

# A Socialist ACTION

# 9 JUNE 9 JUNE VOTE LABOUR



## All out for People's March demonstration 5 June

# SACK THE TORIES...

**Peoples  
march  
for jobs**

**'83**

WEST MIDLANDS ON THE MARCH



THE TORY manifesto makes no prediction as to the effect of their policies on unemployment. And no wonder!

The independent Cambridge Economic Policy Group, which has produced the most accurate forecasts of unemployment in the past, says that unemployment will reach 4 million by 1988 and five million by 1993.

This estimate is confirmed by all other leading reports — or at least those which haven't been suppressed by the Tories.

The Tories claim, without proof, that withdrawal from the EEC means two and a half million jobs lost. But the EEC rationalisation of the steel and coal industries has already meant hundreds of thousands of jobs lost — and more to come.

But the question has to be asked — with millions on the dole queue, with absolutely no promise of any reduction by the Tories, why hasn't Labour managed to make the issue an election winner?

The answer is to be found in the Labour campaign's ambivalent attitude to the event which could turn the whole election around — the People's March.

While Michael Foot is willing to pose for photographs with young people on the march, the real leader of the election campaign in Walworth Road, Denis Healey, does not so much as mention it.

There is the same air of embarrassment at the TUC, where Len Murray seems to spend his time agreeing with the bosses to hush-up 'depressing' reports on the economy.

Instead the leadership of the labour movement should be making sure that the demonstration called to greet the People's Marchers in London on 5 June is the biggest possible display of anger from the labour movement.

For that day, all routinist tasks must be put on one side in order to put the issue of unemployment firmly at the centre of the election for the last four days of the campaign.

Kicking out the Tories is the first step on the road to turning back the bosses offensive, and putting into effect the socialist policies that can end the miseries of the dole queue for ever.

• People's March for Jobs coverage — see page 5

## ...BEFORE THEY SACK YOU!

### Tebbit puts the boot in

• Turn to pages 8&9

### MODERN TIMES

### SAATCHI & SAATCHI



... and then the headline would say: Labour says you're unemployed. We say you're just resting.

Photo: JOHN HARRIS



# Healey and friends disarm Labour

THIS ELECTION campaign is the most political ever. But Labour is fighting with both hands tied behind its back. The Walworth Road campaign is being run entirely by Healey and the right wing — with disastrous results. Labour's radical policies are being undersold or ignored. As a result Labour is being politically hammered.

Margaret Thatcher has gone straight for the jugular. She accuses Labour of wanting a Marxist state. The Tories are not running the campaign on the basis of new policies — their manifesto is entirely devoid of them — but on the basis of the defence of 'freedom'. So far the Labour right wing leaders have yet to produce a convincing reply.

The first problem is that all the TV appearances and press conferences are being run by Healey, while Foot wanders around the country. Labour's most popular leader — Tony Benn — has been shunted off out of the limelight.

So far Benn has been given one early morning radio 'talk in'. The right wing domination has effectively transformed Labour policy on two crucial issues — pay restraint and nuclear disarmament. Healey has 'unilaterally disarmed' Labour's anti-nuclear policy.

He says that a non-nuclear defence policy

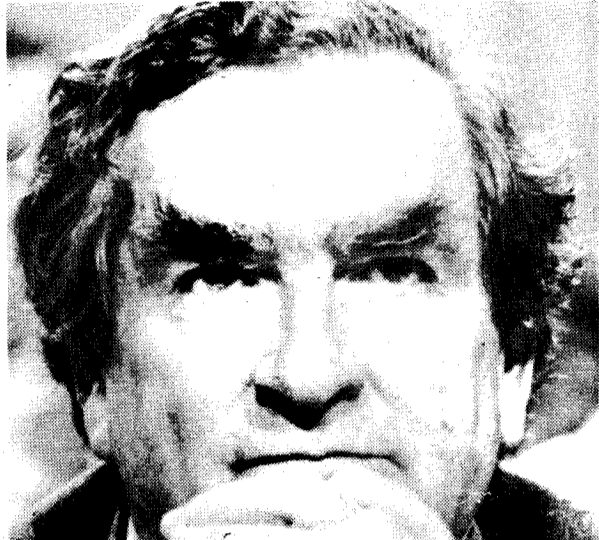
means no first use of nuclear weapons — as if that was all there was to it. Hardly a mention of the fight against cruise and Trident. In fact, Labour is saying very little on nuclear disarmament at all, leaving the offensive on this issue with the Tories and even the SDP!

## Suicide

Labour's campaign machine brought Jim Callaghan out of retirement to explain that the National Economic Assessment meant wage restraint — a speech given wide coverage by the media, and electoral suicide.

While the right wing leaders have hammered away at unemployment, they are doing nothing to build and encourage the Peoples March for Jobs. Their whole approach is to downplay campaigning activity in favour of routinist canvassing.

The final day of the Jobs March, 5 June, could be a monster demonstra-



But Healey is the real leader of the campaign

tion and a big blow to the Tories if the Labour leaders built it. Equally, Labour leaders ignored the potential of the 24 May Womens Day for Disarmament.

For the Labour campaign to have any cutting edge it has to take the gloves off and go for the Tories. It has to be unequivocal on nuclear disarmament. It has to oppose wage restraint. And it has to build on the potential of the Peoples March for Jobs.

Now the Labour rank and file know what they're getting in return for the

'truce' inside the party — right wing domination and a diabolical campaign. The NEC's sabotage of Brent East's reselection and the manoeuvring of Benn into a marginal constituency just add insult to injury.

If Labour get smashed at the polls it won't be because its policies were too left wing. It will be above all because the NEC, the trade unions tops and the Walworth Road machine sabotaged Labour's chances both before and during the campaign.



Foot has been speaking around the country ...

## Fighting for socialist policies in Glasgow

'I'D LIKE to have had this kind of battle come up the day after a Labour government was elected. But we should remember Michael Edwardes was appointed — by a Labour government.' That's convenor Jim Maclean's response after workers at Glasgow's Albion Motors plant had voted to accept a nationally negotiated settlement ending their 10 day old strike against compulsory redundancies.

The redundancies at Albion, Leyland Vehicles group, will remain a key issue in this marginal seat, currently held by SDP leader Roy Jenkins.

Over in the east of the city miners from the threatened Cardowen pit heard Labour leader Michael Foot pledge to keep their pit working.

## Pledge

The pledge was repeated in Foot's speech to a thousand people in Glasgow's Apollo Theatre in the rally which opened Labour's campaign. Foot denied Thatcher's charge that Labour wanted a Marxist state saying: 'We owe much more to Keir Hardie than Karl Marx.'

This, whilst accurate, did little else than commit Labour to its anti-Marxist credentials. Little time was spent on the issues facing Labour in the general election.

But rank and file activists in Glasgow are fighting to bring the issues to the fore.

CND with the Scottish TUC are organising a day long conference on 28 May to organise trade union action against nuclear weapons. CND are also mass leafletting in south and east of the city and street activity is being organised at four different venues every Saturday of the election campaign.

But these events are not at the centre of

Labour's official campaign in Glasgow. Proposals for a Women and Labour meeting have been knocked back, Labour CND have had to cancel their special conference and even Strathclyde Labour Briefing folded up a planned meeting.

## Active

In a series of bi-weekly meetings, *Socialist Action* supporters are gathering those who are for an active fight for Labour victory. The next forum will feature a panel of speakers including John McAnulty from Peoples Democracy on the campaign in the north of Ireland, speakers from industrial disputes, youth, Women for Peace and other will be explaining how Labour should build alliances for the election and for the future.

● For details of the next forum write to: PO Box 25, 428 Great Western Road, Glasgow 12 or ring 041-339 0333.



Denis Healey, Michael Foot, Jim Mortimer and Peter Shore

## Communist Party stands 34 candidates

THE COMMUNIST Party of Great Britain is standing 34 candidates in the election. The *Morning Star* argues that a vote for the CP is not wasted because it will be a vote against any retreat by the Labour Party from unilateral nuclear disarmament, withdrawal from the EEC and against wage restraint.

The CP initiated the Peoples March. But march stewards have imposed a rigid 'No politics rule' to the point of expelling young marchers for chanting anti-Tory slogans.

According to the *Morning Star* 'The key task before the British people is to defeat the Tories and secure a new type of Labour government.'

Agreed — but why, then, does the CP insist on preventing the Peoples Marchers from participating openly in this 'key task' in the interests

of not alienating the odd bishop, Tory wet or SDP-er that the CP can drag on to a Peoples' March platform?

By Redmond O'Neill

In CND too rather than vigorously defending unilateralism, the CP have advocated an orientation including the SDP and Liberals.

Within the trade unions, CP members Ken Gill and George Guy were part of the unanimous vote for the national economic assessment on the TUC General Council — a policy which the *Morning Star*, itself described as a disguised revival of wage restraint. It was the same story at the Scottish TUC.

In fact, it is members of the CP, who are most vocal promoters of a new 'anti-Tory alliance' which for some is stretched to include even a



Ken Gill — voted for new Social Contract

Labour/Alliance coalition government.

A vote for the CP is not a vote for policies qualitatively different to those contained in the Labour manifesto. Neither would it strengthen the fight for socialist policies within the labour movement and mass campaigns.

It is a wasted vote. A judgement which will be reflected in CP candidates performance.

### Socialist ACTION

## Join the fight for socialism

If you want more information about Socialist Action or to be put in touch with local supporters send this form to Socialist Action, 328 Upper Street, London N1.

Name .....

Address .....

Tel .....

Age .... Union/CLP (if any) .....

Photo: JOHN HARRIS

Photo: CHRIS DAVIES (Report)

## Bristol campaign key for labour movement

IN BRISTOL an election campaign vital to the labour movement's future has been launched: Tony Benn's.

The first public meeting of Benn's campaign is a mass rally on Wednesday 25 June with Helen John, Pam Tatlow of Bristol West Labour Party and Terry Thomas of the Welsh miners.

Benn's campaign intends to visit every workplace in his Bristol East constituency, and is discussing a tour by Helen and other Greenham women to explain Labour's case and the anti-missiles case together.

The People's March will be joined outside Bristol by contingents from the Young Socialists and the Labour Party. A two day festival featuring CND, YCND and YS will be greeting the marchers on 28 May.

A youth and women speaker will be on every campaign platform. Bristol West's Ashley ward have organised a meeting on the Police Bill and Nationalities Act with Idrish Khan.

Benn's campaign has already met with, and won widespread support from leaders of the local black community.

The 4 June 'Youth for Labour' rally will be joined by a strong contingent from Bristol West LPYS, who have held an open 'Youth for Labour' meeting to organise street meetings, a contingent on the People's March, and backing for the campaign in both Bristol West and East.

Benn's campaign is critical and the ruling class realise it. Last week the

Sun spent £6,000 in Bristol East on what Benn termed an 'anti-Labour canvass' posing as an opinion poll.

But it isn't just the Sun that wants to dump him. *Tribune* has revealed that NEC member John Golding has been active in Bristol organising an anti-Benn caucus.

Labour's NEC trampled on Brent East constituency right to select Ken Livingstone as its candidate — largely on the grounds of an alleged 'left caucus'. But it said nothing about the Bristol conspiracy to oust Tony Benn.

We have many disagreements with Tony Benn. But in parliament he is the foremost representative of that wing of the Labour Party which has spoken for CND, the Greenham women, trade unionists, black people and many others fighting the Tories.

A defeat for Tony Benn would be a defeat for the whole labour movement. We support the call put out by Bristol constituencies to rally to the marginals in Bristol, particularly Benn's.

● To support the campaign contact: Benn Campaign, Transport House, Victoria Road, Bristol Tel: 0272 293832



UP to 800 turned out on 22 May to demonstrate against the now shelved Police Bill and the extension of police powers.

This was despite the withdrawal of money and political support by the Greater London Council and the circulation of rumours in the previous week that it had been cancelled.

The march was led by the Brixton Black Women's Group and

included a strong contingent of gays — two sections of the community already well used to the discrimination and brutality of the law.

The march ended with speakers from the labour movement and black movement in Hyde Park.

# Tony Benn on Labour's future

We reproduce below extracts from Tony Benn's speech to Bristol trades council on Thursday 19 June.

AN ELECTION is an educational exercise: the one time in the cycle when Labour's case is publicly presented. The people can hear Labour's argument, and that's when we must try to change people's perceptions in the direction of building a better society.

Comparisons have been made with 1945. But this is false. We must recall that Churchill was the grandfather of the Tory wets. He took part in the wartime government which prepared the Beveridge plan, and he, MacMillan and Heath — not that I am a fan of any of them — are being repudiated by a government which is now trying to turn the clock back, not fifty but a hundred years.

## Unions

So we are fighting for survival. I'm not talking about the unions, who succeeded in existing even in Victorian times, but the survival of the fabric of our society. For Toxeth, Bristol, and Brixton are indications of where total despair can lead. How can we give hope?

We cannot assume that mass unemployment will lead to a swing to the left. In Germany it led to

fascism, because frightened people often turn to right wing solutions. And when people are frightened and despairing, our job is to be thoughtful and dig deep for alternatives.

Like the Greenham Common women, like NALGO with its anti-privatisation campaign, we have to dig deep and try to reassert the fundamental role of the Labour movement.

Non-political trade unionism, therefore, is a cul-de-sac. When we say the movement should be political, I don't mean in a sectarian sense. I mean the purpose of the unions has to be presented politically.

It has to be placed in the context of such events as the People's March. I personally am delighted that Conservative mayors greet the march, and that bishops should be stating the moral case for disarmament.

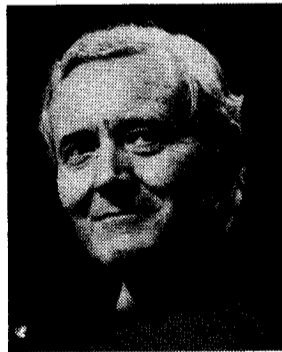
But our message is this, that it is the labour move-

ment which draws together all the threads of collective action. Women, young people, all have looked to the Labour movement to give a lead.

This is my thirteenth election, but I have never gone into an election in a mood quite like the present. It is not about personalities, as if someone on a white horse could come in and solve everything. Nor is it a spectator sport, as the opinion pollsters would have it.

## People

In this election we will have to approach people through their own experience. I spoke to an NUR member who recalled the experience of working for Great Western Railways in 1935 before nationalisation, when they were treated like dirt. If we approach people through the experience of the cuts, and invite them to think, we will show that Labour's policy is tailor-made to meet the crisis. Where did this policy come from? Not from small bodies in Walworth Road, not from the 'hard left', but from thousands and thousands of resolutions from the labour movement itself. It is a great collection of experience come together,



and when we show people Labour's programme we are showing them a mirror of our experience.

So I am pleased that the People's March is broad because the Labour Party itself is the protector of all working people because it was set up by them. And if we campaign with the passion and commitment which we haven't had since the early years, I'm sure you'll be surprised at the result.

For the labour movement will reappear, at this critical juncture of history, in the guise of a group trying to represent the interests of all those sections who really make up a majority of the population. And if we do that, I believe we shall see Thatcher leaving Downing Street on 9 June.

# A Socialist ACTION

## Rally Against the Right! For a Labour Victory!

● Alain Krivine French Trotskyist, leader of 1968 student revolt, on defeating the Right in France

● Helen John Greenham Common women speaker on stopping the missiles in '83

● Peter Thatchell on fighting for socialist policies against the Tories

● John McNulty Peoples Democracy on getting Britain out of Ireland

● Cecil Gutmores National Campaign Against the Police Bill, on black people against the Tories

● Jeremy Corbyn Labour candidate for Islington North

● Plus People's Marchers from the 1983 Jobs March



Socialist Action rally — raising the issues and giving a voice to those excluded from Labour's official election campaign Wednesday 1 June, County Hall, London SE1 at 7.30pm



# IRELAND UNFREE

## The Kitson Experiment Counter-revolutionary operations in Ireland

'A MAN has declared war on Europe: a free Europe; a special war'. So begins Roger Faligot's new book *The Kitson Experiment*. \* The man of course is Brigadier Frank Kitson, author of *Low Intensity Operations* the British army's political-military manual on how to deal with an insurgent population. Faligot shows in detail how Kitson's ideas have been applied in Ireland — a useful practice for possible civil uprising in Britain and other parts of Europe.

The essence of Kitson's strategy is control of the civilian population; selective but ferocious repression against the core of an insurrectionary movement; psychological warfare and black propaganda with the aim of separating 'leaders' from the mass of their followers; and the most sophisticated possible means of intelligence and infiltration of opposition movements.

### Revolt

The application of these techniques calls for the closest possible liaison between civil police and military forces, together with the formation and use of 'special brigades' for selected operations. All these plans have been put into operation in Ireland.

On 23 October 1971 a 31-year old Englishman called David Seaman arranged a press conference in Dublin. He revealed that until then he had been a member of the Special Air Service operating in Northern Ireland. He said that, among other things, the SAS were engaged in random bomb explosions to discredit the IRA.

In January 1972 his body was found in a ditch near the border in County Armagh.

Seaman's revelations blew the whistle on the operation of Kitson's 'special units'. Among the first jobs of the SAS were the formation of the Military Reconnaissance Forces (MRF). A principal aim, often using soldiers of Irish extraction, was to infiltrate Republican and Loyalist organisations. A famed operation of the MRF was the Four Square Laundry Operation.

On October 1972 a Four Square Laundry Van was ambushed in the Twinbrook area of Belfast. An IRA unit shot dead two SAS men in a concealed compartment in the roof of the van, and killed the driver. The Four Square Laundry was a clever cover operation. Anything involving house to house visits yields valuable intelligence. In addition to cleaning clothes, the Four Square Laundry also examined clothing for evidence that it had been in the vicinity of firearms.

The MRF was just a small episode in the anti-'low intensity' arsenal. Faligot details the psychological warfare and black propaganda operations (known as 'psyops'), taught at the Joint Warfare Establishment (JWE) at Salisbury in Wiltshire. The repressive arsenal of anti-personnel weapons — the rubber and plastic bullets, water cannon and the rest are well known. So are techniques of selective repression of the political vanguard — assassination, internment, torture.

Perhaps the most developed aspect of the 'Kitson' operations in the North have been the massive surveillance and intelligence operation. Computer files at the Thiepval Barracks in Lisburn number half a million or more — roughly equivalent to the total adult population of the nationalist areas, plus a few over for Loyalist groups.

What's important about Kitson's scheme of anti-subversion warfare is that it's an escalating system, combining political and military aspects. The security services won't wait for widespread civil strife to put it into effect. Aspects of it are already in operation in Britain, in particular the many of its intelligence-gathering features.

The rest is just waiting for implementation at the right time ... and the forces who will put it into effect are getting all the experience they will need in Britain's counter-revolutionary war.

\* *The Kitson Experiment*, Zed Press, £3.95. Available from The Other Bookshop, 328 Upper St, London N1. Add 20% post and packing.

# Ireland: Sinn Fein's election campaign

THE NEWSPAPERS and the TV in Britain are filled with coverage of the general election battle, but there is a void when it comes to covering the election in Ireland — a contest which has deep implications for the future of politics in Britain.

This week *Labour and Ireland* (the journal of the Labour Committee on Ireland) spoke to Owen Carron MP who is defending his seat in Fermanagh and South Tyrone.

**What are your aims in the election?**

We are aiming to be recognised as the legitimate representatives of the nationalist population of the North.

In the Assembly elections, we gained 35 per cent of the popular vote. This time we are going for 50 per cent.

That vote will mean that the Social Democratic and Labour Party's growing isolation will continue. By their compromises on the national question, they help the British and are prolonging the present war.

**Do you think that the decline of the SDLP will continue?**

Only up to a certain point. After that, class factors begin to come into play. The middle classes will never vote Sinn Fein because of the kind of party we are and what we represent.

**How does the presence of the British Army affect the election?**

It makes it very difficult. Our campaign is subjected to a high level of repression and harassment.

It is always the case that the Army and Royal Ulster Constabulary increase their profile during elections. This time it's worse than ever.

The Sinn Fein electoral campaign represents a threat to the authorities, so they are all intervening to disrupt it. This includes the army, the RUC and SDLP, but also the Church.

Last night in Lisnaskea, a small town in the south of the constituency, the army surrounded the campaign offices. Everyone approaching the office was ordered to take off their coats and were subjected to an extensive on the spot search.

In the last two weeks, we have had 20 of our election workers arrested and held under the detention laws for between three and seven days.

**If you do manage to overcome the obstacles and succeed in winning the 50 per cent vote, what do you think will be the future of the Prior Assembly?**

The Assembly will continue to exist as long as there is a Thatcher government. We are not too worried about its existence. Our concern is the stance of nationalist Ireland towards it.

The Assembly represents an attempt by the Unionist and British establishment to solidify itself — we want to stop this.

So far we have only damaged the SDLP. But a high vote for Sinn Fein will make certain they cannot join the assembly. It can have no credibility whilst the nationalist community is solid to boycott it.

Our next job will be to intervene in the Free State. We see all the seeds there for a rapid growth of a revolutionary movement. This is our most important goal.

Of course, supporters of Sinn Fein are active in the current strike waves, but the unions are infiltrated by reactionaries like the Workers Party who try to take the national question out of politics.

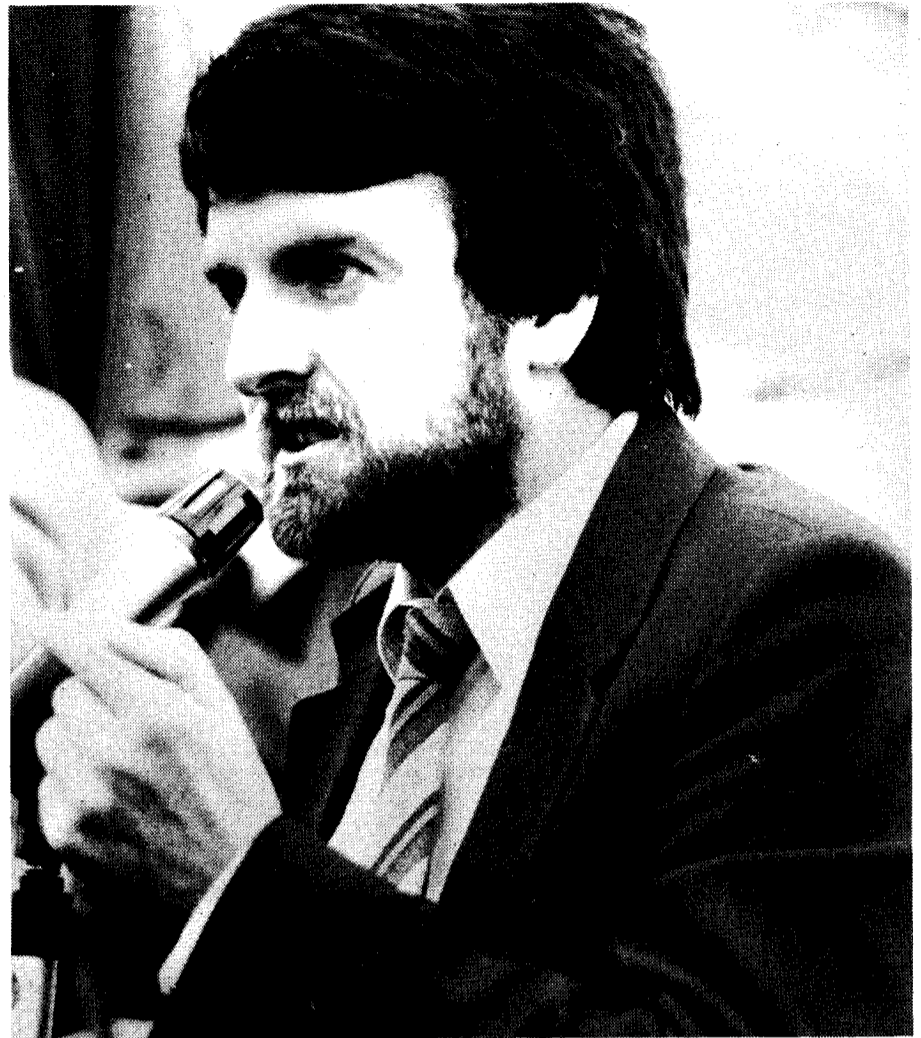
This area needs a lot of our attention and work because we are weak in the South.

After the election we will be playing, as MPs, much the same role as our Assembly representatives at the moment — involving ourselves in the politics of the community.

We will go on fighting for decent housing, welfare, and all the other social amenities that have been systematically run down under British rule.

Overall, though, we will be building a revolutionary, radical alternative to the SDLP.

● *Labour and Ireland election special will be out in the next two weeks. To order copies for yourself, or to sell, write to: LCI, BM Box 5355, London WC1N 3XX or phone Martin 01-359 8373.*



Owen Carron MP.

Photo: PETE GRANT

## Brent East fights on

LABOUR's NEC has forced Reg Freeson as candidate on Brent East Constituency Labour Party. The Party ruefully accepted this ... but battle over reselection recommences on 10 June.

Colin Adams, GMC Chairperson, has promised 'We will mount a massive national campaign to kick out the present NEC leadership and elect one that will carry out conference decisions.'

After legal advice against continuing with its selection conference the comrades agreed to comply. But those gathered together for the conference (which had been called before the NEC had imposed a candidate) decided on who they would have chosen, given the chance. The imposed candidate, Freeson received 3 votes. Ken Livingstone received 53 and a standing ovation.

Far from being a vindication of the GMC it would, in fact, give John Golding an excuse to tour the area 'building up' the party.

The NEC knows that it hasn't yet won and that it must crush Brent East or retire with a bloody nose.

By Ronan Brady (Brent East CLP)

It will use the election period to try to build up support for the right and will try to pack the GMC with tame delegates.

If this tactic fails it will try the frontal approach and will use any pretext it can to dissolve the party. Paradoxically a defeat for Freeson in the election would give the right one of its best excuses.

Far from being a vindication of the GMC it would, in fact, give John Golding an excuse to tour the area 'building up' the party.

some refused to canvass for him. There are a number of close marginals nearby and there is a feeling that to canvass for Freeson is to capitulate.

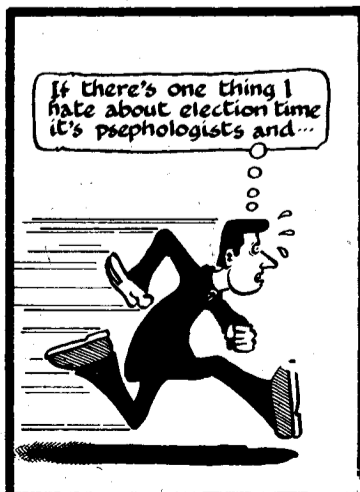
*Socialist Action* supporters, whilst sympathising with this feeling, have argued that the best way to ensure reselection after the election is to work for the party in Brent East. Many new members will be recruited in this election. We need to make sure they hear our arguments first.

Freeson's imposition is even more bitter for the Irish community to accept. There will be an Irish candidate standing against him and the Social Democratic Party candidate has covered himself in shamrocks.

Yet the only natural ally the Irish people have in the election is the labour movement. In this case that means a Labour vote and joining the Labour Party to kick out Freeson!

## A PIECE OF THE ACTION

BY GORMAG #11 583



\* *The Kitson Experiment*, Zed Press, £3.95. Available from The Other Bookshop, 328 Upper St, London N1. Add 20% post and packing.



# ALL OUT 5 JUNE

## A Marcher's journal

FROM MANCHESTER to Birmingham it's been green fields, songs, rain, bishops and purges. After Manchester the clamps came down.

The Liverpool Transport union comrades were kicked off for shouting anti Tory slogans. The number of official slogans got fewer and wetter, basically reduced to 'What do we want? Jobs', which is a bit obvious.

On Friday 20 May, this line was rationalised in the *Morning Star* — delivered free to our sleeping bags — arguing for a 'broad appeal' for jobs to 'churches, liberals, nationalists, students, teachers, factory workers, unemployed workers, yes, and even Tory farmers, businessmen and councillors'.

I was left wondering if the Communist Party believes that churches, liberals or Tory farmers have any power, or need to stop mass unemployment. Do they expect Tory businessmen to be sufficiently moved by mass unemployment to stop causing it?

These people know damn well what unemployment does to the working class. They know it carves up our dignity and self respect. They can read the results on their profit returns.

They need us on our knees, always have and always will. A broad appeal to them is an act of self abasement. We might as well all grow forelocks and go to Downing street tugging them.

Worse, there is little broad appeal in practice

to the Labour movement which does have the power and the need to fight unemployment. The sort of thing we need is the reception we got on Friday.

At Bilston a once thriving steel town, a good two thousand workers greeted us. They included workers from Rockwell engineering and the gas cooker firm Cannons who had clocked off to attend our rally. The Cannons' convenor got huge applause, hailing the victory of the Timex occupation in Dundee. That's the stuff we need, the message that workers can fight and win.

## Capture

Elsewhere though we have only been met by small delegations from unions and labour parties. There were no factory tours to build the march in Manchester or Birmingham, despite pressure from the marchers.

This would be a very important experience for many of the youth on the march who have never had a job and don't know anything about unions and working class organisation.

The response to those few delegations that have gone out shows what is possible. The Fire Brigades Union conference in Bridlington gave two marchers a standing ovation and voted to send 25 coaches to London for 5 June.

We now need to build the biggest possible demonstration on 5 June. We should campaign for a Labour victory and for Labour to fight for its policies for jobs.

THE PEOPLE'S March for Jobs from Glasgow to London was called by the TUC to oppose mass unemployment and put forward the labour movement's alternative. It is now in its fourth week.

The last march in 1981 was loud, political anti Tory and had a massive impact. This march is none of these.

Although it is very late in the day things could be salvaged. When the march comes through your town, organise a reception for it, set up tours of factories, labour movement bodies, youth clubs, and invite the marchers to them. And make sure that the 5 June London demonstration is a massive show of anti-Tory anger.

## TUC sabotage south east march

Campaigning for Labour received a blow in Kent on 9 May. The jobs march planned from Betteshanger colliery near Dover to meet the main People's march in London, was called off.

By Les Hartop (Gillingham LP, personal capacity)

From the beginning the south east march was disowned by the national People's March organisers. Jack Dromey, an officer at the South East Region of the TUC argued that this march would divert resources. He even suggested that the proposers of the march, Gillingham LPYS may benefit from a visit by Jim Mortimer, the witch-hunting Labour party general secretary.

But encouraged by Socialist Action supporters, the YS pressed ahead. A delegate meeting was organised, backed by Jack Collins of the Kent NUM and the Gillingham constituency.

The plan was to set up a democratic committee for regional labour movement and CND bodies to share control.

Support came from branches of the Public Employees union and the General and Municipal Union. But this was sabotaged when the South East Region of the TUC and the Southern Region Labour Party mailed their affiliates demanding withdrawal of support. The Kent NUM and Medway trades council dropped out immediately.

This could have been overcome if the organising committee had built on the growing CND support along the route. But this ran contrary to the politics of the Militant who had excluded all but themselves from the organising committee.

So now the march has been called off. But the Gillingham LPYS are not giving up. They are encouraging support for jobs marches and rallies for Saturday 4 June to put the campaign back into the election.



The south west leg of the People's March has left Cornwall and is now winding its way through Devon. Before crossing the border marchers found time to send greetings to the 14 May Labour movement conference on El Salvador

## Expelled but not beaten

KEVIN COYNE remains surprisingly faithful to the People's March for Jobs despite his expulsion from it by the national organising committee on 19 May — along with fellow marchers Pete Cashman and Mark Holt, Transport union members and Paul Davies, a full-time official of the union from Birkenhead.

Their crime — chanting anti-Tory slogans. Kevin has remained with the march although his official clothing has been taken off him and he is denied access to official transport and social events.

He explains, 'I was taken on the march as a relief driver, as part of the north west delegation. The first day we walked all the way through Liverpool shouting anti-Tory slogans. Officials like Ron Todd and Jack Dromey supported the line of the marshalls to exclude me.'

We are fully prepared to abide by the decisions and discipline of the march, but when the march is apolitical you have to take a stand. The problem is that the march organisers are so interested in building links with the likes of the church that they are neglecting to organise in the labour and trade union movement itself.

So in a lot of towns we've been through there's

been the worse turn out I've ever seen. There are very few factory meetings organised on the route.

There is no way we want to split up the march. We want it to get to London and have an impact. But to do this it needs to be made political.

Following the expulsions we are expecting support from region six of the Transport union. The Liverpool trades council has passed a resolution supporting us and is going to take up an enquiry into the way the march has been conducted.

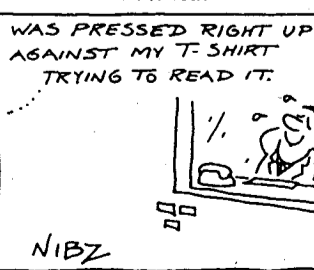
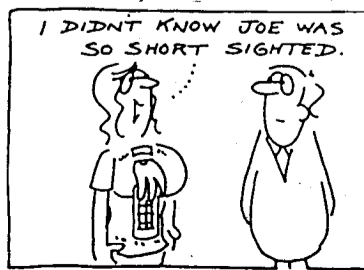
The north west TUC is also in total support of us and has passed its comments onto the TUC saying that it wants its section of the march to be more political.



## Eric's extra for People's March



"No! I want you fit for the march!"



## Spot the difference

ALL these cartoons have one thing in common — their sexism.

While it is nothing out of the ordinary for papers like the *Sun*, you would think that trade union journals would be fighting against this crap. Not so.



"Whenever I walk down this street I get the oddest feeling I'm being watched!"

'Eric's extra' comes from the *Yorkshire Miner's* May issue, published by the NUM, and the other from the April/May edition of *POEU News*, the paper of the Post Office Engineering Union.

The TUC Charter for women's equality in the trade unions states: 'The content of journals and other union publications should be presented in non-sexist terms'.

The attacks on women spearheaded by the Tories are bad enough, without them being aided and abetted by our 'brothers' in the labour movement.

## New hope on abortion?

THE Labour Party has restated its commitment to improving abortion rights and facilities.

In its campaign document, *The New Hope for Britain*, it includes the following statement:

'While continuing to defend the absolute right of individual conscience, we will improve NHS facilities for family planning and abortion, including counselling and day-care; and we will remove barriers to the

## Anti-deportation campaigns

DONATIONS are urgently needed for the campaign to stop the deportation of Afia Begum and her daughter Asma.

Send contributions to the Afia Begum Defence Campaign c/o Box 22, 136 Kingsland High Street, London E8.

HALIMAT Babamba and her children are also threatened with deportation (see *Male Order*, 6 May).

A demonstration is planned in Leeds City Square on 18 June at 1.30pm in their support. Friends of Halimat can be contacted at Box HB, 59 Cookridge Street, Leeds 2.



implementation of the existing right of choice for women in the termination of pregnancy.'

While welcoming the inclusion of this commitment in the document, the statement remains vague!

How will they remove barriers and what is this 'existing right of choice'?

We urge people to write to the NEC, individually or through their LP or union bran-

ch, asking for a stronger statement and a more detailed promise of exactly how the party intends to bring about the necessary change.

● From an article in *Breaking Chains*, newspaper of the Abortion Law Reform Association (ALRA), available from 88a Islington High Street, London N1 8EG, 01-359 5200 20p plus postage.

ALRA are holding their Annual General Meeting on Sat 18 June, 11-1.00, at Birkbeck College, Malet Street, London WC1. Details from address above.

Compiled by HILARY DRIVER. Send contributions to 'Male Order' Socialist Action, 328 Upper Street, London N1 2XP to arrive not later than Thursday a week prior to publication.



# END convention

## An opportunity lost

**THIS IS AN important year for the peace movement, a year of decision. The deployment of Cruise and Pershing missiles in Europe will begin later this year, at Greenham Common the first Cruise are about to arrive.**

**What better opportunity to hammer out a co-ordinated international campaign of action than the second European Nuclear Disarmament convention which took place in West Berlin from 19-14 May.**

But hopes that the Berlin gathering would be able to play this vital role were badly disappointed.

There was plenty of enthusiasm among the 3000 or so participants from all over Western Europe (as well as Japan and the American continent) — the independent peace movements of the East could only send messages — but the only concrete proposal to emerge from the proceedings was that of a series of referenda.

By Günter Minnerup

Perhaps most significantly, only a hundred or so delegates — rapidly shrinking below twenty as the evening wore on — attended the trade union workshop.

But the group decided to devote most of its precious time to a discussion of the 'conversion problem' — converting armament industries to the production of peaceful products — rather than the preparation of industrial action against the missiles.

Was it simply a problem of social composition of the participants? To some extent it certainly was.

Rather than an assembly of the European peace movement as such, it was very much the gathering of one particular section of it — the young, middle class, professional and — as far as the dominant German element was concerned at least — 'green-alternative' wing.

Trade-unionists, especially those from the manual unions, were very thinly spread indeed.

But at root the problem was one of the political intentions of the organisers. To be fair, they

had not intended the convention to be a decision-making one in preparation for the autumn confrontations.

In the words of Ken Coates, speaking on the opening day: 'Our plenary meetings are not central to our activity in the way that many conferences of political parties or trade unions have established their central forums ... Our work will not result in proclamations, but in joint agreement and common activities'.

These were to spring spontaneously from the various workshops, and some useful ideas did indeed emerge from the exchange of experiences in different countries. But the central question — how to stop the missiles — remained unanswered.

Even a non-representative, non-decision making assembly such as this convention could, however, have made an important contribution to the coming struggles by advancing the process of political clarification. But it was in this area that the political confusion of the organisers was most counterproductive.

### Capsule

Some of the problems that a convention on the general theme of 'A nuclear-free Europe from Portugal to Poland' would have to confront had already become apparent well before Berlin: the choice of the divided city as the venue had been considered by some of the END initiators as 'too provocative', and the massive attacks made on END by Yuri Zhukov, the president of the official Soviet Peace Council, had further pushed END into the

defensive.

In the event, one gained the impression of a general tendency on the part of the organisers to sweep controversy under the carpet, gloss over the fundamental differences dividing them on the crucial strategic questions — Eastern Europe, the German question, detente — and get the whole thing over with.

No wonder there was a strong undercurrent of dissatisfaction among the participants. Many put their frustration down to the ridiculously unsuitable venue, a gigantic and ultramodern Congress Centre — aptly dubbed the 'space capsule' by exiled East German singer Wolf Biermann — which never allowed an atmosphere of militancy and solidarity to develop.

### Questions

But the real problem was that too many questions remained unanswered, or even unasked.

Is it possible to reverse the arms race through a return to the détente policies of the 1970s? What are the roots of the 'new Cold War'? Can peace and disarmament be achieved on the basis of the European status quo, or will that have to be overturned before our aims can be achieved? How does the peace movement relate to the social and political emancipation movements on both sides, such as Solidarity in Poland and the labour movements of the West?

To talk of the need for a 'thaw' between the blocs — as Edward Thompson did — is simply not enough.

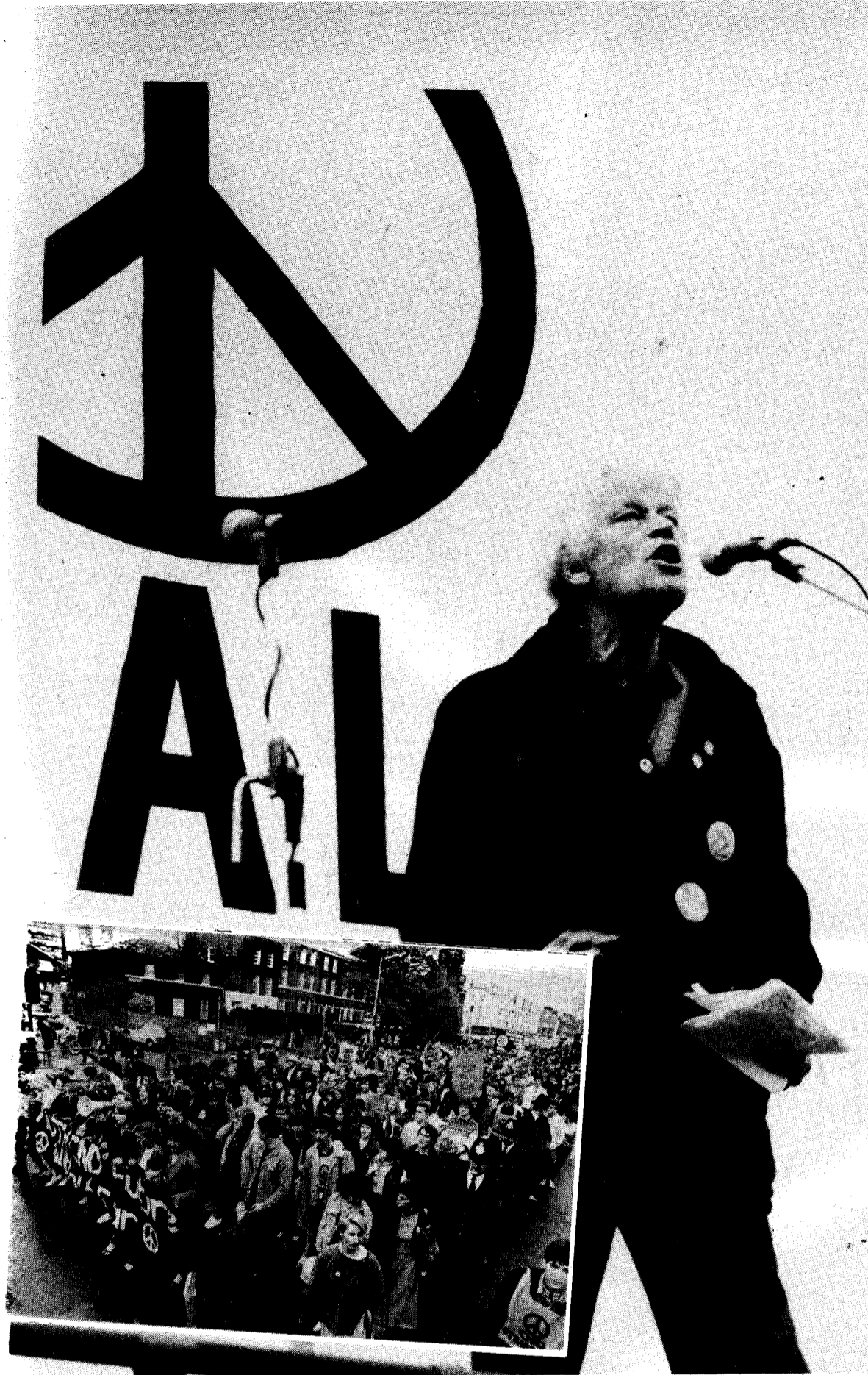
END and its international initiatives can make a valuable contribution in helping to break down the insularity so prevalent in the British nuclear disarmament movement especially and fostering international links and debates. But it serves no one by ducking the political issues and choices before us.

Advertisement



**New issue out now!**  
**Red or Green for Europe?**

Articles on CND, West Germany & the Greens, France under Mitterrand, socialists and the family, education, steel industry plus extracts from conversations with Nobel Literature prize winner and socialist Gabriel Garcia Marquez. All for just 75p. Or subscribe for £5.50 inland, £6.50 overseas surface, £13 overseas airmail. Cheques etc to 'International', PO Box 50, London N1 2XP.



EP Thompson — ducked crucial questions. Inset youth march against the missiles.

## West pays for US missiles

### Maggie and Ronnie Williamsburg alliance

**AT THE end of this month the leaders of the 'free' (read 'capitalist') world will get together for an almighty row over economic policy, at the Williamsburg summit.**

Margaret Thatcher will use her visit just before the election to bolster her 'world leader' image. And in the debates she'll line up with Ronald Reagan in supporting US defence policies which are inhibiting a reflation of the world economy.

The problem for most of the Western countries is that the US budget deficit is sending American interest rates sky high.

As a result, huge amounts of money from the international money markets are flooding into the United States, making it difficult for countries like the France and West Germany to reflate their economies.

Arms spending by the United States is the main

source of the problem. Reagan and his defence secretary, Casper Weinberger are committed to a yearly seven per cent real increase in defence spending.

Projects like the MX missile and the Stealth bomber are costing untold billions.

The only way to deal with the US budget deficit would be either to cut social services, which the Congress won't do or to

raise taxes, which no one is keen on with elections looming next year.

### Oil

Thatcher has a slightly different angle on the problem. The strength of British capitalism lies not in its increasingly moribund domestic manufacturing, but in oil revenues and its powerful banks.

Thatcher, unlike Mitterand or West Germany's Kohl, doesn't mind high oil prices and high interest rates.

She's not exactly hell-

bent on economic reflation in Britain either. So Thatcher will side with Reagan against Mitterand and the slightly more polite opposition of Helmut Kohl.

While Reagan and his supporters would be quite happy to see US social services fall to bits, the Democrats and World Bank president Robert McNamara have a different view.

They want another defence strategy for the United States, which would concentrate on building up conventional forces for world-wide counter-revolutionary operations.

On this basis they think that the more expensive new nuclear projects could be abandoned, while the United States could take a

big initiative towards the Soviet Union through proposing a nuclear 'freeze'. This would have the effect of helping a modest reflation in the United States.

### Facts

Everyone at Williamsburg will be trying to defend their own corner — their own capitalism at the expense of the others.

But the assembled leaders will be taught some brutal facts of life. With leaders like Reagan and Weinberger the United States is giving nothing away.

Despite its relative decline the United States is still incomparably the world's most powerful imperialist state. Everyone else is going to have to get into line — or else.



# The Alliance — danger to the labour movement

By Steve Potter

THE LAUNCH of the Social Democratic Party/Liberal Alliance campaign has shown that their main aim in the election is to stop Labour from forming a government. And they are receiving support in the top levels of the labour movement as TUC's chairperson Frank Chapple's support for one of their candidates shows.

At the very first Alliance press conference David Steel and Roy Jenkins, respectively the leader of the campaign and prime minister-designate chose to make Labour its main target in presenting its policies.

They summarised their policy differences with Labour as being:

- \* a moderate reflationary package with the objective of reducing unemployment to two million
- \* a firm commitment to an incomes policy
- \* whilst against Trident, like the Tories they are for keeping cruise if the Geneva negotiations are unsuccessful, but they are for a dual key with the Pentagon
- \* for maintaining British international alliances particular with the EEC and NATO

However these policies will be a secondary matter for many of those who vote for the Alliance. It is more their appeal as a party above the vested interests of labour and capital that will attract those frightened by Thatcher's rapacious drive for profit and repelled by the indecision and vacillation of the labour leadership.

It is this question which is at the centre of a new book by Vernon Bogdanor\* which examines the impact of the SDP/Liberal Alliance on British politics.

Bogdanor traces out the development of the SDP around the issue of the Common Market in the '70s, in particular the resignation of Roy Jenkins and David Owen from the Labour front bench in 1972 over Labour's commitment to a referendum on the issue of Britain's membership of the EEC. The year before with Shirley Williams they broke a three line whip to lead 66 Labour MPs into voting with the Tories for EEC membership.

But if the Common Market was the issue on which the social democrats coalesced it was not the only cause of their break.

The experience of the Wilson and Callaghan governments convinced the left in the Party that radical changes had to be made in the policies, constitution and leadership of the party. The growth of the left in the unions after 1968 meant that the block vote could not be used in the old reflexive way to defend the status quo. So in the two years that followed Labour's defeat by Thatcher, the Labour left succeed, by and large, in attaining the first of its two objectives.



Roy Jenkins and David Steel — united against Labour

Photo: JOHN HARRIS

The outcome was that the Party adopted radical policies such as withdrawal from the EEC, unilateral disarmament as well as opposition to incomes policy. These were incompatible with acting as a 'serious' party of government committed to upholding the capitalist status quo. The success of the constitutional reforms (reselection of MPs and election of the party leader) meant that the leadership of the party could be sanctioned for not carrying these policies through.

The Council for Social Democracy formed itself as a faction and prepared its break from a party that they were convinced would never again offer them the fruits of governmental office.

## Open support

The formation of the Social Democratic Party attracted the open support of many right wing Labour Party figures — some of whom left the Party to join them and some who didn't — in particular right wing trade union leaders like Frank Chapple, Bill Sirs, Sid Weighell, Roy Grantham and Terry Duffy. The emergent party enjoyed wide support in the media and ruling class circles.

It was seen as a warning against further left advance in the party; a way of subtracting sufficient Labour votes to render an overall majority for Labour in Parliament impossible; and possibly as a new and rising political party in its own right.

Prospects for the latter objective seemed bright — the SDP won some spectacular successes in by-elections and in conjunction with the Liberals achieved opinion poll results which, occasionally exceeded both Labour and Tories. But these temporary successes served only to sharpen a political debate both inside and outside the Alliance about its political

future.

Within the Alliance Bogdanor points to three different perspectives of the SDP and the Alliance which he categorises as Grimondite, Owenite and Jenkinsite.

For Jo Grimond the route to power led through a recreation of the Progressive Alliance, the Liberal-Labour agreement that was concluded between 1903 and the second general election of 1910, but one that would find modern shape in a single party consisting of Liberals and the right wing of the Labour Party. The basis on which Grimond originally put forward his views was that the deep problems that Labour faced after their third consecutive election defeat in 1959 were terminal. Reconciliation between the left and right wings was impossible.

However, under the leadership of Wilson, backed by the Frank Cousins leadership of the Transport union, the party went on to win the 1964 and 1966 elections and Grimond's perspective was confounded.

Another defect with Grimond's policy was the absence of a mechanism to take votes from Labour. In the February 1974 election for example the Liberal's upsurge allowed Labour to become the largest party despite winning a lower vote than the Tories. This was confirmed by the results of the 1979 general elec-

until electoral reform can be won. The SDP would then hope to emerge in its own right as the inheritor of the Gaitskell and Crosland tradition, but not through reforming the Labour Party, but through its destruction.

Bogdanor notes that this strategy rests on the same premise as Grimond's and 'if this view proves to have underestimated the recuperative possibilities of the Labour Party' then 'disunity on the left (would make) for long periods of Conservative rule, interrupted only by short-lived governments of the left.'

## Third way

Roy Jenkins has put forward a third way. For him the SDP/Liberal Alliance can be a two edged sword which can cleave both at the Labour Party and the Tories.

It follows that Jenkins would be prepared to accept a coalition with the Tories for the sake of achieving electoral reform, and sees the Alliance as semi-permanent feature of the British political situation. These different strategies have been brought out within the SDP with Owen and Williams standing against Jenkins and Rodgers in elections for the party leadership. The result so far has been inconclusive.

Table Two

The social class profile of the parties

Social class	All	Con	Lab	Lib	SDP	Lib/SDP
AB	16	26	7	15	19	17
C1	22	28	15	21	26	24
C2	32	26	37	33	31	32
DE	30	19	42	32	25	28

Source: Gallup Report, Political Tracking Study, October 1981. Quoted in Bogdanor.

tion where the Liberals ran second in 79 of the 339 seats won by the Tories, but in only 2 won by Labour. The rise of the SDP was meant to provide such an instrument.

For David Owen and Shirley Williams the aim of getting sufficient votes from the Labour Party in tandem with the Liberals was utopian, as the Liberals were identified by the bulk of Labour voters, and more importantly by the trade union bureaucracy, as anti-union. For Owen the alliance with the Liberals is a temporary evil to be dispensed with

This is likely to remain the case until the results of the general election are known and their impact is felt on all the major political parties. For at least two of the strategies of the Alliance rest on the response of the right wing of the Labour Party to the overtures being made by the Alliance.

Already the Alliance leaders have indicated their terms for a parliamentary agreement with other parties. David Steel has indicated that measures against unemployment and a commitment to steps towards proportional representation are the rock-

bottom conditions for any deal. Roy Jenkins has added that the question of the Common Market and incomes policy are also planks for discussion.

There has been a response within both the Parliamentary Labour Party and in the trade unions. Steel revealed in an interview on ITV's *Weekend World* that the suggestion of coalition in the event of a hung parliament had been made in a roundabout fashion by both Michael Foot and Dennis Healey.

Others have not been so coy. Terry Duffy suffered one of his few defeats at this year's Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers national committee when he motivated the necessity of adopting the referendum (stay in) position on the Common Market for his union and for the Labour Party. Otherwise, he said, it would be impossible to work with the Alliance.

## Pessimistic

Unfortunately the left of the labour movement, instead of nailing these sentiments in the pre-election period when it counts, have let them go by with the assertion that it is 'pessimistic' to talk about a hung parliament.

But hung parliament or not, after the election the debate will continue as to how Labour should relate to the so-called 'middle ground' dominated by the SDP-Liberal Alliance. This will apply whether the Alliance is successful in terms of seats or not since it is likely that the Alliance vote plus others will equal or exceed the previous record of 25 per cent of votes cast neither for Tories or Labour in 1974.

Already this debate has been initiated on the left by *Marxism Today*, who have sponsored a collection of essays on the necessity of the construction by the labour movement of the broadest possible set of alliances. This reflects a project expounded at greater length by Dave Cook in the same journal and which finds its reflection in the themes set by the organisers of the Peoples March. The aim is a grand anti-Thatcher alliance, without regard to party affiliation, which can lay the basis for national renewal.

## Theorists

From these developments the *Marxism Today* theorists and their ilk hope that the Left by virtue of moral and political superiority can emerge as the leadership. But as we have seen such schemes will only aid the projects of the Alliance and the right wing of the labour movement and have willing takers in the SDP. Such a course would lead not to the victory of the left but its decimation.

No-one can or should deny that the labour movement needs to win broader forces to its ranks or to make alliances. It needs to build among the young, blacks, women, the unemployed and those workers and youth of Scotland and Wales who oppose Westminster but support the nationalists. It needs to ally itself with the nationalist population of the North of Ireland. This can only be done on the basis of socialist policies. In this way Labour can show a way out of the social and economic crisis which can only be resolved through a strong and decisive lead.

On this basis it can start to win over the Alliance base: ground down by Thatcher's economic policies yet lacking confidence in a Labour leadership which has shown itself incapable of championing the interests of its own class let alone the interests of the frightened people who will vote for the Alliance in the coming election.

\* *Multi-Party Politics and the Constitution*: V. Bogdanor. Cambridge University Press. £6.95

Table One

Grimondite	Small left-wing Labour Party	Realigned radical party comprising Liberals and right wing Labour	Conservatives
Owenite	Small left-wing Labour Party	SDP Liberals	Conservatives
Jenkinsite	Labour Party	Liberal/SDP Alliance	Conservatives

In Bogdanor



# Tories plan to cripple

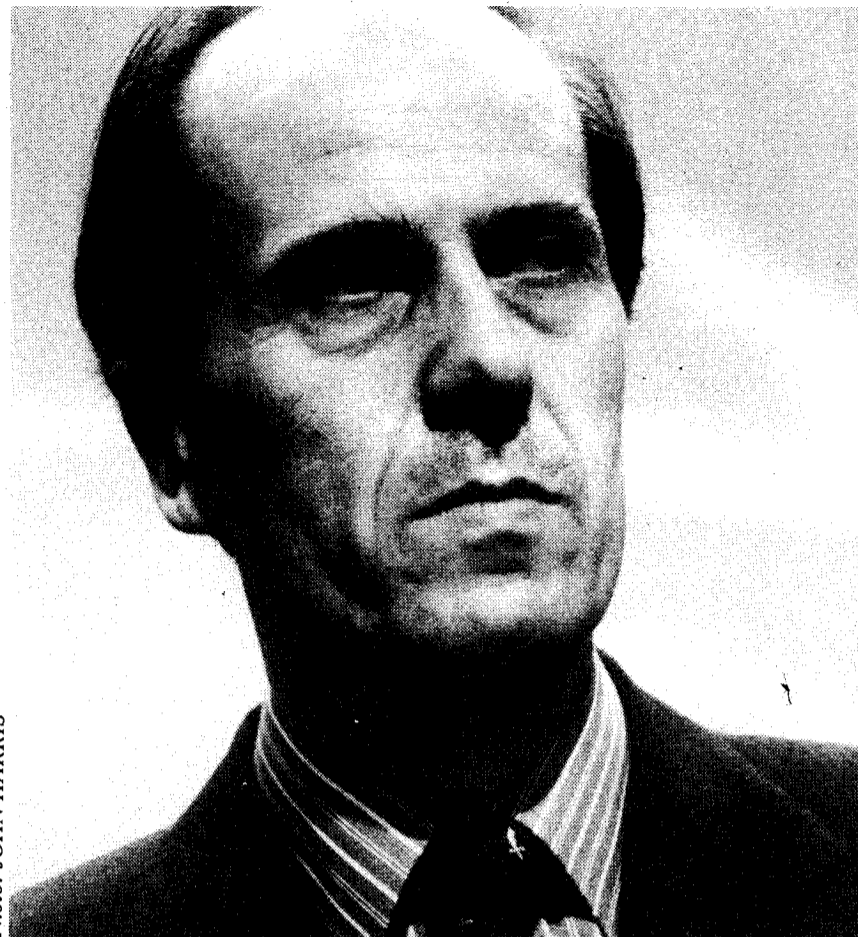


Photo: JOHN HARRIS

Norman Tebbit — a real Thatcher favourite. He wants to break the unions and drive the Labour Party into bankruptcy.

**BOTH** the Tories and the Liberal/SDP Alliance think the unions are too political. Both their manifestos claim that political funding and the political levy of the Labour Party are abused by the unions.

They argue that the present system whereby individuals have to 'contract out' of political payments is not democratic and an offence against personal freedom.

The Labour Party receives three quarters of its total funds from the trade union members via the political levy. At present 82 per cent of trade unionists contract in.

The lowest numbers contracting out are in the unskilled manual trade unions. Less than 5 per cent opt out in the T&GWU and NUPE and 4 per cent in the NUR as compared to 25 per cent in the EEUPTU and 43 per cent in AUEW TASS.

But between 1927 and 1946 trade unionists had to individually 'contract in' to paying the political levy. Wide variations continued to persist with 77 per cent of the NUM, 37 per cent of the AUEW and 15 per cent of the EEUPTU contracting in.

But the Labour Party lost enormous funds as overall numbers con-

'It is true that any union effectively controlling all potential workers of a firm or industry can exercise almost unlimited pressure on the employer and that, particularly where a great amount of capital has been invested in specialised equipment, such a union can practically expropriate the owner and command nearly the whole return of his enterprise.'

F.A. Hayek — the brains behind Tebbit's boots.



James Prior, Mrs Thatcher's first union basher. Prior a man of the people lives in a humble 15th century 380-acre farmhouse with a magnificent moat.

## A guide to the Tory attack on

### The lessons of the Heath government

**THE** TORIES learned from the experience of the 1971 Industrial Relations Act. Then they introduced a battery of legislation and the special Industrial Relations Courts confronting the unions in virtually every area. The Act collapsed in the face of massive working class resistance to the arrest of the striking dockers — the Pentonville 5.

The new approach was much more careful and piecemeal. It aimed at a steadily deepening attack on trade union rights, which opened the door for employers and others to bring legal cases to the existing courts.

Action which had for years been lawful was to lead to unions and trade unionists being sued in the civil courts. It gave anti-working class forces the opportunity to sue the unions.

This was the key to the new Tory strategy. Whether the unions are sued depends on the balance of forces. Mass unemployment is intended to tip the balance in favour of the employers. Even if many of the provisions of the 1980 and 1982 Acts have not yet been used by employers, the situation will be different under a Tory Government with a fresh mandate.

### The 1980 Prior Laws

These attacked secondary picketing, blacking and sympathy action and the closed shop. Under the Prior Laws only picketing at your place of work was lawful. Car workers picketing car pounds or showrooms, dockers picketing unregistered ports, or Cowley workers picketing Longbridge to win support for a dispute became unlawful. In addition, effective picketing, even within the terms of the Act, became more difficult. The Code of Practice produced with the Act suggested a 'six-picket limit', now widely used by the police in attacking pickets.

The Prior Laws also made it easier

for individuals to refuse to join a union in closed shops, an 80 per cent yes-vote is needed to get a closed shop.

### Tebbit takes over

Prior was replaced by Tebbit who set to work with a will on the strangely named Employment Protection Act.

Its main provisions were to limit the right to strike to worker/employer matters thus outlawing actions against government policy, sympathy actions, inter-union disputes and strikes to force sub-contractors to join unions.

Unions made liable for damages of up to £250,000 if they did not take immediate steps to prevent their members taking 'unlawful' industrial action. The aim is for the unions to police their members.

It also makes it easier for employers to get injunctions from the courts to prevent strikes — leaving activists liable to imprisonment for contempt if they disobey.

Its second main target was the established closed shop. While Prior insisted on ballots for new shops the Act provides for periodic ballots requiring 80 per cent of the workforce or 85 per cent 'yes' vote to reaffirm the shop.

In addition, the Act offered a bounty of up to £20,000 to anti-union malcontents if they were dismissed for refusing to join, or leaving a union. This money is to be paid by the union.

### The Tory manifesto

The new proposals take this a stage further. Under cover of concern about democracy in the trade unions the Tories will make secret ballots before strikes compulsory.

This is designed to undermine the role of mass meetings in expressing the collective strength of workers, and make industrial action an individual decision taken in the face of a hostile government and media.

Taken together the Tory changes in the law prepare the way for a major assault on the power of organised Labour in Britain.

## For a real defence of the unions

By Pat Hickey

**HANDS UP For Democracy** is the TUC's reply to the Tory strategy for breaking trade union power in the workplace. But it should be retitled *Hands Up For Bureaucracy*.

This pamphlet does not defend working class organisation against the Tories. It defends the trade union officials ... their power, their practices, their privileges.

A flavour of the depths to which such an argument needs to sink is given by the following quote: 'Even the cost of finding out information on companies, which most people think should be freely available, has been increased from 5p a time to £1.'

This 'defence' of democracy in the mass organisations of the working class takes as its point of reference comparison with the capitalist companies, the banks, the pension funds, the press,

the Conservative party, and — heaven help us — the House of Lords.

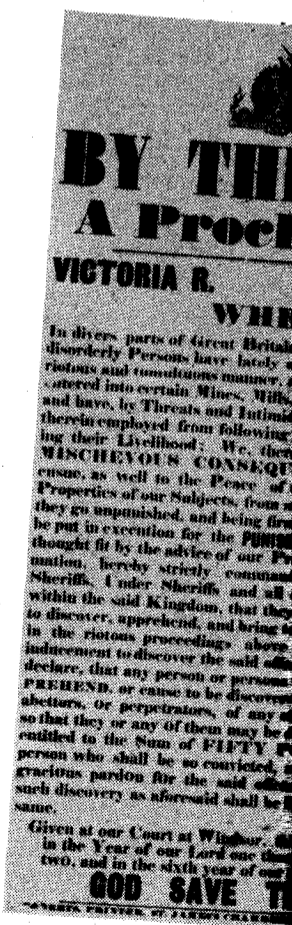
The argument runs that these institutions are undemocratic. The trade unions are much more democratic.

But you cannot win the argument with such a starting point. Organisations which are designed to exploit and repress the working class are by their nature undemocratic. They have to be.

### Price

Trade unions, however, need the greatest possible democracy. Fighting the concentrated power of the employers and their state means struggling also for the greatest unity and maximum involvement of the members. Democracy is neither a privilege nor a luxury. It is a necessity.

The lack of it retards the political development of the working class, and exacts a heavy price. In 1964, 73 per cent of trade unionists voted Labour; in 1979, 51 per cent; a recent poll indicated that 43 per cent of trade unionists intend to vote Labour in this



election. In the same poll, only 17 per cent of trade unionists support the political levy.

Clearly all is not well in the unions. When the trade union bosses send rail strikers back to work, when they fail to fight effectively for the health workers, when they make deals which impose 'voluntary' incomes policy on their members, they open the door for the employers and their parties to weaken and divide the working class.

The Tory proposals on the unions play on this. For the fact of the matter



# People Labour

Contributing to the Party dropped from 3.2 million to 2.6 million despite an 80 per cent increase in trade union membership.

This historical experience shows that the Tories and Alliance are less concerned about the liberties of individual trade unionists than they are about financially crippling the Labour Party.

By Redmond O'Neill

Norman Tebbit is generous enough to claim: 'I believe there is a place for a left of centre opposition party in Britain which enjoys popular support.'

'If Labour were forced to develop a mass membership as the Conservative have done to preserve its financial position it would automatically force out the bedsitter brigade and militant leftists and Bennites which have all but destroyed the Labour Party of old.'

But the 'mass membership' of local Tory associations contribute less to Tory funds than individual members of the Labour Party: 28.6 per cent in 1969/70 and 17.1 per cent in 1979/80 — less than a sixth of the total.

The Tory Party is increasingly and overwhelmingly financed through contributions from the biggest capitalist corporations in Britain, providing up to 75 per cent of total funds.

As their £12.5 million Saatchi and Saatchi election campaign shows, the Tories understand perfectly that the wheels of parliamentary democracy are greased by vulgar pound notes.

Just as trade unions must levy dues to defend their members against individual employers, equally money is necessary to defend them against the employing class as a whole — its parties, courts and state. This is the purpose of the political levy. In political struggle, as in trade union struggle, unity in action is necessary.

No union can survive and allow blacklegging in the name of personal liberty. So too the unions can't maintain a political party independent of the capitalist parties without united action in the payment of political funds.

The Tories argue that Labour's vote amongst trade unionists has declined in recent years. Their aim is to use this to politically divide the unions. They are helped by leaders like Chapple when he calls for a vote for an SDP candidate and Duffy when he motivates the need for a Labour/Alliance coalition.

The decline in Labour's vote among trade unionists is not an argument for contracting-in and abandoning the present method of collecting the political levy, which is favoured by people like Chapple. It is an argument for abandoning the policies and leaders which have caused the decline.

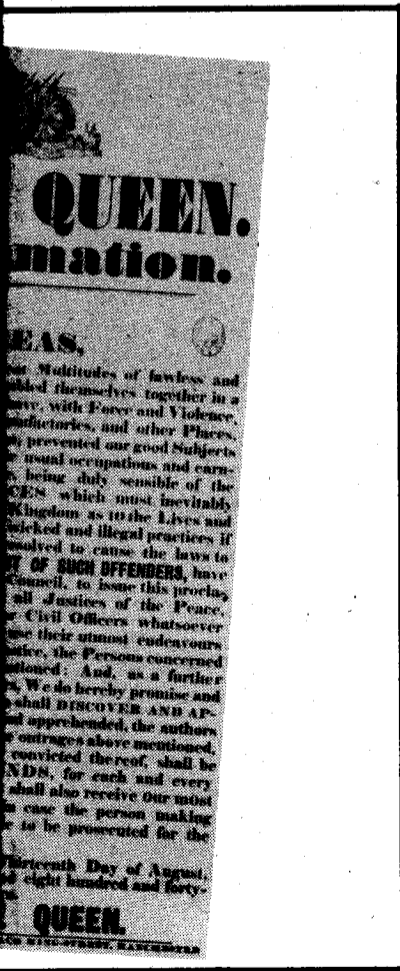
ly party in which trade unionists can organise a fight for a government that defends their interests against the capitalists, that the political levy must be defended and maintained. It is because the Tories understand this that they intend to financially cripple Labour and break its links with the unions.



This is who the Tories serve: The Stock Exchange, The Bank of England, the Nat West and the guy who owns the Rolls Royce. They are also the source of all that money Saatchi and Saatchi are spending.

Photo: JOHN HARRIS

# the unions



ing on the company, Terry Duffy and Moss Evans sent them back to work on the company's terms.

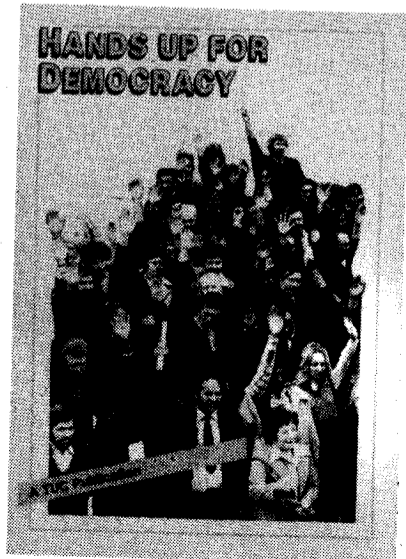
The pamphlet's claim that 'in Britain's trade unions it is the members who decide' does not accord with the experience of millions of workers.

And the claim that 'union officers, whether elected or appointed, ... are accountable to their members every day of every week' is nonsense.

When Tebbit proposes to introduce ballots for the election of union executives, and general secretaries it is easy for him to hide behind a cloak of democracy.

The answer is not to pretend that all is well. The answer is to make the unions more democratic, more accountable, while at the same time fighting for policies which defend working people against Tory attacks.

This pamphlet has nothing to say about such questions. It won't convince many workers. And it won't change the Tory's minds.



● Hands Up For Democracy. TUC. 30p.



Even dodos like this can't decide Tory policy. They are just supposed to make the right sounds and love their leader.

## A bit exclusive

THE TORIES believe in exclusive schools and exclusive clubs. They also believe in having a very exclusive party.

Riff-raff like Tory canvassers or the local estate agent cannot be policy-making members of the Conservative Party. That privilege is restricted to Tory MPs and the Tory peers in the House of Lords.

This ensures there is no interference from the rank and file.

The Conservative Associations in the constituencies are simply 'supporters clubs' which have no right to determine policy. That is left solely to the leaders at Westminster.

Until 1965 there was no election for the leadership. Instead the top people got together over dinner and decided on the most suitable chap-pie.

After Sir Alec Douglas Home's performance between 1963 and 1965 the MPs suspected there might be something in the idea of them electing their leader. So they took a dangerous step down the road of democracy and decided to hold an election.

But that's where the voting begins and ends. The leader — Mrs Thatcher — then appoints the party chairperson and decides who officers the party needs and then per-

sonally picks them.

The advantage of this system is that it stops quarrels in the leadership. Everybody does what Thatcher tells them.

We rang Tory Central Office to ask how many members the party had. 'No idea', we were told. We pushed them to make a guess — Half a million? One million?

The official replied: 'We don't keep records of that sort of thing. Nothing depends on it.'

Well at least that's one truthful statement to come out of Central Office!

is that most unions are undemocratic. Most general secretaries and officials are appointed for life.

Many decisions are made without reference to the members. It is almost impossible to remove officials who flout members' decisions or who sell out strikes to the employers.

In the recent Cowley dispute, the members time and time again made their opposition to BL's proposals clear. Rather than starting from the decisions of the mass meetings and tak-



# Socialist Action

## Black or British?

**EVEN** the amount of money which the Tories are spending to try and win the black vote in the election is second class — £16,000 out of a total campaign budget of £12.5 million.

The leaflet they have produced is both racist and insulting. With the slogan 'Labour says he's black. Tories say he's British' the Tories are parading their record of shameless racist policies.

The Conservative Central Office admits as much. The difference between their line now and in 1979 is that then 'we felt very much on the defensive.' This was the election which was preceded by Thatcher talking of the need to preserve 'the British way of life' and of not being 'swamped by people with a different culture.'

## Boast success

In this election they boast of their success in keeping out black immigration and advertise their new British Nationality Act which the leaflet says 'gives full and equal citizenship to everyone permanently settled in Britain! This is quite simply a lie.'

The Nationality Act makes it more difficult for families to be re-united and establishes the sexist rule that a female fiancée cannot have their partner join them. But not only that.

Through its clause that 'people admitted in whatever capacity are expected to maintain and accommodate themselves and any dependants from their own resources without recourse to public funds' many black people are now being denied access to supplementary benefit, the National Health Service, housing, education, child benefits and tax allowances.

## Pass system

The stage is being set for a pass system, where only black people who can prove that they have British Citizen status will be accorded what is their's by right.

This is quite apart from the fact that black people suffer the most from unemployment, cuts and bad housing.

Some of these points have been made tellingly by Labour spokespersons. But Labour itself needs to put its house in order.

It was a Labour government who set up the body that produced the findings for the Police Bill. It was previous Labour governments who have introduced racist immigration legislation which have then not been subsequently repealed. And despite vague promises Labour's manifesto does not put forward the type of positive action programme — in particular quotas in employment — that can ensure that centuries of racial discrimination can be tackled.

## Positive action

Finally it is still the case that such positive action needs to be applied within Labour's own ranks, as has begun to be the case with women.

There are few black Labour candidates and perhaps only one who has a better than even chance of becoming an MP. Only when Labour puts its own house in order, will its statements carry sufficient credibility to win the black community to its side — not just as a lesser evil — but as a vital component of a future campaigning labour movement.

Editor: ALAN FREEMAN  
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Signed articles by contributors do not necessarily represent Socialist Action's views. These are expressed in editorials.

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We regret that due to the high cost of postage we cannot return or acknowledge unsolicited copy or photographs unless accompanied by a stamped addressed envelope.

## Addicted to Socialist Action

**AT LAST**, a socialist paper written for normal people! After a mere two copies, both incidentally acquired on CND marches, I am addicted.

However, two criticisms, or rather one or two points.

I, like most young people, believe the British Army should be withdrawn from Ireland. It's good to see the tyranny of British rule in Ireland brought out into the open — but be careful not to blind yourself to the evils on both sides.

A soldier dum-dumming a bullet is as wrong as an IRA man making a bomb for a pub. Be very careful not to in any way endorse IRA murder as you

would endorse a British soldier committing such a crime.

My second point is similar but over the Israel/PLO conflict, two extremes fighting one another for control of land.

The Israelis throwing artillery into civilian areas of Beirut was as wrong as the PLO, prior to the invasion, making rocket attacks at four o'clock on northern kibbutz and



British troops in Ireland

Mosviah in Israel. The children finish school at four and it was those kids and parents the PLO were aiming for.

So please put the alternative case, but balance it on such obviously non hard and fact issues.

Please could you give further information on *Socialist Action* and its aims.

DUNCAN ANDREW, Suffolk.

## Police harass feminists

**ON** Tuesday 9 February, six members of the 'infamous' West Yorkshire Police — plainclothes — arrived on our doorstep for the third time in three weeks.

The first call was about arson attacks on sex/video shops in a suburb of Leeds and the other two calls were in connection with the attempted bombing of the Conservative Party headquarters. On the last visit they came with a warrant and searched our home including the children's rooms.

The papers taken were correspondence from well known women academics and publishers in Britain regarding a French theoretical journal, *Nouvelles Questions Feministes*, whose editor in chief is Simone de Beauvoir, one copy

of a British feminist women-only paper, and a graduate student essay on menstruation.

The police do not interfere in any serious way with violence from men to women and do not welcome comments on this point.

Male violence to women either from men in the home, on the street or in the police force is incontestable, our 'crime' is to contest this issue.

The result is not greater protection for women but further violence — this time from the police.

As feminists we have organised our lives to afford ourselves the most protection — we live together without men.

However, what we now face is the collective system of male power — the police. When we push aside our husbands and our

boyfriends we stand face to face with agents of the state.

We have been subjected to questions about being political, being feminists, being lesbians, being Jewish, being women. We have had our only safe place violated, our home is now open house to the Yorkshire police force.

The new Police and Criminal Evidence Bill will give the police even more power than they have now. Already they harass members of the black and the Irish communities in Britain — now they are moving in on women.

Rather than giving the police more power we should be demanding less power and more accountability to the people — *we are the people*.

SHEILA SAUNDERS, JALNA HANMER, and DIANE HUDSON, Leeds

## Why the Kremlin won't invade

**PAUL** Lawson's article (SA 6 May) on 'nuclear free defence' skips over a crucial question: why the Kremlin don't plan to invade Western Europe.

To understand this we need to grasp the class nature of the East European states.

Although the Soviet economy is socially owned, it is controlled exclusively by the bureaucracy. To back up this control the method of distributing goods is essentially capitalist — based on the market system. The USSR is therefore a transitional society, between capitalism and socialism, with elements of each.

Marxists have to constantly hammer home the point that the USSR is ruled by a bureaucracy. Just like Healey, Duffy and Foot, the Kremlin are first and foremost concerned with defending their own positions and privileges.

In the final analysis this means defending the status quo on which their positions depend.

Andropov and Len Murray are both motivated by their need to keep the working class demobilised, for on their exclusive control of

workers' states and unions does their power and position rest.

The reason why Thatcher and Reagan can permit 'free' workers' parties and trade unions (within strict limits), whilst Andropov and Jaruselski cannot, is that the capitalist ruling class through their ownership of the productive resources, derive the wealth and power with which it can still control society — by controlling production, finances, employment etc. and thereby the state.

However, the bureaucracy do not have this independent power base, they only hold political power, and this position depends solely on excluding the ranks of the working class from

control over workers' organisations and state.

This position would be directly challenged by independent working class organisation. Hence democratic demands, like free trade unions, can, in Eastern Europe, be revolutionary.

This tells us the central reason why the Soviet bureaucracy have no intention of invading Western Europe. The Kremlin's power and privilege depends upon the demobilisation and lack of organisation of their working class.

The unity of the whole European working class would threaten not only the western capitalist class, but even more directly the East European bureaucrats!

MIKE POLLEY, Bath.

# LETTERS



## Malvinas

**COMRADE** Baker tells us that the Malvinas are geographically and historically part of the Argentine.

He therefore backs up the Argentine claim to these islands according to some mysterious natural law of the formation of nation states.

For Marxists there are no such natural laws which determine the forms of human social organisation outside of the development of society itself.

'The Argentine' is a product of the last 150 years and is sustained now by competition between ruling cliques in Latin America. 'It' has no rights at all.

Its people, however, have the right to struggle against all oppression, and if there is national oppression, then against that as well.

But there was no liberation involved in Galtieri's adventure. The Argentine people died to further the ambitions of

their ruling class, in the process over-riding the wishes of the small number of inhabitants of the islands.

Such wishes, although in no way paramount, nevertheless must be taken into consideration by socialists who believe that mutual respect between human beings is the foundation of civilisation.

The Argentinians were fighting under the strict discipline of a gang of murderers, no better or worse than Thatcher and co.

Of course the crucial job of British socialists was and is to fight the 'fortress Falklands' policy and call for immediate withdrawal.

But we should also try to develop contacts with the Argentine workers' movement to develop an internationalist policy to prevent further blood being spilt into the icy seas of the South Atlantic.

COLIN MEADE, Surbiton.



John Nott on board HMS Hermes



Published by City Limits, 313 Upper Street, London N1 2XQ  
A Return To Victorian Values  
City Limits election poster by cartoonist STEVE BELL.  
Available for £1.10 (includes post and packing) from City Limits, 313 Upper Street, London N1 2XQ.

## Write to us!

This is your page. Send us your comments, criticisms or even congratulations. But please be brief — letters over 300 words will be cut. Write to: Letters, Socialist Action, 328 Upper Street, London N1 2XP. (Tel: 01-359 8180)



# When 'No' is not enough, are guns the answer?



**WOMEN's reaction to being raped will vary considerably from outright anger and a desire for revenge to shame and humiliation. Women watching *Handgun* will also, no doubt react in a number of ways.**

Kathleen, a young woman teacher from the East Coast of the States with a Catholic upbringing is raped by Larry, a macho, gun-slinging Texan lawyer. Her attempts to prove rape are met with the all too familiar story.

*Handgun* reviewed by Tessa van Gelderen

She had been friendly with the rapist. Had gone willingly to his apartment in the evening. There was no sign of violence (she had been threatened with a gun). Most important of all she was not a virgin. No court would believe Kathleen's word against a local, well-respected lawyer.

So Kathleen sets out to

seek her revenge. She joins the local gun club and becomes a crackshot. She then attempts to lure her victim for a final shoot out on the firing range.

*Handgun*, written, directed and produced by Tony Garnett (yes he of *Cathy Come Home* and *Kes*) is a film both about rape and the thorny issue of the right to carry guns. In Texas you can just walk into a shop and buy one. Linking the gun laws to rape shows what a complex issue it is. But the film doesn't quite succeed.

The rape itself is obvious. Although you can never tell what men's reactions will be — some might believe the bullshit from Larry that Kathleen

is just sexually repressed, even though this scene is meant just to show what shit he is.

But the act of revenge is too much about Texas. You feel that none of it: rape or revenge, could really happen in Britain, or even other parts of the USA for that matter.

Larry comes across as an anachronism from the Wild West. The film reinforces the myth that rapists are a breed apart. Texan women are portrayed as unsympathetic, taking the side of men. Kathleen's reaction to the rape is to find an individual solution.

## Arms

She ignores the advice given, surprisingly, by the police, to contact the Rape Crisis Centre. Yet it also appears to be one woman's rejection of an individual man. It is to other men that she turns

perhaps reduces the horror or rape to an issue between victim and assailant, it does neatly turn the tables on those disgusting 'Death Wish' type movies — in more ways than one! Don't be put off by the advertising — there are no salacious, titillating rape scenes.

Images of women conform to the stereotypes. Before the rape Kathleen was a long-haired beauty. Then she crops her hair and exchanges dresses for jeans — maybe she was to blame for her rape after all? The film's ending is ambiguous. Is it in favour of the right of individuals to bear arms or not?

Did you want Kathleen to succeed or not? And, without giving away the ending, how do you judge success?

## Horror

The last shot of Kathleen confirms Garnett's failure to understand women, especially feminists. For him, 'a woman's got to do, what a woman's got to do', before she can become a whole (that is, 'feminine') woman again. But the film is an interesting one. Although it

# Thatcher's Britain — a guide to the ruins

Pluto Press and New Socialist, price £1.50

Reviewed by Mike Polley

MUCH OF THE information in this book is useful. However, the argument contained in the first few paragraphs is totally irresponsible and the book would be better without it.

The claim that 'In 1979 ... We had a real chance to make the 1980s a decade of prosperity' is utter rubbish.

To imagine that the run-of-the-mill reformist solutions like the Alternative Economic Strategy can get Britain out of its present mess is not true. Capitalism is in a crisis for the simple reason that there is a collapse of profitability.

If the capitalists don't get an 'adequate' return on their investment then no amount of government persuasion, be it from Labour or Tory, will get them to invest. Labour's AES will only exacerbate the class tensions, without providing a solution.

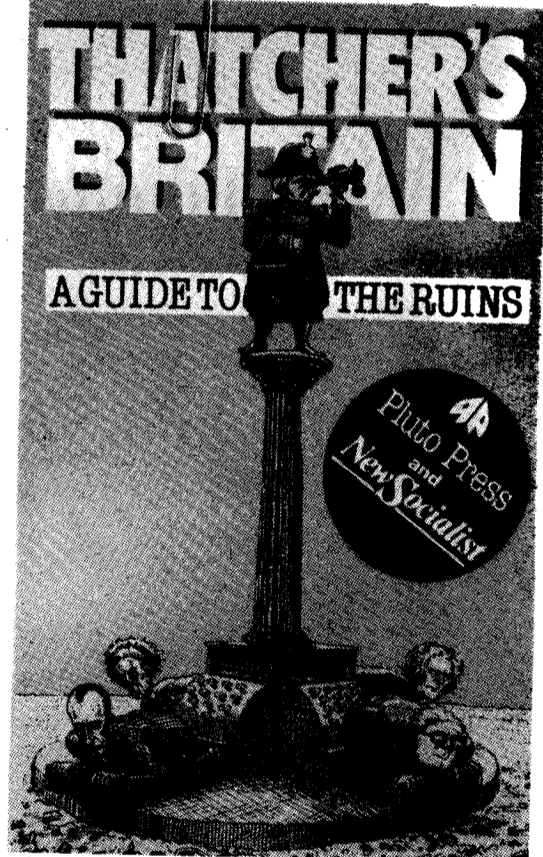
The Tories do have a solution. They aim to restore profitability by cutting costs like wages and services. This is why socialists give real support to Labour in the election.

As socialists we should be in the forefront of destroying the reformist illusions that there is a solution that protects workers and bosses alike.

Again on Ireland the book is weak. Despite giving useful facts and figures about Britain's way of ruling the province it ignores the role of previous Labour administrations. It was Callaghan who sent in the troops. It was Mason who introduced criminalisation.

Nor does it come out for Britain's withdrawal and for a united Ireland, without which there can be no solution. I was disappointed that in the Socialist Action centre-spread on the book it was uncritical of these political weaknesses.

Use the facts yes, but point out the need for a political approach that puts the interests of working people first.



# Renewal

Ed. Gerald Kaufman  
Penguin. £2.50

THIS COLLECTION of essays by members of Labour's Shadow Cabinet confirms all one's worst suspicions. Firstly, that the Labour Shadow Cabinet is incredibly boring.

Secondly, that they have not the slightest intention of carrying out even the fudged policies contained in Labour's manifesto. Peter Shore confirms that the national economic assessment is for 'moderation in wage matters' ... whether it is expressed as a social contract, a national understanding, or in any other way.

Denis Healey says that NATO should move towards a non-nuclear defence strategy by making the alliance no longer dependent on first use of nuclear weapons. The content which he recently gave to Labour's commitment to move towards such a policy.

Don Concannon throws some light on the Labour pledge to repeal the Prevention of Terrorism Act by saying that Labour would introduce alternative legislation to deal with the 'serious dangers inherent in the Northern Ireland situation'.

These insights apart, this book will not be widely read except by those who want to ingratiate themselves with Labour's Shadow Cabinet or those who want to fight them.

# TV CHOICE

## The Channel 4 Debate Nuclear Weapons

Sunday 29 May, 10.20, C4

ROUNDING off C4's Nuclear Week is this debate between Bruce Kent and Keith Ward, Professor of Moral and Social Theology (!).

Unfortunately the whole thing's presented in pseudo-religious terms and you can never win that sort of debate.

Ward is obviously not stupid though and wades in with General Sir John Hackett and Lawrence Freedman, Professor of War Studies as his witnesses. Very Unethical!

## Elizabeth — The First Thirty Years

Sunday 29 May, BBC1

YOU mean we're in for another thirty? If you can bear the thought you might care to take a look at this quaint little programme.

Did you know that Harold Wilson and Mary once washed the royal dishes with Herself? This is just one of the fascinating regal anecdotes revealed by a slobbering Sir Harold.

James Callaghan is there too, falling off his chair with servility. This is the sort of stuff to win an election. Who needs socialism when you can grovel your way into office. Labour left please take note.



Harold and James — grovellers before the Monarch

## Vietnam

Monday 30 May, 9.00, C4

EIGHTH in the series, this one looks at the effects of the war on individuals — particularly the widespread use of drugs by disillusioned US troops ('more common than chewing gum').

Also examined is the CIA's 'Phoenix Programme' which resulted in the deaths of 22,000 so-called communist suspects.

## Timewatch

Wednesday, 1 June, BBC 2

THE recent extradition of 'Butcher of Lyon' Klaus Barbi was only an indication of French involvement in the atrocities.

This programme reveals the 31 concentration camps set up and run by the Vichy government.



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(These listings are free for all major labour movement and campaigns activities. Semi-display advertisements cost 5p per word and must be paid in advance. Send to: Diary, Socialist Action, 328 Upper Street, London N1 2XP to arrive not later than Thursday, one week prior to publication).

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can do it for the Tories  
 Socialist Action's Diary pages can do it for your campaign, Labour Party and trade union events! The listings are free, but why not splash out with a display ad?  
 For details of our rates and design service, phone Pete on 01-359 8371.

meetings on the third Sunday of each month at 7.30pm, Prince Albert Pub, Wharfedale Rd, Kings Cross.

- Release Nicky Kelly Committee can be contacted at 11 Grange Terrace, Blackrock, Co Dublin. Dublin 801 438. Leeds Troops Out Movement are organising a picket of the Leeds Aer Lingus/B&I Line on Fri 27 May to demand Nicky Kelly's release, 12.30-1.30pm, 83 Albion St, Leeds 1.

**STOP THE MISSILES IN 1983**

- New badge in red, green and white ● 25p each plus 20p for postage and packing; 15p each for orders of 20-50, 13p for orders of over 50 — post free Orders, to SA badges, PO Box 50, London N1 2XP (Cheques payable to Socialist Action)

**New Socialist Action pamphlet.**

**Forward ever Backward never**

Solidarity with the revolutions of Central America and the Caribbean

30p plus 16p p&p from SA (pamphlet), 328 Upper Street, London N1

**International VIEWPOINT**

Advances by Salvador guerrillas  
 Crisis in Israel  
 Mass murder fails to stop fight in Guatemala

**Fortnightly news review of the Fourth International**

Subscription rates: 6 months £9 (95FF); 1 year £16 (175 FF).  
 Payment in French francs if possible. Personal cheques to PEC and mail to: IV, 2 rue Richard Lenoir, 93108 Montreuil.  
 Postal orders to PEC, CCP Account no. 2-322-42T Paris. Bank transfers to PEC, BNP Robspierre, 153 rue de Paris, 93108 Montreuil, France.

- Nicaragua, Guatemala and El Salvador Briefings are produced by the Central America Information Service, 14 Brixton Rd, London SW9. If you would like to receive them regularly, please write enclosing your name and address.
- Fred Tonge Memorial Lecture given by Ralph Miliband on 'Marxism and the Labour Movement'. Postponed due to election to Wed 29 June, 8pm, Douglas Hyde Hall, Irish Centre, Camden Square. Organised by St Pancras and Holborn Labour Party.

stalls etc. For more details of events contact the Scottish Campaign to Resist the Atomic Menace (SCRAM), 11 Forth Street, Edinburgh 031-557 4284.

- Who Killed Colin Roach? Video film of the campaign available for meetings, youth clubs, schools etc from Roach Family Support Committee, 50 Rectory Road, London N16 7PP, 01-254 7480.
- Inquest into Colin Roach's death restarts on Mon 6 June, at Clerkenwell County Court, 33 Duncan Terrace, Islington, London N1.

**Rock the Bomb**

A great little badge for 20p. Orders of 50 or more only 15p each. Make cheques/POs payable to Hackney Book Group (payments with order) to HBG, c/o 328 Upper Street, London N1.

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**4 & 5th JUNE 83**

- South London CND Labour Movement Conference is now postponed (due to election) and will be held at the end of June.

- Arthur Scargill and Jack Jones are just two of the speakers at the Hounslow Trade Unions for a Labour Victory Rally. Others include Pete Rowlands (PPC Brentford & Isleworth), Russell Kerr (MP), Vernon Merritt (Sec Hounslow TUC) and Murray Rowlands (PPC Spelthorne). Wed 1 June, 7.30pm, Hounslow Manor School, Prince Regent Rd, Hounslow.

- Kurdistan News & Comment May edition now available and includes an interview with Youssef Ardalani (rep of KOMALA abroad, the largest Kurdish movement in Iranian Kurdistan). 35p plus p&p from the Kurdish Solidarity Cttee (UK), 29 Islington Park Road, London N1 1QB. KSC has regular.

- Youth CND Conference, 2 July, Manchester. For details contact YCND, 11 Goodwin St, London N4.

- Labour Movement Conference on Ireland 16 July, Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, London WC1. Starts 10.45am. Delegates £3, observers £2. Further details: LMCI, Box 189, 32 Ivor Place, London NW1.

- End racism in schools and police harassment! Public meeting, Wed 25 May, 7.30pm, Church Hall, 4 Algernon Road, Lewisham, SE13.

**Socialist Action Forums**

**EDINBURGH Socialist Action readers forum is on the last Thursday of every month. Phone 031-667 9630 for further information and details of venue.**

**HOUNSLOW Socialist Action readers forum Thurs 2 June: 'Ireland, Sinn Fein and the election'. Speaker from Socialist Action. 8.30pm, Cttee Rm 3, Town Hall, Treaty Road. For further information phone 01-577 3429.**

**Socialist Action after the election**

**WHATEVER** the outcome of the election, one thing is for certain: socialists across the country will need to urgently discuss how to respond.

If the Tories win, we need to discuss how to use the strength of the labour movement to resist the next wave of Tory attacks.

If there's a hung parliament socialists need to guard against moves by the Labour leadership towards a coalition with the Alliance against Thatcher. And if Labour wins we should organise to force the government to carry through anti-capitalist policies.

Across the country therefore Socialist Action will be organising discussion meetings in the weeks following the election on the theme of *What next for socialists?*

Socialist Action supporters in every town are urged to contact the editorial board to organise speakers now for these meetings. Speakers available will include:

- \* Alan Freeman, editor of Socialist Action and author of *The Benn Heresy*
- \* Valerie Coultas, member of the editorial board and Greenham Common 24 May planning group
- \* Pat Hickey, trade union correspondent and former deputy convener, Rover Solihull
- \* Redmond O'Neill, editorial board member and member of Socialists for a Labour Victory steering committee
- \* John Ross, a member of the United Secretariat of the Fourth International, and author of forthcoming book on the Tories

Write to: SA speakers, PO Box 50, London N1 2XP.

**A tenner to beat the Tories**

SOCIALIST Action can't afford full page ads in the national dailies to put over our views. We have to rely on our paper, and its sellers and supporters.

But we think we are playing a unique role in the fight to kick out the Tories.

Socialist Action is supporting and promoting the struggles of those whose voices usually get drowned in the hysteria of an election campaign.

We are championing the struggle of the women at Greenham Common, the thousands upon thousands of women taking action on 24 May.

We are fighting to provide a national voice for the black people who have come onto the streets against police harassment. We are fighting to get people such as these on the platform for the election campaign of the Labour Party.

And we'll be carrying on this same fight after 9 June, whatever the result, when the Tories

and the right wing in our own movement put mass involvement in politics back into cold storage for another five years.

And for that we need money — *your money*.

If like us you believe that kicking out the Tories and fighting for socialist policies are important, *now* is the time to make a commitment.

We are asking all our readers and supporters to send us a tenner. We need that sort of money to expand the work of Socialist Action during this election.

But if you think we're doing a worthwhile job, why not make us a regular commitment? Ask yourself if you can't afford a few quid a month for your newspaper — and if the answer is yes, why not fill out the bankers order form on this page and sent it off to us today.

In return for your regular contribution, we will be offering you reduced rates on lots of good books, invitations to Socialist Action events, and other benefits.

But the biggest benefit of all will be that you can sleep easy at night, knowing that you are making your contribution to the work of creating a real socialist alternative to the Tories.

Thanks this week to:

Carol Lomax	£30.00
Jean MacKenzie	20.00
Gordon Morgan	20.00
Bury supporters	20.00
Mansfield	30.00
Glasgow	112.00
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Special thanks to those who have written in giving support for our promotion during the election:

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Total this week	£1821.70
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Please do not send the Bankers Order direct to your bank. Thank you.



# New war looms in the Middle East

'WAR IS NOW the only way to unlock the situation in the Middle East' said PLO leader Yasser Arafat last week. His words reflected the inexorable drift to war in the region — a war which would be fought between Israel and Syria.

Without doubt both Syria and Israel are making detailed preparations for that war — Israel to push forward its plans to progressively dominate the whole region, Syria to prevent the expulsion of its army from Lebanon.

Last year's invasion of the Lebanon by Israel was designed to strike a decisive blow at the Palestinians and consolidate Israel's regional position. To achieve this, the Israelis hope to strengthen their hold on the occupied territories and turn Lebanon into a vassal state.

The subjugation of Lebanon involves the expulsion of the Syrian army and the whole Palestinian population and the handing over of effective control of the national state apparatus to Christian Phalangists.

The expulsion of the Palestinians from Lebanon is well under way. Following the massacre of the Palestinians at the Sabra and Chatila refugee camps, the remaining Palestinians have been harassed in every possible way.

The new Lebanon government demands that every 'foreigner' now pays £1500 for a work permit, which obviously most cannot afford. The plight of many Palestinian women, whose husbands are either dead, in exile or in the Israeli concentration camps, is particularly severe. Tens of thousands remain in the concentration camps. Israel is expanding the Jewish population of the territories occupied after the 1967 war at a very rapid rate. These areas are now effectively incorporated into Israel.

## Project

Israel's project of reinforcing its economic and military domination of Lebanon and the occupied territories is being fully supported by the United States. Last week the United States and Israel signed a secret accord recognising Israel's 'right' to intervene again into Lebanon if it feels that its interests are being threatened. The US embargo on supplying Israel with the ultra-modern F-16 fighter was lifted last week.

The Baathist regime of Hafez el-Assad has many internal problems — last year there was a full scale insurrection led by Sunni Muslims. The continuing confrontation with Israel serves to give the regime a militant and 'anti-imperialist' image.

While imposing Gemayel and his Phalangist backers as the central government in Lebanon, Israel is in effect attempting to carve up Lebanon into a series of confessional mini-states. Armed factions — Druze militia loyal to Walid Jumblat, the Phalangists and the Shi'ite militia Amal — continue to hold sway in big sections of the country.

At the same time the south of the country continues to be dominated by

the expanded enclave controlled by the Israeli-backed Haddad militia.

The parcelling of the country into areas controlled by warring factions, with the central government holding sway only in Beirut and the surrounding areas, will reinforce Israeli domination.

By Paul Lawson

Israel is using its military occupation to boost its economic penetration of both Lebanon and the surrounding countries. The war has greatly undermined Lebanese industry and commerce. Now the country is being flooded with Israeli goods, dumping huge amounts of agricultural produce at low prices.

Traditionally an economic crossroads of the region, Lebanon is being used as a jumping off point for Israeli trade with the rest of the region.

Inside the Palestinian movement the repercussions of the Israeli invasion of Lebanon and the expulsion of the Palestinians are causing a huge debate. In particular the Palestinian fighters in exile and the Palestinians in the refugee camps have begun expressing criticisms of Arafat's leadership. Generally the disputes in the Palestinian camp have concerned the negotiating manoeuvres towards Jordan made by Arafat.

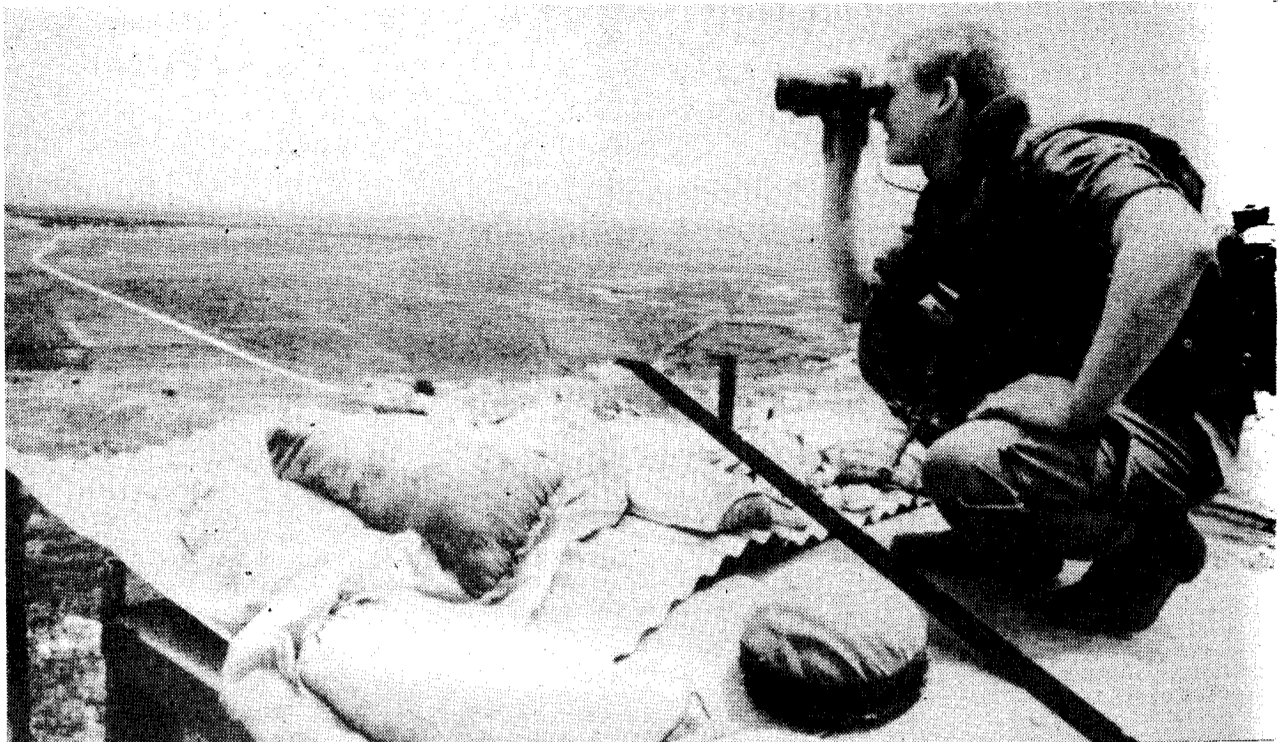
King Hussein of Jordan has expressed the view that the 'Reagan plan' (which proposes a West Bank statelet for the Palestinians under control of the Jordanians), and the Fez summit (plan which proposes an independent West Bank state), are 'not incompatible'. Many in the Palestinian movement saw the involvement of Hussein in the negotiations as a dangerous drift towards abandoning fundamental Palestinian aims. In particular they saw it as going a long way to accepting some form of association with Jordan rather than an independent Palestinian state — and at the same time recognising Israel.

Syria, in order to bolster its own position, has used the Palestinian factions it controls to intervene against Arafat. In addition, the Democratic Popular Front, the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine and Libya have all stepped up their criticisms of Arafat.

The outcome of the recent meeting of the Palestinian National Council marked a stepping back by Arafat in the face of this pressure, with resolutions re-affirming the necessity of armed struggle and condemnation of the Reagan plan. As a result of the tensions inside the PLO, Hussein was forced to withdraw from



The advanced F-16 fighter — sales to Israel are on again.



Israeli soldier watches Syrian positions.

any role in the diplomatic manoeuvring.

The Soviet Union has considerably stepped up its arms shipments to Syria. Israel and the US have accused the Soviet Union of sending 5000 troops to Syria — doubtless an exaggerated figure. But it is probable that the Soviet Union has shipped troops to man the long-range SAM 5 anti-aircraft missiles, capable of hitting Israeli planes deep inside Lebanon.

Last week the Syrians blockaded the main highway out of Beirut in retaliation for the Israeli-Lebanese-American negotiations, aimed at expelling them from the country. In addition to its anti-aircraft missiles, the Syrians lost many aircraft in combat with the Israelis during last year's invasion. These have also been replaced by the Soviet Union. Syria remains the Soviet Union's sole ally in the region.

## Domination

A continued Syrian presence in Lebanon is incompatible with Israeli domination. For the Syrians, withdrawal without a fight is politically impossible. In that impasse lies the drift towards war. Undoubtedly the Syrians would prefer to avoid an all-out conflict, but they may be left with no choice.

The United States is certainly not in any position to exert substantial pressure on Israel, with Reagan loath to take anti-Israeli action in a pre-election period, even if he were inclined to. On the other hand, the Peace Movement in Israel would not be capable of mobilising sufficient forces to hold back Israel in the event of war with Syria — which has much less sympathy in Israel than the Palestinians.

For socialists there would be no question of who to support in the event of war. Syria is a capitalist state, ultimately allied with imperialism. But nonetheless it would, in a war, represent the forces of Arab nationalism, against an imperialist-backed aggressor. Socialists should stand without question for the defeat of Israel and a Syrian victory — however unlikely such an outcome.

# Iran bans Tudeh Party as repression deepens

THE BLOODY counter-revolutionary repression in Iran, which in the past three years has claimed tens of thousands of lives, continues to deepen.

The latest victim is the pro-Soviet Communist Party, known as the Tudeh Party. Its principal leader Nourredin Kianouri has been forced to appear on Iranian TV and 'confess' that he and the rest of the Tudeh leadership are 'Soviet spies'. The Tudeh party has been made illegal.

By Phil Hearse

The banning of the Tudeh party is just the latest move in the consolidation of the Islamic Republican Party regime. Four years after the downfall of the Shah, Khomeini and his supporters in the Islamic clergy are destroying the major gains of the 1979 revolution.

In particular the workers' committees (shoras) which grew up in the factories during and immediately after the anti-shah revolution have been incorporated into 'Islamic societies' — tools of the regime. All democratic rights of the workers movement are under ferocious attack.

National minorities, especially the Kurds, have come under increasingly vicious military attack. The Islamic social code, destroying numerous

social and democratic rights, has been vigorously imposed. This has been particularly detrimental to the rights of women. Last November all secular laws were declared invalid.

Without doubt support for the regime is rapidly decreasing among Iranian workers. Despite the relative buoyancy of the economy due to oil revenues the living standard of the Iranian masses have not improved since 1979. Corruption and economic mismanagement are rife. There are still millions unemployed and under-employed.

The attack on the Tudeh Party is particularly significant since the pro-Moscow party, together with other sections of the Iranian 'left' had adopted a position of 'critical support' for Khomeini, attempting to align themselves with a section of the regime.

The moves against the Tudeh Party represent the growing strength of the extreme right wing Hojjatieh faction within the government determined to break all links with the Soviet Union and its allies.

Despite the fact that the Tudeh party stood by when other left organisations like the Mujahidin defended against the counter-revolutionary attacks of Khomeini.

● A full analysis of the development of the Iranian revolution since 1979 will appear in a forthcoming issue of Socialist Action.

**SOCIALIST ACTION**

**Rally Against the Right!  
For a Labour Victory!**

**Wednesday June 1st  
County Hall, London SE1**

**Guest speaker: Alain Krivine, French Trotskyist and leader of 1968 student revolt**





## Victory for Timex occupation

**OCCUPYING WORKERS** marched triumphantly out of the Dundee plant on Thursday 19 May. They had beaten back management attempts to force compulsory redundancies.

Now the shop stewards plan solidarity visits to other workers battling for jobs in Scotland.

The solidarity the Timex workers received needs to be directed to the occupying workers at Greenings in Warrington, Firth Derihon in Sheffield and the strikers at the Swansea Uni Superheaters, whose fight against forced redundancies is being sabotaged by national Engineering union officials.

## Swansea occupation, out but not down

ON FRIDAY 20 May the High Court in London granted a possession order to the management of the occupied Unit Superheaters plant in Swansea.

Thirteen members of the strike committee told the court that the workforce occupied the plant against selective forced redundancies, but to no avail. So at 12 noon Sunday 22 May, the three week occupation of this British Steel subsidiary ended and the workers left the plant.

Support for the occupation in the Swansea labour movement was shown when they were greeted by over fifty trade union and labour party members.

Many of the Superheaters workers feel that they had no choice but to leave, because of the Engineering union national officials. The occupation has the support of the Swansea AUEW district committee, but the NEC said it would withdraw all support if the members broke the law, that is if they continued the occupation.

The national executive has not even made the dispute official yet. As convenor Peter Thomas said 'We've done everything by the book, there is no reason why it shouldn't be made official'. He continued 'We have ended the occupation but we have not given up the fight. We are going to continue the strike'.

There will be a mass picket at the plant every morning to confront any scab who dares to turn up and there is a twenty four hour picket rota to stop movement of materials.

So far only nine manual workers are scabbing but the majori-

ty of clerical staff, members of the AUEW-TASS, have crossed the picket line.

Superheaters workers are trying to ensure that orders for their work are not transferred to outside gangs at BSC Port Talbot and Llanwern. The AUEW Broad Left has called a meeting on Wednesday 25 May for all shop stewards and union members in the Swansea area to discuss the strike and to plan support action.

The experience of the Timex victory will be useful. Through the Engineering Left, a campaigning organisation of engineering workers and Labour Party members, the Timex workers were able to organise support across the labour movement in Dundee.

The prospect of mass action, called by the Engineering Left, kept pressure on both Timex and AUEW leaders and enabled the workers to win. Hopefully the same can be done in Swansea. (Brendon Young)

## Hackney dole strike wins

**HACKNEY DOLE** office workers have won their strike against management intimidation. The dispute began when civil service union members were suspended for refusing to issue letters for more regular signing on times.

This would have added more pressure on already overcrowded premises. The employers caved in when the action spread to other offices. On 19 May workers at the Leyton office walked out for the day in solidarity and the Kings Cross office imposed a telephone ban on work done in the Hackney office.

Shoreditch and Tottenham were refusing to accept transferred work. Another day of solidarity action and a mass picket were planned for Thursday 26 May. Before then, management offered to withdraw the suspensions, bring forward building alterations to the premises and shelve shorter signing on periods.

CPSA member Chris Dunne explained to Socialist Action, 'We've won a really good victory because we have shown that the union has rights to defend our members conditions. We've gone back stronger now.'

'Management attitude changed over the last week when they saw the solidarity and thought this would escalate. The solidarity from other areas helped us win and strengthens other offices to tackle any future staff cuts.'

**PICKET LINES.** Short 150 word reports by Thursday before publication. Longer stories, contact the Editorial Board by Monday, the week before publication.

# NUPE a compromise conference

The public employees conference in Scarborough last week saw a lurch to the right by a leadership traditionally regarded as part of the left of the TUC.

The leadership called for unity for the election of a Labour government and limited action with other unions around compromise demands.

Assistant general secretary Tom Sawyer boldly accepted press descriptions of the Labour manifesto as extremist. But throughout conference the charge of extremism was hurled by the executive at those arguing for action around NUPE's full policies.

By Dave Benlow. Wandsworth NUPE, in personal capacity.

Last year, conference voted for a campaign for all out industrial action to win the health workers pay claim. There is no doubt of the widespread support for the health workers, witnessed by the 22 September actions involving hundreds of thousands of trade unionists.

But all we got from the TUC was a series of days of action that proved difficult to sustain and demoralised these workers. The executive's conference report argued that all out action had not been possible because the other NHS unions and the TUC would not support it. But whatever the bureaucrats' positions on the TUC health committee, there was popular support for all out action from the rank and file of

other unions. A composite resolution accused the executive of hiding behind the TUC health committee and called for a censure of the leadership. Ron Keating, NUPE's chief negotiator referred to the movers as extremists. He argued that the pay campaign was a success in that the government 4 per cent pay limit was broken by 0.5 per cent!

The motion of censure was narrowly defeated, but Ron Keating's report was also rejected with only a handful voting in favour.

The executive was again under pressure in the general pay debate. Last year's conference agreed that recall sectional conferences should be convened if the claims were not met in full by the settlement dates. None have been organised. A composite resolution, outlining exactly the same claim as last year, censured the executive for failing to carry out its conference mandate.

Two alternatives were put to this composite resolution. One, moved by the executive, was for a campaign channelled through the TUC, coupled with discussion with the Labour Party for an agree-

ment on low pay. The other motion argued for a deal with the Labour Party on wage restraint.

After a fierce attack on the composite, general secretary Bickerstaffe urged the movers of the wage restraint motion to remit.

Ever since the winter of discontent strikes of 1978-79, NUPE has championed the cause of free collective bargaining. No leadership has dared breath a word about social contract pay deals. But now the executive were legitimising the motion on wage restraint by arguing for its remittal, instead of opposing it.

The executive statement narrowly defeated the composite resolution. Executive refusal to reject the wage restraint motion and back a campaign of action is an ominous sign for the future.

The debate on privatisation, which threatens to destroy the welfare state and public sector unions, was the poorest of the conference. There was a feeling of isolation among the membership and over-reliance on community support.

Hive off has been around for two and a half years in local government and still borough workforces are being picked off section by section. Now the national health service is under attack and a national profile of resistance



NUPE conference rejects executive whitewash of pay dispute sell out

is even more essential. A resolution was passed calling for local actions to be coordinated nationally.

Conference upheld NUPE support for unilateralism and for the Greenham women. It also pressed for the repeal of the prevention of the terrorism act after a passionate appeal from a delegate who had been held under its powers. But the two day guillotine on general debate meant important motions on women's rights and troops in the north of Ireland were not taken.

Compromise and shifts at this conference were undergone after a year of

misleadership and retreats in an attempt to restore a Labour government at all costs. This is a mistaken strategy.

NUPE of all unions should remember that its members will not support Labour if the price is too high. Any watering down of member's demands will increase demoralisation and abstention at the polling booth.

A campaigning pressure group is needed in the union to coordinate action and prevent such compromises in future. This conference more than any other in recent years cries out for a democratic broad left organisation.

# Metal Box strike solid

**TWO HUNDRED** and fifty members of the Transport union are entering their third week on strike against the multinational Metal Box company.

A mass meeting outside the Clapton plant in East London was addressed on 19 May by the prospective MP's for the area, Ernie Roberts for Hackney North and Brian Sedgemore for Hackney South.

**JIM WILLS**, strike committee chairperson explains the issues.

At the beginning of May, management carried out 170 redundancies. Then they moved 137 Transport and General Workers Union members from shift work to day work. This meant a loss of between £17 and £22 a week in shift premium. At the same time they tried to force a change in manning levels which could have meant more redundancies.

The workers responded with a sit down strike in two departments which lasted two days. Then we had a mass meeting and the vote was four to one to strike from 12 May and set up a 24 hour picket.

Management were a bit taken aback by this. When they succeeded with the last round of redundancies they thought they'd dealt with the unions in the plant.

The problem last time was one of leadership of the Transport union. Instead of mobilising the membership to fight the redundancies everything was diverted into negotia-



Metal Box pickets on the line

tions. At the same time management bribed some of the members with enhanced redundancy payments. So people who wanted a fightback found it very difficult.

But now the workforce have decided they are not going to take any more. Since the beginning of May, management has hardened the regime. When workers tried to leave the lines at the old time at the end of their shift, supervisors tried to stop them by standing in

front of the washroom doors.

This sort of thing has caused an explosion with the TGWU members. Management keep talking about 'maximising flexibility'. On 18 May we met for negotiations on our demand for compensation for loss of shift premium. All management could talk about was flexibility.

When they offered us 10 weeks shift pay this was tied to giving up established work practices and accepting flexibility. We said no, and the mass meeting

the next day rejected this offer too. Management are not going to push us around.

We've approached local trade unions to support us, as well as the Labour Party and the Labour MPs. This is important with the election. I don't think the election and our strike are counterposed. Decent Labour Party members can use this strike in the election to campaign for a Labour government.

We've been getting good support, including a

£50 donation from the strikers at the Hackney dole office.

People know from now on we'll be up in front defending the rights of all trade unionists inside the plant. We've learned if we stick together they can't push us around.

● Help is needed with the 24 hour picket. Send donations and messages to Jim Wills, TGWU strike committee, 22 Thomas House, Morning Lane, Hackney, London E9.

Photo: GM COOKSON

Photo: FRANK GORTON



# Pornography is violence against women

(This article was written for, and first published by Outwrite women's newspaper, issue number 14, May 1983 and is reprinted with permission).

**PORNOGRAPHY** ranges from 'centrefold spreads' in 'men's magazines' to the outer limits of films of horrific tortures and murders of real women.

The pornography industry is an international multi-billion pound industry. In every city throughout the world porn, in some form or another, is available, either openly or under-the-counter.

In the USA, where the highest profits are made, porn reaps more annually than the record and film industries combined. In Canada there are more sex-shops than there are branches of Macdonald's.

In the 50's there were only a couple of porn magazines around — Hugh Hefner's *Playboy* was one of the first. These were imported from the USA and parts of Europe into Britain. Now there is a huge expanding industry over here, hundreds of magazines — and new kinds of porn are being invented all the time: 'child porn', videos of porn, mail-order porn ...

By Danu November

Porn is big business — for men. There are lots of porn millionaires around. Porn is now being made over here — a home industry that never makes a loss.

Pornographic images are getting into all sorts of adverts, magazines and films. With more

moving pictures more freely available (video, cable TV) and with no real control over material, it looks like there will be more and more porn everywhere. Porn exploits racism in images of black women that underline the women-hatred found in all porn.

**What do men say about porn? And sex?**

'Intercourse fulfils my ego and the fantasies I have picked up from my macho culture and men's magazines'. (For men's magazines read *pornography*).

'Sometimes I've found myself getting excited watching a show in which a man is planning a rape.'

'I think there's a part of men that doesn't like women, and I would like

to cultivate that side. Ropes, chains, power, threat, terror, torture, humiliation, bondage, submission ...'

'My fantasies are often stirred up by and heightened through the use of pornography. I have a collection of over 100 magazines and about 15 films.'

'I would like to own a "slave" for sex purposes.'

'I've always wanted to rape a black girl because here in the South blacks rape white girls ... that would even the score and put them back in their place.'

'I haven't and never will see enough of it. It gives me new ideas to try and see.'

**What do the 'experts' say about porn and violence?**

Half a sample of liberally minded undergraduate males admitted that they would rape if they weren't found out.

In 'normal' men, these urges are restrained by conditioned inhibitions — but these are easily removed.

In a laboratory situation, this has been done, using certain films. Sex and violence combinations in films, such as where men hit women, were very arousing.

Men acted out their aggression on real women. (This information was researched and put together by Edward Nelson at The Maudsley Institute, London, in 1982.)

**What do women say about porn?**

'What sort of hypocritical society are we living in where it is against the law to assault, rape (outside marriage) or murder, but quite OK to pay a couple of quid to go and see all those crimes carried out explicitly on the screen? ... How can anyone enjoy seeing a girl raped and hung up, still alive, on a meat hook? (Rosalie Shann)

'Sex shops are for men: Every day women are beaten, raped, mutilated and murdered my men. By selling sado-masochistic magazines, instruments of sexual torture and disembodied female parts, sex shops are promoting and condoning male violence against women.' (Central London Women Against Violence Against Women)

'Sex shops are for men: Every day women are beaten, raped, mutilated and murdered my men. By selling sado-masochistic magazines, instruments of sexual torture and disembodied female parts, sex shops are promoting and condoning male violence against women.' (Central London Women Against Violence Against Women)

**Who can say porn is harmless?**

One in ten women is raped. Black women are more at risk than white.

Porn kills women — apart from women who die as a result of and during the making of porn, there are all the women that men practise sexual violence on — from sado-masochistic sex encounters to downright murder.

Every day, the newspapers report assaults, rapes and murders of girls and women. The few women who dare retaliate by killing men in self-defence are treated with unbelievable harshness by the courts.

Men try to get away with pleading insanity (e.g. Peter Sutcliffe, the 'Yorkshire Ripper') — or

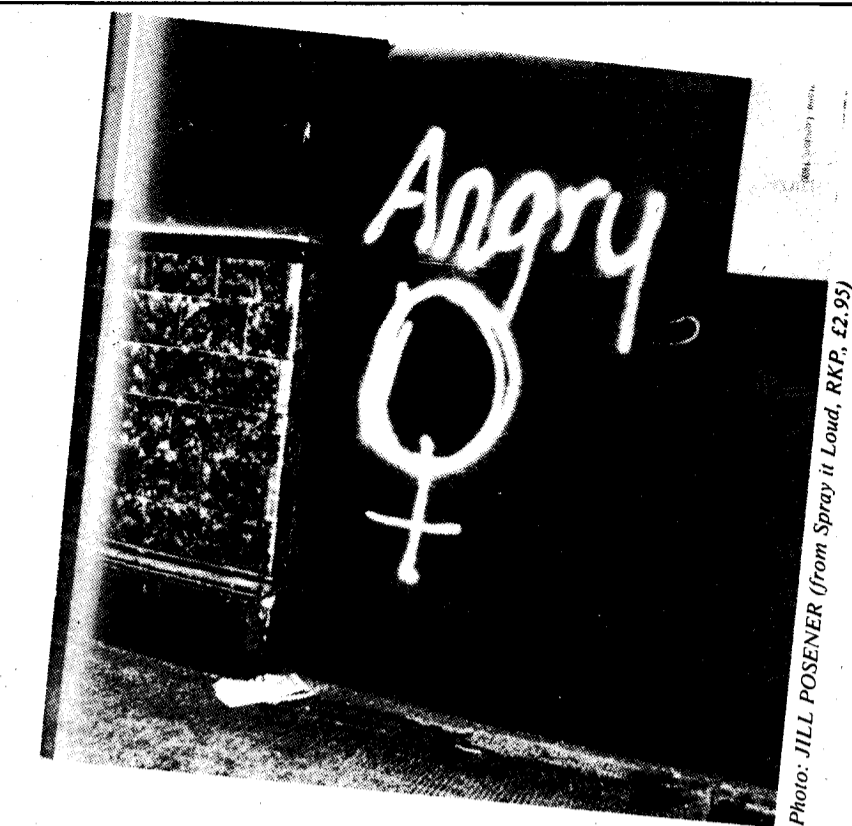


Photo: JILL POSENER (from Spray it Loud, RKP, £2.95)

say they've been provoked. They get full sympathy and get off with short or suspended sentences.

Porn teaches men that women mean YES when we say NO. Porn tells men that sexual violence against women is OK, and encourages them to hate and despise us.

**Women are not to blame!** Porn is possible because men can force women to be porn models.

A few brave women, such as Linda Lovelace, have written accounts to explain how they were forced into being porn models and take part in

porn films. Women who get involved find it very hard to get out again. Linda Lovelace had to go into hiding. Some women try, and fail.

The women in the sex industry are exposed to extreme male violence all the time. The mutilated bodies of prostitutes found in Lyons a few years ago led to the occupation of churches by prostitutes in demand of protection and human rights.

Porn gives men ideas and then they go and act these out on other women (they have already been acted out on the women in the

porn!) Common sense tells us that porn is all about men abusing women.

Whatever women of porn it is, the message is the same: women are there for men to use: 'She is MINE. I have a right to orgasm through intercourse, God gave me this right when he made women for men.'

All this is pretty clear evidence that **PORNOGRAPHY IS VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN**. This is why women from all over Britain are uniting in a massive Fortnight of Action Against Porn, to take place from May 14-28th.

## Fortnight of Action

● The Fortnight of Action against Pornography, 14-28 May, will culminate with a Women's Walkabout in Soho. For details of this and other local actions contact your nearest Women Against Violence Against Women (WAWAW) group:

Oxford WAWAW, c/o Uhuru, 48 Cowley Rd,

Oxford. Tel: Women's Line, Weds 2-10, Oxford 726-295.

Liverpool WAWAW, c/o Atticus, 43 Hardman St, Liverpool 1.

Brighton WAWAW, c/o The Womens Centre, The Basement, 6 Marlborough Place, Brighton.

Leeds WAWAW, c/o TUCRIC, Market Buildings, Vicar Lane, Leeds 2.

London WAWAW, c/o See Red, 16a Iliffe Yard, off Crampton St, London SE17.

Bristol WAWAW, c/o The Womens Centre, 44

The Grove, Bristol 1.

Cambridge WAWAW, c/o The Womens Centre, 49a Burleigh St, Cambridge.

Glasgow WAWAW, c/o The Womens Centre, 57 Miller St, Glasgow.

Edinburgh WAWAW, c/o Edinburgh Womens Centre, Tel: 031-557 3179. Thurs 8-10.

● Outwrite is a monthly newspaper written by and for women and is available from Oxford House, Derbyshire Street, London E2 for 20p plus p&p.



Photo: JILL POSENER (from Spray it Loud, RKP, £2.95)

## WORM'S EYE VIEW

### Is thought space?

WHEN the American Socialist Workers Party expelled one of its members, Alan Gelfand, he took them to court. Gelfand was supported by the US Workers League, an organisation not one million miles away from the British Workers Revolutionary Party.

Mr Gelfand insisted that the SWP leaders were agents of the US government.

To prove this his attorney asked Doug Jenness, an SWP member, questions like: 'What are the laws of development of matter ...?' 'Is thought matter?' 'Is thought space?' And the 64 dollar question every political quiz programme asks: 'Who is the foremost Marxist philosopher active in the world today ...?'

We understand Jenness failed. He did not know it was former WRP general secretary Gerry Healy.

But neither did the judge who had the empirical sense to throw Gelfand's case out.

### Museum piece

STEALING is wrong as any Tory MP, high civil servant or other pillar of the establishment will tell you. But if the nicking is done by a member of the aristocracy then that's OK — it's called art preservation.

Early in the 19th century the British ambassador in Athens took a fancy to the Marbles which were adorning the Parthenon.

Being a top man — he was the Earl of Elgin — he believed that a bit of what you fancied did you good, so he had the marbles removed to decorate his own pad.

The Earl was a bit of patriot so he decided to sell the Marbles to the great British nation.

Now this uppity Melina Mercouri, the Greek Minister of Culture, wants them back because she says they are Greek. This claim is based on the flimsy evidence that



These were called the Elgin marbles after the thief who nicked them. Why not call the fivers pinched in the Great Train Robbery the Biggs's notes?

some Grecian sculptors made them for the Acropolis 2,400 years ago.

But she has been put in her place by the British Museum's director Dr David Wilson.

He says: 'It's all very well for Ms Mercouri to keep making impassioned nationalistic pleas for us to return something

### Hand-written by Tory robots

The Daily Mail's motoring correspondent, Michael Kemp has claimed that Nissan, the Japanese car firm, would scrap plans to build a 35,000-job car plant if Labour wins the election.

The Mail's source was 'a leading official of Nissan in Europe'.

Strangely enough Mr Mitsuya Goto, who is Nissan's leading official in Europe, had not heard a word about this until he was shown Mr Kemp's article. Now Mr Goto is apparently all sulky that the Daily Mail doesn't bother telling him what he is going to do.

Not put off by Mr Goto's denial the Mail - bounced back with another explanation. They claimed the threat was made by 'European executives of Nissan who

are flying back to Tokyo for talks'. That day not one Nissan executive left Europe on a jet for Japan.

A Daily Mail source claims they went by bus to confuse people. Mr Kemp remains adamant that his story is 'correct'.

When someone pointed out that the jobs at the proposed Nissan factory would be around 5,000 to 6,000 not 35,000 the Mail replied that the other jobs would be in the car component industry.

Unfortunately for Mr Kemp and his newspaper a ratio of six component workers to every single worker on the production line defies every known law of motor industry economics. But why should facts and truth bother the Daily Mail?

Compiled by BOB PENNINGTON. Send contributions to Worm's Eye, Socialist Action, 328 Upper Street, London N1 2XP to arrive not later than Thursday a week prior to publication.



# Socialist ACTION

**MAY 24**



## Worldwide action

THOUSANDS of women demonstrated during the International Women's Day for Disarmament. From the Cruise missile site at Comiso in Sicily to Montana, from Australia to Glasgow, women stood up to the nuclear warmongers. In Washington women encircled the White House. 15,000 marched in Auckland, New Zealand.

In London there were numerous day-time actions, including peace camps at Highbury Fields and Clapham Common, marches and a half-day strike by thousands of NALGO local government workers. The day concluded with a gathering of thousands of women in Trafalgar Square.

The action by London NALGO workers was just one of hundreds of workplace actions — mainly lunchtime or early morning meetings.

The success of the Trafalgar Square rally showed the extent to which the example of the Greenham Common women has succeeded in mobilising action against the missiles.

### Missiles

24 May was the first time that there has been widespread workplace action on the missiles — albeit of a mainly symbolic character. The actions of the Greenham Common women, far from

'dividing' the anti-nuclear movement, have extended its scope and support.

In all, more than 400 protest actions took place in Britain. In Sussex and Kent many railway stations had women with placards and banners getting their message across to commuters. 24 May was the women's day of action at the People's March for Jobs.

At lunchtime in Warwick the marchers held a lunchtime meeting where the 'Jobs not Bombs' message was hammered home. In Oxford there was a march from the County Hospital faced with closure.

In Glasgow there was a rally attended by hundreds of people. In Leeds there was a ceremony at the war memorial. There were 53 different actions in Devon and Cornwall alone.

As Socialist Action went to press reports of international actions were still coming in. Despite the lack of active backing by the TUC and Labour Party, the day of action was a big success.

The Greenham Common peace camp women have inspired an international women's peace movement

# CND campaign says: Vote nuclear-free in '83

SCORES of constituencies will see campaigns which will be spelling out the message that the only party pledged to stop the missiles is Labour.

In South London Harriet Harman from Peckham and Kate Hoey from Dulwich are speaking on a CND platform jointly with YCND speakers and actress Glenda Jackson. Harriet led off Peckham's 24 May International women's day of action

march from Peckham Rye to the Imperial War museum and addressed a rally on Clapham Common together with other women Labour Party candidates.

Cardiff parties have responded to CND's request for a meeting with Joan Ruddock on 1 June with PPCs Jane Hutt and Ray Davis and YCND secretary Anna-Joy David. The Tories and Liberals were invited but have so far declined to come. In Oxford local activists are working for

a blockade of the Upper Heyford base between 31 May and 3 June.

Oxford East candidate Andrew Smith is highlighting disarmament in his campaign, and the Town Hall was set aside as an organising centre for the 24 May events. Smith also held a factory gate meeting at Cowley with a Greenham speaker.

Two big obstacles to a firm Labour-CND connection still exist however. First, the Labour campaign's has refused to put unilateralism and peace to the fore, and the reluctance to use mass campaigning to put over

Labour's case. But CND leadership's own 'non-political' stance is rapidly turning, in practice, into an anti-Labour stance. In their eagerness for 'balance' — that is, an appeal to the Liberals and the odd wet Tory-CND leaders are refusing to link up with the Labour Party when it does take a clear unilateralist stand.

The message has to be spelt out loud and clear in this election. Only labour movement action can stop the missiles. Only a vote for the Labour Party is a vote against the missiles.



Photo: JOHN HARRIS



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## Manchester mass assembly

MANCHESTER city centre will be the scene of a massive rally against the missiles on 4 June — just 5 days before the general election. Jointly organised by the City council and Greater Manchester CND and calling for 'Keep Manchester Nuclear Free — Stop Cruise in '83!'

FRED BARKER, of Greater Manchester CND and rally organiser, explains.

To its credit the Labour-controlled Manchester City council has played a leading role in nuclear-free zone movement and the fight against the government's controversial new civil defence regulations among Britain's local authorities.

The formation of a joint CND/council com-

mittee has now started nuclear-free campaigning in Manchester with a perfectly timed rally on 4 June.

The event has an unusual format. 'Peace-in-the-streets' between 10.00-11.45am will see exhibitions, stalls, theatre and music at up to 24 sites around the city centre.

Linking the sites will be leafleters, mobile theatre and gangs of sandwich board carriers.

The aim is to flood the

centre with CND activities to bring thousands of Mancunians to confront the issue of nuclear weapons and encourage them to attend the rally.

The main rally will be in Albert Square from noon to 2pm and will consist of a mixture of speeches and entertainment — including EP Thompson, Pat Arrowsmith, women from Greenham Common, author Alan Bleasdale and entertainer Mike Harding.

In the run up to the general election it is crucial that CND nationally steps up its traditional campaigning — demonstrations, rallies, public meetings.

### NUCLEAR FREE RALLY

Albert Square Manchester Saturday June 4 1983

PEACE IN THE STREETS

10 AM - 11.45 AM

Street theatre, clowns, music, soap-box speakers and other attractions on various sites around the City Centre

RALLY IN ALBERT SQUARE

NOON - 2 PM

Speakers will include Pat Arrowsmith, E.P. Thompson, Ilyd Harrington (Deputy Leader of the GLC), a Greenham Common woman, author Alan Bleasdale and entertainer Mike Harding.

Music Entertainment!

FINALE 2 PM

Mass release of peace balloons

"KEEP MANCHESTER NUCLEAR FREE - STOP CRUISE IN '83"



ORGANISED BY THE CAMPAIGN FOR NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT AND MANCHESTER CITY COUNCIL - ANTI NUCLEAR ACTIVISTS

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