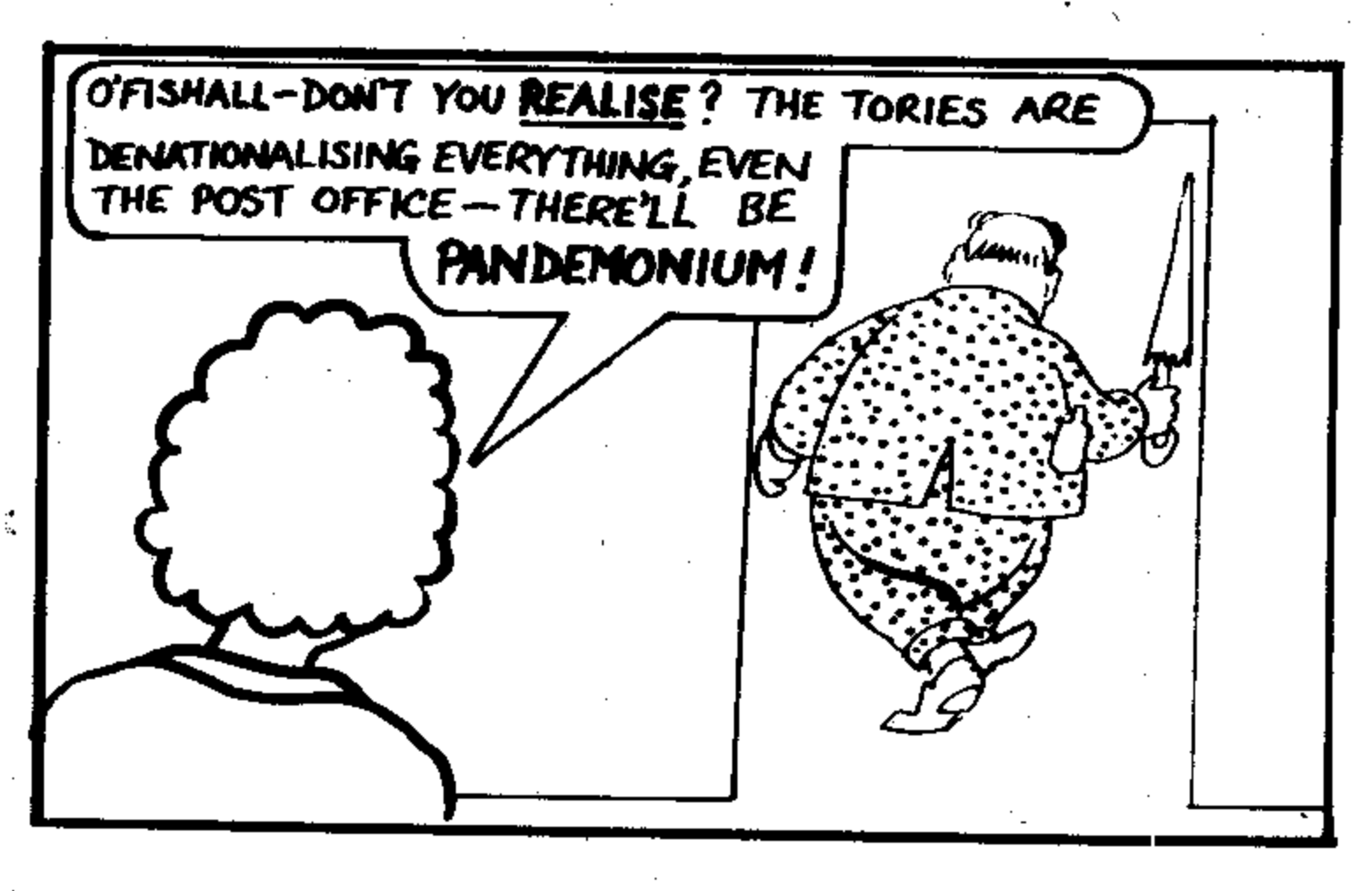
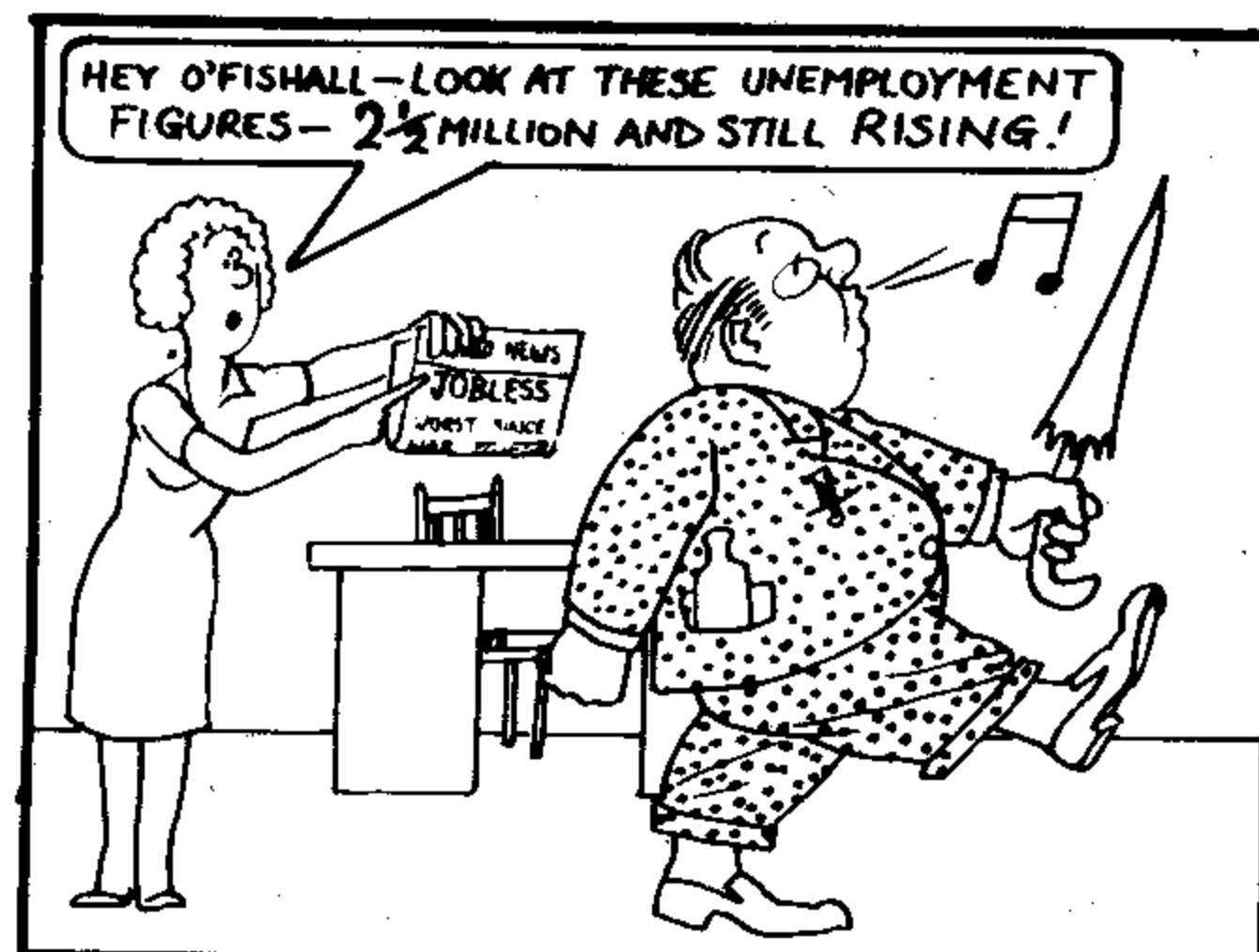
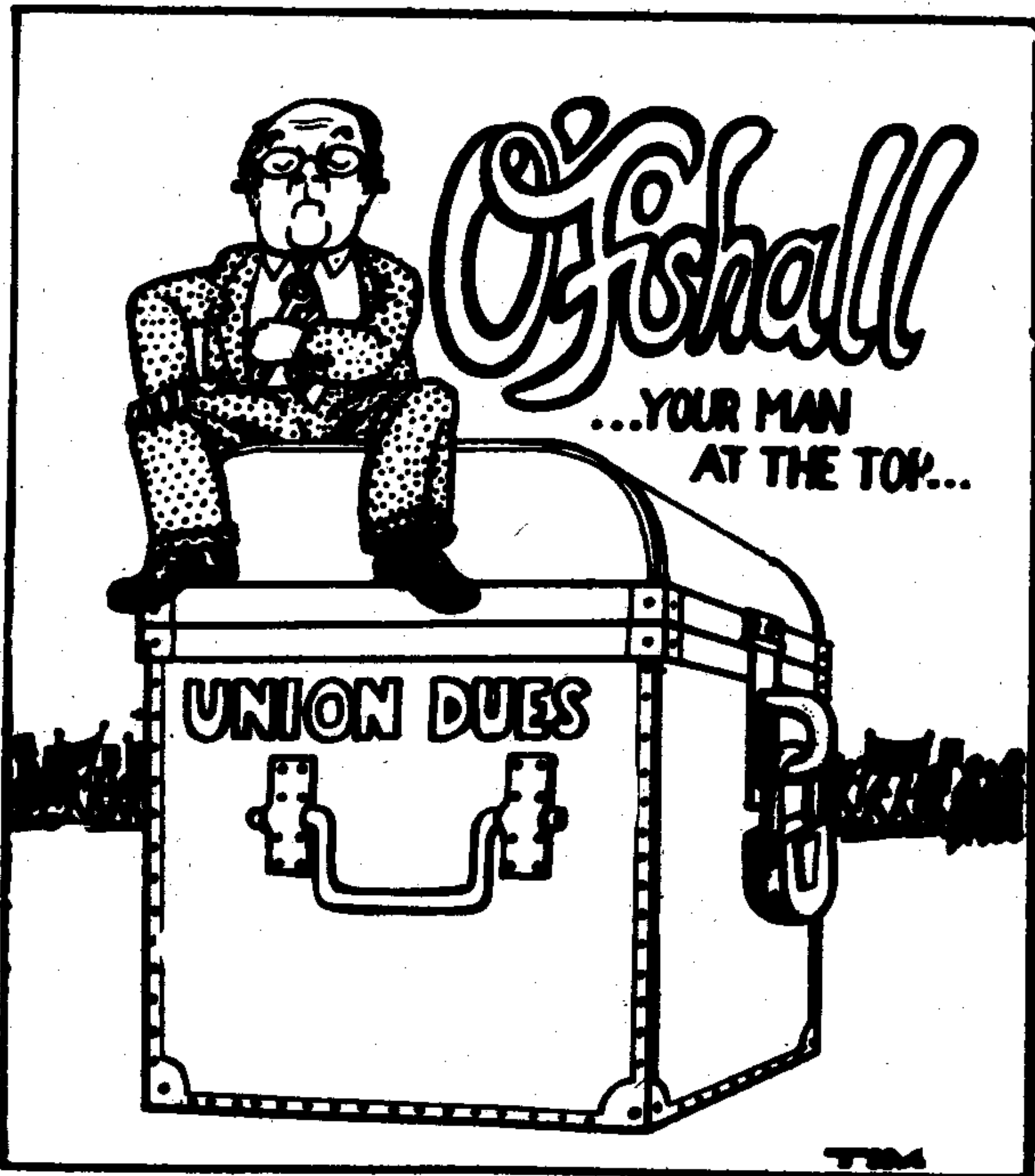
*Organise the unemployed! Full union rights for unemployed workers and youth! Force the union leaders to fight Tory attacks on dole and other benefits!

*Build councils of action! Fight to defend and extend occupations and strikes through local bodies drawing delegates from all labour movement organisations.

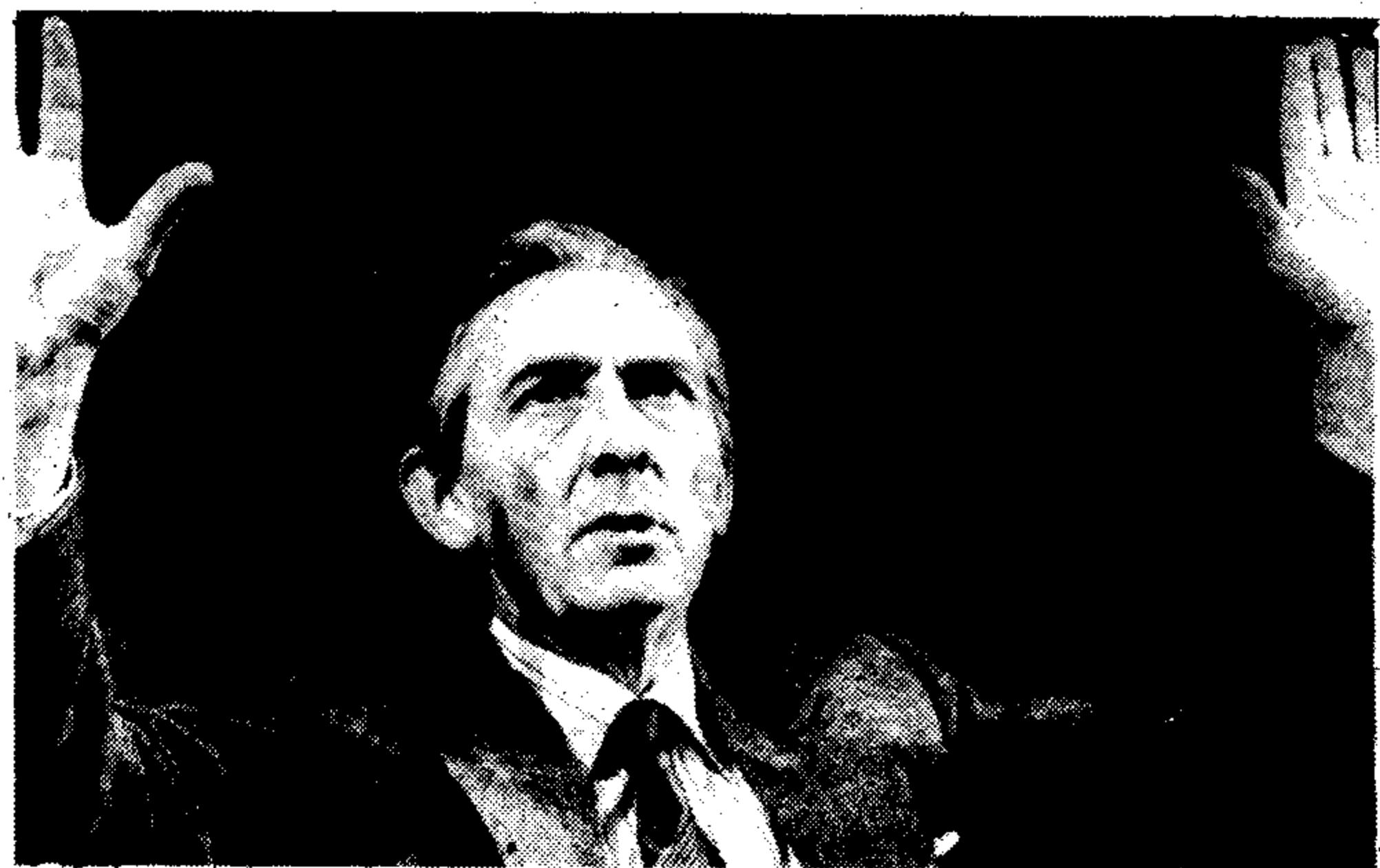
*Prepare to bring down the Tories! Demand union leaders in the public and private sectors prepare for a general strike to drive out the Thatcher government.

*Kick out the Callaghan/Healey leadership! Demand the Labour 'left' begin a fight to remove the right wing and spell out a socialist internationalist programme (see page 5).

*Build a revolutionary leadership in the workers' movement!



SOCIALIST PRESS



Len Murray

2 MILLION ON TORY

SCRAPHEAP!



Thatcher

In line with Tory policy, unemployment is now higher, and rising faster than at any time since 1948. Redundancies are running at 1,000 every day.

For the Thatcher government, this growing tide of human misery is all part of their strategy to boost the profits of private industry and thus line the pockets of the ruling class.

To force British employers to carry through a frontal attack on their workforce, Thatcher has decreed a policy of sky-high interest rates and to expose them to the full rigours of international competition she has insisted on maintaining a strong pound.

This means that while British manufacturers find themselves outpriced and squeezed out of markets by international competitors at home and abroad,

their costs in sustaining their existing plant and stocks of materials are constantly rising.

The Thatcherite theory is that employers will draw from this situation the need to take firm action—and ram through a combined programme of rationalisation and closure of less

profitable plants, combined with speed-up and cuts in real wages for the remaining workforce.

With eager Tory approval, British Leyland management has taken the lead in this—with the axing of 13 plants, 25,000 jobs, a vicious package of attacks on

shop floor agreements, and a miserable 5% pay increase railroaded in with the aid of spineless union leaders.

British Steel Corporation and British Shipbuilders management are following on with their package of redundancies and attacks, together

with Chrysler/Talbot and Lucas.

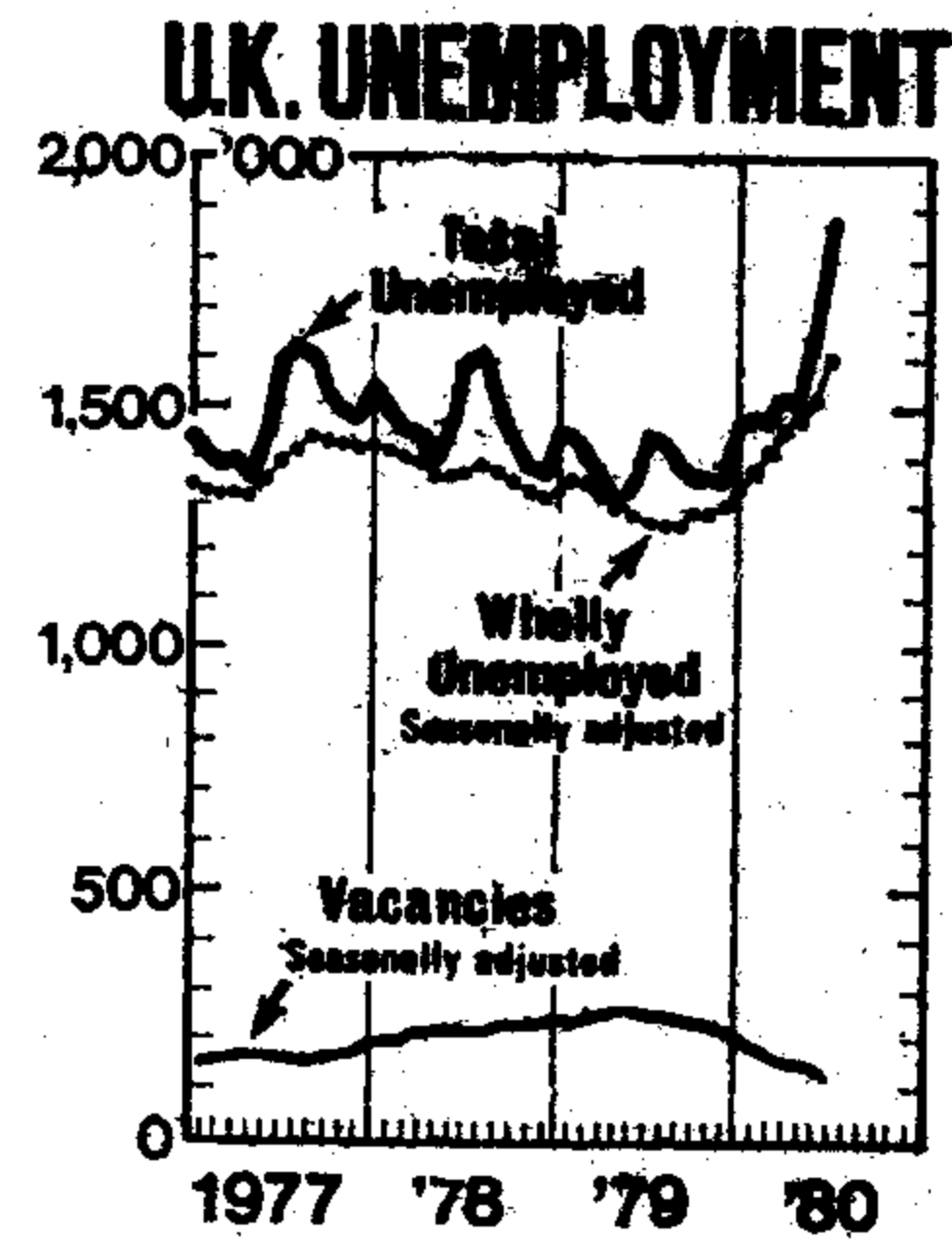
But elsewhere, smaller or weaker firms are simply going to the wall—at the rate of 120 liquidations a week. In every case the measures sought by the Tories mean more sackings, more closures, less vacancies and thus a continued rise in unemployment.

While the private sector, in response to the international slump and the Tory recession, throws workers by the tens of thousand onto the dole queues, the public sector, too, is axing jobs as part of Thatcher's savage programme of cuts.

Many of these lost jobs fail to show up in the official unemployment statistics, since the first workers sacked are part-timers—many of them married women ineligible for benefits who therefore do not register as unemployed.

If these "invisible" unemployed are taken into account, along with the 200,000 involved in various phony government "job creation" schemes, it is clear that the Thatcher government has already created a pool of over 2½ million unemployed.

Yet not in one single instance have trade union leaders in either the public or private sectors lifted a finger in serious action to prevent the



Tory onslaught on jobs.

There has been no officially led occupation to prevent the closure of a single factory: there have been no preparations even for blacking action to prevent the transfer of work that generally accompanies "rationalisation".

It is therefore the height of hypocrisy for union leaders, headed by TUC leader Len Murray, to make angry statements denouncing the latest unemployment figures.

No challenge

Neither under Labour nor under Thatcher have they even attempted to challenge the "right" of the employers to increase their profits at the expense of the workforce.

Indeed the union leaders make it clear they are more afraid of the possibility that anger over unemployment will threaten their peaceful coexistence with the Tories than genuinely concerned about the

Continued, p.11



Mass march of unemployed in 1930s: TUC fears "social disturbance"

SALUTE POLISH WORKERS STRUGGLES

Statement on the strike wave in Poland adopted by the Trotskyist International Liaison Committee Summer School on July 27, and signed by its affiliated and sympathising sections.

The strike action that has erupted all over Poland against the government's price increases shows yet again the determination of the Polish working class that they will not allow their living standards to be driven down.

At each point of its crisis, the Polish bureaucracy has tried to raise prices and the working class has resisted, particularly in 1970 and 1976 when the resistance developed quickly to violent forms of struggle such as blocking railroads.

On both these occasions the bureaucracy was forced to retreat. The form of the retreat was to defuse the struggle through international loans.

These have now reached £8,000 million. The cost of servicing these loans is rising all the time with the rise in international interest rates. A great part of the Polish Gross National Product is simply used for repaying capitalist money lenders.

The result of peaceful co-existence is the attack on the Polish working class. The capitalist crisis goes alongside the bureaucracy's inability to involve the masses in planning.

The 1980 mass strikes have developed in a similar violent manner to their predecessors. But their demands have gone further: the workers of Lublin not only blocked the railroads but only returned to normal work on the basis of a 10% wage rise and further discussion of their democratic demand of the right to strike, which of necessity means independent trade unions.

This demand hits right at the base of the power of the bureaucracy. It cannot allow any form of expression to the masses, the most basic form of which is the right to strike. Once workers are allowed to act independently of the bureaucracy then all the privileges of the bureaucracy will be challenged.

Once workers begin to strike throughout cities, regions and even the whole of Poland, then the basis for the formation of Soviets is laid. The most likely time for such a formation is in a

direct confrontation with the bureaucracy.

This is the danger that the bureaucracy sees; this is why they have great fear of the working class. Despite appearances, they are extremely unstable.

We salute the Polish workers. They are in the forefront of the struggle of the proletariat of the whole of Eastern Europe. Reports of strikes in the Soviet Union show they are not alone.

Soviet democracy

The Fourth International's programme of 1938 spoke of the struggle for freedom of the trade union and factory committees unfolding in the struggle for Soviet democracy.

The Polish workers have never ruled through Soviets as Russian workers did in 1917. These are the only forms of power that can lead the "revolutionary uprising of the oppressed masses" to a political revolution to overthrow the bureaucracy inside Poland and establish an undeformed

workers' state.

This will not be led by a "reforming" section of the bureaucracy such as Dubcek in Czechoslovakia. Polish workers must be on guard against false leaders who try to direct their struggle so that it is contained within a continuing bureaucratic Poland.

Only under the leadership of a Trotskyist party will the future soviets lead the political revolution.

This means also defence of the nationalised property relations in Poland and the USSR against imperialism.

*Salute the Polish workers' struggles!

*For genuine independent trade unions and the right to strike!

*For the formation of Soviets!

*For the political revolution to overthrow the Polish bureaucracy!

*Against intervention from the USSR!

*For the building of a Trotskyist party in Poland!

*For the defence of Poland and the USSR against imperialist intervention!



Polish workers' uprising, 1970