

# SOCIALIST PRESS



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Affiliated to the Trotskyist International Liaison Committee

## THE CALL FOR A WORKERS' GOVERNMENT CENTRE PAGES Next issue

Socialist Press is taking its summer break.  
The next issue will appear on Wednesday 30  
July.

# Daily Mail



MONDAY, JULY 14, 1980

## SCHOOL FOR SLANDER



Longmuir

Months of surveillance and investigation and weeks of harassment by journalists and photographers of Workers Socialist League members and supporters is being turned into a series of wildly inaccurate witch-hunting articles in the *Daily Mail* as we go to press.

Desperate to draw a (non-existent) link between the WSL and armed guerrilla groups around the world, the *Mail* reporters make up in imagination

for what they lack in evidence.

The investigations for this series go back many months to the appeal by Ted Heslin, an Oxford supporter of *Socialist Press* and leading Labour Party member to the Labour Party NEC against his expulsion by the local CLP.

The *Mail* covered the lengthy appeal process with headlines like "Victory to Red Ted" and "Labour Lets in the Reds".

Labour Party members lobbying the NEC were photographed and the *Mail* named

them, together with positions that they allegedly held in the WSL.

More recently a *Mail* freelance photographer turned up on a picket line outside Adwest Engineering in Reading to photograph WSL supporters (many of them in the same union as the Reading strikers) and to write a witch-hunting piece alleging, once again without a scrap of proof, WSL "links" with the PLO and the IRA.

But it has been in the last fortnight that the investigation has become most intense. Porter, together with Harry Longmuir have been based at Oxford's plush Randolph Hotel, carrying out a money-no-object, in-depth investigation into the WSL.

Members and supporters have been harassed on the phone and at their front doors; a doctor was followed by a photographer on his afternoon round of patients and a woman was followed through the streets of Oxford for an hour by Porter and Longmuir trying to locate a militant from BL's Cowley

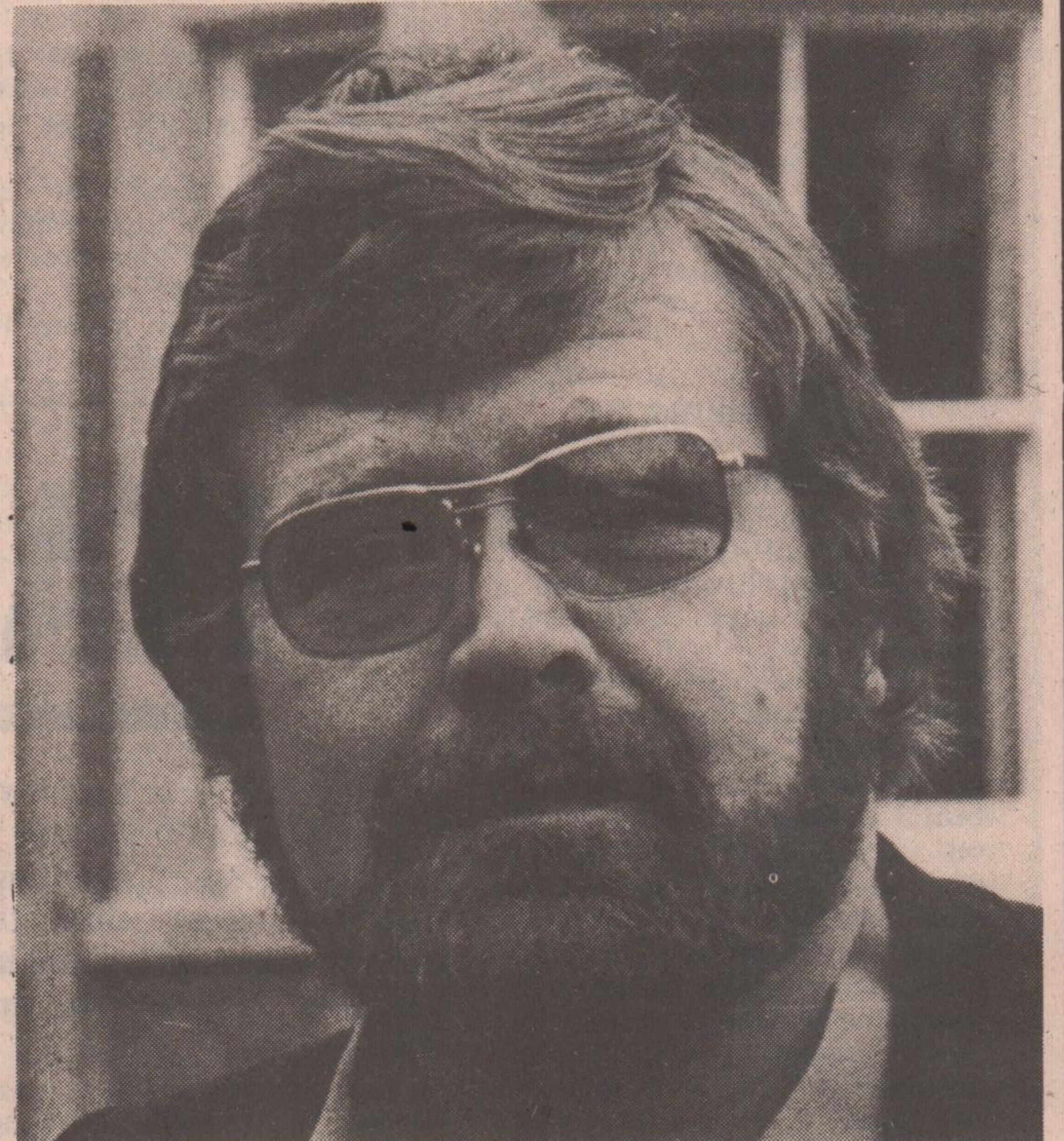
factory.

The first article in what promises to be a lengthy series appeared in Monday's *Daily Mail*.

On the front page the *Mail* led on the fact that the WSL is to hold a summer school next week for members and supporters which will be attended by international organisations, some of which are affiliated to the Trotskyist International Liaison Committee.

Described as a "school for subversion", the *Mail* ignores the agenda of the conference which has been published in *Socialist Press* every week for the last couple of months and which clearly demonstrates that the school is about the fight to win mass support for the policies of the small forces of Trotskyism.

Instead, the *Mail* tries to develop the theme of the WSL's supposed links with terrorism by pointing out that "some (delegates) face arrest in their home countries and others are actively involved in armed struggles".



Porter

Socialists from at least one country—Chile—would certainly face arrest for their political views—even the TUC would be illegal under the Pinochet dictatorship.

Needless to say no guerrilla groups will be attending the summer school.

Perhaps the most scandalous aspect of the *Mail* report of the summer school, however, are the statements by trade union leaders.

Frank Chapple, right wing leader of the EETPU is quoted by the *Mail* as urging security forces to ensure telephones at the summer school are tapped, and that a full report of the proceedings is obtained!

Railwaymen's leader Sid Weighell argued that: "These links with foreign organisations should be thoroughly investigated".

Such is the cringing subservience of these reformist leaders to capitalism in crisis that they are prepared to line up with the most right wing forces—including a Tory paper whose record extended in the 1930s to support for Mosley's fascists and Hitler—against trade unionists and socialists within the labour movement.

John Patten, Tory MP for Oxford called for the summer school to be banned and pressure will no doubt continue to be placed on the education authority to cancel the hall booking for the summer school.

The article in the *Mail* witch-hunting the WSL summer school

has the gall to refer favourably to a "meeting of Conservative and Allied European Parties in Austria".

An international gathering of reactionaries is clearly in order as far as the *Mail* is concerned.

It is only when revolutionary Trotskyists get together to discuss how they can win the support of the masses in the fight against exploitation and oppression that these "defenders of democracy" desperately try to witch-hunt such a gathering to a standstill.

Another aspect of the first *Mail* article is its other pet theme of "WSL infiltration into the Labour Party".

The *Mail*, of course, backs Callaghan, Healey and the right wing all the way in their struggle against socialist policies and against any moves to democratise the Labour Party—no matter how limited those moves might be.

Their campaign which attempts to draw a link between Benn and the left wing of the Labour Party NEC and Trotskyist groups with which, of course, they have nothing in common, has been growing in the course of the Heslin case.

It can be expected to reach its climax in the lead up to the Labour Party conference in the autumn.

The Workers Socialist League and its supporters within the trade unions and the Labour Party will not be intimidated by this crude witch-hunting.

The growing economic and political crisis confronting the capitalist system at home and abroad makes witch-hunts by the press and surveillance by the state all the more inevitable.

What the state, the press and the reformists and Stalinists at the head of the labour movement fear most is that the working class and oppressed masses around the world will turn to the revolutionary policies of Trotskyism.

They fear the independent mobilisation of the masses around their own class interests in confrontation with capital and its agents both within the labour movement and the state.

The Workers Socialist League and the Trotskyist International Liaison Committee will continue the fight to build Trotskyist parties and for the reconstruction of the Fourth International to lead the masses in the struggles that they now face.

We call on socialists in Britain and internationally to join us in that fight.

## THE GUNMAN THEY WON'T NAME!

Charlie Cramp is a freelance photographer. He is a member of the Central London Freelance Branch of the National Union of Journalists. He is not a nice guy.

He is known among journalists as a man who is sent on the sort of job where the people he is to photograph might not like what he is doing. He goes, therefore, prepared for trouble.

Last Wednesday, the *Daily Mail* employed him to go to Oxford and take photographs of members and supporters of the Workers Socialist League.

Cramp, who is well known for his anti-communist views, parked in the Oxford street where Alan Thornett has his home.

During the morning he approached another house and

asked for a woman by name, hoping to establish whether she was there.

He then waited outside, hoping to photograph her. (He had the wrong house).

But that same afternoon, he returned to the street, where he was photographed in his car by *Socialist Press* staff.

### Photographed

When Alan Thornett, a shop steward at BL's Cowley plant returned from work he, too, was photographed by Cramp.

Thornett demanded that Cramp identify himself. Cramp refused, claiming that it was none of Thornett's business.

Thornett then grabbed Cramp's camera which lay on his lap as he sat in his car.

It was at this point that Thornett says Cramp leapt out

of his car with a large revolver in his hand.

Holding the gun down at his side with the chamber open, Cramp came round the car and told Thornett: "I'm not joking, give me that camera".

Another BL steward, Tony Richardson, who was with Thornett at the time suggested that Thornett return the camera as Cramp was holding a gun.

Thornett returned the camera—and Cramp jumped back into his car and sped off down the road.

The police were called and traced Cramp's car back to the *Daily Mail*. Before they were able to pick Cramp up, he was tipped off and surrendered himself to the police, denying the accusation and claiming that he had a "tyre lever" in his hand

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Cramp

# Crackdown in S. Africa carworkers "Free State" force back bosses

The tattered "nationalist" credentials attributed to Irish Prime Minister Charles Haughey when he came to office last year have rapidly fallen by the wayside in the light of his increasingly servile relationship to British imperialism and the Thatcher government.

But this external policy has been linked up with internal moves to repress republican forces fighting to force imperialist troops out of the occupied six counties.

## Problems

This drive has not been without its problems—in particular the successful appeal by IRSP militant Osgar Breatnach against his frame-up sentence for a mail train robbery.

But it continues with a savage offensive by police in the "Free State". *Republican News* last week headlined on the brutal assault by Donegal police on republican sympathisers, who were subjected to beatings and torture in an attempt to force them into confessions that would secure their conviction in the Special Court.

The paper gave detailed accounts of the maltreatment meted out by Haughey's police, underlining the level of repression that exists in the 26 counties.

But more repression is on the way. 'Justice' Minister Gerry Collins last week announced that a special cabinet meeting had instructed the Attorney General to draw up new, even more draconian laws supposedly to combat "terrorism".

Using the pretext of the killing of two policemen last Monday, Haughey's gang are proposing to:

\*Put the onus on the accused to prove his/her innocence instead of the prosecution having to prove guilt.

\*Make it even harder for suspects to obtain bail.

\*Refuse suspects the right to remain silent while under interrogation.

This last proposal is not only outrageous in itself, but obviously implies an actual license to torture suspects who refuse to speak to their police captors, in order to force them to break their silence.

These latest moves to crush elementary democratic rights in the "Free State" are the bitter price being paid by Irish workers for the preservation of the six county statelet in the North and of Haughey's puppet capitalist regime in the 26 counties.

Workers in the motor industry in the Port Elizabeth industrial area of South Africa have added the strength of their independent actions to the pay demands currently being negotiated between union officials and management.

Unwilling to rely on union officials to make the voice of workers heard, and determined to pursue their wage demands, more than 10,000 workers have at different times over the last month, taken independent strike action.

The developing strike wave demonstrated a militant and determined working class and brought an almost immediate 20% offer from most of the employers. This, in itself, represents a significant success for the strikers.

## Rejected

Union officials described the offer as satisfactory and immediately agreed to it.

The response of workers was different—meetings at the major Ford, General Motors and Volkswagen plants all rejected the offer. The reaction of union officials was one of "surprise".

The same union officials had also been "surprised" at the last wave of strikes at Ford, as they were at the emergence of the more recent strike wave.

The only event in the struggles of the Port Elizabeth motor workers which cannot have surprised their union officials at all was the return to work.

It was only in this aspect of the struggles that the union was totally involved.

## Solidarity

Workers have shown their willingness to struggle on the basis of their own class power, drawing strength from the solidarity of their fellow workers.

Their rejection of the employers' offer emphasises their growing confidence and determination. It was the independent strike action, taken by the VW workforce and immediately strengthened by stoppages at other major plants, that added decisive weight to the wage demands under negotiation, and won workers the 20% offer.

This ongoing struggle stood threatened however not only by the threat of dismissal, unemployment and state repression, but by the active misleadership of their own union officers.

The intervention of the union leadership was central in ensuring a return to work at most of the plants which had come out alongside the VW workers.

Even though workers at major plants subsequently joined the VW workers in rejecting the 20% offer union officials succeeded in dissuading them from coming out alongside VW again.

## Reversed

VW management then announced that it was implementing the 20% offer on July 1 in an effort to break the strike—but this attracted only 60 of a striking workforce of 3,500.

It was only after union intervention had successfully reversed the immediate development of the strike to other plants, that the VW workers, themselves relatively isolated, bowed to strong union pressure and returned to work.

Despite the return to work, workers have made clear their rejection of the 20% offer, and negotiations are continuing between employers and the union.

Reformist unionists who start off accepting capital's right to make profits are inevitably caught up in a web of compromises with employers, at the expense of the workers' interests. Such reformist misleadership can only stand as an obstacle to the struggle for workers' demands.

It is essential that workers at every workplace develop independent workers committees through which to take up and organise the struggle for their demands.

## Control

It is only through the development of such committees that workers' control of unions can be insured, and independent unions, committed uncompromisingly to the achievement of workers' interests, be built.

For the motor workers at the present time, it is through such committees that an effective working class voice can be added to the current management-union negotiations, and unified class action be prepared in support of wage demands.

Build independent workers committees at each workplace. Build independent trade unions.

Prepare joint strike action through the motor industry in support of wage demands.

Protect wages through a sliding scale.

For a national minimum wage, to be set by workers' committees and protected through a sliding scale.

# ITALY FACES SLUMP

After last year's relatively fast economic growth in Italy, latest economic figures suggest that the Italian economy is plunging headlong into a new and deep slump.

Last month industrial production fell by 10% even when seasonal factors had been allowed for. For the first five months of the year the trade

deficit soared to 7000 million lira.

These intimations of economic catastrophe underline the serious situation which led to the latest set of crisis measures introduced last week.

The main aim of these measures is, of course, to impose the burdens of this crisis on the working class.

This is to be done by price increases on a whole range of public utilities such as electric-

ity and telephones and increases in VAT and petrol tax.

Even these measures will cut the public sector borrowing requirement only from 40,000 million lira to 38,000 million lira.

But it is the most that the pathetically weak Cossiga government can possibly hope to get away with.

But, despite the fact that the main union leaders have agreed to Cossiga's attack on the working class, there are already signs that he may not be able to get away with it.

Militant trade unionists have launched a very widespread attack on the union leaders for their collaboration with Cossiga and his Finance Minister Pandolfi.

## Surcharge

The measure which has angered workers more than anything else is the 0.5% tax surcharge on wages, the revenue for which will be used for investment in the underdeveloped South of the country or given to companies in difficulties.

Cossiga and the union leaders present this measure as an alternative to abandoning the limited sliding scale included in Italian collective wage agreements.

The unpopularity of the measures is so great that the Communist Party leadership has untypically leapt into an oppositional stance towards the econ-



CP leader Berlinguer

omic package in a clear effort to hold back the working class and prevent a frightening rift between the rank and file and the leadership of the workers' movement.

With the trade union leadership clearly exposed as a result of their miscalculation of the rank and file reaction to these measures the CP bureaucracy has stepped in as the only section of the leadership immediately able to head the movement and make sure that it is kept under control.



Irish Free State soldiers in action against Republicans

# GREEK GAYS ATTACKED

Amfi is the title of the quarterly magazine of the gay movement in Greece.

This week its trial will open in Athens. It is charged with publishing an obscene poem by Nicos Spanias.

If found guilty it will face a fine of up to £1,000 which would be a crippling blow to the magazine.

As *Greek Gays Under Attack*—an informative pamphlet just published by the Amfi Defence Fund, makes frighteningly clear, this trial is only one instance of a general attack on gays now being carried out by the Greek state.

The other instances mentioned are numerous examples of censorship and the proposed reintroduction of the notorious parliamentary Bill "Concerning the Protection from Venereal Diseases and Regulation of Related Matters".

This vaguely worded Bill grants wide-ranging powers against prostitutes and anyone suspected of "soliciting in public", "provoking" the public by importuning, or "assuming indecent bodily attitudes or movement".

Anyone convicted of these vague offences can get anything up to one year in jail or be subjected to compulsory clinical and lab tests under police supervision.

A similar police state Bill was withdrawn two years ago largely because of international pressure from the gay movement.

## Protest vote

In particular the Dutch parliament was induced to vote an almost unanimous protest to the Greek government and the Dutch government was forced to threaten to veto moves towards the incorporation of Greece into the EEC.

The Amfi Defence Fund pamphlet correctly focusses attention on the shoddy role played in all this by the main workers' parties in Greece.

The pro-Moscow Communist Party (the KKE) holds the position that gays are "hangovers of bourgeois degeneracy destined to die out with the advent of socialism".

At least the KKE seems to have stopped its earlier policy of trying to prevent AKOE, the

main gay organisation, from marching on demonstrations.

The reformist PASOK, according to the pamphlet, put up no resistance at all to the Bill and no political party or group came out specifically against it.

Since then the Eurocommunists and some left groups have taken a somewhat less cowardly and bigoted approach to the question of gay rights.

But it remains true that in the face of the new legal attack gays and others threatened by this oppressive bill cannot yet count on much support from those organisations in Greece which claim to be socialist.

The pamphlet also reveals several cases of bizarre censorship.

The National Films Censorship Committee recently unanimously banned the British film *Nighthawks* (by Ron Peck and Paul Hallam) and Pasolini's *Salo*.

*Nighthawks*, they say, is "a propaganda piece for the spread of homosexuality... The hero is a teacher in a school of minors... From the above it is

concluded that both the content and the scenes of the film dangerously undermine the sane traditions of the Greek people and the accepted moral disgust for homosexuality and will have a destructive effect on Greek youth".

Film censorship of this kind is exercised under laws passed under the Nazi occupation and another passed in 1969 under the colonels' junta.

The successful prosecution of Amfi and the passing of the new law would be very severe blows to democratic rights in Greece and must be vigorously resisted by socialists in Greece and internationally.

\*Donations to the Amfi Defence Fund to Lloyds Bank, Gants Hill Branch, 377 Eastern Avenue, Ilford Essex.

\*The pamphlet *Greek Gays Under Attack* is available from Micky Silva, 75 Otley Drive, Ilford, Essex IG2 6QX. Send 45p including postage and large addressed envelope.

\*The Amfi Benefit Show—in aid of the Greek Gay Movement (AKOE) will take place on Sunday July 27 at 8 pm, Albany Empire Theatre, Creek Road, Deptford, London SE8.

## TROTSKYIST INTERNATIONAL LIAISON COMMITTEE

### Public meeting

\*For a full discussion on the crisis in the world Trotskyist movement

\*Reconstruct the Fourth International! WEDNESDAY 23 JULY at 7.30 p.m.

Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, London

Speakers from WSL and TILC sections

Other speakers invited from IMG, SLG, ICL and Workers Power

Admission £1

## INTERNATIONAL

# ZIMBABWE: WORKERS' ANGER BEHIND SPLITS

When the masses of Zimbabwe voted Mugabe into office to transform their conditions of life they showed, even then, that they were not simply relying on numerical majorities in the ballot box.

In a widespread strike wave which followed the ZANU election victory, workers gave warning of their own independent voice to Mugabe and his bosses' government.

Even as he set about the task of restoring stability and promoting conditions for capitalist profits, Mugabe was forced to respond to the mass demand for real change.

In the face of the warning posed by the strikes and on the basis of the tremendous mass pressure which had won him the election, Mugabe was forced to promise material concessions to workers.

Crucial to Mugabe's proposed reforms was a Minimum Wages Bill which, on the face of it, appeared as a substantial reform for thousands of starvation-paid workers, even though the proposed new levels remained abysmally low.

## Minimum wage

A £22 per month minimum was set for domestic servants and farm workers, and a £52 per month level for workers in industry and commerce.

Even before the date of implementation, the ineffectiveness of the Bill as even a defensive measure for workers had become transparent. Reports indicate that in the Salisbury area alone, employers dismissed more than 5,000 workers, rather than pay the minimum rate.

Worst hit appear to have been domestic servants and farm workers, with hundreds of workers reportedly complaining of dismissal throughout the country each day.

In other sectors, workers earning above the minimum have been laid off, with new



Unemployed workers in Salisbury

workers being recruited at the minimum rate.

While some workers may have temporarily benefitted, the employers' reaction to Mugabe's Minimum Wage Bill has been to make additional thousands of workers jobless.

Whatever the laws it passes in parliament, Mugabe's government cannot promote both

capitalist profits and workers' interests.

The interests of the workers demand a full defensive programme which can be secured only by their own independent organised, mobilised strength.

While ownership of the means of production and control of the repressive state remain in the hands of capital

and its petty bourgeois agents, parliament will not control and parliamentary laws will not govern Zimbabwe—capitalists will control and the laws of profit will govern.

In the period ahead, as workers and ZANU and ZAPU militants are increasingly confronted with the failure of Mugabe's government to meet their needs, hostility, tension, militancy and conflict will mount.

## Agriculture

Thousands of workers are unemployed. The vast majority of those employed face not reforms, but increasingly harsh conditions as capital struggles to boost profits.

While agriculture remains in the hands of finance capital and directed towards profit, the future holds continued poverty and misery for the masses of rural poor.

Under these conditions Mugabe's proposed land reforms can at most benefit a stratum of the rural petit-bourgeoisie.

Thousands of guerrillas remain in camps, facing either unemployment, contrived incarceration or the discipline of the bosses' generals and officers.

As the current disagreements within the cabinet indicate, the increasing militancy, dissatisfaction and frustration among workers, guerrillas and the rural poor are bound to be exploited by petty-bourgeois opportunists.

The most verbose opposition to the petty-bourgeois leaders who won the last election will inevitably come from the petty bourgeois leaders who didn't.

Cynically exploiting every problem into which Mugabe's reformism leads, they will zig-zag from left to right in populist demagoguery—combining left wing rhetoric with the nurturing of reactionary tribalism.

But the populist demagoguery and promises of real change from Mugabe's reformist opponents holds for workers the same dead-end as the populist demagoguery and promises of real

change from Mugabe and his supporters.

The progressive social relations and qualitative improvements in their standard of life for which workers and militants in Zimbabwe have been fighting cannot be secured on the basis of backward forces of production with production organised for profit.

It is only in a planned socialist economy, with the productive forces unleashed from the constricting grip of profit and directed towards human need, that these changes can be realised.

This demands a workers' and peasants' government, based on the organisations of the working class and starting from their independent class interests and not the protection of capitalist profits.

It requires that ownership of the means of production be taken from the hands of the capitalists and brought under the control of the working class.

It requires the arming of the Zimbabwean working class to defend against capitalist reaction and it depends on the carrying through of the Southern African and world revolutions through which alone socialism can finally be secured.

Mugabe's bosses' government and Nkomo's opportunist zig-zags stand as obstacles between workers and their goals.

The capitalist state machine remains intact, in defence of the profit system. No law, no proclamation and no speech will remove that fact.

Workers have already given warning to Mugabe and the bosses of their own independent class strength.

It is through the building of a Trotskyist party, able to develop and lead that strength that the working class will be able to move ahead in struggle, drawing the mass of oppressed behind it—to the only solution which secures the independent class interests of workers—the workers' and peasants' government and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

## No end to Iran political crisis

The crisis of authority of the Islamic government in Iran has continued.

The mullahs have been organising further mass demonstrations which have convened initially on the basis of the slogan: 'death to the three traitors—Carter, Sadat, Begin'.

But this slogan has been converted during the demonstration into blood curdling paranoid cries of 'death to the three traitors—monafegh (Islamic traitors), democrats and fedayin'.

So, fearful of their own authority, the Islamic right wing is stirring up the conditions for an attack on the more left-wing mass organisations.

These preparations follow statements two weeks ago from the top of the Islamic hierarchy that a legal ban was to be imposed on the Mojahedin and Fedayin.

## Bloodbath

Clearly the only way in which such a ban could be imposed is through a vast expansion of the barbaric bloodbath already being imposed daily against enemies of the regime under the guise of a 'purification' campaign against drug traffickers, sexual 'abnormalities', 'westernised' women and university students.

Every day in recent weeks a number of people have been stoned to death as adulterers, prostitutes, homosexuals or supporters of Kurdish nationalism.

If this kind of repression were now to be unleashed against the Mojahedin and Fedayin—tens of thousands of whose militants are armed—then it could only be through the most bloody civil strife.

It still appears that the religious authorities are hesitating before going as far as this.

This must be through uncertainty about their power to impose their reactionary authority; otherwise they would not have allowed the threatened organisations time to prepare themselves against the holocaust.



Bani-Sadr

In fact the regime has decided once again to give enormous prominence to an illegal Iraq, US and Israeli-backed military coup attempt which was pre-empted by a series of arrests of leading officers.

While it would not be at all improbable that such a military coup was planned, President Bani-Sadr—now limping pathetically behind the Ayatollahs—described the coup in terms designed to promote a sense of outrage and national unity.

The officers, he claimed, had planned to seize an airforce base and send planes to bomb—horror of horrors!—the residence of the infallible Ayatollah Khomeini himself.

# MIAMI: VULTURES MOVE IN

As the dust settles, literally, on the rubble that was once the Northern section of Miami, some of the inherent tensions of capitalism begin to emerge from the smoke and ashes of America's most explosive race-riot for 10 years.

The civil rights lobby and the liberal leadership of the black community has concentrated its fire on the role of the police in provoking the riots.

This is obviously true in immediate terms, but there is nothing that Carter and the US bosses would like more than to pass it all off as the inevitable backlash against a corrupt and vicious police department in that one area.

In fact the blacks' outrage against the acquittal of the policemen who beat Arthur McDuffie to death has its roots in the very foundations of big business exploitation and racialism.

Blacks make up roughly a quarter of the city's population. A further half of that population is Hispanic—the most prosperous of whom are the Cuban petit-bourgeoisie and displaced capitalists.

Apart from the up-market

holiday resort of Miami Beach, the hub of the city is the central area which houses the headquarters of several major multinational companies and a large number of American and European banks operating in key areas of Central America.

This is also the haven of some of the shadier capitalist racketeers, many of them close associates of Richard Nixon—like Bebe Rebozo.

There is already evidence that the property speculating vultures are circling over the devastated ghetto area.

The plan seems to be to redevelop and price the blacks out of the city and into makeshift suburban shanties.

This would provide the ideal opening to give a base to many more of the Hispanic bourgeoisie fleeing from the ever more unstable situation in Central and Southern America.

The Nicaraguan Somoza clique, for example, is already well entrenched. The oppression and exploitation of blacks at home and at work is the major prerequisite for this scheme.

It is against this background that the police campaign against blacks has to be viewed.

This campaign has been waged in Miami even more diligently than in such notorious

areas as Los Angeles, Houston and Memphis.

The McDuffie murder is just the most blatant in a long, connecting series of attacks and violations. National figures show that 10 times more blacks die as a result of police homicide than whites.

In Miami now there are over 1300 awaiting trial for offences arising from the riots.

Police have miraculously detained only blacks suspected of murder, but have done nothing to track down the gangs of white neo-fascists who toured the streets killing stray blacks.

And what of the measly \$11.5 million in state aid to 'rebuild' the Northern streets of the city?

Already it has gone to pad out the bank vaults of the very businesses whose profiteering stranglehold led to the grinding deprivation of the blacks in the first place.

But there's just one thought that must disturb the sleep of the Miami business community as they bed down in their plush villas behind barbed wire and guard-dog compounds—not even the most high-powered insurance company in Florida offers a policy against lightning striking twice in the same place.

## USA week by week



Wreckage after the riots

# BEHIND ATKINS' LATEST PLAN



The Tory White Paper on the six counties of Northern Ireland was at least accurate in one respect: it made no secret of the fact that the very existence of the sectarian statelet depends upon the brute force of the 15,000-strong British army of occupation:

"The involvement of the UK government in the fight against terrorism—in terms of manpower, equipment and installations, and their operational use—is such that it is not realistic to envisage conferring on a Northern Ireland administration full responsibility for the criminal law and the police and prison services. Equally, the administration should not conduct its business either

isolated or excluded from the concern for security which is pervasive".

It is therefore at gunpoint that the people of the six counties are being presented with the pseudo-"democratic" proposals of Humphrey Atkins' White Paper with its ludicrous platitudes about "preserving the primacy of the ballot box".

## No say

In fact, no matter which way the majority were to vote under the new proposals, they would have no real say over their political future, since the White Paper makes it clear that "the overriding authority of Westminster should be preserved", and that the proposed devolved assembly would have not even token powers over defence,

foreign policy, law and order or even taxation. It therefore would have powers roughly equivalent to the Greater London Council.

And, should it ever actually take shape, the assembly would remain rigidly tied to the purse strings of the British Tory government—the White Paper bleats about the level of public spending in Northern Ireland which was £2,600 million in 1979-80, only 56% of which was raised in the six counties.

Nothing could more clearly underline the utter irrelevance of such an assembly for the working class of the six counties—whether Protestant or Catholic—who face the full brunt of the capitalist crisis in the form of

chronic unemployment, crumbling social services and a savage fall in living standards.

## Recession

While the Tory government has reluctantly taken steps to prevent the collapse of the Harland and Wolff shipyard, the recession in British industry has been sharply reflected in the six counties with closures in textiles—headed by Courtaulds—and in engineering. The closure of the Grundig plant in West Belfast, with the loss of 1,000 jobs will bring unemployment there to at least 25%.

Against this stark background the manoeuvres of the Loyalist and SDLP politicians—

each seeking best advantage and the largest number of lucrative and superfluous positions in any new puppet assembly—stand out in their true colours.

The Loyalists—whether they be Paisley's so-called Democratic Unionist Party or James Molyneux's Official Unionists—stand flatly opposed to any kind of deal that concedes a substantial voice to the SDLP.

Both have therefore rejected out of hand Atkins' proposal that after the election of an 80-man Assembly by proportional representation, an executive should be composed in such a way as to include similar proportional representation.

This would mean that a party with 25% of the votes would take a quarter of the seats on the executive, and would amount to a re-run of the abortive "power-sharing" experiments attempted under Edward Heath.

Neither Paisley nor Molyneux have any interest in attempting to sell such a deal to their supporters: each has in his own way attempted to ensure that the talks with Atkins produce a firmly Loyalist-run assembly which can offer at least the semblance of government.

The SDLP, on the other hand, representing the Catholic petty bourgeoisie, has predictably welcomed this "power sharing" proposal of Atkins, and is much less able to pronounce itself in favour of his second proposal, which is for an executive made up of the majority party or parties, which then submits its proposals to a "Council of the Assembly" with some token delaying or blocking powers.

Since only a 50% plus one majority would be needed to rubber-stamp Executive proposals under such a scheme, the SDLP leaders recognise that they would be completely marginalised and impotent on any policy decisions.

Their refusal to reject this plan clearly flows from the attractive power of large numbers of comfortable posts available for all concerned. But they recognise that it will be a hard task to convince their Catholic electorate that the plan

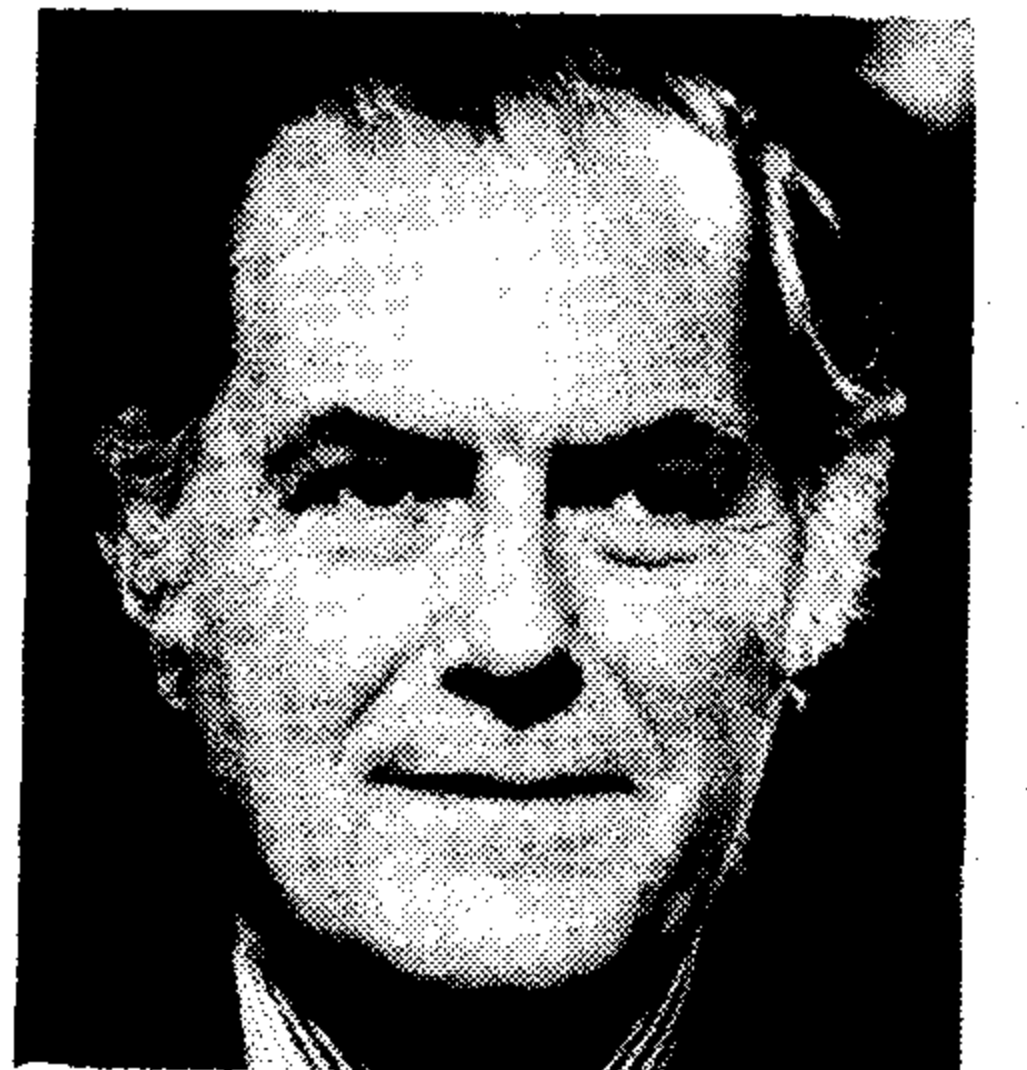
offers them anything at all.

This is made particularly difficult by Paisley's strident statements denouncing any kind of minority veto over Loyalist legislation, and explicitly rejecting any kind of involvement of the Dublin government in talks or closer relations.

The fact is of course that with nationalist sentiment still rising in the six counties, the Atkins proposals fail to offer anything to the Catholic minority trapped in the gerrymandered and sectarian statelet.

The very existence of Northern Ireland as a British province is in defiance of the wishes of the majority of the Irish people.

The material problems facing Catholic and Protestant workers North and South can be resolved not by constitutional tinkering, "devolution" or Paisley-style "democracy" but only by the struggle to drive out the British imperialists and their hangers-on, and for a united socialist Ireland.



Atkins

Only within a united Irish workers' republic can sectarian discrimination be eradicated on the basis of improving the living standards of the working class as a whole.

While republicans and socialists take up the fight in Ireland itself, it falls upon socialists in the British labour movement to lend tangible support to their struggle.

This means fighting against the prevailing "bi-partisan" line of trade union and Labour leaders and for the immediate withdrawal of British troops and the right of the Irish people as a whole to determine their own future.

# Labour NEC on 'H' block

Amid the outraged comments by the Tory press about the recent Labour Party NEC motion on Irish political prisoners, not one paper actually presented it in full.

In fact the resolution, reflecting the politics of the Militant tendency includes the inevitable reformist let-out that:

"The NEC is implacably opposed to the programme and methods of terrorism. Equally, however we are opposed to repression and torture..."

In other words the NEC by endorsing the resolution in no way sided with the struggle of the oppressed Irish people against the state machinery and armed occupation forces of the British oppressors—simply taking an impartial "humanitarian" stance on Britain's longest-running colonial war.

Nor indeed does the resolution in any way call for the immediate withdrawal of British troops from Ireland—a position rapidly gaining currency in the Labour Party.

But in supporting the demand of republican prisoners in 'H' Block at Long Kesh and Armagh Gaol for political status, and calling for the scrapping of the no-jury Diplock Courts, the resolution does mark a major step forward from the reactionary politics of Labour's right wing leaders.

In raising the issue now throughout the Labour Party, socialists should fight to commit the NEC to extend its position to a principled demand for the immediate withdrawal of British troops.

"This NEC deplores the appalling conditions which exist in the prisons of Northern Ireland."

We note with concern newspaper reports that women prisoners in Armagh jail have been beaten by male warders, are locked up for 23 hours a day

and denied proper sanitary and medical facilities.

In Long Kesh, H-Block, male prisoners, because they refuse to wear prison uniform or do prison work are locked up for 24 hours a day wearing only a blanket, in a cell with only a damp mattress, are denied reading and writing materials, and are subject to body searches including probing the anus.

The NEC is implacably opposed to the programme and methods of terrorism. Equally however we are opposed to repression and torture in the prisons of Northern Ireland. Such repression could, under certain circumstances, be perfected for possible use against the Labour movement in Britain in the future.

The NEC therefore calls for consideration to be given to the following points:

- 1) The right of all prisoners to wear their own clothes.
- 2) Prisoners to be allowed full access to newspapers, TV, books and writing materials with no restriction on letters.
- 3) Prisoners to be allowed a minimum of two unsupervised visits and two food parcels per week.
- 4) Prisoners to have the right to negotiate choice of work, training and education facilities.
- 5) Prisoners to be paid trade union rates of pay and the right to trade union membership.
- 6) Prisoners to be allowed to elect their own representatives to negotiate on their behalf.
- 7) Scrapping the non-jury Diplock courts and the closure of the special police interrogation centres.

The NEC opposes all forms of repression in Northern Ireland and calls for the repeal of repressive legislation.

The NEC asks the Northern Ireland Study Group and the Human Rights Sub-Committee to look at the question of repression and prison conditions and include a section on it in their reports.



March in support of H Block prisoners

# London Labour needs more than new manifestoes!

The July 5 conference of the London Labour Briefing saw a number of proposals on the selection of candidates and the drafting of manifestoes in the GLC and municipal elections over the next two years.

First speaker to take up this theme was Ken Livingstone—a member of both Camden Council and the GLC.

He proposed a series of democratic reforms designed to increase members' control over Labour Groups on councils. These were:

1. Group observers from each ward, not just CLPs.
2. Group votes to be recorded and circulated.
3. GMCs to receive reports from and question Group members.
4. Group reports to be given priority in GMC agendas.
5. Regular Borough Conferences to discuss Council policies.

He pledged himself to vote against the budget of the Inner London Education Authority (ILEA), as he had done previously, if it included further cuts.

The present campaign to prevent the break up of the ILEA by the Tories is being seriously hindered in some areas by the effects of the previous year's cuts.

He argued for increasing the rate in Inner London, where the rate base is 75% commercial, and for using the GLC and the ILEA as organs of redistribution.

The lessons of the 1973 GLC manifesto should be drawn out.



The Labour Party's failure to implement its free travel policy had contributed in large part to the electoral defeat of 1977.

The new GLC Labour Group will have to be prepared to fight to implement its manifesto, and in so doing contribute to the fall of the Tory government, argued Livingstone.

Finally he reminded delegates of the need to pass conference amendments by 31 July.

Conference chairman Arthur Latham proposed that selection meetings ask candidates for the GLC election for an assurance that they would stand down if they were not prepared to fight for the GLC manifesto to be formulated at a London Regional Conference in October.

The conference broke up into workshops to discuss the GLC manifesto, links with trade unions, and problems of local strategy and control.

The workshop report on the GLC manifesto began by reminding delegates of the timetable and procedures for submitting amendments. (Amendments are limited to 1 per CLP, and must be submitted by the end of July.)

It was said that, wherever possible, amendments should be

drawn up to impose a specific identifiable commitment on which the Group can be tied down.

Proposals included reduced class sizes, refusing recruitment facilities to the army and police, and the guaranteed re-employment of any GLC staff sacked by the Tories.

## Democracy

The workshop on relations with trade unions focussed on questions of organisation and democracy.

The proposed constitutional changes to permit workplace branches would generate closer links.

There was a general trend in London CLPs towards more representation from white collar unions and less from manual unions. This was regarded as an

unhealthy trend and opposed.

There should be more involvement by the Labour Party in trade union campaigns and vice versa.

But little was said in concrete terms as to how this could be achieved.

Inevitably the rates question dominated the final plenary session.

A series of speakers, mostly from Lambeth, argued for the strategic importance of the no rate/rent rises, no cuts position, in transforming local struggles into a challenge to the government.

The overall line they proposed was that 'left' Labour councils, and Lambeth in particular, were obliged to give a lead at this point, in order that a mass campaign should be generated.

Other speakers were less confident about the development of such a campaign, at least in the immediate future.

The public sector unions were not prepared to see developments that would put their jobs at serious risk, which the bankrupting of councils would certainly do.

Demands were also made on 'left' MPs to disrupt the functioning of Parliament and to ignore Callaghan's instructions in Westminster.

## Limited

But it is clear that from the limited left reformist horizons of the Labour Briefing conference it would be extremely difficult to wage the necessary sharp fight to expose the vacillations and retreats of 'left' talking MPs or London councillors.

Only a programme of action which unambiguously rejects the 'viability' of capitalism and starts from the defence of workers' independent interests can provide a serious basis on which to fight the cuts.

This is why it is not enough to tinker with the Labour manifesto and democratise the organisational workings of the Party: a genuine *alternative* leadership must be built throughout the labour movement.

This means fighting for:

\*No cuts! No rate or rent increases! *Confront* the Tory government!

\*Mobilise the unions! Occupy facilities threatened with closure, with supporting *strike action* in the public and private sectors!

\*Unite the workers' movement in this fight! Build councils of action, drawing delegates from trade unions, workers' political parties, tenants' organisations, cuts campaigns, students, claimants' unions and pensioners' organisations—to extend and defend struggles against cuts and closures!

\*No more Clay Cross-style isolation! Fight for *generalised action* against the Tory cut-backs in council spending—leading to a *general strike* to bring down the Tories!

\*Drive out the Callaghan/Healey leadership and hangers-on like Kinnock who offer nothing but more cuts if re-elected. Fight for a *workers' government* to carry out a programme based on nationalisation of banks and major industry without compensation under workers' management and a crash programme of useful public works to restore the social services and provide jobs for the unemployed.

## Reader's letter

### Lambeth Left

The Editor,  
Socialist Press,  
Dear Comrade,

May I comment on your report (July 2, 1980) on the London-wide meeting called by the "Lambeth Labour Left"?

Many of us active in the "Lambeth Labour Left" had to fight hard even to get a London-wide meeting. Some of our comrades, in particular *Socialist Challenge* supporters, exhibited a dangerously parochial opposition to any move to take the struggle against cuts or rate and rent increases outside Lambeth.

To get the meeting was a step forward, but its outcome was a step backwards, or, at best, marking time.

In the meeting I moved a motion which re-stated that we need to confront the Tory government with a *united stand* by Labour Councils, refusing together to implement cuts in any form. This means to co-ordinate the struggle for this stand with a campaign of public meetings leading to a delegate conference in early autumn.

Hardly a motion with which anyone present could have disagreed, one would think? Of course, the debate produced some "straight talking" about the "left leadership" of people like Knight and Livingstone.

We can all argue about the "tone" of speeches, but in the end it comes down to the famous phrase, *STATE WHAT IS*.

A procedural motion was carried by 32 votes to 20, which prevented my proposal from going to the vote.

Some 90% of those who voted to suppress my motion were supporters of *Socialist*

*Challenge*, *Socialist Action* and *Workers Action*.

One *Workers Action* supporter had, in fact, supported the proposal in the debate for a delegate conference.

A *Socialist Challenge* supporter argued that the "Lambeth Labour Left" is too "weak" to undertake the initiatives which face it, and that "now is not the time".

As if the government is going to wait around while we take our time to build the opposition! This speaker opposed a regroupment by using arguments which would foster the fears as hesitations in the audience and undermine the whole struggle of the Left.

Evidently *Socialist Challenge* supporters and those who followed their lead in this meeting are not guided by any awareness of the pressures which the apparatus of the Labour Party is exerting on them.

They are not the first, if only they knew it, to give way to these pressures.

Do they really hope to influence the Knights and Livingstones by moderating their criticism and by keeping silent about their policy of raising rents and rates?

Let these comrades take warning. Not only does this course make them an obstacle to the struggle of the Labour Left.

They themselves will gain nothing from it, because those whom they are courting will throw them aside when they no longer need them.

Yours fraternally,  
Steve Stannard  
Councillor  
Convenor, Lambeth  
Labour Left

## Anyone remember Clause IV?

When the Labour Party is in office there is generally little reference to Clause IV

### Gay Pride defence

After the arrests on the Gay Pride demonstration a Defence Committee has been established.

The cases will first come to court on July 23 when there will be a protest picket outside Bow St. Magistrates Court in the morning.

Also on Sunday July 20 at 8.00 p.m. there is a benefit (theatre, disco and band) for the defence committee at Action Space, Chenier St., London W1 (£2; claimants £1).

The fight for support for the Defence Committee must be seriously and rapidly taken up in the trade unions and Labour Party.

Labour movement organisations can resist the provocative police repression of the march in particular by producing financial support and by mobilising for the protest pickets during the trial.

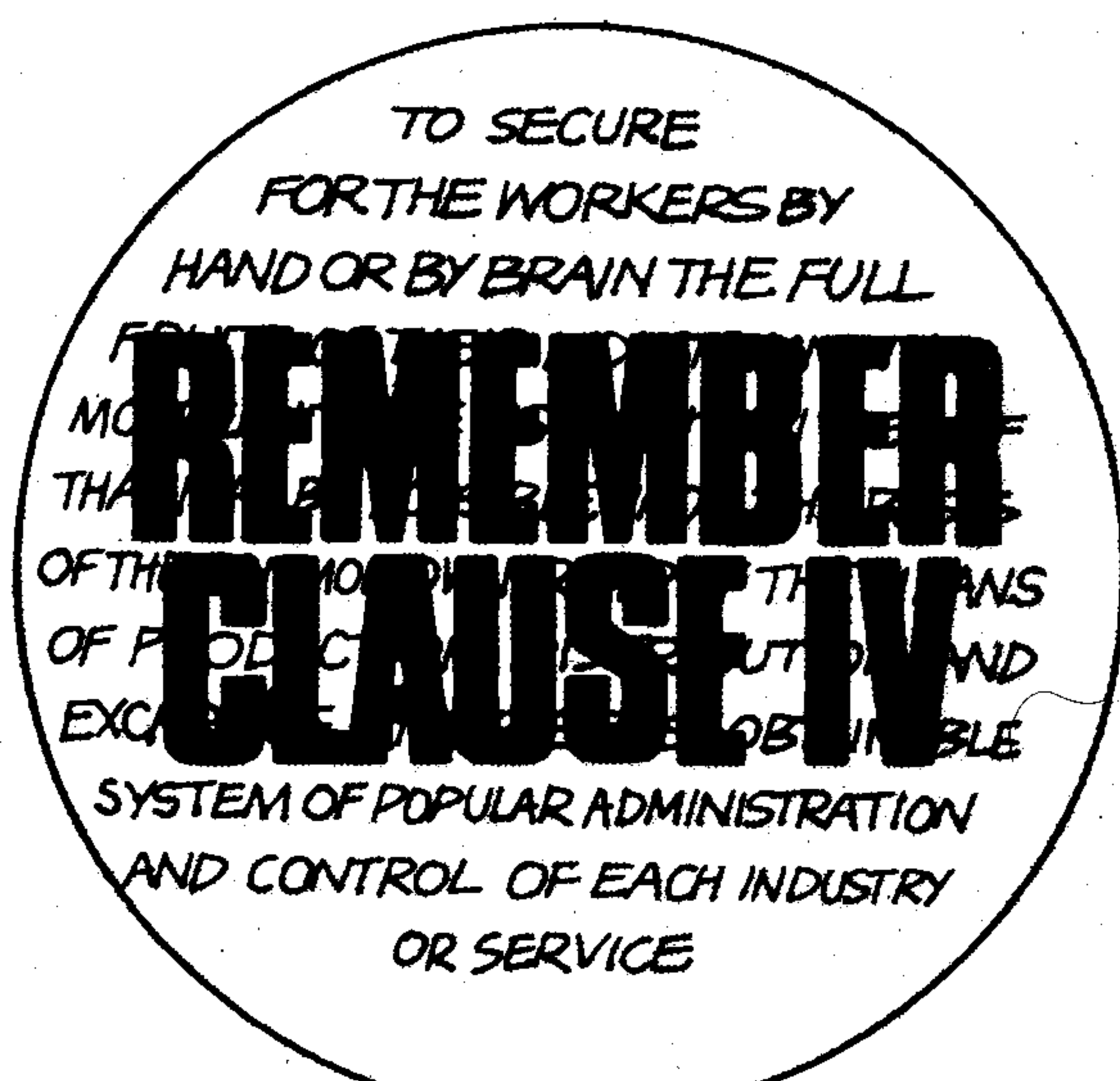
(4) of the Party constitution from leaders of either the Callaghan right or the 'left'.

It is the clause that the right wing find it impossible to remember, and the 'left' wing successfully forget. It is, in fact, the nearest the Labour Party comes to spelling out a commitment to a socialist policy of nationalisation.

Now, with the Tories in and the Callaghan gang limbering up for the showdown with

the left on Party democracy at the 1980 conference, the Party bureaucracy itself has put on a 'left' face—issuing a badge bearing the wording of the clause and the slogan 'Remember Clause IV' overprinted in red.

The badge (20p) is available from the Labour Party at 150 Walworth Rd., London SE17. Red paint to add the necessary question mark at the end is available from most good do-it-yourself shops.



## Makers of Modern Marxism

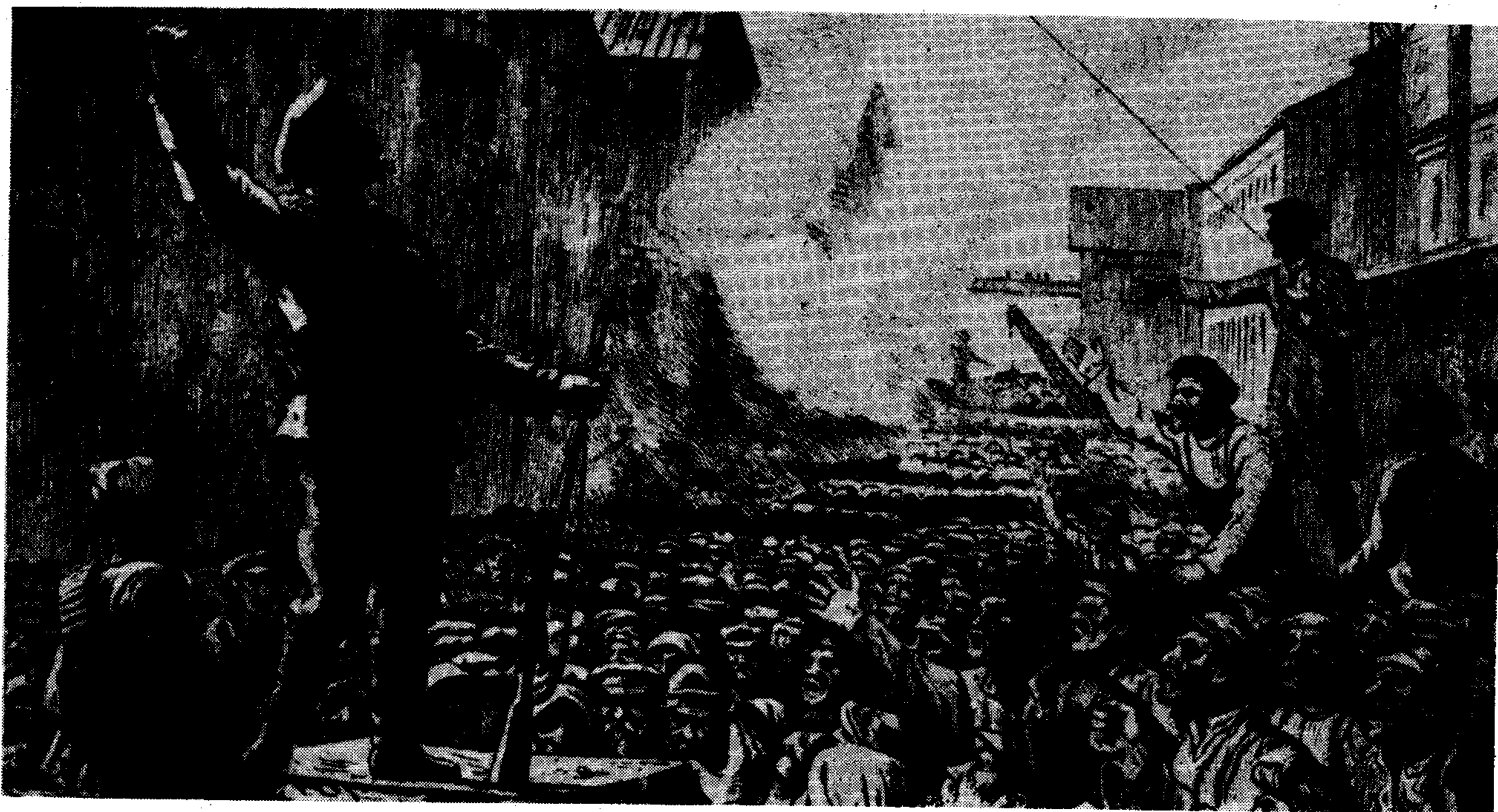
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# THE CALL FOR A WORKERS GOVERNMENT



## Comintern Theses

The call for a workers government (eventually a government of the peasants as well) should be raised everywhere as a *general propaganda slogan*. But as a slogan of present-day political activity the call for a workers government takes on its greatest importance in countries where the situation of bourgeois society is particularly unstable, where the relationship of forces between the workers parties and the bourgeoisie puts on the agenda, as a political necessity, the solution to the question of a workers government.

In these countries the slogan of a 'workers government' is an inevitable consequence of the entire united-front tactic.

The parties of the Second International are seeking to 'save' the day in these countries by calling for and forming coalitions between the bourgeoisie and the Social Democrats.

In their most recent attempts to do this certain parties of the Second International (in Germany, for example) refused to participate openly in a coalition government of this sort in order to bring it into being in a disguised fashion. This was no more than a manoeuvre intended to calm the masses who were protesting against such coalitions; it was no more than a sophisticated swindle of the working masses.

To the coalition between the bourgeoisie and the Social Democrats, whether it be open or concealed the Communists counterpose the united front of all workers and the political and economic coalition of all workers parties against bourgeois power in order to overthrow the latter once and for all.

In the common struggle of all these workers against the bourgeoisie, the entire state apparatus must fall into the hands of the 'workers government', and in this way the position of the working class will be strengthened.

The most elementary programme of a workers government must consist in arming the proletariat, disarming the counter-revolutionary bourgeois organisations, installing supervision over production, insuring that the main burden of taxation falls on the rich, and smashing the resistance of the bourgeois counter-revolution.

A government of this sort is

only possible if it emerges from the struggle of the masses themselves, if it is based on working class organisations that are suited for combat and formed by the broadest layers of the oppressed working masses.

A workers government resulting from a parliamentary combination may also provide an opportunity for strengthening the revolutionary workers movement. But it goes without saying that the emergence of a genuine workers government and the continued existence of a government carrying out a revolutionary policy must lead to a fierce struggle and, eventually, to a civil war with the bourgeoisie.

The proletariat's mere attempt to form a workers government will immediately encounter the most violent resistance on the part of the bourgeoisie. The slogan of a workers' government is therefore capable of giving a focus to and setting off revolutionary struggles.

In certain circumstances, Communists should declare that they are prepared to form a government with workers parties and organisations that are non-Communist.

But they can take such an action only when guarantees are given that these workers governments will really carry out a struggle against the bourgeoisie in the sense indicated above. In this case, the normal conditions for Communists participation in such government would be the following:



Labour leader Henderson

1) Participation in a workers government can take place only with the approval of the Communist International;

2) The Communist members of a workers government remain under the strictest control of their party;

3) The Communist members of a workers government remain in direct contact with the revolutionary organisations of the masses;

4) The Communist Party has the absolute right to maintain its public identity and retains complete independence of agitation.

Despite its great advantages the slogan of a workers government also has its dangers just as any united front tactic has.

As a precaution against these dangers, the Communist parties should not lose sight of the fact that, although every bourgeois government is at the same time a capitalist government, it is not true that every workers government is actually proletarian, that is, a revolutionary instrument of proletarian power.

The Communist International should anticipate the following possibilities:

1) A liberal workers government. There is already a government of this sort in Australia; there may also be one before very long in England.

2) A Social-Democratic workers government (Germany).

3) A workers and peasants government. This is possible in the Balkans, Czechoslovakia, etc.

4) A workers government in which Communists participate.

5) A genuine proletarian workers government which, in its purest form, can only be represented by a Communist Party.

The first two types of workers governments are not revolutionary workers governments, but rather governments that camouflage a coalition between the bourgeoisie and the counter-revolutionary leaders of the working class.

In a critical period, these 'Workers Governments' are tolerated by a weakened bourgeoisie in order to deceive the proletariat as to the real class character of the state or, with the assistance of corrupt working class leaders, to derail the revolutionary offensive of the proletariat and gain time.

Communists must not participate in such governments. To the contrary, they must relentlessly expose to the masses the



Labour leader MacDonald: not every workers government is a socialist government

real character of these phony 'workers governments'.

In the period of the decline of capitalism, a period in which the principal task consists in winning a majority of the proletariat over to the revolution, these governments can objectively contribute to accelerating the process of the decomposition of the bourgeois regime.

Communists are prepared to march with workers-Social Democrats, Christians, non-party, syndicalist, etc.-who have not yet recognised the need for the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Under certain circumstances and with certain guarantees the Communists are equally prepared to support a non-Communist workers government.

But the Communists must at all costs explain to the working class that its liberation can only be assured by the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The other two types of workers governments are types that the Communists can participate in, although they still do not represent the dictatorship of the proletariat; they do not represent a necessary form of transition toward the dictatorship, but they can serve as a point of departure for attaining this dictatorship.

The full dictatorship of the proletariat can only be accomplished by a workers government composed of Communists.

In fighting for the defeat of the Thatcher government terms for 'Labour to Power'? Should we specify 'Labour the mass Labour Party against the Tories in the context of the independent strength of the workers' movement necessary steps of nationalisation and destruction of the

It is in this manner that the Workers Socialist League workers' government. The workers government slogan widely abused by sectarians and opportunists alike. Her communist International, and from today's Trotskyist Intern

## ZINOV

Comrades, you will allow me to discuss in some detail the question of workers government. It is not yet quite clear to me whether there are serious differences of opinion with regard to this question, whether this question has been completely ventilated, or whether a good deal of our differences were caused by variations in terminology.

In the course of the Congress and during the working out of the resolution on tactical questions, with which we shall deal after the question of the Russian Revolution, this will become clear.

As far as I am concerned, the question has nothing to do with the word 'pseudonym' which has been quoted here. I am quite willing under these circumstances, to give up the word.

But the main thing is the significance. I think, comrades, that the question will be made clear if I express myself as follows: It is clear to us that every bourgeois government is a capitalist government. It is hard to imagine a bourgeois government—the mule of the bourgeois class—which is not at the same time a capitalist government.

But I fear that one cannot reverse that saying. Every working class government is not a proletarian government; not every workers government is a socialist government.

This contrast is radical. It reveals the fact that the bourgeoisie have their outposts within our class, but that workers have not their outposts within the capitalist class. It is impossible for us to have our outposts in the camp of the

bourgeoisie.

Every bourgeois government is a capitalist government, and even many workers governments can be bourgeois governments according to their social composition.

I think that the main point is, there are workers governments and workers governments. I believe that one can imagine four kinds of workers governments, and even then we will not have exhausted the possibilities.

You can have a workers government which, according to its composition would be a liberal workers government, for example, the Australian Labour government.

Several of our Australian comrades say that the term workers government is incorrect because in Australia we have had such workers governments of a bourgeois nature.

These were really workers governments, but their composition was of a purely liberal character. They were bourgeois workers governments, if one may so term them.

Let us take another example: The general elections are taking place in England. It is not probable, but one may as well accept in theory, as a possibility, that a workers government will be elected which will be similar to the Australian Labour government, and will be of a liberal composition.

Thus liberal workers government in England can, under certain circumstances, constitute the starting point of revolutionizing the situation.

That could well happen. But by itself, it is nothing more than a liberal workers government.



Lenin

# WORKERS' GOVERNMENT

...what perspective should socialists offer the working class? Should we simply call in general for power on socialist policies? Or should we not place our critical electoral support for the overall strategy of socialist revolution in which the objective is not simply another government genuinely representative of the working class, a workers' government based firm, organised through councils of action? Only on this basis can such a government take the machinery of the capitalist state.

...raises the demand to bring down the Tories and fight within the labour movement for... is not our invention: it has a long history in the communist movement. But it is current... we reprint a number of explanations of its significance—from the leaders of Lenin's Comintern Liaison Committee.

## REV

We, the Communists, now vote in England for the Labour Party. That is the same as voting for a liberal workers government. The English Communists are compelled, by the existing situation, to vote for a liberal workers government.

These are absolutely the right tactics. Why? Because this objective would be a step forward; because a liberal government in England would disturb the equilibrium and would extend the bankruptcy of capitalism.

We have seen in Russia during the Kerensky regime how the position of capitalism was smashed, despite the fact that the liberals were the agents of capitalism.

Plekhanov, in the period from February to October, 1917, called the Mensheviks semi-Bolsheviks. We say that this was an exaggeration. They were not semi-Bolsheviks, but just quarter-Bolsheviks.

We said this because we were at war with them, and because we saw their treachery to the proletariat.

Objectively, Plekhanov was right. Objectively the Menshevik government was best adapted to make a hash of capitalism by making its position impossible.

Our party, which was then fighting the Mensheviks, would not and could not see this. The parties stood arrayed for conflict.

Under such conditions, we can only see that they are traitors to the working class. They are not opponents of the bourgeoisie, but when, for a period, they hold the weapons of the bourgeoisie in their hands, they make certain steps which are objectively against the bourgeois state.

Therefore, in England, we support the liberal workers government and the Labour Party. The English bourgeoisie are right when they say that the workers government will start with Clynnes and finish in the hands of the left wing.

That is the first type of a possible workers government. The second type is that of a Socialist government. One can imagine that the United Social Democratic Party forms a purely Socialist government.

That would also be a workers government, a Socialist government, with the word—Socialist—of course in quotation marks.

One can easily imagine a situation where we would give such a government certain conditional credit, a certain conditional support. One can imagine a Socialist government as being a first step in the revolutionising of the situation.

A third type is the so-called coalition government; that is, a government in which Socialists, Trade Union leaders and even perhaps Communists, take part.

One can imagine such a possibility. Such a government would not yet the dictatorship of the proletariat, but it is perhaps



Zinoviev

a starting point for the dictatorship.

When all goes right, we can kick one social democrat after another out of the government until the power is in the hands of the Communists. This is a historical possibility.

Fourthly, we have a workers government which is really a workers government—that is, a Communist workers government, which is the true workers government.

I believe that this fourth possibility is a pseudonym for dictatorship of the proletariat, that it is truly a workers government in the true sense of the word.

This by no means exhausts the question. There can be a fifth or sixth type, and they can all be excellent starting points for a broader revolutionising of the situation.

But, in order to construct a workers government in the revolutionary sense, one must overthrow the bourgeoisie; and that is the most important.

We must not forget that we have here to distinguish between two things: 1) Our methods of agitation; how we can best speak to the workers, how we can enable them best to understand the position.

For that purpose, I believe the slogan of "Workers Government" is best adapted.

2) How will events develop historically, in what concrete forms will the revolution manifest itself?

We must look at the question from all sides. It is nevertheless difficult to make any prediction. If we now look at the slogan of the workers government from this new standpoint, as a concrete road to the realisation of the proletarian revolution, we may doubt whether the world revolution must necessarily pass through the stage of the workers government.

Our friend Radek said yesterday that the workers government is a possible intermediary step to the dictatorship of the proletariat. I agree, it is a possibility, or more exactly an exceptional possibility.

This does not mean that the slogan of the workers government is not good. It is a good instrument of agitation where the relation of forces makes it possible.

But if we put this question: is the workers government a necessary step towards the revolution? I must answer that this is not a question that we can solve here. It is a way, but the least probable of all.

In countries with a highly developed bourgeois class, the proletariat can conquer power by force alone, through civil

war. In such a case an intermediary step is not to be thought of.

It might take place, but it is useless to argue here about it.

All that is necessary is that we see clearly all the possible ways towards the revolution.

The workers government may be nothing more than a liberal Labour government, as it might be in England and in Australia. Such a workers government can also be useful to the working class.

The agitation for a workers government is wise, we may gain many advantages therefrom. But in no case must we forget our revolutionary prospects.

(...)

This is why I believe that we can adopt the policy of the workers government with a peaceful heart, under the only condition that we do not forget what it really amounts to.

Woe to us if we ever allow the suggestion to creep up in our propaganda that the workers government is a necessary step, to be achieved peacefully as a period of semi-organic construction which may take the place of civil war, etc.

If such views exist among us, we must combat them ruthlessly; we must educate the working class by way of telling them—"Yes, dear friends, to establish a workers government, the bourgeoisie must be first overthrown and defeated."

The International must adopt the right tactics, but there are no tactics by means of which we could outwit the bourgeoisie and glide smoothly into the realm of the workers government.

The important thing is that we overthrow the bourgeoisie, after which various forms of the workers government may be established...

At each step in the struggle for transitional and democratic demands, Trotskyists must weigh and consider the best tactical means of conducting the fight in such a way as to expose and discredit the existing treacherous mass leaders of the working class.

Such tactics will generally include fighting for workers to place specific demands on those trade union and political leaders that retain mass support for them to break from their present policies of class collaboration and act in the independent class interests of their members.

As the Transitional Programme shows, the culmination of this approach is the formulation of demands on the reformist, Stalinist and even petty bourgeois nationalist leaders that they break with the bourgeoisie and form a workers (and peasants) government.

The slogan can, as the Transitional Programme shows, be used flexibly as an agitational slogan in particular situations. As such its value is that it focusses the attention of the masses on the class collabora-

With regard to the demand for a workers government. A workers government is not the proletarian dictatorship, that is clear; it is one of the possible transitory [transitional] stages to the proletarian dictatorship.

The possibility of such a transitory stage is due to the fact that the working masses in the West are not so amorphous politically as in the East. They are members of parties and they stick to their parties.

In the East, in Russia, it was easier to bring them into the fold of Communism after the outbreak of the revolutionary storm. In your countries it is much more difficult.

The German, Norwegian and Czechoslovakian workers will more readily declare against coalition with the bourgeoisie, preferring a coalition of labour parties which would guarantee the eight hour day and an extra crust of bread, etc.

A workers party usually arises in this manner, either through preliminary struggles or on the basis of a parliamentary combination, and it would be



Trotsky

fully to turn aside the opportunities of such a situation in stubborn doctrinaire fashion.

Now the question arises—shall we recline upon this soft cushion and take a good rest, or shall we rather lead the masses into the fight on the basis of their own illusions for the realisation of the programme of a workers government?

If we conceive the workers government as a soft cushion we are ourselves politically beaten. We would then take our place beside the social-democrats as a new type of tricksters.

On the other hand, if we keep alive the consciousness of the masses that a workers government is an empty shell unless it has workers behind it forging their weapons and forming their factory councils to compel it to hold on to the right track and make no compromise to the right, making that government a starting point for the struggle for the proletarian dictatorship, such a workers government will eventually make room for a Soviet government and not become a soft cushion, but rather a lever for the conquest of power by revolutionary means.

I believe one of the comrades has said, "The workers government is not a historic necessity but a historical possibility". This is, to my mind, a correct formula.

It would be absolutely wrong to assert that the development of man from the ape to a People's Commissar must necessarily pass through the phase of a workers government. (Laughter.)

Such a variant in history is possible, and in the first place it is possible in a number of countries having a strong proletarian and peasant movement, or where the working class overwhelmingly outnumber the bourgeoisie, as is the case in England.



Radek

A parliamentary labour victory in England is quite possible. It will not take place in the present elections, but it is possible in the future, and then the question will arise: What is the Labour government? Is it no more than a new edition of the bourgeois-liberal government, or can we compel it to be something more? I believe Austen Chamberlain was right in saying, "If a Labour government comes into power in England, it will begin with a Clynnes' administration and end in a government of the left wing, because the latter can solve the unemployed problem."

Thus, Comrades, I believe that the Executive on the whole has taken the right attitude in this question, when on the one hand it warns against the proposition of either Soviet government or nothing, and on the other hand, against the illusion which makes the workers government a sort of parachute

## Trotskyist International Liaison Committee

The workers government slogan thus contains within it the dynamic of the class struggle in which the working class, gaining in strength and self confidence, demands increasingly more of its bureaucratic mass leaders to the point where they insist that these leaders break from the bourgeoisie, take power in their own hands, and implement measures in the interests of the proletariat.

As the Transitional Programme stresses, it was: "The obstinate unwillingness of the Mensheviks and SRs to take power, so dramatically exposed during the July Days, which definitely doomed them before mass opinion and prepared the victory of the Bolsheviks."

Now, just as much in 1938, it is time to insist that:

"The central task of the Fourth International consists in freeing the proletariat from its old leadership whose conservatism is in complete contradiction to the catastrophic eruptions of disintegrating capitalism and represents the chief obstacle to historical progress."

"The chief accusation which the Fourth International advances against the traditional

organisations of the proletariat is the fact that they do not wish to tear themselves away from the political semi-corpse of the bourgeoisie.

"Under these conditions the demand systematically addressed to the old leadership: 'Break with the bourgeoisie, take the power' is an extremely important weapon for exposing the treacherous character of the parties and organisations of the Second, Third and Amsterdam Internationals."

While promising such leaders revolutionary support against capitalist reaction should they undertake the struggle for power, Trotskyists must maintain their political independence of such leaderships and persist with their own critical propaganda spelling out at each stage the role of the old leaders and the necessary programme of demands to be fought for by the working class.

It is on the construction of such a Trotskyist revolutionary leadership and not on any ability of the reformists and Stalinists to transform themselves into a revolutionary force that the fate of the struggle for a workers' government and the dictatorship of the proletariat must depend.

# National Child Care Campaign launched

A special Socialist Press report

The Conference on 5 July called by the London Nursery Campaign to discuss and form a National Child Care Campaign was in deep contrast to the recent Fightback for Women's Rights Campaign's Second Conference held on 21 June (see SP 204).

There was a more positive and constructive approach at the conference and in the workshops.

The conference began with speakers from already existing national bodies like NAC, National Women's Aid Federation and NCCL on how they work nationally.

## New body

What was clear after some discussion was that the new national body if formed should orientate towards the trade union and labour movement but that the union bureaucracy should not be allowed to eat up or be in control of the Campaign.

Workshop sessions followed, where recommendations and policy to be considered by the Steering Committee were discussed besides hearing some brief but horrific reports from areas where cuts in facilities were about to be or had been made.

The discussion in the workshops and break periods of struggle on the cuts in provision proved useful, and what came across was that despite lack of coordination or political direction, women were fighting back and fighting back hard.

What also emerged were examples of those fighting on Under 5 provision leading the struggle on the cuts in their areas and realising very quickly the necessity to form or even initiate links and organisations bringing together all those fighting the cuts.

Such new bodies have begun to discuss seriously questions of policy such as opposition to all public spending cuts, and opposing rent and rate increases as an "alternative" to cuts.

## Confrontation

These policies bring about a confrontation with the union and labour movement bureaucracy and especially the fake 'lefts' who declare themselves against cuts but who not only impose hardship on the working class by raising rates and rents but also lose support by doing so.

The Islington Campaign had been successful from early on in linking up the voluntary sector (playgroups) etc) with the state provided sector (nurseries) which were both under threat.

They had nearly succeeded in unionising the playgroup workers in NUPE when the Pre Playgroup Association stepped in to stop this. There followed a delay when an inter union dispute arose over who should organise voluntary workers—NUPE or TGWU (ACTSS).

## Demoralised

This resulted in demoralisation and a failure to organise this section which could have strengthened the links with workers in the state funded sector.

What emerged in the workshops was the reactionary role of the leadership in the unions, who use and direct campaigns for their own ends to stop action from getting off the ground.

One example of this was in Nottingham, where the NUPE



Ealing parents fight for nurseries



official, not content with the hold he already seems to have on the Campaign, now wants to remain a 'sleeping committee member' whose function is to vet all leaflets and publicity from the campaign!

For any campaign intent on fighting the cuts and putting pressure on the unions for action alongside, parents confrontation with the union leadership is inevitable.

One of the main discussions was on the orientation towards campaigns by union branches for workplace nurseries.

The Defending Provision Workshop stressed the dangers of the way in which at present the union leadership is intent on using workplace nursery campaigns to divert away from the fight to defend and expand existing provision.

## SERTUC

The recently held SERTUC conference on workplace nurseries in January bore this out completely.

Socialist Press and Women's Voice supporters were the most

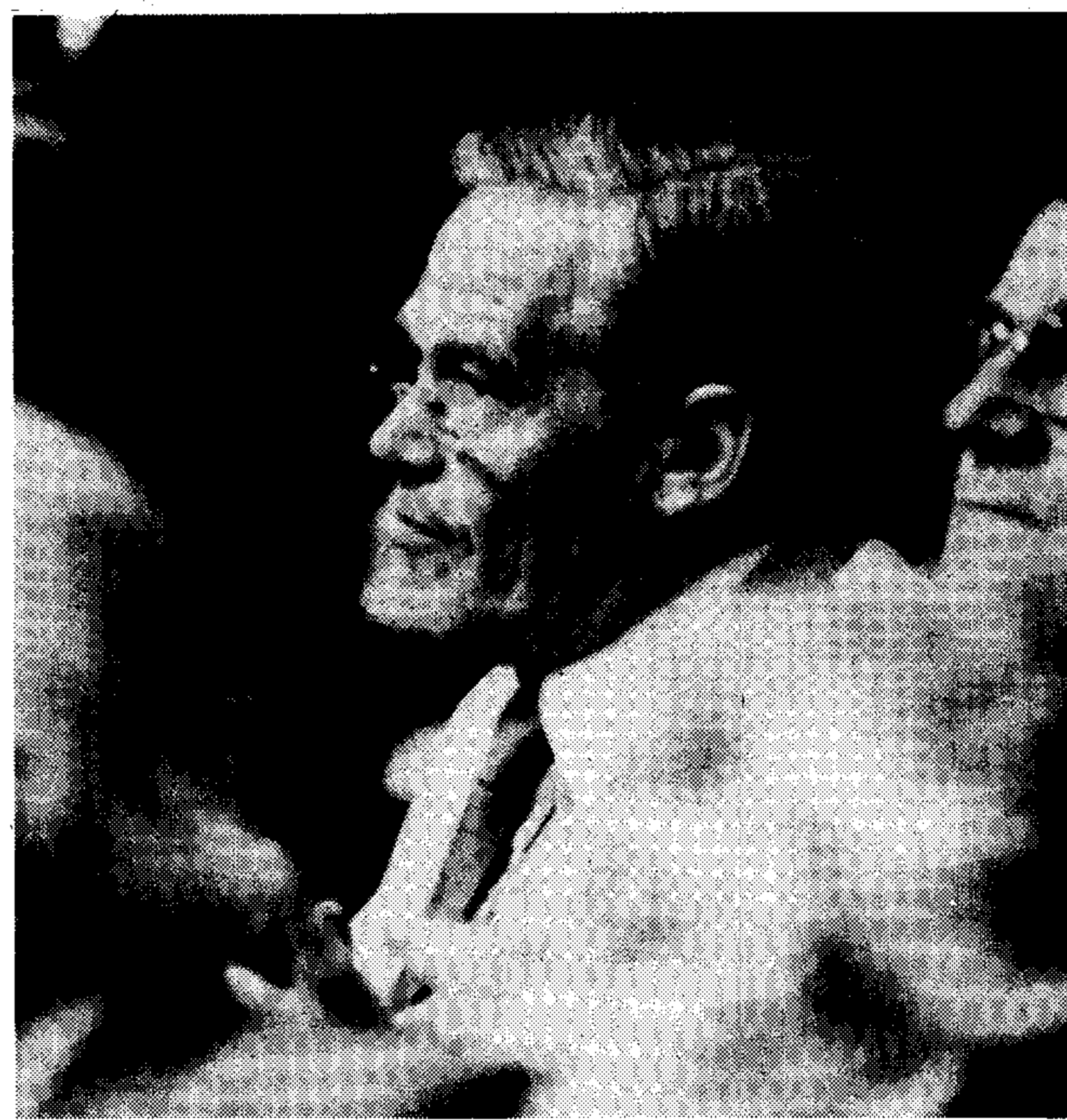
vocal in spelling out the main reasons against a campaign centred mainly on workplace nurseries—pointing to the employers making women redundant and the government's intention to use the axing of facilities like nurseries and hospitals to drive women back to their traditional role in the home.

## Unemployment

Female unemployment has risen in the last four years by over 62%, and in some instances where workplace nurseries have existed employers have closed them down in order to remove female staff easily.

Yet the recent example of the management at the Chix factory providing a nursery to encourage female scabs where the workforce were on strike is a clear example of how managements will provide a nursery when they need a large female workforce.

At the SERTUC conference there were scandalous references to the actual buildings of closed state nurseries being offered by



NUPE leader Fisher—no lead

local authorities for college creches!

It emerged that the students union at Brighton Polytechnic has to vote every year for their nursery to continue—raising the danger that the provision could be lost one year if there is a right wing majority.

The debate on workplace nurseries was useful and resulted in a recommendation to the steering committee that whilst supporting those campaigning for workplace nurseries, the main emphasis of the National Childcare Campaign should be that the government have a statutory obligation to provide comprehensive and integrated child care facilities and facilities for the over 5's, and must be forced to take responsibility for all such provision.

## Charter

NUPE give no lead in unionisation, despite its "Charter for the Under 5s" and it was reported that workers at one Nursery Centre (which combines both care and education) had had to ask to become members and

have their own branch.

The London Nursery Campaign have pressed the South East Region of the TUC to hold a Conference for Under 5's workers.

## Mass campaign

The plenary session for the last hour of the conference saw the setting up of the National Child Care Campaign (NCCC) and the motion submitted by the London Nursery Campaign stated clearly that its overall aim was to build a mass national campaign around the demands for comprehensive flexible, free child care facilities provided by the state.

Discussion then took place on the structure and the forming of a steering committee.

Twenty-seven were nominated to serve and although at present this is overbalanced by campaigners in London this will be subject to review. The steering committee will meet every six weeks and it is intended to hold the next conference early in January 1981, where further policies will be decided.

There then followed brief reports and policy recommendations from the workshops for the steering committee to consider.

The main immediate recommendations to emerge from the report-backs was a press release, a lobby of the TUC and Labour Party conferences and an appeal for trade unions and Labour Party constituencies to affiliate.

It was also suggested that the campaign should call on regional TUC's to implement the TUC Under 5's report—a booklet which the TUC have allowed to fall out of print and are trying to bury.

Trades Councils are to be encouraged to form women's sub-committees where they do not exist at present.

One of the most tangible contributions to the conference was the draft booklet written between Oxford, Nottingham, Leicester and Wandsworth campaigners (agreed at May's Nurseries Action Conference in Nottingham).

This brings together their combined experiences of two occupations and two hurriedly formed campaigns and the lessons learnt from them as a guide for those about to set up campaigns or to broaden them out.

It was a recommendation of the Defending Provision Workshop that the Steering Committee produce the draft version along with amendments and omissions before the next conference.

The setting up of the National Child Care Campaign is a new step forward for local campaigns fighting in isolation.

It could mean the start of an effective and aggressive campaign that will link local campaigns on a regional as well as national basis.

Any individuals or local groups that wish to affiliate to the Campaign should write to NCCC, c/o Surrey Docks Child Care Project, Dockland Settlement, Redriff Road, London SE16. Affiliation fees: Individuals, £2.50; local groups, £5.00.

# TORIES SLAM INTO SOCIAL SECURITY

By Marie Murphy

Social Security benefits and pensions are due to be increased in November 1980: but this year the so-called annual "uprating" will mean a severe drop in the living standards of pensioners and social security claimants.

Many of the proposals in the Social Security No. 1 and No. 2 Bills will be operative from November.

In the past, pensions have increased with prices or earnings—whichever is the higher.

## Prices only

From November, they will be linked to prices only. Pensions will be increased by 16½%, which is the government's estimate of the increase in prices between November 1979 and November 1980—but the increase will be completely inadequate because inflation is already 20% and the cost of living will rise even more between now and November.

For all other national insurance benefits, the increase will be even less.

As a part of Tory policy, sickness and unemployment benefit, maternity allowances and invalidity pension will be increased by 5% less than the estimated rise in prices—i.e. 11½%.

Child Benefit will only go up



Tories in conference

by 75p per child and the one parent family addition will rise from £2.50 to £3.00.

There will be many changes in the Supplementary Benefit Scheme from November resulting from the implementation of the Supplementary Benefit Review.

The review was planned to simplify the scheme—but on a "no cost" basis, and what it represents is a major cut in benefits.

The Supplementary Benefits Commission will be abolished and many decisions at present made by the SBC will be made by Supplementary Benefit Officers acting on behalf of the Secretary of State.

On many of these decisions claimants will have no right of appeal. There will be much less discretion in making payments and individual local DHSS officers will have more responsibility (with no additional pay).

At present supplementary benefit claimants are entitled to claim "exceptional needs payments" for repair and replacement of clothing, footwear, bedding and household goods and these payments are very common.

## Tightened up

From November, however, the rules on "exceptional needs payments" will be tightened up



Social Services Secretary Patrick Jenkin

and they will only be made "in very exceptional circumstances".

There will be a reduction in the money allocated to rent and rates. At present the amount depends on the number of people living in the household, where there are other adults sharing accommodation with the claimant.

## Cut in benefit

From November a standard contribution of £4.60 for each adult non-dependant will be introduced which will mean a cut in the total amount of benefit paid.

At present a smaller amount is taken off for adult non-dependants who are themselves receiving retirement pensions or other national insurance benefit.

But in November the standard £4.60 will apply to them also. And claimants with savings of over £2,000 will no longer be entitled to supplementary benefit.

This will affect people who have received redundancy payments or other lump sum payments of insurances.

The cuts will also affect youth.

At present school leavers can claim benefit at the end of the term they leave school.

But after November, a

school leaver aged between 16 and 19 will not be able to claim benefit until the end of the holiday period following his or her last term at school.

This means that someone leaving school during the winter term or at the end of it will not be able to claim benefit before the first Monday in January.

This will mean that for that period the unemployment figures will be artificially reduced as school leavers will not be signing on for benefit.

Occupational pensions and sick pay from employers will be taken into account in full when assessing benefit.

At present, some of it is disregarded.

Sponsored immigrants will not be eligible to claim benefit as their relatives will be deemed to be responsible for them. (There will be no right of appeal on this).

A new category of officers will be created to deal with 'problem cases'. This means that many of the poor, for example, single parents or blacks, will be singled out as "problems".

All these proposals will cause more conflict between DHSS staff and claimants. They mean a return to the days of the National Assistance Board and Poor Relief when claimants had no rights.

There will be much more emphasis on fraud and abuse and less on the welfare of claimants.

It is particularly disturbing that the DHSS are organising 1½ days' "attitude training" for each local DHSS officer.

There has been little mention of resistance to the new Bill from the right wing CPSA leadership. In fact Kate Losinska, CPSA President, manoeuvred all discussion on the Social Security No. 2 Bill off the CPSA conference agenda.

It is essential that the civil service unions and claimants unions organise action against the Bill, linking up with other workers in the public and private sector in joint action to bring down this savage Tory government.

# CPSA officers victimised

The Department of Employment have sacked Phil Cordell and Richard Cleverley, two CPSA branch officers at the Brixton Unemployment Benefit office.

The two have been sacked for taking time off work to attend a picket of the CPSA National Executive Committee at the height of the 1979 pay campaign and to attend the lobby of Parliament on 5 January this year against the Corrie Bill.

The other charge against Cordell was sponsoring a newspaper advertisement against the National Front and signing it as CPSA Branch Secretary, Brixton Unemployment Benefits Office.

Cleverley's other offence was taking one extra day's holiday without booking it in advance.

These offences are minor and the sackings are clearly a political attack on the CPSA and part of the Tory government's strategy to weaken unions in all industries and to break down all effective opposition to its policies.

The Brixton UBO sub-branch has a record of effective unofficial and official strike action on pay, public spending cuts and suspensions.

In the 1979 pay campaign they took one week's unofficial action as well as supporting the

two days' official action.

They have also taken strike action for improvement in the local office accommodation which is appalling. Over 120 staff work in the office but the Branch officers have calculated that there is room in the premises for only a third of the number.

There is infestation of mice, fleas and lice.

## Largest

It is the largest unemployment benefit office in South London with approaching 8,000 unemployed registered and a high turnover of staff.

After a two year campaign on accommodation there has been considerable improvement.

It has been clear from the start of the campaign for the reinstatement of Cordell and Cleverley that the right wing 'Daylight' NEC and the full time officers are determined to sell out the dispute.

They organised a Day of Action on June 13, the day of Cordell's sacking, which was intended to divert from all-out strike action.

There was no instruction for strike action. Instead a CPSA circular—which was late in getting to branches—stated:

"Stoppages can take the form of whatever action is decided by a members' meeting, extending from a protest meet-

ing in official hours to all-out industrial action for that day".

Despite this, there was a good response with a 500-strong demonstration and rally in Brixton, and thousands of civil servants on strike throughout the country.

## Absence

90% of government offices in Scotland were closed on that day. At the rally on 13 June CPSA President Kate Losinska and her NEC were conspicuous by their absence.

Full time officers Alistair Graham and Terry Ainsworth from the platform stressed the necessity for postponing strike action until after the Civil Service Appeal Board hearing.

Cordell, Cleverley and several other speakers from the floor said that no faith should be put in the Civil Service Appeal Board and the industrial tribunal and that strike action was the only way that reinstatement would be won. The rally passed the following motion:

"This meeting agrees that Brixton UBO should be brought out indefinitely until Cleverley and Cordell are reinstated".

## 3-day strike

Cleverley was sacked on 27 June.

The NEC authorised three

days' strike action at Brixton on June 25-27 and called for protest meetings in the rest of the country.

The Brixton members were dissatisfied with this and at a meeting on June 27 voted to stay out on unofficial strike for another week.

A week later they met again and voted to stay out for a further week.

The unofficial "Brixton UBO Campaign for Trade Union Rights" have organised a levy to pay full pay to the strikers.

## Condemned

Management have responded by employing 20 casuals to do the work of the strikers and other grades are also doing clerical work.

The response of Ken Thomas, CPSA General Secretary, was to issue an all members circular condemning the unofficial strike!

In it he states that the industrial action authorised by the NEC has been "considerable" and says that no further action will be sanctioned until after the Civil Service Appeal Board which does not meet until mid-August.

Thomas says that, if the Civil Service Appeal Board recommends reinstatement, and if the Department of Employment refuse to implement the recom-

mendation, CPSA will then go to an Industrial Tribunal and then strike action would be appropriate.

He says that industrial action now would be:

"a waste of members' resources by depleting the fighting fund at a time when it is necessary to conserve our resources for the battles which lie ahead on public expenditure cuts and our pay claim in 1981".

The unofficial campaign, though they have worked hard, have failed to put pressure on the unofficial union leadership.

The 'left' Department of Employment Section Executive have been very lax in not calling an emergency meeting.

CPSA branches must bombard Thomas and the NEC, calling for the withdrawal of his circular and demanding immediate strike action.

## No illusions

There should be no illusions in the Civil Service Appeal Board and the industrial tribunal.

The campaign urgently needs money and donations should be made payable to "Brixton UBO Campaign for Trade Union Rights" and sent to 16 Knowlton House, Cowley Estate, Cowley Road, LONDON SW9.

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## Protests no answer to unemployment

As unemployment shoots upwards towards the two million mark the Labour and trade union leadership is being prodded into gestures and protests.

The unemployment and wage cutting policies of the Tories go hand in hand.

Joe Dean, the AUEW sponsored MP for West Leeds has clashed with Keith Joseph over the way the crisis is now biting in Leeds.

Dean said in the House of Commons that Tory policies were now destroying the basic engineering industries of Leeds and had already almost destroyed the clothing trade.

He pointed out to Sir Keith that Leeds North East had actually cut his majority at the last General Election.

But Dean's proposed solution to the problem was import controls to protect British textile firms. Nor did he even call for Sir Keith's removal let alone for action to bring down the Tory government.

He has now contacted the Leeds Trades Council and other MPs to sound out the possibility of a campaign against

unemployment in Leeds.

Leeds has over 21,000 unemployed—5.8% of the working population. This compares with 9% in Hull, 7.2% in Doncaster and a national average of 7.8%.

In other words unemployment in Leeds is less than the national average. Under those conditions, waging purely local campaigns on unemployment while not questioning the continuing existence and overall strategy of the Tory government is a dangerous farce.

The crude figures distort the actual distribution of the unemployed.

So, for instance, in Leeds a survey conducted 12 months ago revealed a 15% unemployment rate in the inner city areas.

From these figures it can be worked out that in Chapeltown, Leeds, an area with a large West Indian, Asian and East European community, the unemployment level is around 30%.

For black youth estimates vary between 55-80%.

Last week in Leeds there were only fifteen vacancies for 5,000 school leavers. One shop advertised four vacancies and was confronted with a queue of over 300 for the jobs!

How do we tackle this enormous problem? The Leeds Council's direct works department has trebled the number of apprentices it is taking—but that is only another 50 jobs for youth.

Geroge Mudie, the leader of the Labour Group admitted this was only a gesture to show the way, but the Council was already millions in debt.

He is writing to the government asking for more money to tackle unemployment.

He also said he was in contact with the Common Market.

There is no chance that either body will be bothered about the fate of youth in Leeds.

Chapeltown Ward Labour Party (the Leeds ward that covers Chapeltown and is part of Sir Keith Joseph's constituency) has tabled a resolution which calls for a campaign to bring down the Tory government and for socialist policies.

This must be acted upon locally. The Leeds North East Constituency Labour Party passed the resolution but didn't send it to the party conference mainly because the Militant Group argued that the Labour leadership was in favour of bringing down the Tories!!

(They could not quote any examples).

But there are tangible steps that the Labour leaders could take on unemployment.

The NEC of the Labour Party should convene a national conference of all Labour Councils and instruct them to resist totally the government's attacks.

Other councils are carrying out Tory cuts and blaming the Tories.

Such councillors must be exposed and replaced by those who are willing to fight.

Only through serious moves to mobilise the trade union movement and the working class to bring down the government can the menace of unemployment be tackled.

## GMWU implements Hull sackings

The complete bankruptcy and cowardice of the public sector union leaders in the struggle against the cuts was confirmed at a mass meeting of the kitchen staff employed by the Humberside Education Department in Hull called by the GMWU.

The meeting, held last Wednesday, was called to discuss the redundancy situation. The trend of the meeting had been set a week before it actually took place, in the form of a scandalous leaflet drawn up by the GMWU and circulated to the membership, which declared that:

"It is expected that volunteers for redundancy will be called for—this will apply to people under 59 years of age. If this should happen forms will be issued at the meeting."

The meeting opened with over 550 kitchen staff present and the role of the local leadership was made clear when the Area Organiser Bill Allan addressed the meeting giving details of when the redundancies would take place and how many jobs were to go.

Giving no lead whatsoever on how to fight the planned redundancies, Allan went on to tell his members that the union was initially calling for voluntary redundancies and that if this failed then the union would proceed on a "last in, first out" basis.

When the meeting was thrown open a local Labour Councillor asked Allan why he was not calling for opposition



GMWU leader Basnett

## Officials hand out redundancy forms

to the redundancies and giving a lead to the members present on how to fight these attacks.

She also reminded him that at a public meeting on the cuts in the public sector held in Hull in October of last year he had stated that he was prepared to fight the cuts in every way possible.

### Personal attack

This contribution was warmly received by the members present, but was answered by a personal attack on the Labour councillor by Bill Allan saying that as she was not a kitchen staff worker, she had no right to question the platform.

The Councillor pointed out that she had been an active member of the union and also a member of the Education Branch 5 for longer than he had.

The platform had no answer to this. Then a member of the kitchen staff raised the point that at a previous meeting held in April over redeployment the same leadership had instructed the kitchen staff to refuse to take any cuts in hours.

Yet now they were asking workers to take a cut in jobs! The platform got round this by referring to the drop in demand for school meals since the increase in charge to 50p.

Socialist Press supporter Margaret Nix (who is the only woman shop steward in the Hull division) then attacked the platform, pointing out that the union leadership was doing the Tory County Council's work for them and were therefore carrying out Tory policies.

### Indiscriminate

This was answered sharply by the Convenor of the school meal services members who asked "what do you want us to do? Do you want us to let the county Councillors to go to the schools and make redundancies indiscriminately?"

This was "not a political issue" he claimed.

Margaret Nix drew warm

applause when she replied:

"What kind of a union is it that does the Tories work for them? What we should be doing is fighting these redundancies and you should be leading that fight!"

When the leadership was questioned as to their reference to redundancy forms, the convenor picked up a bundle of slips and held them up shouting that they were available.

At this, chaos broke out, with many of the women present asking for redundancy forms.

When order was restored the chairman made the ludicrous statement that the leadership were "only looking after the interests of the members".

When the question of opposition to the redundancies was again raised, the chairman played the oldest and most despicable trick in the book—immediately putting to a vote the proposal for all-out strike action the following day.

With no preparation for such a policy this was obviously heavily defeated with only about ten members voting for strike action.

The platform, gloating over this success then asked if any other action was desired by the membership. A Socialist Press supporter then called for a no-cover policy for anyone sick or on holidays.

The chairman blandly replied that this had been tried in the past with the school cleaners but had not worked—failing to mention that cleaners who had tried to implement the no cover policy had received no support from the union leadership.

The Hull betrayal is clearly no unique example: it is just one instance of the role of public sector union bureaucrats who are daily presiding over the slaughter of jobs and services without lifting a finger of opposition.

This is why the fight against the Tory cuts is so bound up with the struggle for a new, revolutionary leadership in the labour movement.

# JOIN THE WSL!

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

JOIN US and take forward the struggle for socialism!

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## Parents occupy Coventry nursery

Over 100 people crammed into Wheatley St Nursery School in Coventry last Sunday evening to take part in a public meeting called to launch a campaign of support for the occupation, which started last Friday.

Consistent appeals from parents to Coventry's Labour council had failed to stop the planned closure of the nursery, which has catered for 70 children and has an extremely good reputation in the city.

### No alternative

Faced with no alternative other than the hope of the appeal to Education Secretary Mark Carlisle would succeed in reversing the decision, parents and supporters moved into occupation when the term ended last Friday.

At the public meeting a campaign to resist the closure was formally constituted as the Coventry Nursery Campaign (Wheatley Street).

In the main speeches outlining the situation it was stressed that the closure was a cut in the already slender number of places in the city, and that the council's claim that the buildings were unfit was simply a smokescreen.

### Independent

An independent survey shows that the cost of repairs is nowhere near what the council is claiming.

Messages of support for the occupation were heard from local NUPE branch secretary Joe Little, the chairman of Coventry SE Labour Party, the Oxford and Leicester Nursery Campaigns, the local Women's Voice group and a number of Labour councillors.

The occupation has come a few days after ten Labour councillors defied the Labour whip and voted against an increase in school meals charges from 35p to 45p.

A battle is underway within the City Labour Party to commit the council to a policy of no cuts.

The occupation has been visited by 200 or more supporters in just the first few days, and it is clear that the campaign against the closure can be won.

Messages of support and donations should be addressed to The Occupiers, Wheatley St. Nursery School, Coventry.

# Mass arrests at Adwest

Once again violence flared at Adwest Engineering this week as the Thames Valley SPG (Thames Valley Support Group) brutally smashed up a lawful picket line.

As the 85 pickets arrived at 6.30 a.m. they were met with the same police tactics as last week's day of action: ranks of

uniformed strike breakers on either side of Adwest's gates prevented pickets from taking up positions and created a pathway for the blackleg labour force.

This time, however, TGWU convenor Danny Broderick, himself arrested at an earlier day of action, announced over a megaphone that to deny a picket line was an unlawful act and could not be tolerated.

### Gates

The pickets then marched in an orderly fashion to the gates. Reading's E Division tried to intervene, but in the ensuing melee, over 40 demonstrators managed to form a line across the entrance.

It was then that the support group moved in and after ten minutes of police violence, 21 pickets were dragged off and arrested and charged in most cases with wilful obstruction of the highway.

They were held for six hours in the Reading cells and hauled in front of a special court in the afternoon. Most pleaded not guilty and will appear for trial early in August.

### Vicious assault

Despite this vicious assault, pickets still attempted to form a line and five more were arrested, bringing the total number of those arrested to 26, including all but one of the strike committee.

Afterwards, an angry Danny Broderick spelt it out:

"This strike is now of central

importance to the trades union and working class as a whole.

"Because we are fighting to defend our lawful right to picket this must be seen as the most crucial strike in the country and, as such, must be supported financially as well as physically.

"We urgently need financial aid to keep this dispute alive.

"We call on sympathisers everywhere to send contributions to the strike fund which, because of factors like fines, legal costs and lack of strike pay is desperately low".

"Given the actions of the police and help received from those who understand the significance of this strike, we are now more determined than ever to win it.

"The next day of action is August 11. Anyone concerned with democratic rights should be there and in the meantime be donating money to ensure the survival of the strike".

Donations and messages of financial support should be rushed immediately to Danny Broderick, 46, Berkley Avenue, Reading.

## St Mary's rundown

The dangerously low manning levels and the gradual decline in services at St. Mary's Hospital, Harrow Road, are taking their toll.

The ancillary staff are under increasing pressure from supervisors to take on extra duties and to carry out the work of other grades of staff.

Rita Maxim, shop steward and ward orderly who has worked at Harrow Road for seventeen years told *Socialist Press* that domestics and orderlies are constantly harassed

by the supervisors and in some cases are expected to do the work of three people.

Rita herself has been threatened with disciplinary action for refusing to move from one department to another—not to provide cover for staff who are off sick or on holiday (which is her job) but to take on extra work.

### Direct attack

This despite union policy that members do not carry out such work.

Such actions amount to a

direct attack on trade union organisation and in particular the shop stewards who stand up and defend the interests of fellow workers.

Only through strong and democratic trade union organisation will the management attempts to run down services be thwarted.

The fight at St. Mary's must be broadened to win the support of the local labour movement and must link up with other campaigns against the cuts and the Tory government.

## gunman

From front page

at the time of the incident.

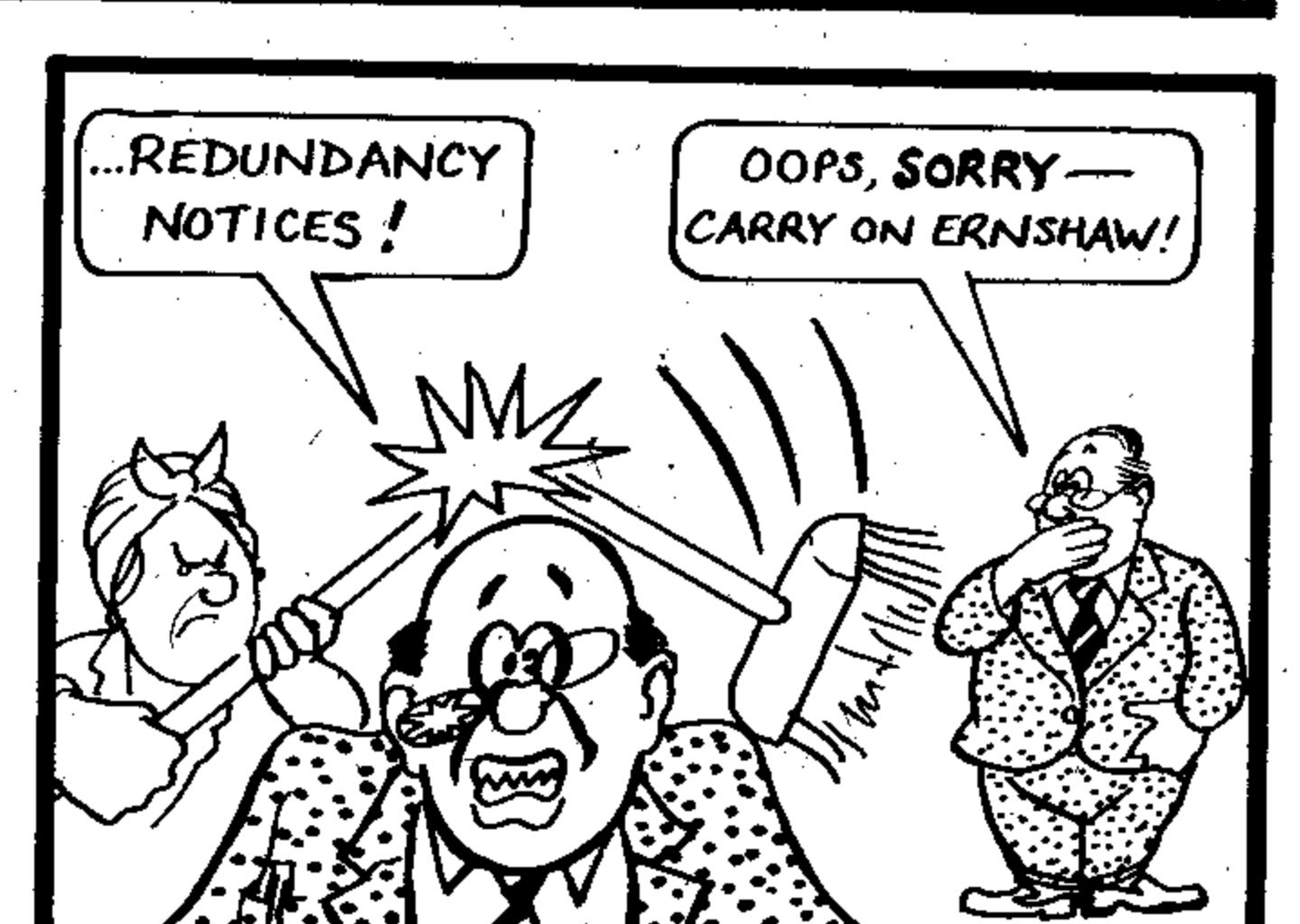
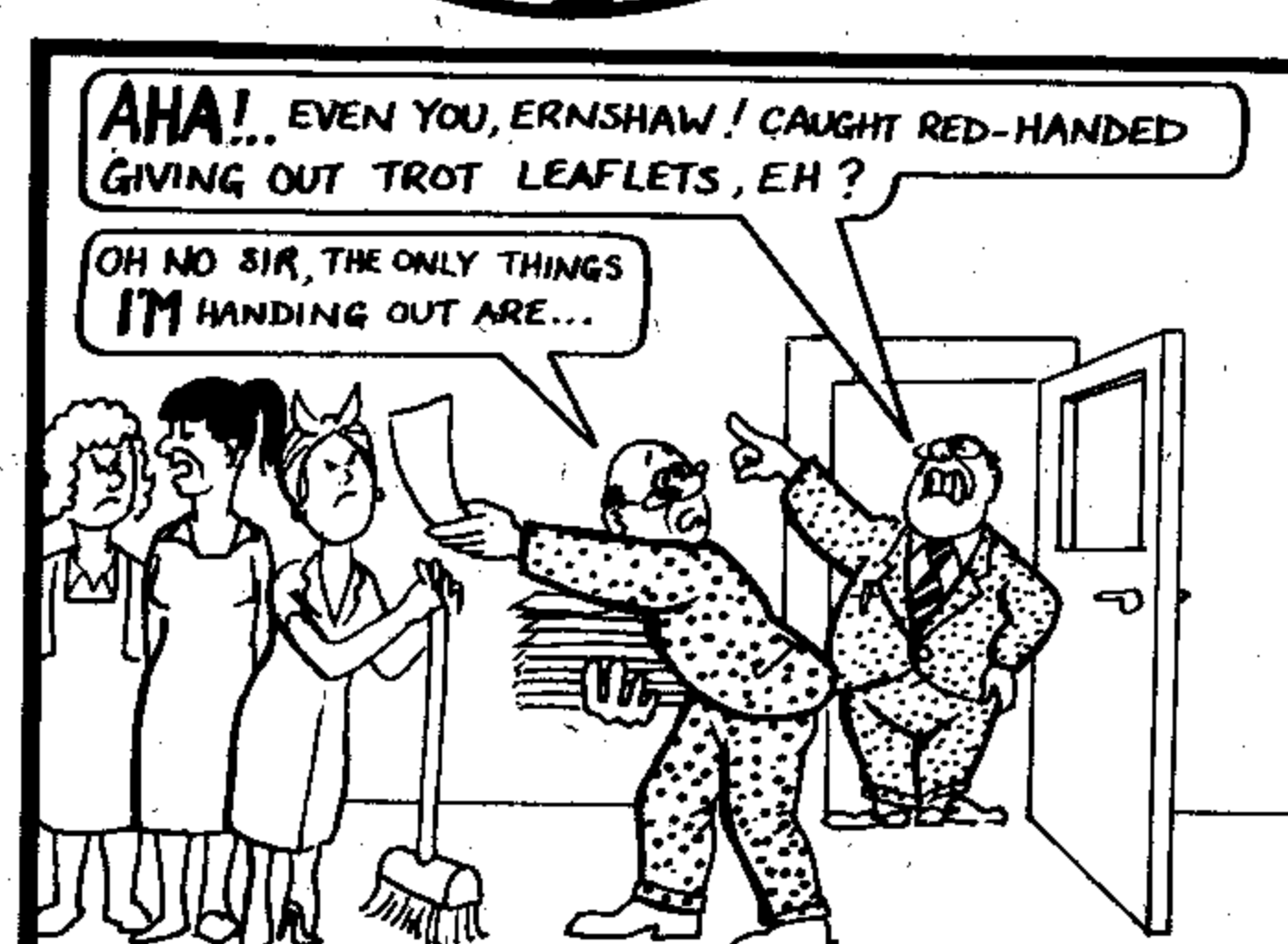
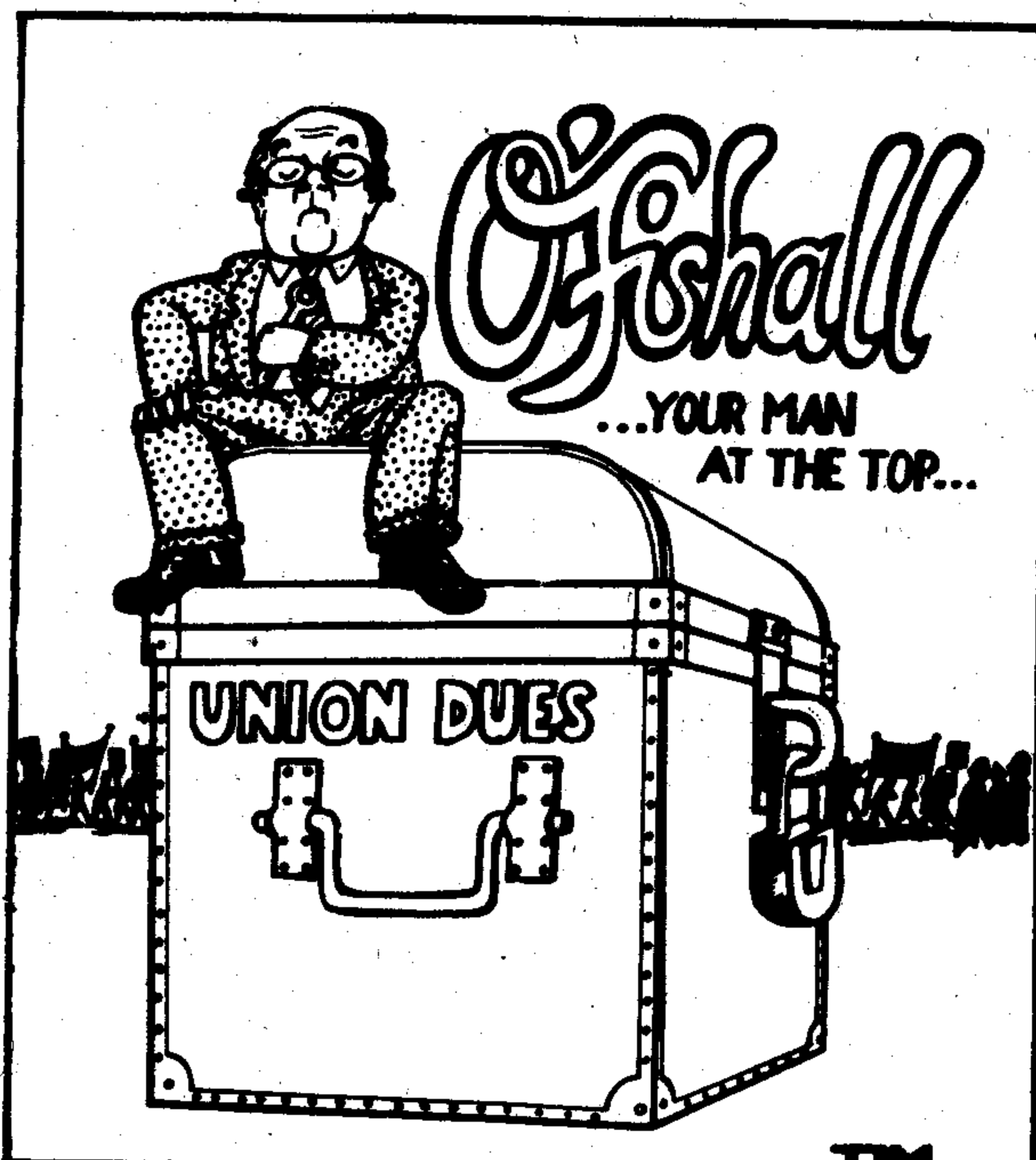
The police have not yet decided whether to charge Cramp.

Between the time Thornett phoned the police and their arrival, *Daily Mail* reporters Robert Porter and Harry Longmuir arrived at Thornett's house—a week and a half after they first arrived in town—asking to speak to Thornett.

Although these reporters got the story of Cramp and the gun from the police the same evening, the *Daily Mail* has not carried this story and on the phone they have suggested that the whole incident was the invention of the Workers Socialist League.

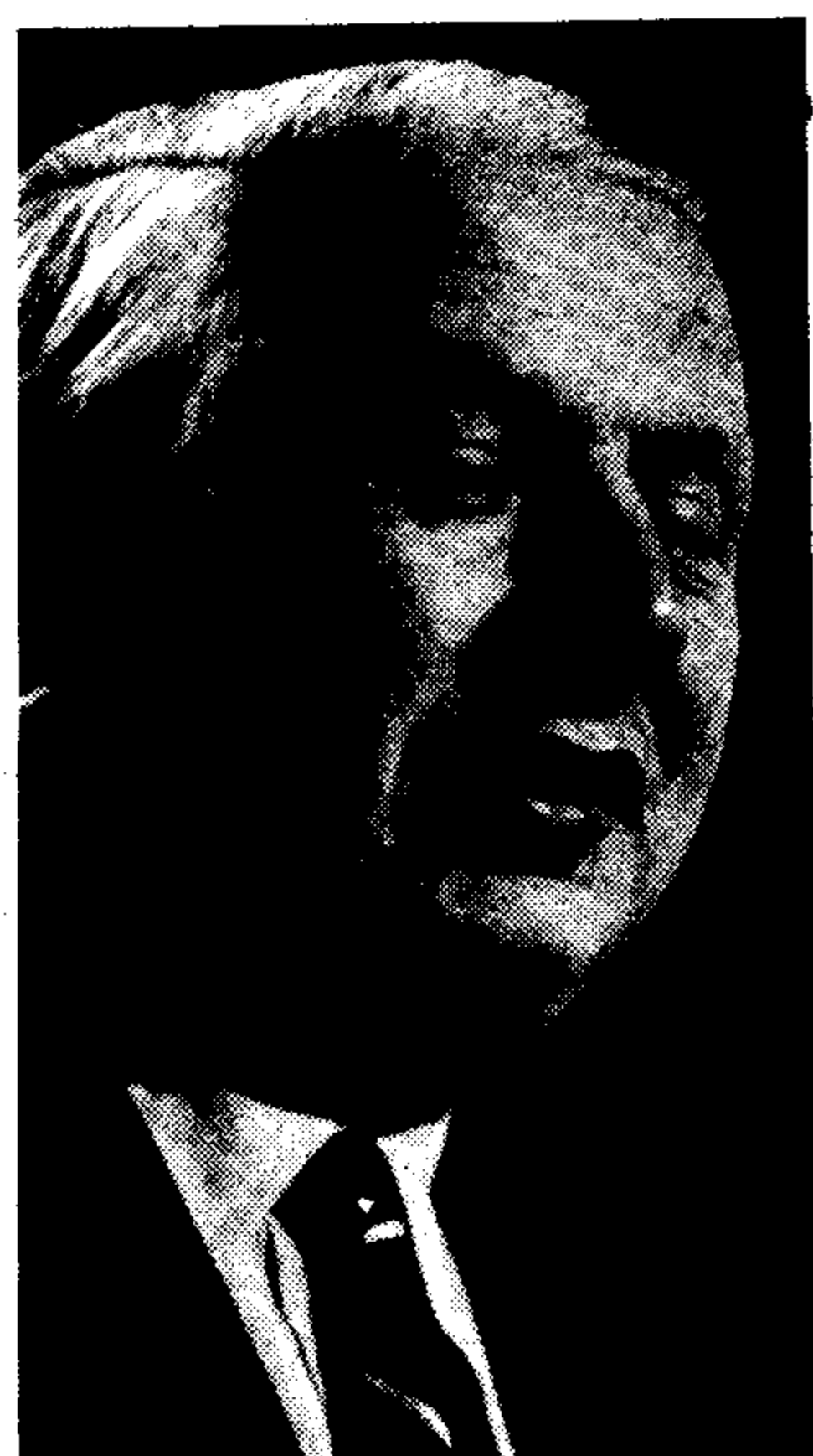
In its desperate efforts to discredit the Workers Socialist League the *Mail* is prepared to create as many imaginary terrorists and fictional gunmen as are necessary to do the job.

But when the *Mail*—no doubt unwittingly—hire a photographer who apparently packs a real gun alongside his camera, there is only one place for that story—the *Daily Mail* dustbin!



With only a couple of hundred pounds needed to reach our £3,000 Special Fund the question is by how much we can exceed our target. The Fund closes at the end of the month, so let's have a last minute fight to go well over the top. With Tory policies fuelling inflation, we need every penny extra that we can raise. So send us a donation today. Our address is:  
Socialist Press Special Fund, BM Box 5277, London WC1V 6XX

# DIVIDE & RULE



Prior

To many people the prospect of two million on the dole queues in Britain is a horrifying waste of human energy and resources—a bitter lesson in the workings of the capitalist system.

But for the Tory government and their big business friends mass unemployment has its uses:

\*They hope to use the threat

## Unemployed against employed

of unemployment to bludgeon workers in industry into accepting wage increases well below the rate of inflation. Hence the recent ultimatums handed out to workers in Lucas and Chrysler/Talbot.

\*They hope to combine growing unemployment with attacks on social security and other benefits, and with harassment by DHSS officials, in order to press gang jobless workers and youth into the lowest paid jobs.

Sir Keith Joseph only recently delighted the employing class by calling on the unemployed to offer themselves for work at below the established rate of pay.

\*Now Employment Secretary James Prior has revealed the latest Tory objective—to lower wages in the public sector to the level of unemployment benefit, by dragging workers

into unpaid "voluntary" work in hospitals and community service.

"It seems wrong to me that we are paying out large sums in benefits and get nothing for it ...", he declared last week.

In other words, while Tory cuts and closures decimate the paid workforce in the public sector, top ministers are planning to draft in unemployed workers and youth to cover over some of the impact of these attacks—and of course to weaken and erode trade union organisation and the fight for wages and conditions among public sector workers.

Prior's Minister of State, the Earl of Gowrie spelled out clearly the fact that such schemes would be far from voluntary.

"There is no coercion at the moment, but we may have to think again if people persistently refuse to work under this

voluntary scheme", he declared.

Then Prior, in attempting to deny that the Tories plan to conscript the unemployed into "community service" made the scheme even clearer.

He emphasised that Gowrie meant only to coerce unemployed youth into the existing youth employment programme and temporary employment schemes—in which the weekly "wage" is a princely £22.50 per week, as against dole payments of £15!

It is clear therefore that the Tories are plotting to exploit a vast pool of cheap labour—latest reports expect that at least one million young workers aged between 16-25 will be unemployed next year.

This is of course a savage attack on the whole working class. Yet it received only the most weak-kneed opposition from NUPE leader Alan Fisher and other public sector union leaders.

The Tory offensive is now reaching full speed ahead: on every front the trade union rights, living standards and social services achieved by workers in decades of struggle are under attack.

Far from offering to talk to Prior about his reactionary scheme to exploit the unemployed, Fisher and his fellow TUC chiefs should be called upon to prepare general strike action to bring down the Thatcher government.

And within the workers' movement the fight must be stepped up for a principled leadership that will challenge the right wing Callaghan/Healey clique in the Labour Party and spell out a socialist programme for mass action to bring about a socialist planned economy which alone can secure improved living standards and the right of every worker to a job.

## Black against white

The high priest of racialism, Enoch Powell, has joined the growing chorus of Tories and fascists seeking to exploit the conditions of the present recession to whip up racial divisions in the working class.

Last month Tory MP Sir Ronald Bell gave vent to his National Front style view that black workers "from tropical areas" should be repatriated.

Singling out for attack those black youth who have fought back on the streets of Bristol and Southall against Tory policies of mass unemployment and savage police harassment, Bell went on to complain that:

"One third of all the births in Greater London are to foreign mothers: does this make sense? Who can be proud of being British if this is all that being British means?"

Bell's venomous outburst was followed up last week by Tory MP Harvey Proctor, who demanded an end to all immigration and an "energetic policy of voluntary repatriation".

These two racists, together

with fellow Tory Anthony Marlow, have launched a campaign to reverse the government's already hypocritical commitment to a multi-racial society.

Thatcher herself in the run-up to the election showed how seriously she regards this commitment, when she shamelessly sought the racist vote by issuing well planned press warnings of a flood of immigrants supposedly "swamping" the British "national culture".

### Loyalist

Now Powell—currently a Loyalist MP—has reasserted his leading role in the campaign to incite racial hatred.

Quoting figures similar to those produced by Bell, Powell warned that the recent riot by black youth in Bristol was simply a foretaste of the future, in which "urban terrorism" could be expected.

The only and supposedly more "moderate" response to this from Tory Home Secretary William Whitelaw skated nimbly around the fact that the government's forthcoming Nationality

Bill is an outright racist piece of legislation that adds still further restrictions to the already savage Immigration Acts imposed by successive Labour and Tory governments.

Indeed for Whitelaw as much as for Powell the use of racial hatred provides a handy weapon against the working class—a weapon which they are committed to use.

Racialism is effective for the Tories in two respects.

While rallying the most desperate and degenerate elements of the middle class to the squalid banner of "patriotism", it also represents a bid to divide the workers' movement along racial lines at a time when Tory cuts and closures are creating mass unemployment and a historic crisis in housing and the social services.

By offering up black workers as a handy scapegoat for the impact of capitalism on workers' living standards, the bosses hope to prevent any united class action to bring down the Thatcher government and confront the attacks on jobs and working conditions.

In this mission the racists

are tacitly assisted by the treacherous role played by the trade union and Labour leaders—who are collaborating with every Tory cutback in the public sector, and waging not the slightest struggle against closures, redundancies and wage cuts.

It is in common action against the class enemy that the working class can best achieve unity in struggle. By rejecting such action, the reformist leaders create conditions of demoralisation and frustration in which racialism can fester.

The menace of racialism and fascism can be effectively combated in the next period only through the construction of a revolutionary leadership within the workers' movement committed to:

\*Repeal the Immigration Laws!

\*Defeat fascist violence: for workers' defence squads to defend black communities and the labour movement!

\*Prepare mass action to bring down the Tory government.



Powell

PHOTO: Chris Davies, Report