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in the election

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DEFEND THE UNIONS against this all-round onslaught!



Denning



Thatcher



Shirley Williams



Moss Evans — TGWU blocked pro-union motion

The State

Britain's former top police chief Sir Robert Mark last week crashed his way to the centre of the union-busters' election platform.

In an article published in 'Security' magazine, Mark—who, as Metropolitan Police Commissioner supervised the brutal SPG attacks on Grunwick pickets and the police violence which led to the death of anti-fascist Kevin Gately in Red Lion Square—likened the trade unions to the emerging Nazis of 1930s Germany:

"In any critical situation in which the law does not support them, the Government of the day—their partner or their puppet according to their view—declares its intention to change the law in their favour.

"This is not unlike the way in which the National Socialist German Workers Party achieved unrestricted control of the German State between 1930 and 1938."

Let there was any doubt that Mark intended an explicit analogy between the unions and the fascists, he went on to extend it, in condemning what he regards as the excessively conciliatory stance of Tory spokesman James Prior:

"Neville Chamberlain's references to Herr Hitler and Signor Mussolini caused as much dismay then as the Shadow Employment Minister's respectful touching of his forelock to the trade unions on television causes now."

It is no coincidence that in the same week as Mark's open endorsement of the Tories' main union-busting strategy Britain's top judge, Lord Denning also let fly a major attack on the unions, which he described as the "greatest threat to the rule of law".

By "the law" Denning means the kind of anti-union ruling that he handed down recently against the National Graphical Association barring the union from carrying out blacking to force recognition at the Nottingham Evening Post.

That judgement, an important precedent on which a Tory government would build, amounts to a challenge to the right of any union to carry

out blacking action, and follows on a succession of rulings against the UPW and NUJ restricting union rights.

Under the guise of protecting "freedom", senior police chiefs and their allies on the legal benches are conspiring with the employers in a state offensive designed to destroy the organised strength of the trade union movement which stands in the way of British capitalism's desperate drive for increased profits.

The Tories

While reactionary police chiefs and judges added their weight to her anti-union campaign, Thatcher herself stepped up the offensive last week.

Seeking to whip up the Tories' traditional support of small business owners, confused petty bourgeois and backward workers into a violent frenzy against the independent strength of the working class, she denounced the "few wreckers" who "go on strike, indulge in secondary picketing and have demarcation disputes".

Let there be no doubt. Thatcher's gang, the direct spokesmen of British capitalism, intend immediate and drastic action against the organisations fought for and built by workers over 200 years of struggle.

The closed shop and other union rights that Thatcher and the employers she represents find so objectionable represents the major bulwark defending workers' jobs, wages and working conditions against the insatiable drive of the bosses in every industry towards speed-up, rationalisation and increased exploitation.

Every one of the Tory attacks is planned with a view to weakening workers' resistance to the massive round of price rises, rent rises, closures and social service cuts that they plan to bring in to finance their tax handouts to top managers and employers.

It should be remembered that even the Tory press concedes that, in comparison to Thatcher the hated Heath government that brought in the Industrial Relations Act, jailed the Pentonville dockers and the Shrewsbury 6, and jacked

council rents sky high, is branded as "moderate". The working class must prepare for battles against all those who, posing as opponents of "wreckers", seek to wreck the power of the unions and destroy the basic rights fought for against generations of reactionary employers.

The Concordat

But while the Tories plan a frontal assault on the unions, the Labour and TUC leaders have done their best to plunge the knife into the back of the working class, with their reactionary Concordat.

As Shirley Williams brazenly boasted in Labour's election broadcast last week, the Concordat contains proposals that echo every one of the Tories' main plans to sabotage union strength.

It contains plans to relax the closed shop; plans to crack down on strikes that take place before all procedures are fully exhausted; plans for ballots prior to strike action; and far-reaching plans to curb picketing.

"Why use the law against workers when you can use the Concordat?" was Williams' line of argument. But the Labour leaders have also encouraged the tightening of the laws on picketing in a series of savage court rulings.

A gauge of the mealy-mouthed politics put forward by these bureaucrats even at this crucial hour is to be seen in the defeat by bureaucrats at the Scottish TUC of an AUEW resolution calling for legal protection for pickets, and for those who occupy factories.

Reformists, anxious to prove that Callaghan can tame the unions better than Thatcher, actually argued that a resolution defending union rights would harm Labour's election chances!

The TUC

But of course there is no prospect of action by the TUC to defend the unions, no matter what government is elected on 3 May.

BUILD A REVOLUTIONARY PARTY



INTERNATIONAL

Zimbabwe masses caught between thugs and traitors

The reactionary forces of the embattled Smith regime, aided by those of the Patriotic Front leadership, combined this last week to produce a serious setback to the liberation struggle in Zimbabwe.

As we go to press Smith has declared a poll of 64% in the elections stage-managed to provide imperialism with an excuse to make a deal over the heads of the masses with the 'internal' government and to increase pressure on the Patriotic Front leadership (or sections of it) to come to terms with Smith and his stooges.

The large turn-out, a blow to the Patriotic Front's propaganda claims of a massive boycott, was, of course, ensured by factors which causes even the imperialist bourgeois press some embarrassment as it surveys the supposed 'freedom' of the elections.

State of emergency

The country is under a state of emergency, with over 90% of it subject to martial law.

This, together with emergency regulations, a huge mobilisation of reactionary armed forces (including the private thug armies of the black members of the internal settlement), the fact that most of the internal leaders of the Patriotic Front are in detention, and massive South African military assistance, makes the "freedom" of the elections a mockery.

Bishop Muzorewa's party has intimidated voters and candidates, of all other parties to the internal settlement.

Sithole's army has done similarly, and these private thug-armies have committed all kinds of brutality in their political 'canvassing'.

Serious setback

Inmates of a military training camp outside Salisbury for Muzorewa supporters and recruits admitted for example to journalists who visited them in 1978 that their mission was to "teach people how to vote".

Despite the obviousness of these intimidatory measures, there can be no doubt that the size of the vote and the welcome generally given it by imperialism indicate a serious setback, both for the Patriotic Front leadership and for the Zimbabwean masses.

Hollowness

If it is a setback for the leadership because it exposed the hollowness of their propaganda claims; and for the masses because it serves to strengthen the hand of Smith and his friends in their attempts to produce a sham 'internal accord' satisfactory to imperialism.

Opportunists can now be expected to manoeuvre and slide in and out of various

pacts and deals in this situation where the forces of reaction have gained a transient advantage.

Smith has always been quick to capitalize on the lack of political leadership given the masses by the Patriotic Front leadership.

Political

Now again he will make use of the results of the resultant confusion and uncertainty among the masses—feelings fostered by the palpable failure of the Patriotic Front to fulfil their promise of disrupting the elections.

This failure was not military, but political. It was not simply the consequence of the strength of Smith's army—the Zimbabweans have shown themselves willing and eager to fight.

Above all else it came from the strategy of a petty bourgeois Patriotic Front leadership which is itself linked to the interests of imperialism—a strategy which has told the Zimbabwean masses that their goals would be secured for them by guerrillas.

Once again masses in



Smith with his Uncle Tom cabinet stooges.

struggle are being made to suffer the consequences of the political bankruptcy of pure guerrillism.

It is the task of revolutionaries to take up the struggle for the exposure of the political betrayals of a leadership that is itself involved in secret diplomacy aimed at reaching an accord with imperialism, while it calls on its supporters to sacrifice their lives in guerrillaist adventures.

The fight must be taken

up by revolutionaries for the building of a Trotskyist party to provide the programmatic demands and develop the organisational forms through which to extend the struggle of the Zimbabwean people to a victory in line with their independent class interests—the socialist revolution.

*Build the armed struggle through workers' militias as part of a programme based on the mobilisation of the oppressed

masses.

*In the factories, on the farms, in the schools, build the independent organisations of the working class.

*For a Constituent Assembly linked to the dissolution of the racist, capitalist state apparatus.

*For a revolutionary programme of democratic and transitional demands.

CLAMPDOWN IN ITALY

The general election to take place in Italy on June 3 will do so, as will its British counterpart on May 3, under the omnipresent armed supervision of the police.

Immediately after the declaration of the election date, the Italian police unleashed a wave of repression directed primarily against the "autonomists"—groups of students, intellectuals and sometimes workers who represent a growing tendency to the left of the Italian Communist Party.

The "autonomists" are not a centralised movement and comprise many different currents.

Many have publicly defended the individual terrorism of the Red Brigades, and the bourgeois politicians and press have conducted a campaign to identify the two.



CP leader Berlinguer

Others represent adventurous, anarchist factions of the petty-bourgeois intelligentsia.

An increasing number of "autonomists", however, have appeared in the ranks of Italy's vast army of unemployed workers and in the trade unions themselves.

In the unions, although lamentably refusing to challenge the Stalinist leadership head on, the "autonomists" have nonetheless been able, as a result of the increasingly monstrous Stalinist betrayals, to gain support of militant workers and produce some alarm in the CP leadership, fearful more than anything else of the rise of a mass political alternative to its left.

Arrests

The new wave of arrests carried out by the police includes two of the leading intellectual figures of the "autonomist" movement (Toni Negri and Oreste Scalzone) and thirteen more of its leading advocates.

Attempts are now being made—with the public support of the CP leaders as well as the Christian Democrats—to pin the murder of kidnapped ex-Premier Aldo Moro on the arrested "autonomists".

It is vital that the labour movement, not only in Italy but elsewhere in Europe, should demand the freeing of these political prisoners who now face a trial like that of the anarchist Valpreda who was imprisoned in 1970 on the basis of evidence which was

later proved to have been falsified by the state.

The campaign against terrorism and the "autonomists" is being used by the Italian ruling class and its Stalinist allies to impose controls on all mass political action as Italy goes into an election which is incapable of solving its deep political crisis.

It is also being used to distract the attention of the masses from the real material and political problems which face them and which the Stalinists and the Italian Catholic Tories conspire to worsen in the

interests of capitalism.

*Immediate freedom for Negri and autonomists and other political prisoners in Italy!

*Repeal all reactionary "anti-terrorist" legislation.

*Smash the CP's "historic compromise" with the capitalist class and its main party, the Christian Democrats!

*For a CP-SP government without capitalist ministers!

*Build a Trotskyist party in Italy to fight for a programme of independent action on wages, jobs and democratic rights.

Ecevit moves right

Bulent Ecevit's government in Turkey hung onto office last week only by moving even further to the right.

One third of the Turkish population have been living under martial law since last December.

There is now a strong possibility that more provinces will be brought under martial law as Ecevit, obviously not unwillingly, acceded to the demands of six of the 11 right wing ex-Justice Party MPs (on whom his majority rests) to crack down even further on "extremists" and Kurdish nationalists, and to adopt even more pro-capitalist policies.

The episode, however,

illustrates the extreme instability of Ecevit's government.

Already a semi-military regime, it is now more than ever in danger of being replaced by a full-scale military dictatorship.

This tendency may be accelerated if reports of an imminent Kurdish rebellion, stimulated by the mobilisations of the Kurdish masses in Iran, turn out to be well-founded.

It is more urgent than ever for Turkish and Kurdish workers to break from Ecevit and the counter-revolutionary Republican Peoples Party currently supported by the trade union bureaucracy and the Stalinists and build instead their own class organisations of self defence and political independence.

CHAD IN CHAOS

Confusion reigns in the vast central African republic of Chad.

The latest, provisional government has already met serious challenges to its precarious authority in the first week of its glory.

Born at last month's conference in Kano, the new grand coalition was conceived as the resolution of 13 years of civil war in Chad.

There are four elements in the regime, including the two partners in the preceding 'Government of National Reconciliation'—the armed forces of the neo-colonial state (propped up by French imperialism) and the 'Forces of the North', led by Hissene Habre.

They have been joined by the Popular Movement for the Total Liberation of Chad (MPLTT—the 'Third Army'), and by the major remaining faction of the liberation front FROLINAT.

It is Goukouni Oueddi, principle leader of FROLINAT, who heads this ambitious gang.

But his government's chances of survival appear to be remarkably slim, even by the standards of Chad's recent history.

A secessionist movement—the United Southern Front—has sprung up in the south in opposition to the coalition. At the same time the 'Third Army' (MPLTT) has been split by vicious conflicts.

After the Kano conference, Aboubakar Mahamat Abderrahman (former leader of the MPLTT) was stripped of all his positions, arrested and apparently executed along with two of his principal supporters.

This coup seems to have been launched because of the pro-Libyan positions taken up by Abderrahman at Kano.

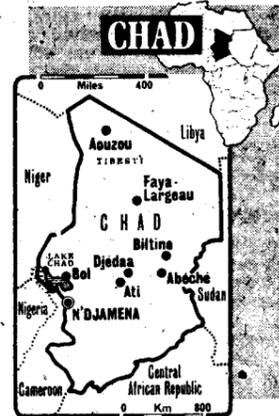
Gaddafi

Meanwhile, Gaddafi's support has been switched to the 'Vulcan Force'. According to the *Financial Times* Libyan troops have now advanced 300 miles into Chad, beyond the Aouzou Zone, which Gaddafi has already annexed.

At the Kano conference, the Nigerian and Sudanese governments seemed to have pulled off a diplomatic triumph in settling the disputes within the turmoil of their mutual neighbour.

But amid all the present strife, they can scarcely have much time to spare for self-congratulation.

But if these pro-imperialist plans have come to grief, the situation in Chad today offers no gains for the workers and peasants.



Iran capitalists divided on way forward

The squabbling between various sections of the religious and capitalist would-be ruling groups in Iran reflects the fact that they cannot rule.

And essentially they cannot rule because of the continued, and in places growing, mobilisation of the masses.

In the last few days Karim Sanjabi (Foreign Minister and leader of the bourgeois National Front) resigned from Bazargan's government.

His stated reason—that he couldn't accept the uncontrolled activities of the Islamic committees and revolutionary courts—was almost certainly of secondary importance.



Sanjabi

Outflanking

Worse for Sanjabi was the fact that the opportunist "left" face of Iranian bourgeois nationalism, the National Democratic Front (run by the grandson of former President Mossadeq) has been completely outflanking the National Front from outside the government.

Sanjabi has left office to try

to reassemble some of his disappearing political support among the petty bourgeoisie.

Meanwhile the fake "progressive" Ayatollah, Taleghani, said he had resigned from politics altogether after two of his children were kidnapped by fanatical followers of Ayatollah Khomeini.

Taleghani later went to see Khomeini and they staged a dramatic public reconciliation. Taleghani pledged his loyalty and Khomeini made a ritual declaration about "curbing excesses".

Within the supposedly ruling Revolutionary Council (whose membership is a secret but is known to include a number of Ayatollahs and selected members of Bazargan's administration) the divisions are so great that government has been virtually paralysed.

The announcement of the proposed new constitution of the "Islamic republic" was not made on the scheduled day (April 20); and the proposed elections to a Constituent Assembly have been postponed indefinitely.

But the would-be rulers are not only showing themselves to be enemies of the democratic aspirations which led the masses to topple the Shah's bloody tyranny, they also offer no solution to the near catastrophic economic plight of millions of workers.

Though there are no official figures, observers say that inflation is raging; and most estimates now put the number



New dictator Bazargan

of unemployed at around 4 million—40% of the Iranian labour force!

This estimate conforms to Bazargan's statement last week that only 50% of industrial and commercial firms in the country are operating in spite of the "back-to-work" campaign.

Occupied

In response to this situation and often with the support of the left-wing Islamic or "Marxist-Leninist" guerrillas (mujahedin and fedayin), the unemployed are mobilising themselves and have occupied some government buildings including the Ministry of

Justice.

The government announced that it had no policy to deal with unemployment, since it had run out of money and could undertake no new investment.

Many of the country's factories—those operating as well as those paralysed—are still occupied by workers' committees which are either running them or resisting the new capitalist bosses and managers which Bazargan is trying to force on them.

In the Abadan oilfields last week workers' demands were reported to have provoked the resignation of virtually the entirety of the top management.

Developments such as these are a frightening reminder to the

Ayatollahs and Bazargan's ministers that so far they control very little.

They must be equally alarmed by the news from Kurdistan and the other oppressed nations within the borders.

A virtual state of civil war is reported to exist in Kurdistan.

Fighting is between pro-imperialist sections of the Kurdish national movement alongside the reactionary pro-Khomeini Islamic committees, and, on the other side, anti-imperialist nationalists supported by the mujahedin and the fedayin.

The central government could only make the hollow threat to send in its (decomposed) army, which not even mass unemployment is making deserted soldiers return to.

The construction of a Marxist party in Iran to take forward the struggle for democratic rights and for socialist measures to resolve the immense material problems faced by the workers and peasants remains the burning task of the hour.

*For a constituent assembly!
*For a workers' and peasants' government!

*In the factories and oilfields: expropriate the capitalists and occupy!

*In the countryside: expropriate the landowners and occupy!

*In the army: refuse to obey the officers! Join the workers in setting up militias!

'Peace' deal tightens Zionist grip on South Lebanon

After the Baghdad summit, held to discuss ways of crippling the political leadership for its co-operation with the Zionist leadership of Israel, the equally reactionary Arab regimes of the surrounding countries, are busy devising ways of implementing or not implementing the policies they voted to adopt.

On the one hand, there are the hardline states such as Syria and Iraq which would stand to gain much

from the collapse of the Egyptian political leadership and the Egyptian economy.

But on the other there are those, largely Arab states which have much invested in Egypt.

The Syrian regime, for instance has a backward, largely peasant economy, lacking such basic amenities as electrification and

adequate roads and railways; it depends for most of its income on handouts from other states, and it spends more than 70% of its current expenditure on itself alone.

Inflation runs at around 10% and pay rises promised to civil servants sometime ago have not been paid because the state can't afford them.

Given this economic framework it is hardly surprising that the Syrian government should be pressing for the immediate implementation of that part of the Baghdad agreement, which calls for the transfer of the Arab League headquarters from Cairo.

Money

It is even less surprising that the Syrian government is pressing for those headquarters to be resited in the Syrian capital Damascus.

The same government also expects the large amounts of money which have hitherto been made available to the Cairo government to be made available to itself.

But the givers of the money are somewhat reluctant, and certain Gulf states, notably Kuwait, have made it plain that any agreements made at Baghdad will have little real meaning.

The boycott

agreements do not, for instance, cover the withdrawal of private investments in Egypt.

Direct aid

Only direct government to government aid seems to be affected. There is relatively little of this, and what there is can be surreptitiously re-directed through private banks which are exempt from the Egyptian boycott.

In consequence, the much hailed 'unity' of Baghdad means nothing apart from a jockeying for position by rival reactionary Arab rulers in the Middle East, each eager in the wake of the Iranian events to prove their dedication to the Palestinian liberation struggle while doing nothing to rock the fragile boat of capitalist stability on which their own repressive regimes depend.

Activities

Meanwhile, as predicted last week, the Israeli government has stepped up its activities in the Lebanon after signing a separate peace with Egypt.

The Lebanese government, which now lacks a proper army, has been trying for some time to position a battalion of troops in the south of the country, but have been prevented from doing so by the Israeli government-

backed fascists in the area.

The Zionists now effectively control a strip of the Lebanon, approximately nine miles wide, running along the Lebanon's southern border.

The Lebanese government are eager to show that they can control Palestinian guerrillas in the area in order that they can hang up a "business as usual" sign.

The leadership of the Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO), have in turn shown themselves willing to co-operate with both the Israeli and Lebanese governments, since United Nations troops were sent to the area, by promising to disengage their guerrillas.

But the guerrillas have on occasion ignored PLO leader Yassir Arafat's orders and conducted duels with Israeli troops on both the Israeli and Lebanese sides of the border.

It would appear to have been such incidents in the last week that have encouraged the Israeli army to bombard the Southern Lebanon with heavy artillery.

However, the support of the new Iranian government which has acted as the spur to increased Palestinian army activity, now seems to be waning as Iranian Deputy Prime Minister Abbas Entezam thinks again.

The Iranian government has already had to face nationalist uprisings amongst Kurds and Turkomen since the Shah was deposed, and he now believes that Arabs in Khuzestan will be the next to demand a better deal.

Iran's oil contains most of Iran's oil wealth, and it now seems questionable whether the PLO will in fact be allowed to set up a consulate in Ahwaz, the main oil town in the area.

Following the more moderate lead of the neighbouring reactionary Arab regimes, the Khomeini government has come to see the only acceptable nationalism as Iranian nationalism, and any other line as a threat to its own stability.



Syrian President Assad with PLO leader Arafat



Iranian oil worker—Arab areas contain most of Iran's oil wealth

Election meeting slams Irish repression

The squalid record of the Labour government in supporting British imperialist repression in Ireland came under heavy attack at the first meeting of the Workers Socialist League's London area election meetings last Thursday.

Addressing an audience of over 40, *Socialist Press* editor John Lister showed the links between Labour's commitment to defending imperialist interests in Ireland and its class collaborationist policies in Britain.

Reformist

As a reformist party, tied to the notion of achieving concessions for workers within the capitalist system, the Labour Party sees no alternative but to assist the British ruling class in driving up the rate of profit at workers' expense, pointed out comrade Lister.

And this means also fighting to repress those struggles—whether they be the Iranian revolution, the Zimbabwe liberation fight or the Irish war of independence—that threaten capitalist stability.

But despite Labour's repression, the anti-imperialist movement in Ireland—North and South alike—continues to grow in scope and tenacity, reflected in the courage and sacrifice of the 'blanket' prisoners of Long Kesh in their three year struggle for political status.

The WSL in fighting for a Labour vote in this election is conducting the fight to expose the nature of the pro-imperialist Callaghan-Healey-Mason leadership, and to build an alternative revolutionary party.

In contrast to individual floor speakers who had called for an abstention in the election, Comrade Lister in conclusion urged the trade unionists and Labour Party members in the audience to combine a Labour vote with stepping up the active fight within the labour movement for solidarity with the Irish liberation struggle and in particular the key demands:

*Support for the Long Kesh prisoners' demand for PoW status.

*Immediate withdrawal of British troops.

*The removal of torture chief Roy Mason and all other pro-imperialist Labour leaders.

WORKERS SOCIALIST LEAGUE

Public meeting
"Fight for Alternative Revolutionary Leadership in the Labour Movement"
 Lyndhurst Hall
 Walden Rd, Kentish Town
 Friday 27 April at 7.30
 Nearest tube: Chalk Farm

TORIES RENEW THEIR RACIST CAMPAIGN

Margaret Thatcher's conscious decision last week to reopen her racist campaign against the immigrant population is an important element in Tory strategy after the election.

One of the few categorically clear sections of the Tory manifesto spells out eight ways in which a Tory government would seek to attack the few remaining rights of immigrants' families and fiances to enter Britain.

In the hue and cry around the implementation of these proposals, the Tory press would intensify its propaganda promoting racial divisions within the working class—hopefully providing Thatcher with improved conditions for her planned onslaught on the trade union movement and workers' living standards.

She knows full well that the kind of reactionary racist forces attracted to her vicious anti-immigrant platform are precisely the type of elements she needs as a base of support from which to attack the working class.

Cynical

To this end she has dragged out the old cynical falsification of Britain being 'swamped' by inflows of immigrants—despite the fact that, under Callaghan's right wing Labour government, Tory Immigration laws have already been tightened to virtually halt the inflow of black immigrants.

Her efforts to create splits and divisions along racial lines are also assisted by the chronic unemployment, homelessness, social service cuts and plunging living standards created by years of Labour treachery.

For all their half-hearted attacks on Thatcher's full-blooded chauvinist campaign, therefore, the Labour leaders offer no way of fighting racialism or answering the material problems that help it to fester.

Nor indeed do the timid Labour 'lefts' that cling to Callaghan's coattails. Indeed the recommendations of the Commons Select Committee on Race Relations and Immigration which form the basis of the Tories' manifesto were co-signed by Labour's racist 'left' Sydney Bidwell and four other Labour MPs.

Bidwell went out of his way last year to defend Thatcher against charges that she was a racist—and now finds his own reactionary policies being used as part of a recruiting platform for the Tories' anti-union shock troops!



PHOTO: Mark Risher, IFL

Bidwell

More enlightened sections of the Labour 'left' have opposed Bidwell, but pulled up short of any fight to oust Labour's right wing leaders.

Yet the massive mobilisation of anti-fascist forces in Leicester last weekend and the growing isolation of the National Front indicate that the potential exists within the working class to crush the overt racist movements and struggle in defence of the immigrant community.

Vote Labour

This fight demands a vote for Labour against the Tories in the election, combined with a struggle by socialists to drive out the racist Callaghan-Healey leadership and fight for the repeal of the Immigration laws.

Instead a socialist programme to improve living standards and social services and provide new jobs must be fought for, based on the nationalisation and planned expansion of basic industry, without compensation under workers' management.



Thatcher

Healy runs 60 candidates

The decision by the Workers Revolutionary Party to stand 60 candidates in the General Election appears as an astonishing act of bravado.

But it is only the latest example of the Healy leadership's efforts to substitute propaganda stunts and "mass" organisational initiatives for any patient struggle for the Trotskyist programme within the working class.

The WRP, for all its apparently unlimited financial resources is not of course in any sense a mass party.

The decision to go for 60 candidates in order to secure television and radio broadcasting time could well prove even more destructive to the Party's remaining cadre than Healy's decision to run ten candidates from a much bigger organisation in 1974.

The ensuing campaign then saw the most grotesque liquidation of the Party's programme in an orgy of mass "recruitment", which piled up more supposed "recruits" in almost every area than the Party secured in votes, and wreaked havoc with existing WRP branches.

Reduced in size

This outcome must be even more likely in the 1979 election, which finds the WRP vastly reduced in size, but saddled with an even bigger, image-building, election campaign.

Nor does the WRP offer any clear programme or direction to the working class.

Despite their manifesto's emphasis that the WRP is "not a parliamentary, but a revolutionary party", WRP candidates will be unable to point to a single instance in which their members have fought in the labour movement for such manifesto demands as the opening of the books of capitalist firms or the "sliding scale of wages and hours".

Their record in practice makes a mockery of the slogan "a vote for this programme is a vote for principle".

'Participation'

Rather the WRP's practical record in the unions over the last five years insofar as it exists includes the support given by Central Committee member Tom White to the reactionary 'workers' participation' set-up in British Leyland, and WRP attempts to sabotage the successful TGWU campaign against the bureaucrats witch-hunting the 'Cowley 9'.

And on an international level the WRP's cringing subservience to petty bourgeois nationalist regimes in the Middle East is revealed in the manifesto's call for solidarity with not only the freedom fighters of the PLO and the revolutionary Arab masses of the Middle East, but also, astonishingly the dictatorships of "Iraq, the Libyan Jamahiriyah and Syria".

The WRP has no basis on which it can offer workers the chance to vote for principle.

Instead all they offer them is the chance to vote for a propaganda machine that speaks for the anti-communist butchers of the Iraqi Ba'ath Socialist Party.



Healy

PRESS GANG



A picture of Sir Robert Mark, stern jawed and unsmiling, headed the top of the *Daily Mail* front page.

Despite his current civilian status, the picture showed him in his police uniform and cropped wide enough to include two rows of insignia on his chest. He looked across the page as a man with a vision.

Several pages later readers of the *Daily Mail* would have learned that it believed Mark was "overstating the case".

That official line—the exact formal position of the Tories—was belied by the display on page one.

Picked out in striking bold letters alongside his picture was the statement:

"Unions and the Government... not unlike the way the Nazi Party seized power"

The *Daily Mail* does not often sustain a story of longer than 300 words—the best lies are short and simple, but the ex-police chief's outburst, overstating the case or not, ran over from page one to fill half of page two with densely packed type.

The Tory Party does not intend to spend the election period in issuing statements in the Mark mould but neither they nor the *Mail* can be embarrassed by his article in the 'Security Gazette'.

Mark, Lord Denning (who made his own headlines later in the week) and the *Daily Mail* are three arms of the capitalist state, and the Tory Party is their party.

If the *Daily Mail* and Thatcher think it unwise to campaign on slogans which liken the labour movement to Hitler's Nazis, that is only a tactical question.

The *Mail's* laudatory treatment of Mark's article (written in his own words for "Generals, judges, surgeons, managing directors of large companies and even senior policemen") demonstrates support, and even in Fleet Street the *Mail* is known as the house journal of the Tory Party.

The press campaign against the Leyland skilled workers' strike has been remarkable in its intensity, even by the own high

standards it set itself.

One example towards the end of the strike was a front page article in the *Daily Telegraph* which claimed that:

"a grass roots revolt by British Leyland workers demanding the right to work" at the Cowley Body Plant had been launched against the strike.

The article was reporting the attempt by Leyland management to abolish the 'spiv day' at the plant in which by tradition Leyland workers have taken a day's unpaid holiday at the end of the Easter break.

The move to get workers in was launched before the craft strike began, and was nothing whatsoever to do with that strike.

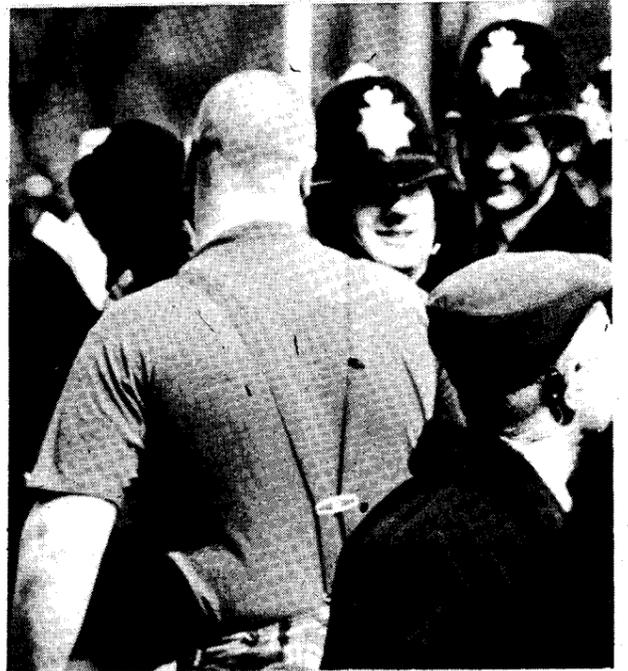
It was notable only for the fact that less than half the workers in the Body Plant responded despite the best efforts of management and union leadership.

That did not prevent the *Telegraph* stating that those handful who went into work had done so "in defiance of calls from Mr Roy Fraser, self-styled leader of the British Leyland United Craft Organisation."

STILL AVAILABLE



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NF members frisked by police on arrival at the march assembly point

LEICESTER: A SETBACK FOR THE FRONT



Fascists arriving for the rally in coaches

The National Front's much publicised march through Leicester last Saturday turned into a set-back as big as the one they received at Lewisham in a battle which seriously undermined their support nationally.

350-400 fascists from various parts of the country, protected by a massive deployment of 5,000 police faced 3,000 anti-fascists deployed throughout the city.

The front suffered their biggest attack a few hundred yards after the start of the march.

Hail of bricks

As they drew level with a demolition site, the front sections were cut down by a hail of bricks from anti-fascists behind hoardings.

This attack produced a prompt decision by the police—directed from above by helicopter—to redirect the march by the shortest route to the school where the front planned to hold their meeting.

Clashes on the way culminated in a confrontation between anti-fascists and police in the university area, where the NF meeting was being held.

Frequent charges by the police resulted in 35 arrests—although the police seemed more interested in beating people up than arresting them.

At one point dogs were set on the anti-fascists and at another point police drove cars and motor bikes at high speed into the crowds.

Earlier the tactic of the police had been thwarted when the vast majority of anti-fascists refused to follow the official policy of the pacifist Anti Nazi League.

ANL leaders had called on supporters to assemble at

Victoria Park—a mile or so from the city centre—and then go on a protest march to an ANL Carnival, sited well away from the NF.

The police plan was to allow the demonstrators to assemble at Victoria Park and then cordon it off from the city centre.

But when they carried out this plan only about 400 ANL supporters were caught behind the cordon—the rest had travelled directly to the city centre.

Another group of about 500 which also assembled at Victoria Park organised by the Leicester Community Relations Council—comprising mostly liberals and the Indian Workers Association—did march off under the banner of "unity" away from the National Front on a futile protest march.

The success of the anti-fascist action shows the importance of confronting the NF on the streets.

It also demonstrates the bankruptcy of the ANL policy which—had it been followed—would have allowed the National Front fascists to march unchallenged through the streets of Leicester.

The Workers Socialist League has consistently argued that the central issue is the fight to mobilise every workplace, factory, working class estate, political and trade union body and immigrant community in united defence squads trained to combat the fascists.

If any of the ANL dignitaries or the organisations involved in the ANL would fight for such a policy the WSL would fight alongside them on this question.

This, in our view, must be combined with the struggle to remove the right wing Labour leader—whose treachery has opened the door to the fascists—and building a revolutionary party capable of fighting the Labour and TUC traitors.

A special Socialist Press Report



Pictures by Socialist Press photographer



Socialist Youth League contingent on recent demonstration against the SUS law



POLICE VENDETTA AGAINST BLACKS

"Merlyn Rees, Home Secretary . . . told reporters at the opening of the Brick Lane police station (1978) that a senior officer had been sent to Bangladesh to find out the historical reasons for the distrust between the East End's Bengalis and the police force." (p.66)

It is difficult to believe that any police officer, let alone Merlyn Rees, could believe that this action would be remotely useful in sorting out the 'problem of deteriorating relations between the police and black people.

For it is clear from the evidence gathered in this pamphlet that the deteriorating relations between the police and black people result entirely from the direct experience of the black community with the so-called 'forces of law and order'.

Discrimination

In hundreds of examples the pamphlet shows that the black community is subject to continual discrimination and harassment by the police.

The format of the pamphlet is a systematic examination of all the areas in which black people experience police action with recommendations for change following each section.

Before we return to examine these recommendations in detail it is impor-

tant to give something of the flavour of the information on which those recommendations are based.

The pamphlet is divided into four broad areas—police powers and the black community; police powers and the black individual; prosecution and conviction; and police accountability.

In the first section evidence is given which details the vast concentration of police forces in black areas—especially at events such as the Notting Hill Carnival, black meeting places and black localities generally.

Weakness

Emphasis is given to the activities of the Special Patrol Group and the Illegal Immigration control unit.

The weaknesses in the pamphlet—which will become clearer when we deal with recommendations—are hinted at in the following formulation. . . "The SPG has changed from its original function as a *police support anti-crime unit* to a *police commando unit* conducting indiscriminate stop and search activities in these 'high crime' areas and for use against demonstrations and pickets. . ." Quite obviously this 'change' was one from the original *stated* function.

The pamphlet shows that total numbers of those stopped by the SPG and those arrested are quite different.

	Stopped	Arrested
1972	41,980	3,142
1973	34,534	3,339
1974	41,304	3,262
1975	65,628	4,125
1976	60,898	3,773

It would have been useful if the figures for convictions had been given although as we shall see there is little correlation between guilt and conviction.

Many individual examples of SPG activity are given—too many to quote here.

The Illegal Immigration Intelligence Unit (IIU) was set up in 1972 in the wake of the 1971 Immigration Act which came into force at the beginning of 1973 and 'gave police and immigration officers new powers of arrest (without warrant) and detention.'

Since that time the black community has been subject to widespread, random raids and passport checks.

The IIU (set up without reference to Parliament) has organised 'passport raids' on black communities and supplied information to local forces, e.g. "on October 11th 1973. . . in the East End of London where at least 10 premises were entered and more than 50 black people were taken to Leman Street police station. 14 of these were detained, 10 later being released when their right to be in this country had been established" (p.15).

Passport checks

"Passport checks by the police in Birmingham also in October 1973 led to the report that hundreds of immigrants in the Midlands planned to carry their passports around with them to give them 'protection from the police'" (p.15).

These mass raids often follow the pretext of inves-

tigation of one particular crime and lead to many charges for others.

The mass actions allow the police to gather large amounts of information on those who have committed no crime and have been charged with no crime. This enables detailed surveillance of those 'suspected of being illegal immigrants or overstayers'. The New Scientist January 1979 claims that "It is estimated that the names of some 15,700 'suspected' illegal entrants are held on the new Home Office computer".

Amnesties

One important area of the Immigration Act which could have been given more detailed treatment in the pamphlet is the double-edged nature of the two amnesties for illegal entrants which have been used to gather more information. Many who came forward were told they did not qualify and were deported.

The second part of the first section outlines police unwillingness to afford protection, refusal to recognise a racial dimension to attacks, delay in responding to appeals for help, unwillingness to investigate and prosecute attackers, hostility to complainants and treatment of the victim as the aggressor.

It also emphasises the fact that a common practice is to tell blacks who have been attacked that they themselves should seek out the culprits—sometimes with dangerous results.

"Recently a Newham case has served to highlight

just how dangerous and inappropriate is the advice of police who advocate that victims of attacks should catch the culprits or take out a private summons.

"An Asian family was repeatedly abused and attacked. The police said that they could do nothing without evidence as to the perpetrators of the attacks.

"On October 22 1978 the father, Mr A., managed to catch one of the boys red-handed, as the police had suggested. His wife then phoned for them. But before they arrived the father of the boy approached Mr A's house with a knife and a dog, broke down the front door and abused the family.

"When the police arrived they accepted the white man's version (ignoring who had in fact summoned them and the obvious damage to the house) that this boy, a minor, had been assaulted by Mr A. without any provocation.

"The Asian was arrested and charged. A week later he was badly beaten up on his own doorstep by white neighbours.

"Although he recognised one of the attackers, the police were unwilling to prosecute, claiming that the attack was merely a domestic dispute between neighbours and therefore a private summons was more appropriate."

Arbitrary arrest

The second section deals with police powers and the black individual in which further examples are given of arbitrary arrest, violence on arrest, treatment of

juveniles and school-children, witnesses and bystanders, the practice of repeated arrest and the harassment of black families at home and on their business premises.

An important part of this section is given over to the 'sus' laws and the use of the 1971 Immigration Act.

Under Section 4 of the 1824 Vagrancy Act anyone can be arrested 'on suspicion' of loitering with intent to commit an arrestable offence.

PHOTO: Andrew Ward, Report



Under the 1971 Immigration Act the police have been given extra powers of arrest and deten-



PHOTO: John Smith, IFL



PHOTO: Mark Risher, IFL

Picket of Camberwell Magistrates Court in support of Kim Gordon, black militant victimised by police for his anti-fascist work in South East London

observation of the accused was impossible from the position stated by the police.

Action taken under the Immigration Act often arises out of incidents which are nothing to do with illegal entrance.

"In 1978 KS, an Asian and a member of a local anti-racist group was assaulted by an NF member while on a demonstration. He was arrested and detained by police for six hours as a suspected illegal immigrant. He claimed he was subsequently summoned to the Home Office to explain why he had been on a political demonstration. Ultimately he was fined £25 for obstruction" (p.43).

Flouting of rights

Once inside a police station the way is open for even more unfettered harassment—the pamphlet details the flouting of the right of juveniles to be interviewed with a parent or responsible adult present, the violence and abuse meted out by the police, the forced confessions...

For example "... 19 year old SK who 'confessed at Ealing police station to stealing £50. Later the money was found by the man's employer, he had banked it.'; the fabricated evidence, 'In a recent West End 'sus' case, police who claimed to have kept two boys under observation for 20 minutes were proved liars by the times shown on the boys' clocking out cards'.

Black people are also the victims of police assumptions about character.

"Mrs LA aged 47 was treated by the police who found her collapsed on a bus and assumed her to be drunk or drugged. She was shut in a cell for two hours before a doctor attended her; he diagnosed a brain haemorrhage."

Identification

Finger-printing and photographing under pressure with no control over the destruction of this information, lengthy detention before charging and misidentification are other questions dealt with in this section.

Identification is, of course, widely open to abuse but for black people the dangers are greater. An experiment in Bristol showed that even police with considerable experience of work in black areas were twice as likely to misidentify black people as white.

However, there are also many examples of what are

clearly conscious attempts to secure convictions through making identification easier.

"... in Glasgow in 1977 a black school student was found guilty of rape. He had taken part in an identity parade in which he was the only black present." (p.56).

Throughout the pamphlet examples are given of how extra charges are often added by the police in particular cases—often these charges arise out of the way in which the police go about dealing with black people. There is also a tendency to exaggerate the offence (and thus increase the seriousness of the charge) or to bring frivolous charges (e.g. virtually anything including a comb can be an "offensive weapon").

Charges of 'rioting' were brought in the Mangrove case to intensify what was a political attack on the black community.

The pamphlet also notes the trend towards use of conspiracy charges which are easier to 'prove' and can

there is a clear tendency for heavier conditions to be imposed on black than on white youth involved in similar situations.

The pamphlet charges the police with using remand to allow time for police-inflicted injuries to heal and for more intensive harassment of defendants.

Accountability

The final section deals with Police Accountability.

At present the only element of accountability is the Community Liaison Officer. The pamphlet gives evidence that the police regard their own CLO's with cynicism—attempting little co-operation with community liaison organisations supposedly set up to improve relations with the black communities.

The police authorities also make it clear that the political/racial views of police officers are not relevant as far as they are concerned.

The evidence gathered in the pamphlet leans heavily



PHOTO: Andrew Ward, Report

Wolverhampton demonstration against NF and the police

carry a heavier sentence.

Examples are also given of convictions gained on ludicrous evidence including one where the supposed subject of the robbery denied having been robbed and refused to testify.

It is also clear that black people in particular suffer at the remand stage of their cases.

Police recommendations on bail conditions carry much weight with magistrates.

The police have used bail to 'bribe' black people to agree to finger-printing or to make a 'voluntary' statement. "In a recent 'sus' case a defendant, of good character and background, was remanded in custody for three weeks before being granted bail".

Even when bail is granted

on quoted sources and page 68 has a selected bibliography of useful publications. It is, however, a limited list and more could have been added thus expanding the usefulness of the publication.

It should also be said that the impact suffers somewhat from the format in which the evidence is presented.

While it is perhaps inevitable that an attempt to cover such detail in the space of 68 pages results in a certain bitterness the overall effect could perhaps have been strengthened by taking one case, presenting all its details and systematically listing the points it illustrates.

This could have been done as an appendix.

However, in general the pamphlet is an extremely useful weapon for those wishing to find the collected evidence of police harassment of black people.

"Shortcomings"

The problems arise when the IRR tries to put forward ways of dealing with what it evidently sees as the shortcomings of the police.

We will deal with each set of recommendations in turn. First those on page 18:

"(i) Having looked at the evidence of SPG activities over the past five years, our conclusion is that their employment in areas where there is a large black population is highly provocative and counter-productive to their alleged aims (to reduce crimes) and that they should, at least, cease to operate in these areas, at best be altogether disbanded".

Despite the fact that the pamphlet notes the use of the SPG on demonstrations and in industrial disputes the relationship between this and its use against black people is not understood—resulting in proposals that it keeps out of the black communities or is 'at best', disbanded.

When Socialist Press calls for the disbanding of the SPG we do so not only in the knowledge that it is the spearhead of attacks by the state on the black community and the working class in general but also that the call for its disbanding must be the first step in the fight to disband the police force altogether.

"(2) The policy of 'fire-brigading' (a strategy whereby most officers patrol in cars backed by a central mobile reserve so that any trouble spot can be dealt with quickly and in force) should be reversed or at least employed far more judiciously and selectively and a return made to foot patrolling on the beat."

Again the whole direction of this is to ask the police to be softer.

It is recommendations (3) and (4) that show the totally reformist nature of the recommendations.

"The powers of arrest and detention given to the police and immigration officers under the Immigration Act 1971 should be repealed" and "The Illegal Immigration Intelligence Unit should be disbanded."

The drive by the police and racist groups against black people cannot be fought by tinkering with immigration laws. While a question mark hangs over the right of any section of the population to be here there will be plenty of excuses for continuing harassment.

The only attitude that should be taken to the Immigration Act 1971 is that it should be repealed as a whole.

On page 29 the IRR return to the theme of improving the police. Instead of calling for racial violence to be treated as a category of crime as the IRR does there should be a serious campaign for the ending of racial violence through the formation of defence squads.

Abolish SUS

Instead of asking the police to be more responsive anti-racists who use this pamphlet should argue for labour movement/black community-organised centres where help can be quickly gained against racist attacks.

On page 44 the IRR puts forward two demands which make the rights of the individual more clear—the

distribution of rights on arrest cards by the Home Office and the demand that search warrants should be under statutory control and obtainable from a magistrate only.

The demand for partial repeal of the Immigration Act is repeated but there is also the important demand for the abolition of Section 4 of the 1824 Vagrancy Act.

On page 57 there are ten recommendations on changes in police practice at police stations.

These include giving the Judges Rules the force of law, making verbal admissions alone insufficient bases for the bringing of cases to court, presence of a solicitor when any statement is signed, statutory right to medical examination, immediate contact with parents or guardians or juveniles held in custody, discontinuing of identification parades, 'dock identification' and 'confrontation' procedures.

It is also suggested that 'specially appointed panels' should do spot checks on police stations to ensure these procedures are being kept to.

Labour movement

Control of police abuses must start from the independent organisation of the labour movement and black communities—not from vague notions of 'independent' bodies.

The dead-end of the reformist approach to the police is shown by the demand that fingerprints should be destroyed if charges are not brought or lesser charges are.

While we can demand that no files of this sort are kept there is no way of making sure they aren't. We have to point to the files of the police but recognise that even if it were announced they had been destroyed they would not have been.

The capitalist state requires these files and it will keep them until the state itself is destroyed.

On page 64 there is further confusion with the demand that charging be taken out of the hands of the police—who should charge people is left open.

Two correct demands here are the abolition of the use of general charges such as 'conspiracy' and 'riot' and that cases brought on the uncorroborated evidence of two police officers alone should be dismissed.

The final recommendations on page 68 call for the abolition of police structures to improve police/black relations and for police training and education to include materials on racism and the black experience in Britain.

Here we can see graphically the dead end into which the IRR wishes to turn anti-racists.

"Self-reform"

Some of the procedures suggested in the pamphlet are useful but the main thrust is towards police self-reform. The real answer to police racism is the independent mobilisation of the labour movement alongside the black community to fight the sort of cases listed in the pamphlet.

The answer to racism is workers self defence, the abolition of immigration controls and the fight for a socialist programme.

The evidence in this pamphlet will aid that fight—the recommendations will harm it. Buy this pamphlet, use it but don't be taken in by the recommendations.

Keith White reviews *Police Against Black People*, evidence submitted to the Royal Commission on Criminal Procedure by the Institute of Race Relations. Race and class pamphlet number price 95p, published by the Institute of Race Relations.

The important thing about both of these is that the onus is on the suspect to prove his innocence, or his right of residency. A black person is automatically under suspicion. It is virtually impossible to get round a 'sus' charge. For example, "Out of 34 'sus' cases dealt with by Iltham Forest Community Relations Council between January 1977 and October 1978 only one example of acquittal was known"—



Rees

this was because of the magistrate's special knowledge of the area which led to acknowledge that

FIGHTING TO SAVE ST. MARY'S

PHOTO: Angela Phillips, IFL



Inside the EGA occupation

have to continue to fight just as we have fought before.

The situation can only change for the worse. The present Labour government has created the present situation and the Tories promise to continue it.

I have not heard of any platform saying public expenditure on the NHS will be increased.

What advice on voting would you give to other hospital workers?

As a socialist I can only call for the return of a Labour government in this situation, but not for the return of Callaghan, Healey and so on.

We must vote to put a Labour government in power with a new leadership.

Battle plans are being drawn, of course, in anticipation of a Tory government, because the Tories threaten to further shackle the unions and intensify the use of the state to stop the resistance of workers fighting cuts, low pay, unemployment.

Arthur Latham has given the hospital campaign verbal support from the beginning.

At the hospital mass meeting what did he say about his plans to support the campaign when he is re-elected?

At the meeting he made purely an election speech. He mentioned his support and said he was one of five Labour MPs who had voted against the government.

He did not say how often he had voted for the government, or, for example, what he had done for the low pay battle.

He was challenged by a Socialist Press supporter to say exactly how he would fight to get rid of the Callaghan-Healey leadership. The question was never answered.

What part have the various left political groups played in the hospital campaign?

I want to say the Workers Socialist League members and supporters have used their experience of other campaigns, like the EGA, to strengthen the fight within the hospital and build the confidence of the hospital workers.

They have at every stage fought to direct our efforts into the organised labour movement.

As for the other 'left' parties, they have given us only patronage and propaganda.

The WRP and the Militant for example, simply turn up to sell their papers.

The other groups, including the Communist Party, which dominates the local trades council, has so far given only token support.

Socialist Press talks to Joe Beckles, Secretary of the St. Mary's Hospital Defence Committee and of St. Mary's Hospital Transport and General Workers Union Branch.

The Kensington, Chelsea and Westminster Area Health Authority has recently issued a statement that St. Mary's Hospital in Harrow Road has now been relieved as a result of the pressure from the trade unions and the public. Is this true?

The AHA statement is deliberately designed to mislead the public and the workers at the hospital.

The real effect of the AHA decision on 11 April is that full authority has now been given for the present 400-bed general hospital to be run down to 100 non-acute beds, and from the present 16 acres to a probable two acre 'community' hospital.

And, of course, while the destruction of the present facilities is definite there is no guarantee that the 'community' hospital will ever become a reality.

The questionnaire did not present as an alternative the upgrading of both the St. Mary's hospitals on their present sites.

In other words they put the cash question first and the needs of the local people second.

By this device the CHC and the AHA were able to say that the public had 'chosen' to close St. Mary's as it now was and replace it with a so-called 'community' hospital.

Right up to the AHA meeting at which the AHA adopted the CHC scheme, the details of the proposal were never made available to the workers in the hospital or the general community.

We only discovered the extent of the CHCs betrayal by attending the Health Authority meeting.

As well as the CHC, some supporters of the campaign to keep your hospital open advocated the drawing up of an 'alternative plan'.

On the other hand Socialist Press supporters have from the start advocated a labour movement investigation to establish the need for improved health facilities. What are your views on this now?

The 'alternative plan' idea was clearly a mistake, a diversion that the CHC and the AHA have been able to use.

Neither the CHC nor the Campaign has ever had access to the information necessary to prepare a detailed plan for better health services in this Area.

The District Joint Shop Stewards Committee tried to negotiate with the administrators for the basic information necessary just to monitor the extent to which the health services were already being run down. Of course, we were never given it.

I think that our own enquiry is now essential in order to give an answer to the lies of the CHC that will have the full authority of the organised labour movement.

The CHC surveyed only about a thousand people; the labour movement represents many thousands more.

This initiative would seek to draw in representatives of ambulancemen, the Emergency Bed Service, railwaymen, postmen, tenants' organisations, local political organisations and so on.

Many of these have already expressed their support for our



St. Mary's workers on the giant November 17, 1976 cuts demonstration

campaign.

Since all these organisations are firmly rooted in the working class, they would not start from the assumption that the priority is to save money.

I think we should also try to bring in representatives of the unions in the drug, chemical, food and oil supply industries to show the huge profits made by these private companies at the expense of the NHS.

How do you think the AHA decision to accept the CHC document will effect the immediate situation in the hospital?

The process of run-down will be stepped-up.

We already have closures of wards, non-replacement of equipment, non-replacement of staff, overtime cuts.

Heads of Department have been told they must save at all costs by axing posts.

Maintenance will not be done. Health and safety codes will be ignored.

The shop stewards have submitted a list of demands by the porters, like fixing broken steps and broken windows.

But we have been told there is no money.

The management has recently refused to replace a man who retired three months ago who was employed to deal with the drains and wastage. There is a stench and flies in areas where swill is left.

The CHC has now provided the excuse for the AHA to go viciously ahead.

What steps are you now taking to deal with the new situation?

Obviously this makes the role of the Hospital Defence Committee even more crucial. The most important thing in

any hospital fight is to get the support of the staff.

We have now to fight a certain amount of demoralisation. The trade unions in the hospital have already begun to consolidate their forces and resolve some outstanding problems.

We will have to keep a day by day, minute by minute watch against all signs of erosion.

After the AHA meeting on 11 April we held a mass meeting supported by the TGWU, NUPE and GMWU, to report back on what had happened.

The speakers included Arthur Latham MP. The unanimous decision of the meeting, which included many nurses, was to oppose the CHC plan and continue the battle against the run-down of the hospital.

Following that, the Hospital Defence Committee will meet on Monday, 23 April and the District Joint Shop Stewards Committee on Wednesday 25 April to draw up plans.

We have issued a press statement refuting the AHA's lies and we will almost certainly hold another public meeting and produce a new mass distribution leaflet.

Our main objective must be to build up morale and persuade all the hospital staff to refuse to co-operate with the administration in running down the hospital.

It will be necessary to prepare for the possibility of a full-scale occupation at some point—very serious plans have to be made for this.

The trade unions obviously have a leading role to play. We will have to work for support from the other hospital, including strike action, as well as from the local railway men, post office workers, London Transport workers and so on.

What role has the local Community Health Council played in this shabby confidence trick?

The trade unions in the hospital initiated the campaign to oppose the original plan, which was to run-down and close St. Mary's in Harrow Road, supposedly to provide the funds to run a new prestigious rebuilt hospital on the site of the other St. Mary's, a mile away in Praed Street.

We held a public meeting at Oakington school on 12 September 1978 attended by about 300 people.

There was massive opposition to the scheme, which would further deprive the local working class community of essential services.

From that meeting we set up the Save St. Mary's Hospital Campaign.

It was the success of this campaign that forced the CHC to oppose the AHA scheme, and this held back the local District Management Team from going ahead with their full-scale run-down.

The AHA was compelled to extend the consultation period.

From that time onwards the CHC has acted totally as a willing tool of the health authorities.

They issued a questionnaire that was supposed to enable an 'alternative' plan to be devised.

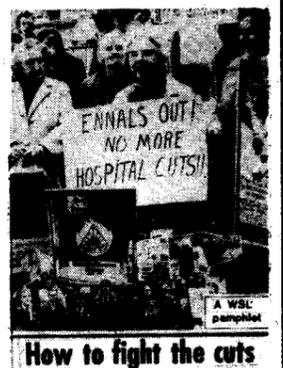
The questionnaire asked a sample of the local community to choose the least of three evils.

Each of the three alternatives spelled-out was designed to keep expenditure within the government's severe restraints.

How to fight the cuts

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

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



How to fight the cuts

US Appeals Court rules FBI above the law

By John Lister

The dramatic five year struggle by the US Socialist Workers Party to gain access to evidence of illegal activity by FBI informers, including those within the Party's ranks, now stands at the crossroads.

The present stage of development starkly indicates the political weaknesses in the SWP's mammoth \$40 million lawsuit against the government for harassment and disruption of the Party.

On March 19 a Court of Appeals ruling unanimously overturned a July 6, 1978 order by Judge Thomas Griesa instructing Carter's Attorney General Griffin Bell to hand over files on eighteen of the 1,300 informers the FBI has admitted using in its illicit surveillance of the SWP.

Supreme Court

This means that the fight to force the FBI to release these files is once again delayed, and has to be pursued in the Supreme Court.

But the SWP has simultaneously taken two other initiatives which, if successful, could undercut their Supreme Court appeal, and end up with the eighteen files consigned safely back to the vaults of the FBI's dirty tricks department.

On the one hand SWP lawyers have requested Judge Griesa to appoint a special officer of the court to go through all 1,300 informer files and, sift out information that would reveal the identities of the FBI's stool pigeons, to present a public report on the illegal activities documented in the files.

While this would doubtless produce an impressive catalogue of the FBI's organised crime, it would also seriously

question whether the full files on the eighteen informants need ever be released.

On the other hand the SWP on March 23 staged a news conference outlining a proposal to the Justice Department to settle the lawsuit on the basis of an injunction against illegal surveillance, harassment, infiltration and sabotage of the SWP and its activities, a declaration of the SWP's legal status, and \$5 million in damages.

Serious

It is obvious that were the Carter administration to settle on this basis, then the chances of a Supreme Court ruling prising out the FBI files on the eighteen informants would be remote.

SWP spokesmen Larry Seigle, outlining the Party's proposed settlement, stressed that the leadership regard it as "reasonable and serious...and we think the government should accept it".

Condemning the Court of Appeal ruling, Seigle went on to suggest that it had a 'good' side, in that:

"by letting the government off the hook on the question of the identities of the eighteen informers, which is a secondary issue in its case, clears the way for a settlement of the central issues." (SWP Militant April 6)

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

Contempt of Court

In his determination to conceal the eighteen files, Griffin Bell, the highest law enforcement officer in the USA, has consciously placed

himself in contempt of court—and now achieved a Court of Appeals ruling that effectively places him and the FBI above the law of the land.

While this remains the situation, there is no value whatever in the SWP obtaining a court injunction debaring the FBI from its prolonged campaign of spying.

Such a settlement would amount to little more than an opportunist truce. But the Carter regime seems unwilling to clutch such an olive branch which, for all its merits from their standpoint, would still amount to a major setback to the sustained war of attrition waged by the US capitalist state machinery against left wing and radical movements.

This State offensive has been on a massive scale. Information on illicit operations released during the five year lawsuit now amounts to 100,000 pages of FBI and other documents—some of which have been published in the book *Cointelpra: the FBI's Secret War on Political Freedom*.

As SWP leader George Novack summarised:

"The suit has uncovered authenticated proofs of FBI burglaries; spying on the plaintiffs as well as on Black, anti-war, women's and Chicano movements' activities, poison-pen letters; agent "visits" to landlords, employers, and relatives, leading to loss of jobs and housing; conniving with administrators to get college and school teachers fired; agency attempts to foment dissension within and among their target groups; the use of hundreds of informers to spy on people, steal records and instigate provocations." (Militant, July 14, 1978)

This huge operation is admitted to have cost at least \$1.68 million dollars simply in regular pay-offs to the FBI's



I can't take it anymore . . . the burglaries . . . the break-ins . . . running from the cops . . . hiding out in flea-ridden motels . . . Charlie, you've got to quit the FBI.

network of 1,300 marks and fingermen within and around the SWP.

This does not count the special bonuses that would be paid out for break-ins and special provocations, or the cost of illegal phone-tapping, mail tampering and more elaborate stage managed disruptions.

Judge Griesa has made clear in his ruling of June 30, 1978 that:

"The FBI informant files undoubtedly constitute the most important body of evidence in this case, recording in immense detail the activities of the informants and the instructions by the FBI to the informants".

Judge Griesa went on: "The documents show FBI plans to place informants within the SWP and YSA to split the organisation structure and foment dissent.

"According to the documents, the FBI interfered with travel reservations of members, took steps to cause speaker hall rentals to be cancelled, and circulated false information about the times and places of meetings.

"The documents show that the FBI caused local law enforcement officers to make arrests and break up functions, not for the purpose of assisting in the enforcement of local laws, but for the purpose of disrupting the SWP and YSA.

"In one instance the FBI arranged for a raid of a SWP summer camp for alleged state law violations, and considered it a success when the SWP was forced to sell the camp property . . .

"It appears that in some cases informants directly participated in the carrying out of disruption activities.

"In other instances the informants furnished the FBI with information which enabled regular agents of the FBI to conduct the disruption activities.

"The observations of the informants assisted the FBI in assessing the success or failure of disruption activities."

To force such information, and much more from the files of the secret political police of the US capitalist state is without doubt a major achievement of the SWP lawsuit.

Raw nerve

And there is no doubt that in pressing the demand for the release of eighteen selected, unexpurgated informer files—a total of some 25 drawers full of raw reports—the SWP campaign has touched the rawest nerves in the capitalist state.

Defence Attorney Fiske has admitted that the government would sooner surrender the whole case—involving payment of the SWP's demanded \$40 million damages—than release the files.

He likened the government's position to that of a firm faced with the dilemma of either revealing its "trade secrets" or else losing a court action. But of course the FBI's "trade secrets" are its illegal violations of democratic rights in the USA!

Griffin Bell has stood firm on his contempt of Griesa's court order, in the face of a major legal and constitutional crisis sooner than part with the information.

As a result, the whole affair has now on at least two occasions hit the headlines of the capitalist press throughout the USA, highlighting the role of the FBI.

Shortcomings

But along with this historic success in putting the forces of repression onto the defensive, the SWP has also demonstrated the shortcomings of its own political method.

The matter has been energetically pursued through the apparatus of the courts—but only in the most superficial and ineffective way has it been taken into the organised US labour movement.

While US radical leaders, feminists and prominent personalities have as usual come forward to put their names to the SWP campaign which they see simply as a 'civil rights' issue, precious few trade unionists have featured even as celebrity platform speakers.

And the major events of the last 12 months have brought no evidence whatever of attempts by the SWP to raise the campaign and fight for support for it within trade union locals.

Thus, despite the fine words of SWP National Secretary Jack Barnes about 'leading the Party into the working class', there has been little, if any, serious attempt to mobilise the workers' movement in support of the SWP's correct demands for the release of the files.

Deportation

There is a parallel here with the continuing struggle by the SWP to prevent the deportation of Mexican socialist Hector Marroquin—a struggle which only recently gained the support of its first major union local.

Though there is nothing unprincipled in the technique of using a lawsuit to expose the class nature of justice under capitalism, the restrictions that exist on workers' democratic rights, and the naked machinery of state repression, the SWP's petty bourgeois method of protest politics has stripped the campaign of many of its teeth.

Going through the legal motions of fighting for democratic rights and meeting the rebuffs and setbacks inflicted by the capitalist state has significance only insofar as it forms the centre of a campaign within the working class, the goal of which is not primarily a legalistic "vindication" of the SWP or the winning of hefty sums in damages, but the education of militant workers as to the nature of class justice.

Reinforcing illusions

But the SWP's bid for a settlement with the government offers no such education.

Rather it reinforces the worst "democratic" illusions in

the working class.

For if a party describing itself as "revolutionary" shows itself to be prepared to settle a lawsuit for a cash sum plus a meaningless paper assurance from the villains of the past that their illegal activity will cease in the future, then what, if any, lessons are to be learned by workers from the whole experience?

At best militants and radicals would wrongly see such an outcome as proof that democratic rights can be protected through court action, legal wrangles and reforms within the capitalist system—all the more so if such activities take place in isolation from any attempt to involve the organised working class.

In our view the key lessons can only be learned if the SWP breaks from the reformist notion that their damages claim and the demand for an injunction against FBI spying is the "central issue", and recognises that the crucial question now is to mobilise in order to take into every trade union local, committee and conference the implications of the Court of Appeal ruling that has exempted Attorney General Griffin Bell and the entire FBI from the rule of law.

Essential agitation

This agitation is essential as preparation for a full scale fight against this ruling in the Supreme Court.

A labour movement conference on the issue should be considered or local initiatives to commit union locals to active involvement.

Rather than seeking any kind of settlement with the capitalist state, the SWP should be seeking means of exposing more clearly to workers that this repressive state machinery, supported by both Republican and Democratic parties, can be defeated only through the construction of a Labour Party based on the organised strength of the trade union movement with the task of representing workers' independent interests.

Opportunist

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

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



SWP members demonstrate outside the court: trade unions scarcely mobilised at all

INDUSTRIAL NEWS

Times bosses bet on Tory return

Gambling on the imminent return of a Tory Government, the management of Times Newspapers have announced plans to launch a loss-making weekly edition of the *Times* for international circulation.

Such a desperate step—offering a circulation of only around 30,000 copies (hardly that of a smallish local paper) at huge expense—must be seen as purely transitional to further steps in management strategy to break the resistance of Fleet Street unions and force home major attacks on jobs and conditions.

The *Daily Mail* last week quoted a senior Thomson Organisation spokesman in Canada as saying:

"We now have to examine closely our remaining options, which must include printing the paper elsewhere, selling it and the other titles, or backing down to the union demands."

"Since this is a matter of principle for the whole of Fleet Street, we can hardly back down..."

The same spokesman went on to air schemes involving

printing *The Times* in Germany and France and distributing it in Britain through non-union labour.

Such a step would require the aid of a Tory government—but would be an immensely risky operation in view of the prospect of mass resistance by the unions as a whole, and the problems it would cause with the NUJ members who make up the editorial staff.

Meanwhile the NATSOPA clerical chapel has correctly called for picketing the *Times* building to forestall the partial relaunch.

This has been opposed by NGA president Les Dixon, on the grounds that it would disrupt the *Guardian* (printed on *Times* presses).

Yet Dixon, is at the same time appealing to European unions to black the paper he will not picket in Britain!

So far management have been able to call nearly all the shots, aided by total confusion among union leaders.

Times workers must respond to the danger signs now flashing and decide now to occupy the building, demanding full reinstatement of the entire workforce and the restoration of

agreements torn up by management.

Times Newspapers accounts must be opened up to elected trade union committees and the fight taken up to force the firm's nationalisation, without compensation under workers' management.



NGA leader Joe Wade

NUT face further betrayals

The teachers' pay dispute may be referred to arbitration this week and the NUT leaders may well use this as an excuse to call off the "withdrawal of goodwill" due to begin on Thursday.

(The NAS/UWT, the other main teachers' union does not even plan to start its industrial action until 8 May).

Postponed

A betrayal of even the pitiful action planned on pay (see last week's *Socialist Press*) would fall in line with a whole series of decisions of the NUT Easter Conference.

Already action on class sizes has been postponed until September 1980. Max Morris—ex-Stalinist NUT leader—has described this as "a great leap forward".

On racialism all action has been opposed outside attempts to achieve "multi-racial harmony" by adjusting school curricula, etc (fascists can still remain NUT members!)

Further, women who form three-quarters of the NUT membership were



Max Morris

insulted when Alf Budd and Peter Griffin, NUT Executive members opposed a conference motion calling for greater maternity provision with the argument that it failed to mention "wedlock" and gave a "licence to continual fecundity" on the part of women teachers who, it was implied would remain in a state of perpetual pregnancy while drawing their salaries.

Teachers must now step up the fight against the coming betrayal on pay and draw the conclusion that what is needed is an attack on all fronts through the building of a new leadership against every betrayal of the NUT bureaucracy.

Support Garners fight!

Having failed to secure a vote in favour of calling off the strike at a meeting of the Garners strike committee the TGWU Region 1 bureaucracy have now effectively abandoned the strike for the duration of the election.

Their efforts at winding up the strike are likely to resume, however, once the election is over.

The strike committee is pressing ahead in defiance of the sabotage of the Region 1 bureaucrats with the calling of a TGWU delegate conference on June 9 to discuss the policies necessary to win this 15 month long strike.

This initiative must be taken up by TGWU branches who should demand that the Region 1 Committee give official backing to the conference.

The delegate conference also points the way forward for the other, even longer-running strike at Sandersons Forklift truck factory near Skegness, where the local union bureaucracy is also in the process of trying to call off the strike.

*The Garners Strike Committee are proceeding with a further Day of Action on Saturday 5 May. For details contact the strike headquarters, 12/13 Henrietta Street, London WC1.

WHY YOU SHOULD JOIN US

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



workers in struggle to grasp the need for socialist revolution.

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

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

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

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

WHY NOT JOIN US?

Fill in the form below for more details, or approach your local branch, who will gladly supply more information about our programme, policies, and perspectives.

More details

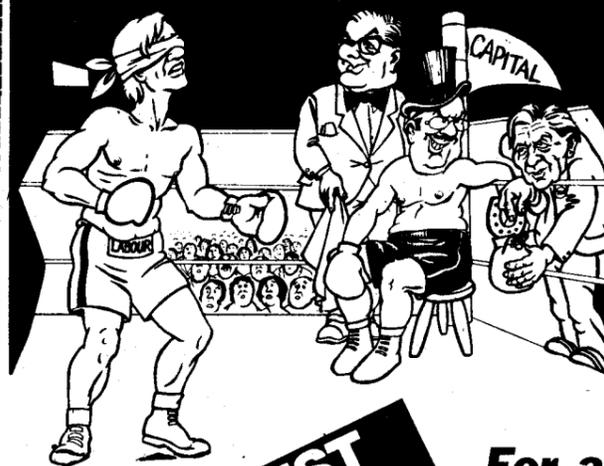
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Send to Workers Socialist League, 31, Dartmouth Park Hill, London NW5 1HR

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'Action' Committee clears way for Speke closure

On Thursday April 19 the Dunlop Speke plant closed as planned, without the slightest opposition from its 2,400 workforce.

The successful closure was the direct outcome of weeks of political manoeuvres by the plant's "Action" Committee, headed by TGWU Executive Council chairman Stan Pemberton.

From the outset the "Action" Committee vigorously opposed and witch-hunted Workers Socialist League leaflets calling for them to adopt a policy of occupying the plant as a central plank of any fight to prevent the closure.

Nor did the Committee dissociate itself from an early statement by TGWU Rubber section official John Miller, conceding in advance that the profit-hungry Dunlop management needed to "streamline the industry and make it more efficient" and that "there would be difficulty in maintaining all 2,400 jobs at Speke".

Stab in back

Instead the Committee prepared its own so-called "Workers' Plan", designed to prove to Dunlop that the Speke plant could be made profitable—at workers' expense.

The plan, published only days before the closure date, was a major stab in the back for those Dunlop workers that had placed faith in the "Action" Committee's talk of saving jobs.

Its proposals involved 1,000 redundancies from the 2,400 workforce, together with a ruthless onslaught on working conditions involving the scrapping of all existing agreements on labour levels, flexibility of working practices, "un-productive" overtime, time-keeping and absenteeism.

Protest stunts

So reactionary was the Plan that it prompted the first open opposition to the "Action" Committee when it was presented by Pemberton to a mass meeting. Three workers got up to demand a fight to defend all jobs at the plant—only to be brushed aside by the platform.

But in preparation for the publication of the Plan, the "Action" Committee had laboured for weeks to soften up and demoralise the Speke workforce with a bewildering series of half-cock and irrelevant protest stunts, and the publication of a news-sheet *Dunlop Spekes* designed to promote the grossest illusions in the

"Action" Committee's capacity to lead a serious fight.

A "community picket" of the Speke plant—including only the tiniest sprinkling of Dunlop workers (who only met each other at weekly mass meetings)—had stood aimlessly outside the gates while "Action" Committee leaders opposed the notion of going inside to occupy.

Futile sit-down

Pemberton led token groups of Dunlop workers and others—never more than 120 at a time—in a series of breathtakingly futile sit-downs in main roads and side streets, while management calmly finalised their closure plans.

The March 29 *Dunlop Spekes* sums up the utter bankruptcy of these protest stunts:

"The lightning lunchtime swoop on Lime Street was, said Stan Pemberton, 'just for starters'. Timed like a military operation, it caught the police on the hop.

"They were expecting the Dunlop platoons in Williamson Square".

In fact they were expecting Pemberton's platoons *anywhere* other than the doomed Dunlop factory! Despite the brave talk about 'this sort of action ... firing the imaginations of Merseysiders', it was only one month later that the plant shut down.

Impotence

As the closure date loomed, the "Action" Committee stepped up its pressure on dockers, airport workers and others—many of them hundreds of miles from Speke—to black Dunlop goods in order to save the factory that they refused to occupy.

It is a measure of the solidarity of many of these sections that they have done so. But with the factory now closed and an unknown number of Speke workers having already taken redundancy pay and given up, it is doubtful how long such action could continue, or what possible effect it could have on Dunlop management, who have no intention of reopening the plant.

For the Speke "Action" Committee to proceed now to picket other Dunlop plants after refusing to fight the closure of their own is a clear statement of the impotence of the leadership that has sold its members down the river.

While Pemberton, whose 43 years in the Speke plant ensure a huge redundancy pay-off may well be able to face defeat with

composure, and will proudly boast of his successful sell-out to his colleagues on the TGWU Executive, most of the Dunlop workforce face a bitter future as a result of this betrayal.

Yet astonishingly *Socialist Worker*, which claims to 'fight for the right to work' has chosen this very point to come out with a eulogy of praise for the "Action" Committee's campaign, which, they say:

"has been an example to all trade unionists. The road blockades and occupations, the regular mass meetings, and the excellent workers' newspaper (!) have built up the morale and confidence of the workforce to fight for every job".

Certainly the Dunlop campaign is an "example": a golden example of how *not* to fight a closure threat.

As for the "excellent workers' newspaper", *Dunlop Spekes* echoed throughout with not only reformist but outright nationalist policies entirely inconsistent with any independent struggle against the employers.

Reactionary

An appalling article in the March 29 issue highlights this. Under the headline "Dunlop Patriotism", an anonymous writer puts forward the following utterly reactionary rubbish:

"The Dunlop directors are traitors to the British people in general and to Merseysiders in particular.

"Oh yes, the directors are British. And yes, they sing *God Save the Queen* with the best of them.

"But all of that is just so much really-mouthed hypocrisy. The only flag to which they owe any allegiance is the one with the sign of the £ on it.

"An extreme view? Not a bit of it.

"In December 1978 Dunlop bragged in their employees' paper that they were spending £6 million on a new tyre plant in Malaysia that would be in production within twelve months.

"In the TEN YEAR period 1968-78 Dunlops have spent only £44 m at Speke.

"You can call that what you want but you'd find it hard to find a word much different from treachery."

There is of course no "British people". There is the ruling, capitalist class, and there is an opposing, exploited working class, which is part of an international working class.

For Dunlop workers to attack their exploiters, the Dunlop employers, for not being sufficiently "patriotic",



Pemberton speaking at 'Action' Committee mass meeting

blurs this essential class division and heads in entirely the wrong direction.

But it fits in with the "Action" Committee's call for import controls to keep out "foreign" tyres and thus foist off the Speke closure onto "foreign" workers, its call for the opening of Dunlop's books to a trade union committee but to a cross-class "public

inquiry" and its failure to call for the nationalisation of the giant Dunlop corporation.

The demands for an end to "foreign investment" and for import controls are so reactionary that they form a major plank of the National Front's electoral platform.

They must be opposed wherever they arise within the workers' movement, and

countered by a principled programme for independent working class action: the occupation of the plant; the opening of the books to a trade union committee; the demand for supporting action to force the nationalisation of Dunlop and other tyre firms and a programme of work sharing on full pay throughout the tyre industry.

Jackson ... FROM BACK PAGE

meetings all over the country have rejected the deal overwhelmingly and often unanimously.

Jackson's dwindling hopes of success now rest partly on the small rural offices (who are relatively less affected by the attacks), and more on the clerical Postal officers and night telephonists who stand to gain

most from the deal.

But these hopes are fading daily before the anger of the members, who have in many areas passed votes of no confidence in, or censure on, the Executive.

Correct as they are, such moves will not in themselves win postal workers the settlement needed to abolish low

wages, the necessity of working overtime and the horrific conditions which dominate the huge, state-controlled Post Office.

Memories of the monumental betrayal of the 1971 strike by Jackson's leadership have demoralised a whole generation of postal workers until now.

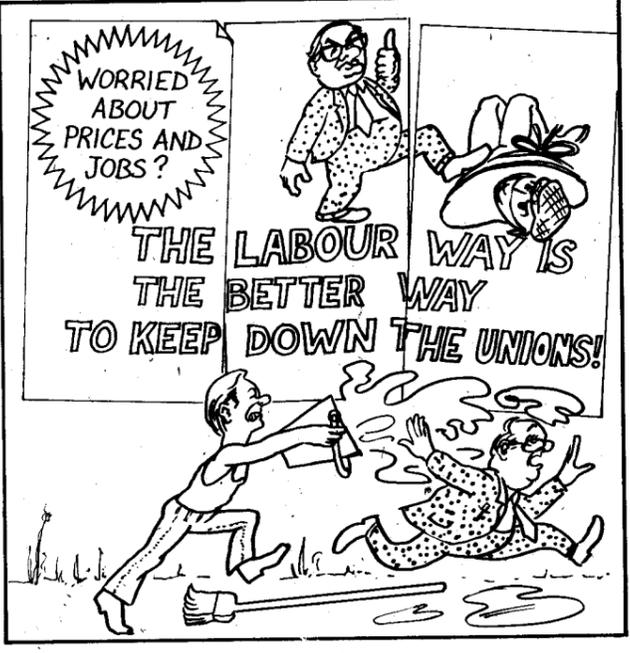
But the pressure of falling real wages and continuing bureaucratic sell-outs is breaking down this barrier.

Workers in London and Liverpool have given a valuable example of the strength which lies in the hands of UPW members.

All-out strike

The UPW claim will not be won by protests, more negotiations or even mass anger.

Only all-out strike action, led by those elements in the union who are prepared to fight for the interests of postal workers, can succeed against the opposition of Jackson's bureaucracy, the management and the wage controls of Callaghan's cabinet or the full-scale attacks on unions of an incoming Tory government.



SOCIALIST PRESS



Daily life in the six counties

BL Craft strike defeat

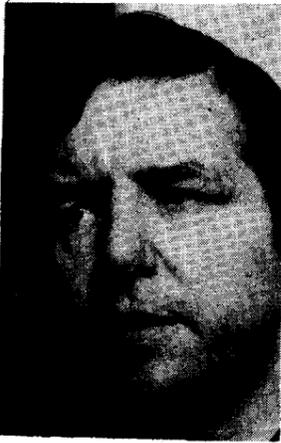


PHOTO: John Shorrocks, Report

Fraser



Edwardes - on attack

With the use of continuous management scabbing and half-promises the Leyland craftsmen's strike has been broken.

The last remaining strikers, at the Cowley Body Plant, who had just voted by 800-10 to continue the strike were ordered back to work on Monday by the Craftsmen's Committee.

The management, in order to get them to return, gave all kinds of different commitments about paying increases that would be due to the craftsmen under the new 'parity' grading structure.

Contentious

But the payments are contingent on the other workers accepting their positions in the grading structure, many of which are contentious.

This is why there is bound to be an offensive by management against the production workers in order to force acceptance.

In this offensive they will hope to use the frustration of the craftsmen against these workers, trying to blame the production workers for the non-payment of increases.

Already toolroom leader Roy Fraser is attacking management for not having "courage and determination" in tackling the question of "craft differentials". He says this in the light of the specific opposition of the TGWU in Cowley to the grading structure.

Blacklegging

Management will be helped in their efforts to deepen this split by the attitude of the leadership of many of the production workers who with the exception of the Cowley Assembly Plant TGWU stewards, have refused to condemn the company blacklegging.

The other decision of the Craftsmen's Committee was to back any of their members if they were victimised. This was specifically in reference to the personal attacks on Roy Fraser.

WORKERS SOCIALIST LEAGUE LEEDS
Public meeting
Why Vote Labour?
Tuesday 1 May at 8.15
Leeds Trades Council Club, Saville Mount

WORKERS SOCIALIST LEAGUE COVENTRY
Public meeting
Our policies for this election
Monday April 30 at 7.30 p.m.
Elastic Inn
near Pool Meadow Bus Station

Local action

As soon as the Executive decision was known, branches began to take local action—especially in London, and also Liverpool.

The massive disruption and the hysteria from the bourgeoisie caused even by these limited walk-outs and overtime bans showed clearly enough the industrial power held by postal workers.

Many of these local initiatives are continuing, despite the pleas and threats of the Executive.

US LEADERS QUAIL AT BRITISH ARMY TERROR

The bloodstained fist of Britain's military repression in the six counties of Ireland has become a major international embarrassment to US imperialism.

This is the obvious meaning of the growing attention being paid by US politicians to the Irish question, and the speculation that President Carter might be plotting another of his so-called "peace" initiatives.

The seemingly ignorant remarks of the speaker of the US House of Representatives, "Tip" O'Neill have been followed up by criticism from New York State Governor Hugh Carey of the way in which both Labour and Tory leaders have sought compromises with the Ulster Unionists.

Common line

Carey is much nearer the mark than O'Neill, whose claim that Ireland has become "a political football" between the two main parties was hastily challenged by Tory leader Thatcher and by Labour leaders alike, who stressed that both parties are absolutely agreed on the present policy of brutal military repression in the six counties.

To underscore the point still further Labour's vicious Minister for Torture Roy

Mason—with full backing from the Tories—chose last week to announce a further battery of "security" measures in "the province" including an increase in the military occupation forces to over 13,000.

The nature of the naked military terror now prevailing in the North was demonstrated by the decision to take no action against the SAS undercover murder squad who, without even



Embarrassed - Carter

issuing a challenge, riddled a Protestant hunter with bullets in the back in County Tyrone last year.

But despite every form of harassment, intimidation and brutality—be it SAS assassins; RUC beatings in the Castlereagh torture centre; or the barbaric treatment inflicted on republican prisoners, courageously demanding political status in the Long Kesh concentration camp—the resistance to British imperialism continues to grow.

Major demonstrations of solidarity with the republican struggle took place during Easter throughout the occupied six counties, in the midst of a mounting IRA offensive against British military forces, prison screws and the RUC.

The Easter speech by Derry Sinn Fein speaker Richard Behal pointed out the international context of this resurgence of anti-imperialist struggle:

"Can the RUC and their lackeys possibly forget the fate of the Shah's secret police, the Savak, who have been put up against the wall and given their just deserts".

Indeed the Iranian revolution has made imperialism—and in particular US imperialism—wary of its traditional devices of the truncheon, the boot and the bullet to repress revolutionary struggles.

This is why Carter and other US bourgeois politicians are looking for more "acceptable" and subtle ways of preserving the stability of capitalism and imperialist exploitation in Ireland.

The fact that the Irish struggle has stubbornly refused to lie down and become the common punch-bag of the Labour and Tory leaders alike must now remind British socialists of their duty to fight consistently in the labour movement for concrete solidarity with the Irish war of liberation.

We must fight alongside Irish workers not for any phony bourgeois "peace plan" but uncompromisingly for the defeat of British imperialism, the withdrawal of British troops, the expropriation of major industry and the banks, and for a united Irish workers' republic.

Fight grows on UPW sell-out

Tom Jackson and his loyal band of UPW bureaucrats are really beginning to feel the pressure.

Their latest plan to sell-out the interests of postal workers has met with a less than enthusiastic response from members.

Voting is now taking place on the vicious deal recommended by the Executive, where full time officials secured a majority for acceptance over the divided stand taken by the elected representatives of the membership.

Circulars—mostly anonymous for fear of bureaucratic attacks—have been circulating throughout the union, exposing the reactionary character of the pay deal, which not only sells out the claim for improved wages and conditions, but also gives the go-ahead for 'work-study' supervision, the introduction of part-time workers and a fraudulent productivity deal designed to disguise the massive speed-up required by Post Office management.

Jackson has responded by condemning the 'undemocratic' nature of such appeals to throw out his scheme with the bosses.

But his fury has been greeted with contempt by members who know the way in which the bureaucracy has attempted to gag all officers of the union hostile to the deal, and victimise workers already taking action.

His latest panic move has been an obvious last-ditch move to reverse the voting figures.

Although some branches have agreed to the Executive recommendation, huge branch

Cont'd Page 11, col 4.



Scene on the Leicester anti-fascist march — DETAILS Page 5.

AS WE go to press, late on Monday night, news is still coming in of the mass arrests of anti-fascist demonstrators in Southall.

A huge mobilisation of Asian youth and workers began early in the afternoon, determined to prevent the fascists of the National Front holding their provocative election meeting in Southall Town Hall.

Police efforts to disperse the crowd with violence and mounted police produced a spirited response from the youth.

But in the united condemnation of the "violence" of the anti-fascists that came from the police, Tory and Labour leaders, all sides were careful to ignore the concerted campaign of racial violence conducted by the fascist thugs of the National Front.

"Free speech" for the workers' movement demands steps to repress fascism and deny it a platform wherever it shows its face.

FUND

It is time to sound the alarm on our £2,500 Special Fund. With three weeks now gone we have received only a total of £118.00. We need to receive that amount and more every week from now until the end of July if we are to reach our target.

Failure to do so would jeopardise our ambitious publishing programme, a programme which we feel is central to the fight to build the Socialist Press and the Workers Socialist League and through that the alternative revolutionary leadership so desperately needed in the labour movement at the present time.

To every supporter and reader of Socialist Press we say: help us reach our target and achieve these aims. Send a donation, or better still, send us a regular contribution to our fund.

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