

A Socialist ACTION



Photo: JOHN HARRIS

All out for People's March demonstration 5 June

VOTE LABOUR

Fight for socialist policies

ONLY ONE week to turn Labour's retreat into a full scale offensive against the Tories. But Thatcher and the Alliance are gloating over Callaghan and Healey's sabotage of Labour's campaign.

By the editor

national campaign. Whatever the result of the election the fight for socialist policies must go on. That means rebuilding the left in alliance with all those fighting back against the bosses' offensive — the left in the unions, the youth in CND, the women's movement and black people. The aim should be to sweep the right from the leadership and to start to build a mass movement that really fights for the interests of the working class.

Arthur Scargill is right. The left must launch an immediate fight and speak up for the policies that can win the maximum possible Labour vote.

- Those policies are:
- unilateral disarmament
 - out of the Common Market
 - for an end to mass unemployment and no incomes policy

Labour's traitors must be stopped. Callaghan and Healey have shown they would rather not have a Labour government if it means being elected on the basis of these policies.

Michael Foot has actually endorsed the actions of the right by handing them control of the

Sack the right wing traitors



Right wing knifes Labour's campaign



WHEN Callaghan attacked Labour's policy on nuclear weapons last week he spoke for the whole right wing. Behind Callaghan was Healey — this was not the act of a disenchanted individual.

Callaghan has now made speeches on incomes policy and nuclear disarmament and is due to make a similar speech on the Common Market. All are designed to attack Labour's conference policies. The speech on nuclear disarmament was released in advance and the press was specifically asked to quote parts of it attacking unilateralism.

It is clear that the Labour right wing — having failed to get their policies adopted — have decided to try and sink Labour's electoral chances. It now will need a major turnaround in Labour's campaign to put victory back on the agenda.

The manifesto is quite clear that Polaris will be scrapped. But Healey will not tolerate that. Attacking the manifesto on 19 May Healey said:

'We want to put the Polaris force into negotiations with the Russians. So we don't get rid of them unless the Russians cut their forces aimed at us. That seems common sense'.

Healey went on to re-interpret a non-nuclear-defence policy as meaning 'no first use of nuclear weapons', not getting rid of nuclear weapons unilaterally. Callaghan said nothing that Healey had not already said — he merely pointed out that this 're-interpretation' was not the manifesto policy.

Missiles

Michael Foot has been sent into unbelievable contortions to try to explain that what Healey says is what he himself says, which is exactly what the manifesto says. In numerous TV and press interviews Foot has therefore been incapable

of giving a straight answer to the question 'will Labour give up Polaris within five years, irrespective of what happens in negotiations?'. The result is a political shambles.

By Phil Hearse

Foot opened the door to the right by fudging the manifesto. Now they have kicked it down and are clearly preparing to foist a right wing leader on the party.

What lies behind this sickening betrayal and Foot's acquiescence is something very straightforward. Labour's right wing don't accept the opinion of the majority of the party and the trade unions on three crucial issues — defence, the Common Market and incomes policy.

They believe that the bosses will never accept a Labour government pledged to unilateral nuclear disarmament and withdrawal from the Common Market. Quite wrongly, they believe it is

impossible to win with radical policies on these questions.

Callaghan seems to believe that a Tory victory would be preferable to a Labour victory on the basis of radical policies. His view is doubtless shared by his right wing compatriots in Labour Solidarity.

On the basis of a Tory victory they want to impose Healey as the new leader. In the period before the election many on the left, for example Tony Benn in his interview with *Socialist Action* (SA 22 April), argued that the party was united around the manifesto, and that fears of a right wing offensive against the left were 'pessimistic'. That view has now been proved wrong.

Labour's main problem in the election is now that it appears inconsistent and disunited. The problem is not that left wing radical policies are inherently incapable of winning a majority.

Arthur Scargill put it very well at a rally in Camden last Wednesday when he said that if Labour fought hard behind its radical policies it could still win. But at the same time as Scargill was arguing for socialist policies, the Labour right's front man Callaghan was speaking in Cardiff.

People

The offensive of Labour's right wing has put the party on the defensive, not only in relation to the Tories, but also to the SDP/Liberal Alliance, who as a result have undergone a slight resurgence.

The irony is that if Labour had been united around unilateral disarmament, and had vigorously attacked the Alliance for its pro-nuclear policies, ground could have been won away from them.

There are still many Liberals who support unilateral disarmament. If the damage done is now too great to repair, and if the Tories win, then after the election the right will say 'you see what happens if we go too far left and get out of touch with the electorate'.

Capture

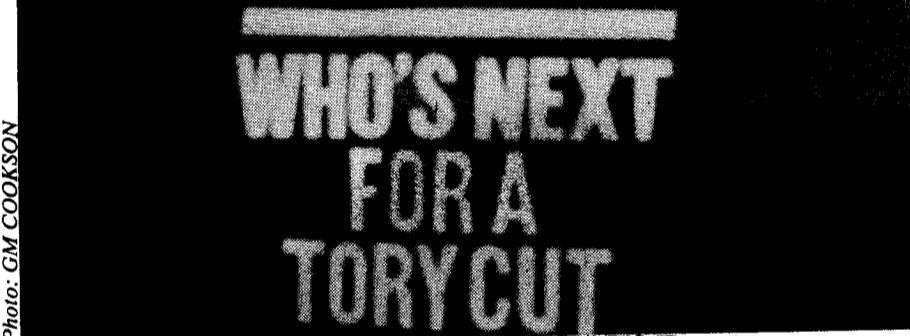
They will launch an all-out offensive to impose Healey as leader, ditch unilateralism and opposition to the EEC and incomes policy. The left should prepare itself now, whatever the result of the election, to sweep the right wing out of leadership.

If Tony Benn is re-elected as MP then his standing for the leadership of the party will be central to rebuilding the left in the years ahead.

But above all the blame for sabotaging the election campaign must be put where it belongs — with the right wing and with Micheal Foot who let them get away with it.

Meanwhile, if the right have given up on Labour's election chances, the left must not. In the coming week the radical policies of the manifesto should be shouted from the roof tops and hammered home on the doorsteps.

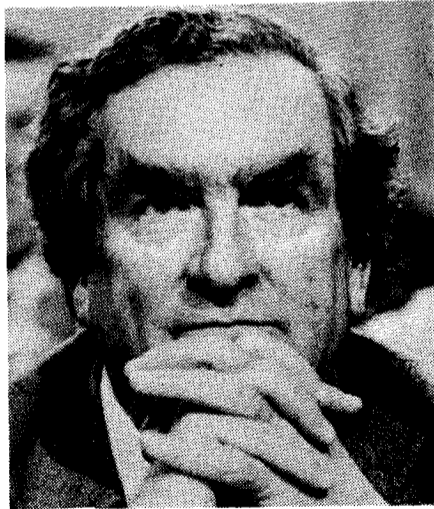
Foot must cease his equivocation and say loud and clear that a Labour Britain will get rid of nuclear weapons. The alternative is electoral catastrophe.



Whose next for a Tory cut? Labour's manifesto is. In opposing the rank and file on the EEC, nuclear disarmament and incomes policy, Jim Callaghan is acting as the front man for the whole right wing. The right wing attack heralds a full scale assault on the left after the election.



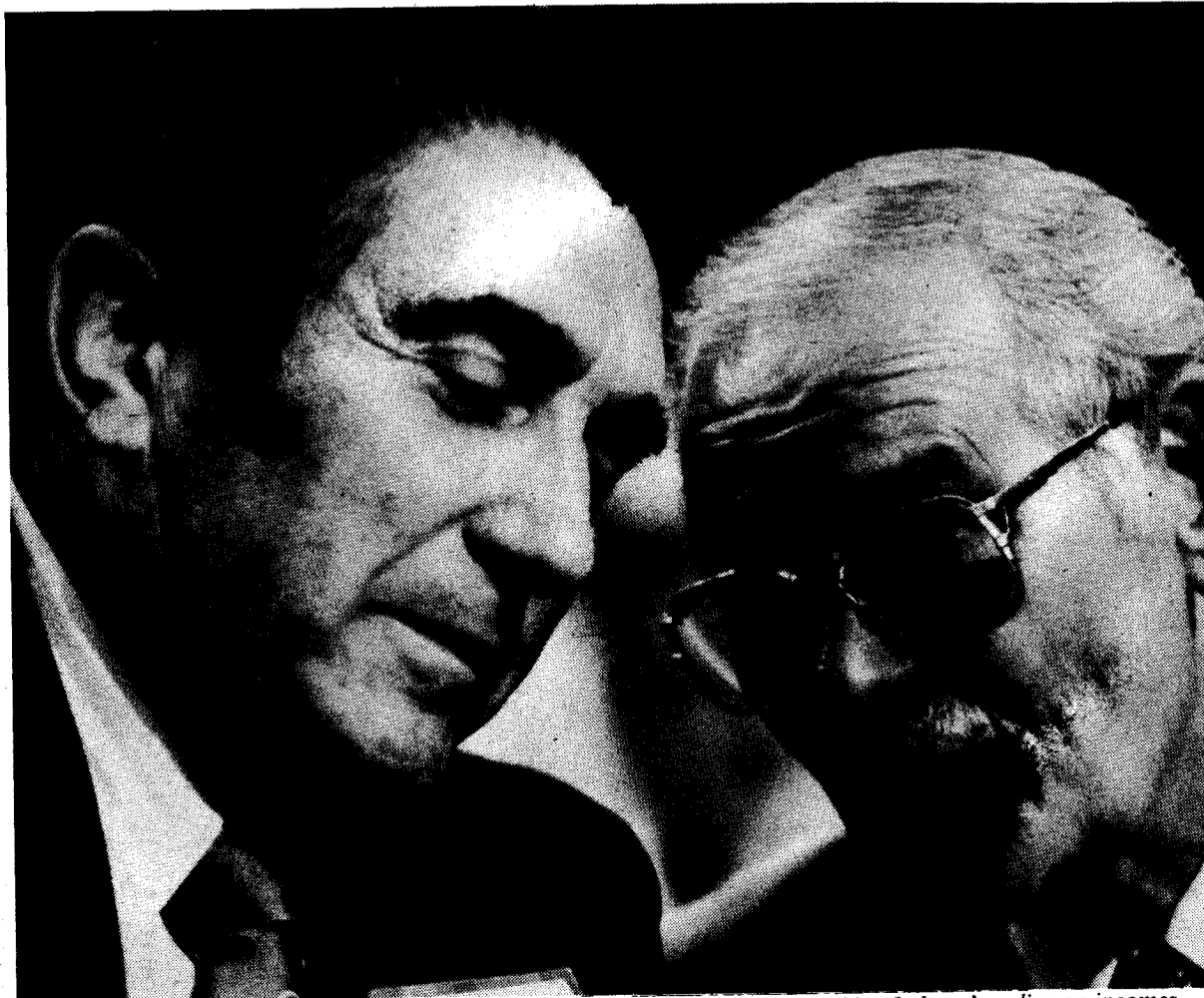
Organisational hit man Golding.



Healey.



Photo: JOHN HARRIS



Chapple and Duffy. Chapple openly supported SDP candidate John Grant in Islington North, and got away with no sanction at all. Terry Duffy has spent the pre-

election period attacking Labour's policy on incomes policy, the Common Market and nuclear disarmament.

Photo: GM COOKSON

Photo: JOHN HARRIS

Photo: DAVID FOWLER

Alliance junks Jenkins, attacks Labour

FOLLOWING their weekend 'summit', top Alliance leaders have decided to drop Roy Jenkins as a leading figure in the campaign and step up their attacks on Labour.

The shift marks a considerable victory for David Owen's strategy for the Alliance. From the beginning the ex-Labour right winger has said that the Alliance should concentrate on attacking Labour as the main target. The eventual aim is to marginalise the Labour Party from British politics.

However Owen can't conceal that the policies of the Alliance represent a watered down Toryism. Indeed on certain questions — curbing the trade unions is one — the Alliance manifesto is more reactionary than the Tories'!

But as our picture above shows, taken in London's Holloway Road, the truth will out!

• Why 'tactical voting' is wrong page 10



Rank and file speak out against Callaghan and Healey

LABOUR's campaign in Bristol got off to a flying start on Wednesday 25 June when 700 people crammed the main hall in Transport House for a joint Labour Party-antiwar movement rally against the missus. But at the time the audience were angry and confused with the cynical betrayal of their struggle for a Labour victory by Callaghan and Healey.

The purpose of our rally was to rally support for the Labour Party from Greenham Common activists, Youth CND and CND itself. We hoped that this would also break up the Alliance vote in Bristol where the Liberals are strongly identified with CND.

By Alan Radford
Bristol Trade Union
CND

We also felt that the rally would strengthen Labour's commitment to CND policy. Tony Benn was welcomed thunderously, but his audience were puzzled and disappointed when he explained that he was not going to comment on the dispute in the leadership.

But when ITN cameras walked out halfway through his speech he won everyone's support by pointing out that they were only there to film scandal and dissent rather than the argument against Thatcher.

Project

'No longer are women prepared to let people do things in their name,' she said. 'Greenham Common will make it impossible for the Labour Party to get out of its manifesto commitment.'

'No other party than the Labour Party has a unilateralist policy which it is willing to put into practice. I was willing to challenge Jim Callaghan in Cardiff. But I felt with the missiles due to arrive it was

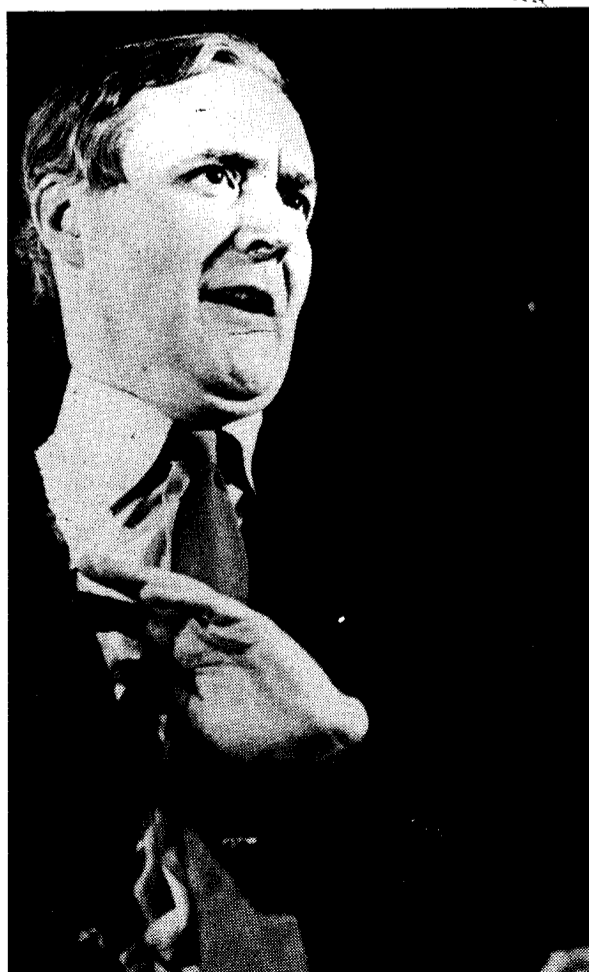
more important to fight for a Labour victory than step aside and allow myself the pleasure of taking that man on.'

Helen's message was endorsed by other platform speakers who included Pam Tatlow, Labour candidate, for Bristol West, Pat Arrowsmith of Labour CND, Terry Thomas of the Welsh miners and Paul Green from Youth CND.

Paul explained: 'Youth should be against Thatcher because they've got the most to lose. When we first started YCND in Clevedon we had a group of seventeen and probably only four were socialists. But when you start looking at the issue you realise that a deeper political solution is needed.'

He went on to read out a statement:

'We the undersigned members of CND call for a Labour vote at the general election on 9 June by all CND members and supporters as the best way of achieving our aims. In particular we call for a vote for Tony Benn in the Bristol East constituency to ensure that a radical socialist and unilateralist presence is maintained in the Parliamentary Labour Party.'



Tony Benn

'Fight like hell to remove the right'

IT SHOULD have been NO SURPRISE that Jim Callaghan acted when he did. This was exactly the moment when Callaghan, Healey and the other anti-democratic elements in the Labour Party would act.



By Helen John

In the same way as the right wing threw away the last election they are doing it again. They would rather see the Conservatives hold the country, because it's the only way the Labour right's real policies can be carried out.

The Labour Party is the only party with a clear unilateralist policy. Roy Jenkins and others left the party because they would not serve in a unilateralist government. In the past Healey said he wouldn't either.

So if he and others who are opposed to a unilateral policy would feel happier in the SDP or the Conservatives they should go and join them.

If Labour is elected it can and must put its policies into effect. Pressure groups like CND and Greenham Common must make the Labour Party implement their conference decisions.

We need not accept this treachery. The whole rank and file of the Party is against this tiny handful of evil men. They are flying in the face of conference decisions.

This means something for the left of the party and I'd like to make it clear that I don't consider Neil Kinnock to be in that category. The left now has to fight like hell to remove the right wing who are damaging the Labour Party.

Some people may feel that things are so bad that it isn't even worth voting. But that's not true. The Labour Party represents the majority of people who want unilateral policies now.

A vote for the Labour Party is a vote that recognises that we have absolutely no time left to stop the missiles. If the weapons are brought here by Thatcher there is no way that we will be able to negotiate their return as Michael Foot has claimed. Now is the time to act.

Photo: ANDREW THOMAS

IRELAND UNFREE



Albany roof top protest nails Home Office

THE ALBANY prison protest is over. But the grievances behind the roof top occupation are still there. At the root of the protest lies the scandalous way that the Irish political prisoners are treated in HM prisons.

The four IRA soldiers who waved a banner from Albany's roof demanded the right of repatriation to Ireland. Like another 70 of their colleagues they are forced to spend their long sentences in England.

This process inflicts a savage hardship on the prisoners as they are often switched from one jail to another to prevent them from escaping — or so claims a spiteful Home Office.

This 'ghosting' system has meant that on a number of occasions relatives have made the long and expensive journey from Ireland only to find the person they have gone to see has been moved. In other cases relatives have not even been allowed into Britain to see the inmate as the authorities have used the Prevention of Terrorism Act to stop them landing.

In contrast the thugs of the British security forces who have been convicted of crimes in the North of Ireland are immediately whisked back to Britain. Even Loyalists sentenced in Scotland have been allowed back to the province, in order to protect them from other prisoners.

The Home Office and Mr Whitelaw have nothing to say about the threats made to IRA prisoners by prison officers or about the way these officers persecute and victimise the prisoners.

However, the labour movement can and should have a different attitude demanding that Britain cedes the right of every Irish political prisoner to serve their sentence in Ireland.

It would help to wipe away the stain on Labour's name put there by British politicians like Roy Mason who 'criminalised' the struggles of the nationalist population.

Army and police harass Sinn Fein campaign



Photo: AN PHOBLACHT

AS GERRY ADAMS has become the odds-on favourite to win the seat of West Belfast police and army harassment of the Sinn Fein campaign has been stepped up.

In scores of incidents SF candidates have been stopped from electioneering, have had blank shots fired at them and have been arrested and injured.

Having won equal time on television with other candidates on BBC and ITV, they have been denied access to the broadcasting station RTE by the Southern government. At the same time there has been a Loyalist effort to 'stop Sinn Fein!' by standing down candidates.

Despite this and the slander campaign of the Social Democratic and Labour Party, Sinn Fein looks as though they will increase the 35 per cent of the nationalist vote won in the Assembly elections.

MAY 24

as the press saw it

THE INTERNATIONAL Women's Day for Disarmament was an event involving thousands of women in over 600 towns and cities throughout Britain and numerous large scale action in other countries.

It was halfway through the campaign for the 'nuclear' election. Yet the media ignored it.

We took into account the problems that decentralised action might pose the press, so;

- a press release was sent out a week before in many cases accompanied by a phone call
- personal visits were made to each key press centre to update them the day before
- on the day itself a communications room was set up in an office of the *New Statesman* where details of action throughout the world were phoned or telexed in
- each press contact was phoned during the day to check they had sufficient and accurate information
- finally on the day itself a press conference was held to catch the first editions.

Yet out of seven daily papers only the *Guardian* and *Times* spared any words for details of the international action. Despite the potential for eye-catching photos only the *Mirror* and *Guardian* printed pictures.

The *Guardian* compounded my disgust with their dismal reporting through referring to me throughout as the 'spokesman for the women'!

The TV and radio coverage was worse. ITV carried no report whatsoever of an event which had touched millions of lives. On enquiry we were told that they had 'technical problems'.

The BBC which covered the same event last year quite extensively on *Nationwide* showed only three quick shots of different action (all in London) and a brief interview

at the Clapham Common Peace Camp.

By Carrie Peshier

Then to our horror they invited Lady Olga Maitland (Ladies/Families for Defence) into the studio to comment, presumably in the name of 'balance'. I can't recall us being asked to comment on Lady Olga's mass rally of 100 in Trafalgar Square which received such wide coverage.

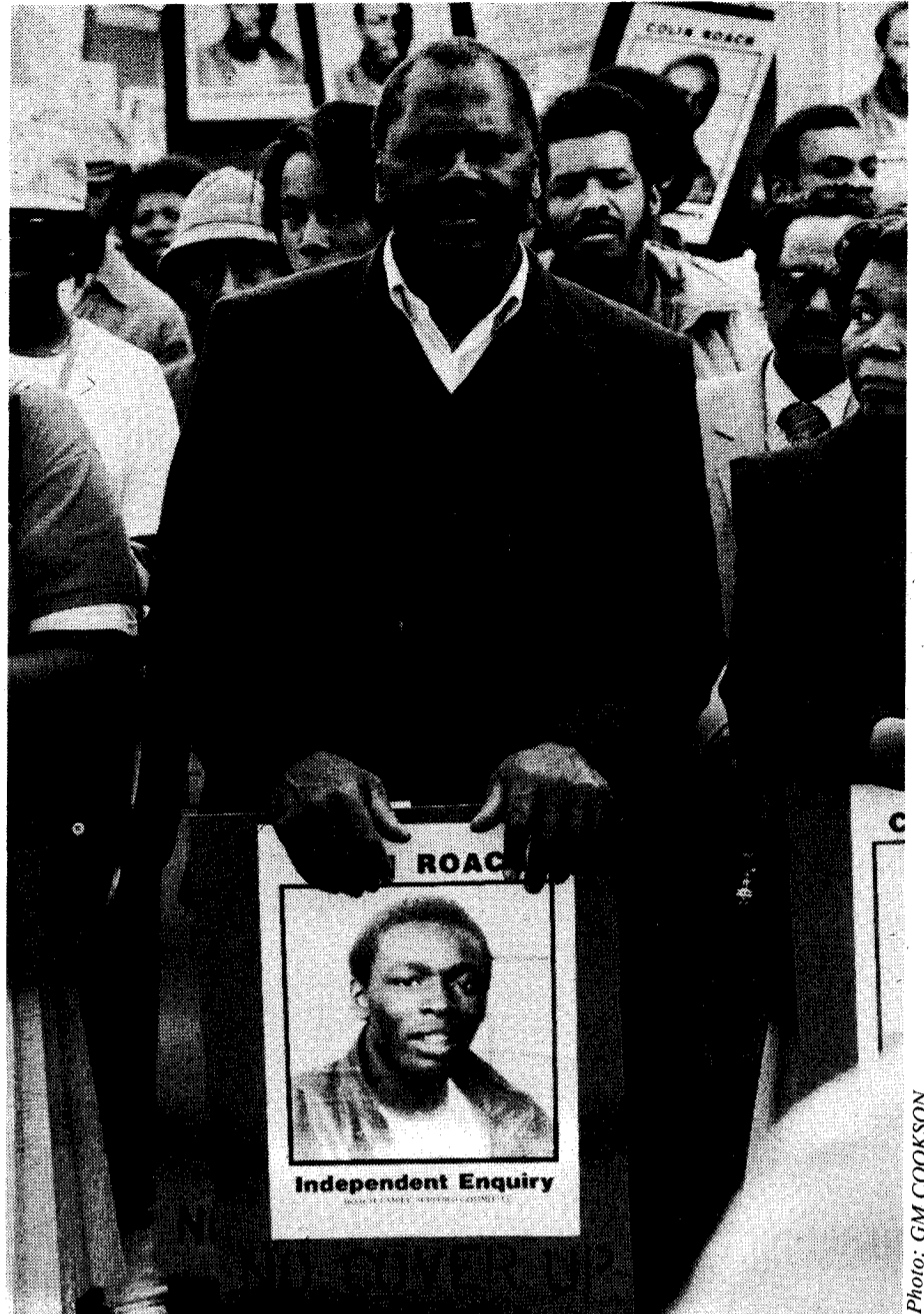
Only the BBC Nine O'Clock News managed to have any coverage of events outside the capital.

Yet the day was a tremendous success. The action in Britain which involved 'die-ins', encirclements and blockades. The scandalous confidence trick of civil defence was exposed.

Internationally action took place in eight cities in the USA. In New Zealand there were 20 or so actions including 1000 women in Wellington and an astonishing 20,000 in Auckland.

Eight separate actions took place in Australia (including a rally of 4000 women in Adelaide). We were told about other actions in Switzerland, France, West Germany, Sweden, Denmark, Norway, Italy, Ireland and Zimbabwe. We even had a telegram of support from Costa Rica!

Of course getting the national headlines was not the main aim of the day. But the lack of media recognition merely confirms the establishment's fear of the women's peace movement.



Colin Roach's father protests against the circumstances of his son's death

Colin Roach inquest starts

ON 6 JUNE the inquest begins into the death of Colin Roach in Hackney police station. The Roach Family Support Committee appeal for a picket of the Clerkenwell county court in Islington.

The coroner Dr Chambers has already tried to prevent a wide hearing for the case by obstructing Greater London Council attempts to get the inquest moved to Hackney town hall.

In their latest bulletin the Roach Family Support Committee state: 'After what has happened no one

can have any faith in the independence of the coroner in the inquest'.

The bulletin hammers this home by describing the case of Mrs Aseta Simms who died in Stoke Newington police station in 1971. At the coroner's hearing a police doctor reported: 'I examined the body of Mrs Simms and found that she was a well nourished coloured woman.'

'There was swelling and bruising above and below the right eye. There was deep bruising over her head but no fracture, but the brain was swollen. The heart was not the cause of

death. There was no evidence of alcoholic poisoning.'

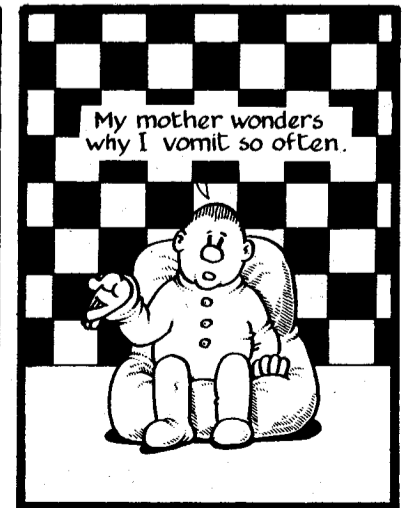
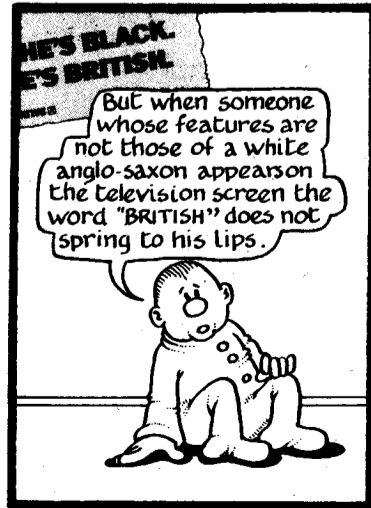
'There was little evidence of inhaling vomit. I cannot say what was the cause of death'. After this strange evidence, the coroner hurried to 'process' the case by placing himself on the jury! The verdict was 'death by misadventure' with no judgement of police involvement.

The coroner involved in this whitewash was none other than Dr Chambers.

● Picket of the court. 33 Duncan Terrace. Islington, London N1 from 10am on 6 June.



A PIECE OF THE ACTION BY CORMAC



What does the election hold for women?

WOMEN make up the biggest section of the population to be hard hit by Tory policies. Under Britain's first woman prime minister, women have lost jobs, pay, rights and opportunities.

It's not surprising, then, that support for the Tories among women is declining. But what alternatives do they have?

HILARY DRIVER looks at the choices facing women during the election and beyond.

Women's place in society has changed dramatically in the last 50 years. They have gone out to paid jobs in vast numbers. It is now an exception for a woman not to work.

But women are still offered the lowest paid and most boring jobs and usually with the worst conditions. People may argue that women have equal opportunities with men nowadays, but it's just not true.

Take for example the

'higher professional' jobs such as lawyers, doctors, scientists and so on. The proportion of women in these jobs barely increased from 5 to 6 per cent in the fifty years up to 1971.

Amongst managers, administrators and skilled manual workers the proportion of women actually declined!

Thus Thatcher has not so much started a massive onslaught against the rights of women, but rather consolidated and built on a trend already in progress. In Britain today, the bosses and their pet government have to fight harder and dirtier to squeeze the last drop of profits from working people.

The Alliance manifesto, in line with its general 'do-gooder' tone, says that the 'pressures of the recession have placed an increasing burden on women in particular'. But apart from this mention buried halfway through the document, you would need pretty good eyesight to find any other mention of 53 per cent of the population.

There are no proposals to deal with low pay, education and opportunities — or indeed anything specifically affecting women. We're just one big happy family!

In their strivings to present themselves as the government for a classless society, the Alliance have managed to ignore the differences of class and sex that do exist. For women, their manifesto has nothing to offer that you couldn't get from an off-duty worker.

Unlike the other two manifestos, *The Challenge of Our Times*, the offering of the Conservatives, reeks with smugness and the voice of authority. The word 'freedom' crops up so many times you almost begin believing it!

On top of this is the glorious freedom of low pay, weakening of union and legal protection and the chance to see, free, the first nuclear holocaust in your own back yard.

With a sigh of relief, but not euphoria, looking at Labour's manifesto *The New Hope for Britain*, at least you get the feeling that women do exist.

It stands way above the other two in outlining measures a government could take to 'achieve equality between women and men'.



Women played leading role in the fight against cuts

Photo: JOHN HARRIS

them at home due to lack of nurseries — maybe up until the age of thirty when they eventually find work!

Top of the list of proposals are positive action programmes, equal pay for work of equal value and strengthening the Sex Discrimination Act. Also on Labour's agenda is restoring the part-time employment rights, benefits and social services.

There are many other promises: 'We will take steps to end discrimination; give more support to victims of rape; increase the maternity grant to at least £100; end VAT on sanitary protection' and so on.

While Labour's manifesto is the best of the bunch, it's not nearly

radical or bold enough to make a serious bid for the liberation of women.

In particular the section on abortion is a scandal. It refers to defending 'the existing right of choice for women' under the 1967 Act. Nowhere is party policy of free abortion on request put forward. Nor does it unambiguously campaign for a woman's right to work.

Women should join with the labour movement and other oppressed people like youth and blacks in campaigning for a Labour victory. But equally they should continue to organise themselves both within and without the Labour Party to fight for their liberation.

Women and Work

% increases in paid employment		
	Women	Men
1921-1971	60%	16%

% of women in paid employment	
1921	30.7%
1971	37.9%
1979	39.8%

% of women according to profession					
	Higher professional	Management & Admin	Skilled manual	Clerical	Unskilled
1921	5.1%	17.0%	21.0%	43.3%	16.8%
1971	6.0%	15.6%	14.4%	70.9%	36.8%

Voting for the Tories (Opinion polls)		
	Men	Women
1945	35%	43%
1955	47%	55%
1979	45%	45%
1983(MORI)	48%	44%

Voting for Labour		
	Men	Women
1979	40%	35%
1983	29%	34%

(This means that almost the entire loss of electoral support suffered by the Tories since 1955 is due to its loss of support among women. Also that, for the first time ever this year, more women than men will be voting Labour if the polls are correct).

Forward

Every step forward for women of exploitation, their chances of freedom. That's why the Tories are desperate to reverse the gains women have made. While full political, social, economic and sexual equality is still a long way off, women certainly haven't been meekly accepting their lot in life. Quite the opposite.

They are leading many campaigns and struggles in the unions and the Labour Party against the cuts and supporting disarmament. The fight for abortion, contraception and adequate childcare, as well as against sexism and sexual harassment, has been initiated and led by women.

The fight for women's liberation is far from over and the result of the election will have important effects on the outcome. So what do the major parties have to say about women's rights?



Sexual abuse in Armagh

'A CURTAIN is fastened across the cubicle from about waist high to the floor. You are always in view of the prison staff who sometimes number as many as ten.

'When you are naked your body from the waist up is visible to all the prison staff in the room ... Anyone with long hair is ordered to gather it in their hands and hold it on top of their heads.

'This makes the entire sordid affair seem like a slave trade market.'

This is a description of just some of the horror being suffered by women prisoners in Armagh, who are forcibly strip-searched and then assaulted if they refuse.

The Stop the Strip Search Campaign has been set up by women in London to draw attention to the conditions in Armagh and to put an end to this degradation.

You can contact the Campaign c/o A Woman's Place, Hungerford House, Victoria Embankment, London WC2.

● There will be a full article shortly in *Socialist Action* about the situation of women in Armagh.

Breaking the ice

This article appeared in the Stoke-on-Trent *Evening Sentinel* (it is not a misprint):
'Comisprint' Bernard Manning was planning a return visit to Newcastle



THIS beautiful mural in West Belfast's Iveagh district is entitled 'Solidarity between women in armed struggle'. It shows women freedom fighters from Palestine, Africa and Ireland. (An Phoblacht)

today after a booking blunder took him 300 miles to the wrong venue ... The 550-strong audience were left with nothing to smile about when the star failed to turn up.

'It was very frightening. I thought that at any moment the crowd would start throwing

glasses at me," said Mr Graham Morgan, a director of Appleyard Entertainments.

'Fortunately one of the strippers who were also appearing slipped and fell on her back — and this helped to break the ice.'

What a piece of luck! (Douglas Bailey)

Graphic design



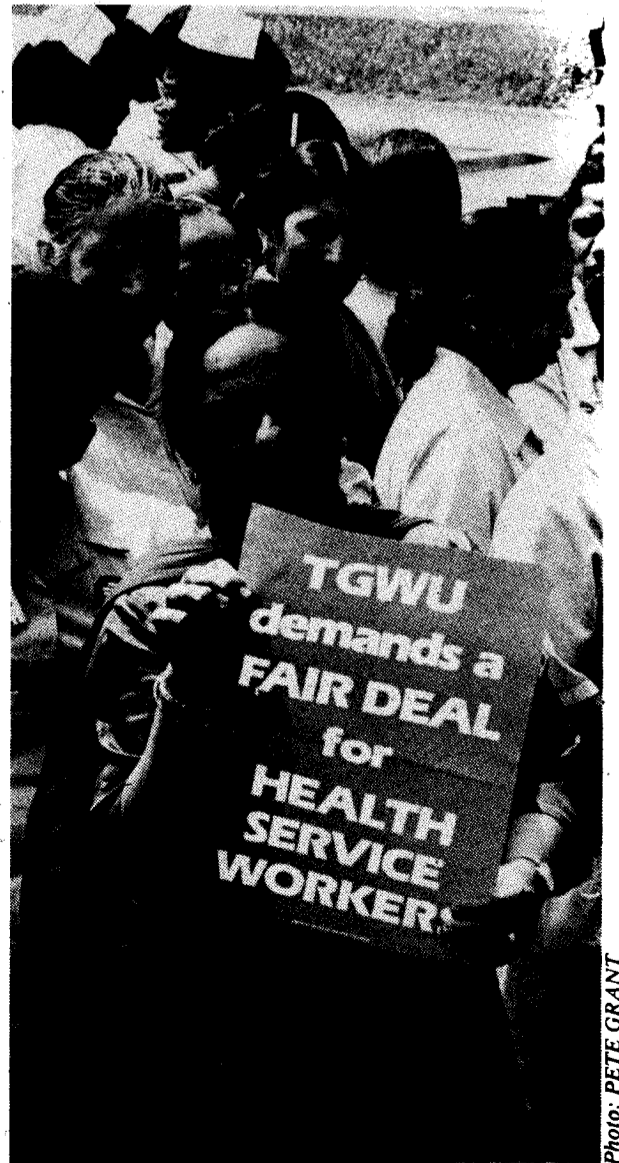
THE Labour Party in Scotland are using this design as their logo during the election.

It shows a man, woman and child with Scotland in the background. They're so pleased with it that they've said they'll keep it permanently.

Apart from the fact that the SLP are obviously not going for the feminist or gay vote, a couple of questions come to mind.

Why has the woman only got one arm? And is the fact that she's standing at arms length from the man significant?

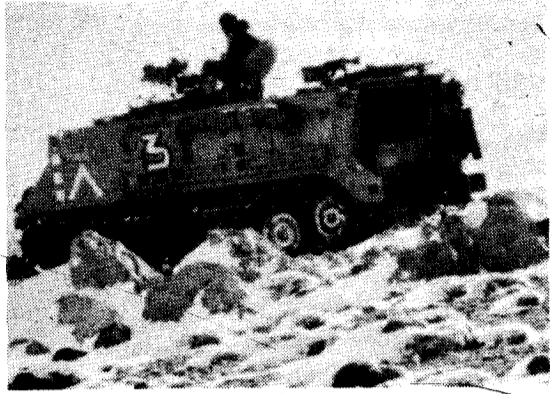
Compiled by HILARY DRIVER. Send contributions to 'Male Order' Socialist Action, 328 Upper Street, London N1 2XP to arrive not later than Thursday a week prior to publication.



Asian women on the picket line in the NHS dispute last year

Photo: PETE GRANT

WORLD IN ACTION



War threat

AS WE reported in last week's Socialist Action, the drift towards war in the Middle East is accelerating.

Last week Syrian planes attacked Israeli aircraft overflying Lebanon, and a Syrian missile brought down an Israeli pilotless aircraft.

As a result the Israelis have reinforced their troops on the Golan Heights.

Meanwhile the revolt against Yasser Arafat by military leaders of the

PLO in Lebanon continues. Arafat is trying to remove Abu Musa and other leaders because of their opposition to the Arab leaders' Fez Summit peace plan. The same leaders were also opposed to the withdrawal of the Palestinian fighters from Beirut last year.

Abu Musa has indicated that he and his troops intend to stay in the Bek'aa valley to continue to confront the Israelis.

Release Liu Shanqing!

LIU SHANQING, a citizen of Hong Kong and supporter of the Chinese democracy movement has been arrested and charged with 'counter-revolutionary activities' while on a visit to Guangzhou (Canton).

Liu went to China in December 1981 to visit the family of a political prisoner. He then disappeared, and it has only just been confirmed that he is indeed a prisoner of the Chinese regime.

Liu's father was recently informed by high ranking officials of

the Guangzhou Intermediate Peoples Court that he has now been sentenced, but further details were refused.

Prison sentences in China for 'counter-revolutionary activities' are long and harsh. The Chinese regime is set on crushing any support for the democracy movement. Socialist Action appeals to its readers and supporters to send letters of protest calling for Liu's release to: Embassy of People's Republic of China, 31 Portland Place, London W1N 3AG.

Mandate of heaven

LAST week an application turned up for a postal vote in the Fermanagh-South Tyrone constituency. Nothing very peculiar in that you might say — except that the voter in question was dead.

The application was accompanied by a doctor's certificate in-

dicating that the said elector was incapacitated and unable to attend the polling station.

The dead frequently vote in the elections in the Six Counties, but as one canvasser pointed out — 'they don't generally apply for postal votes'.

Julia

MANY readers will remember the Jane Fonda-Vanessa Redgrave film 'Julia'. Based on a story by Lillian Hellman, the film outlines the story of an American woman active in the anti-fascist resistance in Austria, eventually killed by the Nazis.

Hellman has always refused to reveal the identity of 'Julia'. Now Muriel Gardiner an 81-year old American woman has published her memoirs 'Code Name Mary'. She was a member of the anti-fascist underground, and claims that Hellman improperly used her as the

model for Julia, without permission.

Contemporaries of both women claim that they know of no other American woman active in the Austrian resistance prior to world war II.

Hellman refutes these claims. She still maintains that the real Julia was murdered by the Nazis, and that she (Hellman), unable to find Julia's mother, had the body cremated. 'The ashes are still where they were so long ago'.

Ms Hellman evidently isn't going to tell anyone the 'real' story of Julia. The mystery will continue.

Pinochet regime in crisis

THIS YEAR marks the tenth anniversary of the military coup which overthrew the Allende government. Despite ten years of military dictatorship, the Chilean workers' movement is reorganising as the regime slides further and further into crisis.

On 11 May the Copper Miners Federation called a day of protest which was widely supported. Despite the decision of the copper workers themselves not to strike, because of fear of victimisation and the military occupation of the mining areas, many groups took some form of protest.

Street demonstrations clashed with the police and army, resulting in two deaths and hundreds of injuries. Shops opened late, and dozens of protest meetings took place.

The protests were not confined to the working class *barrios* which surround Santiago and the major cities. Lawyers, students from the Catholic university and other middle class groups also took part — a clear indication that many who supported the 1973 coup have moved into opposition.

Following the 11 May demonstration, there were widespread disturbances coinciding with the funerals of the two people killed — one of them was a 15 year old youth shot by plain-clothes police.

In response the regime organised an indiscriminate round up of men and youths in the working class areas, herding them into football stadiums in scenes reminiscent of the 1973 coup. More than 300 people were detained.



Hundreds of Chileans were arrested in round up after 11 May demonstrations.

Ten leaders of the copper workers union have been charged with violation of the state security law, which carries a sentence ranging from 18 months to 5 years in prison.

The political isolation of the regime and its loss of middle class support stems from Chile's chronic economic crisis. Pinochet's monetarist experiment has collapsed in the face of the world economic recession. Huge sums of capital have flooded out of the country.

The resulting recession has hit both the working class and the middle classes who supported the military coup. Unemploy-

ment is more than 30 per cent of the working population in the towns and 20 per cent overall. Since 1980, textile production has declined by 35 per cent, steel by 55 per cent, construction by 40 per cent.

The average level of wages is in real terms well over 40 per cent less than in 1981. The extent of Pinochet's isolation is indicated by the fact that the independent truck drivers union, which played an important role in destabilising the Allende government, now declares itself to be 'part of the opposition'.

During the 11 May demonstrations women in

many areas, including the middle class areas, banged pots and pans in protest against austerity. The irony of this will not be lost on Pinochet — the middle class opponents of Allende used exactly the same form of protest in 1973.

The sickening repression of the regime has not ceased, despite the growth in opposition to it from the church, newspapers and other sources of middle class opinion. Amnesty International recently indicated that torture is still an everyday occurrence in the prisons of the regime.

But Pinochet still has one solid base of support

— the armed forces. In recent months a new plain clothes security group has made its appearance at the forefront of bludgeoning demonstrators and organising 'disappearances'.

The new fragility of the Pinochet Reich is a reflection of growing instability in the whole region. In Argentina the military are besieged by a new rise of the workers' movement. Uruguay is drifting towards a new democratic 'opening'.

The generals who thought they had destroyed Marxism and the workers' movement for decades are in for some rude shocks.

Fighting escalates in Central America

LAST WEDNESDAY the first United States soldier to die in El Salvador was shot dead on the Western outskirts of the capital San Salvador.

Commander Albert Schaufelberger was deputy head of the US Embassy's military group, a member of the navy's 'special forces' unit. The death of Schaufelberger highlights the increasing US military embroilment in the Central American conflict.

By Paul Lawson

The US soldiers in El Salvador have been directing battles and leading patrols, not just discussing military theory in the confines of the US embassy.

Just twenty four hours before the assassination of the American advisor, the left wing FMLN guerrillas launched an attack on the crucial Quebrada Seca bridge which spans the Pan-American highway. Forty four of the 80 defending government troops were killed and the bridge sent crashing into a ravine.

Last week the Popular Liberation Forces (FPL), one of the five groups in the FMLN, announced the formation of a regional government in the Chalatenango province. The FPL controls 26 of the 33 townships in the region, after government troops have given up the attempt to permanently occupy the region.

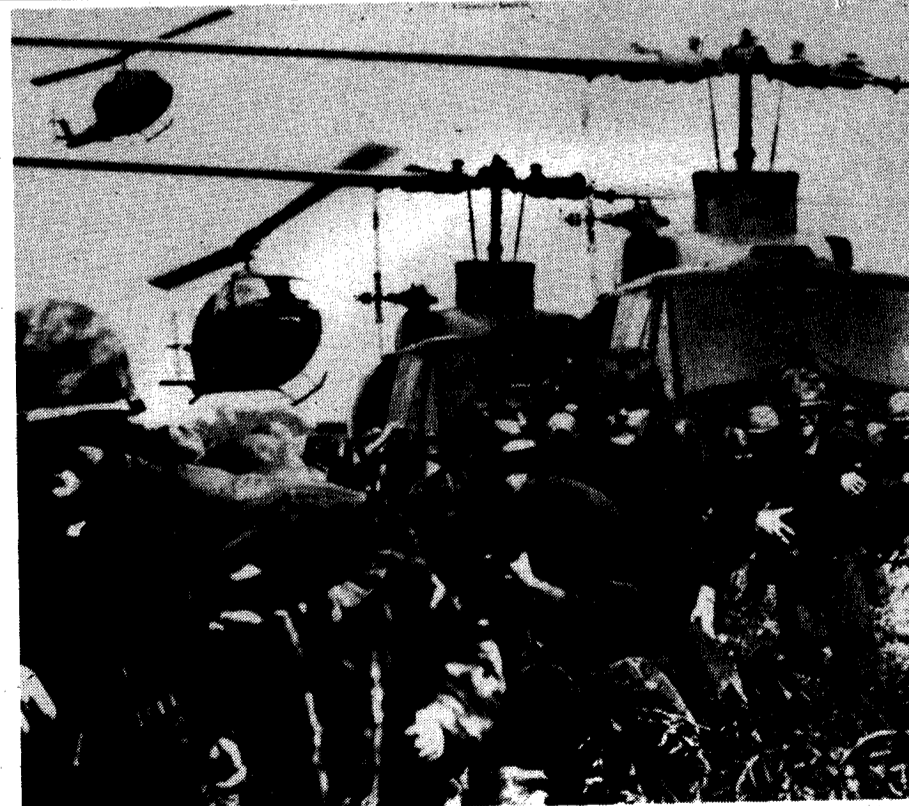
While the fighting in El Salvador continues to go

badly for the US and its local allies, pressure against the Sandinista government is being escalated.

Over the past two weeks the number of counter-revolutionary guerrillas being sent over the border from Honduras has sharply increased.

In the Atlantic coast region Sandinista militias have fought a fierce battle with Miskito Indian guerrillas under the leadership of the well known right-wing leader Steadman Fagoth. At the same time on the Pacific coast in the province of Nueva Segovia, Somocista forces making their fourth attempt to capture the provincial capital of Jalapa, have been once again defeated by the Nicaraguan army.

A recent poll in the United States revealed a six-to-one majority opposed to US intervention in Nicaragua. But that has not stopped the Reagan government. CIA director William Casey made a prediction last week that the Sandinista government would fall — a statement hastily retracted. For the first time the United States has admitted a huge surveillance operation, with regular spy plane overflights of Nicaragua and El Salvador.



US marines on the attack. Will they go into Central America?

The present military operation against Nicaragua will not bring down the Sandinista government. The 28 April demonstration of 150,000 in Managua — in response to Reagan's speech attacking the Sandinistas — showed the mood of popular outrage with America and support for the government.

But the war is dealing a severe blow to Nicaragua's hard pressed economy. The mobilisation of the population against the attackers inevitably sets industry back. In the cross-border raids, numerous technicians, teachers, agricultural specialists and doctors have been killed. Now the Nicaraguan sugar quota to the United States

has been cut back by 90 per cent.

The precipitate military and political collapse of the Salvadorean government makes the United States more and more determined to strike a major blow at revolution in the region. More than ever solidarity with the revolutionary forces is needed.

“THE ACTION INTERVIEW”

IN THIS election the Labour Party has selected black candidates in only a few areas. At the same time a number of independent black candidates are standing.

We interviewed two black candidates with long records in the fight against racism — BEN BOSQUET, Labour candidate for Kensington and ROY SAWH, Consortium of Ethnic Minority Group's candidate for Brent South and a leader of the black nationalist movement in the sixties.

Ben Bosquet

Given the Labour Party's poor record on racism, why should black people vote Labour?

Within the Labour Party we can articulate our problems and we are able after a time to influence policy and effect change.

It also means that as black people we are able to get through to the biggest political force which is active in the working class, the Labour Party.

In what way can black people make the Labour Party represent their interests? Is there a role for a black rights campaign within the Party?

I see a tremendous role for such a campaign. We can effect change by actively going into the Party, this is one thing I would stress. We must get into the national executive, the GMC's and the various committees within the Party and participate in the formation of its rules.

Staying outside and criticising is possibly the easiest thing to do but we must go into that kitchen and get the steam blown into our face, that's what really tells.

Black people must start becoming more political and go into parties. If you want to call that infiltration, let's call it infiltration, so long as we can get what we want articulated.

Some black activists outside the Labour Party say that if you go into the Party you will be ignored and integrated.

If these people hold this view, it means they never really cared about black people. If they did they would not allow themselves to be ignored.

It's like walking down the road and coming across a showroom and seeing the most beautiful cars inside. You cannot do anything by looking from the outside.

You have to break that window to get your hands on those cars. Maybe that's what we've started doing, we're breaking the system down and letting it know that we are around, that we are not going away, that we won't be pushed away.

Does Labour do enough to help third world struggles?

The Labour Party does not do enough to support third world struggles, although I must admit that in this new manifesto it seems to be given quite considerable space.

It probably needs a few black MPs to emphasise this problem. If elected, I would like to be a member of the foreign affairs subcommittee of Parliament to be able to point a finger at South America, at Africa, at Asia and say that these are places where things must be done.

I am particularly concerned about Central and Latin America. One of my brothers is editor of the *Freedom*

Should black people support Labour?



Ben Bosquet



Roy Sawh

You are a founder member of the Black, Trade Unionists Solidarity Movement. How do you see its role?

We formed the BTUSM last year because we felt the unions were not representing black people. They only gave us lip service.

Having got this off the ground, forming groups in local government and various other places, we have now been able to put pressure in places where it is really needed.

More and more black workers are coming forward and saying things. In this way we are making the trade union movement realise that racism is not something you just talk about but something you do something about.

The BTUSM may not get the sanction of the better known unions but

paper of Grenada. Grenada is the only country in that part of the hemisphere apart from Cuba and maybe Nicaragua, which does not have a policy based on keeping the people down.

It says we want to raise the standard of living of our people, we want a form of government in which all our people can get all the benefits which we can afford.

I think this is something marvellous and a future Labour government should supply them with everything it can. It could send them a massive injection of aid — with no strings attached.

We have had too many strings for 400 years. It could send them our young people to supply them with the skills they need.

nevertheless it is there. When we grow somebody better beware because we will not let our black people be used the way they were in the NHS strike where the black people were the ones on the picket line.

When we call our people out we will close places down because our people will be effective and that's important.

How has your campaign been going in Kensington?

The campaign has been going well and the attitude of the electorate has been great, there has been no racism here. I think we've won it, but we're not going to be complacent. There is a damn good chance of taking Kensington for the first time.

Roy Sawh

What are the aims and objectives of the Consortium of Ethnic Minority Groups (CEMG)?

The CEMG came into being about a year ago and is supported by the West Indian Standing Conference, the largest West Indian organisation, the Confederation of Indian Workers' Associations, the Pakistani and the Bangladeshi workers associations.

These people had supported Labour in the past but were fed up and disgusted with Labour's attitude to race relations and immigration. For instance Labour did not repeal the 1962 Immigration Act despite publicly saying it would when it was in opposition.

It passed two watered-down race relations Acts when Roy Jenkins was Home Secretary and ironically the first seven people charged under it were black. I was one of them and I was charged four times.

We also had the 1968 Immigration Act when Jim Callaghan was Home Secretary which denied a lot of Asian people with British passports the right to come to Britain. We had the Rhodesia situation when Harold Wilson refused to send in troops but then did not hesitate to send in police and troops when two small West Indian islands, Nevis and St. Kitts declared UDI.

We saw the Labour Party drifting to an anti-black stand.

Don't you see a role for black people organising within the Labour Party to make it represent their interests?

There are already black people and black groups within the Labour Party and if they cannot get the Labour Party to come to its senses, to take a stand on anti-racist issues both nationally and internationally, then what is the point of more of us joining the Labour Party?

For 25 years Labour has not placed a black candidate in a safe parliamentary seat.

We are not forming a separate group because we want to oppose the Labour Party. We hope that we can at some point affiliate to the Labour Party as a group and use our position as a pressure group to bring about certain changes.

But then if we do get changes we are worried that a Labour government in power would ignore party policy. We are also worried when we see what is happening to *Militant* Benn and Livingstone.

Shouldn't black people join the Labour Party as it will help them force the working class, their natural allies, to support black struggles?

How much longer must black people wait before white workers become non-racist so that we can work together to bring about a just society?

Is this not the attitude of the old slave/slave master relationship where you always have to wait until the master does something for you?

If the white working class were political and non-racist there would be no need for the formation of black groups. If there is going to be any sort of meaningful relationship with the Labour Party it must be based on equality.

We are saying that if the Labour Party can show us that black people within the labour movement are given some sort of equality then we are prepared to talk of some meaningful relationship.

You mentioned Ken Livingstone. What was your attitude to the reselection battle in Brent East?

We were very disappointed that Ken was not selected and did not stand.

If he had stood in Brent South my group would not have put up a candidate, because he must be one of the few white Labour councillors who has actually delivered the goods which he promised.

It is not only colour, it is the stand they take on various issues.

Tories and the truth about the

The Tories and the truth about the economy
The Tories' record in office can only be described as a catastrophe for the economy.

- * National output has declined by 6.7 per cent
- * National income has declined by 5.6 per cent
- * Unemployment has risen by 154 per cent
- * Prices have risen by 52 per cent

*** Manufacturing output has declined by 19 per cent**

And yet despite this record the Tories are still gaining in the opinion polls. Labour's leaders have virtually conceded the election. Below we look at what the truth about the economy really is and why the Labour leaders have been unable to offer an alternative.

Britain does worse

Output change ¹	%
UK	-5.0
USA	-0.1
OECD average	1.4
West Germany	1.7
France	4.5
Italy	7.9
Japan	8.6
Australia	11.8 ³

DURING the Sun's rabid campaign against Labour a sickening series of interviews appeared under the headline 'Why the jobless are voting Tory'. Those duped by Tory lies explained

- There's a world recession at the moment so you can't blame the government
- If the steel industry had not been nationalised it would be open today
- Inflation has come down and so will unemployment
- The Tories have increased productivity so the economy is now on the road to recovery.

So let's examine the arguments.

'It's the world recession'

THIS is the biggest lie of all. Even top Tories don't believe it. Edward du Cann put his name to a report of the Commons Treasury and Civil Service committee which said that at least half the amount of unemployment was attributable to the government's policies rather than the international recession.

Nor do the figures bear out Thatcher's arguments. Since 1979 the change in Britain's national output is 5 per cent down. The average change in output over the same period amongst the major capitalist countries has been 1.4 per cent up. Industrial production in the UK dropped by 11.9 per cent against an average drop of 1.6 per cent, and Japan and Italy have increased industrial production by 10.9 per cent and 13.7 per cent respectively.

This shows itself in comparative unemployment rates, Britain's was 12.4 per cent the first quarter of this year as against the average of 8.3 per cent. This is within an international context where

all the governments of the advanced capitalist countries are pursuing austerity policies like Thatcher's — including Mitterrand's France.

In the same four year period, in underdeveloped Nicaragua or tiny Grenada, hit much harder by the international recession, the revolutionary governments of these countries have succeeded in reducing unemployment from 40 per cent to 15 per cent and 30 per cent to 13 per cent respectively.

In these countries, unlike Britain, the government has challenged the laws of the international capitalist economy, not obeyed their every imperative.

Thatcher has deliberately boosted the effects of the international recession to weaken the British labour movement.

'Nationalisation is to blame'

THIS argument is being promoted strenuously to make the case for the vast programme of denationalisation, privatisation and hive-off being legislated by the Tories to the advan-

tage of their City friends.

Government control has been used to put butchers like Ian McGregor in charge of industries like steel and coal.

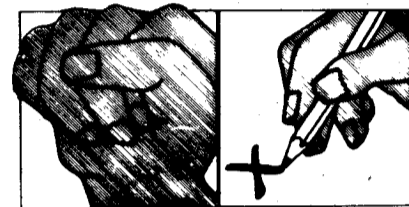
Under Common Market rationalisation plans these industries have been ruthlessly pruned down in the interests not of the workers employed there nor of the consumers they serve, but in the interests of a streamlined Western European capitalism.

This is irrespective of the high levels of productivity within the coal industry or the huge profits of nationalised industries like British Telecoms.

The Tories are not satisfied with the enormous sums that are paid to the City through interest repayments, they want the whole cake.

Nationalisation can be progressive if the interests of workers and consumers are put first in a labour movement plan and enforced through workers' control. Nationalisation can work if the banks and finance companies are nationalised and the massive debts of these industries cancelled.

These are the basic steps needed towards a planned economy.



ELECTION '83

'The economy is more efficient and will therefore start to beat international competition'

THE TORIES say that unemployment has been a necessary price for transforming the economy. They point to the increase in productivity (output per head) to back up their arguments. But average productivity in manufacturing industry is still only half that of Italy's and a quarter of Japan's.

The Tories' argument conceals the fact that the rise in productivity has been almost solely due to the destruction of the most unproductive sectors of British industry — not from an increase in production in those sectors still afloat.

That's why the Tories are fighting for increased speed-up and productivity among those sections picking up production such as BL Cowley.

The real solution lies not in competition between imperialist countries, whether through making British industry more streamlined, or through import controls as the Labour leaders suggest.

It rests in international action by the working class starting with the trade unions across Europe fighting for a 35 hour week.

'Inflation has come down. So will unemployment'

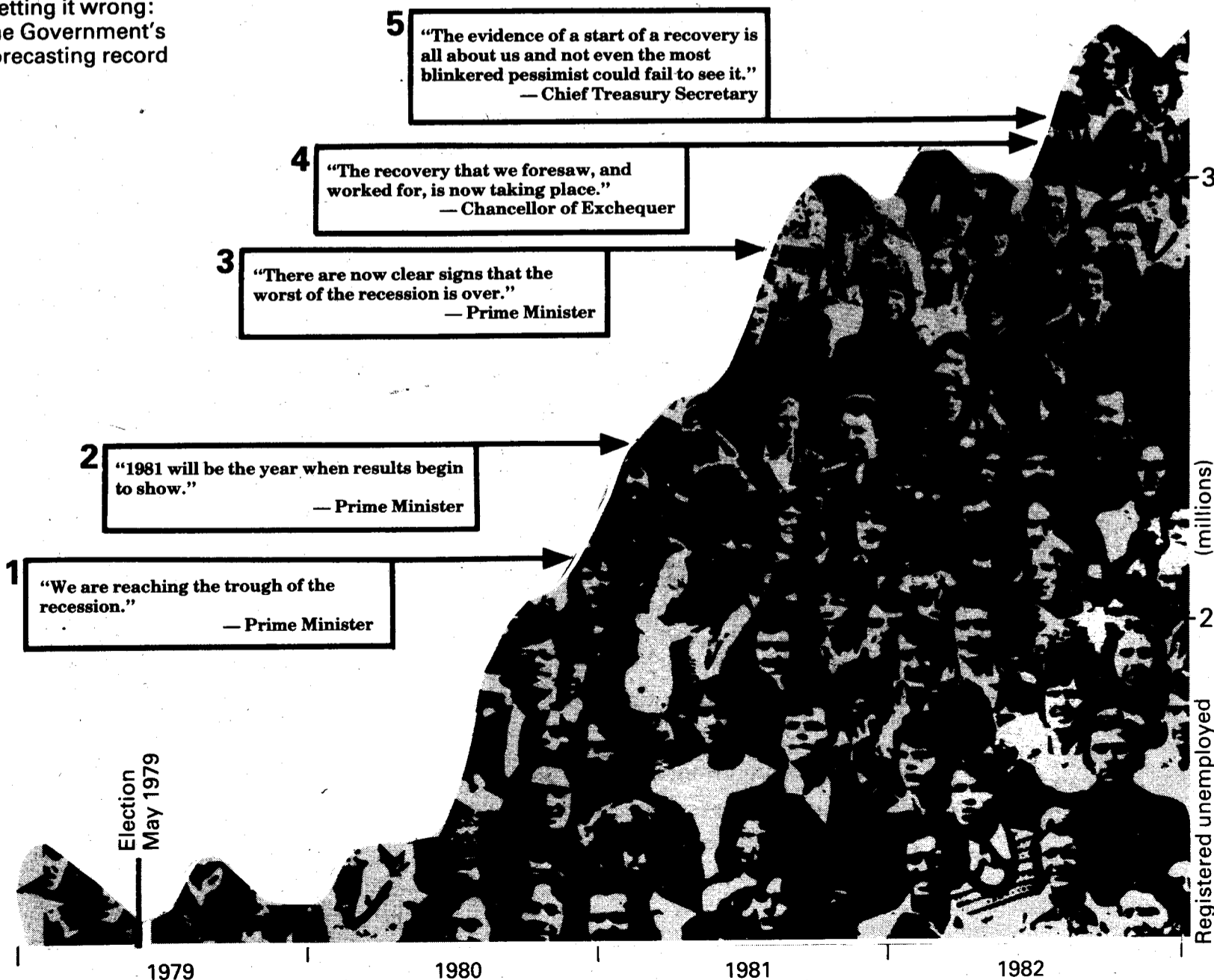
WHILE the government blames the rise in unemployment on international factors, they don't say that inflation has also gone down in most other advanced capitalist countries. But this trend will not last.

In Britain, in particular, inflation will begin to increase again from the last quarter of this year. This was one of the factors that made Thatcher opt for a cut-and-run election.

But prospects for employment are worse. Thatcher has managed to suppress most of the authoritative reports on the economy in the lead-up to the elections. But the Cambridge Economic Policy Group, which has produced the most accurate forecasts on unemployment during the past years, predicts that a further five years of Thatcher would take registered unemployment up to over four million in 1988 — the highest in Western Europe. By 1993 unemployment would be five million.

THE PLAIN truth is that with the Tories there is no light at the end of the tunnel. With a Labour victory the fight begins for a society which doesn't cruelly dupe its unemployed, but guarantees every person a productive role in a society which plans for human need not profit.

Getting it wrong: the Government's forecasting record



economy

	%		%
	-11.9	UK	12.4
	-7.0	Italy	9.1
Netherlands	-2.7	Netherlands	8.9
OECD average	-1.6	USA	8.6
France	0.0	OECD average	8.3
West Germany	0.9	France	8.2
Australia	6.3	Australia	6.2
Japan	10.9	West Germany	5.5
	13.7	Japan	2.2

Notes:

- 1 Change from the second quarter of 1979 to the first quarter of 1982. Source OECD Main Economics Indicators.
- 2 Standardised unemployment rate, first quarter 1982. Source OECD Economic Outlook July 1982.
- 3 Change from 1978 to 1981.

THE SUN, Thursday, May 26, 1983

WHY THE JOBLESS ARE VOTING TORY

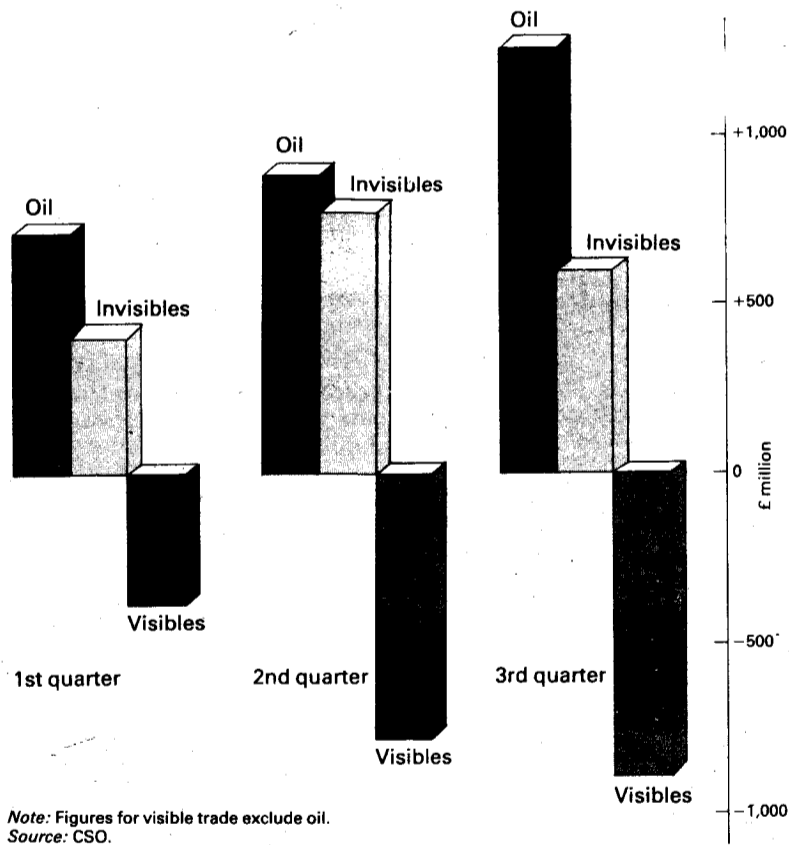
The main plank in Labour's election platform is the plight of Britain's 3 million unemployed. So you might think that people in the dole queues would be solidly in favour of a Labour Government.

But you couldn't be more wrong. Today The Sun investigates why they prefer Premier Margaret Thatcher's vision of a dynamic new Tory future.

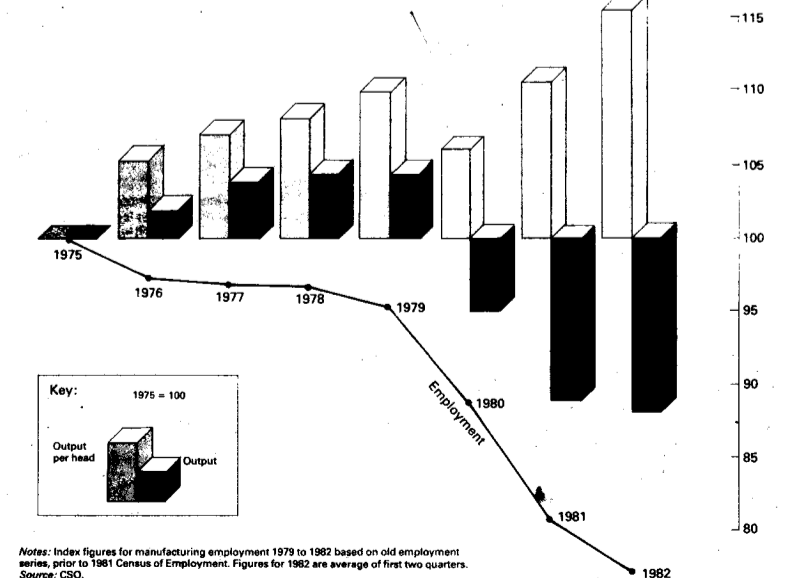
THURSDAY JUNE 9

By SUE FREEMAN

The balance of payments in 1982



The 'productivity miracle' in manufacturing



All graphics from TUC Economic Review 1983

PETER SHORE, the Shadow Chancellor of the Exchequer, makes no bones about Labour needing an incomes policy. He says that the National Economic Assessment proposed in Labour's manifesto is for 'moderation in wage matters ... whether it is expressed as a social contract, a national understanding, or in any other way'.

Jim Callaghan and Denis Healey echoed this when they both made keynote speeches calling for wage restraint.

The ruling class agrees. Papers like the *Financial Times* insist wage cuts are needed whoever governs.

The pro-incomes policy lobby seize on the experience of the Labour government in 1974 when free collective bargaining ruled. They say inflation galloped away, the pound collapsed and ultimately the government had to give in to the International Monetary Fund's demands for cuts in wages, services and jobs.

The argument that it won't happen again doesn't wash either, as a glance at Mitterrand's France shows. The causes of the 'economic chaos' as the press like to describe it however lie not in the wage demands of the workers but in the capitalists' thirst for profit.

The chaos of inflation is the result of the workers' struggle being restricted to wage demands and not

fighting the employers by political measures which stop the bosses punishing the working class by inflating prices increases.

In 1974 when a Labour government was returned on a tide of mass struggle Wilson was forced to impose a rents and prices freeze. An extra £2 billion was pumped into the social services, pensions were jacked up and real wages increased by 10 per cent.

Only later when the right wing leaders had dampened down the struggle were the bosses able to take their revenge by swingeing price rises.

A slump is not a national disaster like an earthquake or a flood. It arises out of the fact that capitalists can't get a big enough return on their capital.

Thatcher claims she has a solution to this and sets out to slash wages in real terms by about 40 per cent. This is a self-defeating policy. Reduced wages for the workers mean reduced purchasing power which in turn means workers buy less goods and therefore the bosses can't sell enough goods to create new jobs.

This is why most economic forecasts assume that if her policies carry on there will be no appreciable fall in unemployment this century.

Have the Labour leaders got an alternative? They claim that by pumping money into the economy people will buy more goods which will stimulate increased production and create more jobs. But the capitalists object that such a policy won't restore profits. When Shore took his policy to the Treasury computer it told him that only a 20 per cent wage cut spread over five years would make his policy work.

The *New Statesman* (26 November 1982) explained such a wage cut would send profits 'into the stratosphere'. The choice is not between so-called chaos and sanity. It's a choice between cutting wages or profits. Any economic chaos which came out of a policy that cut profits would

be the result of the bosses withdrawing their money and sabotaging the economy.

This opposition can be dealt with. But it needs measures that attack capital by taking control of the economy out of its hands. Here, of course, the National Economic Assessment falls flat on its face.

It bases Labour's strategy on collaboration between unions and employers. The Tories and the employers know what they want; wage cuts, a big run down of the NHS and other public services, reducing the railways to an inter-city business travel network and conscription for youth.

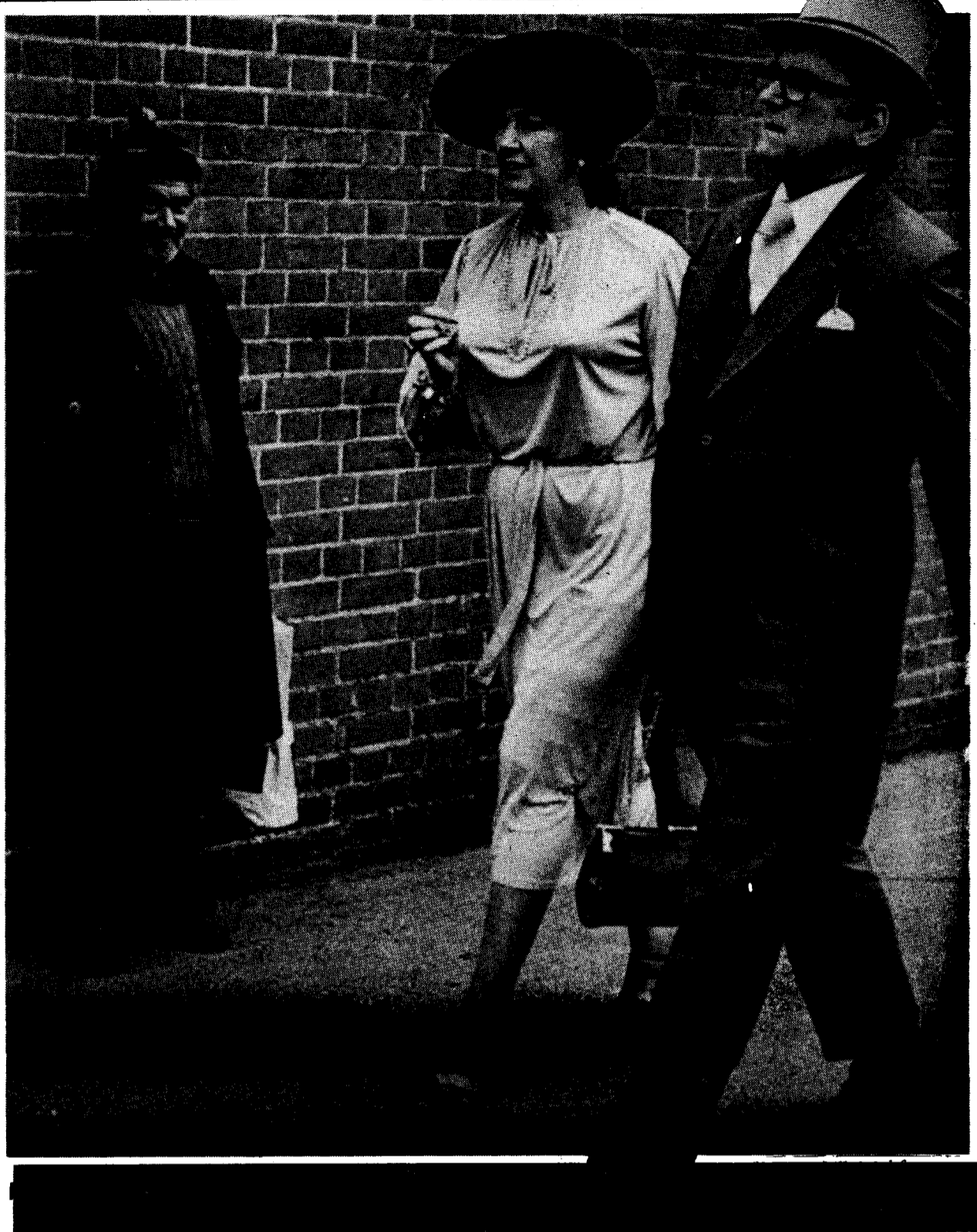
The National Assessment would not give the unions any right to impose their will on the employers. All they have is the right to 'consult' and to 'present alternatives' — much the same as under the Social Contract.

The unions can not improve their conditions and defend jobs with such a policy in the present economic climate. They have to use the time-honoured weapons of strikes and occupations.

A future Labour government would then have two choices. It can either do as Healey and company did last time and accuse the unions of dragging Britain into chaos or it can legislate in favour of the strikers and against the employers, encouraging the workers to take over the factories, run them and nationalise such concerns.

These are the two options before Labour's left. Either it's more of the same or an alliance of the Labour Party, with the unions and the mass struggle — in or out of office. That is the only way to stop the employers imposing poverty and mass unemployment.

It is also the only way that the left inside the trade unions and the Labour Party can defeat the right wing — the willing prisoners of the International Monetary Fund and the British establishment.



Socialist ACTION

Why 'tactical voting is wrong'

SOME LABOUR supporters, despairing the chaos produced by Healey and Callaghan in Labour's campaign, might be tempted to follow the advice given in last week's *New Statesman*.

Predicting a Thatcher landslide, it advised its readers to vote for the Alliance in 22 English constituencies and for the SNP in six Scottish constituencies.

This advice is wrong both in principle and practice. The Labour Party is still the only party that can realistically beat the Tories.

Advice

The *New Statesman's* advice will be heeded not only by those in the constituencies they target but right across the board. It effectively calls for a vote for the Alliance. This may or may not have been the *New Statesman's* intention, but it certainly boosted David Owen's jumping on the tactical voting bandwagon, with an appeal to back the Alliance.

Neither would a vote for the Alliance be an alternative to Thatcher.

Many of Thatcher's policies are contained in the Alliance manifesto. Furthermore Jenkins and Steel have said that if the Tories are the largest party in a hung parliament, they might enter into coalition with them on the basis of electoral reform and vague promises to reduce unemployment.

Remains

That is why a vote for Labour remains the only possible vote for the labour movement. The *New Statesman* and all those who are thinking of repeating their advice are hurting the labour movement, aiding the Alliance and consequently the Tories.

Only the largest possible Labour vote on 9 June can defeat, and in the worst case, deter Thatcher.

Respectable racism

WHEN THE *Daily Mirror* exposed Thomas Finnegan, the Tory candidate for Stockton, as a former National Front organiser it should not have come as a great shock.

For some time ex-Front members and members of the League of St George have been joining the Tory party.

As the Tories have steadily stolen the right wing ground from the fascists, so have the racist scum left the marginalised organisations of fascism for the more respectable home of Toryism.

Nor have they been unwelcome. Mr Finnegan was adopted for a fairly safe Tory seat. Right-wing racist groups like the British Union of Fascists have been invited to speak to Young Conservative branches.

Of course the Tory party is not a fascist party. But it is a congenial home for racists and holders of extreme-right opinions.

Editor: ALAN FREEMAN

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Photo: PETE GRANT

CND at work

EARLIER this year the ASTMS group of St Mary's Hospital in Paddington initiated a work place CND.

The group agreed to keep it as open as possible to involve other unions (NUPE, G&M, etc) non-union members and medical students.

The organising

meeting was a great success, attracting five midwives and also members of ASTMS who were not previously active in the union.

The St Mary's nuclear disarmament group was launched on the International Women's Day of Action with a leaflet. This will

be followed up by a showing of one of the excellent CND films of the medical effects of nuclear war.

Effective work place groups are both possible and necessary to win nuclear disarmament. ANITA PATEL, ASTMS, St Mary's Hospital, Paddington

CND on the march: now's the time to take it into the workplaces

Ultra-left humbug

YOUR editorial about the coalitionist tendencies on Labour's front bench (SA 29 April) has to be the biggest piece of ultra-left humbug this year.

Considering that prominent supporters of your paper are also well-known advocates of proportional representation, you are in no position to cast the first stone.

Listen to what Peter Zentner, an SDP journalist, has to say:

'The Alliance grouping is like Communism: once in power, it is in forever. But where Communism does this by abolishing elections and installing a dictatorship of the proletariat, the Alliance would achieve permanent government through the introduction of proportional representation'. (*Social Democracy in Britain*, p197).

That is the prospect you are opening up — justified ostensibly by a few trivial commonplaces about abstract democratic theory, but in reality by your willingness to sacrifice the prospect of working-class majorities in Parliament in exchange for the chance of one or two seats for the ultra-left.

Why are you so keen to kill off the possibility of confirming Marx's view that there was a parliamentary road to working class power in Britain?

JULIAN WELLS, Greenwich CLP

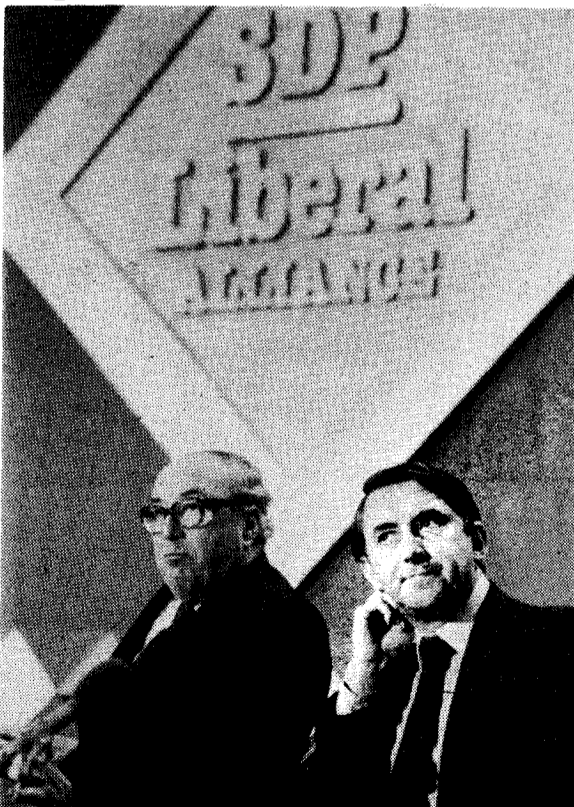


Photo: JOHN HARRIS

Jenkins and Steel — the road to working class power in Britain?

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)

LETTERS

Bombs and jobs

LABOUR CND is pledging its support for the People's March for Jobs.

We believe there is a clear link between high military spending and mass unemployment, and totally reject Heseltine's scurrilous smear that Labour's proposed defence cuts would lead to job losses.

The Tories have boosted defence spending while slashing spending on housing, transport and education — their record of job destruction now speaks for itself.

Far from creating secure jobs, Britain's exorbitant military budget has placed a strain on the nation's resources, hindered advances in civilian technology, and been a major factor in industrial decline and job losses.

Defence spending

provides far fewer jobs per pound than does social production; as the defence sector becomes increasingly more capital-intensive things can only go from bad to worse.

It is no coincidence that Britain has the highest defence budget among our West European Allies, the lowest productivity and the worst unemployment.

If Mr Heseltine had bothered to read Labour's manifesto he would know that Labour plans to give material support to industrial conversion plans so that no defence workers are thrown out of work.

Crucially, by diverting resources to labour-intensive and socially useful production Labour will bring back the two million jobs the Tories have destroyed.

LABOUR CND, London

Complaining socialist

AS A socialist, I like to think that answers to the problems of society can be found, and like to take a positive view.

I found *Socialist Action* to be one of the most consistently negative publications I have read.

It is a common charge laid against socialists that they complain bitterly about world conditions, but can offer no workable solutions.

I disagree with that charge and like to think that we socialists are working out a viable alternative to self interested capitalism, but the kind of moaning and wingeing I see in *Socialist Action*

perpetuates the myth of the blind-complaining socialist.

Anyone who reads your paper knows already that Thatcherism is bad, they do not need to be told over and over again, almost as if it were a subject to gloat over.

Get rid of the carping and complaining, and fill the paper with what the paper calls itself, socialist ACTION, and you will be on a winner, but at the moment it's thumbs down from me.

This letter is intended as constructive criticism, and I hope you will accept it in the spirit it was given.

IAN F MCRAE, Dundee



Photo: CHRIS DAVIES (Report)

Sue Slipman — should union pay for SDP campaign?

NUPE resolution

HAVING just returned from the NUPE National Conference I would like to take the opportunity, through your pages, to make an appeal to all NUPE members who read your paper.

All NUPE members, and your readers, must be aware that Sue Slipman, a full-time paid official of NUPE, is standing for the SDP in the Basildon constituency.

It is the weekly contributions of low-paid and poorly treated NUPE members that pay Slipman's £10,000 p.a. and provide her with a brand new car every year.

It is therefore disgusting that she has been granted three weeks' paid leave by the union to go off and campaign for the SDP's repressive and reactionary trade union and incomes policies.

We are urging all NUPE branches to send resolutions direct to the Executive Committee and calls for her dismissal on the grounds that her actions directly contravene Rule 2 (1) under the objects of the National Union of Public Employees.

GEOFF MARTIN, Branch Chair, Sutton Area Hospitals NUPE

Can Pakistan survive?

TARIQ USES the scalpel of Marxism skilfully to dissect the body of Pakistan. If the state is still clinically alive today, this is mainly because it is kept going by the attachment of a life-maintaining apparatus provided by imperialism and, chiefly, by US imperialism.

The opening chapter of the book gives a brief but concise history of the Indian sub-continent from the rule of the Moghul emperors, through the period of the British Raj to the division which came with the departure of the British in 1947.

This gives a clear picture showing how, by fostering and deepening the divisions between Hindu and Moslem, the British laid the seeds for the eventual rupture.

In India, the powerful capitalist state had an instrument to hand to take over the reins of state-power. Congress had a genuine mass base in the rural and urban petty bourgeoisie and a limited following in the working class. By contrast, Jinnah's Muslim League was an organization with a limited mass base 'but

strong in the countryside because of the grip which landlords and religious mystagogues exercised over the peasantry.'

Reviewed by
C. van Gelderen

In some parts of the new country, Baluchistan, the north-west frontier province, and in the Pathan countryside, the League was almost unknown. The Punjabi landlords had, until recently, been extremely hostile. A further complication was the fact that 1,000 miles of Indian territory separated West Pakistan from East Pakistan (now Bangladesh).

From the beginning the unstable and unreal nature of Pakistan became manifest. These contradictions were accentuated by the wind of revolution which

was blowing through Asia. Fearful for their future, the Pakistan rulers turned to Washington for aid. It was aid which did not come without strings.

As an official US document said '... Technical Assistance is only one of a number of instruments available ... to carry out (our) foreign policy and to promote (our) national interests abroad. Pakistan was strategically important to the US as a buffer to the Soviet Union in the north and the new threat from Communist China.'

The book deals graphically with the volatile history and the recurring crises which have earmarked the decade and a half since Pakistan's birth. It seems a bleak future for a country which should never have come into being. The centrifugal forces of the different nationalities will continue the process begun by Bangladesh and tear it apart. Real unification and a re-

united India will only come in the aftermath of a socialist revolution.

In an important chapter, headed 'Geopolitics and the Super Powers' Tariq deals with the situation in Afghanistan before and after the Soviet invasion, and in Iran under the Shah and Khomeini. He shows that, despite Soviet claims, the Red Army is in Afghanistan, not at the invitation of the Kabul government but for reasons of Soviet foreign and strategic policy. Far from rallying the people to socialism, it has stimulated armed resistance to the Soviet puppet regime in Kabul.

Prophetic

About the Stalinist Tudeh Party, who remained loyal to Khomeini despite his reactionary politics he is almost prophetic.

'Some of its leaders are no doubt thinking "After Khomeini, our turn." History, however, may have some nasty surprises in store for them.'

Iran, under the Shah, played an important role in sustaining the various reactionary regimes in Islamabad. Now, under Khomeini, it is encouraging the Islamicisation of Pakistan under Zia, with its accompaniment of public floggings, executions, repression of women etc. Of the future, Tariq has this to say:

'A voluntary Federation of South Asian Republics must remain the goal not only of socialists, but also of democrats who should not accept the cruel and arbitrary lines drawn by British rulers to divide nationalities and tribes from each other ...'

Can Pakistan survive?

The Death of a state
Tariq Ali
Penguin Books, £2.95



Paul Robeson playing Othello with Peggy Ashcroft as Desdemona in London 1928

A tribute to Paul Robeson

CHANNEL 4 gave viewers a late-night bonus on Tuesday. Scrapping their weekly black programme, probably for political reasons, they put on Sidney Poitier's *Tribute to Paul Robeson*.

Robeson had been an outstanding scholar, being Law Scholar of the Year, he was a top class athlete and had a magnificent baritone voice. Normally that would have assured him of a glittering future in America.

But there were snags. Robeson was black and to compound that crime he was a member of the US Communist Party. All his life he suffered at the hands of a white racist society.

Poitier shows through Robeson's famous song 'Ole Man River' how Robeson's political consciousness developed. When he first sang it in the musical *Show Boat*, he did so in the traditional Uncle Tom idiom, complete with the word 'niggers'.

The following year he replaced this with the more acceptable (only just), 'darkies'. But this was only the beginning. Through the years, as he became more political, the words of the song changed significantly.

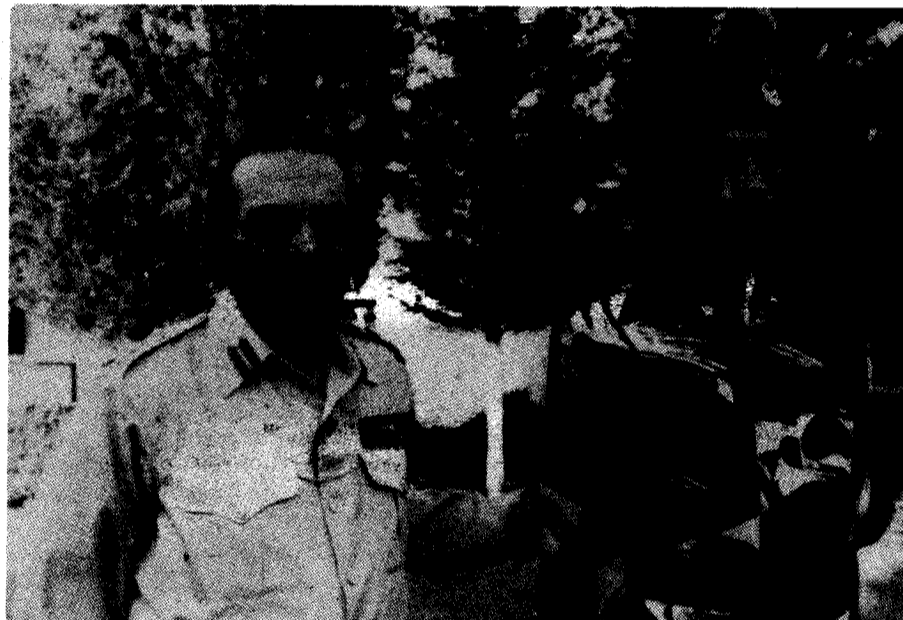
'I'm tired of living and scared of dying' became 'we must keep fighting until we're dying'. Robeson first used this version, standing in No Man's Land during the Spanish Civil War, bringing the fighting to a stand-still as

both sides listened to his superb voice.

'You get a little drunk and you go to jail' became 'you show a little grit and you go to jail.' During the McCarthy period, Robeson became a 'non-person' in true 1984 style. His outstanding achievements in scholarship and athletics simply disappeared from the records.

Forbidden to travel abroad, he stood on the American-Canadian border and sang, with hundreds of thousands of Canadians coming to hear him. His courage never deserted him.

The last time he sang Ole Man River was in Sydney, he knew he was a dying man. Now the words were: 'I must go on fighting until I'm dying'.



General Zia: hailing the army as 'fountain head of inspiration'

TV CHOICE

Opinions

Sunday 5 June
5.30 Channel 4

PATRICK Watts is the twerp who was awarded the MBE for keeping the Falklands radio going whilst the dastardly Argentinians overran the island. Here he deliberates on why the Malvinas should be British, after being flown to Britain at great expense by Channel 4.

Election Results

Thursday and Friday,
BBC and ITV

WITH the likely outcome of the election, a lot of readers may not feel up to watching the results into the night. For those of you that intend to settle down with the Party Four's, what should you watch?

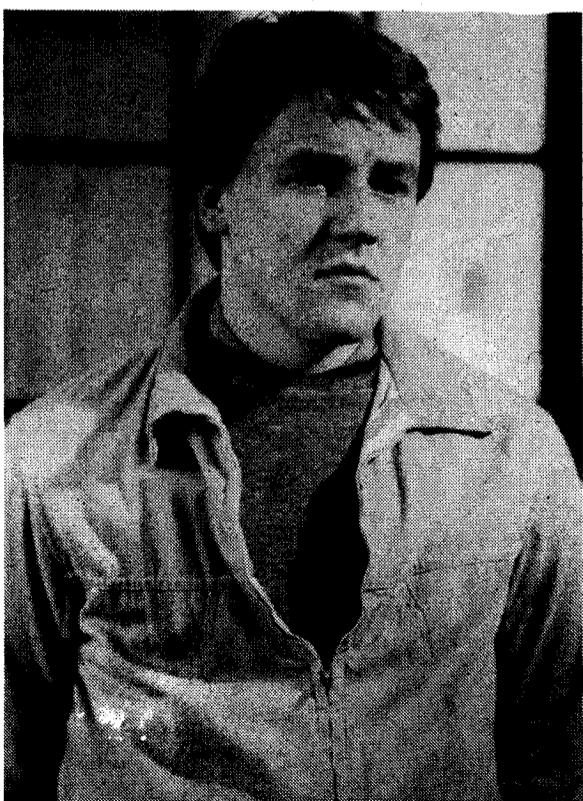
The BBC kicks off just before 11.00 with 'anchorperson' David Dimbleby. Sir Robin Day interrogates the pundits and will become more arrogant as the night wears on. Peter Snow will twiddle the

computer. No swingometer this time, as Robert McKenzie pegged out last year.

Over at ITN the pathetically-titled 'The Nation Decides' starts at 10.00 with Alistair Burnet in charge, you can be sure that impartiality will prevail just like when he was editor of the *Daily Express*.

Peter Sissons tries to out do the BBC on the micro-chip front with ITN's computer. Wimpish Martyn Lewis is giving the results. If you're still awake at 4.00 you can watch *Bullet* with Steve McQueen on ITV and then back to the election at 6.00.

If you want to be part of a select few watch TV-am. The BBC carries on through *Breakfast Time* and then Sir Robin and Co are back until 4.00 in the afternoon. If the thought of all this is too much for you Channel 4 are showing a good British film from 1959, *Room at the Top*, at 12.25 in the morning. BBC2 has *Kluge* with Jane Fonda and Donald Sutherland. My recom-



Ray Winston who plays the leading role in *Scum*

mendation is to stock up with plenty of cans, turn the sound down and have a party.

Scum

Friday 10 June,
11.30, Channel 4

AS EVERYONE must know, the BBC banned the original TV play about life in Borstal. The film version was made by the same team and there's no indication that C4 have cut any of it.

A revolutionary in Broadmoor

ALAN REEVE'S escape from Broadmoor in August 1981 and his recapture in Amsterdam following a shoot out with Dutch police a year later got massive coverage in the media.

Almost everyone agreed that Reeve, 'criminally insane' and a double-murderer, was best kept out of circulation for life. Reeve's autobiography should change that. This clearly written and intelligent book gives a devastating insight into the British prison system and the treatment and control of the criminally 'insane' which will broaden any socialist's understanding of how the state deals with 'deviance' and dissidents.

Reeve's story is fascinating and terrifying. A disturbed and disrupted childhood led to a trail of petty crime. Each incident, and the increasingly brutal and uncaring response of the authorities, isolated the young Alan from his parents and placed him and his elder brother in a state of individual revolt against the adult world.

This familiar story has

a tragic twist. While on the run from Borstal, drugged and in a state of high tension, Alan killed another boy during a quarrel. At the age of fifteen he was committed to Broadmoor for an indefinite period under the Mental Health Act.

Reviewed by
Peter Purton

The most interesting part of the book describes how Reeve survived periods of brutal maltreatment and solitary confinement, and being framed for another murder, and came to terms with himself and his relationship with other people and society as a whole.

This was done by an intense period of study, starting with Marxism. As one of those people on the edge of society who suffer the sharp point of state violence, Reeve was able to go beyond the individual response and

understand the nature of capitalist society and the repressive and divisive role of the capitalist state.

He also came to identify as gay, developing not only a series of deep personal relationships with other 'cons', but also achieving a high level of understanding of sexual oppression. Most extraordinarily, he managed to organise a series of political discussion groups and a string of political actions inside Broadmoor, and set up both a Gay Liberation Front and a Maoist organisation!

It was this political action, and especially his uncompromising defence of the Irish national liberation struggle, which led to the rejection of three appeals for release, despite the full backing of the medical and psychiatric staff at Broadmoor.

This is a disturbing book. It deals with things most of us would prefer to ignore. That is why it should be widely read.

Notes from a
waitingroom

Alan Reeve
Heretic Books, £3.50

DIARY

(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).

● **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.

● **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.

New Socialist Action pamphlet:



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

● **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.

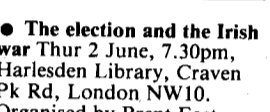
● **Walk for Life** from Faslane nuclear submarine base to Greenham Common, 19 May to 6 August. When the march arrives at Torness nuclear power station a festival will greet them on Bank Holiday Monday (30 May) with music, theatre, stalls etc. For more details of events contact the Scottish Campaign to Resist the Atomic Menace (SCRAM), 11 Forth Street, Edinburgh 031-557 4284.

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 (CND) in association with the Manchester City Council. A ticket for the 1983-84 season is available from the CND office, 11 St. Ann Street, Manchester M2 7LJ.

● **The election and the Irish war** Thur 2 June, 7.30pm, Harlesden Library, Craven PK Rd, London NW10. Organised by Brent East RCP.

● **Trade Unions and Revolution in Nicaragua.** New bulletin produced by Nicaragua Solidarity. 75p from NSC, 20 Compton Terrace, London N1.

● **People's March for Jobs: Mass Rally** with Tony Benn, Ken Livingstone and Ray Buckton Thur 2 June, Brent Town Hall.

Ealing March arrives at Ealing Hospital Fri 3 June at 1.30pm — come and greet the marchers. Followed by Rally at 3pm at Southall Community Centre, Bridge Rd with Michael Foot speaking.

GLC Festival to welcome the march, Sat 4 June, 12-8pm, Crystal Palace Concert Bowl. Admission free.

National demonstration 11am Sun 5 June, Battersea Park, South London to Hyde Park.

● **After the election — what now?** RCP public meeting with speakers Mike Freeman (editor *The Next Step*) and RCP election candidates. Tues 14 June, 7.30pm, Holborn Library, Theobalds

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● **Labour's Alternative Rally** with Ernie Roberts & Brian Sedgemore (Labour candidates), Vernon Hince (NUR), plus People's Marcher & Greenham Common speakers. Fri 3 June, 7.30pm, Assembly Hall, Mare St, East London.

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1st CONFERENCE
 COUNTY HALL LONDON SE1
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 APPLY FOR DETAILS FROM 32 ELLERY ROAD LONDON SE9
4 & 5th JUNE 83

● **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.

● **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 Ardalan (rep of KOMALA abroad, the largest Kurdish movement in Iranian Kurdistan). 35p plus p&p from the Kurdish Solidarity Ctee (UK), 29 Islington Park Road, London N1 1QB. KSC has regular meetings on the third Sunday of each month at 7.30pm, Prince Albert Pub, Wharfedale Rd, Kings Cross. Dublin 801 438.

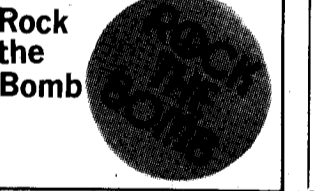
● **Release Nicky Kelly Committee** can be contacted at 11 Grange Terrace, Blackrock, Co Dublin. Dublin 801 438.

● **Anti Trident Convention**, Sat 4 June, Kelvin Hall, Arena, Glasgow 11-4.30pm. Details from ATC, 420 Sauchiehall St, Glasgow, 041-332 3141.

● **Youth CND Conference**, 2 July, Manchester. For

details contact YCND, 11 Goodwin St, London N4.

● **Rock the Bomb**



The Politics of Thatcherism

Edited by Stuart Hall and Martin Jacques Lawrence & Wishart (in association with Marxism Today) £4.95

Thatcher's Britain: A Guide to the Ruins

Pluto Press & New Socialist £1.50

Labour's Plan: The New Hope for Britain

The Labour Party 95p

details contact YCND, 11 Goodwin St, London N4.

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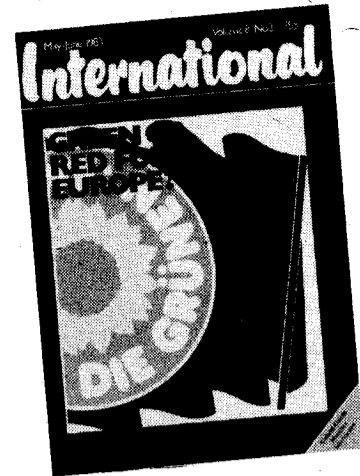
can do it for the Tories
 Socialist Action's Diary pages can do it for your campaign, Labour Party and trade union events! The listings are free, but why not splash out with a display ad? For details of our rates and design service, phone Pete on 01-359 8371.

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.



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

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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 convenor, 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.

Support your paper

Well, we said it all along. The Labour Party's right wing has sabotaged the election campaign on nuclear disarmament, and has connived in silencing working class protest over unemployment in the Peoples March.

tion can play a big part in these battles to come — but only with YOUR support. And that means, of course, YOUR MONEY.

Cash

If you are getting weary of continual appeals for cash, and having to check how much you have on you at this moment, then we have a simple solution which leaves you with a clear conscience. TAKE OUT A STANDING ORDER and become a regular supporter. It is a necessary part of our budget. Without your contributions there would be no Socialist Action. But getting your contributions straight into our account, on the same day every month, makes life so much easier for us.

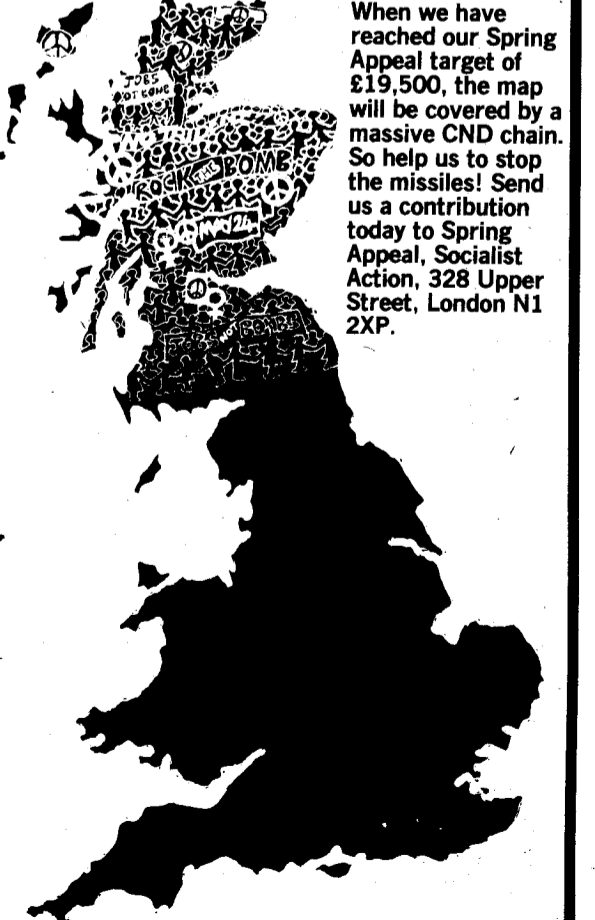
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Special thanks to those who contributed to our special election fund drive

Ealing	30.00
Ian Pope	2.00
Bath	20.00
East London	10.00
Brent	200.00
Southampton	55.00
Lewisham	57.00
W.Yates	0.50
This week	1186.85
Total	7867.29



When we have reached our Spring Appeal target of £19,500, the map will be covered by a massive CND chain. So help us to stop the missiles! Send us a contribution today to Spring Appeal, Socialist Action, 328 Upper Street, London N1 2XP.

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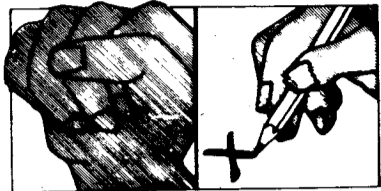
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The future of the Tories



ELECTION '83

'CUT AND RUN' aptly describes why the Tories called the election. The local government elections showed them gradually losing support. By autumn the economic situation will be worse and unemployment will be up again.

Thatcher therefore decided on a pre-emptive strike — to hit the labour movement hard and fast before Conservative support declined.

The Tories have two objectives. First, of course, to ensure that they are re-elected. But second, to smash the left in the Labour Party, and to ensure that the alternative to the Tories is not a Labour government, but a Labour/Alliance coalition.

To put it another way, the aim of the Tories and the ruling class is to make sure that Margaret Thatcher is prime minister and that Denis Healey leads the Labour Party.

The two are related — the Labour right wing would much rather have another Tory government than a left Labour government which took Britain out of the EEC or was committed to a nuclear-free Britain. The way the Labour right sabotaged Tatchell's campaign in Bermondsey and the Brent re-selection confirms this.

But are the Tories really as strong as they appear? Despite Thatcher riding high in the opinion polls all the evidence points to the fact that the Tories are undergoing an historical decline. Contrary to the impression created by the media, in 1979 Thatcher did not halt the trend towards a lessening of the Tories' share of the vote. Thatcher won because of the decline of both parties simultaneously.

The figures below show the downward trend of support for the Tories since their highest ever vote in 1931. The fifty year downward trend of support is massive.



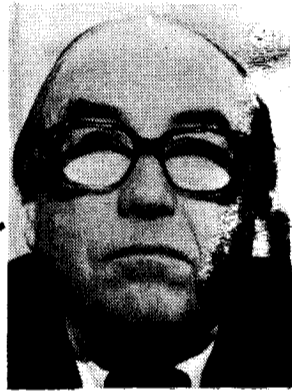
Photo: MARK RUSHER (JEL)



Duffy would be happy to cast a vote for coalition.



Healey

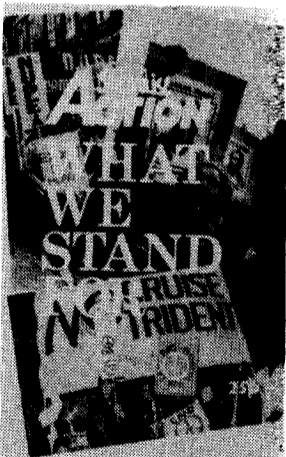


Jenkins

What we stand for pamphlet

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The policies that Socialist Action stands for in this election and beyond. Send 25p plus 16p postage for your copy to Socialist Action, PO Box 50, London N1 2XP.



Tory Victories

Year	Tory % of the vote
1931	55.0
1935	53.3
1951	48.8
1955	49.7
1959	49.4
1970	46.4
1979	43.9

Tory Defeats

1945	39.6
1950	43.4
1964	43.4
1966	41.9
1974 (February)	37.2
1974 (October)	35.8

The trend here is obvious. With the exception of the 1945-51 period

when the whole Tory vote shifted massively down and then up because of the post-war landslide, each Tory victory and each Tory defeat was won or lost on a lower vote than previously.

Of course these figures cannot be projected mechanically into the future. With large oil revenues to offset the economic decline, Thatcher has a relatively favourable situation. Fluctuations within the general decline can always occur. But Thatcher has not, and will not, succeed in reversing the general downward trend.

One of the most intelligent comments on the future of the Tories was made by, of all people, Roy Jenkins. He said that the 'people' (read: capitalist class) should have no illusions. If Thatcher won the election this time she could not win the one after. If Labour's politics continued, the outcome might be the most left wing Labour government in history.

Jenkins' conclusion was that the ruling class ought to shift its allegiance to the SDP/Liberal Alliance.

The highpoint of votes for 'third'

parties was in 1974 — when 25 per cent of the electorate voted for the Liberals, Nationalists etc. Whether the SDP/Liberal Alliance comes near to that will be the real measure of their success.

But what happens to the Alliance is small beer compared with what happens inside the Labour Party. The ruling class want desperately to do a job on the Labour left, to prepare for a possible future collapse of support for the Tories. At the moment the Labour Party's policies are totally unacceptable to the ruling class.

No serious section of capitalist opinion will accept a government pledged to unilateral disarmament, opposed to the EEC and opposed to incomes policy. This means a campaign to break the Labour Party from these radical policies and impose Healey as the party leader.

The mechanics of 're-centering' Labour and making it fit for a coalition with the Alliance are already being worked on. For example, right-wing Labour MP Austin Mitchell comments in his book *The Case for*

the Labour Party that 'the most' the Labour Party could accept on electoral reform is a referendum, is a clear sign of clearing the decks for a possible coalition.

Terry Duffy's call for Labour to abandon its policies on unilateralism, the EEC and incomes policy is part of the same process.

To carry through this project requires a reversal of the relationship of forces inside the Labour Party. A crushing Labour defeat at the polls would be grist to the mill in this process.

The ruling class safeguards its long term as well as its short term interests. The more clear sighted realise that the Tory Party is undergoing an historical decline. To sleep safer at night it wants Margaret Thatcher as prime minister and Dennis Healey, or someone under his thumb, as leader of the Labour Party.

The same papers that are today extolling the virtues of Thatcher will after the election explain how Healey has 'greatly increased his stature'. And if you think that that is contradictory, you'll believe anything.

Socialist Action

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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.

Left action needed in Telecom

THE POST OFFICE Engineering Union is in conference at Blackpool during general election week. The Bill to privatise British Telecom fell when the election was called, but the Tories are pledged to reintroduce it if re-elected.

The POEU national executive committee immediately called off the selective industrial action against the Bill.

DAVE WARD, secretary of the Horsham branch and a Broad Left candidate for the NEC who polled 57,439 votes at last conference, told us what faces the POEU Broad Left.

This is the most important conference ever for the POEU. A failure by the Broad Left to win a majority on the executive could have really serious consequences.

The branches and leadership of the union had conflicting views about what the industrial action against privatisation was all about. The Westminster and City branches, the branches taking industrial action, were fighting to win.

Their members were battling on behalf of the union to stave off privatisation. They were going to be the spark to set the union alight.

The responses from other branches were in the same vein, but the executive tried to limit the action and use it only to get press coverage. They had no intention of winning the action.

Ground

The very ground on which those two branches stood was being cut away by the executive. The executive was not part of the solution but part of the problem. They are hoping against hope for a Labour victory to let them off the hook.

The executive are juggling with members' jobs. By diverting the whole of the members' attention towards the election they have failed to

give any leadership. We have to argue at conference for the union to take industrial action against any government which attempts to privatise parts of British Telecom. That will be the major issue at conference.

British Telecom management have ordered the connection of Mercury to the BT network on 10 June. Failure to get agreement at conference to fight this will be a defeat for the left.

Win

We can win on these issues even if the Broad Left doesn't get as many people on the executive as we would like.

There are more and more people at the base of the union who followed the right wing but are now starting to oppose them. The job of the Broad Left must be to bring these forces together and give them the leadership they deserve. You can't do that without building the Broad Left in the branches.

If that happens the present leadership will find it more and more difficult to hold down the forces ranged against them.

Other issues will come up at conference. As far as the union leadership is concerned, our affiliation to CND is only a paper one. The Horsham branch

circulated a letter in the union to support the women of Greenham Common and reminding members that we are affiliated nationally to CND.

If we are going to be involved in industrial action against the government then a sensible thing to do would be to black cruise missiles as well. So, in the general election we would be taking industrial action against privatisation and cruise.

Active

Unfortunately the Newbury branch, which covers Greenham, and the executive are not in favour of doing anything about this. This is a tragedy.

Such action could have put the POEU on the front pages of every newspaper, it would have given the Tory cabinet a heart attack. But the struggles are not yet over. If the Tories are re-elected we will have to fight against privatisation and link up to these kind of battles.

• The actions of the Greenham women have inspired a call for British Telecom engineers to black-work on the missile sites.

British Telecom is a major contractor on these sites and Women in Telecom has started a call in the Post Office Engineering Union for this work to be boycotted.

The Horsham branch of the union sent a letter to all branches arguing the case for this action and a motion has been sent to the national conference.

This reads, 'That the POEU join the protest against cruise missiles in Britain by blacking work on the communications systems of the relevant bases.'

Black NALGO members to lobby conference

THE RIGHTS of black workers will be a major issue at this year's National and Local Government Officials Association conference.

Last year black delegates walked out of the conference giving clenched fist salutes. Their motion had been carved up by the executive and an alternative adopted which claimed the solution to racist discrimination is to educate black workers.

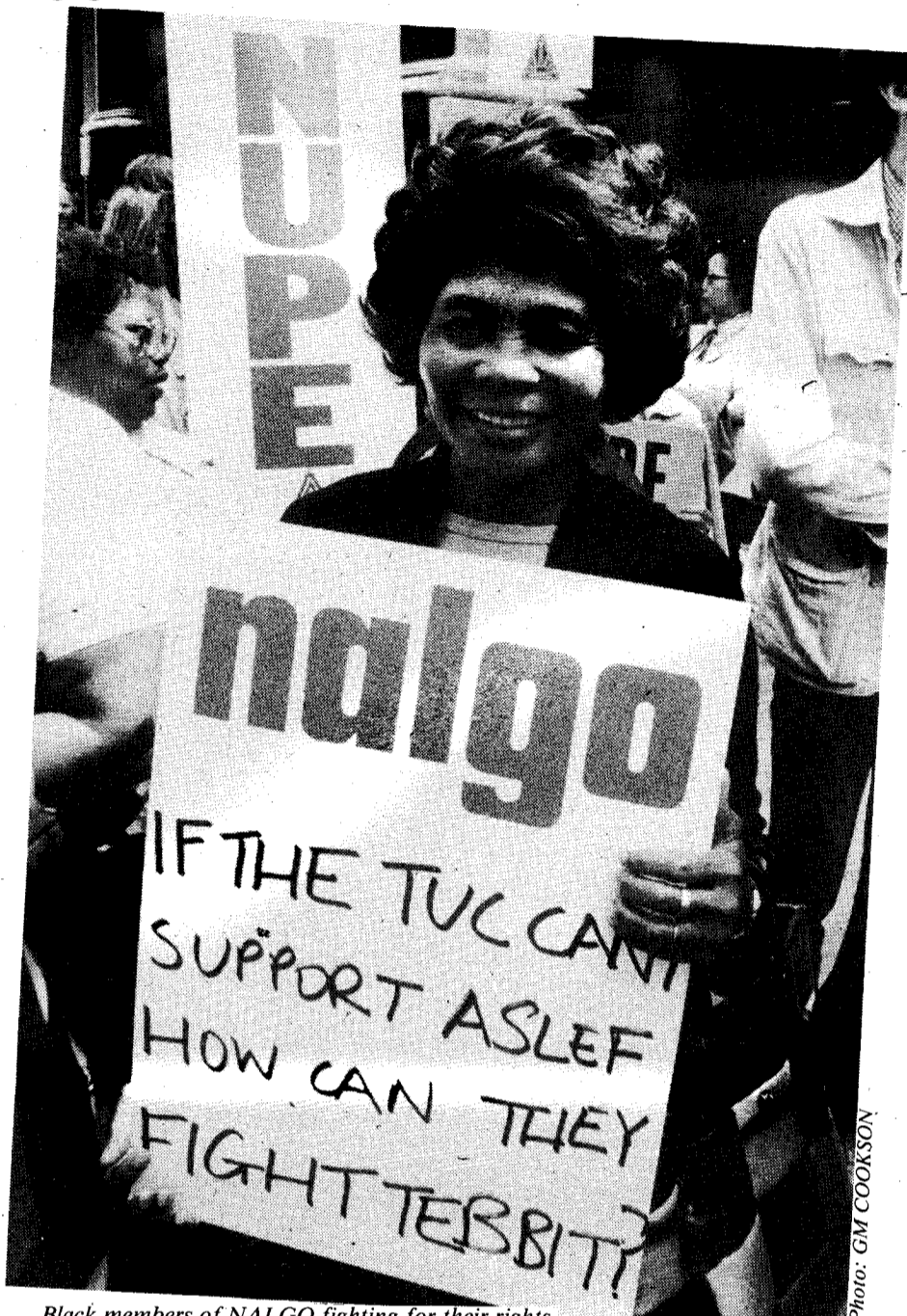
By Redmond O'Neill

The black delegates rejected the notion — which is common to the Tories and many Labour bureaucrats — that the problem is the ignorance of black people rather than the racism institutionalised in British society, including the labour movement.

Major

At this year's conference, in mid-July, black NALGO members are organising a major presence at the conference to urge support for a motion proposed by London Metropolitan district council — the biggest district in the country. The council is encouraging local branches to pay for black members to attend conference and many branches are sending large delegations of black observers.

The motion is probably more comprehensive than any discussed by a British trade union. It calls for affirmative action in hiring black workers, procedures to combat racism from employers and fellow workers, a national black workers conference, local black committees with representation on branch executives and legal and



Black members of NALGO fighting for their rights

financial assistance to victims of immigration and nationality laws.

The adoption of this motion by the Metropolitan district is the product of a concentrated

campaign by black NALGO members over the past year.

This has included a picket of the union's token race equality working party in February, the forma-

tion of local black workers' groups and a national NALGO black workers' conference in May attended by 150 workers from all over Britain.

Photo: GM COOKSON

Metal Box victory

JOYFUL Metal Box workers in Hackney unanimously voted to return to work after winning their fight against management attacks on conditions. 'There was a lot of hugging and kissing' laughed Jim Willis a leader of the strike committee.

'Our members worked really hard to bring this strike to a successful conclusion. Morale was high on the picket lines, which were maintained 24 hours a day throughout the two weeks.'

'Many of the strikers visited other unions and workshops to build the solidarity of the labour movement. Management really freaked out about the porta-cabin donated by the Hackney trades council. They knew we were prepared for a long strike if necessary.'

'The agreement we've won means that everyone who has been moved from shift to day work gets £400. A formula has been worked out for a 12 month contract on day work ensur-

ing that no one can be arbitrarily moved onto shifts'.

The bosses have abandoned any talk of reducing manning levels and have given a commitment to keep the Clapton factory open.

Jim explained that not all the strikers are affected by the loss of shift premium and won't get the £400 won from management. As a thank you for their solidarity action, those who get compensation are putting it into a kitty. This will be divided to give to those who do not benefit financially by going on strike. 'This branch has totally changed. It is now a force to be reckoned with. We will be using our extra funds to get the branch on its feet, including re-affiliating to the Hackney trades council.'

'The redundancy fight led by the engineers union just prior to our strike paved the way for us. We have showed people that you can fight and win something'. (Frank Gorton)



Brian Sedgemore and Ernie Roberts, local candidates, bring Labour's message to Metal Box pickets.

Photo: FRANK GORTON



Unit Superheaters struggle on

A PACKED meeting of local shop stewards called by the engineering union Broad Left in Swansea last week heard Unit Superheaters convenor Pete Thomas pledge to fight on against the British Steel Corporation.

The workers at Unit Superheaters have been on strike for over four weeks. At first the dispute was over forced redundancies, but now the BSC has announced the total closure of the plant.

David Jenkins, the Wales TUC research and administration officer, hit out at the BSC — Unit Superheaters parent company. 'This is an example of management at its worst. BSC has utilis-

ed this dispute to close the factory down and disintegrate the workers from their redundancy money'.

Following a High Court writ forcing the end of the occupation the workers have now mounted a 24 hour picket of the plant.

At last week's meeting many were strongly critical at the lack of support from the AUEW leadership and officials. Material is now being removed from the factory and blacking and solidarity action is now urgent.

• Messages and support to: Fred Evans, 8 Bishopston Rd, Bishopston, Swansea. (Graham Atwell)

Cowley fights on

IN APRIL BL Cowley workers ended a strike with a formula cooked up by national union officials. This involved four weeks of local negotiations over management attempts to scrap washing up time at the end of shifts.

These talks have brought no solution and last week 5000 assembly plant workers voted, with only a handful against, to support the stewards' recommendation to refuse to give up washing up time.

This enormous vote of confidence for the stewards is one in the eye for the sell out of national union leaders Duffy and Evans.

By a Cowley assembly plant worker

Management proposed to implement the cut in washing time on 7 June. It is now likely that they will drag out national procedure to avoid confrontation. The last thing they want is a flare up just before the general election.

While the inquiry was going on, management drove ahead on an efficiency programme with the full agreement of the national union leaders. This involved speed up on the Maestro, by three cars an hour, and increased workloads on other models. This led to the highest levels of production for 10 years. But management refuse to raise the maximum bonus level in return, until washing up time goes. They organised a cam-

paign of individual intimidation to force through their proposals. In breach of the return to work formula, they did a survey. Even then only 30 per cent agreed to give up their 30 minutes a week. Through our mass meeting we made it democratically clear where the workforce stands. As well as agreeing to keep washing time we were instructed by Transport Union convenor Bob Fryer to refuse to talk to management on an individual basis. We have said no to blackmail and intimidation.

Audited plant status is being used to prepare the next stage of the attacks started by Edwardes. This includes Tory manifesto plans to privatise BL. For this a determined attack on the unions is vital. The strength of the four week strike last month shows how far the Tories will have to go.

Although the end of the strike was a set back for our fight, we returned knowing that we had shown we are not going to



Cowley pickets out last month to save wash-up time

be easy prey. The nearby body plant shows this too. They did not strike but continue to walk off their job for washing up time even though this has officially been cut.

The issue now goes to national negotiation and the scene looks set for another battle. In the coming weeks stewards should be ready to take the issue out to the labour move-

ment nationally.

Last week thousands of leaflets were distributed in the assembly and body plants proclaiming 'vote for jobs, vote Labour'. These were produced by the local Labour Party and contained a message from Labour candidates for the area. Factory gate meetings of around 100 workers heard the candidate for Oxford East at-

tack plans to sell of BL.

This strengthens the Cowley workers' stand and should be followed with a firm Labour commitment to back the workers in dispute. A Labour victory will boost our confidence to fight Edwardes style management. If the Tories win, Labour backing for a fightback will be even more vital.

Photo: GM COOKSON

Only a fight can save jobs!

'WILL WE meet again next year?' This was on the minds of delegates at the 49th annual rail union conference of the guards, shunters and chargemen shunters grades, in Southport last weekend.

The nightmare of the complete disappearance of 15,000 guards in British Rail and London Transport is more real with the rumoured appointment of Alfred Goldstein as the chair of British rail.

Alfred Goldstein is the author of the so called 'minority' section of the Serpell report. The majority report is totally hostile to the nationalised railway system. Goldstein's option involved an even more ruthless hatchet job to slash the present 10,375 mile network to 1630 miles.

By Patrick Sikorski, NUR

The delegates were determined to fight back, even though they have been buffeted by the sell-out of last year's strikes against flexible rostering, driver-only-operation trains and the trainman's

concept. There was a small increase in the number of delegates this year. Resolutions from the Northampton and Nottingham areas were thrown out by large majorities because they accepted the trainman's concept as an accomplished fact.

There were also important changes in the executive committee. Strong class struggle candidates from Tinsley in Sheffield and Streatham in London beat right wing and Communist Party candidates by solid majorities.

The Broad Left fringe meeting attracted 50 of the 265 delegates. Delegates from Kings Cross, Marylebone and East and

West Ham branches pointed out that Serpell is being carried out already with BR attempts to close the engineering workshops and the Lincoln branch line.

They explained that effective opposition to Serpell could only be built by resisting the productivity measures being pushed through now by management.

Sack

Unfortunately there was no conference resolution mapping out a clear strategy for protecting jobs and dealing with new technology, apart from an emergency resolution from Kings Cross on the use of 'refresher' rules and regulation exams to weed out and sack guards.

Serious co-ordination must now be organised by those branches who are fighting back.



Railworkers battle against Serpell carve-up

Photo: JOHN HARRIS

Stop Tory bid to kill GLC

By Ken Livingstone

IF THATCHER wins the election she has pledged to abolish Metropolitan councils like the Greater London Council and Manchester. On 24 May GLC leader Ken Livingstone hit back with a report to a GLC meeting. We print extracts below.

THE TORIES have announced their plans to abolish the GLC and

remove the democratic right of Londoners to have a say in their city's future. This cheap election gimmick is a ploy to distract attention from the devastation of London caused by Tory policies over the last four years.

It is also a sop to convince their own backwoodsmen that the government is 'doing something' about rates — another area where the government record is one of total failure...

The Tories attack public spending as the root

of all evil, yet much villified local councils have actually controlled spending while the Tory government spending has expanded massively — to pay for Tory unemployment and Tory nuclear weapons...

The Tory manifesto says that the GLC is irrelevant. When they say that, people can be sure that the abolition threat is made because the GLC is relevant.

The Labour GLC is relevant to the millions of Londoners threatened by government policies. The Tory Party is so infuriated by our refusal to follow

the Tory line, that they are flying in the face of the realities of urban government.

All major western capital cities have a tier of government capable of taking a view of the city as a whole and being accountable to its residents...

Abolition is being proposed for purely political reasons. It is supported by the banks and multinationals of the City because they see an opportunity to cease paying a contribution to the cost of maintaining London's vital services and to throw those costs onto others, much less able to pay.'



Ken Livingstone



Lost and found

SCOTLAND Yard has foiled yet another IRA plot to blow us all up. Sharp-eyed sleuths spotted Sean O'Callaghan entering the country armed with an Armalite rifle, two tons of explosives and wearing a badge which said 'I am a fully-paid up terrorist'. O'Callaghan could not be arrested however as he had craftily paid duty on his weapons. The ever-alert Yard immediately put extra guards on Foot, Steel and Jenkins, which gave a few lads at the Yard a

bit of much needed overtime.

Then the IRA let off their 'real bomb'. On Sunday they produced Sean at his home in Tralee holding up a Sunday newspaper with its headline about the Jackal.

ScotlandYard naturally stood firm but admitted they were studying reports that Sean was in Tralee. Seeing that he hadn't left Ireland for five years this was hardly a surprise.

Meanwhile London's Capitol Radio announced he had 'been found', presumably by the Yard. But how can you 'find' someone who was never lost in the first place?

Consistently wrong Jim

IT WAS good that Jim Callaghan has done his bit for Labour's election campaign. Callaghan is an expert at getting things right.

What a record the man has got. When he was Labour's Chancellor from 1964 to 1967 he resisted devaluation. Then in a remarkable gymnastic act he devalued — which was a bit late and cost the economy some billions of pounds.

But he is a trier who is never put off by making a balls-up. From 1967 to 1970 he was Home Secretary where he was responsible for sending the troops to Ireland and pushing through laws on immigration that cost Labour lots of black votes.

Labour loves a loser so he got the top job when Harold went. Here he displayed a sure touch. In September 1978 Labour was ahead in the opinion polls. So Callaghan decided not to hold an election — who wants easy victories?

Then followed the 'winter of discontent' where the poorly paid public sector workers discovered the benefits of Jim's five per cent and his attachment to the IMF. When he called the election in May 1979 this master of timing had made sure that Thatcher would win.

However it is a slander to suggest that the Tory Central Office sends regular donations to his election campaigns. He is not a Tory agent. He is just a not very bright man who loves capitalism.



No wonder the dog is pissed off

'Dizzy' Michael

LAST SUNDAY Foot was interviewed by Brian Walden on World at One. Whenever he was asked 'would Labour get rid of Polaris after five years' if there was no agreement with the Russians, his position was clear. He said it either would or would not get rid of Polaris. Surely you can't get clearer than that. It was another

'throw the election away' performance.

Instead of calling his dog 'Dizzy' after Disraeli why not rename the blasted animal 'Disaster' after Foot's abject performance.

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.

A Socialist ACTION

Greet the Peoples March

- Thursday 2 June
2pm Mass rally Brent Town Hall
Ray Buckton, Tony Benn, Ken Livingstone
- Friday 3 June
3pm rally at Southall Community Centre with
Michael Foot
- Saturday 4 June
10.30am Assemble Battersea Bridge. March to Crystal
Palace for afternoon rally
- Sunday 5 June
12 noon Assemble Battersea Park for march to Hyde Park

Tories out! Jobs not bombs!

SUNDAY 5 JUNE is a massive opportunity to strike a blow at the Tory election campaign. On that day the People's March for Jobs concludes with a mass demonstration — just four days before the election.

Despite Tory claims that 'there is no alternative' the case for the prosecution is simple. Since the Tories came to power on the slogan 'Britain isn't working', unemployment has skyrocketed from 1¼ million to over 4 million.

Tory unemployment is deliberate — an attempt to demoralise and discipline the working class. In this election the Tories have made no promises on unemployment whatever; they don't even pretend that their policies will bring it down.

Price

More than anything else unemployment shows the utter irrationality of the capitalist system. The construction industry is a classic example. 400,000 building workers are unemployed. The countryside is littered with huge stocks of unused bricks.

The banks and finance houses are awash with money — and never has the need for housing been greater. Any rational system would find ways of putting the unemployed back to work.

It's no secret that the trade union and Labour leaders didn't want the Peoples March, especially so close to an election. But that is precisely the wrong approach. A massive turnout can throw the Tories onto the defensive.

The organisers of the march have done everything possible to give the march a 'non-political' character, silencing those who wanted to shout anti-Tory slogans and distancing the march from the Labour campaign. This is ridiculous.

Next Sunday's demonstration — should be a monster anti-Tory demonstration. It must be a demonstration for Jobs not Bombs, for expanded public services and a shorter working week.

Most of all, Labour Parties must turn out with their banners to show who is fighting for the unemployed in this election.

● The truth about the economy see pages 8 and 9



Open letter to the Morning Star from the undersigned marchers

The following open letter to the Morning Star was signed by 19 marchers, following an article which suggested that the march should appeal to 'Tory businessmen'.

THE People's March for Jobs '83 was called not just as a protest at mass unemployment but as an opportunity to mobilise the labour movement around its alternative policies.

That opportunity is being missed.

The broad non-party political appeal is an obstacle to mobilising the

labour movement to fight unemployment.

- for support for workers fighting redundancy
- for a Labour government
- for demands on the Labour Party to spell out a programme of policy and mobilisation of the labour movement to make full employment a reality.

Rejecting such a class perspective to woo 'Tory businessmen' as suggested in last Friday's *Morning Star* (20.5.83) is misguided nonsense. Tory businessmen benefit from mass unemployment.

That's why they create it. To succeed the March must:

- have factory, labour movement and youth club tours in all towns en route, not just stage managed rallies with indetikit speeches.
 - demand a platform at all major Labour Party election rallies.
 - be seen as a clear part of a campaign for Labour government responsive to workers needs.
 - and, as a matter of course, reinstate the four comrades from Liverpool expelled for taking up anti-Tory slogans.
- We're not walking to

London with our caps in our hands asking for pity. We're angry and we demand action.

Signatories include: Joanne Mulholland (NALGO) K. Wade (Greenham Women support group) M. Johnson (NALGO) V. Parkinson (NGA) Gerard Flanagan (APEX) Peter Stainton (Merseyside Docks shop steward) Paul Atkin (Lancs Assn of Trades Councils) John O'Brien (Southwark Trades Council) Jayne Smith (UCATT) Alastair Hughes (Mid and East Lothian Trades Council) S. Singh (Southwark Trades Council).

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