

Workers' ACTION

8 pages
10p

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After May 14: THE TORIES CROW

ON MAY 15th the Tory press was crowing: "It's a flop".

Trade unionists who joined the big and militant worktime demonstrations across the country — not one of them properly reported by the Fleet Street press — got a different view of the May 14th Day of Action.

But many of them felt that the turnout could and should have been much better with better leadership from the TUC.

by MARTIN THOMAS

Len Murray made the feeble excuse that "the TUC had not at any time contemplated a general strike call for the day of action and regarded the result as a great success."

The TUC leaders reckoned on a little sabre-rattling — not to defeat the government, but to persuade the Tories to talk to the union bureaucrats more considerately. Then the yellow press started an outcry about this 'sabre' — and the TUC retreated.

It wasn't a general strike, it wasn't a class battle against a government of the rich and reactionary, it was only a request for some workers to "take the day off". It wasn't a sabre they were rattling, they said, but only a feather-duster!

The TUC were finding the Day of Action more of an embarrassment than anything else. The *Financial Times* acidly analysed the background:

"The idea originally came from a resolution approved by the Trades Union Congress last summer. The date was fixed last December.

Steam

"Early this year, however, when the steel strike was under way and the Wales TUC was being particularly militant, the TUC in London came to see the day of action as an alternative to a general strike (our emphasis): something that would allow the labour movement to let off steam without going too far.

"In the event the calls for a general strike died away and the TUC was left holding the baby."

So the action was strong only where rank and file activists gave an energetic lead, or where traditions of trade union solidarity are specially deep. Elsewhere, the minimal aims set for the Day of Action, the complete failure of the trade union leaders to put out broadsheets and other literature in opposition to the Fleet Street press campaign, and the fact that the leaders obviously didn't believe much in the Day

of Action themselves, meant workers did not see that the Day of Action could be any use.

In many factories, shop stewards tried to get strike action and were rebuffed by the workers.

Sometimes the national union leaders' passivity sabotaged local efforts. In Birmingham, for example, the big 5/35 TGWU lorry drivers' branch voted clearly to strike on the 14th. To make doubly sure, the branch meeting also resolved that this strike decision could not be reconsidered or rescinded.

Then a few days before the 14th the branch officers put round circulars saying it was just an individual decision whether to work or not on the 14th! Result: some well-organised places struck, but at most places only a few stewards and militants came out on the 14th.

The branch officers pleaded that they had been under pressure from the union nationally.

Cuts

Getting a full turn-out nationally would have been difficult even with the best leadership. Many trade unionists voted Tory last May. Many others do not yet feel immediately affected by the cuts and closures, and see no urgency in the fight against the Tories.

And among other workers, as one militant described it to WA, "there is a tremendous hatred for the Tories, but also a strong feeling that the government is very determined and will not be easily stopped."

Steelworkers and BL workers, exhausted and demoralised after recent battles, took little part in the 14th. The demo in the South Wales steel town of Port Talbot was a complete flop — and a couple of days later a deal was signed to axe 7,000 jobs there.

But the bureaucrats' feebleness and cowardice magnified these weaknesses tenfold.

The immediate effects of May 14 will be to depress workers' combativity and strengthen the hand of the union leaders who argue most strongly for passive collaboration with the Tories.

But that is only one side of it. May 14 also gave pointers for the future indicating trouble to come for the Tories and the bureaucrats.

It was a political strike, and everyone knew it was a political strike. Yet it went ahead — weaker than it might have been, perhaps, but still something like 1½

continued on
centre page



BUT NOT FOR LONG

Organise
ranks to
fight for
Labour
democracy

THE 'taps', the Parliamentarians and the prominent figures of the labour movement, have had the floor for most of the debate on Labour Party democracy ever since the historic decision of last October's Brighton conference of the Labour Party in favour of mandatory re-selection of Labour MPs and Labour National Executive control of the election manifesto.

Now, as the right wing offensive to reverse the Brighton decisions at the Blackpool conference in October 1980 is being stepped up, it is time the rank and file spoke out.

That was the general feeling during the preliminary discussion between the Campaign for Labour Party Democracy and the Socialist Campaign for a Labour Victory, to explore the possibility of launching a big rank and file campaign in the months between now and the Labour Party conference, to defend and extend the Brighton decisions.

Provisional agreement was reached on a platform for the campaign. The Labour Coordinating Campaign is being approached, so are tendencies like the ILP and Militant.

Details will be announced soon.

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FUND

THIS month's fund has got off to a slow start — only £15 this week, £10 from Liverpool and £5 from Sunderland, leaving £285 to collect in three weeks. But a supporters' group in Islington has told us about its plans for fund-raising, centred round stalls at some seven community festivals in the borough this summer. We need to see more activity like that... and the money! Send to Nik Barstow, WA, PO Box 135, London N1 0DD.

'Peace' falls to pieces

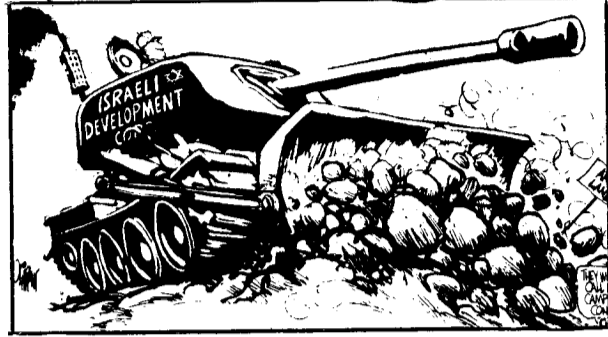
EGYPT'S President Sadat has broken off the Camp David talks. According to him, it is impossible to continue the talks in the light of Israel's latest decisions.

He is referring to the recent Knesset (Parliament) vote to make the two halves of Jerusalem a single, unified capital city 'until eternity', and to the decision to build another 29 settlements on the West Bank. These decisions, he says rightly, make a mockery of talks aimed at 'Palestinian self-determination'.

Israel's Prime Minister Begin claims that Sadat is just play-acting in the hope that he can get the US to put more pressure on Israel. He says that these policies which Sadat is using as a pretext to end the talks for the present were well known to Sadat long before the Camp David talks even started.

That is indisputably right. But obviously the Egyptian President hoped that the very process of the talks would inhibit the Zionists from really blatant expansionism. And where the talks themselves failed, Egypt's new relationship with the US would help.

Israel, however, is fundamentally committed to preventing the emergence of any Palestinian entity — be it an autonomous region or a fully-fledged state. This policy is being pursued by two methods: by repression on the West Bank and by increasing the number of Jewish settlements there, and by attempting to slaughter the Palestinians in Lebanon.



After a short period of restraining new settlements and even evicting one Jewish community on the West Bank, the Zionist state's colonising drive is shifting into higher gear. As the Knesset decided on the 29

new settlements, an official report was leaked which called for 49 settlements to be set up altogether in the West Bank and Gaza Strip and for a doubling of Israel's settlement population in the occupied territories.

Of course, this is nothing to what the real hawks in the Israeli Cabinet want. Agriculture Minister Ariel Sharon is demanding a new law which

would not only confiscate several thousand more acres of privately owned Arab land, but also make it impossible for the owners to appeal against confiscation to the High Court.

While Sharon and the right wing religious group, the Gush Emunim, cry out for 'Lebensraum', the state itself is more cautious. But its policy is clear, and it goes beyond the construction of another 29 settlements: it is a policy for honey-combing the West Bank and Gaza with Jewish settlements.

In the long term, the Zionists hope to dilute the Palestinian concentration in these areas, and claim them simply as another part of Israel.

At the same time, Israel is blatantly carrying on a war against the Palestinians and the Muslim population in Lebanon. Every week there are new raids and new bombardments of Palestinian refugee camps from inside Israel and from Israeli ships off the Lebanese coast. Israel is also supplying and otherwise aiding the right wing Christian militias of South Lebanon, headed by Major Haddad.

For a while, the Zionists were quick to conceal their real intentions — strengthening the fascist and semi-fascist forces in Lebanon and helping their war of genocide against the Palestinians — by claiming that their raids were in retaliation for 'terrorist' attacks. Now this cynical cover is largely dropped. Israel is at war with every progressive force in Lebanon.

ANDREW HORNING

N. IRELAND:

Tory plan for bigots' rule

THE TORIES are planning to restore an Orange sectarian Parliament in the North of Ireland.

A discussion document — to be published next month — is likely to propose a new Stormont Parliament of about 80 seats with legislative and executive power solely in the hands of the 'majority'. The Tories hope to set it up within a year.

This means giving Ian Paisley and his allies a free hand to try to beat down the Catholic minority and to restore the 'peace' that existed before 1968 — the peace of the graveyard.

Since Stormont was dissolved in 1972, all attempts to end direct rule have foundered on the issue of 'power-sharing'. The Catholic SDLP would not accept being excluded from the government, and the extreme Unionist bigots, such as Paisley, who have the support of the majority of Protestants, would not accept anything less than a return to the pre-1972 Orange state. The power-sharing executive lasted only a few months in 1974 before the Ulster Workers' Council strike brought it down.

This time the Tories have decided to avoid 'power-sharing' altogether. They are willing to hand power over the Tories directly, giving the SDLP certain 'guarantees' — which the Tories will hardly hold Paisley to — and possibly control of some Parliamentary committees — which will not have any real power.

In order to get the SDLP to agree, the Tories are planning to bribe them — quite literally. According to the *Financial Times*, there will be 'some kind of financial inducement to the Catholics in general and the SDLP in particular to take part in a new devolved assembly'. The SDLP will doubtless be caught between the Tories' bait and the risk of committing political suicide. Yet once the government has made a clear commitment to restore Stormont, it may well go ahead whatever the SDLP thinks.

It is not yet clear what powers such a Northern Ireland Parliament will have. It will certainly have wide powers over housing and employment — both areas where Catholics were viciously discriminated against under the previous Stormont government. It is also possible that control of the police would be handed back. Given Paisley's repeated calls to 'smash the IRA', it is not difficult to see what this would mean — the full force of the RUC, backed by Protestant paramilitaries like the UDA, would be unleashed on the Catholic community.

And the British Army would hardly leap the the defence of the Catholics they have been trying to beat down for years. The most likely result would be widespread pogroms.

The overthrow of Stormont in 1972 was a major victory for the anti-imperialist struggle — not because direct rule was better, but because it threatened the existence of the Northern state itself. Return to an Orange parliament would be a preliminary to trying to force the Catholic minority back to a silent acceptance of the sectarian state.

All of those opposed to Britain's presence in Ireland and in solidarity with the struggle in the North must fight tooth and nail to oppose Atkins' plan.

Leicester Labour say Troops Out

THE MAY General Management Committee of Leicester South Labour Party passed a resolution calling for 'Troops Out Now' from Northern Ireland, self-determination for the Irish People as a whole, repeal of the Prevention of Terrorism Act and political status for Irish political prisoners.

The motion was proposed by a supporter of Workers' Action. Supporters of Militant attempted to delete self-determination and to limit political status to people who, as they put it, are not "sectarian murderers" (though who decides who is and who isn't, they weren't sure).

On these two counts they failed. They did succeed however in deleting a clause calling for support for all Irish forces fighting British imperialism and replacing it with two clauses:

- to support all forces seeking to unite the working class on class issues, such as bad housing.
- to support all forces seeking to build a mass Labour Party.

These two last clauses showed up clearly Militant's confusion on the question of the duty of socialists in Britain to the Irish struggle. Only through the destruction of the border can a united working class emerge in Ireland, since as long as the Orange statelet lasts the capitalists will be able to split the working class by 'playing the Orange card', giving small privileges to the Loyalists at the expense of the Nationalist community.

Militant's talk about a mass Labour Party ignores the actual experience of the Northern Ireland Labour Party. At times the NILP has got substantial support. But its weakness on the Border question, then more recently its openly Unionist politics, have made it irrelevant and marginal whenever the political temperature rises.

But even amended the resolution is a great step forward.

ALEXIS CARRAS

'Liberty City' Revolts

WITHIN HOURS of the Tampa court decision which acquitted four white policemen of the murder of Arthur McDuffie, 3,000 enraged Miami blacks were encircling the city's main police headquarters.

For the next three days, 'Liberty City', the run-down black district of Miami, was in revolt. 3,500 armed National Guardsmen and troopers were

en to death by four white policemen after being dragged from his motorcycle. The police attempted to disguise the murder as a car accident. This occurred on December 17th.

Five months later, an all-white jury totally acquitted the four cops.

As one black stated, "Just look at it from our side. Why,

insurance executive, was beaten in a case involving the murder of a black man by white police officers, was the jury all white? No-one denies the man was killed with evidence of a terrible beating, and yet no-one was found guilty of anything".

The black community saw this court case as the latest episode in a long story of discrimination. In October 1979 a policeman shot and killed a black youth after the youth had been arrested on suspicion of burglary. At the same time a white policeman was accused of sexually molesting an 11-year old black girl. In neither case were any charges brought against the police.

The racism even hit prominent blacks, people promoted to positions of authority by the American ruling class in an attempt to diffuse the anger and violence of the '60s civil rights movement.

Johnny Jones, superintendent of Miami's black schools and trustee of Miami University, has been charged with corruption and other financial misconduct. The way many blacks see it, "Dr Johnny Jones is in the final analysis a victim of his own blackness".

In Dade County, which includes the city of Miami, blacks are 15% of the population, whites 50% and Hispanics 35%. Unemployment for blacks is twice the level for whites and Hispanics, running at over 17%.

10% of whites and an estimated 18% of Hispanics live under the government-defined poverty line, but the figure for blacks is 38%. With the slow-down of the US economy, the unemployment and deterioration of social services can only get worse.

20 years after the civil rights movement, and 15 years after President Johnson declared a 'war on poverty', American blacks still find themselves in a situation where racism, police attacks, and social discrimination are simply a way of life.

How long will their patience last? If Miami is any indication, not very much longer.

ALEXIS CARRAS

"MANY GCHQ personnel (are) involved in corruption, work in areas where highly secret documents are missing — and other documents continue to disappear..."

So says Jock Kane, an ex-GCHQ employee. His allegations are backed up by a joint New Statesman/Daily Mirror/World in Action investigation into Britain's most costly and secretive intelligence organisation.

So powerful is GCHQ that in 1979 it was able to block a Cabinet Office investigation ordered by the Prime Minister. But

all its employees from the bottom upwards are pocketing vast sums of money, all subsidised by the unlimited funds handed over unquestioningly to the organisation.

In the very important top-security Little Sai Wan station in Hong Kong, well-placed officials have set up private companies, hotels and clubs, which thrive on the GCHQ's lavish cash flow.

Along with the corruption and lack of accountability goes obstruction by GCHQ of any exposure of its internal security. In the 'ABC' trial,

'Operation Fire'

AT 4.30am on Sunday March 30th, 300 police officers from all over Wales, organised in small groups, launched 'Operation Fire'.

52 people were arrested in connection with the burning of holiday homes in Wales and the planting of bombs at Tory party offices in Shotton and Swansea.

None of the 52 were ever charged. But a large amount of personal property was taken away by the police — including address lists of Plaid Cymru members, publications, files, badges, a typewriter, contraceptives, clothing and footwear.

In the next three days, many of the 'suspects' were subjected to abuse and physical assault by their interrogators, and refused access to next-of-kin or solicitors. The wife of one of the detained was asked about their sex life and told by the police that 'all terrorists are sexually perverted'. One man was told, 'You'll have the most unforgettable interrogation of your life'.

The 52 were lifted under the 1971 'Criminal Damage Act', but the interrogations were overtly political. A number were asked directly about their politics and what organisations they belonged to.

The idea was obviously 'intelligence gathering' on both the left and the national -ist movement in Wales.

'Operation Fire', a report based on the experiences of the 52, was published on May 19th by the Welsh Campaign for Civil and Political Liberties — set up after the raids with the support of the Welsh Labour Party, Plaid Cymru, the Welsh Language Society, and NCCL.

It will be holding meetings throughout Wales to highlight the implications of 'Operation Fire', and deserves the support of labour movement activists.

MARTIN BARCLAY

Copies of the report can be got from '108 Bookshop', 108 Salisbury Rd., Cardiff, for £1.25 plus 25p postage. Cheques payable to 'WCCPL Publications, Cardiff'.

Duncan Campbell, Crispin Aubrey, and John Berry were prosecuted under the Official Secrets Act for collecting or passing on information which might have embarrassed GCHQ. No-one ever even tried to prove any other sort of damage from their activities.

Now, in the latest cover-up, the Independent Broadcasting Authority has banned the World in Action programme based on Kane's revelations... for fear of running foul of the Official Secrets Act.

Yet within GCHQ stations, especially in Hong Kong, Jock

Kane states: "such was the negligence and chaos that managerial civil servants were daily signing registers as correct when many of the documents listed in them were missing — sometimes for years".

There is a "massive loss of active operational documents from a base already known to have been penetrated by foreign intelligence and demonstrably offering many avenues for further penetration."

It is becoming ever more clear that these expensive

secret agencies have nothing to do with protecting the interests of workers in this country or anywhere else.

Corrupt, inefficient, unaccountable as they are, they are still being protected by their masters. And however inefficient they seem to be, they still pose a risk to our movement. The labour movement must take up the call for a full investigation into GCHQ and all other secret agencies, leading to their disbandment.

ALEXIS CARRAS

Tinker, tailor, soldier, swindler

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Iran: new attacks on the left

Socialists freed

by 'NABDEL'

IN THEIR New Year speeches at the end of March, both President Bani Sadr and Ayatollah Khomeini attacked the Kurdish people and their representatives. "We will not tolerate another rival power in Iran", was Bani Sadr's repeated threat. These speeches prepared the ground for the recent wave of attacks against the Left and against national minorities, particularly the Kurds.

Under the pretext of defending the Iranian border against attacks from Iraq, the government started moving army columns into Kurdistan. The Kurdish leader, Sheikh Ezzedin Hosseini, made it clear that "The Kurdish people will defend Iran against any attack from outside, whether it comes from America or the Ba'athist regime in Iraq," but declared that government troop movements would be resisted.

In mid-April Revolutionary Guards (the pro-Khomeini Pasdaran) and army units were flown into Sanandaj, capital of Kurdistan province. The inhabitants of Sanandaj sat down in the road from the airport in an attempt to persuade the soldiers to refuse to march on. (It is notable that their appeal was directed more to the soldiers than the hated and more right-wing Pasdaran).

When a unit of 1,000 soldiers failed to disperse the people, some 300 gave up their arms to the Kurds. The rest were trapped in the nearby hills.

In what was virtually a repeat of the events that sparked off fighting in Sanandaj last year, the government followed up its deliberate provocation by sending in more troops and launching air attacks on the area. The fighting is still going on and an estimated 800 have lost their lives.

Later in the month, Pasdaran and soldiers attacked the Kurdish village of Ghalatan, in Western Azerbaijan, for a second time. In an earlier attack in March several villagers had been killed and most now fled leaving only the women, the old and the very young. But the attackers' bloodlust still had to be satisfied, and the remaining inhabitants were killed, including a man of 110.



There was widespread ballot-rigging in favour of the IRP

First the ballot, then the bullet

FINAL results are not in yet in the Iranian elections, but it seems certain that Ayatollah Khomeini's Islamic Republican Party will dominate the new Parliament.

With a bloc of 130 seats out of 270 — with some, particularly in Kurdistan and Baluchistan where civil order has completely broken down, yet to be decided — the IRP will be able to trap President Bani Sadr within the bars of parliamentary legality.

There is a large group of Islamic independents and a group of nearly fifty supporting the President, as well as a sprinkling of left-wing deputies from the Tudeh (Communist) Party and the Mojahedeen Khalq.

The poll was very low and

corrupt practice flourished everywhere. In the paper "Mojahed", the Mojahedin Khalq have listed some of the ballot-box violations. These included taking the boxes away after polling and stuffing them, having IRP members fill in the voting slips of illiterates with the names of IRP candidates irrespective of what the voters asked, spreading the rumour that the Mojahedin candidates had been eliminated, voting without a valid identity card, attacks on known Mojahedin supporters and so on.

The IRP and its leader Ayatollah Beheshti are doing everything they can to undermine the authority of President Bani Sadr before the Majlis (Parliament) sits. It is widely

reported that Beheshti is far more hostile to the President than is Khomeini.

Since the overthrow of the Shah in February 1979, there have been in Iran several 'democratic' ploys by the authorities: a referendum on the constitution, an election for the Council of Experts to draft the constitution and a Presidential election. These ploys were used to give legitimacy to onslaughts against the national minorities (above all, the Kurds) and the Iranian left.

There is every reason to see behind the screen of democratic elections now the beginning of a serious attempt by the right wing to smash these movements once and for all.

Despite ferocious attacks, particularly in Saqqez and Sanandaj, the Kurds are still holding their own, helped by a high rate of desertions from the still disorganised army. They are, however, weakened by increasing divisions in their own ranks, in particular with the emergence of a more or less pro-Tudeh (Moscow Communist) Party faction led by Ghani Belourian.

These attacks on Kurdistan and similar attacks on the Turcomans, which took the lives of several militants, prepared the ground for attacks on what the government calls "other counter-revolutionary forces", above all the

students. The object of these attacks is to smash the base of the radical left, the Mojahedeen and the Fedayeen Khalq, before their influence spread too widely beyond the universities.

Kurds

It is clear from the electoral support for the Mojahedeen and the support among the national minorities for the Fedayeen that these organisations' influence is by no means limited to the universities, even though their working class base is growing only slowly.

Prior to the attacks, a

right-wing cleric, Rafsanjani, who is a member of the Islamic Revolutionary Council, had tried to speak at Tabriz University. His rejection by students there was a signal for attacks on the Left by right-wing Islamic students and the Pasdaran.

Bani Sadr then ordered the Mojahedeen and the Fedayeen who had defended the universities against the attacks of these thugs to leave the campuses within three days, declaring that the universities should be places of study, not political activity.

Teheran University was the last to fall to "the soldiers of Islam" on April

21st. A crowd of about 5,000, including some Pasdaran, attacked the university, where the students erected barricades. This stopped the Islamic fanatics who still kept up a volley of bricks, and, occasionally, tear gas canisters. But finally, that night, the rightist students took the campus after 28 students had been killed.

Later that day, Bani Sadr headed a demonstration to Teheran University hailing the beginning of the 'Islamic cultural revolution', which Khomeini had previously invoked in a speech.

In the southern oil town of Ahwaz, according to the daily Etela'at, two "unemployed" men were executed for helping left-wing students at Jondishapur University in Ahwaz, while in Arak, in central Iran, 17 teacher training students have been expelled for being "Marxists" following Khomeini's speech on the need for a "cultural revolution" to eliminate non-Islamic ideologies from places of learning.

Rich

All this happens under the banner of 'anti-imperialism'. While this mood has been fuelled by the holding of the US Embassy hostages and further buttressed by the failure of Carter's attempted raid, the government continues to do nothing about Iran's economic chaos or the position of the millions of poor.

Clearly the government believes that nothing can be done until the backbone of radical feeling that survives from the overthrow of the Shah is broken and until the political organisations of the left, the movements of the national minorities and the shoras (workers' councils) have been decisively defeated. Even attempts at radical moves have been blocked. When one cleric was given charge of solving the housing problem and suggested that the homeless occupy the vacant dwellings of the rich, he was sacked.

Inflation is running at about 30% and unemployment at at least 15% and there are shortages of basic foodstuffs, of eggs, meat, flour and others. Typical of the government's response is the gunning down of unemployed demonstrators in the town of Dohrood.



FATIMA Fellahji (centre) and Mahsa Hashemi (left) leaving the prison in Evin where they were jailed after a ludicrous trial last summer.

The women are members of the Revolutionary Workers' Party [HKE], once a faction of the now split Socialist Workers' Party [HKS] and allied to the Socialist Workers' Party of America.

All socialists will welcome their release from jail.

The HKE's account of the campus clashes is markedly different from most others — including the one published here. They claim that the Fedayeen and Mojahedeen students were stopping an attempt by Islamic Students' Organisations to turn the universities into centres of anti-imperialist struggle in line with the position of those students that are holding the Embassy staff hostage.

This opposition to the ISOs, they say was "sectarian" and played into the hands of "the 500 capitalist families and their underground hit squads." "It was these right-wing squads — not the Islamic students — who were responsible for the violence on the campuses."

Workers' Action believes that this analysis is profoundly wrong. In the name of relating to the confused anti-imperialist sentiments of the masses, they give credence to the cynical anti-imperialist demagoguery of the authorities, who want to mask their increasing inability to deal with the economic crisis in Iran.

The HKE's position dovetails well with the overall rightward lurch of the SWP [USA], but does not in the least fit in with a revolutionary policy in Iran.

Too many gains for Schmidt?

REGIONAL elections in North-Rhine Westphalia last week showed big gains for West Germany's Social Democratic Party, big enough to raise the possibility of an absolute majority for the Social Democrats after the federal elections in October, without the present alliance with the Free Democratic Party.

But, the Financial Times reports, not everyone in the SPD is happy about this prospect.

"Herr Schmidt can keep his influential left-wing in check

now by stressing the need to maintain the Social Democrat/Free Democrat coalition. If the Chancellor seems a little laggardly on state subsidies and social reform, his supporters argue, it is because the Free Democrats are holding him back.

"But with an absolute majority in the federal parliament, Herr Schmidt's left-wing critics — and there are many, especially at the grass roots constituency associations — will be given free rein."

RAY SAUNDERS



\$8 billion that says 'Zap Iran'

JIMMY Carter is still threatening another raid on Iran. And the story is still that the US is going as far as it can to get the hostages released peacefully.

But to get the hostages released peacefully the US would have to move towards meeting three conditions — two well-known, one not so well-known.

The US would have to get the Shah sent back, and/or publicly apologise for the US role in backing up the Shah's tyranny. It will not do that because of the effect on US authority and prestige in the world.

The less well-known condition is highlighted by I.F.

Stone in a recent article in the Observer.

"The US, too, holds hostages in the Iranian dispute. When Carter froze Iranian assets in American banks last November, he took some \$8 billion as his own hostage. In any peaceable solution, the release of the hostages in Iran would trigger release of Iranian assets (in the US)."

But Carter is already preparing legislation so that the \$8 billion can be paid out to companies and banks with claims on Iran. "Chase Manhattan and some of the largest banks... want to use these assets to 'offset' their loans to the Shah, and some already have done so." This

despite the fact that at least one series of loans, totalling \$3 billion, from Chase Manhattan to the Shah, are thought to have been invalid under the Shah's own constitution.

"When Carter's claims legislation comes before Congress", writes Stone, "it should realise that it may be choosing between the fate of the hostages and the convenience of the banks."

Meanwhile the Sunday Times, on May 18, has reported that Iranian ex-generals and other pro-Shah exiles are making large-scale preparations for armed counter-revolution in Iran.

RICK MAC GLIN

The blind eyes of Fleet Street

What Fleet Street thought worth the headlines on the 15th.

THE SUN:

- Ice cream sales on a nudist beach in Brighton
- 'Siege cops hunt mystery beauty'
- 'What the tycoon's butler saw'
- 'Panties girl wins jobs case'
- 'The hike-it and bike-it brigade'
- 'Brawls mar the TUC's big rally' [other, much bigger rallies where there were no brawls got no report]

THE MAIL:

- 'Trains run... car plants open...' [actually almost no Inter-City trains ran, and Linwood and Cowley car plants shut].
- 'Platitudes and punch-ups' [the Central Hall TUC rally again].
- 'The fire-eater's love-life brings big top to halt'
- 'Sexy' secretary beats the pruders'
- 'Lesley-Anne playing it cool'

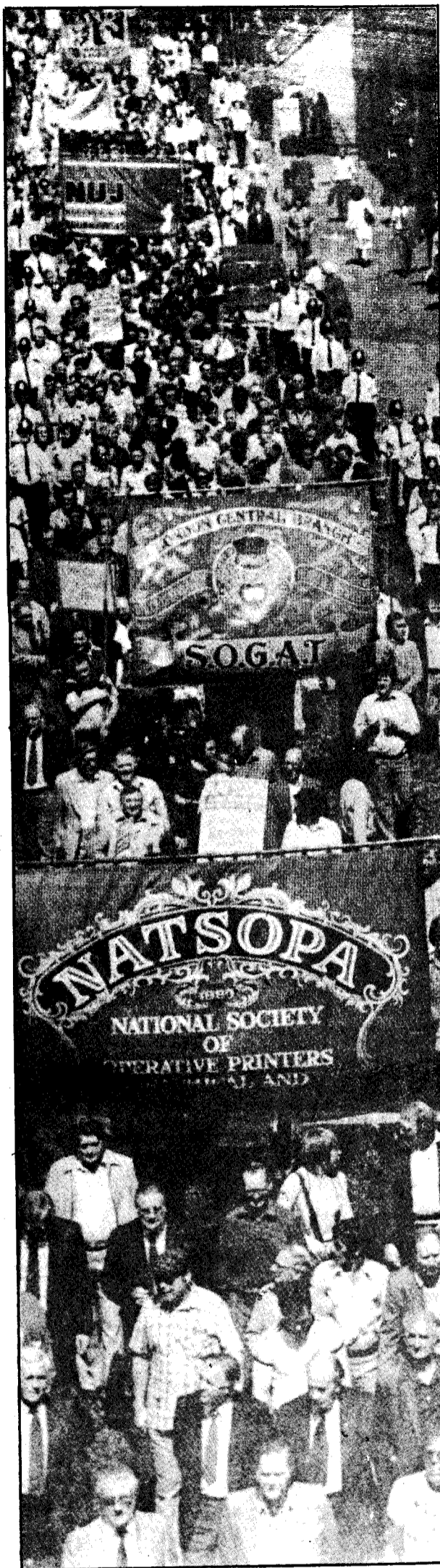
THE MIRROR:

- 'Model Lorraine Paul cooled off in high style...'
- 'Workers defy the big shutdown call' [What about the Mirror's own workers? And how many unions actually called for shutdowns?]
- 'TV girl finds a new roll' [skating to work...]
- 'MP's circus girl runs off for love'
- 'Saucy sec wins battle'

What Fleet Street thought worth small print or no report at all.

- The causes of the TUC protest: cuts, closures, anti-picket laws — prescriptions at £1, housebuilding at its lowest level for 30 years, hospitals and hospital units closed, the steel industry decimated, trade union solidarity outlawed.
- All pits in South Wales, and nearly all in Scotland and Yorkshire, were shut.
- Chrysler Linwood and BL's Cowley Assembly Plant shut.
- Liverpool, Newport, and Southampton docks shut.
- Every shipyard in Scotland bar one stopped.
- St Pancras and Euston stations shut. 80% of rail services in Scotland were stopped.
- Hundreds of thousands of public service workers struck.
- 130 rallies and demonstrations across the country.
- Women's contingents and women's placards on some of the demonstrations, protesting specially about the double impact of the cuts on women.
- The general strike in France on the 13th, against cuts there.
- Sweden's general strike/lock-out over pay, settled on May 11th with a half-victory.

So why still no progress in getting a mass circulation daily financed by the labour movement and open to its views and news? Why doesn't the labour movement organise an alternative to the boss-class bias, the trivialisation, and the sexism of Fleet Street?



Workers jeer the Express

AS 2,000 PRINTWORKERS marched down Fleet Street on Wednesday 14th, they shouted out: 'Read the Express tomorrow and see if they report this. The Express lies'.

In fact trade union action shut down the Express on the 15th, too. But the other papers proved the printworkers' point. "It's a flop", they screamed. "TUC's day of disaster", "Len's Day of Gloom".

None of the big-circulation papers — not even the Mirror, which was calmer in its anti-TUC denunciations than the others — even mentioned that their printworkers had shut down the lie machines and marched down Fleet Street shouting defiance.

They were very quiet about the fact that NATSOPA had openly defied the High Court injunction — and Express Newspapers had just let the matter drop. No headlines, either, about the Express dropping its threat to sack workers who struck on the 13th/14th.

Day of A a Year c

THE BIGGEST demonstration of May 14 was in GLASGOW. 14,000 marched, and STAN CROOKE reports:

"At the Rolls Royce factory on the Hillington Estate, not a single would-be scab from the shop floor turned up to try to cross the picket lines. But the office staff, organised in APEX, had been told it was up to them what they did, and a lot of them went in. 'It's the leaders not leading properly, that's what's made a mess of it', commented one picket.

Shut

"Inadequate leadership took its toll elsewhere. The EIS, the main Scottish teachers' union, also left it up to its members to decide what to do — after calling them out on a one-day strike on pay the day before! "Nevertheless, the response was overwhelming.

Glasgow's Underground was closed completely, and when the Underground workers found out later that two scabs had worked on the 14th, they came out again until Friday morning (16th).

"Train services were decimated. Local government came to a standstill, and the NALGO contingent was one of the biggest on the march.

"Many of the major factories and shipyards were shut down — Talbot Linwood, the Govan, Scotstoun and Greenock shipyards and shopfloor workers at both of Rolls Royce's Glasgow factories came out solid.

"There were 65 trade union banners on the militant and noisy march. 'Stop the Cuts', 'Defend our Unions', 'Thatcher and Joseph — the Pol Pots of the British economy', 'Kick out the Tories', were the slogans, and calls for a General Strike came from some parts of the

march. "The real the march' Jimmy Mi ish TUC the Hash strikers at For himse more tha banalities ionalist ve

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A TALE OF TWO FACTORIES

At the Lucas Plastics factory in Foremans Road, Birmingham, there was a solid turnout on May 14th. At the BL Longbridge plant, in the same city, even a meeting called by the stewards to discuss action, flopped. Mike Nangle, G&M senior stewards at Lucas, and Jim Denham, a T&G steward at Longbridge, discussed the experience with Workers' Action.

Jim Denham said:

At a meeting of T&G stewards from all over Birmingham on May 7th, the mood was pessimistic. The only stewards who were confident of getting 100% turnout were those from Round Oak steelworks, who said the workers there were raring to go — anything to attack the government.

Struggle

It showed the difference between the experience in BL and what happened in steel: they may have been sold out, but at least they showed that it was possible to beat the government and the nationalised industry

bosses. The trouble in BL is that a lot of people just don't believe they can ever win now, what with Edwardes, the government and the union chiefs all against us.

At that meeting, Jack Adams (the Longbridge convenor) came up with the idea of calling a meeting on the morning of the 14th itself, so that if we got defeated it could not be used to discourage other places. I reluctantly went along with Adams' idea.

But I thought that we would at least be calling section meetings and putting out leaflets. To my amazement, nothing was done in most areas of the factory.

The only leaflets to argue for action on the 14th came from Workers' Action and the SWP. On the day, the Works Committee put out a miserable half-hearted statement appealing to people's basic union loyalties rather than arguing the case on the cuts and the Employment Bill.

I wanted to just knock the day off and go to the demonstration in town. But seeing that we had decided to try and get people to the meeting at 11am, I forced myself to go in.

I argued with the blokes all morning, and thought I had persuaded enough of them to come out so we would stop the track. But at 11am I put my coat on and walked out, and no-one came with me!

Outside I met half a dozen other stewards from our shop, and couple of blokes who aren't stewards. Even some of the stewards had stayed in.

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there was a good response. EDINBURGH's 7,000-strong march was probably the second biggest in Britain. JOE BAXTER reports that NALGO had the biggest contingent there too.

No major factories struck, but the buses, the railways and SOGAT printworkers were all out. On the march there were also TGWU, EPTU, NUPE, EIS, NUM, and CPSA contingents, and a large number of women marched behind the Women's Fightback banner.

Scottish NUM president Mick McGahey, speaking at the end-of-march rally, got loud applause when he condemned the passivity of the TUC General Council.

The major industrial centres of North-West England had big demonstrations too: 6,000 in Manchester, 5,000 in Liverpool, 5,000 in Sheffield.

MICK WOODS reports that the MANCHESTER

march had big contingents of bus drivers and post workers. Parts of that march, too, were calling for a General Strike.

500 marched in Salford, stopping en route to give support to the picket at Kleins.

Ward and Goldstones and Gardners struck, though most engineering works stayed in. Very few buses ran in Manchester, though most were working in Salford.

On MERSEYSIDE, LOL DUFFY reports, Liverpool docks, Cammell Lairds shipyard, Merseyrail and some busworkers were out. There was also a march of about 300 in Birkenhead. UCATT and Wallasey YS picketed a Mayor-making ceremony. The few Labour councillors who crossed the picket will be dealt with by Wallasey Labour Party.

JOHN CUNNINGHAM reports that there was a large turn-out from NALGO in SHEFFIELD, too. But the majority of the march were industrial workers: miners, engineers, but not many steelworkers. In the women's contingent on the march, there were many carrying Fightback banners and placards.

In Britain's biggest industrial concentration, COVENTRY and BIRMINGHAM, the response from the factories was patchy, though there were 5,000 workers on the march in Birmingham and 3,000 in Coventry.

The Birmingham demonstration had contingents from most major unions. Local trains were stopped, and very few buses ran. Construction sites, some engineering works and the National Exhibition Centre closed.

In COVENTRY, RICHARD PAINE reports, Rolls Royce Parkside works struck, but Massey Ferguson voted not to strike, and none of the BL factories did anything except Coventry Climax. Buses were out and trains were affected. NUPE provided the biggest contingent on

the demonstration.

There were also good turnouts in some areas not so noted for militancy: 2,000 in Stoke on Trent, 3,000 in Leicester.

"No-one in STOKE", reports ARTHUR BOUGH, "can remember a demonstration as big as today's, and it was twice the size of the 1971 demonstration against the Industrial Relations Act."

"Most of the area's shop stewards were on the march. Shelton Bar steelworks shut, so did Wolstanton colliery. Many of the marchers were glad to carry Workers' Action placards reading 'organise a General strike', 'Fight for a Workers' Government'."

"At the end-of-march rally there were some militant speeches, and also a miserable one from Len Sillitoe, who is president of the notoriously un-militant and bureaucratic potters' union CATU, as well as being president of the Trades Council and a Labour councillor. Sillitoe blamed workers for putting in the Tories and argued things were much better with Callaghan. 'If Callaghan was in, we'd have the same policies but no demonstrations against them', was the response of some workers."

Meeting

"Perhaps the most positive thing to come out of the organising work for the demonstration was that (despite opposition from some right wing Labour councillors, who are also Trades Council delegates), a joint meeting was held between the City Labour Party (which brings together the three Constituency Parties) and the Trades Council and there are plans to make this a permanent set-up."

"The fusion of the two wings of the labour movement in Labour and Trades councils is a major part of the struggle to renovate the



Women, some with special women's placards, were well represented at some rallies, like in Southall [above].

labour movement and put it on a war footing to beat the bosses and march forward to socialism."

In LEICESTER, reports CHARLIE SARELL, no major factories were shut down, but it was "the biggest demonstration held in Leicester for many years." An evening meeting was also organised by the Leicester anti-cuts committee.

BRISTOL (as IAN HOLLINGWORTH reports) had probably the biggest demonstration in England — with 7,000 marchers, as big as Edinburgh's. The local County Council is one of the worst Tory cutting councils in the country.

All the main unions were represented, and all the major factories in the area were affected by action to one extent or another. But the local buses were running.

All the pits in South Wales were shut and MARTIN BARCLAY reports that the 1,000-strong demonstration in CARDIFF broke into chants of 'General Strike' when a speaker at the pre-march rally called for a one-day general strike as a follow up to May 14th.

Seamen and some dockers were on strike, though the buses worked and NUPE and NALGO were also well represented on the demonstration.

The demonstrations in Wales were not however among the biggest and (as in Sheffield) there was a poor turn-out from steel-

some from NALGO. An end-of-march rally heard speakers from CoHSE, nupe, TGWU and Fightback.

45 people attended an evening meeting called by the Trades Council.

ROSS CATLIN reports that there were 150 at a rally in NORTHAMPTON. One large factory locally was shut and bus and rail services were curtailed.

In NOTTINGHAM there were about 1500 on the march, most from the public sector unions, NUPE, NALGO, NUT and with a high proportion of women. PETE RADCLIFF reports that there were partial strikes at two local pits, and about 10% of the workers at BSC Stanton came out.

Some of the local demonstrations in London were sizeable. MICK O'SULLIVAN reports that about 2,000, mainly public sector workers, turned out in Haringey. In Islington, JAMES RYAN reports, 1500 joined a march organised by the local Cuts Campaign. The Communist Party dominated trades council had refused to organise a demonstration, to call for strike action or even to publicise the Cuts Campaign march.

Most NALGO members in Islington struck, as did some NUPE members, busworkers, CPSA civil service workers and GMWU council workers. There were a dozen trade union banners on the march.

Hackney's demonstration was smaller — about 800 — but got a boost when it passed one school and the kids shouted their support from the windows.

But you could almost think there was a law: the closer you got to TUC headquarters, the weaker the turn-out. The central TUC meeting at Central Hall, Westminster, was one of the day's flops, seized on eagerly by the press.

A huge platform of Labour and trade union worthies droned on at a half-full hall, amidst constant disruption from 'autonomists' (whose slogan is 'Smash the unions, smash the state') and even from anti-EEC campaigners who stopped the meeting at one point.

From that viewpoint, the message of one placard in Glasgow 'A Day of Action after a Year of Misery', read as an apt comment on the trade union leadership. But

across the country, many thousands of workers had given notice that one day of action will only be a beginning.

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The Tories rejoice - but for how long?

continued from p.1
million workers joined a strike which had been solemnly declared unlawful.

The attempts of Express Newspapers and the courts to stop the strike failed. The Express had to make a humiliating climbdown on its threat to use the power of the law against the unions, and on its second threat to sack strikers.

The local demonstrations — 130 or so of them, according to the TUC — were often big. The Glasgow march was 14,000 strong, Edinburgh's about 7,000, most of the marches over 1,000.

The national turn-out on demonstrations must have totalled over 200,000. Considering that the TUC's retreats had effectively

reduced the call for the 14th demonstrations in work time, that is not such a bad turnout after all.

The slogans usually did not go further than "Tories out". But the demonstrations marked the rallying of a large minority of workers who understand that the Tories must be defeated by using industrial action for political ends.

The common political basis of that minority is still very vague: little more than "Tories out" and "Stop the Cuts". Only in a very few places (like Cardiff) did the General Strike slogan get a good hearing on the 14th. Most of the workers who shouted "Tories out" had little clear idea of what to fight for to replace the Tories.

And the militant minority — disproportionately

drawn from the white-collar and public sector workers who fear the most immediate impact of the cuts — still finds the majority of the working class passive and unresponsive.

But it would be wrong to conclude that there is a huge gulf between the 'militants' and the rest. The militants only see earlier and in more generalised terms what the rest of the working class will probably learn sooner rather than later through direct experience. As the Tory offensive hits their standards and conditions, workers will fight back — like the previously unmilitant steelworkers did.

In the Sunday Telegraph, maverick Tory Peregrine Worsthorpe warns the government that

they must come to terms with the TUC, for it will be an invaluable ally in containing the rank and file revolt to be expected when "the government's economic offensive really gets under way, putting an end to this present period of phony war."

As Worsthorpe points out, wages are generally still keeping ahead of prices. But with the Tories' economic policies, that can't last. The Financial Times reports: "One possible objective mooted by Ministers is that the average rate of increase in public sector wages should be kept at least three or four percentage points below the rise in the Retail Price index."

That sort of policy will provoke more resistance than a lukewarm Day of

Action. The task for socialists now is to help organise the militants and give them a political perspective.

The labour movement must be put on a war footing. Rank and file movements must be built in the unions. The weak-kneed bureaucratic leaders in the Labour Party and Trade Unions must be replaced by militants who operate under the democratic control of the rank and file.

The labour movement must prepare to take on the entrenched power of capitalism — from Fleet Street through Whitehall to the police and army hierarchies — to put our policies into effect. We must fight to kick out the Tories and win a workers' government.

JEAN-PAUL SARTRE

GORDON BREWER concludes his review of the life and work of Jean-Paul Sartre: Sartre after 1956.

As it stands, *Being and Nothingness* has very little in common with Marxism. The world is seen from the standpoint of the isolated individual, the reality of the class struggle nowhere bursts its way into the text. Most importantly, Sartre views contradiction in existential rather than societal terms.

Marxism focuses on contradictions in society, in the alienated forms of social relations. Sartre describes a world where contradictions are based in the very structure of reality itself. These contradictions (between the self and others, desire and its object, the transcendence of consciousness and mortality) are immutable. They are rooted in the structures which make human action possible and thus are not amenable to change by human action.

After 1956 Sartre began to rework his ideas, having realised Stalinism was bankrupt. Official 'communist' theory was scholastic dogma, and the CP's ideas on dialectical materialism oscillated between a crude mechanism which owed more to the 18th-century materialists than Marx, and outright gibberish.

Sartre set himself the project of reworking his own existentialist ideas by injecting whatever was still valid in them into Marxism. He aimed to reclaim existentialism from the petty-bourgeois Left Bank individualists, and to reclaim Marxism from the sterile hacks of the CP.

The result was the mammoth *Critique of Dialectical Reason* (its preface is published separately in English as *The Problem of Method*). The title refers back to

the work of the 18th century philosopher Immanuel Kant who in his *Critique of Pure Reason* tried to set limits to how far formal reasoning could go in analysing reality. Sartre's idea is that dialectical reason is in need of a work to establish its own validity.

Marxist dialectic cannot be the same as the Hegelian dialectic, for the latter explicitly bases its claim to validity on its idealism, on its claim that the subject and object of historical experience are both aspects of the same Universal Spirit, which moves through history until it arrives at its destination of the unity of man and nature in Absolute Knowledge. And, Sartre argues, Marxist dialectic cannot be a dialectic of nature.

For then either dialectical Reason is merely empiricism, which looks at the world with the standard methods of natural science and finds that the most general laws of nature happen to be the 'laws' of the dialectic, in which case the idea of a dialectical method other than empiricism becomes nonsense. Or else structures which are specific to human action are attributed to matter, and we are back at the Hegelian idea of the world being just manifestations of spirit.

Drawing on *Being and Nothingness*, Sartre argues that it is the structures of individual action which are the basis of the dialectic. Individual action provides the structure of negation of negation and the aimful character of individual action provides a basis for history as a process which is purposeful without being guided by any invisible hand (whether it be God or Hegel's 'cunning of Reason'), which is intelligible without being formally analysable.

But it is a long way from the structures of individual action to a theory of history. Most of the *Critique* is devoted to an attempt to show the mediations between individual action and the realities of class society, and the possibilities of individuals atomised by an



Jean-Paul Sartre

alienated social reality (the 'practico-inert') coming together to struggle against it.

The results are highly ambiguous. Sartre argues that there can be no structured basis to the common struggle against the 'practico-inert'. The fundamental reality is individual action. There is no necessary reason why individual action should mesh together into a 'group'. Sartre argues that group unity is 'fused' via an external threat. As soon as the Other is defeated the group becomes prone to being paralysed by inertia.

The logic of this can justify two conclusions. It can become an apologia for Stalinist terrorism — the revolutionary masses can only become paralysed after the revolution, therefore if we want to overthrow capitalism we have to accept that the end result will be some form of bureaucratic dictatorship. Or it can justify a sort of nihilistic anarchism — genuine democratic socialism is an impossibility, but in fighting for this impossible goal we can catch a glimpse of a higher reality from the barricades.

Sartre inclined more to the second than to the first conclusion. But fundamentally the result of his attempt to rework Marxism was to leave him in the same dilemma as in the last few pages of *Being and Nothingness*. Although in the *Critique* the categories of *Being and Nothingness* are located in history, and freedom is now seen as rooted in given social conditions, contradiction still seems to be seen in existential terms.

The project of the fused group is pregnant with inertia because of the very nature of self-conscious human action, not because of the character of any particular struggle.

In line with such ideas, Sartre's political activity consisted mainly of individual interventions in the class struggle, rather than joining

together with others to build a revolutionary organisation rooted in the working class.

However, he did play a leading role in opposing French imperialism in Algeria. In 1960 he signed the 'Manifesto of the 121', calling on the French people, including soldiers in the army, to oppose the Government, and supporting the Algerian NLF.

Four years later the bourgeoisie tried to win him back to their fold by awarding him the Nobel Prize. He threw it back in their faces. In the late '60s, he was a leading figure in the Russell War Crimes Tribunal and a supporter of the 1968 uprising in France.

After 1968, Sartre drew closer to the Maoists (to a certain extent, their extreme voluntarism ties in with some of the ideas in the *Critique of Dialectical Reason*). In 1971 he was arrested for selling a banned Maoist newspaper, *La Cause du Peuple*.

By this time, Sartre's attitude to the CP had gone full circle. From individualistic quibbles about joining, he veered over to an ultra-leftist view of the CP as the main enemy of the French working class.

In 1972 a young Maoist work, Pierre Overney, was murdered by police in front of a Renault car factory. The CP denounced the Maoists and the bourgeoisie as being in league with each other. For Sartre, this clinched it: "... For some time I've been thinking that the major party that seemed to be missing, the party that would serve the dictators, might well be the Communist Party itself.

"In other words, if the Communist Party is thought of as the Fascist Party, mediating between the masses to whom it does not give the truth but whom it terrorises to a degree — as it did in proclaiming that the proof that the Maoists and the bourgeoisie were working

together was in Pierre Overney's murder, which is the most stupid notion I have ever heard — then there you have the missing link.

"And the way its thinking is going these days, it will end up as the intermediary we mentioned, and will therefore have all the elements characteristic of Fascism."

Throughout his life Sartre was haunted by the PCF. Unlike many intellectuals, he did not use the excuse of the barbarity of Stalinism to lapse into inactivity. From Hungary onwards Sartre came down on the side of the revolutionaries against Stalinism on most major events. And even when compromised, even when at his most confusing, Sartre exhibited an intellectual honesty and integrity which must mark him off as one of the outstanding intellectuals of the 20th century.

Perhaps he is best summed up by his own words on the role of the intellectual, words which seem to express at the same time all his political seriousness and all the ambiguity of his relationship with the organised left.

"One must consider oneself solidly behind the revolution, and yet at the same time be critical of what is open to criticism. Actually I've always thought ... that the situation of the intellectual can be defined by two terms: fidelity and criticism.

"I think that faithfulness is essential; you can't leave a group whenever you feel like it, whenever you don't agree with its political policies 100%. If you belong to it, you ought to stick with it as long as you can, or at least until the situation becomes impossible.

"But you must always remember that the role of an intellectual is to emphasise the principles of the revolution. And if those principles are not respected, then the intellectual has a duty to speak out and say so.

"Fidelity and criticism. It's no easy task, I assure you, but we have to fulfill that difficult role nonetheless, as best we can."

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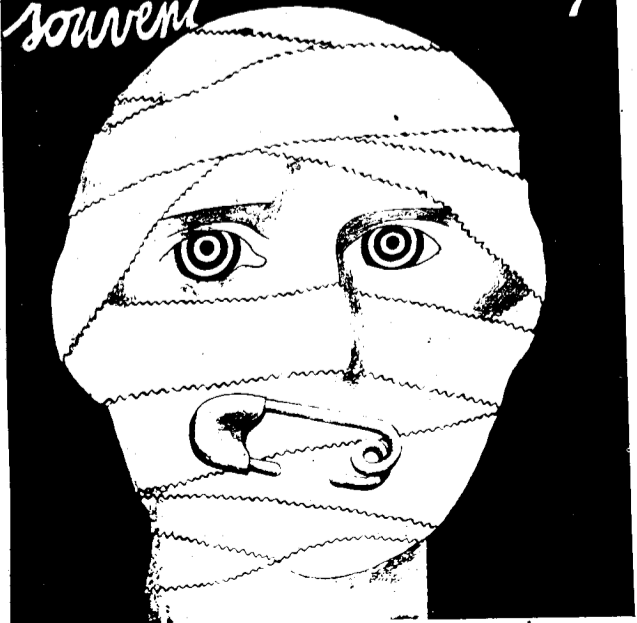
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Revolt of 1968: 'A youth who worries too much about the future'

IN 1979 the Tories announced the first of their cuts in the Civil Service. 20,000 jobs were cut in the summer, and another 40,000 were to go from December 1979.

In February 1980 35,000 extra job cuts were announced, to be achieved by the end of 1983.

After the pay settlement of 1980, the Tories wanted the equivalent of another 20,000. And in the middle of the Civil and Public Servants Association Conference they announced a further target of reducing the size of the civil service to 600,000 by 1984.

The Broad Left National Executive Committee (NEC) elected in 1979 failed to organise any serious opposition to the cuts. The 1980 CPSA elections saw a sharp swing to the right, under the new system of individual voting in workplace meetings.

Now this new NEC, made up of Tories, Labour friends of Reg Prentice and many with very little experience of even CPSA trade union affairs, seems unlikely to commit itself to a fight with the Tories without massive rank and file pressure.

The election of this right wing NEC shattered comfort-

CPSA Left pays the price for failure in the cuts fight

While many in the Broad Left, mainly *Militant*, blame the new voting system, and some the *Redder Tape* candidates who stood against the Broad Left ticket, the real problem was the lack of a clear lead from last year's NEC, and the failure of the Broad Left to build effective rank and file support in the branches where they have held branch offices.

The barrage of press support for Losinska, backed up

towards affiliating CPSA to the Labour Party again (as before 1927). They were rejected by 123,572 votes to 80,267.

Yet in the Civil Service Conference a partial victory was achieved with a decision to organise a special Conference to reconsider the 'Pay Research Unit' comparability system under which CPSA negotiates, and alternatives to it. A stronger motion for immediate notice of with-

pared for 1981 conference. The margin in favour was small (only 267 votes) and vigilance will be vital to avoid skullduggery by the new right-wing NEC which has a close alliance with the full time officers who campaigned hard against election.

Other crucial debates, on affiliation to the National Abortion Campaign, and on nuclear power, were filibustered off the agenda by the right wing President, Kate Losinska. A gain was made with the re-affiliation of CPSA to the Women's TUC, especially since the debate focussed clearly on the role of this Conference in helping organise the fight against the Corrie Bill.

A motion opposing the Employment Bill and committing the CPSA to refuse state money for ballots was passed, but some of the new right wing NEC still strongly favour state money for ballots and unions' elections.

There was a very bad debate on Ireland. A motion drafted by *Militant* supporters, praising the trade unions in the North and talking abstractly about socialism, was passed in an atmosphere of hysteria against the IRA. Leading *Militant* supporters joined wholeheartedly in the IRA-baiting. CPSA has never debated Ireland before and 'Troops Out' got only about 20 votes.

After the setbacks, some will want to realign the Broad Left into an electoral grouping to build for the return of a Labour-left type NEC.

The democratic structure of the Broad Left, and the presence of revolutionary socialists within it, are the main obstacles.

The role of the SWP-dominated *Redder Tape* group will also be important if the Broad Left drifts towards electoralism.

Redder Tapes Conference on 21st/22nd June will have to face the challenge. WA supporters will be at this conference, and submitting proposals and perspectives to it.

STEPHEN CORBISHLEY

Wales Labour Party Conference reports

South Wales NUM and NUPE say: no cuts, no rates rises

THE MOST important debate on the second day was around a motion put forward by NUPE and South Wales NUM which instructed Labour councillors to refuse to implement cuts in local government spending, and condemned rent and rate increases.

It took a lot of pressure to get this motion discussed at all, and then only two speakers for and against were allowed.

Steve King, for NUPE, said the argument was about accountability of councillors to the party they represent and the people who work to put them there.

Terry Thomas, for the South Wales NUM Executive, pointed to the virtual absence of councillors on the demo in Swansea on May 14th.

Councillor Julia Williams

spoke against the motion because "we have a mandate from the people who elected us to maintain services for the sick and needy" (and thus rates must be raised). As if Labour councillors in South Wales aren't making cuts as well as raising rents and rates!

The overwhelming vote against the motion shows the particularly spineless attitude of the Welsh Labour Party towards the Tory attacks. The conference had just previously discussed and passed motions condemning Tory economic policy and calling for a programme of investment and import controls by a future Labour government. But there were no plans for a fight here and now to defend jobs and services.

MARTIN BARCLAY

CPSA in conference



ing illusions, sustained by the block vote, about the base and authority of the left within CPSA. Even the two left wingers elected only made it through the mistakes of the organiser of the right wing list.

by the red-baiting against *Militant*, and the campaign against May 14th, also assisted the right wing in gaining control.

The election results were to some extent mirrored in a massive rejection of moves

drawal from PRU fell (but its Communist Party movers had already dropped it).

Conference also moved to the left by accepting the principle of election of full time officers. A report on the problems will be pre-

NAC decides against 'women only'

THE MAJOR discussion at the National Abortion Campaign annual conference last weekend was over women's autonomy: whether or not NAC should become a women-only organisation, at all levels.

At first the debate (in workshops, and informally among the 250 women present) tended to polarise into 'labour movement versus women's movement', despite the many women who are active in and committed to both.

The second day's discussion explored the implications further, and though the resolutions to make NAC women-only were heavily defeated, a resolution from the non-aligned members of the steering committee (an open body) was passed giving local groups the constitutional right to be women only as some have become.

Of central importance in this decision were two issues. The first was the relative autonomy of local groups in their organisation and activities, and the second the probable adverse effect of NAC becoming women-only on its relationship with affiliated bodies, particularly those in the labour movement.

The struggle for better contraceptives and contraceptive facilities, and for women's right to define their own sexuality, were more closely incorporated into NAC's 'Declaration', and the slogan 'Our bodies, our lives, our right to decide' adopted.

Conference also committed NAC to work in the labour movement towards positive legislation, for a tribunal in the autumn around a woman's right to choose, and a labour movement conference in Spring 1981 on positive legislation. Work in the Labour Movement Fightback for Women's Rights was raised in workshops on the labour movement and on cuts, as an effective bridge between women's issues and struggles and the labour movement.

Conference sent congratulations to the newly formed Right to Choose group in Dublin, shortly to open a Pregnancy Advisory Centre, and telegrams of protest to the State Parliament in Queensland, Australia, which this week intends to make illegal all abortion except where there is proven rape or incest, major fetal abnormality or where the mother will die. Punishment extends to 14 years' hard labour for attempts to procure an abortion.

The mood of the conference was optimistic, and NAC seems ready to go on the offensive after the magnificent defeat of the restrictive Corrie Bill, fighting for a Free Abortion on Demand - a Woman's Right to Choose, and immediately for mandatory provision of abortion facilities as laid down in the '67 Act.

MANDY WILLIAMS
ROS MAKIN

Activists' Diary

OPPOSING THE WAR DRIVE
The Labour Party has called a demonstration for June 22 in London, round the slogans: No Cruise missiles in Britain, no successor to Polaris, no increase in arms spending. WA will be backing moves to organise a contingent for that demonstration with the demands: unilateral nuclear disarmament now, get out of NATO. We hope readers will start now mobilising support in Labour Parties, trade union branches, and LPYSs.

WOMEN'S FIGHTBACK CONFERENCE
See page 6.

SOCIALIST ORGANISER TRADE UNIONISTS' CONFERENCE
Since many trade unionists felt that not enough notice had been given, and that the Bank Holiday weekend was a bad time, this conference has been POSTPONED from May 24 to September.

LUTTE OUVRIERE FETE
Each year the fete organised by the French revolutionary organisation Lutte Ouvrière, at Mériel near Paris, attracts thousands of people. Dozens of

socialist groups from many countries will have stalls there. Several WA supporters will be going over for this year's fete, on May 24-25-26, and running a stall. If you want to go, contact Simon Temple, c/o WA, PO Box 135, London N1 0DD.

EVENTS

SATURDAY 24 MAY. Women's Fightback national planning meeting to discuss final arrangements for Policy Conference. 1pm to 5pm at Digbeth Hall, Birmingham. A pooled fare will be organised.

WEDNESDAY 28 MAY. London Workers' Action meeting: Fight for a workers' government. Speakers: John O'Mahony and Jo Thwaites. 7.30pm at the Hemingford Arms, Hemingford Rd/Offord Rd, London N1.

SATURDAY 31 MAY. Southern Africa after Zimbabwe: national action conference called by the AAM. 10.15-4.45 at the Logan Hall, Institute of Education, 20 Bedford Way, London WC1.

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WE DON'T BELIEVE IN MIRACLES

AT THE Labour Party Wales conference last week (16-17 May), George Wright, secretary of the Wales TUC, leader of the T&G delegation to the conference, and would-be organiser of a general strike in Wales earlier this year, rose to his feet to tell us that nothing short of a miracle now could save the trade unions from a merciless attack from the Tories. This assurance from the failed revolutionary leader typified the mood of the conference.

Little

Every denunciation of the Tories was greeted with cheers, but little more than those denunciations came out of the conference.

A main debate was about party organisation, with a composite from NUPE and AUEW-TASS welcoming the decisions of last year's Brighton Conference and calling for an electoral college consisting of MPs, CLPs, and trade unions to elect the leader of the party. It also

called for elected lay observer delegates from the Wales Labour Party to attend meetings of the Welsh group of Labour MPs.

Ioan Evans, MP for Aberdare and secretary of the Welsh group, opposed the motion on the basis that it would be too expensive for these officers to travel to, and possibly stay overnight in, London. The composite was violently attacked from the platform and was defeated 386,000 to 124,000. The T&G, with the biggest block vote in the Labour Party, voted against despite official T&G policy of support for choosing Labour's leader by an electoral college. Wright obviously used the clause about Welsh Labour Group observers as an excuse to vote against the lot.

Steel

Conference passed motions on import controls, to protect the coal and steel industries against 'foreigners', rather than planning for a direct fight against the closures and the Tory policies. A NUPE delegate from Shotton intended to speak against this, but was stopped behind the scenes as official NUPE policy is to support import controls.

Despite all the fine speeches about opposing the Tories, very little came out of the conference, and the Welsh Labour leaders showed themselves unwilling to lead a real fight against the Tories. Unless the rank and file of the Labour Party take up the fight themselves, then the closures will go ahead. No 'miracles' will ever substitute for class struggle.

MICHAEL THOMAS

Wales LCC launched

OVER 130 people attended a rally to launch to Wales LCC on the Friday night. The two main speakers, Audrey Wise and Tony Benn, made general criticism of Tory policy, the power of the press and so on, but it was left to Dick Gregory, the NUPE divisional organiser, to criticise the policies of the last Labour government.

The Tories would not have dared to take on the working class and made these cuts if Dennis Healey had not provided them with a precedent. He went on: "The Tory party now openly says, 'We are here

to represent interests of big business and the ruling class'. It's about time the Labour Party did the same for its own class."

Unfortunately there was no discussion of the policies of the LCC. The speakers just said that the LCC needs to be built as a forum for campaigners on the left of the LP.

At the scheduled all-Wales LCC conference, Socialist Organiser supporters will be there to argue that we need not just a debating society, but a campaign to beat back the Tories through direct action.

WORKERS' ACTION

1. Brixton dole

Phil Corddell, a Civil and Public Servants Association (CPSA) branch secretary working at Brixton dole, has been sacked for trade union activity.

Most CPSA members are convinced the Government has had a hand in the sacking, and that it is designed to smash the well-organised CPSA branch centred on Brixton and set off a ripple of fear throughout the rest of CPSA.

The reasons given for the sacking are: Corddell's absence for lobbying the CPSA National Executive Committee (NEC) at the height of the pay campaign; his placing his name with others on an advert condemning the National Front

at the time of the general election; and a half-day strike for a lobby of Parliament against the Corrie Bill. (The lobby was officially supported by the CPSA).

The real charges are that under Phil Corddell, the Brixton Unemployment Benefit Office was very well organised over work conditions, pay and defence of members' rights.

If the management wins, then the job of every active CPSA Officer, or even ordinary member, will be threatened. Reports have come in from Manchester and Glasgow indicating that management is becoming much tougher even on anti-cuts campaigns.

The links are clear be-



Phil Corddell

tween this sacking and the proposals in the Employment Bill to outlaw trade union solidarity, or the High Court ruling that NATSOPA ignored banning political strikes.

Two days of official action at Brixton, with support from some nearby DHSS offices, were organised immediately prior to the CPSA Conference, and then suspended until the end of the Conference debate. An emergency motion was unanimously passed at the Conference

instructing "the NEC to give full support for industrial action within his office, branch and in the CPSA as a whole in order to achieve his reinstatement."

But many CPSA members have little confidence that the new right wing Executive will organise any serious action. The union bureaucracy will want to take the issue to a tribunal, or to fix up a deal with the Tory ministers, based on some sort of internal CPSA control on Corddell.

Without a serious campaign throughout CPSA Corddell will lose his job, and the labour movement will have one more Derek Robinson.

STEPHEN CORBISHLEY

Send donations and messages of support to: Brixton Dole Office Campaign for Trade Union Rights, 16 Knowlton House, Cowley Road, London SW9 (01-582 1645)

2. Selly Oak hospital

800 NUPE MEMBERS at Selly Oak, Munyhull and Rubery Hill Hospitals in Birmingham are on indefinite strike in defence of their branch secretary Jock Cummings.

Cummings was sacked on Monday 12th May for what the hospital authorities describe as "persistent misconduct associated with his trade union duties".

A NUPE shop steward from Selly Oak Hospital told WA: "This is a very clear case of the authorities attacking trade union organisation as a whole. We are anxious to stress this and not base our case on loyalty to 'good old Jock'".

The victimisation took place just two days before May 14th, after Cummings had been working hard to ensure a good turnout from South Birmingham hospitals.

The authorities are also refusing to let Cummings on to hospital grounds during his 6 weeks period of notice. Another NUPE militant told WA that "Jock remains our

branch secretary until we decide otherwise.

"We're not letting up in any way on our insistence that he is unconditionally reinstated. But we are also insisting that the authorities allow him on to the premises as our union rep during his 6 weeks notice."

At a mass meeting on Thursday the 15th May, all NUPE workers at Selly Oak Hospital voted for strike action in defence of Cummings. Representatives from other hospitals in the South Birmingham Health Authority also pledged their full support.

Since then, NUPE members at Munyhull and Rubery Hill have struck in support. NUPE area official Brian Osborne has promised to push for the dispute to be made official. With official support, success will be much more likely in the fight to spread the dispute to all South Birmingham hospitals and to involve all the other hospital unions, particularly COHSE. JIM DENHAM

VICTIMISED!

3. Harshaws, Glasgow

"INDUSTRIAL tribunal says Reinstatement - Management says No", "Smith Out, Haughey In", read the placards outside the Harshaw Chemicals factory in Glasgow, where workers are on strike for the reinstatement of their convenor, Gerry Haughey, sacked last year. Smith is the chief manager.

Haughey was sacked in September on the spurious grounds of having attended a union meeting while off sick. When he returned to work after his illness he was immediately sacked and ordered off the premises, although he was due ten weeks notice under the Employment Protection Act.

Management ignored an appeal from the union, and the shopfloor (63 workers in a Transport and General Workers' Union closed shop) immediately struck. But after nine days the strike was

broken off, pending the result of an enquiry by an industrial tribunal. In April the tribunal finally published its report - 100% in Haughey's favour and recommending his re-instatement.

Management did not appeal against the verdict - they simply refused to carry it out. On Monday 28th April the TGWU members went back on strike and have picketed the place every day since then. Glasgow WA supporters talked to some of the pickets about the sacking and the strike.

■ ■ What's management's attitude to the union here?

□ □ They're hostile to it: they're very anti-union. Last year Smith said he trusted the union as far as he could throw it. We've had a union here since 1970. Up to 1976 only four days have been lost through strikes, but then Smith took

over. Since then we've been on strike every year over something or other.

■ ■ For example? □ □ In 1978 we had a wage rise offer of 1 1/2p per hour! And after making that offer Smith disappeared off on holiday for a fortnight, without even waiting to hear our reply. And before Smith came, ASTMS and AUEW members had never been out on strike, but since 1976 they have struck as well.

■ ■ What has the local TGWU full-timer been doing for the strike?

□ □ He's been very helpful. If we have any problems we just get on the phone to Willy Queen [the local TGWU full-timer] and he sorts them out. He even got management to go to the Arbitration, Conciliation and Advisory Service (ACAS) although they had been opposed to it at first.

■ ■ Did Queen persuade you to go to ACAS as well?

□ □ No. We were in favour of it anyway.

■ ■ Do you think it was a mistake to go to ACAS?

□ □ We do now. At that time we thought it best to

go through the channels, but it was just a waste of time. If their verdict had been against Gerry we would have had to obey it, but management here has just ignored what the tribunal said.

■ ■ Has much gone in across the picket lines?

□ □ No. A private car went in last week, but he needed the police to get him in. The lorry drivers have been really good. When the British Oxygen drivers see us and our placards they just turn round and drive off.

■ ■ How much support is there for the strike?

□ □ All 63 of us are out, though it looks like some are wanting to go back. Twenty of them have got together to get a union meeting called for Saturday. But that's twenty people who never turn up for the picket lines and only think about their wallets.

■ ■ How about support outside the factory?

□ □ The union is circulating all TGWU factories in Scotland about the strike and collections should be held in them. We've already spoken to shop stewards down at

the Hoover's factory in Cambuslang and they have promised us support. There was also an appeal for support at last week's Trades Council. We leafleted the May 14th demonstration and we're going to start going round other factories.

But the collecting sheets and leaflets should have been done a lot quicker, and we have not been given any collecting cans by the union yet.

■ ■ But the strike is official?

□ □ Well, as Willy Queen put it, it's not yet officially official. It's being made official but it's still going through the union channels.

■ ■ What kind of help do you need most?

□ □ Money. We have not had any strike pay from the union and as soon as our tax rebates run out we're penniless.

All money and messages of support for the strikers should be rushed to:

TGWU Harshaw Chemicals, c/o Trade Union Centre, 83 Carlton Place, Glasgow 5. STAN CROOKE

4. Adwest Reading

THE BOSSES at Adwest, an engineering firm with 330 workers in Woodley, near Reading, have applied for a High Court ruling, as the Adwest chief executive put it, to "protect the company from people illegally on company property".

These "people" are the picket in support of 37 workers at the firm who were sacked. One worker, Martin Kaufman, an active union militant, was sacked on May 2nd for working to rule. The decision to work to rule had been taken after the workforce had rejected a derisory pay offer.

36 other workers supported him and walked out on Tuesday after Kaufman had been sacked. They were then also sacked.

Since then, 21 night shift workers have joined the picket and the T&G convenor Danny Broderick has gone on hunger-strike.

The sacked workers want the action made official, reinstatement, compensation from the firm for loss of wages, and a 20% pay increase.

Messages of support and donations to T&G District Office, 33 King's Road, Reading.

Bagnalls: A priceless victory

ON THE 13th May, the Boilermakers stewards at Lansing Bagnalls in Basingstoke called a shop meeting of the day shift members to report back on the Joint Shop Stewards Committee Meeting the day before. After the meeting, which

was quite involved and had a lot to discuss, the stewards, Brothers Maynard and Walsh, were told by management that an hours pay was being docked. Another shop meeting was convened immediately and the workers decided to stop work until the company agreed to pay them.

The strike action lasted until Friday 16th, when, at the insistence of the full-time official, the members decided on a casting vote to go back. By this time the company had agreed to pay the hour, but the members were demanding payment for the rest of the shift.

A 'failure to agree' has now been registered.

The strike action taken by the Boilermakers members has once and for all nailed the lie which has for years been repeated by the union leadership in Lansing Bagnalls, that is, that the membership is useless. When a union prin-

ciple is at stake and when the membership is involved from the beginning, then, as the Workers' Action bulletin has been saying over and over again, the bosses won't be allowed to get away with it.

The company's try-on is understandable when the factory union leadership's record is taken into account. Report-backs by the stewards have not exactly been commonplace in Bagnalls, mainly because the stewards themselves have not been told much by the Negotiating Committee.

The Boilermakers area has been better than most and their new convenor is proving that leadership can be given without keeping the membership in the dark.

In the short term the strike has cost the members money, but in the long, by proving to the bosses that they cannot walk over trade union rights, the victory is priceless.

MARTIN TIMMINS

KLEINS: THE BOSSES BEGIN TO CRACK

ON LAST Wednesday's Day of Action, 500 trade unionists assembled in Salford near Kleins - to be told by a Tailors' and Garment Workers' union official that management had agreed to meet the union.

Since the 11-week old dispute started because Kleins refused to recognise the union at all, this is a great step forward.

The climb-down is a result of the increasing support the Kleins workers have got and particularly from blacking. USDAW members at Littlewoods' Mail Order (one of

Kleins main outlets) have blacked their goods and blacking by other mail-order firms is now likely.

This has caused Kleins - whose profits were only £50,000 last year - considerable problems.

It is difficult to see how they have managed to survive even this long in the dispute - unless other firms have been bailing them out.

The bosses may just be trying to undercut the strikers' action. The number of pickets has fallen off since the talks were announced, while the

full-time official delayed sending a letter to workers in Littlewoods' Stores to ask for blacking "pending negotiations".

The action - particularly the blacking - must be escalated until the ink on a recognition agreement is dry.

We need:

- Full blacking of Kleins and their 'Bendyk' label.
- Financial support c/o National Union of Tailors and Garment Workers, c/o 409 Wilmslow Rd, Manchester 20.
- Mass pickets. Ring NUTGW on 061-226 6212 for further details.

MICK WOODS