

workers' ACTION

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10p

IT'S STILL NO DEAL TO PHASE 3

IN TWO WEEKS Phase 2 will be dead. And increasingly it looks as if the government's original intentions for Phase 3 will be stillborn.

At a meeting between senior government ministers and trade union leaders last Tuesday no progress was made. According to reports, each side just restated their positions.

The government is unlikely to get much further than this. Not because the trade union leaders are any more militant this week than before, but because, with a few exceptions, they don't think they can hold their members to any new policy likely to be acceptable to the government.

The trade union bureaucracy fears that another attempted round of wage limitation would produce big struggles, evoking massive working class solidarity, and very difficult for the bureaucrats to control.

This position was put most clearly by Moss Evans, Jack Jones' successor in the T&GWU. Speaking on the BBC's "World This Weekend" programme, he insisted that "centralised" bargaining should stop and that the trade unions should return to what he described as their previous function of negotiating a "decent minimum wage".

But if the trade union leaders appear to be loosening their grip on claims, watch out! What they hope to do is to police pay guidelines within a global limit of 10%.

The chief points in these guidelines will probably be increases by productivity only, at least 12 months be-

RECOGNITION UNITE & OVERCOME



tween claims, advice to keep claims down so as to avoid closures, and the suggestion to keep within certain upper limits.

Pressure will be put on the stronger sections to "go easy" for the sake of the lower paid. "People on very high salaries", said Moss Evans, "may be persuaded to settle for less and people on low incomes encouraged to settle for more".

This hoary nonsense has to be rejected outright. As in any other year, it will be the better-paid and better-organised sections that will be the pace-makers. If they're not, the lower paid will get next to nothing — despite the doubtful "encouragement" of Moss Evans and his ilk.

But if the key to the strategy of the trade union high-ups this time round is to fragment the struggles, what militants must do is stress exactly the opposite. We have to stress the need for unity.

UNITY

One of the ideas that seems to have been discussed by the trade union leaders is "threshold deals". But the idea was rejected. If it were accepted, it would be because the bureaucrats want to tie it to "threshold" levels and conditions that would keep pay lagging massively behind rises in the cost of living, and give us no chance of getting back to

where we were before Phases 1 and 2.

But there is a germ of good in the idea. Unity would be strengthened enormously by a struggle for cost-of-living increases big enough to guarantee that any straight wage rise is not eroded by inflation. The workers' answer to price rises isn't the bureaucrats' plans on price control (which don't work anyway) but a guarantee that wage levels don't get eaten away by soaring prices.

Any limitation on wage rises or on the timing of claims — in whatever form or under whatever pretext — must be opposed. Whatever its colour, it is an attempt to make workers pay the cost of the bosses' crisis.

NAFF steps up strike-breaking, but union leaders silent

IN AN EFFORT to buck up their obviously flagging spirits, supporters of the National Association for Freedom announced on Tuesday, the day after the Grunwicks day of action, the success of "Operation Pony Express".

This was these strikebreakers' plan to beat the post workers' blacking. On Saturday night two articulated lorries left Grunwicks carrying, according to the NAF, about £250,000 worth of processed films in some 100,000 packages. At a loaned depot about 60 miles outside London some 250 anti-union volunteers stuck stamps on the packages and they were then distributed by a fleet of 150 vans and cars to 10,000 post-boxes all over the country.

It's been described as one of the biggest scabbing jobs since the General Strike, and could counteract the effects of the 3-week long blacking by the Cricklewood sorters — if postmen around the country agree to handle the stuff.

UPW headquarters has been bombarded with calls from post workers all over the country who

have identified the Grunwick packages (some wrongly stamped) and who are willing to black it if only the Union says the word.

"Pony Express" was denounced by even Minister Eric Varley as a "provocative act". It is clear what it should provoke: nationwide blacking of all outgoing and incoming Grunwick mail.

Then Ward and the NAFF will be laughing on the other side of their faces!

At the time of going to press, however, the UPW Executive remains silent.

MORE DAYS OF ACTION

There are to be more days of action for the Grunwick strike. July 22nd has been suggested, and also August 23rd — which will be the first anniversary of the strike. That is, if stepped-up blacking and picketing don't bring it to an end before then.

DOCKERS PLAN NEW CLAIM

Mass meetings of dockers at Liverpool and Southampton have decided to demand a 20% minimum increase on gross pay as soon as Phase 2 finishes. This strikes both at the limit which both the government and the union leaders want, and at the 12-month rule which the TUC will try to enforce.

The ending of Phase 2 sees the resurgence of the National Port Shop Stewards' Committee, which took new life with the strike against the closure of Preston docks.

The National Port Shop Stewards Committee has backed the claim, and is planning to send people round the ports to achieve a solid unity on it. That is an example that should be followed by other groups of workers.

Pakistan — Army returns to power

GENERAL Zia-ul-Haq, the leader of the military coup that toppled Ali Bhutto in Pakistan on 5th July, won his spurs in Jordan when Pakistan sent troops to help liquidate the Palestinian opposition there, in the name of 'Islamic brotherhood'.

The Islamic connection has been strengthened now with the introduction of 'Islamic law': thieves are to be punished by having a hand cut off, and those 'insulting the modesty of women will suffer flogging and hard labour.

All political and trade union activities have been banned. Student unionists are liable to seven years' prison, trade unionists to three years' hard labour. Most prominent politicians have been put under arrest.

The coup comes after four months of turmoil following the March general election, in which Bhutto gained a majority through blatant rigging. Bhutto's promises of socialism had turned sour. The opposition to Bhutto, originally a petty-bourgeois movement, became a real threat when it shifted from the mosques to the industrial estates.

Unrest

A series of major strikes shook Bhutto, who reacted by imposing martial law and jailing and shooting hundreds of militants, but conceding to the opposition's demand for new elections.

The popular mobilisations against Bhutto continued. The right wing leaders of the opposition, in the Pakistan National Alliance, negotiated with Bhutto about new elections, but at the same time they called on the army to intervene. Even after most of its leaders have been put under arrest, the PNA has still welcomed the military coup.

As the **Far Eastern Economic Review** wrote on 1st July: "Responsible leaders in both camps fear recurring urban unrest for some years irrespective of who wins the October polls". That consideration — together with the big economic loss to the middle class through the anti-Bhutto strike movements — must have weighed heavily in the reasons for the military coup.

The army intervention ends what was in fact only an interlude of civilian rule. When the state of Pakistan was formed in 1947, it had a parliamentary system dominated by a big land-



owners' party, the Muslim League.

There was very little industrial development in Pakistan in 1947, and, unlike the Indian Congress Party, the Muslim League had no base in a solid national bourgeoisie. With the beginnings of industrial and urban development, the hold of the Muslim League was breaking up by the mid-1950s. In 1958 the army took power, and opened up a period of capitalist development under the auspices of the state.

It took two wars — the India-Pakistan war of 1965, which ended in a stalemate, and the Bangladesh war of 1970-71, which was a major defeat for the rulers of Pakistan — to shake the army's authority and prepare the conditions for Bhutto to come to power in 1971. Bhutto promised a policy of nationalisations, 'bread, clothing and shelter', and land reform.

The nationalisations were carried out, allowing the landowners whom Bhutto

had persuaded to join his party to gain rich pay-offs through the state bureaucracy. But the masses had no more 'bread, clothing and shelter' than before. And so token was the land reform that the Bhutto government banned the publication of the latest Agricultural Census.

To finish off Bhutto, Zia has set up an enquiry into the para-military Federal Security Force which he established. The exposure of Bhutto's corruption will further erode his already decayed mass base.

Elections

Beyond that, the policies of the new military regime are not yet clear. The fact that they have repeatedly promised elections in October — no later — and have not imposed additional censorship on the press may indicate that their plans are to 'freeze' political life for a period, sufficiently to stifle the mass movement, and

The Spanish unions make their plans

NOW THAT Spain has a parliamentary regime, all that remains to finish the process of liberalisation is the problem of the trade union organisations and their representativity.

The old Francoist 'vertical' union is finished. The last compulsory contributions were paid to it in June. Its offices no longer have any trade union functions, but are given over to welfare and professional assistance, under the label of AISS, and with the old personnel adapted for the purpose. With this reconversion, the government has cut the ground from under the feet of the unions who were hoping to take over the inheritance.

Until the next trade union elections, probably in the autumn, there are officially no legal representatives of the workers.

The unions are actively preparing, recruiting, making haste so that they can do well in the elections. While waiting for the new government to pass a law on the system of elections, they have made proposals on the subject.

On paper, the proposals of the Workers' Commissions (influenced by the Communist Party) are much more democratic than those of the UGT (controlled by

the Socialist Party). They provide for the workers to be represented by committees bringing together delegates or shop stewards elected in each shop.

Any worker can be a candidate, and the stewards will be elected by the workers of their shop for a period of two or three years, with the possibility of recall at any time. The stewards' committee is to be answerable to mass meetings, which will be the only sovereign body. In the factory, the stewards' committee has sole representative powers vis-à-vis the management.

The Workers' Commissions can talk like this because they know they have a big majority among the workers. In the short term it is they who would benefit from such measures.

The UGT, however, is for the establishment of trade union factory branches corresponding to each recognised trade union organisation present in the workplace. These branches would put into practice the union's and the members' decisions on trade union action.

Alongside the factory union branch, there would be factory committees bringing together all the elected delegates belonging to different unions. But the nomination of candidates would be the unions' preserve, the delegates (stewards) being elected for two years and recallable if necessary.

The role of the delegates would be to negotiate the collective agreements and to see to their application, to intervene on questions of hygiene and security, and — an important point, this — they would have sole responsibility in case of strikes. For the UGT, the system of strike committees has had its day. That shows how much the UGT wants to be responsible vis-à-vis the bourgeoisie and keep workers' struggles under strict control.

On this last point the Workers' Commissions don't lag behind the UGT. If it is said less openly in their declarations, it is clear in the facts over the 18 months running up to the elections: just like the other unions, they used their influence to prevent the extension of struggles over wages and conditions.

In any case, it is the government which will decide the method of election, just as it has decided the whole process of democratisation up to now. And it need fear no opposition from the various unions, whose chief interest is the posts and the positions they will gain by the elections.

The Spanish bosses, too, are equipping themselves with new organisations: 300,000 bosses have recently come together in the "Spanish Confederation of Factory Organisation". They are "willing to argue for the necessity of a dialogue with the authorities and the workers, but it must be clear, frank and hard".

One of the bosses' leaders, Max Mazin, has declared: all of us, bosses and workers, "must help these new representative organs of the workers and of the bosses to undertake the major task which they have, to develop as organs of mutual collaboration, in the interest of all". The Spanish unions are quite willing to join in. Their problem is to convince the workers.

GABRIEL CATLA
(Translated from *Lutte Ouvrière*, a French revolutionary weekly).



Full Circle: Bhutto [left] had just been released from prison when he was greeted by this enthusiastic crowd. Now he's in one of Zia's prisons — after jailing some of his own opposition

then, after elections, construct some sort of Parliamentary regime with strong military control. That, at least, is obviously what the PNA is banking on.

Zia's 'Islamic' policy is a new departure in Pakistan, despite the fact that the India-Pakistan partition was carried out on Hindu-Muslim religious lines (involving massive population movements and communal bloodshed). Bhutto had already introduced such 'Islamic' measures as outlawing alcohol and gambling, but the system introduced by Zia exists nowhere else in the world except Saudi Arabia. It reflects most of all the desires of the urban middle classes and the middle ranks of the army (from which Zia himself has risen).

Despite their tremendous combativity, the Pakistani masses found no leadership for their struggle other than the Islamic demagogues of the PNA. The military coup is the inexorable result of that failure of working class leadership. **Colin Foster**

Bigots get Gay News' scalp

GAY NEWS and its editor, Denis Lemon, were found guilty at the Old Bailey last Monday, 11th July, of "blasphemous libel". They were sentenced to £1000 and £500 fine respectively, plus costs, and plus a 9-month suspended sentence for Lemon.

The case concerned a poem written by one Professor James Kirkup, supposed to portray the feelings of a homosexual Roman centurion towards Jesus Christ. Mrs Mary Whitehouse launched the prosecution.

The National Council for Civil Liberties denounced the verdict's implications that "artists and writers... must now conform to the standards of a religion practised by only a minority of the country". Even if the religion were practised by a majority, its imposition on the minority would be unjust.

But the only "standards of religion" involved are standards of hypocrisy. The Bible and the hymn books — not to mention many works of theology — are full of sexual, including homosexual, allusions.

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The prosecutor in the Gay News case, John Smyth, asked the jury to "imagine if some well-known figure held in high affection in this land, may I say with the greatest of respect a member of the Royal Family, had an article written about their sex life, even without the allegations of homosexuality and promiscuity, what would you think? You would be appalled".

There's no need to imagine. Speculations and innuendos about the sex life of members of the Royal Family — as well as other 'well-known figures held in high affection', like pop stars, actors and actresses, and models — take up a good part of the column inches of the Press every week. And history books — would Mr Smyth like to burn them? — tell us a great deal about the homosexuality and promiscuity of many monarchs, Popes and bishops.

The difference from the unfortunate Professor Kirkup is that the press columnists are careful not to be too explicit. They leave it to the sex mags on sale at almost every news stand to fill in between the lines.

The whole culture of present-day society, certainly including its religions, is permeated by a filthy, peeping-tom attitude to sex. All human relationships are distorted by the domination of money and profit-making,

and an arbitrary and inconsistent repression enforces hypocrisy. Hypocrisy particularly in regard to those who happen to choose sexual relations with people of their own sex.

Statistically it is almost certain that at least one of the 12 jurors in the Gay News case is or has been an active homosexual. Yet all were expected to be react dutifully with horror at the idea of Jesus Christ [or a member of the Royal Family!] being homo-

sexual.

The Gay News verdict is a blow for the most medieval and barbarous attitudes, against the elementary rights of the individual.

Colin Foster

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Louise Boychuk of Chiswick was appealing against her dismissal. An employment Appeal Tribunal on Tuesday July 12th upheld the sacking of a clerk for wearing a badge with the words "Lesbians ignite".

claiming that it was unfair. The Tribunal thought otherwise. According to them the badge was "offensive" to employees and customers.

** In a recent case in Sydenham the National Insurance Commissioner upheld the right of the Express Dairy Company to fire a milkman because he "persisted in wearing provocative badges on his uniform".

Gay milkman Colm Clifford was at first warned by the Sydenham branch manager of Express that his Gay Liberation Front badge was politically provocative and that if he didn't take

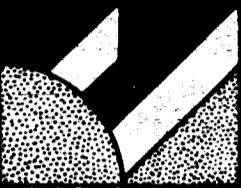
it off he would be sacked.

Colm took it off ... and instead wore a badge saying "Yes, I'm a homosexual too". He was fired.

The case — which was being heard two years after the dismissal — came to the NI Commissioner because Colm Clifford had appealed against the Department of Employment's refusal to pay him benefit. They justified their refusal on the basis that he had been sacked for "misconduct".

Commissioner Lazarus refused Colm's appeal pointing out smugly "This isn't the place for social change."

Editorial



Workers versus the Courts

A CLAMP-DOWN ON PICKETS

THERE is little more likely to send the average Tory red, white and then blue in the face than the sight of a mass picket of 10,000 workers. So the Tories were delighted last Tuesday when, after weeks and weeks of their raging in Parliament about Grunwicks picketing, the Home Secretary Merlyn Rees announced that the Government would look into changing the laws on picketing.

As it stands there is no general limit to the number on a picket or how pickets are stationed. Police can, however, object that a picket line is "likely to cause a breach of the peace" or is "obstructing the highway".

By law, the purpose of a picket is restricted to receiving or communicating information. What's being proposed is to make this easier, but clamp down on all picketing that goes beyond "communicating".

It is suggested that police should see to it that pickets can communicate with those approaching the gates, even if they are in cars or lorries. And in return for this assistance, picket lines would be restricted to those wearing official arm-bands.

Sometimes simple information that a strike is on is enough to stop delivery drivers crossing the picket line. But usually to convince potential scabs, or many delivery drivers, to side with the strike (especially if it's unofficial) you have to do more.

At the very least you have to show that the strike is determined and out to win, so that the waverers will have enough confidence to come over to the strikers' side.

The bosses have more means than just "communicating information" to bring waverers over to their side. A worker thinking of joining a strike risks losing his wage and perhaps his job. A driver refusing to cross a picket line risks disciplinary action from his employers. To bring these people over to their side, strikers have to show that they have the strength to win, to defy the bosses, and to

stop victimisations.

Pretty often people going to work in defiance of a strike know very well what they're doing. They have to be actively persuaded not to scab. Preferably, if possible, not by violence, but at all events by a show of force on the picket line.

In the last analysis the purpose of the picket line is to win. And trade unionists have to be ready to use whatever means necessary. If it is necessary to call on reinforcements from other workers, well and good. If it is necessary to have ten thousand men and women there, alright. And if it is necessary to use force against strike-breakers and their defenders, the police, then so be it.

The Tories are also calling upon the Government to limit picketing to the company directly in dispute. As it is, the law restricts picketing that is not in the furtherance of a "trade dispute", but it does permit "third party" picketing, like the picketing of chemists still using Grunwicks' film processing facilities. The Tories want the law to permit the bosses' class solidarity of the chemists who help Grunwicks, but ban the workers' solidarity of the pickets!

Dennis Skinner, Labour MP for Bolsover, summed up the Government's cringing to the Tories when he replied to Bruce Douglas-Mann, Labour MP for Mitcham & Morden, who moaned about the "violence" caused by mass picketing. Pointing contemptuously to the Tory benches, Skinner sneered "Get over there."

Against Tory or Labour governments and against the police who serve them, the working class must defend its picket lines.

ONE LAW FOR THE RICH...

Three Appeal Judges in Edinburgh have rejected NALGO's appeal against the court order granted last march by Justice Cameron forbidding it to call a strike.

The decision to have a one-day strike against the cuts was taken by NALGO at its annual conference. Right wingers managed to get the order stopping it on the basis that the conference was not empowered to call a strike.

In effect, the court counter-manded the highest sovereign body of the union — its conference — and said that the authority for strike action had to come from the EC or a secret ballot.

Meanwhile in Reg Prentice's constituency, Newham North East, two Oxford graduates are trying to reverse the Left's victory against Prentice, using the right-wing's most reliable weapon ... the courts.

Last February Julian Lewis, a member of Oxford University Young Conservatives who moved to Newham and joined the Labour Party, got a High Court injunction preventing Newham North East Labour Party from holding its annual general meeting.

In March he got another injunction, preventing the Party from using its own funds for legal expenses and thus forcing two party members to find £8000 to cover court costs. Transport House launched an appeal for them.

Later he got an even more important ruling from the courts. They re-interpreted Labour Party rules so that trade unions would have GMC delegates according to the number of members working rather than living in the constituency. Having got that interpretation Lewis, under the banner of the Campaign for Representative Democracy, set about packing constituency meetings.

Isn't all this very expensive? Yes. Court costs must have run into several thousands of pounds. It is the ideal weapon for the rich.

And it only works for the rich. For the working class, these court decisions are something to be fought against.



One of the many demonstrations in defence of the 'Shrewsbury 3' building workers, jailed during the last picket-bashing offensive, in 1973.

GRUNWICK DAY OF ACTION

DOWN THE LINE

The workers, united, will never be defeated! That's what the thousands on the mass picket in front of Grunwicks gates in Chapter Road were chanting. The same chant came from the thousands facing the police in Cooper Road; it came too from those massed on Duddon Hill to stop police reinforcements getting through.

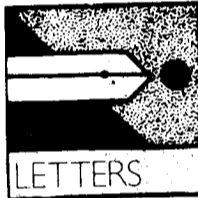
And that's really how it was. So long as there was real workers' unity, militant fighting unity, victory was never in doubt. For four hours, the scabs' bus didn't even try to get through.

The message of July 11th will be taken back to every corner of the working class by miners, engineers, print and building workers, by dockers and postmen and public service workers.

It's a message that will serve their struggles too!



THE WORKERS MILITANT BUT THE LEFT PASSIVE?



I happened to be in London on July 11th, the Day of Action at Grunwick. I joined the mass picket, often finding myself in the front line against the police.

I was very impressed by the mass solidarity and the combativity shown by the British working class — something you don't see in Austria where I come from. But, while I am not very familiar with the details of the class struggle here, I felt that it might be useful if an "outsider" made some observations about the way things were organised.

The actual mass picketing was not properly organised. Under pressure from the TUC the strike committee advised pickets to leave the gates of Grunwicks and the roads outside it to join the official demonstration. The picket line was made very weak and was not able to defend itself or to stop the scabs properly.

A lot of the most militant pickets did not follow the advice to join the demonstration. They stayed at the gates and prevented several attempts by the police to break through, before finally — with their numbers very depleted — they unsuccessfully tried to stop the scabs' bus from getting in.

With a little foresight the Left could have prevented this.

If, among the Left, there had been just one megaphone it could have been used to try to stop people drifting off to the march and to rally those still around the gates and streets near Grunwick.

If a left group had done this it would have succeeded in gaining a certain credit in the eyes of the militants who stayed around to stop the police and scabs. If the Left, combined, had used a simple technical means like this it could have presented itself in some degree as an alternative pole to the trade union leaders.

Another thing that surprised me was the lack of leaflets. Leaflets were very important,

particularly as it was obvious to me that many of the workers who had come down to the mass picket for the day wouldn't buy any of the papers on sale there. If those workers who represent very much the core of the working class are not prepared to buy left papers, then the groups have to see to it that they get their message over in another way on so important a day. A propaganda group cannot afford to miss an occasion like this.

There were a few leaflets; some were simply advertising meetings (the SWP one), some relating to other questions (like the Criminal Trespass Bill), some hopelessly misguided politically (the Spartacist one) and others relating only in passing to the Day of Action.

What was needed was a leaflet capable of analysing the situation, putting it in a political context.

Workers' Action didn't seem to have a leaflet. I think a big chance was missed here. If you do not have leaflets and you also have no megaphone you are unable to introduce your own slogans into the situation.

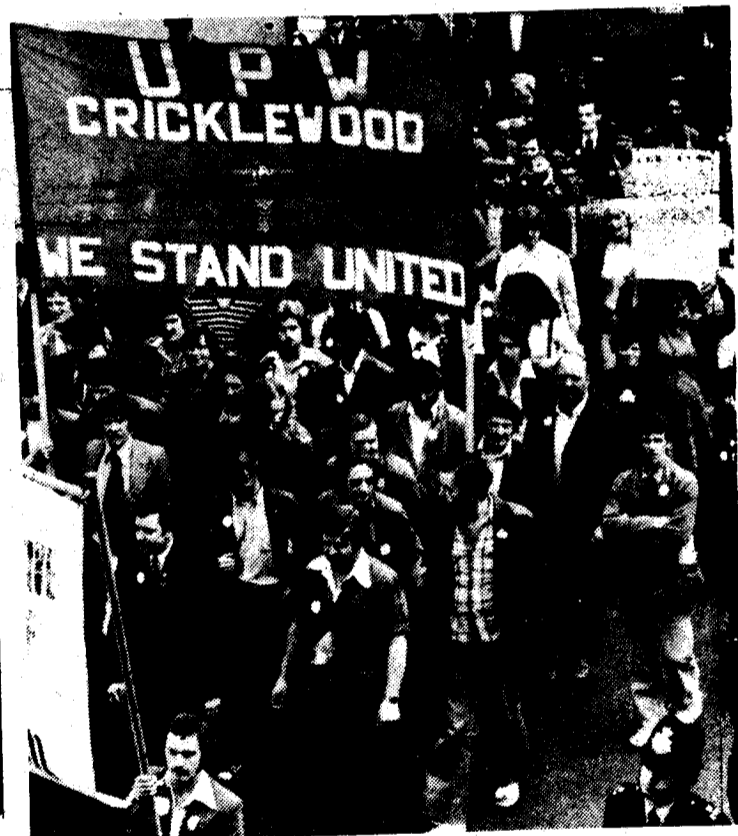
Whatever you think of the trade union bureaucracy you have, despite your regular coverage in your paper, failed to arm yourselves technically against them. Equally, while there were many banners there, there were none with slogans.

It seems to me that the right thing to do would have been for members of the left groups in their trade union and Labour Party branches or place of work to get banners down to the picket line with definite slogans.

Although the things I have suggested are all on a purely technical level, they are important. If you want to gain influence, particularly within the working class, you must show not only that you have a different theory but also a better practice.

A member of the IKL, Austria

'Jackson-Out! Workers' solidarity-In!' say UPW marchers



About 500 postal workers marched from the Cricklewood sorting office to join the thousands marching from Willesden in solidarity with the Grunwick strikers. Leading them was the branch banner of Cricklewood UPW, which is in the front line of the attempt to black Grunwicks' mail.

UPW branch banners showed a mainly London contingent, but there were also banners from Bristol, Corby and Weybridge. Other post office workers were there from Liverpool and Cardiff.

The main slogan of this section of the huge march was "Jackson Out — Workers' Solidarity In".

Many postal workers were furious at the conspicuous absence of their union bureaucracy and that the UPW Executive circular giving details was sent out as late as Friday!

The UPW turnout was probably the biggest since the 1971 Official postmen's strike.

Pete Keenlyside
UPW Cardiff



Union banners make their way up Duddon Hill. It was there that the mass picket, with dockers' banners in the front, stopped several attempts by the police to break up the mass picket.

ACTION — JULY 11th

ARTIFUL DEFIDNT

HIGH COURT BACKS ACAS NOT THE STRIKERS

Ward should recognise APEX's right to represent the workers at the North London film processing firm. That was the judgment of Lord Widgery, the Lord of Justice, in the High Court on Tuesday.

Ward was also ordered to pay £7,000 costs to ACAS and APEX.

Widgery was called on to decide whether the ACAS report of last November of the opinions of the workers about union membership was valid. ACAS reported on the basis of a survey that APEX should be recognised, and Ward was ordered to challenge that.

Unable to win at the High Court, Ward said at once that he would be taking the matter to the Appeal Court, and if he lost there, to the Lords. He obviously hopes that by drawing the matter out, he can starve the strikers into submission. Perhaps he also reckons that a future hearing might take place in a different atmosphere — perhaps under a new government!

This won't please the majority of the Tories, who are a bit embarrassed about the way the anti-union Ward claims to be standing up for Toryism, and the fact that he is dragging the sillier fringe of Tory parliamentary nonentities with him. The last thing they want is to be tarred with the anti-union brush: Thatcher's strategy is rather to try to show that she and the Tories are as well able to reach agreements with the unions as the Labour Party is.

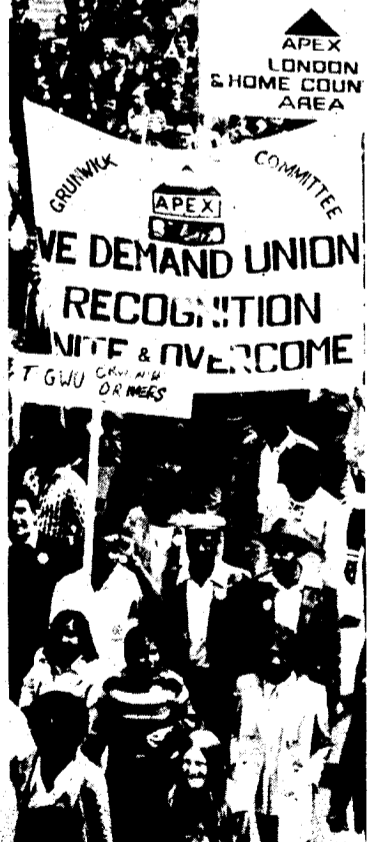
The High Court's ruling is exactly what the Government wanted. It was relying on the Court to produce a verdict that could be used in the propaganda war against direct action. "Leave it to the courts" will now, they hope, seem a bit more plausible advice. And "Leave it to ACAS" will no longer be a stock joke but a reasonable suggestion. The High Court judgment will be used by the Labour and trade union bureaucracy to restore credit in "the Law" and "conciliation" and to discredit rank and file militant action.

But the day after the High Court judgment the strike was of course still on. The strikers were still sacked for joining APEX and going on strike. That isn't because Ward says he is going to put in an Appeal. It is because the decision only means that if any of the scabs join APEX, then that union should be recognised. At the end of the whole legal process, Ward still has the legal right to sack workers to striking!

Even if the ACAS report meant they had to be reinstated, ACAS itself doesn't have the power to make Ward do that — however many courts say its ruling was valid.

What's more, why should workers allow a ballot to decide whether their union should be recognised? Any number of workers should have the right to join a union and have that union recognised, even if they are not in the majority.

The best safeguard of workers' rights is still the strength and solidarity of the workers' movement — not the courts or the tribunals.



A small but significant new banner among the familiar ones: "TGWU Grunwick Drivers". A huge cheer went up from the crowd at the factory gate at it was announced that "NOW GEORGE WARD HAS GOT TWO STRIKES ON HIS HANDS!"

It was revealed that for some three months two TGWU members have been secretly recruiting among the van drivers at the factory. Now seven are in the Union, and they came out on strike on Monday morning.

TUC lets the scabs slip in

WHEN 18,000 demonstrators marching behind union banners filed past the main gates of Grunwick on the Day of Action they were met by a mixture of enthusiasm and slow hand-clapping.

In the road outside the main gates were several hundred militant workers who, instead of going on the official demonstration, had stayed behind in Chapter Road, in Cooper Road and in Dudden Hill Lane to stop the scabs' bus from getting into the Grunwick works.

While the huge demonstration was peacefully winding its way through the streets of Willesden, North London, it was these few hundred militants who had confronted the police in the fiercest picket line battles that day. They had managed to turn back a troop of 36 mounted police that tried to break through the mass picket from the north side; they had managed to prevent the arrival of another two coach loads of police coming from the same direction; but then, with their numbers dwindling, they had failed to stop the scabs' bus which got in through the lines at Chapter Road.

The initial reaction of many of these militants was bitterness. There were shouts of "You picked a fine time to leave us, Lucille" and "Where was the goalie when the ball was in the net", and even shouts of "Scabs" directed at the trade union officials leading the demonstration.

The decision to hold a long march and draw forces away from the factory gates had been consciously designed to create a situation where the scabs could get into the factory. Those who made that decision and insisted on it being carried out richly deserved the hostility of the pickets who had stayed behind and taken the brunt of the police attack.

But certainly, shouts of "scab" were not deserved by the thousands on the march, who were not clear about what was happening.

Thousands of those on the mass picket felt that the march was an irrelevance, and they saw the danger of leaving the gates virtually unguarded apart from a tiny "official picket" of ten. But after appeals from both union officials and strike committee leaders they drifted off to the demonstration after all.

A relative handful — about 400 in all — resisted all attempts to get them onto the march.

The first edition of the *Evening Standard* that day quoted Jack Dromey, Secretary of Brent Trades Council and one of the most influential people on the strike committee, as saying that it had been agreed that the mass picket would disperse at between 10 and 10.30 to re-assemble at the beginning of the

march at Willesden Green, and that the scabs' bus would be guaranteed a safe arrival to be met by the ten "official pickets" if it stayed away until 11.00.

Shortly after 10.30 Jack Dromey and Mahmood Ahmad, the secretary of the strike committee, arrived in Dudden Hill Lane to try to persuade those still there to go onto the demonstration. The pickets there hadn't of course had a chance to read what the *Evening Standard* had said, and didn't know what Dromey meant when he said that he had been misquoted.

Dromey began by threatening that he would denounce the "ultra-lefts" who insisted on keeping up the mass picket that day and that he would disassociate himself from any further militant actions that day. Mahmood Ahmad was clearly less assertive. "You can't always get what you want" he started. "We've been put under a lot of pressure. Please do as we ask and go on the demonstration."

It quickly became clear that the trade union leaders had forced a disgraceful choice on the strike committee: either agree to drawing away all the mass pickets to the demonstration so the scab bus can get through, or we will call off all support for both the mass picket and the demonstration.

The strike committee felt that a four hour mass picket followed by a massive march and rally was better than nothing, so they agreed — though it was obvious that they were not happy about

the agreement.

A lesson must be drawn from this. The labour and trade union high-ups are prepared to concoct the dirtiest deals in order to "cool the situation" — they are even prepared to devise a plan to get the scabs in safely. That is, after all, what happened last Monday.

But the escalating rank and file support for the strikers is forcing them to cover these betrayals with bigger and bigger displays of working class solidarity — displays which inevitably make it more and more difficult for the next round of betrayal.

The strike committee's mistake was to feel that they had to keep their side of the bargain with the bureaucracy that they had never asked for. That was wrong, even if it is understandable.

But the courage and combativity the strike committee have shown so far suggests that if the working class movement rallies firmly to their side and shows that it will stay at their side whether the trade union and Labour leaders say so or not, then the strike committee will have the confidence to reject any further deals and rely on the rank and file movement.

In the end, it's up to that movement to prove it can be relied on.



THE inquiry into the plan by British Nuclear Fuel to build a nuclear waste re-processing plant at Windscale has pushed the nuclear power issue into the limelight in a way not seen since the days of CND.

In fact, in many parts of the world the issue has come alive again, with protests focussing on the increasing use of nuclear power.

In Australia, Japan, Germany and the USA, anti-nuclear protesters have clashed with police in massive demonstrations opposing all forms of nuclear power. And many socialist organisations have hastily joined the action.

Yet the issues aren't as simple as they seem, and socialists have found themselves travelling in some very strange company.

At first sight the case against nuclear power seems overwhelming.

Nuclear reactors are potential time bombs — which will scatter their deadly effects into the future to damage countless generations. Radioactive material in large doses is fatal, destroying animal and plant life in hours or days. Smaller levels of exposure can result in blood cancer — leukemia. In smaller doses (or imbibed indirectly) radioactivity affects the genetic material that shapes future offspring, killing or deforming babies in the womb.

The effects, in short, are the same as those which follow the explosion of a nuclear bomb. The deadly

A two-part discussion article by NEAL SMITH

radiation could escape from nuclear plant either in an accidental explosion or, more likely, mechanical error or failure.

Radioactive contamination has an amazingly long life. For example, plutonium has a half-life (the time taken for the radiation level to fall by half) of 25,000 years. Radium released into the sea would produce its maximum effect for about 100,000 years.

Thus radioactivity contaminates the environment for tens of thousands of years, and a series of leaks could gradually build up radiation in the environment to lethal levels.

Given this, there is an enormous problem of waste disposal. At the end of the reaction cycle there are inevitably waste products, which are highly radioactive and can't just be dumped on a rubbish tip or disposed of like ordinary industrial waste

ATOMIC ENERGY

WHY ARE THEY TAKING THE RISKS?

(and even that has done an enormous amount of damage). This means that the problems and the dangers are cumulative.

At present, waste is usually stored in liquid form in concrete and steel silos, or pumped underground into deep cracks in the earth's crust. There it will remain, with the risk that at some time in the future it will seep back into the environment before the radioactivity has declined to safe levels.

As a recent report noted "It is not possible to conceive of man-made facilities which will last long enough to allow decay of the longer-lived components of this waste."

The implication is clear enough. One day in the future the silos will fail and radioactive waste will be released, potentially in vast and uncontrollable bulk. Some scientists have been driven to predict that future society will be led by a caste of technicians, who derive their power from their knowledge of how to safeguard the community from the effects of stored nuclear waste.

Yet nuclear reactors are being built, in rapidly increasing numbers. In Britain, in the period 1971-77, power produced from these reactors increased by 23% — while in the same period coal production only went up by 2%.

British Nuclear Fuels forecast that by 1980, 32% of all European electricity will be produced by nuclear power, as compared to 9% in 1975. By 1980 Europe and Europ-

ean Russia are expected to generate about 40,000MW by nuclear power — and even this will be outstripped by the USA, which by the same date should be producing 77,600MW.

At the beginning of this year the House of Commons Select Committee of Science and Technology came out in favour of continuing with the present plans for nuclear reactor construction, to build up to a capacity of 6 units producing 4,000MW each.



And up to now, there was little hostility to this. The magazine *New Scientist* in a recent public opinion poll found that only 32% were opposed to the building of more reactors, and that 69% of those asked thought they were fairly safe.

But Governments know the dangers and the risks. Why are they pushing ahead?

The answer can be given in just two words: energy crisis.

At the present rate of consumption, most of the world's resources of fossil fuel — coal, natural gas and oil — will be running dry by the end of this century. Just as certainly as nuclear war or massive radioactive contamination this would spell the end of industrial society and

its collapse into primitive barbarism. Without power for turning the machines, for light and heat and transport, society would be thrown backwards hundreds of years. Capitalist society would grind to a halt — and it would not be replaced by socialism.

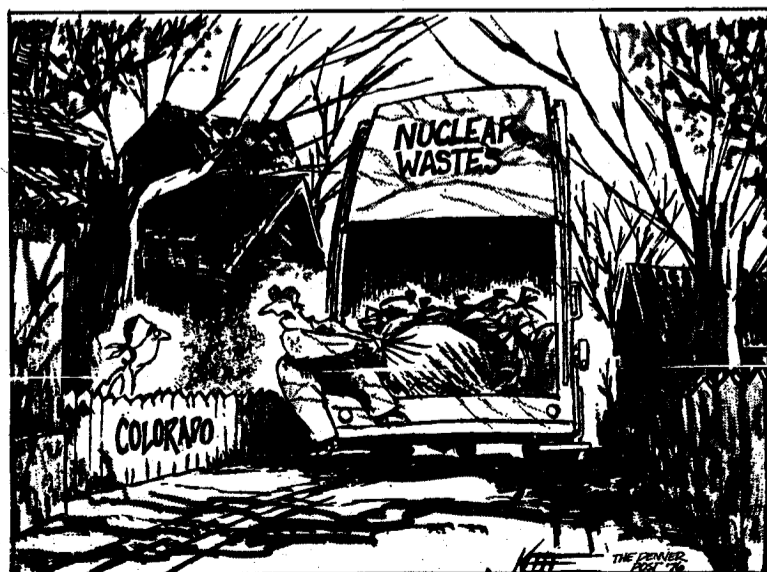
Some cranks in the "environmental" movement welcome such a prospect. Journals like *The Ecologist* have openly argued for such an option, regardless of the fact that it will bring famine and death for millions of people and that those who survive will be reduced to scratching out a living from the soil like medieval peasants.

Socialists must have a different approach. Socialism is based on modern technology, on science, on mass production, so that everyone, not just a tiny few (as in feudal times) or a small minority (as under capitalism) can be freed from struggling constantly for material necessities.

Certainly we will never get this in a society based on class divisions. But with advanced technology shattered by a fuel famine, even if class divisions are abolished there will be no prospect of the super-abundance and mastery over nature that are pre-requisites of socialism.

We need to transform and take onto a higher level the present system of production and distribution — not bring it, and mankind with it, crashing down in ruins.

Part 2 next week



'TRASH DAY, LADY... HOW MANY BAGS YOU WANT'

SOCIALIST EDUCATIONISTS

Still the family circle

IN REPLY TO THE LETTER BY PAUL HUNTER WHICH CRITICISED THE EDITORIAL ON SOCIALIST CHALLENGE "SOCIALIST UNITY OR A ROTTEN BLOC?"

1. A large part of Paul Hunter's letter is concerned with refuting what the WA editorial had to say about the Bolshevik-Menshevik split of 1903. He says "It is a common error on the British revolutionary left to seek to justify its fractured nature with references to the Bolshevik/Menshevik split of 1903. Your editorial ... is a case in point."

The 'error', however, is Paul Hunter's. For the editorial in question makes not a single reference to that event — except indirectly where it refers to Trotsky's conciliationism prior to his joining the Bolshevik Party.

For someone who complains

about "wild assertions", PH is none too circumspect himself.

2. But this is not the real substance of his letter, which does make two serious points that deserve answering.

Firstly Comrade Hunter says that unity is not based on "agreement on ... the actual answers (a party) gives to the problems posed

IN THE past two years, as education has increasingly come under fire from the Labour Government, membership of the Socialist Educational Association (an organisation affiliated to the Labour Party) has gone up from 250 to over 700. Nonetheless, this year's annual conference, open to all members and held in Bradford over the weekend, managed to attract only some 30 members.

Cost, no doubt, had something to do with it, with £16 for a residential weekend clearly being out of reach for most young teachers. But the platform's treatment of resolutions was not calculated to increase membership participation, either.

A resolution calling for the abolition of all student fees, proposed by

David Levy and Hilary Barnard of the National Organisation of Labour Students, was passed. However, the only resolution on the cuts, proposed by David Gilles of Newham SEA, was defeated after a lot of quibbling from the platform over wording.

What the "quibbling" was really about was a capitulation by the SEA leadership to Labour Government policy and an acceptance of the "need" for cuts.

The main figures of the SEA leadership (largely re-elected this year) include Norman Morris, leader of Manchester City Council, and Dr Walter Ross, an ILEA councillor. Ross is currently attempting to block the setting up of a Greater London SEA branch which could act as a

focal point for the newer and relatively vigorous London SEA branches.

The question for the SEA is whether it remains a cosy family discussion club, or whether it breaks out and transforms itself into a campaigning organisation; whether it remains as a platform for minor Labour educational bureaucrats or it becomes a lever for militant teachers in their fight against Labour Government policy.

Many of the older members are beginning to realise its inadequacies, and affiliation of the NUT and NATFHE to the Labour Party would act as a much-needed boost to the organisation.

IAN HOLLINGWORTH

What kind of unity? What kind of party?

by the class struggle' or "clear agreement on a defined programme and a well understood tactical line". Such a 'unity', he says, would "fly apart again the moment there was the slightest difference (or even lack of clarity!) on programme, tactics or even day to day agitation".

Secondly it is, thinks Cde. Hunter, "to say the least a little premature" to claim that the concept of Socialist Challenge means that the IMG is giving up "the possibility of having a means of intervening week by week in the class struggle with their own line."

3. On the first point: unfortunately PH doesn't say what he thinks the unity of a revolutionary party is based on. WA thinks the answer it has given is correct. Certainly the criteria are abstract, and there must always be a concrete evaluation of such a question. Nevertheless, inasmuch as one can speak about the matter abstractly we say, the unity of a party is based on a common programme and understanding of its application. In practice, a common programme (at least on paper) can be quite inadequate where quite different orientations or tactical lines are being advocated.

Two trends

No doubt this was why Lenin, at the 2nd Congress of the Comintern, talked of the possibility of splitting the communist movement in Britain if the resistance of one wing to applying for Labour Party membership meant that this opportunity would be lost.

Again, the differences between the KPD and the KAPD were essentially differences of tactical line and not of programme in the conventional sense of the word.

Does that mean that tactical differences, in particular of an individual and isolated character, are not to be contained or tolerated within a revolutionary party? Not at all. What is impossible is the co-existence in reality of two trends, two orientations which constantly vitiate the effectiveness of the party's work in the working class.

The example that Paul Hunter (and not the WA editorial) gives — that of the 1903 split between the Bolsheviks and the Mensheviks — is important in this context for just the reasons that PH says. That is, the issue, far from being one of programme was a question of a different order: the question, as Cde. Hunter reminds us, of "what kind of a party do you need."

Cde. Hunter adds that the programmes of the Bolsheviks and the Mensheviks were "vague and general". The judgment is,

however, unhistorical and misses the point. Looking back, the programmes of the Bolsheviks and Mensheviks weren't so much vague and general as wrong on the crucial question of what later was to be called "permanent revolution" — that is, on the relation between the forthcoming bourgeois revolution and socialism and its implications for the relations between the classes in Russia.

The Bolshevik programmes were vague insofar as they were 'algebraic'. That is, the vagueness and generality was not a result of indifference to precision but a reflection of the level of precision achieved by that trend.

We repeat, revolutionary unity can be achieved around the pole of common conceptions of programme, strategy and tactical aims.

4. On the second point: first of all we are entitled to draw lessons from all past experience of this type of venture and predict the same result for Socialist Challenge even in advance of the appearance of a single issue; secondly the nature of the articles on No.1 on the SWP (IS) and CP were a good indication, we think, of what to expect; and thirdly we

have the record of the IMG and the USFI to go by.

In the early 1950s, when the Healy group was the British section of the Fourth International (International Secretariat), it published what was in fact a left social democratic paper, *Socialist Outlook*, in the name of a tactical approach to the left wing of the Labour Party.

The same approach was reproduced by the IMG in the 1960s, when it published a paper called *The Week* with a whole string of left social democratic dignitaries as sponsors and such revolutionary slogans as "incomes policy under workers' control". Later, in the name of a tactical approach to the student movement, the IMG put its energies into the 'broad front' of *Black Dwarf*. Even *Red Mole*, the immediate forerunner of *Red Weekly*, was not at first formally the IMG paper, and carried, as editorial material, major articles in contradiction with the IMG line (such as Robin Blackburn's article calling for abstention and disruption of Labour Party election meetings in the 1970 elections).

Even when publishing *Red Weekly* the IMG often pushed left social-democratic politics rather than its own programme; or rather, nominal programme, for clearly the tendency is that its real programme and political stance is one of adaptation and accommodation. With *Socialist Challenge* this tendency will become again more pronounced.

There is not space in this brief reply to substantiate all this in any detail. We plan to do so in a supplement to *Workers Action* to be published soon on the question of socialist unity.

EDITORIAL BOARD

Inquiry finds slanders 'not proven'

MANY OF our readers will be aware of the ever-escalating slander campaign waged by the Workers' Revolutionary Party, and its paper, *The Newswire*, against Joseph Hansen and George Novack, leaders of the Socialist Workers' Party of the USA. The WRP claims that Hansen and Novack acted as agents or accomplices of the Stalinist secret police (GPU) in organising Trotsky's assassination in 1940.

Workers' Action has denounced this campaign. But we have also criticised the SWP for conducting their defence against the slander campaign in a narrowly factional, and thus unprincipled, way. Because they have hopes of a political alliance with the former French sister organisation of the WRP, the OCI, the SWP has brought the OCI onto platforms to denounce the WRP's gangsterism — while keeping quiet about the OCI's own equally criminal gangsterism!

The OCI accuses Michel Varga — a former member of theirs, now leader of a group called the LOR — of being both a CIA and a GPU agent. On several occasions OCI forces have

physically attacked LOR militants.

Both our condemnation of the OCI and our criticism of the SWP are strengthened by the recently-published report of a Commission of Inquiry into the "Varga case". This report, signed by the SWP, the LCR (Revolutionary Communist League, France), and the International Spartacist Tendency, condemns the physical attacks on the LOR, and finds the accusations against Varga not proven.

The other organisation participating in the Inquiry, *Lutte Ouvrière* (a French Trotskyist organisation) refused to sign the report because the SWP would not agree to brand the OCI's accusations clearly as slander. The Spartacists declare their view that the accusations are slander in a note of reservation to the report.

What would the SWP say if an inquiry into the WRP's stream of poison concluded merely that the charges were "not proven", without saying they were slander? Gangsterism and slander must be branded and denounced wherever they appear in the working class movement.

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WORKERS IN ACTION

Direct works under attack but builders fight back

THOUSANDS of building workers in three cities struck on July 5th in protest at cuts in local council building departments.

Merseyside builders held a mass meeting at the Pier Head. In Manchester the direct works department was totally stopped at 12 o'clock. The striking workers held a demonstration through the city centre, which was also supported by local public sector unions and tenants' associations.

In Birmingham on the same day, the Midlands region of UCATT held a demonstration, supported also by building workers from Yorkshire, East Anglia, and South Wales, against the closure of the city's direct labour department, which will result in the loss of 400 jobs. Local government workers also joined in this protest against the cuts.

The closure of the Birmingham direct labour scheme was announced by the new Tory council after it took office in May. Building workers' jobs had already been threatened by the previous Labour administration, who, a few months earlier, had announced a run-down of the scheme.

On the day of the demo, the entire Labour group on the Birmingham city council boy-

cotted the council meeting and picketed outside it in protest at the council's decision — a fine gesture when they themselves had started the run-down and laid the way to the dole queue for hundreds of building workers!

There is to be a national delegate conference in Manchester on 20th August, to plan a response to the closure of direct labour schemes under the government's spending cuts. The best outcome for this conference would be a decision that the only way to fight back is through direct action.

Another Parliamentary defeat for the government occurred last Tuesday — this time on the issue of Direct Works.

The Local Authority Works (Scotland) Bill was lost despite the Liberals backing the government. The Bill, it was announced, will not be re-introduced this session.

If it had been passed the Bill, allowing for direct works departments to tender for contracts offered by other local authorities, would have been a big boost to direct labour schemes in Scotland. Its defeat makes their run-down, and big redundancies, an imminent danger.



PHOTO: LARRY BLEWITT

MARLEYS [Dewsbury], DESOUTTERS [North London]

Sacked for unionising...

WORKERS at the Dewsbury roof tile factory of Marleys, the massive consortium which made £40 million profit last year, have come out on unofficial strike for the reinstatement of a sacked shop steward.

Conditions at the factory are appalling. Sand and cement dust get everywhere because of an inefficient extractor system. The showers are insanitary. Safety precautions are virtually nil, and, needless to say, wage rates are low.

Marley policy is, "if you don't like it you know what to do", and they have prevented unionisation until now. However, six weeks ago the victimised shop steward, Pete Shaw, organised 90% of the workforce into the AUEW. On June 20th official shop steward credentials were received by management.

After a delay of four days, management met the shop steward over a problem of fitters' wage rates. He was told he was not acceptable to them and they refused to discuss the matter. The workforce heard of this and called a mass meeting which decided on a one-hour stoppage that afternoon.

The next day, June 24th, the shop steward was told he had been suspended and on June 27th he was told that he was sacked for 'gross industrial misconduct'. An immediate mass meeting unanimously demanded the reinstatement of Pete Shaw and union recognition, and decided to strike.

Management have tried to disguise this attack on unions by claiming that workers should be in the T&GWU. They claim to have had a 30-year agreement to this effect, although the factory has only been built for 12 years! There were no members of the T&G. Management have called the shop steward 'self-appointed' despite the massive solidarity.

AUEW officials now seem to be backing the workers after an

uncertain start when they appeared impressed by management lies. As a result of the solidarity of the pickets, the AUEW is now considering moves to make the strike official.

Picketing has so far been 100% successful, despite threats from the police, and although it is the first time workers at this factory have made a stand. The workers are in the process of establishing links with other workers in the Marley group and would welcome any contacts.

Messages of support and donations should be sent to: P.G. Shaw, 55 Springstone Ave. Ossett, West Yorkshire.

COLIN PROUT

...but on strike for union rights

Delegations from North London factories will join a demonstration on Thursday 14th July in solidarity with the strike at Desoutters, Colindale. 250 AUEW members are in the week of their dispute over union recognition, and holding firm despite the pressures against them. Some 100 employees are still working, the convenor, Fred Hopper, has been sacked, and several pickets have been arrested (the strikers face the same police force as at Grunwicks!).

Solidarity in the form of blacking of spares and power tools from Desoutters has been implemented by Heathrow engineers and Acton IT works. The North London district committee of the AUEW has

called Thursday's demonstration.

Like Grunwicks, like Marleys, like Fortes, like Automat, this is a case of an employer who feels that the downturn in trade union militancy since 1974 makes him strong enough to crush workers who want the elementary rights of union recognition. But the trade union movement is still strong enough to defeat these small employers — if we mobilise.

Donations and messages of support to Eric D Neville, 24 Cotmans Gdns, Edgware, Mdx

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EVENTS

Small ads are free for labour movement events. Paid ads (including ads for publications) 8p per word, £5 per column inch — payment in advance. Send copy to Events, 49 Carnac St, London SE27, to arrive by Friday for inclusion in the following week's paper.

TUESDAY 19 JULY. At a meeting to be chaired by Pat Arrowsmith, three Belfast women will speak to demand open inquiries into the deaths of their sons. The women are Mrs Norney, mother of Leo Norney; Mrs McCooey,

mother of Danny McCooey; and Mrs Steward, mother of Brian Steward. At the NUFTO Hall, Jockeys Fields, Theobalds Rd, 7.30pm.

TUESDAY 19 JULY. 'The Rise of Fascism in the '70s'. Speaker: Maurice Ludmer. 6.30pm at the Institute of Race Relations, 247 Pentonville Rd, London N1.

SATURDAY 23 JULY. Demonstration in defence of the 'Lewisham 24'. Assemble 2pm at Lewisham Station; rally 3pm at Lewisham Town Hall.

SUNDAY 31 JULY. 'The Fight for Workers' Power'. Workers' Action readers' meeting in Basingstoke with a speaker invited from the I-CL.

Lewisham

MOBILISE FOR JULY 23rd

THE FASCISTS of the National Front and National Party in South London have seized on the 'mugging' issue to rally and expand their forces. 21 black youths were arrested in a police dawn raid on 30th May, and charged with 'conspiracy' and 'loitering with intent', and another three have been arrested since. For the fascists, this has been their chance to show themselves as the most aggressive champions of clamping down on black people in the name of law and order.

On Lewisham High Street on recent Saturdays, the National Front, under pretext of selling their paper, have been picking fights with left-wing paper sellers and thus trying to stop them sell. When a demonstration in defence of the 21 arrested black youths was organised on 2nd July, 200 organised NF thugs attacked it.

The left is organising to defend

our right to sell papers — and to mobilise for the march and rally on July 23rd in defence of the arrested black youths. This march must be sufficiently strong and sufficiently organised to repel any fascist attacks.

In August the NF themselves plan to hold a march through Lewisham and Deptford. They are sure to call on their support nationally for this event. Discussions about a counter-demonstration are underway.

Finally, and most importantly, we have to explain the issues in the labour movement, and rally support against the fascists and against the racist police force.

BOB SUGDEN

Defend the Lewisham 24
'The Police are the real muggers'
DEMONSTRATION
Saturday, July 23rd Assemble
2pm at Lewisham Station; rally
3pm, Lewisham Town Hall.