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Free Noel
and Marie
Murray!

CENTRE PAGES

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FOR A WORKERS AND PEASANTS GOVERNMENT IN IRAN

The Shah of Iran and his imperialist backers, reeling under the growing insurrection against the tyranny, are attempting to unleash all-out war on the masses.

The decisive change last week which converted a long political crisis into an uprising was the spread of political strikes by the workers, a new series of massive demonstrations and the obvious sympathy for the strikers and demonstrators from many of the soldiers.

Panic reforms such as the release of many political prisoners did not pacify but rather intensified the agitation for the Shah's abdication.

In his broadcast on 6 November the dictator said that he had "heard the revolutionary message of the Iranian people" and promised free elections after a new all-military government (under General Azhari) had "restored order".

This amounts to a last desperate attempt to avert his downfall.

That would imply more than the fall of one king.

Licensed agent

The Shah's tyrannical and reactionary regime has for years been the chief licensed agent of British and American imperialism in that strategically crucial region.

Since 1953 the Shah's military strength has been built up by the imperialists through arms sales, military assistance and the formation of the anti-communist CENTO (Central Treaty Organisation).

It was only when the Shah's army was believed to be strong enough to police the region, especially the oil-rich Gulf States, that the Wilson government staged its partial military withdrawal from east of Suez.

The Shah's tyranny has since then served its imperialist masters faithfully. His army has fought the liberation fighters in the feudal sheikdom of Oman.

Trodden down

And with British, French and American supplied arms it has brutally trodden down the rights of the Iranian workers and peasants.

In this way the Shah defends not only the

IRANIAN STRIKERS SHAKE WORLD CAPITALISM



material interests of imperialism—especially the Iranian oil consortium of major imperialist companies led by BP—but also the political stability of a region where the masses are straining to free themselves from tyranny and imperialist domination.

This is why the bloody regime of the "King of Kings" counts among its strongest supporters imperialist chief Jimmy Carter and his lapdogs such as British Foreign Secretary David Owen.

Callaghan, Owen and Defence Minister Mulley unrepentantly admit that they collaborate in the Shah's mass murders in order to protect "Western interests".

Weakest link

But over the last two weeks the one-time strong man ally of world capitalism has become its weakest link.

And this change has been brought about by the leading role in the uprising increasingly assumed by the working class.

This latest wave in the tidal surge against the Shah began on Friday 27 October with huge demonstrations in ten towns across Iran.

In Qom, tens of thousands marched with demands for the overthrow of the regime, and set public buildings and offices blazing.

At the end of the day, eight demonstrators had been killed and some 100 wounded.

Over the next two days further demonstrations



One of the huge demonstrations through Tehran in recent weeks

marched in 32 towns. By 1 November, 100,000 demonstrators were marching through Tehran in militant protest.

But this pattern of events was crucially transformed from the similar developments of recent months. For the first time, the organised strength of the working class was a central,

and in fact determining factor.

Civil servants from the Ministry of Economic Affairs and Finance went on strike on 27 October, raising a series of demands to break Iran's economic dependence on imperialism.

This group was only a small section of the growing strike movement, which has

also closed down the state-owned bank Melli, the state airline and the major complex of the National Petrochemical Company, with telecommunications workers the latest to bring their industry to a halt.

But even these major actions have all been dwarfed in importance by the strike of oil workers.

There has been sporadic and localised action in the oil-fields for many months, but this has crystallised into a general strike over the last three weeks.

The first phase of this action ended a fortnight ago, when the workers' wage demands were

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Black all arms to the Shah!



INTERNATIONAL

Giscard faces strike wave

The French ruling class is now trying to contain the struggles of the French workers.

Last week saw the army being used all over Paris to scab on the dustmen's strike. The strike is over manning levels and victimisation of militant workers.

In Ugine-Kulmann in Pierre-Benite, a shop steward has already been accused by management of stealing chemicals produced by the firm. This was a deliberate attack by management against a militant as a manager was saying that he was only one of many to get rid of.

An injunction was served on the picket and the judge limited the number of workers on the picket to ten at any one time and the entrance to the factory must be kept clear at all times to allow the scabs to walk in and out freely.

Police have also been active in moves to break the two week-old national strike by seamen.

The seamen are demanding wage increases, improved manning levels, and an end to the use of non-union foreign labour.

Police have been used to break picket lines in Marseilles in order to allow foreign ships to be unloaded.

And there is even talk of the Navy being brought in to ship scab supplies to Corsica, which has been particularly hard hit by the dispute.

Post Office

The strikes over manning levels and wages at the PTT (Post Office) are over for the time being but prospects of further actions are very much present.

Strikes and demonstrations are also being planned by education workers with the support of students and parents associations.

Against this background of militancy from the working class the CGT is prepar-



French troops scab on dustmen's strike

ing its annual congress and the leadership is under a lot of pressure from the militants who want more democracy and also explanations of tactics used during workers struggles.

They also want to know why the target of three million members has still not been reached.

On top of this the Communist Party-dominated

CGT is losing members to other unions, mainly FO and CFDT.

Under these attacks the CGT leadership has refused nominations for the Executive of eight known militants.

The prospects for France look very bleak indeed with inflation going up again and a budget deficit on public spending of 30 billion francs—it could be as high as 40

billion.

The working class will come under increasingly bitter attack from the employers trying to lower working class living standards in an attempt to solve the crisis.

The first section to come under attack has been the Civil Servants who have been awarded a generous 1.5% increase by the government!

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Baghdad dead-end

conceded by the government.

But only a few days later the strike resumed, this time on an openly political basis. The workers are demanding an end to martial law and the release of all political prisoners.

Troops have been sent in to work the oil fields, but production has already been reduced to under one-third of normal, before the strike spread to other oil fields and refineries beyond the starting point of Khuzestan province.

Against this background, the mass movement swept forward on Sunday 5 November into a virtual state of insurrection, centred on Tehran.

Burned down

Thousands of youth stormed the centre of the city, attacking and occupying government buildings, and burning down major symbols of imperialist domination of Iran.

Alongside the blazing hotels and banks, the British and US embassies were a major target for the revolutionary violence of the masses.

Although Carter's outpost was heavily defended, troops made no attempt to intervene as the British embassy was set on fire.

The development of the struggles in Iran has made it absolutely clear that the masses have not been engaged in some reactionary 'religious' movement.

The religious leaders within the country became discredited with their 'followers' weeks ago, when they attempted to calm down the earlier violence of the opposition.

Now only Ayatollah Khomeini retains his prestige, by virtue of the consistently anti-government propaganda he has broadcast from exile.

A vacuum of leadership emerged which the Islamic leaders hoped to fill.

Their ambitions met very little serious challenge from either the bourgeois opposition or from the Stalinists.

The bourgeois National Front is the remnant of the party of prime minister Mossadegh, whose government was overthrown by the CIA-organised coup which brought the Shah to power in 1953.

Consistently outpaced by the recent struggles, the National Front leadership was denied a platform for its political positions by the masses as long ago as September.

Far from looking to such opportunists for guidance, workers have instead increasingly taken the organisation of the struggles into their own hands.

The Communist Party of Iran—the Tudeh Party—has not of course been involved in these actions.

'Broad-based'

The main emphasis of the Stalinists has been on the formation of a 'broad-based' all-class alliance to replace the Shah's dictatorship peacefully with 'democratic' government.

Such a forlorn attempt at counter-revolutionary strategy has directly served the needs of the Stalinist leadership in the neighbouring Soviet Union.

Only last Friday, *Pravda* came out with an attack on the opponents of the Shah and declared that Khomeini could expect no support from the Soviet Union.

For the Kremlin (and also Peking) the threat of a revolutionary overthrow of the Shah is a terrifying prospect—one which they are, for their different purposes, as eager to avoid as the US imperialists and the British Labour leaders.

The oppressed masses of Iran have in the last few weeks shown their courage, confidence, growing consciousness of their own needs, and spontaneous rejection of opportunist would-be 'leaders'.

But this vast, largely spontaneous struggle has not yet built the organisations and leadership which are necessary to avert its defeat in the long run.

Workers have in some cases already occupied factories during their strikes and set up forms of factory committees.

These will need to be linked and extended into Soviets of workers, peasants, students and soldier representatives.

Workers militia

As the state forces continue to gun down unarmed demonstrators and use military force against strikers, one of the foremost tasks of such bodies must be to organise armed workers and peasants' militia, drawn from the factories and oil installations, from working class communities, from the workers on the land, and from the universities.

Only when the rank and file of the army sees that the working class is seriously organising the struggle for power will the necessary mass desertions and mutinies take place, and create the conditions to topple the hated dictatorship once and for all.

Independent

As the power of the Shah collapses the oppressed classes must substitute their own organs of power to advance their independent interests.

At the same time as these organs of revolutionary

power are being built it is necessary for the mass movement to bring to the forefront basic democratic demands.

The self-appointed 'democratic' leaders will, of course, not hesitate to sell out these demands if they see a way to compromise themselves into a share of power.

Constituent assembly

The most important of these demands are for free elections on universal suffrage to a constituent assembly, the release of all political prisoners, the ending of martial law and self-determination for the national minorities such as the Kurds—who have already in the demonstrations of the past month shown their strong desire for national rights.

But the basic issue at stake now in Iran is state power.

For that issue to be resolved in the interests of the masses and not of capitalism and its bloody agents, the building of a revolutionary party is necessary to lead the Iranian masses on the path of permanent revolution.

It is now the pressing duty of the workers' movement throughout the world to give every possible material and political assistance in defending the gains they make.

Black supplies

In Britain in particular this means stepping up the campaign to throw out the government leaders who back up the Shah's crumbling authority.

It also means mounting an urgent campaign to black supplies needed by the Shah.

The TGWU and other unions in transport and the docks must organise the identification and blacking of cargoes, especially arms and ammunition cargoes, bound for Iran.

The complete inability of the bourgeois and feudal Arab leaders to offer any way forward in the struggles of the Palestinian and Arab masses was clearly demonstrated this weekend at the Baghdad summit on the Camp David sell-out agreement—attended by every Arab state except Egypt.

If the mildness of the final communique was insufficient proof of this impotence, Egyptian President Sadat's instant refusal to meet a delegation from the summit should have confirmed that statements of 'Arab unity' are no way to fight Sadat's grovelling to US imperialism and the Zionist state.

The so-called 'hard line' leaders of Iraq and Syria hid behind the feudal leaders of Saudi Arabia and Jordan throughout the summit, ensuring that even the token gesture of moving the Arab League headquarters from Cairo was not carried out.

If the empty words and easy talk of an 'action fund' concealed any secret agreement such as boycotts or other action against Egypt, we can be certain that it will not be anything that would involve a break with the imperialist powers that prop up the Zionist regime.

Jail for defence leader

We have received news that Marie McMahon, a leading supporter of the Murrays Defence Committee in the Irish Republic has lost her appeal against a conviction in connection with her defence activities while the Murrays were under sentence of death.

She will now have to serve a seven-day sentence received at the time.

Marie has been subjected to endless harassment for her efforts in defence of Noel, Marie and others.

She has only recently been acquitted after an attempt by police to repay her for her defence of prostitutes subjected to police harassment.



British Chieftain tanks are now the main prop of this bloody dictator

INTERNATIONAL

Stalinists save Italy's tottering Tories



When is a government 'crisis' not a crisis? In Italy when it results from parliamentary shadow-boxing in the coalition between Christian Democrats and Communist Party chiefs.

Andreotti's Christian Democratic cabinet last week got a vote in Parliament for its wage-cutting policies, seriously threatened by the strike of hospital workers in the 'independent' unions.

The Communist Party voted to a man for Andreotti's postponement of negotiations to the end of the year—a proposal that

even the small Republican Party refused to support as being 'too evasive'.

Reliance

The cynical reliance of the ruling class on the Stalinists' "reluctant" support was expressed by the head of the Christian Democratic national council, Flaminio Piccoli, at the climax of the parliamentary crisis: "I am pessimistic but confident", he said. "The Communists are not going to break what has been built up with so much trouble."

What can break this Communist Party-Tory conspiracy against workers and their living standards are the mass struggles, now



CP leader Berlinguer breaking through and round the bureaucrats' control of the three main trade union federations.

While the parliamentary 'debate' unfolded last week 30,000 workers from Calabria in the deep south, demonstrated in Rome against unemployment.

And militant struggle in the hospitals and many other sectors is now led by 'autonomous', often locally based trade union organisations which have broken from the bureaucratized official unions.

But the greatest problem facing the Italian working class remains that of destroying the political grip of Stalinist and Socialist Party chiefs, now being used to bludgeon any section of workers who enter into struggle.

Vietnam captive to Moscow policies

Chinese and Vietnamese troops clashed on the border between the two countries last week, leaving several dead.

The incident—confirmed by statements from both sides, each accusing the other of aggression—is the most serious since the Sino-Vietnamese conflict came into the open last spring.

According to the Hanoi government Chinese troops, part of several thousand deployed on the frontier in Caolang province, occupied a pass and surrounded a Vietnamese patrol.

In the resulting shooting several Vietnamese were killed and injured.

The frictions on the frontier reflect the fact that the Stalinist government in Vietnam, whatever its wishes, has found itself caught up in the rival political and military policies of the Soviet Union and China in South-east Asia.

With the cutting off of Chinese aid (worth an estimated \$10 billion) earlier this year, and the continuing frontier war with Cambodia (politically and militarily supported by China), Vietnam has found itself forced deeper into economic and military—and therefore political—dependence on the Soviet Union and Comecon.

The ceremonious arrival in Moscow last week of Hanoi's two top leaders—Le Duan, general secretary of the Communist Party, and prime minister Pham Van Dong—merely confirms this dependency.

It is above all Vietnam's economic vulnerability that has put paid to the rhetoric of 'national independence' under which the liberation war was fought.

The political tribute demanded by the Kremlin in return for economic aid is not simply a matter of pacifist phrases, but directly ties Hanoi to the Soviet Union's quest for 'understandings' with the reactionary dictatorships of South-east Asia.

It underlines the impossibility of the Indochinese revolution's developing on the basis of 'socialism in individual countries'.

connive a betrayal of the Zimbabwean masses, to press conferences at which he hollowly threatens to call for Cuban aid.

The labour movement must couple their solidarity with the Zambian and Zimbabwean masses in the face of Smith's attacks with support for the Zambian masses in their struggle against Kaunda.

ARMS AID TO PROP UP KAUNDA

While Zimbabwean refugees and guerrillas were once again suffering an attack from Smith's (largely British) air force, David Owen in Parliament last week was reassuring the Tories that British arms would not be used in their defence.

Despite the carefully cultivated illusions being sown by Owen and Callaghan, the arms being sent to Zambia are not primarily for Zambian defence against Rhodesia.

It is now clear that Callaghan and Owen—even before the Rhodesian raids—agreed to a major re-supply of arms to Zambia.

The raids simply provided them with a useful pretext for announcing the deal, which is aimed on the one hand at strengthening even further Kaunda's

dependence on imperialism; and on the other at bolstering his image inside Zambia as an international statesman, defender of his people.

Kaunda has as little intention of using these arms against Smith as he did of using all his other heavy imperialist weaponry which has now become obsolete.

In the face of massive unemployment, food shortages and soaring inflation, opposition amongst workers and peasants and sections of the petty-bourgeoisie to Kaunda's rule has been mounting inside Zambia itself.

In the absence of a progressive alternative, much of this opposition has rallied, around Simon Kapwepwe, one-time Vice President and now right wing opponent of Kaunda.

An aspect of Kaunda's response to this internal opposition has been to move more and more to the

right. This has meant adopting Kapwepwe's plans of much closer economic co-operation with South Africa and Rhodesia, through the rail link between the countries.

After having just publicly re-opened his border with Rhodesia in order to obtain immediate supplies of fertiliser from South Africa, Kaunda is hardly in any position to run the risk of Rhodesia cutting off those supplies.

But while Kaunda's collaboration makes it extremely difficult for him to defend Zambians and Zimbabweans against Smith, he has shown no reluctance in using his imperialist weapons to smash opposition inside Zambia.

As *Socialist Press* has reported, a series of 'anti-crime raids' has been launched by the Zambian police and army to terrorise workers—migrant workers in particular—and as the pretext for the arrest of Kaunda's opponents.

In these raids and others against internal opposition, Kaunda's police and army have not lacked for weapons from the imperialist countries.

Kaunda is now fully set on a course of frantic zig-zags to retain his hold on power—all the while becoming increasingly dependant on imperialist 'aid'.

He rushes from meetings with the World Bank and IMF (where he has agreed on ways of making the Zambian masses pay for his crisis-stricken economy) to public rallies where he postures as the liberator of the people.

He rushes from meetings with the imperialists to



Kaunda

Chile junta outlaws unions

The Chilean junta has confirmed the growing strength of working class opposition to it by taking emergency moves to ban trade unions.

In the last week of October, six trade union federations—construction, textiles, engineering, mineworkers and two peasants' unions—were outlawed for being too left wing.

Demonstrations against this move resulted in numerous arrests.

This new crackdown comes after reports of growing strikes and other actions by workers over the last few weeks.

Since August the mining area of Chuquicamata, for example,

has been the scene of much unrest.

Workers have boycotted the canteen and held illegal mass meetings.

And they have booed and jeered their leaders for inaction.

Workers' wives responded to an appeal from the regime to get their husbands back to normal working by staging a "saucepan demonstration" in conscious ironic imitation of the anti-Popular Unity demonstrations of six years ago.

The regime seems unable to find any way of dealing with such events apart from increased repression of all workers' organisations.

This has been applied not only against the relatively more independent organisations

which have been arising but even against the fake "unions" set up by the regime itself and led by its scab supporters.

The desperation of the military dictatorship over how to stamp out the growing struggle was shown by the panic tactic they resorted to after the new ban was imposed.

They gave four days notice of national "union" elections.

No-one who had ever before been a union official was permitted to stand.

And the votes—500,000 of them the regime claims—were scrutinised and counted by its own agents.

Other reports suggest that the voting was very low and that workers treated the fake elections with the derision they

SDLP careerists pose as anti-imperialists

Behind an elaborate smokescreen of anti-imperialist rhetoric, the Social Democratic Labour Party has been holding its conference in the North of Ireland.

Jockeying

But the thin veneer of hostility to British imperialism is not enough to conceal the fact that these dyed-in-the-wool middle class careerists are concerned chiefly in jockeying for more influential positions for themselves, and shielding themselves from the hos-

tility of the Catholic population they claim to represent.

The resentment of the SDLP at the British Labour leaders' failure to provide them with comfortable jobs in the power structure of the sectarian statelet was expressed on Friday by party chairman Dennis Haughey:

"One might have expected that a socialist government [!] could have broken with, or at least, modified, the traditional colonialist stance of the British government. That has not been the case."

Indeed much to the

embarrassment of the SDLP their Second International "comrades" in the Labour leadership have ensured that "repression has been almost as ruthless as at any other period in the history of this country."

Struggles

Does this mean that the SDLP will support the struggles of those forces presently fighting British imperialism, and mobilise seriously to force British troops out of Ireland?

Not if Haughey has his way. Class action for him must be supplanted by



SDLP MP Fitt

"pressure".

"The activities of this party in the immediate future must be directed to pressuring the British into changing. In doing so, it will be necessary to bring the



British government more and more before the bar of international opinion to expose the blatant colonialism of its policies and to enlist the aid of anti-colonial opinion throughout the recognised international channels."

Whatever the "recognised international channels" might be, there should be no illusions that the SDLP has moved to support of anti-imperialist struggles actually taking place.

An emergency resolution tabled at the conference endorses the SDLP's stated position that the republican prisoners' two-year struggle for prisoner of war status at 'H' Block in the Long Kesh concentration camp has caused the infringement of their basic human rights.

And it goes on to call for an "enquiry" into 'H' Block.

But at the same time the SDLP calls on the republicans to call off their campaign, and demands not prisoner of war status but "emergency status" for the heroic fighters of Long Kesh who have endured indescribable horror in pursuit of their basic rights.

Having administered this kick in the teeth to the anti-imperialist forces, the SDLP seeks to cover-up by demanding the withdrawal of the British SAS murder squads.

Zimbabwe-style

The nearest to a clear "troops out" demand comes from Coalisland, in a resolution calling for what sounds like a Zimbabwe-style "political solution" organised through a quadripartite conference composed of British and Irish governments and representatives of Loyalist and Catholic communities, designed to protect capitalist interests.

With such miserable reformist and careerist petty bourgeois 'leaders' masquerading as spokesmen of the oppressed Catholic minority in the North, the crisis of leadership confronting the Irish workers' movement is shown up for all to see.

But the British working class has an obligation to play a role in the struggle for Irish liberation—through fighting through every labour movement body for the removal of the reactionary Callaghan-Healey Labour leadership, including Irish butcher Roy Mason.

Repression

Completely at the service of imperialism, these class traitors combine attacks on the British working class with savage repression in Ireland.

Trade union branches and Labour Parties have the opportunity to express their hostility to this treachery, by mobilising the maximum contingents on the Day of Solidarity with Irish Prisoners of War in London on November 26.

The march, organised by the Prisoners Aid Committee, leaves Hyde Park at 2.30pm, and is called around the slogans:

*Solidarity with Irish POWs.

*POW status and amnesty for all Irish political prisoners.

*Brits out of Ireland!
Further details from and support to: PAC, 2a, St. Paul's Rd., London N1.

Behind the latest dollar slide

\$500,000,000,000!

That is the number of dollars outside the borders of the USA.

That astronomic sum is a measure of the scope of American imperialism and of its crisis.

It exists because US capitalists have for decades invested billions of dollars a year around the world.

As well as breeding profits and power, this investment has also spawned a vast liquid dollar reserve in the form of a world currency. This sum has been augmented because the

gigantic overseas costs of policing the world for capitalism add to a vast and growing balance of payments deficit.

This year 35 billion dollars (\$35,000,000,000) will be added to existing overseas dollars.

The decline of investment in the capitalist crisis has made more and more of these dollars unwanted.

Their exchange for more desirable currencies led to a steady two year long decline in the dollar's value.

When the Carter administration virtually disowned

its currency at the beginning of October, this grew into a fever of speculation.

Thus the \$500 billion consequence of US imperialism again threatened the economy which spawned it.

It became \$500,000,000,000, not of imperialist strength but of weakness.

Not surprisingly none of Carter's economic measures—even his proposed control of wages—had any impact on the speculation except to make it worse.

No wonder Carter and the US Federal Reserve (Central Bank) made it clear they not only would not

support the falling dollar with other currencies but could not do so, because they do not hold the foreign currency.

Carter's neglect of the dollar's slide was, therefore, a dramatic symptom of the economic weakness of US capitalism.

But the neglect was probably exaggerated as a tactic with which to pressurise the financially stronger capitalist countries (especially Japan, West Germany and Switzerland) to come to the dollar's aid.

This in the end they did, last week. The massive inflow of dollar reserves to these countries threatened, through expanding the money supply, to provoke



could in principle be put on sale in the next speculative maelstrom.

And the gaping cracks which last week's rescue money papers over—the US deficit, the menacing imbalance of the imperialist economies which it reflects and most basically of all, capitalism's inability to produce and realise adequate surplus value—show no signs of closing.

They will again tear apart the international currency

PRESS GANG

Son of Sun

What is it that Margaret Thatcher acclaimed as a "triumph for press freedom" and James Callaghan sent good wishes for?

What is it that is "left of centre" and wants to "nag Ford workers back to work"?

What is it that has been launched with the lowest manning levels ever and is running a competition to "smash Jim Callaghan's 5% pay policy" without feeling guilty?

It's the new *Daily Star*, that's what, and in less than a week it is already threatening to find a place in the gutter all its own.

The *Star* is launched by Express Newspapers to 'compete' with the *Sun* and hails itself as "Britain's first completely new national newspaper for 75 years".

It is designed to ensure the eventual collapse of one of the national gutter press and to set the pace for record low levels of staff.

The first issue competition blurb ran:

"The *Star* cares for people. We know the average wage is £78.10 a week. We know a lot earn less—and we know a lot earn more, but still feel the pinch.

"We're told (or Mr Healey tells us so) that prices are being held—but does that help you at the end of the week when you are counting the pennies to see if you can take the wife out for a break . . ."

And so on in nauseating style. The lucky winner will win £100 a week for a year.

But not the car workers. The only coverage of the Ford strike in the paper starts:

"Housewife Sue Charlton hit out at the striking car men yesterday . . . You're crazy. Use your common sense."

And a little lower down:

"Now 31-year old Sue, who organised an anti-strike wives meeting outside the company's Southampton plant, wants a 'nag-em back to work' campaign".

And so on. On the day following the Ford strikers decision to stay out the vote received *three lines* coverage.

This squalid, sexist anti-working class paper is the latest weapon in the capitalists' arsenal.

It must rank akin in the capitalist class' intended assaults on workers' consciousness to the pro-government newspaper *The Citizen* launched in South Africa with state funds.

The puny number of jobs 'created' by the launching of this paper will be massively offset by the number of jobs massacred if its manning standards are spread to other papers, and its philosophy applied to other sectors of industry.

The launch of the *Star* (said by the Communist Party to be aimed at confusing workers who want to buy the *Morning Star*) is in itself an eloquent demonstration of the need for workers control of the press in the interests of the working class.



Carter

new inflation in their own economies.

But it took an agreement with these countries to mobilise \$30,000,000-worth of the surplus currencies (yen, deutschmarks and francs) to buy dollars before the slide could be reversed.

But for how long? This massive and unprecedented sum is still a mere 6% of the dollars in the world which

truce that last week gave the dollar a respite.

The situation, therefore, remains one of latent instability which threatens at any time to lead to a massive intensification of trade war leading to slump and unemployment.

Only socialist policies to defend jobs and wages to the point of expropriation of the capitalist class can avert this threat to all workers.



Ignoring Callaghan's trade unionism—Ford workers and their wives show contempt for would-be strikebreakers.

PHOTO: John Sturrock, Report

ABC— still in danger

The fact that the actions carried out by journalists Duncan Campbell and Crispin Aubrey in meeting and discussing with former soldier John Berry are common journalistic practice is no defence against charges under the Official Secrets Act, according to Mr Justice Mars-Jones in the ABC trial.

The trial, which has witnessed the spectacular collapse of the prosecution "case" on four charges under Section One of the Act, is now proceeding to hear remaining charges under Section Two.

This provides for penalties up to two years imprisonment for receiving unauthorised official information of any sort.

Duncan Campbell pointed out in evidence that if this part of the Act—which Labour leaders have talked of rewriting—was enforced literally, then every newspaper published in Britain would be in breach of it.

He referred to the statement made in 1976 by Home Secretary Rees, expressing the view that mere receipt of official information should no longer be an offence.

And he stressed that while John Berry had spoken in their conversation about the government's Signals Intelligence agency SIGINT, almost all of the information he revealed was already known to Campbell from published sources and elsewhere.

The Judge, who the previous week followed his dismissal of the "spying" charges by attacking those organisations and individuals agitating in favour of Aubrey Berry and Campbell, has shown during this week that these three men could still face jail sentences.

It is clear from evidence from magazine and newspaper editors that the actions for which they are being charged are by no means unusual.

What is remarkable about all three is that they were prominent supporters of the campaign to prevent the deportation of former CIA agent Phillip Agee—and as such identified by the state "security" forces as 'subversives'.

In continuing the labour movement campaign for the dropping of these charges, the removal of Merlyn Rees and the repeal of the Official Secrets Act, trade unionists are involved in the fight for the most basic democratic rights, now scandalously under attack from a Labour government.

Callaghan lashes out at trade unionism

Prime Minister Callaghan last week chose the fitting occasion of the debate on the Queen's Speech to deplore the practice of trade union solidarity.

Further embarrassing the demoralised crew of so-called 'left' MPs that continue to provide him with slavish support, he agreed with Tory leader Thatcher that the power of the unions is now greater than ever.

He appealed—somewhat belatedly—for trade unionists to avoid making this a winter of strikes and confrontation.

But he went on to lament the fact that workers refusing to cross picket lines had become an expression of solidarity he had not known in his younger days!

Carried to extremes, he complained, this could mean that life could seize up!

Wilder voices

Deploping any such exercise of working class power, Callaghan went on to moan that there are "a few wilder voices seeking to thrust vital workers into the forefront" in the belief that the government could not defeat them.

But these provocative comments, in the midst of a staunch and unrepentant defence of the 5% pay policy which has been overwhelmingly rejected by both TUC and Labour Party conferences, are unlikely to produce any change in the stance of the Labour 'left'.

On two occasions in the last few weeks Callaghan has challenged his supposed opponents to fight to remove him from the Labour leadership—secure in the knowledge that they would not do so.

It is on the basis of this spineless capitulation by the 'lefts' that his government will proceed to confront public sector workers in an all-out bid to uphold its 5% pay limit even after it has failed so abysmally with Fords and other private employers.

Splutter

For Eric Heffer to splutter that 5% is ridiculously low for "some workers" while sitting back with arms folded while Callaghan is left to rule the Labour Party roost is sheer hypocrisy.

But this level of opportunism and bankruptcy is matched with ease by Labour's tame cat "Marxists" of the 'Militant' group. The lead article of their latest paper proclaims straightfaced:

"The Labour government must restore the cuts now and implement socialist policies to provide the resources for a dramatic improvement of health and welfare services."

Which Labour government? Callaghan's government?

Does the *Militant* editorial team live on this planet or simply read about it in *Labour Weekly*?

Further proof

There is no prospect of this government introducing any socialist policies of any description. The Queen's Speech has added further proof of this for those dull enough to need it.

To change the reactionary pro-capitalist policies of this government, it is necessary to follow up Callaghan's challenge and launch a fight throughout the labour movement to oust him from the Labour leadership.

Youth leaders

The 'Militant' group, jealously guarding their cosy position as Callaghan's licensed youth leaders like the Tribune troupe of pet 'left-wing' demagogues, have no intention of leading such a fight.

In demanding of all the self-styled 'lefts' within the Labour Party that they take up the fight to remove Callaghan, workers can quickly learn the real nature and limitations of these "leaders", and the necessity of constructing a principled, revolutionary leadership to lead the struggle for socialism.

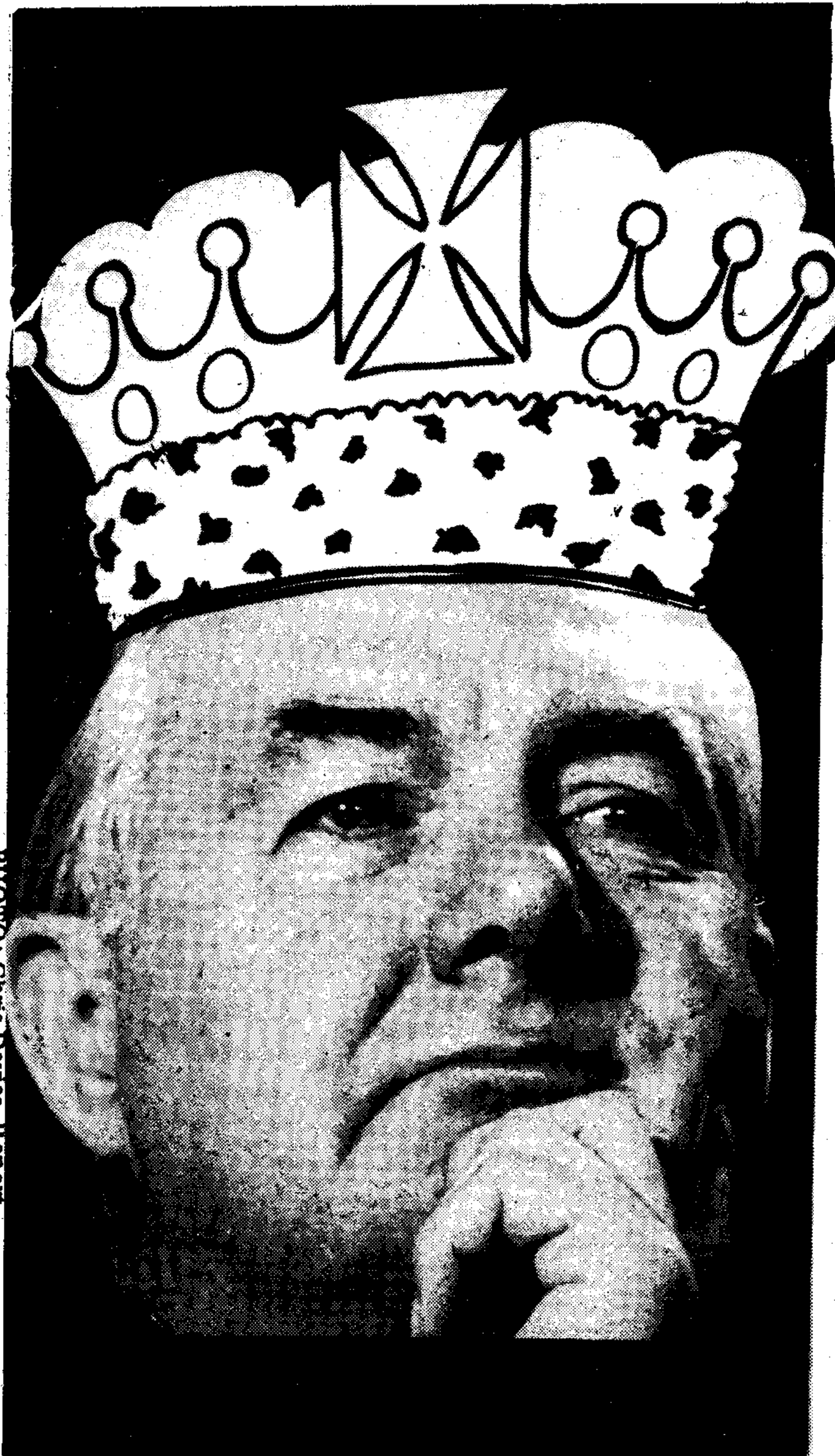


PHOTO: Chris Davies, Report

Public 'inquiries' myth exposed

The leaked internal memorandum from the Department of Environment on lorry weights has provided a candid and cynical admission from the state of the true nature of 'public' inquiries.

Headed "Lorry Weights: Suggested Inquiry" the memo—circulated at senior civil servant level—proposed a public inquiry to achieve an increase in lorry weights against the opposition of environmental groups.

Some quotes from the document reveal how this strata of the state regards public inquiries—beloved of bourgeois liberals and fake lefts as 'impartial' exercises in 'democracy'.

"In general, we welcome the idea of an inquiry, both as a means of getting round the political obstacles to change the lorry weights problem itself and for the wider reasons mentioned in Sir Peter Balwin's minute . . ."

"In this context the main advantage of some kind of inquiry, held wholly or partly in public, would be presentational."

"The case for permitting heavier lorries, and the case against, put by environmental protection groups, would be aired in public and subjected to rigorous scrutiny and questioning, if not cross-examination."

"At the end of the day, recommendations would be made by impartial people who have carefully weighed and sifted the evidence and have

come to, one hopes, a sensible conclusion in line with the Department's views . . ."

"The worst risk, if not the most likely, is that the inquiry would produce the wrong answer . . ."

"On balance, however, given that the direct way ahead on lorry weights is not politically propitious, an inquiry holds promise of opening up an avenue to tangible protest . . ."

"Although the establishment in the public mind of a clear and overwhelming case on balance for heavier lorry weights is seen as the main end of the inquiry it could well have wider effects."

"It should provide a focus for the various road haulage interests to get together, marshal their forces and act

PHOTO: Laurence Spatham, IFL



Benn—was the Windscale inquiry also rigged?

cohesively to produce a really good case which should not merely establish the main point at issue but should do good to their now sadly tarnished public image.

"This would make it easier for the government to prefer legislation on lorry weights and other matters in their favour."

WRP TRIAL REVEALS BLACKLIST

We will be taking up in a later issue the implications of the WRP libel case against the *Observer* and the further evidence it presents of the deeply opportunistic practice of that leadership.

But what the case has also publicly revealed is the nature of political black listing operated against the WRP in the entertainment industry.

Irene Gorst, the actress giving evidence against the WRP told the court that John Gale, an anti-communist theatre impresario who was trying to prevent her attending the WRP school said:

"People in the WRP don't work very much because people don't want to employ them. They are a lot of trouble."

Gale also told her he had "friends in high places" who could be seen at the WRP school.



PHOTO: Andrew Ward, Report

Heffer



Heavily armed Irish troops keep an eye on Willie Moloney (centre) as he arrives for the Appeal hearing

Letter from Noel's uncle Willie Moloney

We would like to thank Willie Moloney for his help in preparing the accompanying article for publication. Its politics, needless to say, are those of the WSL.

Dear Sir,

Having read your numerous excellent articles on Northern Ireland I want to draw your attention to the case of Noel and Marie Murray who are both serving life sentences in the so-called Republic of Ireland.

They were a decent, well educated, hard-working young couple.

He worked as an engineer in Dublin, she went from Dublin University to work for the government in the most backward and underprivileged part of western Ireland.

Batoned

They were both very hopeful and active in the Civil Rights movement only to see the Civil Rights marchers stoned by Paisley and his mob, and brutally batoned by the RUC and the B Specials.

They saw the "Bogside"—the Catholic area of Londonderry—four hundred houses burned and several people killed in a night of drunken fury.

They and all of us saw on television the slaughter of Bloody Sunday, when thirteen men, women and children in a Civil Rights march were shot down.

We all read of the inquest in the press, and the verdict 'Murder by the British' Army.

We have all read in the press of Britain paying out half a million pounds in compensa-



Irish Justice Minister Cooney

tion to victims of torture by the "Security" forces, yet nobody has ever appeared in any court to answer any charge of murder or torture.

The 'security' forces always have the same answer; that the victims had drawn guns on them.

Confession

There is only one case where that old tale wasn't used; that was when a little girl of eight was shot on her way to church for confession.

But of course the back room boys can explain away anything, and anyway, what's one more murder among so many?

There never was an escalation of violence, but there was and still is a massive escalation of repression on both sides of the border, by the British and Irish governments.

People often wonder what the Dublin government were doing about the minority in Ulster—the answer is nothing.

Indeed they brought in their own anti-terrorist laws, they filled their gaols with anybody who would dare to give help or aid to the freedom fighters or their dependants.

Slump

The Dublin government had a major problem on their hands.

The 1969 boom had turned into a massive slump. Inflation was running wild and unemployment soaring, with no prospects for school leavers.

The country was sliding towards economic collapse and as the government had collapsed politically a long time ago they decided that it was time to declare a state of emergency.

One of the main reasons given for the declaration of a state of emergency was for protection from murderers and bank robbers.

How convenient for the government that they had a couple of "murderers" and "bank robbers" in their death cells—Noel and Marie Murray.

Appeal

I arrived in Dublin from Coventry on Friday October 29 1976 for the appeal against the death sentence which was to start on November 1.

I wanted to be beside my sister, Noel's mother, to give her some support in case their appeal should fail.

I myself feared the worst as the Republic, for the past decade, has been like America in the McCarthy era.

I was afraid that the Murrays

were going to be the Rosenbergs of Ireland.

I feel sure that without the worldwide publicity and support given to the Murrays the sentence would have been carried out, and I would like to thank all those people on behalf of Noel and Marie, and Noel's father and mother for their great humanitarian work.

When I met my sister on arrival in Dublin they took me to Mountjoy Prison to see Marie, as she had applied for permission to visit her.

After being kept waiting for a couple of hours I was refused permission to see her, yet next day I was allowed in to see Noel at the Curragh.

Justice Ministry

On Tuesday November 2 I went to the Ministry of Justice.

At the inquiry desk I said I wanted to make enquiries about getting permission to see Marie Murray in Mountjoy.

After about ten minutes I was called to the phone and spoke to some man. I told him how I'd been turned away from Mountjoy but had been allowed to see Noel.

He told me to hang on and after a few minutes he was back on the phone and said that I wouldn't see her. I explained to him that I was an old man of 71 and would never be able to come to Ireland again.

Since Marie was in the death-cell, they couldn't possibly refuse my request.

Never be allowed

He told me to hang on again, and after a few minutes he was back on the phone and told me that I would never be allowed to see her.

I replied if that was his final reply all I could say was "Fuck Irish Justice, up the Murrays and the Provos".

The Catholic Bishops and clergy of the Republic are well aware of the type of trial the Murrays had, but never a word of protest from them.

They know that the Murrays are being denied one of the most basic human rights and that is that they should be allowed some privacy.

Noel is brought from the Curragh Detention Centre every couple of months to see Marie in Limerick Prison where there is a big table placed between them with warders standing by.

The Bishops know that someday the Murrays will be free but by that time Marie may be too old to have what she

would dearly love—a baby.

I've heard the Bishops preach of the sins of the fathers being visited on the children but this is the first time its being visited on the unborn children.

At present, in contrast to the period before the Supreme Court decision, the Murrays have no complaints about their personal treatment.

Franco lives on

Marie has recently sat for some important exams for which she received every assistance from the authorities.

Noel is fine in the Curragh but he misses a lot of the friends he made there as they were mostly short-term political prisoners.

There are only about four like Noel left but to keep it open knowing they will fill it again in the future they are in the meantime filling it with child molesters, drug addicts and inmates of a local asylum.

I wonder what the Bishops think. They must be aware of it as some groups in Ireland are publicly condemning it.

I think that all the government buildings and churches should have flags flying with the words "Franco lives on in Ireland."

Willie Moloney



Case expos FREE NO MURRAY

It is almost three years to the day since anarchists Noel and Marie Murray were arrested for the murder of Garda Reynolds following a bank robbery in Dublin.

Throughout that time the Murray Defence Committee has fought hard first of all for a jury trial and then later, following the acquittal and release of co-defendant Ronan Stenson, for the release of the Murrays.

Until 1973 both Noel and Marie were members of the Official Republican movement.

They left because they felt that insufficient was being done to aid the struggle for national freedom and against repression both sides of the border.

In October 1975 they were living in Dublin under assumed names due to Noel's failure to answer bail for charges of possession of arms.

Returning home from walk-

ing their dog on the morning of October 8 they were arrested—but instead of being taken to Bridewell to answer the charge of jumping bail, Noel was taken to Harcourt Terrace police station where he was subjected to intense physical harassment and torture.

The purpose of this was to force out of him a statement that he was guilty of the bank robbery and murder of Garda Reynolds.

Tortured

Marie was initially taken to Coorlock police station and from there to Harcourt Terrace where she was placed in a room next to Noel and forced to listen as he was being tortured.

Threatened with his murder unless she signed a statement admitting involvement in the robbery and murder of Garda Reynolds, Marie agreed to sign.

The Murrays' "trial" opened



Catholic Church—a crucial prop to the Irish bourgeois regime and its repression



Noel Murray



Marie Murray

...es Southern Lynch-law DEL AND MARIE

Y!



Mr Justice Pringle



Irish Premier Lynch

in April 1976. The case was heard at the Special Criminal Court. There was no jury, only three judges (in this case led by 76-year old Judge Pringle) who have responsibility for trying the case, convicting or otherwise and then sentencing the defendant.

The Special Criminal Court was established in 1939 and reactivated in 1972. As the Murray Defence Committee points out:

"Since its formation its main purpose has been to repress Republicans and since 1972 nearly 1,000 Republicans and socialists have been sentenced on the unchallenged evidence of police witnesses".

(leaflet issued mid-1976) The trial was a farce from start to finish. The Murrays wanted three junior counsel assigned to their defence but this was refused (*Irish Times* 10 April 1976). The public did not know what transpired on the 7th, 8th, 11th and 12th days of the trial, (*Irish Times* 7 May 1976).

During the 'trial' Justice Pringle intervened to help the prosecution.

One example was on the crucial question of whether someone who did not know Garda Reynolds was a policeman could be tried for his capital murder (this later proved to be the central point in the Supreme Court decision to lift the death sentence).

Intervened

The Judge intervened while the prosecution counsel was summing up on this point to say "Does it make a difference that the person should know he was a guard?"

But by this stage the Murrays were not even in court. The sole evidence before the Court was the statement from Marie Murray which she has always maintained was procured under duress.

A statement by Noel, also made under duress, admitted nothing but instead accused the authorities of torture.

Although this statement was made by Noel's solicitor at Harcourt Terrace Police Station

it had "disappeared" by the time of the trial.

Ronan Stenson, accused with the Murrays, was so badly beaten at Harcourt Terrace that when he was transferred to the Curragh Military Detention Centre both a military and a civilian doctor agreed that his injuries were consistent with allegations of torture.

Collapsed

Several months later Stenson was still suffering so badly from his injuries that he collapsed in the dock several times and his trial was postponed.

Stenson's evidence was vital for the defence case and because he was now unfit to stand trial or give evidence for the Murrays an application for adjournment was made.

When this was rejected by the bench Noel and Marie dismissed their counsel and refused to have anything more to do with the proceedings.

They were found guilty in their absence and sentenced to death on June 9, 1976.

After the sentence was passed an *Irish Times* reporter wrote an article for his paper criticising the trial and verdict.

Contempt

Both the reporter and the newspaper's editor were prosecuted and fined for contempt of court. This treatment was also meted out to the editor of *Hibernia Review* for having printed an article and publishing correspondence condemning the trial and sentence. *Hibernia Review* was also threatened with

sequestration.

This put a stop to any other Irish papers saying anything about the case.

While in their condemned cells the Murrays were treated in the most inhuman and what is more, illegal way.

According to the "Rules for the government of Prisons 1947" (Section 81 (1)):

"A prisoner under sentence of death may be visited by such of his relations, friends and legal advisors as he desires to see and are authorised to visit him by an order in writing from the Minister or a member of the visiting committee."

The emphasised part of these rules was used systematically by the authorities to prevent the Murrays from having contact with such friends and relations they desired to see.

Death cell

For example when Noel's uncle Willy Moloney visited Ireland to see the Murrays he was prevented from seeing Marie despite the fact that she was in the death cell.

Willy Moloney's visit to Dublin coincided with the Supreme Court hearing of the Murrays' appeal.

This was held on November 1, 1976, their appeal at the Court of Criminal Appeal having been turned down on 26 July 1976.

The Supreme Court hearing—which was held without the Murrays in attendance—found them not guilty of capital murder, and changed their sentence to one of life imprison-

ment.

The reason given for the decision was that the Special Court was wrong to have convicted the Murrays of capital murder when it had clearly not been proven or even argued during the trial that the offence was a capital one.

(Garda Reynolds was off duty and out of uniform when he was shot by the bank robbers).

Supreme Court

Even more incredible than the fact that the Special Court evidently didn't care about the lack of any argument to prove the offence was a capital one, was the fact that, as the Supreme Court ruled, Noel could never have been found guilty of a capital crime at all! (Marie is the person alleged to have shot Garda Reynolds).

The fact that the Supreme Court took five weeks to come to its decision is testimony to the efforts of the Murray Defence Committee in bringing the case to light in the face of systematic repression by the Irish authorities.

Part of the campaign involved the bringing of international legal observers to the Court hearing.

Niceties

Clearly without this work it is unlikely that such care for the legal niceties would have been shown by the Court.

Almost two years have gone by since the Supreme Court decision and Marie Murray's appeal against her conviction

has yet to be heard.

Two months ago the Court of Criminal Appeal was told that the appeal could not be heard at that time because part of the transcript of her trial had been "misaid" by the prosecution.

Loss of the transcript is, to say the least, convenient. For over the period since the Supreme Court decision there is mounting evidence that the Murrays were not guilty.

Ronan Stenson, the Murrays' co-defendant was acquitted in a separate trial.

Under duress

As outlined above, his charges of torture at Harcourt Terrace Garda Station were substantiated.

Again, the only substantial evidence against Stenson was a statement signed while he claims he was under duress.

At his retrial, Stenson's lawyers claimed that he had been held illegally—a claim that had been rejected by Judge Pringle.

This time the claim was upheld!

Even the prosecution lawyers felt that the police should have obtained a legal warrant, and asked the bench for direction.

It seems obvious that the use of this legal technicality was seen by the state as preferable to a trial in which Stenson's well corroborated claims of torture would have become the centre of the case.

Since his acquittal he has joined the Murray Defence Committee and is campaigning for their release.

A further interesting feature of the case is the missing "fourth man" allegedly involved with the Murrays and Stenson in the bank robbery.

Conjecture

It has been conjectured that the man the police suspected of being the "fourth man" had been in police custody.

To keep within the law on the authorised period for which they can detain a suspect without charges being laid, the police planned to rearrest him outside the police station immediately after his initial "release", and placed two garda at the foot of the steps to carry this out.

Sitting in a car close by was the man's mother, family doctor and a famous Irish counsel.

When he was thrown down the steps, and before the garda could rearrest him, he was

seized by his mother, doctor and counsel.

The doctor certified he was badly injured and in need of medical treatment.

When taken to a prominent Dublin hospital he was found to be suffering from five broken ribs and various other injuries.

His case against the government for these injuries has been pending for a long time—as are several other similar cases.

What are the Irish authorities scared of? Can we seriously be expected to believe that the Murrays' trial papers have been lost?

When will Marie Murray come to trial again so that all the allegations made by the Murrays can be put forward for the world to judge?

Will Stenson be allowed to give evidence at the appeal? Why are they scared of a jury trial?

As reported above, newspapers such as the *Irish Times* (hardly a well-known anarchist paper) were harassed when they printed criticism of the 'trial'.

And throughout the campaign to release the Murrays the Defence Committee has been subjected to harassment from the state forces.

Meeting rooms were denied to them, demonstrations were broken up, leaflets were taken from them.

The harassment was so great the Defence Committee reports, that at some points people were frightened to even accept leaflets from them so closely were they watched by the Garda.

As can be seen from the Murray case, and many others, repression is meted out in the Irish state against those who dare to resist imperialism north and south.

Lynch has shown that he is the equal of Callaghan in his use of special courts, torture and rigged trials.

These developments reflect the increasingly difficult position of Irish capitalism—caught in a mounting crisis for which Lynch has no answers.

Lynch and his gang have ministers travelling the world telling capitalists what cheap labour is available in Ireland and offering to build and equip factories for foreign capital to move into.

For example the Irish government built and equipped the Ferenka factory in Annacotty. Ferenka were given a grant of £6 million. They pulled out when the £6 million was exhausted in completely paying the wages of the workers.

In Waterford, where several such concerns of a smaller nature were established, they have acted in the same way.

Waterford has a population of only 30,000 people but two weeks ago a march of 20,000 people was held to protest at the treatment and neglect they have received from the government.

Borrowed money

The military were moved in to prevent the march crossing the bridge which stands in the town centre.

Lynch is living on money borrowed from the IMF.

His only assets are the prospect of pools of cheap, unemployed labour to woo foreign capital to Ireland and the encouragement of emigration (10,000 came to Britain last year).

In this situation and with the continuing struggle in the North Lynch needs to step up repression.

As we outlined in our recently published perspectives for Ireland an important part of the programme for the Irish revolution is opposition to the attacks on democratic rights being carried out in the Republic.

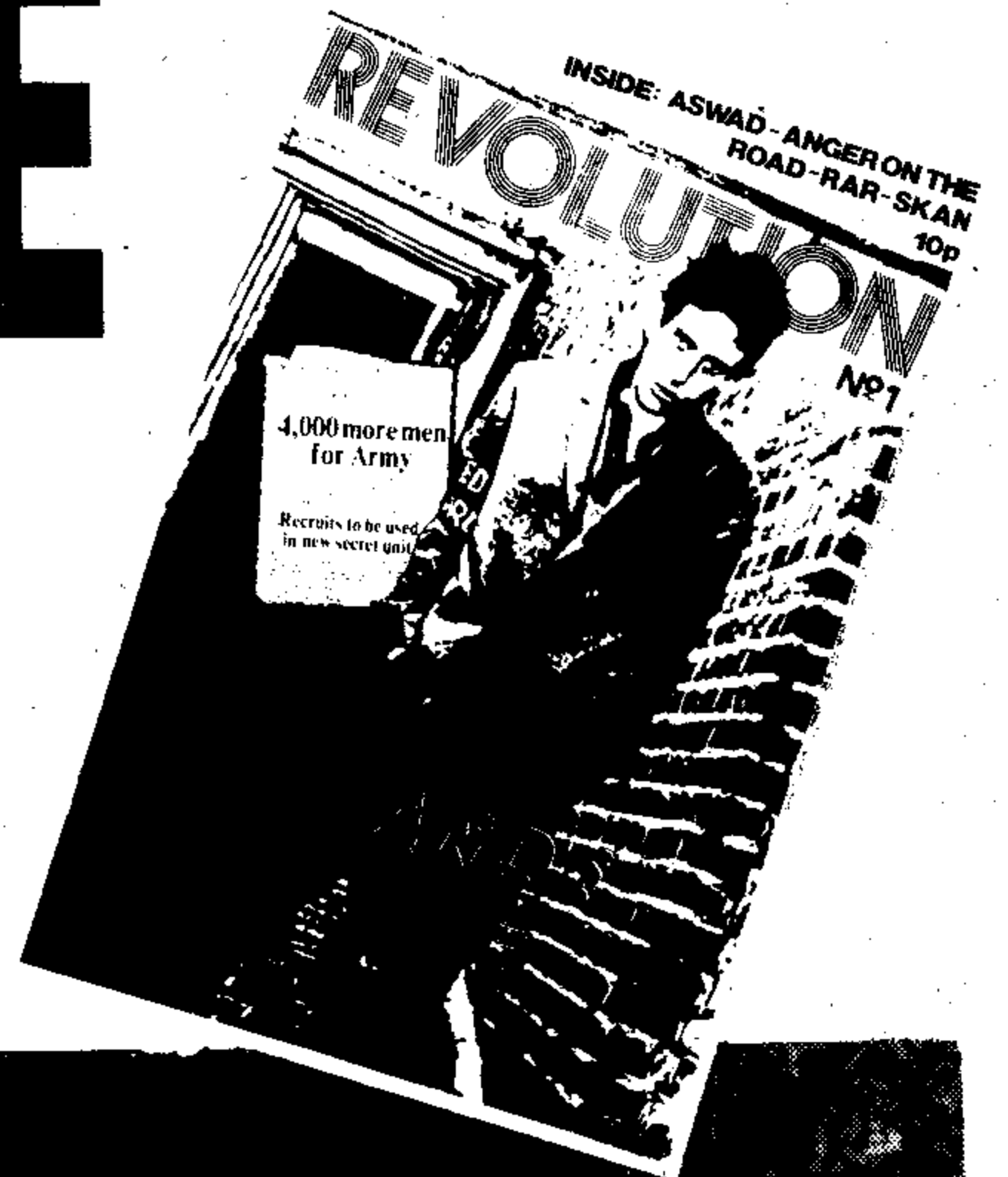
Those like the Murrays who stand up to such repression and fight—in however confused a way—to replace a brutal capitalism with a socialist system deserve our support against Irish state terror.

While we have major political differences with the anarchists it is our revolutionary duty to fight alongside them and defend them against the class enemy.

Those who have taken up the defence of the Murrays in England should consider ways they can bring further publicity to the campaign.

Socialist Press is proud to have helped in a small way to focus some attention on the case.

IMG 'UNITY' PLOY IS AN INSULT TO THE YOUTH



We are printing here a reply by the Workers Socialist League to a letter circulated by the youth organiser of the International Marxist Group to various left wing groups (including the WSL), youth groups and youth papers.

The letter, which is also reprinted here, invites its recipients to participate with the IMG in the building of a "unified revolutionary youth movement." Our reply spells out why we oppose such a project.

Dear Comrade,

We note your letter of 6 October which was addressed to *Rebel*, SWP, ICL, Big Flame, ISA, the Workers Socialist League and the Socialist Youth League and subsequently published in *Socialist Challenge*.

While the Socialist Youth League, as an autonomous youth movement in political sympathy with the WSL, is drafting its own reply to the points made in your letter, the WSL agrees strongly with the decision of their national committee to reject participation in the paper *Revolution*.

Ready to fight

Whilst agreeing with you that recent events have shown the readiness of broad sections of youth to fight racism and fascism, and that many are now turning to revolutionary politics, the WSL reaffirms its position that only with a clear revolutionary programme can this potential be developed.

Your proposal is to group together various self-styled 'Trotskyist' and centrist organisations on the basis of agreeing to disagree.

Even should some youth be attracted to the wretched amalgam of SWP, *Rebel*, IMG, ICL and Big Flame that you propose, this could only be on the basis of political confusion and the mutual hiding of sins.

We have studied your letter and *Revolution* itself.

Contempt for youth

It is characteristic of centrists to chatter endlessly, as you do, about the 'independence', 'vitality' etc. of the youth, whilst at the same time peddling a political line which displays middle class contempt for

youth at every turn. You appear to have chosen this road, but the SYL has correctly in our view, decided not to follow.

Hide and seek

The question facing young workers is that of revolutionary leadership. Yet you play hide and seek with them on this question.

Revolution declares: "We aren't tied to any political party. We think we can teach many of these 'parties' a thing or two about how they should fight for real freedom."

But we read in your letter in *Socialist Challenge* to find:

"*Revolution* is a paper launched by the IMG."

What are youth to make of this? *Revolution* refuses to say where it comes from!

Are the members of the IMG who wrote it "not tied to any political party"?

The first question to which the youth must demand an answer is that addressed by Trotsky to the centrists in France in the 1930s—"Your political passports, please, gentlemen! And not false ones, if you please—real ones!"

Disguise

Rather than standing openly for its banner and policies the IMG hopes to disguise itself and trick the youth with chatter about 'independence'.

Revolution is therefore written in advance to adapt to the existing consciousness of the youth—or rather to a caricature of that consciousness as it is perceived by the probably not-so-youthful cynics who planned it and unleashed it upon the world.

The adaptation goes so far that *Revolution* is forced to state it is "not a music



PHOTO: Mark Rusher, IFL

Rock Against Racism—does not in itself offer a way forward

paper", lest anyone should be confused after reading it.

The patronising avoidance of the serious questions facing youth is summed up in the statement "the Labour Party and the Tories are the same".

Does the IMG really think this? Then why does it call for Labour votes in elections? Why not vote Tory? Why does it eagerly seek out the possibility of 'united front' platforms with 'left' Labour MPs?

The answer is simple. In its 'adult' work the IMG recognises that unlike the Tories, Labour is a reformist workers' party. (In fact the IMG regularly capitulates uncritically to the Labour 'left' fakers, taking their radical speechifying as good coin).

'Sophisticated'

But, you can't expect youth to understand all this 'sophisticated' stuff. Clearly you don't believe that youth are up to the task of fighting for a programme which takes into account the contradictory nature of the Labour Party and which fights to expose the Labour misleaders.

Any old ultra-left rubbish will do for 'the kids'. So much for the youth in the Labour-affiliated trade unions!

They can no doubt merely echo your headline "Oh Bondage, Up Yours!" and if they happen to live in Spitalfields, East London, fall in behind your candidate—"Red Hilda", in the next election.

It appears that the IMG



Trotsky—warned of centrism leaders are not satisfied with dishonesty, they want to appear ridiculous too.

Unity is out of the question on this basis. You must be fully aware that the WSL will never be party to such an enterprise.

And the Socialist Youth League has nothing in common with a paper which supports the Anti Nazi League and hails the 'success' of its Carnival which led youth off on a diversionary musical jamboree while the National Front and police were allowed to march freely through the East End.

Unlike the IMG and SWP we do not consider that, for all its merits, 'Rocking against Racism' in itself provides any political way forward in the fight against fascism. Nor are we prepared to collaborate with you in 'internationalising' your wrong positions with stupid articles on 'Rocking Against the Tanks' in Czechoslovakia.

THE IMG LETTER

Dear Comrades,

The success of Carnival 2 clearly demonstrated that tens of thousands of young people are prepared to take part in the struggle against racism and fascism.

Furthermore, the marked interest in the various political events at the Carnival—the stalls, newspapers and marquees—indicates that thousands of youth, through their experiences in the ANL, as well as at work, on the dole, at college or at school, want to go further and take part in building a revolutionary alternative to the policies of the Labour government. A small example of this increasing interest in revolutionary politics was the sales of the new youth paper *Revolution*. Three thousand copies were sold at, or going to and from, the Carnival. In addition the entire print run of 5,500 was sold out within five days (1).

Revolution is a paper launched by the IMG. We believe its success demonstrates that the influence of revolutionary ideas amongst the youth is far broader than the influence of any particular 'far left' organisation. Our aim in launching *Revolution* is the building of an independent revolutionary youth organisation.

When the WSL talks about the independence of the Socialist Youth League as a youth movement it follows Lenin in the belief that it is necessary to allow the politically fresh youth to make mistakes.

But this also contains the need to explain the nature of mistakes and errors to youth and fight for a correct policy and perspective.

Independent because we are convinced that the best way for the youth to grasp revolutionary Marxism is through their own experiences, in their own organisation.

In other words we believe that the building of such a youth organisation, and respect for its independent character, is the most practical way to convince thousands of revolutionary-minded youth of the necessity of joining and building a revolutionary marxist party as a political alternative to reformism.

In our view historical experience has demonstrated, further, that such a marxist party will not be built simply through individual recruitment, but on the contrary, through a process of splits and fusions in existing organisations and, above all, the mass reformist parties.

In Britain, today, the fragmentation of the 'far-left' is, in our view, a major obstacle to building such a marxist party.

For this reason the IMG has consistently fought for the unity of revolutionaries into a single organisation, on the basis of a clear programme and a democratic centralist system of organisation, for the past two years.

Within such an organisation

Such a method has nothing in common with the IMG's patronising exercise of deliberately producing a paper full of error, and even religious obscurantism, on every line in the vain hope that this will attract youth.

The WSL continues to stand for the construction of a Trotskyist youth movement.

Revolution cannot bring



PHOTO: Andrew Ward, Report

Young workers are in the forefront of today's class struggle

Breaking the silence on the cuts

John Lister reviews the new Workers Socialist League pamphlet "How to Fight the Cuts", published by Folrose Ltd, price 30p plus 9p p&p from Folrose Books, 31, Dartmouth Park Hill, London NW5 1HR

Two years ago, as Chancellor Healey announced cut after cut in the budget of the Health Service, Education and other sectors of the public services, his actions were greeted by a chorus of protest from every section of the 'left'.

The pages of *Socialist Worker* and the International Marxist Group's paper *Red Weekly* teemed with articles on 'fighting the cuts'.

Even the union bureaucracy, embarrassed to the core by the savage attacks unleashed on their members by a Labour government whose policies they secretly endorsed, were pushed to the point of calling the great national demonstration of November 17 1976 which advanced on parliament demanding "Stop the cuts; Save jobs".

But now, as the impact of the cutbacks announced by Healey is really being felt in terms of actual closures in the public services, actual cuts in manning levels, actual deterioration of services and erosion of the rights of workers, the clamour has ceased.

All of a sudden hardly anyone has anything to say about the cuts.

Why? Because it is clear to all those affected that protesting about the cuts, marching against them, writing articles against them, is not enough: if there is not a serious perspective of all-out action, occupations backed by strike action, to stop the cuts, then they will proceed.

Frightened

This prospect frightens the life out of the 'left' talking union bureaucrats and their supporters in the Communist Party; it knocks the steam out of the stunt politics and opportunist practice of the Socialist Workers Party; and it leaves the rearward politicians of the International Marxist Group searching round for a bandwagon to jump on to.

The importance of the new Workers Socialist League booklet *How to fight the cuts* is that it avoids the manifest confusion and hesitation of these tendencies, pointing instead to the political lessons of two actual struggles which have gone to the lengths of all out action and been fought through tenaciously in the teeth of opposition from every quarter.

WSL members and supporters have played a prominent and influential role in both the work-in at the Elizabeth Garrett Anderson Hospital in London and in the occupation at the South Oxford Nursery class.

Not spontaneous

What transformed these bodies from limp protest to decisive action was not their spontaneously revolutionary content, but the tenacious fight within them for a clear programme and political perspective carried out consciously by Trotskyists of the WSL. The pamphlet describes the turning point in the EGA fight:

"It was not until the local labour movement became involved, when the anti-cuts sub-committee of Camden Trades Council persuaded the NUPE stewards to hold a joint meeting with them at the hospital, that the first important development took place.

"At that meeting, Workers Socialist League members from

the sub-committee, and from the parent NUPE branch at University College Hospital argued that ultimately the only way to defend the hospital was to occupy it, and for the occupation to form the basis for a workers' enquiry into the state of the hospital and for the opening of the books of the Area Health Authority to reveal details of expenditure and the health service needs in the area."

Of course these demands then caught the imagination of the EGA workers and supporters, were taken up, and became the basis of a fight extending far beyond the membership or resources of the WSL.

Eventually, in diluted form, the demands were even adopted by other 'left' groups who had at first scoffed at the ideas.

Continued fight

While sowing this crucial seed from which the EGA blossomed, the WSL has continued the fight within and around the work-in for the drive towards workers' control of the hospital, and complete independence of the work-in from the smooth-talking slow-acting union officials who seek only to head off class confrontation whenever it shows its head.

It was also WSL members who led the way in the fight for

the policy of supporting strike action—both within other hospitals and from industrial workers to back up occupations against the cuts.

We have consistently fought for action to force leaders of the public sector unions to jointly call all-out strikes to reverse the cuts and establish a sliding scale of social expenditure to maintain the social services in the face of inflation.

When this demand for supporting strikes was first put forward it, too, seemed far in advance of the labour movement in the public sector.

But the EGA struggle and subsequent battles against hospital closures in London have since shown that it is possible to mobilise supporting strike action from wide layers of the working class.

Indeed it is the continuing threat of such action in the case of moves to close the EGA that has kept it open to this day.

Of course struggles to stop the cuts will not always prove immediately successful. In fighting the cuts workers are up not only against the Labour government's strategy to preserve the profitability of ailing capitalism but also against the full weight of the bureaucratic machinery in the trade union movement, which hates nothing more than the independent struggles of the working class.

Impact

The South Oxford nursery occupation lasted six weeks, and has had a lasting impact both on the labour movement in the town, on nursery struggles nationally and on the overall fight against the cuts. But it has not prevented the closure or saved the 30 threatened nursery places.

But it has offered a clear perspective and directed relentlessly into the organised workers' movement—the trade unions and the Labour Party, whose leaders are carrying through the cuts.

If fought to the end such campaigns are never wholly defeated—they bring to the most advanced layers concerned an awareness of the political problems confronting the working class and the necessity for a principled programme and leadership.

And though the South Oxford Nursery class has itself been closed, plans by the Tory council to close the next door Middle School were simply reversed by Education Secretary Shirley Williams—clearly influenced by the prospect of a further occupation.

Experience

Our movement categorically rejects the defeatism of those groups and bureaucrats that declare or believe that workers will not fight the cuts. Our experience in practical struggle has proven otherwise.

And we reject with contempt the prospect of opportunistically hanging back on the sidelines until cuts struggles get underway before joining in mouthing the current popular slogans.

Our members, strengthened by the fights recounted in this pamphlet, remain in the forefront of the practical struggle against the cuts as a crucial part of the construction of a revolutionary party to lead the whole working class in the struggle for power.

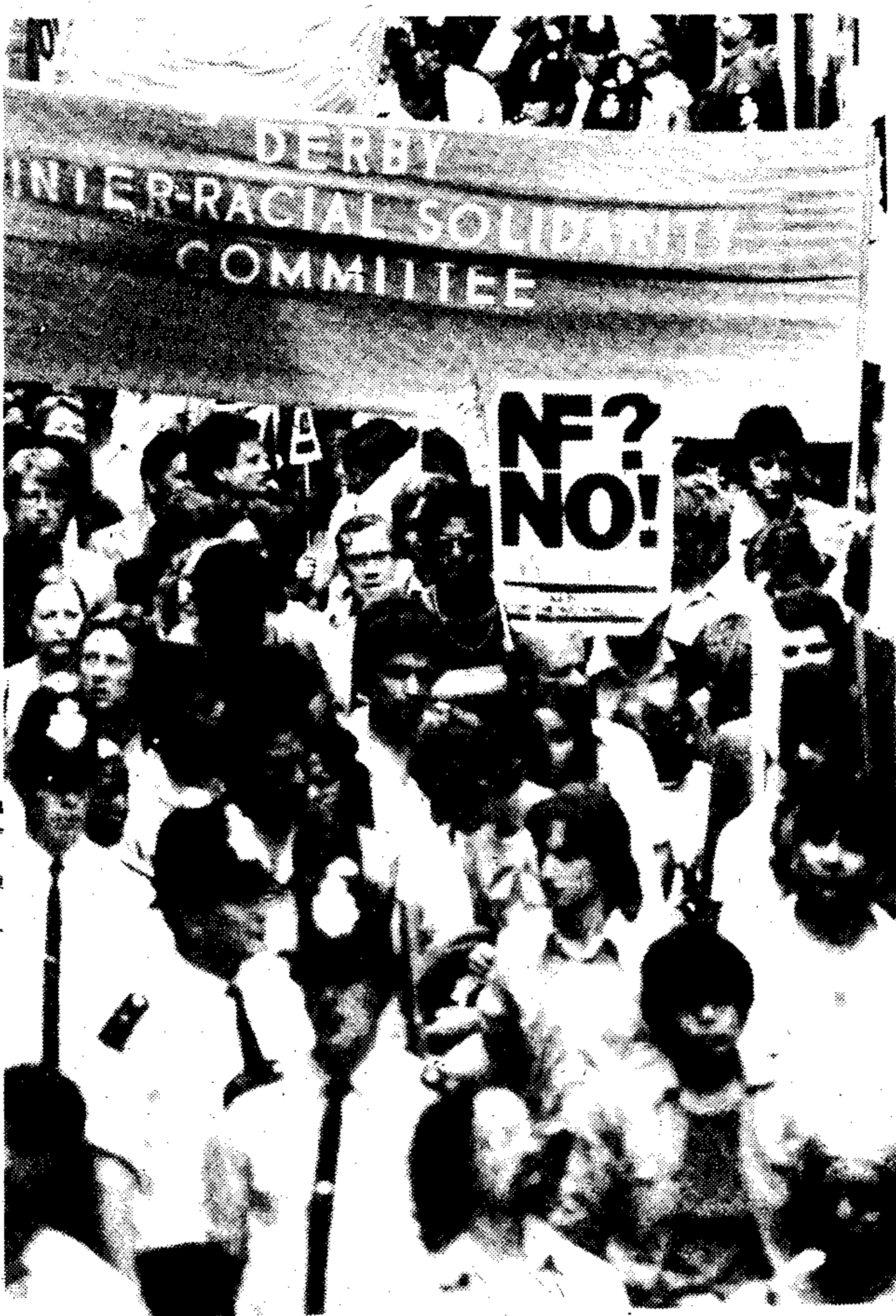


PHOTO: Andrew Ward, Report

Youth feature prominently in an anti-racist march to Brick Lane



PHOTO: Andrew Ward, Report

Revolution brands Tories and Labour as the same

we would, of course, continue to argue for all of our political positions and affiliation to the Fourth International.

Amongst the youth we believe that the necessity, and possibility, of creating a single revolutionary pole is all the more immediate. This because of the possibility of winning thousands of young people to revolutionary marxism and the youth's thoroughly healthy hostility to all varieties of sectarianism.

Thus we think it is both possible and necessary for our respective organisations to put the building of a united revolutionary youth organisation amongst our highest political priorities.

In order to test out our capacity to reach principled political agreement, and advance along this road, we propose collaboration of our respective young members and supporters in producing a revolutionary youth paper whose explicit aim would be the construction of such a unified youth organisation.

We would propose that the paper's independent character be guaranteed by editorial control being in the hands of

regular meetings/conferences of supporters starting with a national meeting in December to regularize the paper and establish both policies and democratic structures.

Without prejudicing this meeting's decisions, we give notice that we would propose the platform printed in *Revolution* No. 1 as an initial basis for discussion, and a structure based on equal representation of national political organisations and regional representation of supporters' groups.

In summary, we therefore propose:

1. Discussion of these points and any others you may wish between now and December.

2. To give equal space to the views of our respective organisations (as well as local groups) on questions of policy and structure in the December issue of *Revolution*.

3. A period of joint work between our respective organisations and supporters' groups of *Rebel*, *Red Youth* and *Revolution* between now and December.

Comradely greetings
Redmond O'Neill
(IMG Youth Organiser)

that goal any nearer.

To those serious youth who genuinely wish to see the unity of the revolutionary movement we repeat the words of Trotsky:

"When centrists begin to declaim too much about unity, the Marxist is duty-bound to be on guard. Unity between whom? In the name of what? Against whom? Unless there is a clear definition of aims and

tasks the slogan of unity can become the worst possible trap."

The IMG would have youth unite with the most confused centrist layers in the name of "unity", against a clear political programme and practice. The WSL is pleased to note the rejection of this perspective by the Socialist Youth League.



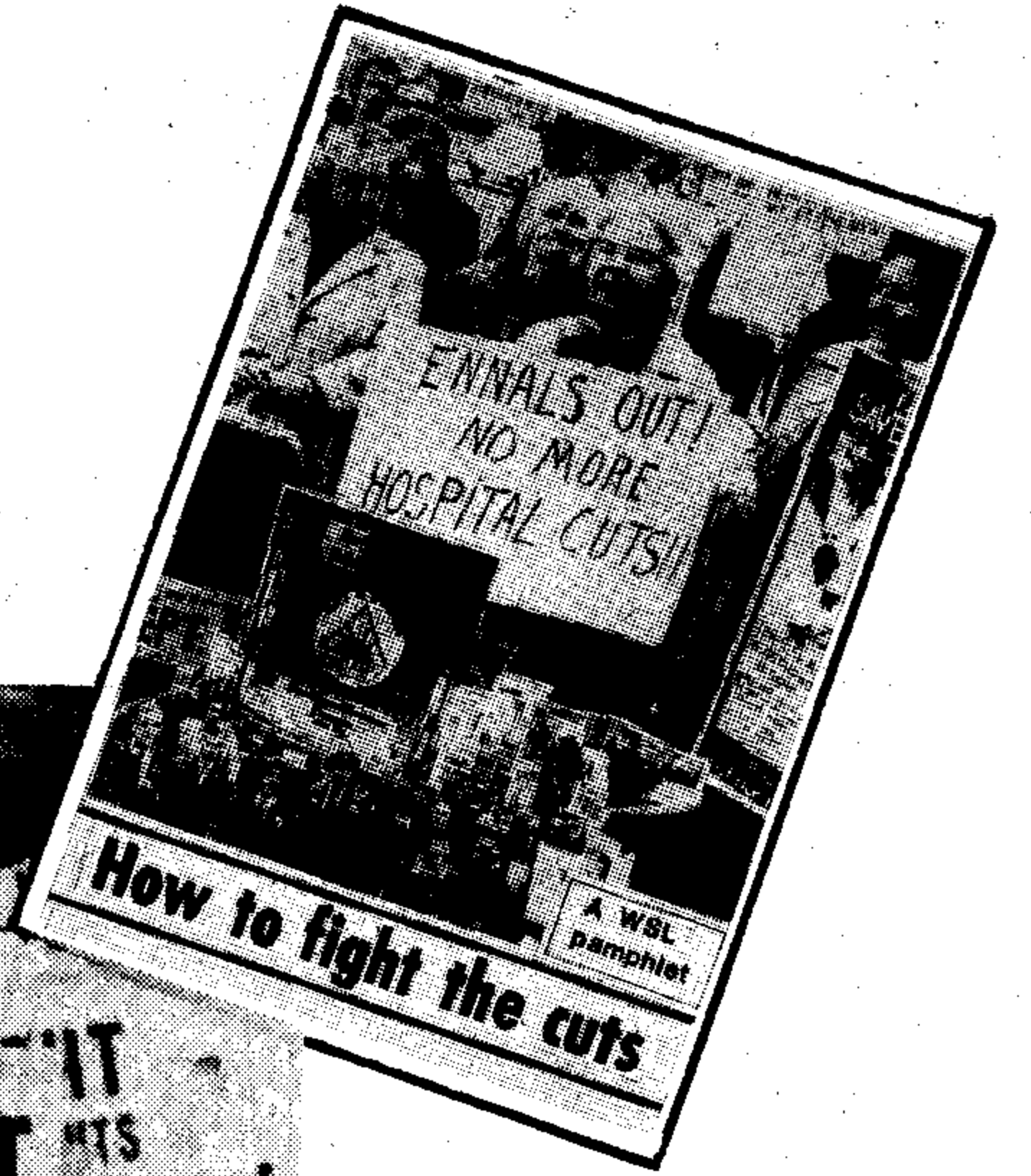
November 17, 1976: plenty of placards, but where was the action?


The booklet draws on the rich experiences of these struggles.

At first sight, neither the EGA nor the Oxford nursery seemed ideal arenas for an advanced level of proletarian struggle. The hospital staff was only partially organised into unions as the threat of closure loomed, and the Nursery Campaign remained throughout a heterogeneous grouping of parents, trade unionists, vicars, local dignitaries and left wing activists.



Nursery campaign supporters





INDUSTRIAL NEWS

Save AEC jobs!

The attack by Leyland on the 2,500 jobs at AEC Southall demands that a principled lead be given by the unions in the plant.

After years of lies and smokescreens, the plans of Leyland were revealed by a former managing director of Bus and Truck division, Des Pitcher, in a letter to the *Times* last month.

He stated that Leyland planned to close AEC by the early 1980s. Management has now said that BL does not consider AEC to be "viable from a commercial point of view".

This revelation makes nonsense of Leyland's assertions in late 1975 that over 600 redundancies would enable the plant to operate economically; or of the call now for a further 162 hourly paid and 90 office staff to walk out the gates.

Even now the management is trying to derail the fight back by putting out the idea that perhaps the plant could operate just producing engines—as long as 100 a week were produced by just 900 workers.

At the moment about 60 engines are being produced. This level of speed-up and exploitation is obviously what management will try to squeeze out of the workers in Preston and at their ultra-modern Leyland plant in Lancashire.



PHOTO: Mark Risher, IFL

Bidwell

AEC bosses have already arrogantly outlined their plans for maintaining productivity when the December 3 deadline is reached for the latest redundancies.

They want to "negotiate a fundamental change in working practices", and their proposals include total flexibility and mobility between grades, jobs and departments.

The company also wants a free hand to transfer work between departments or even to other plants to "maintain full production requirements".

If in negotiations agreement is not reached "within five days" the company will go ahead anyway and transfer the work for a minimum of three

months."

The failure of the present plant leadership to offer any clear policies to defeat these moves has been shown in a number of ways.

The convenor Mick Martin did at one time express hostility to productivity deals, but has since fought for their acceptance by the membership.

He is also a keen proponent of the reactionary 'worker participation' set-up in Leyland.

Other sections of the AEC leadership have in the past centred on a call for import controls as the way to save jobs.

Even Bill McLoughlin, the full-time AUEW official in charge of the situation—has criticised the plant leadership for its undemocratic practices.

Local 'left' MPs Sydney Bidwell and William Molloy have now written to Industry Secretary Eric Varley and Leyland boss Michael Edwardes demanding an explanation.

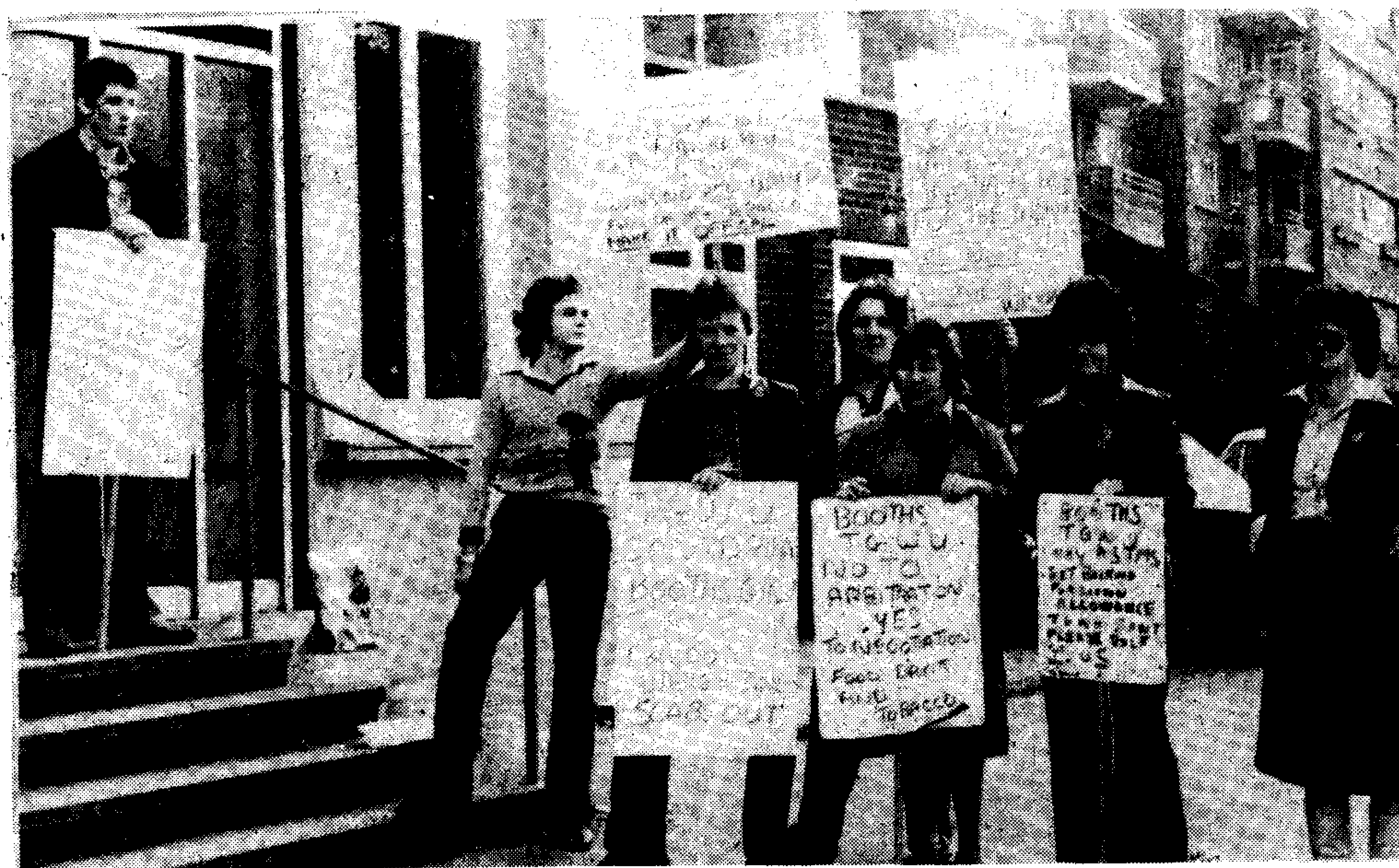
The letter apologetically stated "We feel obliged to give them (the stewards and unions) our full backing and shall act accordingly."

Two weeks ago Bidwell told the local *Gazette*:

"We've been told in the past that there is a future for AEC but decisions have got to be made soon. They should either use it or run it down."

There is little doubt which of Bidwell's options Leyland is taking up.

The only way to put an end



Strikers from Booth's Gin in West London lobby the TGWU Region 1 committee

to the rumours, lies and innuendo is by an elected trade union committee fighting for access to all the plans of Leyland Vehicles, particularly in relation to AEC.

Such a committee must be elected now at AEC to examine all the plans and accounts of Leyland Vehicles and its suppliers in order to be in a position to formulate policies to fight back.

None of the machinery must be allowed to be moved from the plant. If necessary, the plant must be occupied to enforce this policy.

The fight to save jobs at AEC is essential if West London is not to degenerate further into an unemployment black spot.

Many of the other traditional areas of employment in the area are also threatened.

Firestones on the Great West Road are threatening to close; Hoovers on the Western Avenue is planning lay-offs as are Magnatex, Crown Cork and Booth's Gin, who have been on strike for three weeks over what is basically union recognition.

Even the Airport is faced with attempts to contract and move a lot of work out to another area.

Harrowway blows the gaff

The readiness of the union leaders at Fords to sell their members short and the reluctance to see them mobilised on an independent basis was perhaps most vividly expressed by Dagenham Body Plant shop stewards chairman, Sid Harroway, in a full-page interview in the *Evening News* a full week before the mass meeting that rejected the company offer.

Without any mandate from his members Harroway—a member of the Communist Party—chatted away to the capitalist press in language that one worker correctly described as 'scab talk' and 'strikebreaking'.

Under the headline "Christmas is coming and we'll settle this weekend", Harroway's interview destroyed at one fell swoop the fraudulent claims of his Party and the Stalinist *Morning Star* to be at the head of the fight against Callaghan's wage controls.

First the *Evening News* prepared the ground with a little demoralising chatter.

"Christmas is coming, the boredom of home is blotting out the tedium of the production line (!) and their fighting spirit is speeding off in overdrive".

Then Harroway was brought in:

"I expect to see progress today. I would not be at all surprised if we had an all night session or met all

weekend. The company are looking for a settlement and so are we."

Far from asserting the right of all workers to a decent living standard, Harroway managed to present the issue in the most servile way possible—"What our lads are looking for is a reward for the success of the company".

Presumably Harroway thinks that if the company were doing badly 'our lads' would just have to knuckle down and accept a hard winter.

But the most candid statement about the position of the leadership in the Fords strike is contained in the following extract:

"... it would be wrong to call Sid a strike leader... A rueful smile lights up his face at the mention of the word leadership. 'Sometimes', he says, 'it's a job to run and get in front'."

The *Evening News* goes on to inadvertently state Harroway's real role:

"That is what makes Sid Harroway possibly the country's foremost expert on strikes. He has been sorting them out (sic!) at Fords non-stop for 31 years as a shop steward."

Harroway's position, like that of Peking Stalinist Reg Birch of the AUEW, who a week before this had described the strike as 'a ghastly mess', demonstrates that the danger to the winning of the Fords claim comes not from the rank and file, but within the leadership itself.

After the mass meetings the task of taking control out of the hands of the union bureaucrats and fighting for elected strike committees responsible to the rank and file, becomes more urgent than ever in the struggle to win the Ford claim in full.

WSL

JOIN OUR FIGHT!

The Workers Socialist League is not a movement for the faint hearted. We do not offer any peaceful backwater of abstract discussion and armchair revolution.

The fight we carry through each day in the workers' movement has often been shown to have a major impact in inflicting setbacks on the labour bureaucracy.

But it does so only because our members are prepared to fight tenaciously—sometimes against heavy odds—and in the teeth of bitter hostility from union officials, Labour fakers, Stalinists and all manner of "left-wing" opportunists.

But in arguing and fighting in practice for the building of a Trotskyist leadership capable of mobilising the working class for the struggle for state power and the establishment of a

socialist society, we are carrying through a struggle that is essential for the working class.

Unless workers are shown the necessity to break from their present leaders, they go unarmed into the fight for their independent interests.

Forefront

Understanding this, our movement has from the start, stood at the forefront of agitation to break Labour's wage controls, and for action to prevent the sale of jobs at Speke, in the steel industry, and elsewhere, by TUC bureaucrats in cahoots with management.

Time and again WSL members have deflated fiery speeches by 'left' windbags who talk of opposition to the social spending cuts but lift not a finger to mobilise strikes or occupations.

And our members have

played a key role in every major cuts struggle.

We have championed every major unionisation fight, from Grunwick to Garners and Sandersons, highlighting and fighting each step of bureaucratic betrayal and sabotage.

And the Workers Socialist League has been at the forefront of the fight in British Leyland and throughout industry to oppose the erosion of the independent shop stewards' movement through class collaboration in 'workers participation' bodies.

Stalinists

In each of these struggles and in our international work the WSL has fought to reveal and to explain the counter-revolutionary role played by the Stalinists of the Communist Parties—whether these be 'Euro-communist' parties or those

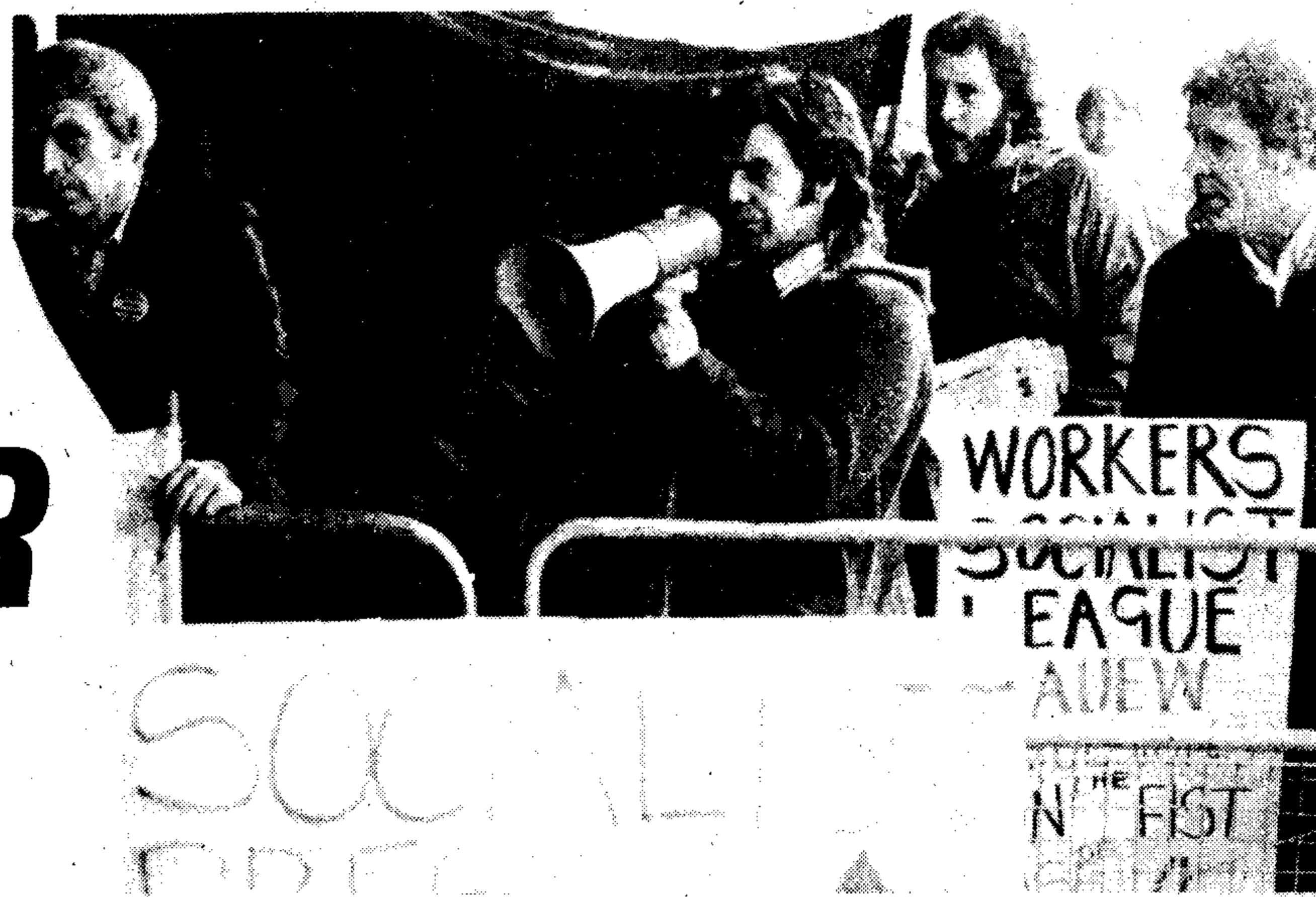
adhering to Moscow.

Our principled stand on these issues has also vividly exposed the opportunism and confusion of the various other left groups who claim to offer workers a 'revolutionary' alternative.

And the practical experience we have gained in the fight for the Trotskyist Transitional Programme has convinced us of the necessity to reconstruct the Fourth International as the World Party of Socialist Revolution, on the principles established at its foundation in 1938.

We call on *Socialist Press* readers and supporters to consider the coming struggles, the problems they face, and the necessity of a principled lead in each day-to-day fight.

Why not join us? Our local branch would be pleased to tell you more about our programme, policies and perspective.



Harroway interviewed during a strike in 1977

PHOTO: John Sturrock, Report

Garners boss 'no' to talks

Print union bureaucrats expel strikers

As the strike at the Usher Walker printing inks factory moved into its fourth week the NATSOPA union bureaucracy have attempted to smash the strike by expelling every temporary card member in the chapel.

This vicious action is a clear indication that the NATSOPA bureaucrats are not prepared to let their members defend even the most basic democratic rights.

They are scared that even the smallest fight by their members will erupt into a full scale battle by powerful sections of the working class such as Fleet Street workers to defend jobs and conditions.

Sackings

The strike against Victorian-style employers of Usher-Walker began on 10 October.

The previous day, at a joint Usher Walker NATSOPA meeting, the

company said that they intended to make between 15 and 20 men of their own choosing redundant and compulsorily retire seven men.

This is on a site which even management had admitted the previous week was six men undermanned!

Union bureaucrat Dave Hutchinson also agreed (at a private meeting with management) that his members should lose money owed to them from an earlier dispute.

The members of the Chapel decided that the

only way to react to this threat to sack their militant chapel leadership was to take indefinite strike action.

Hutchinson, full-time branch secretary, said that this broke rule 32 of the Society's rules and since that time has consistently tried to defeat the strike.

In collusion with various other scab bureaucrats he has gone to the lengths of issuing NATSOPA membership cards to members of the United Road Transport Union (a scab union) in order for strike-breaking supplies of news ink to be

delivered to Fleet Street.

More recently he has ordered the ending of any assistance to the Usher Walker strike by fellow NATSOPA members in Fleet Street, with the threat of disciplinary action if they do not.

Disciplinary threat

Other bureaucrats, determined not to be outdone in attempting to smash the strike, have threatened workers at the firm's sister-factory with disciplinary action if they refuse to do work stopped by the strike.

Even after all of this scabbing the bureaucracy was still not satisfied and threatened that the entire chapel could be expelled.

Last week they summoned the strikers to a special branch meeting to discuss not how the strike could be won, but why they had broken rule 32 (i.e. gone on unofficial strike).

The chapel decided that they would be unable to attend as some members were picketing the firm's plant in Manchester and some had not been notified.

With no one attending the meeting the bureaucracy felt strong enough to expel a large percentage of the strikers from NATSOPA.

Using the excuse of non-attendance as a reason for the expulsions, the bureaucracy have made their most determined effort to date to smash the strike.

Picketing

Nevertheless the strike remains strong. Despite being small in numbers (less than 100) the workers have kept picketing Fleet Street and pickets have been sent to the sister-factory in Manchester to ensure that London work is not done.

Other NATSOPA militants have supported the strike in a number of ways. Last week a chapel at the *Financial Times* sent a motion to NATSOPA House demanding that the strike be made official.

Members of other unions have also shown support. A tanker carrying 90 tons of Usher Walker ink has been blacked by the TGWU and will remain idle until the dispute is settled.

Petrified

The bureaucrats of NATSOPA are petrified of the Usher Walker strike and the way its victory would encourage their membership to struggle. Other members of NATSOPA must tell the bureaucracy that they are not prepared to let them get away with their treachery.

Black all supplies to Usher Walker!

Black scab news ink! Demand that the strike be made official!

Immediate readmission to the expelled strikers!

Kick out the union scabs and parasites—build a revolutionary leadership in NATSOPA!

Financial contributions and messages of support should be sent to: Jimmy Burton FoC, Usher Walker Strike Committee, C/o NELP Students Union, Livingstone House, Livingstone Road, London E15.

Last week's arrogant statement by Garners Steak House boss Margolis that he will have 'no talks with the union negotiators' marks a surprising turn in the nine-month strike.

Those closest to the dispute had concluded that Margolis was close to bankruptcy and almost on the point of surrender to the strike committee's demands of full recognition and full reinstatement.

TGWU Regional Committee members last week also confirmed that Margolis had made several attempts to end the strike.

But, strengthened by the falling off in outside support on the picket lines, and the refusal of the Regional Committee to take action to force the closure of his restaurants, Margolis has effectively stuck up two fingers to the biggest union in the country.

Strikers however, remain determined to win this dispute which their officials are determined to lose. Last Tuesday they lobbied the Regional Committee, demanding that:

*Each trade group "adopt" a Garners restaurant for continued picketing.

*More finance be made available above the £2,000 just given by the GEC.

*An official be allocated to the strike.

*Region 1 support a TGWU national delegate conference on the strike.

Garment workers leaders under fire in the North

The Guinness Book of Records tells of a man who spent seven days crawling on his knees and claimed a world record.

Workers in the textile industry in the North-west of England flatly deny such a claim—since most of their officials have been crawling on their knees for the last 20 years!

Recent wage negotiations for the industry show the validity of their claim—the following are

extracts from letters exchanged between Jack MacGougan, General Secretary of the National Union of Tailors and Garment Workers and other full time officials.

September 14 "... There is, however, no change in the decision to accept the Clothing Manufacturers' Federation condition that negotiations should be within the framework of the White Paper ... It was also agreed not to oppose an employers' request for an adjournment of the wages council meeting."

September 20 "The clothing Manufacturers Federation made it a condition of negotiations that the agreement be within the terms of the government's 5%. The Executive Board ... accept these conditions."

October 16 "The replies [from branches opposing the sell-out] indicated a volume of dissatisfaction at the terms of the settlement" [!] "... the replies indicated outright rejection of the government's White Paper." "... The Executive Board gave serious consideration to the objections raised, but it should be pointed out that at the outset of the negotiations the employers indicated that they were only prepared to negotiate within the terms of the government White Paper."

"After a careful review of the circumstances of the industry, the Executive Board

agreed that it was in the interest of the union to negotiate on that basis."

"The Executive Board, taking cognisance of the current situation and the replies from branches, decided to ratify the agreement on the condition that the Clothing Manufacturers Federation agree to arrange a meeting in January 1979 with the Executive Board to review the position in the light of developments in industrial relations generally."

The employers rejected that 'condition' and the union accepted the rejection.

In a recent NUT&GW pamphlet "Employment in clothing—a struggle for survival" we also read the following:

"While there is genuine cause for optimism about the future of the UK clothing industry, it would, however, be a classic example of wishful thinking if we were to believe that employment in the industry had reached the end of its contraction ...

"It is a sobering thought [!] that the International Labour Office (ILO) have warned that technological progress and changes in international trade are likely to make 1.6 million Western European textile workers redundant by 1985."

That the leadership of the NUT&GW will do nothing to defend those jobs is clear from

the fact that in the past twelve months plants have closed at Preston, Clitheroe, Bolton and Crewe, with a further 650 members due to be sacked from the Burtons plant at Bolton.

In that whole period the union's national disputes benefits paid out amount to an unbelievable £29!

But at a recent North West Regional Shop Stewards conference representing 20,000 NUT&GW members, union officials including MacGougan suffered a severe setback when a WSL supporter and factory convenor from Winsford fought successfully for the conference to allow picketing strikers from Brentwear Ltd, Stockport, into the hall.

She then went on to attack the leadership's support for wage limitation, called for the opening of the books of companies declaring insolvency, and attacked the officials for not supporting the nationalisation of the clothing industry under workers' management and control.

All this took place under an item on the agenda entitled "1.15 to 3.00pm Work Study—a lecture and discussion led by Mr. V. Fairbrother." In this fight she received the total support from all shop stewards present.

The fight to remove the well-fed NUT&GW crawlers began at that point.



The Garners lobby

Mass meetings end doubts

Despite the concerted efforts of the capitalist press to portray confusion and division after the vote at Ford Dagenham the general mood of the workers was optimistic and determined.

"Now the fight has been won" was the comment of one picket at the Paint, Trim and Assembly Plant after the mass meeting.

Many pickets themselves admitted surprise at the overwhelming rejection of the company's offer by Ford workers all over the country.

It had been felt that the length of the strike, under conditions where strikers have been isolated in their homes short of cash, would have led to a readiness to accept a deal and return to work.

The vote, however, showed the firm resolution of the Ford workforce to defend their living standards.

Before the mass meeting one worker from the Engine Plant summed up the mood of the

majority when he said, "I want to get back to work, especially with Christmas coming on for the kids. But they'll have to make an offer worth talking about before I do."

Referring to the attendance allowance penalty clause in the company's offer he said "I don't want to work for a company that doesn't care about its workers."

In a discussion of the picket lines many strikers have shown scepticism in the past towards the policy advocated by the Workers Socialist League and *Socialist Press*, that regular mass meetings should be held throughout the course of the strike.

The results of the nationwide meetings prove, however, that the reason the trade union leaders have not done this is not fear of the strike being ended by swarms of angry 'moderates' but a desire not to unleash rank and file militancy and frustration by involving the whole membership in the running of the struggle.

Mass picket call

Strikers at the Chipping Warden warehouse of House of Holland won an important victory last week against moves to destroy the strike.

They are now calling for a mass picket to shut the factory down.

They told them that the strike must be called off (with the strikers sacked) as the TGWU now accepted that management had an agreement with USDAW.

Earlier USDAW had admitted that they do not have a single member in the Chipping Warden warehouse or any House of Holland shops.

The strikers correctly refused to allow their decision to be influenced by anyone not giving the strike active support, and, having rejected Hulett's ultimatum, went to West Bromwich to confront the Regional

Secretary, Brian Mathers.

That USDAW, and management were aware of Hulett's moves the strikers had little doubt.

The USDAW official actually turned up at the picket within an hour of the strikers' meeting Hulett and, surprised to find the picket still there, crossed it to meet management!

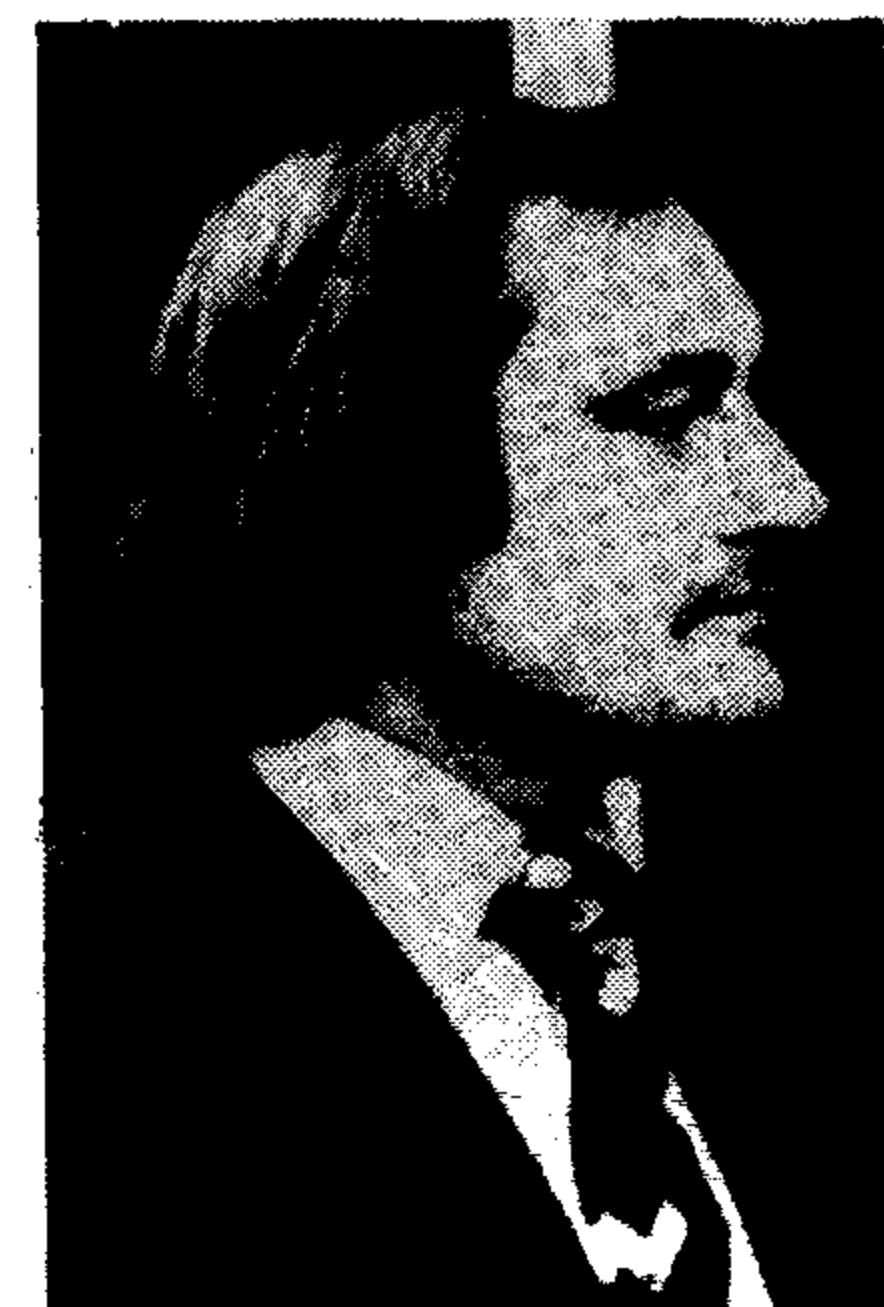
Mathers, however, said "I don't think we should be a strike."

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Secretary, Brian Mathers. They have called for a mass picket at the warehouse at



Hulett

"I will be in Monday 20 November and for the strikers to be prepared to back it."

We urge a supporter to fight for union, trades council and Labour Party delegations to join the picket.

The factory is at Chipping Warden on the Banbury to Daventry Road, and is next to the Export Packing Services factory.

Donations and messages of support to House of Holland Strike Committee, 15 Plowden Close, Aston-Le-Walls, Daventry Northants.

SOCIALIST PRESS

BL PAY STRIKES START

SPREAD THE Ford, Leyland, Bakers ... STRIKES! KICK OUT CALLAGHAN!

Within hours of the Queen's Speech debate in which Prime Minister Callaghan nailed his colours to the mast of the 5% pay limit, Ford workers all over the country came together in a series of mass meetings that threw out the company's 14.9% and penalty clauses pay offer.

The same day in Birmingham 3,000 manual workers from Leyland's Drews Lane Tractor and Transmissions factory were storming out of the gates after a unanimous mass meeting vote for an indefinite strike against their 5%-with-strings offer.

And, in London, Bakers Union General Secretary Sam Maddox was threatening a national strike in pursuit of the union's 25% pay claim—which on their current rates would still only give a £10 rise.

These moves are only part of a general upsurge on pay that could paralyse much of British industry in the coming period, and raise with new sharpness the question of the continued rule of this reactionary Labour government.

*Mass meetings have begun in British Oxygen, where workers are recommended to reject a 9% offer.

*A majority of Michelin workers have already thrown out a 9-11½%-with-strings offer.

*5,000 Scottish lorry drivers have been recommended to reject a 5% offer, and press their 25% claim.

*1 million local authority workers are pressing pay claims of 40%—demanding a £60 minimum wage for a 35-hour week.

Closeted

Yet even while workers continue to register their bitter hostility to all forms of wage controls, TUC leaders remain closeted this week with ministers in a last-ditch bid to agree an economic policy, and public sector union chiefs continue to stall on wage demands for their millions of members.

Callaghan, confident that no Labour MP or union leader is prepared to campaign for his removal from office, carries on—regardless of Labour Party conference and TUC Congress policy—to uphold the 5% limit.

The sharp escalation of the pay struggle has brought a retreat by the Tories, afraid that they might find themselves catapulted into office pledged to end wage controls in a period



Ford strikers' wives demonstrate in Southampton

of massive pay strikes.

In her reply to the Queen's Speech last week Thatcher carefully avoided attacking the concept of pay restraint, and was ridiculed by Callaghan for her desperate efforts to find a half-way house between rigid wage controls and free collective bargaining.

There is no compromise possible—for all the waffle of TUC leaders. The 5% pay limit must be destroyed in action, and the Callaghan cabinet that spawned it must be driven out.

Workers' living standards can only be defended through large increases protected against future inflation through cost of living clauses based on a trade union/housewives price index. Jobs can only be defended if every job-cutting productivity plan is thrown out.

To carry out such a fight a new leadership is necessary in the workers' movement, independent of the TUC and Labour bureaucracy.

As the strike wave grows, each section of workers in struggle must take steps to unite in local councils of action, drawing delegates from every working class trade union and political organisation in each area.

Within these councils of action Marxists will argue for

and organise the strengthening and spreading of picketing and pay strikes—especially into the public sector, and an all-out campaign throughout the labour movement to remove Callaghan and Healey, demanding that the so-called Labour 'lefts' join in this fight.

Should any 'left' MP or union official take up this call, they must be supported on this and pressed to go further.

Those that refuse, and prefer to allow Callaghan to attack their members and supporters, can be exposed to the workers' movement.

Such political struggles, in the context of a growing movement on wages, can demonstrate in practice to increasing numbers of workers that a revolutionary party, not a group of 'left' talking opportunists, must be built to defend the independent interests of the working class, which can only be secured in the struggle for socialism.

The indefinite strike at British Leyland's Tractor and Transmissions plant has already shut down all production of Maxi, Marina and Princess cars at the Cowley plants, as well as MG Abingdon.

As we go to press the Mini and Allegro production at Longbridge is grinding to a halt. The dispute will stop the whole of Leyland.

Convenor Arthur Harper, declaring that no meetings will be held until the company concedes, went on television to describe Leyland workers as "lions led by donkeys".

The strike has abruptly halted the company's plans to connect the pay review with its proposals for pay parity linked to speed-up—and to ballot for them at company level. Even the 5% pay offer is conditional on acceptance of the parity proposals.

But the principled fight at the Cowley Assembly Plant against corporate-level bargaining and for a plant claim of £27, a 35-hour week and a cost of living clause, has pressured every other plant into submitting its own claim.



Until that point convenors were all set to comply with the company's plans. In fact Jaguar stewards only put in their claim last week, while Rovers held a mass meeting to endorse their claim last Friday—two days after the supposed settlement date, and at the same time as the Drews Lane walkout!

But the most conscious sabotage of the pay fight has been carried out by Longbridge convenor, Communist Party member Derek Robinson, and fellow Stalinist Peter Nicholas at Rovers.

Conned

Robinson in particular conned a 600-strong stewards' meeting, getting them to vote in favour of a resolution allowing the negotiating committee to choose one of three options.

These were: 1) giving BL until December 1 to improve their offer; 2) immediate strike action; or 3) negotiation with no action.

Having won carte blanche, Robinson predictably put option 1 to Friday's mass meeting—effectively heading off any action alongside Fords, and bringing the talks closer to Christmas.

The Communist Party registered its support for this tactic in the *Morning Star*, which criticised the Drews Lane strike on Friday and failed to mention it in Monday's pay strike round-up!

Meanwhile in the Cowley Assembly Plant, a stewards' meeting is to be held on Tuesday and a mass meeting on Thursday to endorse the negotiating committee's rejection of the 5% offer and decide on further action.



Still talking—Duffy

PHOTO: Laurence Spetham, IFL

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WORKERS SOCIALIST LEAGUE

Public meeting

Strike now! Break the 5%!

Wednesday November 15 at 7.30 p.m. St. John's Hall Scarisbrick Street SOUTHPORT