

# A Socialist ACTION

What next after the election?

Ken Livingstone (GLC)  
Dave Ward (POEU Exec member)

Monday 13 June, 7.30pm,  
County Hall, London SE1

Meeting organised by Socialist Action

## DEFEND THE

## LABOUR PARTY!

## DEFEND THE

## UNIONS!

AS WE go to press, the result of the general election and

**MODERN TIMES**



Let's bomb Russia

the fate of individual candidates is unknown.

But because of the treachery of the right wing Labour leaders and the resulting campaign fiasco, no commentator gives Labour any chance of outright victory. If this is so it will signal the most tremendous attack by the ruling class on the Labour Party and the trade unions.

Thatcher may have won a major battle, but she has not won the war, and war is what

will be declared after 9 June.

Both the Tories and the Alliance have promised legislation that would cripple the unions and financially strangle the Labour Party.

Their objective, along with the rest of the ruling class, is to make sure that a Labour government with left policies never wins a general election. Only by the most determined action to smash up these unjust laws can the labour movement beat back this attack.

But this begs the question of leadership. The TUC has been on its knees for the past four years. Their

betrayal of workers in struggle has been abetted by Callaghan, Healey and the whole right wing acting in concert to smash up Labour's campaign.

Foot and his lieutenant, Neil Kinnock, have acted as the right's loyal supporters throughout. We don't need more leadership of this type.

But the voice of the left has been absent.

What was wrong with Labour's campaign were not policies like unilateralism and withdrawal from the EEC, but the type of determined leadership that would make such policies credible. The left must now start to

rapidly build such a leadership.

The victory of the left in the POEU shows it is possible.

All political collaboration with the right has to stop.

Alliances urgently need to be built up with those who have the most to gain from socialist policies: with workers in struggle; with women fighting to defend their rights; with black youth fighting police repression; with Irish people fighting British occupation; and most immediately with CND to stop the missiles in 1983.

### Left victory in telecoms union

THIRTY FIVE years of right wing domination were over-turned when the Broad Left won control of the Post Office Engineering Union executive. The left took 14 places out of 23.

Last week's conference voted for im-

mediate industrial action if a re-elected Thatcher government were to reintroduce its Bill to privatise British Telecoms.

'You can skin an onion layer by layer, but you can't skin a tiger claw by claw,' was the reaction of Dave Ward, newly elected executive

member and Broad Left supporter, to delegates' determination to take on the Tories.

#### Forward

Conference also voted to finish business early to allow delegates to campaign for Labour. The victory of the left

in the union was underlined by the massive vote of no confidence in the industrial action sub-committee of the union, which had called off action taken by the Westminster and City branches.

Westminster branch secretary Colin Talbot said, 'they appeared to have no confidence in us

and we have no confidence in them'.

The vote represents a massive turn around in the union traditionally dominated by the right wing — exemplified by its sponsorship for arch witch-hunting MP John Golding.

Conference went on to reject the outgoing executive's recommenda-

By Pat Hickey

tion for amalgamation with SPOE, the supervisory union, and instead voted for unification with the UCW to create a rank and file union in the communications industry.





# The right wing, incomes policy and electoral suicide

**THE RIGHT WING** of the labour movement have sabotaged the fight against the Tories. Trade union leaders have sold out vital strikes like the healthworkers and the railworkers. Now Healey and Callaghan have stabbed the Labour Party in the front with their support for retaining Polaris.

The right wing would rather destroy Labour's electoral chances than have it form a government committed to left policies on any central issue. But their actions have to be seen as aiding a concerted and systematic campaign to remove the Labour Party as a mass force in British politics.

This goal today unites Thatcher, Jenkins, Owen, Steel and every capitalist politician. In a speech last week Tory Chancellor Geoffrey Howe explained that 'we cannot expect to stay in power forever'.

ing of the campaign that it was opposed to Labour's policy on nuclear disarmament and on the EEC and called on the Labour leaders to declare themselves openly for an incomes policy.

By John Ross

By the time the Tories do fall they hope to have made the necessary preparation by eliminating any serious opposition which challenges basic interests of British capitalism — particularly relating to nuclear strategy, British membership of the EEC and opposition to incomes policy.

The *New Statesman* has advised tactical voting for the Alliance in a move which could only detract from the campaign for a Labour victory. It too has consistently been in favour of Labour proving its capitalist credentials by declaring for an incomes policy.

Incomes policy has been the touchstone for all those who want Labour to

resume its role as a reliable support for capitalist rule. And yet incomes policy has always meant electoral suicide for the Labour Party and indeed any government which has introduced it.

The SDP/Liberal Alliance still refers to the period of the Lib-Lab pact under Jim Callaghan as one of the best periods of government since the war. No wonder. Under the successive phases of incomes policy pursued by the Labour government under the name of the social contract the Labour Party went from electoral victory in October 1974 to being 25 per cent behind in the opinion polls in November 1976.

## Lowest

It wasn't strikes which caused the unpopularity of the last Labour government — strikes in 1976 were at their lowest level since the '50s — but it was wage controls. The reason is no mystery. Table 1 demonstrates the move-

Table 1. Average Real Wages 1973-83

Tory government	Average Real Wages
1973	106 (last 3 months)
<b>Labour government</b>	
1974	104
1975	101
1976	99
1977	95
1978	102
<b>Tory government</b>	
1979	107
1980	108
1981	107
1982	106
1983	110 (1st 2 months)



Peter Shore, pushing for a social contract suicide pact with the unions

ment of real wages during the last ten years.

As these figures show, the last Labour government under the direction of the right wing succeeded in cutting real wages in four consecutive years from 1974 to 1978. Real wages were lower in the last year that Labour was in office than when it was elected. Given this record there is no mystery why millions of workers, especially in the South East and West Midlands, voted for Thatcher in 1979 and may do so again.

## Fallen

Of course, the effects of the rise in real wages has to be offset by the effect of unemployment and tax changes which means that disposable income available to families has fallen under the Tories. But while Thatcher has

created incredible pools of misery among the unemployed, the low paid, women and young people, many of those in work are better off under Thatcher than they were under the wage control policies of the last government.

## Disaster

Not only was this period a disaster for the Labour Party but it is a fact that no party pledged to introduce wage controls has ever won a general election in Britain. Every single government applying wage controls has been defeated in a subsequent election.

The conclusion is obvious. Not only has the right wing sabotaged Labour's chances in this election campaign, they have also imposed policies on the labour movement which have led to electoral catastrophe in the past.

### British Governments Since World War II

Government	Date Incomes Policy Introd.	Result
<b>1. Governments introducing incomes policies</b>		
Labour 1945-51	1947, 1949	Labour lost 78 seats in 1950. Government fell in 1951
Tory 1959-64	1961	Tories lost election of 1964
Labour 1966-70	1966, 1967	Labour lost election of 1970
Tory 1970-74	1972	Tories lost election of 1974
Labour Oct 1974-79	1975	Labour lost election of 1979
<b>2. Governments not introducing incomes policies</b>		
Tory 1951-55	No incomes policy	Won election of 1955
Tory 1955-59	No incomes policy	Won election of 1959
Labour 1964-66	No incomes policy	Won election of 1966
Labour Feb 1974-Oct 1974	No incomes policy	Won election of Oct 1974
Tory 1979-83	No incomes policy	Well ahead in opinion polls

# Labour Party conference Red Alert!

**DEADLINE** for resolutions to the Labour Party conference — and for nominations for leader and deputy leader — is 15 July. Walworth Road has moved the date back because of the election.

## Hit

So if you want to hit back at those who torpedoed Labour's campaign, and if you want to defend Labour's socialist policies, you'll have to get your resolutions through wards, trade unions and Young Socialist branches in time for the Labour Party's General Committee meetings this month — which means straight after the election.

If you don't, your Party may well be stop-

ped from sending any resolutions.

Labour Against the Witch Hunt has already circulated its affiliates to warn them of this danger. Contact your secretary now to make sure special meetings are called to discuss conference resolutions, call meetings of the left to discuss policy, and to make sure your GC takes conference resolutions on its agenda.

Socialist Action calls on its readers to put down resolutions with a preamble that puts the blame squarely on Healey and the right wing for their sabotage of Labour's policies and the election, and to prioritise:

- Labour Against the Witch Hunt's model resolutions, calling for Militant supporters to be reinstated and for the

Greenwich amendment to the Labour Party constitution

- Resolutions along the lines Labour CND has been promoting, calling for reaffirmation of unilateral disarmament and for the Labour Party to join in and conduct campaigns of mass action against the missiles
- Resolutions rejecting wage restraint, either voluntary or statutory, and condemning those Labour leaders who advocated it during the election
- CLPD Women's Action Committee's model resolutions on positive discrimination, and resolutions endorsing the Labour Abortion Rights Campaign's protests at the exclusion of Labour's policy on abortion from the manifesto
- The Labour Committee on Ireland's resolutions calling for non-recognition of Prior's Assembly.



Over 170 people came to hear Socialist Action's election message at a rally in London's County Hall last Wednesday. A tremendous ovation was given to a delegation of 12 Peoples Marchers who explained that their fight was to kick out the Tories — whatever the TUC organisers said. Other rousing speeches came from Helen John from the Greenham Common peace camp and Cecil Gutzmore from the Police Bill campaign on the dangers of a Tory vic-

tory. John McAnulty spoke on the election in the North of Ireland (see page 4) and Alain Krivine finished his speech on fighting the right in France with a stirring call to build the Fourth International (see page 13). Valerie Coultas, speaking for the Socialist Action editorial board, warned that after the sabotage of Labour's campaign by the right wing leaders, the battle would start in the labour movement directly the results of the election were announced.

Photo: JOHN HARRIS

Photo: GM COOKSON



# Peoples March boosts Labour's campaign

OVERCOMING all obstacles the Peoples Marchers succeeded in rallying a militant anti-Tory, pro-Labour demonstration of over 50,000 people last Sunday. The press and media concentrated its effort on playing down the undoubted success of the demonstration.

Slogans of 'Maggie out! Labour in!' echoed through London's streets. Nearly every participant in the demonstration and most Peoples Marchers sported red 'Vote Labour' stickers.

As the marchers left Battersea Park on the way to central London they were emotionally applauded by union delegates including big delegations from the local government officers, fire brigades, miners, printers and civil service unions.

Even torrential rain on the route couldn't stop the tide of anti-Tory sentiment. At the

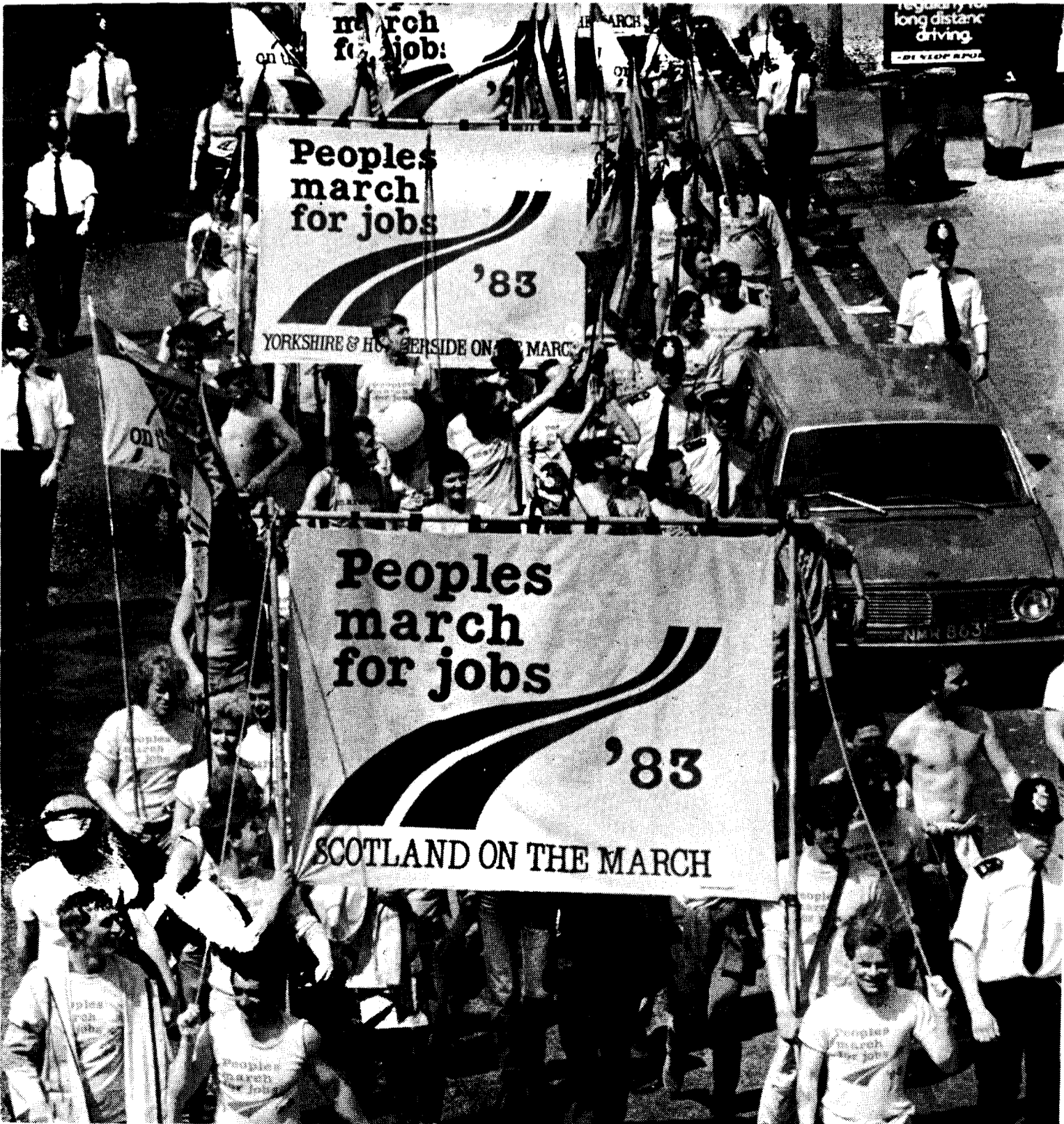
Hyde Park rally the demonstration listened to Michael Foot and Len Murray who both praised the marchers to the skies without mentioning that both of them had tried to prevent the event even taking place.

As Murray spoke chants of 'TUC off knees. Fight Fight Fight!' went up.

One of the central problems in the political direction of the march was highlighted when Christine Palfrey, one of the Marchers, insisted against all the evidence, that the march was 'not supposed to be a campaign for the Labour Party.'

But she received loud applause when she said that the marchers were angry that they had to march. 'It's not a pat on the back we want. We want a job.'

● Interview with Peoples Marchers page 7



## Tory rally bays for blood

A RABID rally of 2500 Young Conservatives last Sunday at the Wembley Conference Centre wildly applauded calls of 'Let's bomb the Russians' and 'Let's kick Michael Foot's stick away'.

The exhortations came from Kenny Everett, one of the show-business stars who were at the rally.

Other personalities who spoke from the platform included Steve Davies, the snooker champion, who spoke of the importance of 'potting reds'; Lynsey de Paul who composed a song called *Tory, Tory* and Margaret Thatcher.

The rally, which was clearly intended as a media alternative to the Peoples March, succeeded in its objective. Stories and pictures of the rally received massive coverage compared to knocking reports of the Peoples March.

For Thatcher the rally finished a weekend in which she again enthusiastically embraced her Victorian values. When it was pointed out that nineteenth century Britain had a darker side she said that her forebears had dealt with those problems.

'As they prospered, so they used their money on the voluntary societies,' she said. The secret Tory agenda for the dismantling of the welfare services is increasingly hinted at in Thatcher's statements.

A Tory victory would have to be fought from the very beginning by the maximum possible action to prevent that agenda being carried out.



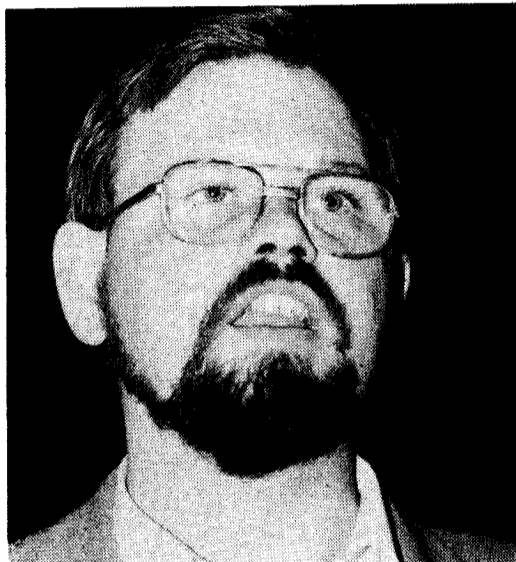
Kenny Everett

Photo: CARLOS AUGUSTO GUARITA

Photo: JOHN HARRIS

# IRELAND UNFREE

## Sinn Fein and the British labour movement



By John McNulty (Peoples Democracy)

**WHAT THE** working class of Britain and Ireland need is a mass revolutionary party of the working class. What they have got is the British Labour Party and Sinn Fein respectively. In both countries we have to spell out the next steps to advance towards our goal.

In Britain revolutionaries call for a vote for the Labour Party, in Ireland a vote for Sinn Fein. The British Labour Party is based on the organised working class, but no one would accuse it of being a revolutionary party.

Sinn Fein is a revolutionary party, but one without a developed programme for the organisation of the working class. But Sinn Fein's programme is being developed in the class struggle. The enthusiasm and dedication of its workers in this election contradict its own recent policy statement that only the military struggle will defeat imperialism. Meanwhile the Assembly in the North continues to justify partition and provide a basis for a restoration of the old Stormont parliament.

The Southern capitalists reply — the Council for a New Ireland — defined its purpose in the first hours of its existence by excluding Sinn Fein. As the council sat Nicky Kelly, falsely imprisoned by the Southern courts, was on hunger strike and being treated by the Southern government as the H block strikers were treated by the British.

The constitutional amendment on abortion being put to referendum in the South would have the effect of welding into one weapon the ideology of the church and the power of the state.

At the same time we have witnessed a massive economic offensive by the Southern labour movement for higher wages and against the taxation system, against the attempts of the traditional union leaderships to defuse protests.

The Northern Ireland Congress too are trying to sell the right to strike in exchange for a flimsy guarantee that minimum wage levels in Britain would apply there.

In this election only Sinn Fein are any where near to addressing the root of all these problems — the imperialist domination of Ireland. Peoples Democracy are confident that electoral gains for Sinn Fein would heighten the debate both inside Sinn Fein and between Sinn Fein and the revolutionary socialists.

The pressure of working class struggles could return Sinn Fein to methods of mass struggle.

In Britain it seems that the right wing has managed to lose the election for Labour. All the elements of the Tory programme — smashing the welfare state, muzzling the unions, attacks on women and ethnic minorities and the cold war offensive — depend on advances towards a strong state in Britain.

We will have an interesting situation after the election where a Tory victory in Britain will be offset by a Sinn Fein success in the North. If Thatcher is willing to take the risk of moving the Irish question to the centre of the British class struggle then an offensive to extend the power of the Stormont Assembly could be the perfect mechanism for the stepping up of state power.

In any case, the left in Britain urgently needs a political programme which is anti-imperialist and breaks out of the mould of Labour's collaborators. Ireland is the touchstone of developing such a programme.

# The election in the North of Ireland



Gerry Adams campaigns for Sinn Fein in West Belfast. Would Socialist Organiser support Sinn Fein in Loyalist East Belfast?

**AMONG** the no hope candidates standing in the election is Muriel Tang, the candidate of the 'Labour and Trade Union Group' in East Belfast supported by the *Militant*.

When asked if she has suffered harassment during the campaign Muriel replied: 'The army do not bother with the Protestant areas of Belfast. They are in and out of the Short Strand area of my constituency ... We go about our campaign very politely and quietly ... and we've been very well received.'

It makes you wonder how anyone claiming to be a socialist can fail to denounce the presence of an army of occupation in their constituency — but if your main priority is to curry favour in the Loyalist areas Muriel is making sense.

The *Financial Times* knows that what is at stake in the election in the North of Ireland is the battle between the pro-imperialist Loyalist parties and the Social Democratic and Labour Party on the one hand and Sinn Fein on the other.

Every political commentator from the *Sun* to

But *Socialist Organiser* has followed in the wake

of the *Militant* by declaring that there is no difference between Sinn Fein and the SDLP, 'they only differ in their methods'. John O'Mahony goes on to assure us 'It is simply not true that the SDLP is not concerned for the unification and independence of Ireland. ... On that level there is nothing to choose between the SDLP and Sinn Fein.'

community. Catholics should therefore vote for them.

As for the Protestants, O'Mahony considers that it would be a giant step for them to vote for ... the *Militant*!

O'Mahony tries to evade the duty of socialists to say absolutely unambiguously that they are on the side of those fighting British imperialism whether through the mass struggle, the armed struggle or the ballot box.

tarian divisions in Ireland, buttressed by partition.

The fight for national independence and for socialism go hand in hand. If you duck the national question you are ducking the main battle against imperialism and its allies whether they are in the Loyalist parties, the capitalist parties of the South or the collaborationist SDLP.

### Demands

O'Mahony then goes on to note truthfully, but inexplicably in the light of his own analysis, that Sinn Fein is the 'clearest expression' of the legitimate demands and aspirations of the oppressed Catholic

### Quiet

*Socialist Organiser* in their ridiculous eclecticism unfortunately have taken another faltering step down the 'polite and quiet' road already trodden by the *Militant*.



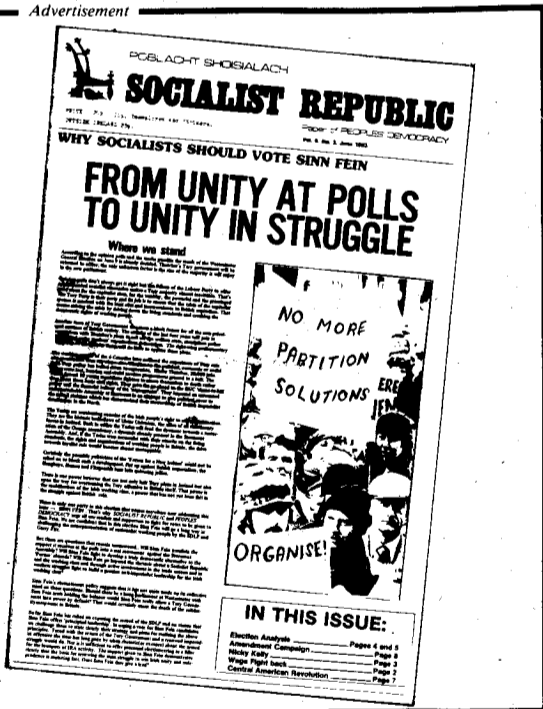
SDLP leader Hume dreams of Westminster

### Subscribe to Socialist Republic!

Subscribe to the only paper with a revolutionary Marxist analysis of current events in Ireland, North and South.

Full coverage on the aftermath of the election and the fight against the anti-abortion amendment and the fight against the Southern government.

12 issues for £6.50. Send to Connolly Bookshop, 6 Avoca Park, Belfast.



## A PIECE OF THE ACTION BY #13 6/83 CORMAC



Ah, door-to-door canvassing! This is what it's all about!

I beg your pardon...? What? Ireland? Ireland? Oh, yes... of course... Ireland... mm-m-

It's not an election issue, you see... Yes... yes... I know that a war... yes... thirteen years... oppression... yes...

The worst thing about canvassing for Labour is meeting members of the Labour Party!



# 'Law and order' — a euphemism for repression

THE POLICE Bill is yet another sign of the Tories determination to strengthen the repressive apparatus of the state. Laura Mitchell spoke to MICHAEL MEACHER MP about the Bill and its consequences.

The main objections to the Police Bill are

- the reintroduction of SUS laws with indiscriminate stops and searches in the streets
- denial of access to a solicitor for up to 20 days
- the introduction of the right to search homes and office of people not even suspect
- the introduction of a police right to intimate body searches — which is really repulsive.

## Outcry

After the outcry against the Bill, the Tories have given way on some questions which effect the middle classes and professionals — journalists, doctors, lawyers and clergy.

The concessions mean that the police will be unable to search the premises of these groups without the agreement of the High Court.

All the most objectionable things about the Bill affect first and foremost working class people. Labour would repeal the Bill if it becomes law. Labour's policy has three chief elements.

First, police authorities should be elected to bring about accountability of the police. Second, the police complaints procedure should be genuinely independent — the police should not be able

to investigate themselves. And third there should be less emphasis on SPG-type policing which causes trouble in the first place.

The existing cosmetic police liaison committees need genuine accountability.

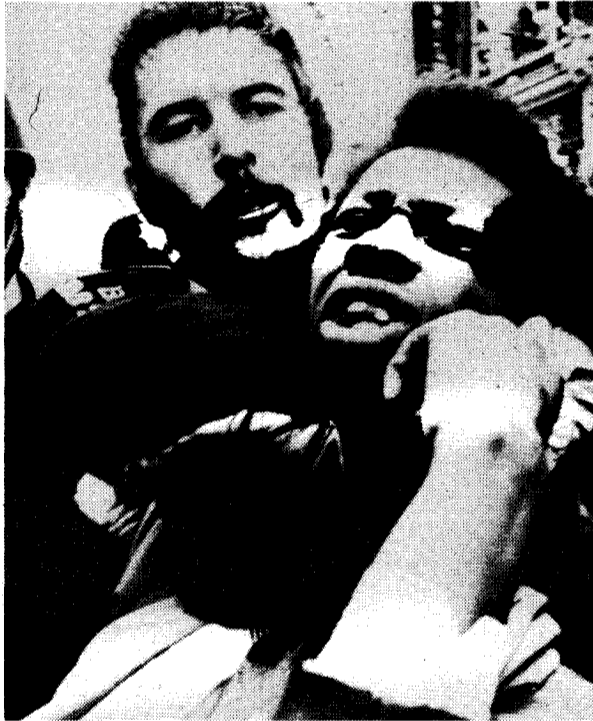
The problem at the moment is that the Tories are making 'law and order' Tory law and order. That means holding a lid down on the consequences of Tory economic policy, the anger generated by mass unemployment. 'Law and order' is a euphemism for

authoritarianism and repression.

Tony Benn once said the SPG were agents of Tory industrial policy — the Tories create mass unemployment then bring in the SPG to crack a few skulls.

## Killing

I'm convinced that the law courts will never convict a policeman or prison officer of the killing of a prisoner in custody, however comprehensive the evidence — as in the cases of Barry Prosser, Kelly and Peach showed. If they weren't killed by police — who else could it be?



Colin Roach's father joins picket demanding a public inquiry (second from right in photo)

## What we stand for pamphlet

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.



## Roach inquest opens

THE INQUEST into the death of Colin Roach opened this week at Clerkenwell Coroner's Court, London. Colin died five months ago as the result of a shotgun wound sustained in the entrance of Stoke Newington police station.

of defendants from the campaign have been appearing in magistrates courts.

## Prison

Colin's father and mother were the first to testify at the inquest. His father testified that on the day Colin died he was happy and optimistic despite the fact that he had been released from prison only two weeks earlier.

He had only hours before visited his sister in hospital where she was having a baby and had posed for family pictures.

The continuing refusal of the police to give a full account of the circumstances of his death will be at the centre of the six days of the inquest.

## Public

His family and friends have been waging a campaign for a public inquiry into the circumstances of his death in the light of police brutality against black people in Hackney.

Demonstrations for an enquiry have been followed by mass arrests by police and a steady stream

## Vigil called against apartheid execution

Three black youths are due to be executed for their part in attacks on police stations in South Africa.

The execution of Simon Mogoerane, Jerry Mosololi and Marcus

Motaung has been set for the morning of Thursday 9 June. There is a permanent picket of South Africa House, Trafalgar Square from Wednesday 9.00am to the hour set for the execution.

# MALE ORDER

## Tamil feminist on trial

NIRMALA Nithiyannan is a member of the minority Tamil population of Sri Lanka, and a well-known feminist writer. She was arrested in 1982 and charged under Sri Lanka's Prevention of Terrorism Act (which is based on our very own PTA).

Nirmala was held in an army camp with male prisoners and a 'confession' was extracted from her. Her trial has just started. For six years, Tamil workers, many of whom labour on the tea estates, have been the victims of political violence instigated by the army. The Tamil

Women's League is calling on supporters to protest at the trial and the treatment of Tamil women by sending telegrams to the President of Sri Lanka, JR Jayawardene, President's House, Sri Lanka. The TWL can be contacted at 42 Sickert Court, Canonbury St, London N1. Tel 01-226 2367.

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.



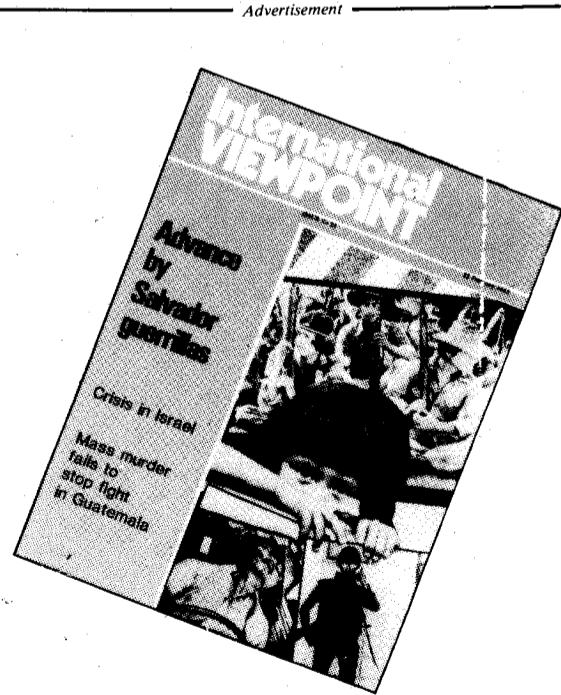
## Women reclaim Soho

ON 28 May over a thousand women surged onto the streets of Soho as the culmination of two weeks of action to protest against male violence towards women.

reclaim the streets of Soho and show that they were angry about what went on behind the bright lights and dazle.

Stickers were put up on shops saying 'Women are angry and violent and we

won't be ruled by men, we won't be fooled by men, we won't be sold by men no more' accompanied by shouts of 'keep men off the streets'.



## Fortnightly news review of the Fourth International

Subscription rates: 6 months £9 (95FF); 1 year £16 (175 FF).

Payment in French francs if possible. Personal cheques to PEC and mail to: IV, 2 rue Richard Lenoir, 93108 Montreuil.



# Struggle flares in PLO

**YASSER ARAFAT** is under siege as leader of the Palestine Liberation Organisation. Commanders of the PLO fighting units in Lebanon's Bek'aa valley are in open revolt against him, following his attempt to impose two of his close associates as commanders of the region. Last Saturday the dispute turned into a full scale battle as guerrillas loyal to Arafat tried to re-establish their control.

Fuel and arms dumps in Syria have been taken over by the rebels. The leader of the anti-Arafat group is Saed Abu Musa, the deputy operations head of the PLO.

The most significant thing about the anti-Arafat revolt is that it is taking place within Fatah, Arafat's own organisation and overwhelmingly the most powerful of the constituent bodies of the PLO. It means that it has effectively split the PLO down the middle.

By Paul Lawson

The revolt against the leadership of Arafat is the outcome of the crisis of direction of the Palestinian movement since the Israeli invasion of Lebanon. While Arafat has increasingly looked towards diplomacy as the key weapon of the Palestinians, the armed struggle against the Israeli invaders in Lebanon has escalated dramatically.

More than 170 Israeli soldiers have been killed in Lebanon since the evacuation of the Palestinians last August. The guerrilla attacks on the Israelis have been carried out in the main by Lebanese forces — left wing militias and

the Islamic fighting organisation Amal — but also by PLO units. Last Wednesday the Israelis responded by carrying out a massive roundup of adult men in the Sidon/Tyre area — many were dragged off to join the thousands still in Israeli concentration camps.

The remaining PLO stronghold in Lebanon is the Bek'aa valley, where Syrian troops are also present in strength. Over the last month hundreds more PLO fighters have come back from Syria to reinforce the PLO positions. Israel wants both Syria and the PLO out of Lebanon entirely.

Arafat's decision to try to replace the commanders in the Bek'aa doubtless reflects his disapproval of the confrontationalist course taken by them against the Israelis.

The dissidents' revolt stems from a combination of factors. There was strong disapproval among many Palestinian fighters to Arafat's decision to pull out of Beirut during the fighting with Israel last year. The exodus from Beirut has scattered the PLO's fighting forces to nine different countries, where many of them are



Yasser Arafat at international Palestinian conference

effectively demobilised.

Since the Israeli invasion, Arafat has taken a political course seen by many as increasingly right wing. Arafat approved the proposals of the Arab summit at Fez last year, which proposed a West Bank Palestinian statelet in return for recognition of Israel. This was a clear step backwards from the PLO demand for a 'democratic secular Palestine'.

The Fez plan was concocted by the Saudis and had many points in common with the plan proposed by President Reagan. The dissidents see support for the Fez proposals as essentially an abandonment of the armed struggle

with Israel.

The Fatah rebels have been backed by the second and third largest organisation in the PLO, the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine and the Democratic Popular Front. For their own reasons, namely the fear of being frozen out of influence in the region by diplomatic deals, the Syrians have also backed the rebels as has Libya.

Last week Arafat and his leading lieutenants visited Soviet bloc countries in an attempt to get their backing, and possibly even material aid, in the struggle against the rebels. Yuri Andropov sent a personal message of support to the PLO leader.

Despite this powerful backing, there must now be a big question mark over the ability of Arafat to unify the PLO behind his own leadership. An armed conflict between Israel and Syria in Lebanon now looks likely. The guerrillas in the Bek'aa valley would play an important role in this conflict, one which would only give more prestige and authority to their leaders.

The PLO is at a crossroads. Its internal conflicts will decide whether, and to what extent, there is a role for armed struggle in the battle for the rights of Palestinian people.

## WORLD IN ACTION

### All out offensive against Kurds

TWO WEEKS ago the Turkish army launched an all-out offensive against Kurdish left wing guerrillas.

Seven thousand Turkish troops crossed over the border into Iraq, in an operation co-ordinated with the Iraqi government.

Kurdistan is split between three countries — Turkey, Iraq and Iran. All three governments are engaged in military offensives against the Kurdish people fighting for their independence.

The Turkish operation was aimed at the whole of the Kurdish population in southern

Iraq. At least 2000 Kurds were taken prisoner while 30,000 people were trapped by the Turkish advance.

Many were killed on both sides in the fighting, in which the Turks used jets and planes against the Kurdish insurgents. Iran was apparently annoyed by Turkish offensive not because of any concern about the Kurds, but because it freed Iraqi troops to concentrate on the war against Iran.

Indeed Iran itself is a party to the three nation war against the Kurdish people, which is verging on genocide.

### Peru: state of emergency

PERUVIAN president Fernando Belaunde has declared a state of emergency following a series of bombing attacks in the capital Lima.

The bombings have been attributed to the Maoist guerrilla organisation Sendero Luminoso ('Shining Path'). Sendero Luminoso's guerrilla campaign in the countryside has become increasingly effective, with government troops unable to pin them down.

During the bombing attacks in Lima last week a chemical factory was burnt down and the capital plunged into darkness as electricity pylons were blown up.

The state of emergency was also connected with the police strike for higher pay, which meant

that troops had to be brought into the capital to keep 'order'.

### Action

Some observers believe that the bombings might have been the work of extreme rightists, eager to destabilise the government and prepare the ground for a military coup.

Sendero Luminoso has been carrying out a harsh campaign of terror against anyone thought to support the government. Confining its work to a military campaign in the countryside it has ignored the powerful Peruvian working class.

It seems unlikely that such a strategy will yield long-term results.

### Britain blocks famine relief

BRITAIN is blocking EEC plans to spend a paltry £85 million on famine relief. Thatcher and company want the plan cut back to £31m. The EEC project aims to send seed, fertiliser and agricultural implements to 25 of the world's poorest countries, in

Africa, the Caribbean and the Pacific. All the other Common Market countries were quite happy to go ahead with this very modest plan, but Europe's most right wing government said 'no'.

Last year Britain blocked EEC aid to Nicaragua.

### Fruits of Williamsburg

THE Williamsburg summit ended in the expected disunity on the crucial questions. French premier Mitterand wanted some concession from the United States which would reflate the Western economies.

In particular, he wanted action on the US budget deficit which is sucking investment funds into the United States. As *Socialist Action* predicted, Reagan told him to get lost. But one thing did come out of Williamsburg — absolute unity on the

deployment of cruise and Pershing missiles in Europe.

US defence secretary Caspar Weinberger said last week that 108 Pershing missiles will probably be installed in West Germany by December.

At the same time Regan has now done a deal with the Democrats in Congress to get his 'MX' missile accepted. The proponents of a nuclear 'freeze' in the Democratic Party insisted that MX must be a 'bi-partisan' missile!

## El Salvador US hardens line as guerrillas gain

THE UNITED States has signalled through a diplomatic reshuffle that it intends to stake everything on a military victory in El Salvador.

Deane Hinton, the US ambassador in San Salvador and Thomas Enders, top person at the State Department for Central America, are both being replaced. Neither are exactly doves.

Hinton, who replaced Democrat-appointed Robert White, made bellicose statements at the time of his appointment. But rumours suggest that in the course of his two year stay in El Salvador he has become convinced that an outright military victory against the left wing FMLN guerrillas is impossible, and he has started considering the viability of negotiations.

Reagan wants someone tougher. Neither is Enders exactly a friend of the people of Central America. He sits on a committee charged with the conduct of the destabilisation campaign against Nicaragua. But he too has become too 'soft'. Taken together the two sackings show the United States is in no mood to start negotiations with the FMLN/FDR.

At the same time as the diplomatic re-appointments the US has decided to send another 100 military personnel to Honduras — mostly units of the 'Green Berets'. Their job will be both to train Salvadorean soldiers and help the destabilisation campaign against Nicaragua.

The sending of these troops is a dangerous sign that US intends to step up

the campaign against Nicaragua. In Salvador the fighting is going from bad to worse for the government and the United States.

Last week the FMLN overran a military communications post on the Cacaguatique Volcano which relays information to government troops in the whole of the east of the country. 33 government soldiers were killed and 27 wounded. 49 soldiers were taken prisoner. The attack on the volcano communications post is part of a widespread offensive in the east of the country and also in San Vicente province.

The successes of the guerrillas since the beginning of this year have not only dealt hard military blows, but have succeeded in bringing the economy to a point of near collapse.

The United States and the Salvadorean government are preparing another round of fake elections for the end of the year. Despite repeated claims by the US that the elections will go ahead, it now seems certain that they will be put off until next March.

Even by its own fake standards, the Salvadorean government has been totally unable to produce anything like a credible electoral register in a situation in which large chunks of the country are in the effective control of the FMLN.



The first US soldier to die in El Salvador — Commander Alfred Schaufelberger of the US navy's special forces, shot by the FMLN.



The 1983 Peoples' March for Jobs was perfectly timed to make unemployment a major issue in the general election and to mobilise the labour movement against the Tory government. But in both of these respects the march was at best only partially successful. To learn why this was the case REDMOND O'NEILL and VALERIE COULTAS asked a group of marchers for their views and experience of the March.

Why do you think the March got so little publicity from the mass media?

**Tony**  
There has been a press blackout on this March. They tried to ignore it until it was no longer possible to do so. But I think it is part of a more general policy by the press to downplay unemployment.

Twelve months ago when the unemployment figures were released it was front page news. Now they ignore them. The press accept the Tory claim that unemployment is inevitable, and what's inevitable, is not news.

Unemployment raises too many questions they can't answer. The leaders of the labour movement have let them get away with it. They haven't taken up the real argument, that unemployment is a result of the decline of the capitalist system, which now can't even provide work for millions of people.

Unemployment is too hot to handle because it calls into question the economic system which creates it. So they ignored the People's March to downplay unemployment. During a general election the press understood that reporting unemployment and our March in a big way could only help Labour.

The Times claimed last Saturday that a small turn out for the 5 June demo would prove that Michael Foot was right to oppose the March in the first place as a diversion from the general election. Do you agree?

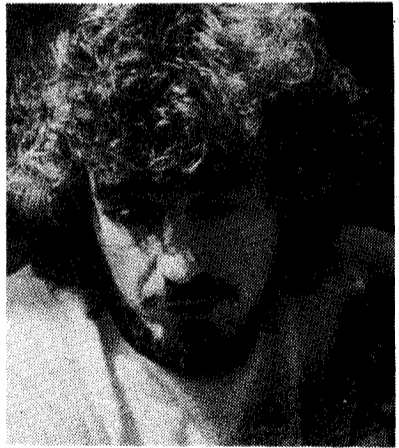


Photo: SOCIALIST ACTION

**Tony**  
No, this March could have been the biggest intervention that the unemployed have ever made into a general election campaign. It could have made unemployment the number one issue and dealt a real blow to the Tory government. Michael Foot and the TUC opposed the March at first because they were frightened of being accused of undermining parliamentary democracy.

They don't like mass mobilisations because they might lose control of them. Both the March and Labour's campaign suffered. Only twenty-odd Labour Party banners turned out for 5 June and we only saw Michael Foot and Len Murray at the end of thirty days marching.

But surely the March could have put tremendous pressure on the leaderships of the TUC and Labour Party to pull out all the stops to mobilise against unemployment and the Tories?

'leaders ignored it ... they are frightened of any mass movement ...'

**Mick**  
We had different experiences. Our leg from Yorkshire and Humberside and the East Midlands started off OK. Everyone went on factory and pithead visits drumming up support. We re-routed the March three times to give support to workers in dispute. From the start we showed the culprit for mass unemployment was the Tory government. We held daily March meetings.

At Huddersfield we voted to start using anti-Tory slogans like Jobs not Bombs. These got tremendous support. However when we joined up with the main March in Northampton we were astonished to find that all political slogans were banned.



Photo: SOCIALIST ACTION

**Mick**  
Foley, aged 29, joined the March in Leeds. He is a member of UCATT and former shop steward. He was made redundant from his last job.

**Kerry**  
Our experience was different. I joined in Manchester. They seemed to re-route our leg to keep us as far as possible away from the factories. We went nowhere near Trafford Park which is the biggest industrial estate in Manchester.

I was shocked by the lack of support and the small size of the meetings. The reason was obvious. We weren't allowed to go out and build that support, in factories, colleges and workplaces.

**Tony**  
For example in Preston 6,000 workers stopped work to support us — one of the best welcomes on the whole March — but no effort was made to have a meeting with them.

**Ian**  
I was on the South West leg of the March. We were told that we couldn't chant anti-Tory slogans because people would then see us as hooligans. They made no priority of getting out to the labour movement on our leg. They didn't even let us march through Plymouth, one of the biggest towns on our route.

In Bath the marshalls told the police to remove a Labour Party van which was telling people about the March, even though they knew that Bath Labour Party had virtually paid for our reception in Bath.

**Tony**  
We were on the main leg of the March. From the start they said we had to have a broad appeal.

**Paul**  
At Horwich someone started chanting 'Tories Out!' The marshalls told him to shut up. In Manchester the whole North West contingent shouted anti-Tory slogans. We held a March meeting where the marshalls argued for a ban on political slogans. They were in a minority. So Alan Millington, the West Midlands marshall, explained: 'There are limits to democracy on this March. Certain policies have been laid down by the National Organising Committee and you, the marchers have to abide by them.'

**Tony**  
So we continued to chant anti-Tory slogans through Manchester and Stockport. But then on the Saturday in Wythenshawe the marshalls called the police to halt our banner (we were leading the March). They physically stopped us and got the Scottish contingent to take over the lead, even though March policy was for the region to lead in their part of the country.

The next day, in Altrincham, they expelled three Liverpool marchers for chanting anti-Tory slogans. They waited till we were outside the Manchester area in order to prevent us going to the trade unions and explaining what they were doing.

**Kerry**  
They expelled people to intimidate the rest of us. The stewards used so-called March discipline to try to smash us down and demoralise us. People were scared of getting beaten up if they didn't do what they were told.

They accused us of being petty and whipped up all kinds of insults like calling us 'queers' when some of the few women on the March asked for women only accommodation.

**Mick**  
When our leg joined the main March in Northampton we couldn't believe how low down the marchers were. The stewards were incredibly petty. They even asked to see our identity cards before letting us into the toilets, when we all had yellow shirts on anyway!

Then our leg of the March morale was sky high. But the main leg seemed to be demoralised.

The next day when we marched into Northampton for a rally the marshalls told us we could only use official slogans. On our leg anti-Tory slogans and 'Jobs not Bombs' were official. We'd voted for them.

So that's what we shouted. What happened next was incredible. At 5pm on the Friday afternoon in a crowded town centre a North West marshall and a Communist Party member organised a squad of heavies to try to pull down the East Midlands banner (they were leading the March) and shove them off the March.

The onlookers and even the police could hardly believe their eyes. There was nearly a physical fight. They were prepared to discredit the March to force it to stay 'non-political'.



Photo: SOCIALIST ACTION

**Ian**  
Denison is 23 years old. After leaving Bristol Polytechnic a year ago he got a summer job as a driver. Since then he has not worked.

The Communist Party stewards banned trade union and Labour Party banners from coming anywhere near the marchers. In Milton Keynes they called the police to throw Oxford Trades Council's banner off the March and the regional Trades Council member who arrived.

Then in Walsley and the official TUC banner were pushed off the March and ended up about one hundred yards behind.



**Kerry**  
Wade is 18 years old. She has been on the dole for 12 months. Her last job was a temporary one at Ferranti's on the assembly line. Before that she was on YOPS working for £23.50p per week. She gets £25 a week on the dole.

By this time I was completely gobsmed. The Yorkshire leg of the March was near to mutiny. On the Monday leaving Milton Keynes, the entire Eastern Leg of the March together with others, a total of 140 people refused to march. The main marshall told us 'I can see all the trots and trouble makers at the front. Those who want to march step out.' Nobody moved and the marchers shouted from the back 'We're all solid'. Only when the marshalls promised a mass meeting that night did we rejoin the March.

**Tony**  
That evening in Luton they did everything possible to prevent the meeting taking place. We were kept waiting around for hours. Marchers were sent off on various pretexts. Feelings started to run high, especially when word got round that a steward had broken a young woman's foot the day before. A woman jumped up and shouted for us: 'We're not moving until we have a March meeting.'

Later Jack Dromey a South East TUC official opened the meeting. He said there would be no discussion just a vote on twelve slogans the marshalls were proposing. When the marchers heard the slogans, like 'We are the Merry Marchers', the entire Eastern leg and many others walked out in disgust.

As a result Dromey won his vote. Things only calmed down the next day, when Roy Rix the chief marshall of our leg assured us there would be a full inquiry into the whole way the March has been run. He was as disgusted as the rest of us.

Who was responsible for running the March in this way?

**Tony**  
Well, of course the TUC must have okayed everything. But the Communist Party was in control of the March. They organised it to make sure they controlled the transport, baggage and generally the logistics of the March. For example Lenahan was chief transport marshall, but he chaired most of the March meetings. They tried to use the Scottish contingent against the rest of the March by creating a sort of elitism.

They were the 'real marchers' and the rest from Leeds, Liverpool, Manchester, were 'Johnny come-lathes'. The CP policy for the March was to link with the SDP. They won and history. The only person allowed to march in front of the marchers was a steward in the West Midlands. The rest of the March being organised to be there for Jobs and Peace' because they said that would

narrow its appeal. They used heavies and even the police to prevent the March becoming anti-Tory.

They had to change that in London where it was impossible to impose their line any longer. They kept the March as far away from the Labour Party as possible.

**Mick**  
Now you can see the result of their 'broad approach.' They let the Labour Party leaders off the hook and they did nothing to mobilise Labour for 5 June. They isolated the March from the mass CND movement so that only five or six CND banners turned out on 5 June — when we've seen that CND can mobilise hundreds of thousands.

**Tony**  
What did they get in return? Not one SDP banner, not one 'Tory wet banner' turned up on 5 June. By taking the class struggle out of the March they weakened it and weakened Labour's election campaign and got nothing in return. They took it to ridiculous lengths like Gordon McLennan's pathetic appeal to Margaret Thatcher in the *Morning Star* asking her to meet the March.

They say it does not matter who the government is all they want is a government that 'makes unemployment its first priority.' It's obvious the Tories would create jobs if they could get away paying £30 for a sixty-hour week.

They're using unemployment to try to smash up the working class organisations that are preventing them from drastically cutting wages and increasing hours.

I never argued for political slogans for their own sake. The purpose was to open out the March to involve the marchers in going out into the labour movement to build a tremendous mobilisation against unemployment and the government whose policies are designed to create it.

It was part of that fight. The lack of democracy, the bullying, the use of the police, were all necessary because there was no other way the Communist Party could force the Marchers to follow their line.

There has been a conspiracy of silence surrounding this March. The press ignored it because it embarrassed the Tories on their weakest side — unemployment. The Labour leaders ignored it because they are frightened of any mass movement that might escape their control.

The Communist Party helped both by keeping the march as far away from politics and the Labour Party as possible, in order to promote their own grand anti-Thatcher alliance.



**Paul**  
Atkin, 29 years old, comes from Manchester. He worked as a printer until two months ago.

What do you think should be done now?

**Mick**  
There should be a full investigation by the labour movement into this March. Future marches must be built in a way that draws together the unions and the Labour Party.

**Tony**  
This March was paid for by working class organisations. It is a disgrace that a March directed by the Labour movement should be prevented by the CP from coming out against the Tory government and building support for Labour in a general election period.

The organisations that worked to support us along the route should hold a full enquiry into it and ostracise the individuals and organisations responsible.

The movement started by the March must go on.

A core of the marchers should be organised to carry out a regular tour of the country. The TUC should be asked to support the marchers and to help them to get the message across to the unemployed to the labour movement.





# Why Labour let Thatcher get away with murder

ON BBC's *Nationwide* Diana Gould questioned Thatcher about the sinking of the *Belgrano*. As the Prime Minister alternatively squirmed and hectorred it became obvious she was lying through her teeth. Again on 2 June when journalists questioned her about the circumstances surrounding the ship's sinking and the loss of 400 lives she almost resorted to tears.

Obyiously it's not a subject she likes to be questioned about. She has good grounds for being wary. On *Nationwide* she had refused to admit the *Belgrano* was sailing away from the Malvinas and insisted it was 'a danger to our ships'.

In parliament her government had admitted it was sailing away from the islands, and *outside* the 'total exclusion' zone when it was torpedoed on government orders.

The justification for this murder on the high seas was apparently that the *Belgrano* was 180 miles from the position which the British ship *Sheffield* was going to be two days later!

By Bob Pennington

There was no military justification for this act. However, a political motive did exist as the proposals for peace with Argentina made by the Peruvians were torpedoed with the *Belgrano*. The Peruvian president Belaunde Terry knew that the junta was keen to get a settlement. Without doubt this had been made clear to Thatcher's Foreign Secretary Francis Pym. He must have told his boss what the score was. But the Tories were not in favour of

a quick settlement. The wave of patriotic hysteria engendered by the war had turned the tables in the electoral stakes and the Conservatives were cashing in. The Tories are guilty of slaughter and guilty of lying to the electorate. Labour had the chance to lay bare the government's record. But following Denis Healey's outburst it is not wrath that is coming out of Labour's election headquarters over the Malvinas, but an embarrassed silence and a hope that the issue will go away.

Most Labour candidates believe that the Tories would gain if the *Belgrano* and the Malvinas become issues in the election. Perhaps they realise the irony of Healey attacking Thatcher over the Malvinas when they remember him saying after the Argentinian invasion: 'The Navy should be sent against the Argentinian dictators instead of to the Caribbean.' Peter Shore welcomed the invasion on ITV's *Weekend World*. Michael Foot was cheer-leading Britain's action from Labour's front benches.

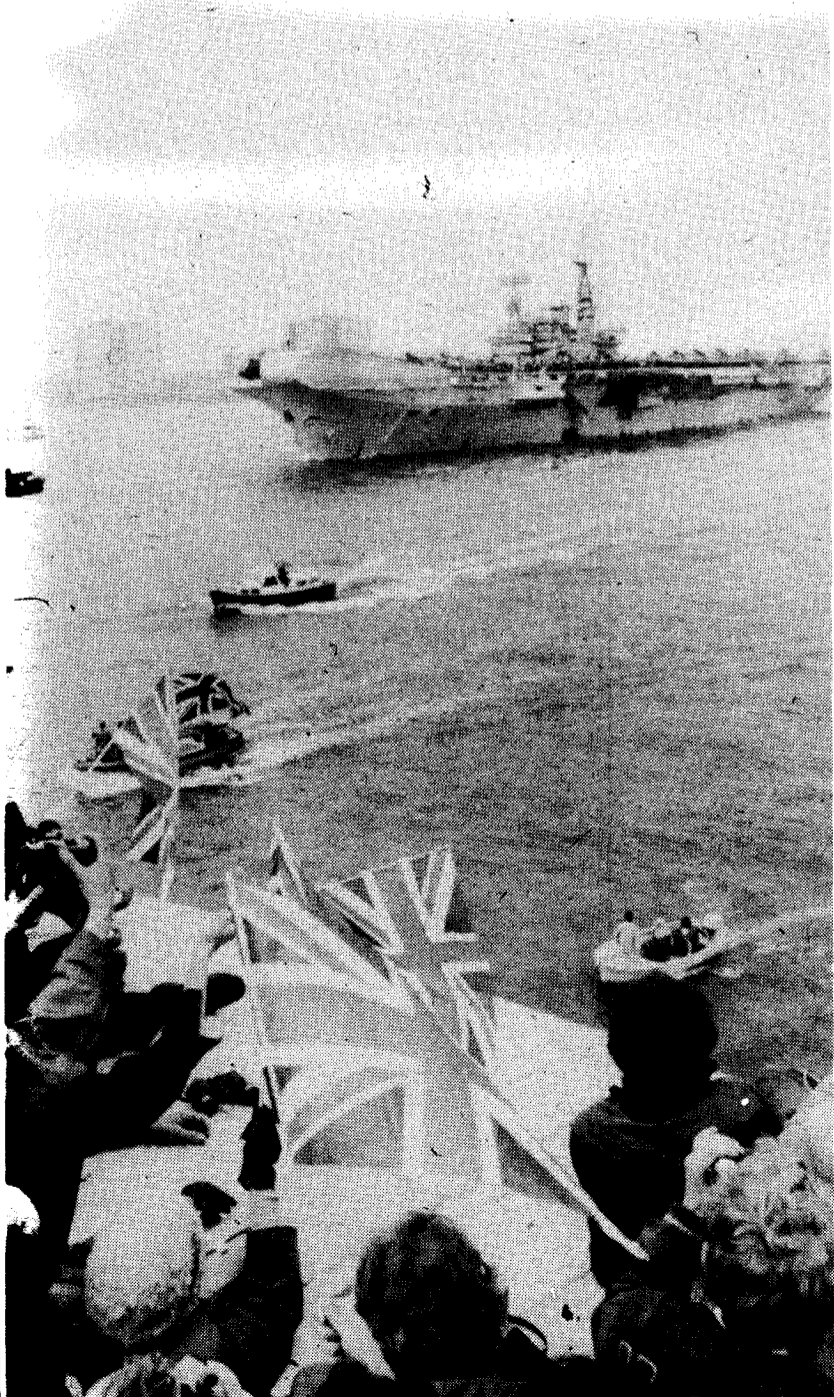
Meanwhile Labour's mis-named International Committee wanted Thatcher to get tough with Argentinians. It explained: 'The government should negotiate from strength when dealing with fascist dictatorships ...' The International Committee forgot to mention however that it was the previous

Labour government who had been the biggest suppliers of weaponry to the military junta.

Now the chickens have come home to roost. By legitimising Britain's imperialist adventure the Labour leaders encouraged chauvinism inside the working class and among its supporters. But encouraging patriotism and flag waving is never anything but a long-term loser for Labour.

The natural party of imperialism and nationalism is the Conservative Party. Inevitably they reaped the benefit of Labour's sickening performance and from then on have led the opinion polls.

Labour has buried the chance to expose Thatcher's lies and support for murder. Supporting your own ruling class has never gained anything for the workers' movement.



Labour leaders tried to outdo the Tories in union jack waving



Photo: PETE GRANT

Opposition to the war came from a small minority of the labour movement





# CRISIS LOOMS FOR CND

**CND's GENERAL ELECTION campaign has been a flop. The CND leaflets and posters — a picture of children with the legend 'in the nuclear election vote for them' lacked meaning or cutting edge.**

While CND was correct not to endorse any political party, the determination of many CND leaders to avoid doing the slightest thing to aid Labour's campaign has been at best ineffective, and at worst looked at times like endorsement of Alliance candidates. EP Thompson is reported to have endorsed the Liberals at a meeting in Oxford.

CND branches were confined to leafletting, questions to and meetings with candidates, along with the peace canvass. CND did not prioritise support for the one mass action during the campaign which could have made a huge impact — the 24 May International Women's Day for Disarmament.

Edward Thompson, Bruce Kent and other anti-nuclear leaders have refused even to speak on the same platform as Labour candidates!

The CND election campaign was based on a false premise and overall strategy. If CND's campaign had any meaning, it meant for the CND leaders 'Vote for the candidate with the best position on nuclear disarmament'.

The problem is that it is the party with the best position on nuclear weapons which will be most effective — not individual MPs. CND's strategy lets SDP/Liberal Alliance candidates off the hook, because it fails to make them account for the pro-nuclear policies of their parties.

Thompson and Kent, and the other CND leaders should have spoken on Labour Party platforms all over the country. As individuals they should have called for a vote for Labour. But they failed to do that because the approach they are developing downplays unilateralism and looks towards 'pressure politics'.

Joan Ruddock, even said that in the event of a Tory victory CND would turn towards lobbying Tory MPs!

On 12 June CND is holding a mass rally at Wembley Conference Centre to re-affirm the determination to go on fighting. But it must be said that the CND leadership is preparing the movement for defeat. A Tory victory will be a big setback, not because a Labour victory would have automatically meant nuclear disarmament, but because it would have created much better conditions for the struggle to do that.

**By Phil Hearse**

But even under a Tory government the missiles can be stopped, if the anti-nuclear movement is turned towards mass labour movement action, if the power of CND's strongest allies in the Labour Party and the trade unions is mobilised.

Instead, we face the danger that the movement will split between an increasingly right wing 'pressure politics' line of the leadership, and direct action of an increasingly desperate nature.

Thatcher will use an electoral victory as a means for bringing in the missiles. The next step, as the mass arrests at Upper Heyford showed, will be police repression of the peace camps. The labour movement must be mobilised in all its strength to defend the Greenham Common and Upper Heyford camps.

## Linked

Direct action at the bases must be linked to a campaign to get the Labour Party and trade unions to pull out their members for huge labour movement demonstrations, and to move towards 'warning strikes' perhaps for a symbolic five minutes at first — in the factories. The CND leadership has not moved to make the labour movement leaders act, precisely because they disagree with a labour movement approach.

The refusal to appoint a Labour CND full timer speaks volumes about their attitude. In fighting for the labour movement to act, CND's main enemy is the right wing of the labour movement. Healey, Callaghan and Duffy want to roll back the unilateralist gains of recent years.

Their attacks on unilateralism will doubtless discourage CND activists from seeking an alliance with the labour movement. But despite the betrayals of the leaders, the mass of the labour movement stands four square



Greenham blockade: CND missed the chance on 24 May to make a huge impact with these mass actions

for disarmament. This year's Labour Party and TUC conferences must be made to call mass action against the bomb.

If the turn towards lobbying right wing MPs wasn't enough, a big political retreat for the anti-nuclear movement is being prepared — away from unilateralism and anti-missiles action towards the campaign for a 'nuclear freeze'.

On 6 July a big rally is being organised in London on the theme

'Time for a nuclear freeze'. Naturally enough, a freeze on all nuclear weapons development and deployment would be an immensely progressive move. But in a situation where there is already a mass unilateralist movement, any attempt to divert its main campaign focus towards the 'freeze' demand would be immensely retrograde and harmful.

It would divert attention from the crucial practical step of fighting the missiles here and now, for the sake of an alliance with the Liberals.

CND's national conference is not until December. But anti-nuclear activists face an immediate dilemma — how to stop a Tory victory turning into a crushing of the anti-missiles movement.

The answer is to base the movement on the forces that will fight — the labour movement, the women's peace movement and the youth.

Most of all it means fighting for labour movement action. Otherwise defeat is staring us in the face.



# Socialist Action

## More right wing traitors back Alliance

THE LIST of trade union leaders who called for votes for Alliance candidates in the election grew to include Roy Grantham last week. In the latest issue of the APEX journal he urged a 'tactical' vote for Liberal candidates where they had a chance of defeating the Tories.

### Statesman

#### Time for tactical voting

ANY OBJECTIVE standard the record of Mrs Thatcher's government has been one of failure. This may seem a bold statement when the Tories are still maintaining a commanding lead in the opinion polls. But it is true. Of the 'tasks' set out in the 1979 manifesto, the only success has been with control of inflation. Even this has only been achieved by a combination of luck with world commodity prices and the deliberate destruction of whole swathes of industry.

The other main plank of the last election platform was to 'restore the health of our economy and to restore incentives so that hard work pays'. It was to 'restore the new jobs are created in an 'austerity' economy'. In a BBC Panorama interview in February 1980, Mrs Thatcher (speaking down as a housewife) said by Mr John Biffen that the next three years were to be tough. 'I don't think there'll be three years to be tough', she said. 'I don't think there'll be three years to be tough'. There will be three years of realism. 'I don't think there'll be three years to be tough'. There will be three years of realism. 'I don't think there'll be three years to be tough'. There will be three years of realism.

Powerful support from this position came from a whole procession of journals including the *Daily Mirror* and *New Statesman* which openly revealed their colours by endorsing tactical voting.

The campaign for tactical voting both anticipated and contributed to Labour's widely expected defeat at the polls.

In circumstances when the Alliance were claiming that they were the only force that could beat Thatcher nationwide, the call for a tactical voting amounted to a vote for the Alliance everywhere.

However Grantham's call should come as no surprise. He spoke out on platforms with Williams, Owen and Rogers when they were still in the Labour Party with others like Frank Chapple, Bill Sims and Terry Duffy.

## Time voting Mrs Thatcher FEARS

All have been pressing for the unions to loosen their ties with Labour in a return to the Lib-Lab mix of union leaders before the Labour Party was formed as a mass party.

After the election they intend to pursue their campaign, aiding and abetting the attacks on the Labour Party announced by both the Tories and the Alliance.

The right wing in the union can be defeated as recent experience in the rail and telecom unions has shown.

The building of Broad Lefts committed to fighting policies and the democratisation of the unions is the way to do it.

Editor: ALAN FREEMAN

Published weekly except two weeks in August and the last week of December.

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

Send all correspondence regarding subscriptions, sales and receipts to Socialist Action Distribution, 328 Upper Street London N1 2XP. (Tel: 01-359 8180)

Send all material for publication (including advertising) to Socialist Action Editorial at the same address.

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



## Opposing the Youth Training Schemes

THE ARTICLE that appeared in your paper on 6 May about the Youth Training Schemes was timely. But shouldn't we oppose all such schemes?

The recent case of a father who is suing Norman Tebbit makes the point.

His son was killed after being injured on a machine he was

operating.

Under the YOPs scheme last year six youngsters died, 43 suffered amputations and 3211 suffered injuries. The father is trying to prove that the Manpower Services Commission employs YOPsters.

As Graham Atwell pointed out, under the YTS youth do not have

even the small rights they had on YOPS. The toll of death and injury will be even higher with no recourse to the law.

It's not enough to fight for a change in these schemes. They have to be totally opposed.

DESMOND O'CONNELL, London SW1

## A wasted vote?

YOU SAY that a vote for the Communist Party is a wasted vote. But who has had the last laugh?

What the *Morning Star* said when the CP launched its campaign has turned out to be absolutely true.

The fudging in the manifesto has meant that the right have been able to overturn the policies won by the left. Only the Communist candidates are in a position to say this from the hustings.

Socialists buried deep in the Labour Party are bound by the 'rules of the game' not to say anything until the election is over and the damage has been done.

I for one am glad that there is a voice saying all this.

B. SPEARS, London NW1

## Puke purple

WHY DO you publish in puke purple rather than socialist red?

The revolting colour nearly stopped me buying the paper.

ARTHUR SPENDER, Avon

## Backing Thatcher

WHEN Colin Meade (letter, SA 27 May) backs Thatcher's unjust claim to retain Argentinian territory — the Malvinas — he backs her all the way.

He does not support her clandestinely, but openly!

And that is his right. As is mine *not* to support her, *not* to support imperialism, *not* to support fascism.

I am, above everything else, an anti-fascist.

The reason some people backed Thatcher was because they were afraid that if Argentinian forces were successful this would have vastly

## Fighting racism in NALGO

THE ARTICLE by Redmond O'Neill (SA 3 June) 'Black NALGO members lobby conference' contains inaccuracies which amount to rewriting history.

At last year's NALGO conference there were two motions on the issue of racism. Both represented a step forward for NALGO.

One was from Liverpool which had been drawn up in consultation with their black members on positive action, the other from Ealing on fighting racism in the union.

Point (i) of the Liverpool motion read as follows:

'The establishment of special schemes to recruit black, Asian and Chinese workers who, because of educational discrimination and disadvantage may not possess the normal qualifications required by the employer. The employer must, for his part, provide in-service opportunities to train these workers to the normally required educational standards.'

The motion was passed, but whatever its faults it could not be said to claim that the solution to racist discrimination is to

educate black workers, as last week's article claimed.

The Ealing motion was stronger, more detailed and dealt specifically with fighting racism in the union, although it made no reference to fighting racism in the wider community.

In the opinion of many delegates this motion was also passed. However the chair ruled that it had failed.

Delegates demanded a card vote and black conference observers came onto the Conference floor. This was used as an excuse to prematurely close conference that afternoon leaving issues not discussed.

The two motions were not counterposed, the NEC did not carve up the motion but recommended the deletion of 2 out of seven points. Our black observers did not recommend that we vote against the Liverpool motion.

The motion to our 1983 conference, if passed, will represent a far greater step forward as it will encourage black members to organise a fight against racism in the workplace.

CAROLYN SIKORSKI, Newham

Malvinas Argentinians butchered to death by the murderer colonists.

It is a historical fact that from the moment of her foundation, the Malvinas islands were a part of Argentina as much as Buenos Aires itself.

You shout about being Marxist but either you are for or against colonialism; for or against imperialism; for or against fascism.

You cannot be for and against Thatcher. If you are with Thatcher on the Malvinas then you are with her all the way — whether you like it or not you are voting *for* her!

Thatcher out of the Malvinas, and out of Downing Street!

JOHN BAKER, Lambeth



Photo: GM COOKSON

# LETTERS

## Middle East

I WOULD like to make come comments on Paul Lawson's article 'New war in the Middle East' (SA 27 May).

On the question of the Israeli economic and trading domination of occupied regions, including Lebanon.

This is certainly happening but it seems to do nothing useful for the Israeli economy which is in as bad a crisis as it ever was and needs constant bailing out — to the cost of US imperialism.

Occupied regions are being settled with Israeli Jews. But as their total numbers are not increasing this creates an ever growing problem for the aim of the expanded Zionist state peopled almost entirely with Jews, with consequently awkward political adjustments.

Regarding the military questions. There is a general world picture in which imperialism is attempting to counter insurgent peoples, who might otherwise be victorious, by the use of massive amounts of high level military hardware.

The job of solidarity movements is to make its deployment *politically* impossible. Central America is the clearest example, but the Palestinians fall within this framework too.

Which brings me to the question of the Syrian/Israeli war. In spite of new

Russian equipment I believe that Israel possesses an enormous advantage in high tech weaponry (to be used directly against Syria rather than in the Bakaa valley) and that they are setting up the situation *politically* so that they can use it without restraint.

An Israeli victory would leave the PLO in the Bakaa isolated and forced into retreat. The interest of the Palestinian cause therefore would seem to be to prevent an Israeli/Syrian war from breaking out.

Paul Lawson takes a very detached and neutral position over this. Imperialism is trying to get the Israeli conquest of the Lebanon accepted as a legitimate de facto position from which to start the war, or get Assad to pull out.

We must go back to the positions of last year that Israel had no right to invade in the first place — otherwise we will be out-manoeuvred.

It is not difficult to argue this any more than to get support for Assad on the grounds that he is waveringly in support of Arab nationalism.

In any case, if the war starts it will probably make little or no difference who we support.

HUGH LOWE, London W4



Yasser Arafat and Hussein

## 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)



# Android

**ANDROID is set on a space station, year AD 2036. Aboard, Dr. Daniel (played by Klaus Kinski) strives to perfect his latest android — a beautiful and supposedly passive woman — Cassandra One. He is assisted in this illegal project by his previous creation, Max 404 (billed as 'himself').**

Complications arise when three escaped convicts on the run from the Terrapol authorities, board the station in their damaged craft. One of them, Maggie, is a woman, who can therefore provide the necessary 'female electricity' to bring Cassandra to life.

From then on the plot thickens! The doctor tries to woo Maggie into taking part in his experiment; Max, who overhears the doctor's plans to 'phase him out' and replace him with Cassandra, rebels and tries to convince the convicts to help him escape; the convicts become reliant on Max and the space station to help them evade the Terrapol police.

The film is, in parts, really funny. Max's sabotage of the doctor's attempts to 'seduce' Mag-

gie is hysterical, as is Maggie's blunt response to the doctor's proposals.

**Reviewed by  
Sue MacDonald**

But not only is the film entertaining, it also makes a few interesting political points. When Dr Daniel gazes at the finished Cassandra he says, 'I have created the prototype of the perfect working class — not to mention the perfect woman.'

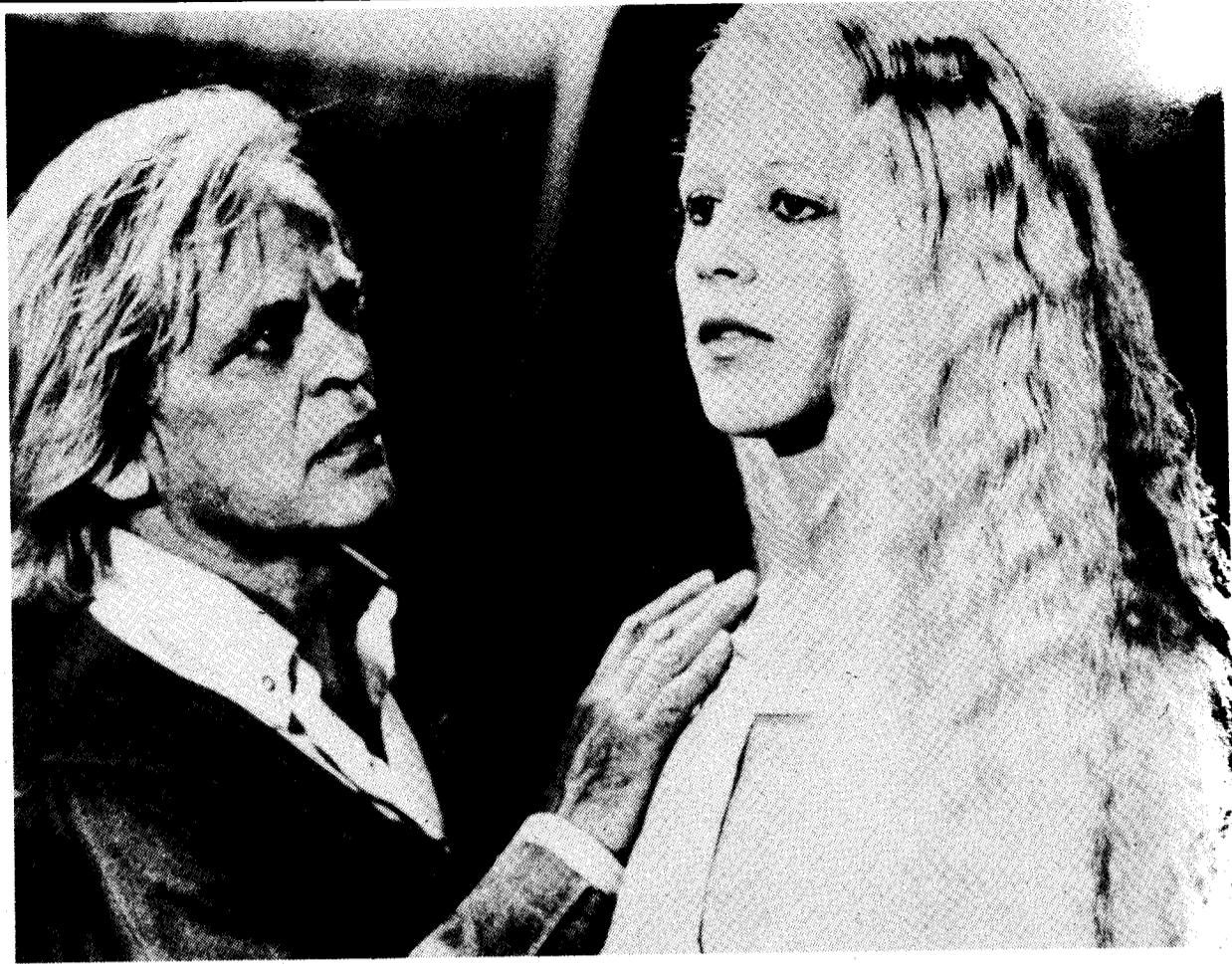
It is noticeable that throughout the film that 'perfect working class' (represented by the androids), and the 'perfect women' (Maggie and Cassandra), all play consistently rebellious, and in the women's cases dominant, roles. As Cassandra

says, 'We are not meant to be governed by the whims of men'. Wherever there is exploitation and oppression, there is also rebellion.

But reality also raises its ugly, violent head in this sci-fi drama — Maggie's fate is hardly a surprise ... it would seem, sadly, that in AD 2036 women are still expected to 'know their place'. Your average macho male space traveller doesn't take kindly to a woman telling him, 'I don't like my decisions made for me.'

Despite some rather odd little touches — for example, Cassandra One is brought to life by the magic spark of sex (yawn, yawn!) — and some slow parts in the first half, this is a film really worth seeing.

Great performances by Klaus Kinski and 'Max 404' and the last few scenes with some beautiful twists had me literally on the edge of my seat — and then almost cheering in the aisles!



## TV CHOICE

### Today's History

Sunday 12 June, 2.00pm  
Channel 4

AJP TAYLOR — described as the 'People's Historian' — talks about CND, his new autobiography and events which have dominated his life.

Despite his faults, Taylor has done more to popularise history from a more-left-than-usual position than anyone else, and he is entertaining to watch.

### Vietnam

Monday 13 June, 9.00pm  
Channel 4

THIS column can't recommend this excellent series too much. If you've missed it, you've missed one of the best ex-

poses of imperialism at work that's been made.

This week it looks at the effects of the war on Americans at home and the growth of the anti-war movement. There's a brilliant film of the attack by Chicago Mayor Daly's police on the demonstration outside the 1968 Democratic Convention.

Also covered is the killing of demonstrators at Kent State University by the national guard.

### Red Monarch

Thursday 16 June, 9.30pm  
Channel 4

PERHAPS they should have called this 'Stalin — the Movie'. Makers Jack Gold and David Puttnam describe it as a black comedy which revolves

around the double act of Stalin and Beria, living it up in the Kremlin on the one hand and signing death notices on the other.

The Tories will probably seize on the fact that some of the Kremlin interiors were shot in 'Red Ken's' County Hall.

### Britain in the Thirties: Mosely Right or Wrong?

Thursday 16 June  
BBC 2

THIS examination of Britain's answer to Hitler concentrates on five of his former followers recalling their experiences. Unfortunately, the programme adopts too much of make-you-own-mind-up approach.

With the future that youth have currently got to look forward to, we can do without that.

# Whitelaw

**The aptly titled 'Whitelaw' by Paul Gordon is a book crammed with information about the racism of the police, the courts and the prison system.**

It shows how racism has been institutionalised. At first with the 1948 British Nationality Act, because of an acute labour shortage, immigration was encouraged.

With the Commonwealth Immigration Act of 1962, through the stifling of immigration and institutionalisation of racism began in earnest. This has gone on right through to the British Nationality Act of 1981.

The book joins the two sides of state racism. Immigration laws on the one hand and the race relations industry on the other. The police role in this relationship is revealed: 'The British state', Gordon writes, 'defined black people as a problem, both through immigration laws to keep them out, and through measures of "integration" designed to manage the "problem" already here. In this management of the "black problem" the police have played a key role.'

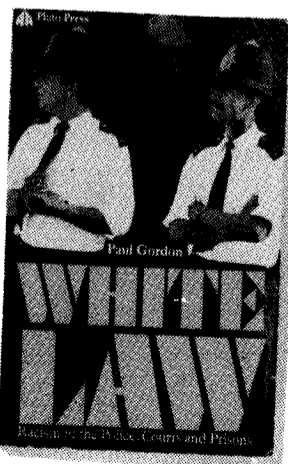
They have not been 'mere servants of the state' but they have 'offered their own definition of black people as a policing problem, a definition which both reflected the institutionalised racism of the state and society at large and reinforced it.'

**By Tim Rigby**

The book leaves no one in doubt that it is the system and the structure which is racist and not just the odd bad apple, be that rotten apple a copper, a judge or a prison screw.

However the book is in part frustrating in that it fails to support its claim for the central importance of racism 'to the struggle for social, economic and political freedom.'

This is partly due to the book's failure to provide any historical background to racism in Britain and also to its fact-bound, empirical mode of argument.



However much you might agree that 'racism is the means by which the state responds to crisis and in so doing divides the working class against itself', the point is not proven.

The strength of the book lies in its detail and in the mass of information it provides. Its weakness, lies in its simple dependence on facts.

Despite its shortcomings, though, *Whitelaw* is very useful and should be read.

**Whitelaw**  
Paul Gordon  
Pluto Press, £2.95

# The essential cubism 1907-1920

**WHEN CUBISM was developed between 1907 and 1914, it challenged a 400 year old painting tradition. This tradition held that the artist was all-knowing but neutral, and could truthfully depict the real world.**

By the turn of the century this rationalist philosophy had been challenged in the social and natural sciences, notably by Marx and Freud. Einstein in physics and James Joyce in literature would soon follow, but before them the cubists altered pictorial language for ever.

The cubists, essentially Georges Braque, Pablo Picasso and Juan Gris, questioned the legitimacy of the single-view picture image. They argued that the world was fragmentary and contradictory and should be painted as such. They dispensed with the traditional repertory of illusionist tricks such as perspective and a single source of light.

While academic painters continued to create dexterous illusions of 'real' life, the cubists hoped to return painting to a material reality which recognised the complexities shaping our ways of seeing.

It is difficult now to understand the passion and hostility engendered by the movement, but intense debates raged both between individual cubists and with painters from other schools.

There were two cubist phases: the analytic and the synthetic. The analytic phase, which lasted until about 1912, is well illustrated by Braque's *Clarinet and Bottle of Rum on a Mantelpiece* 1911. A scrolled shelf, visible bottom right, supports the bottle which stands centrally in front of the clarinet. The use of muted greys and browns discourages the emotional associations which often accompany vivid colours. Light and shaded areas indicate volume and depth but are selected quite arbitrarily.

Braque and Picasso often made humorous

references in their work and one such touch is visible in the use of a nail and its shadow in the upper right corner. A cast shadow is a traditional device to indicate depth and situate the picture's planes (foreground, middleground, background) but of course here it can only anchor the immediate vicinity since the rest of the picture is dislocated and fluid.

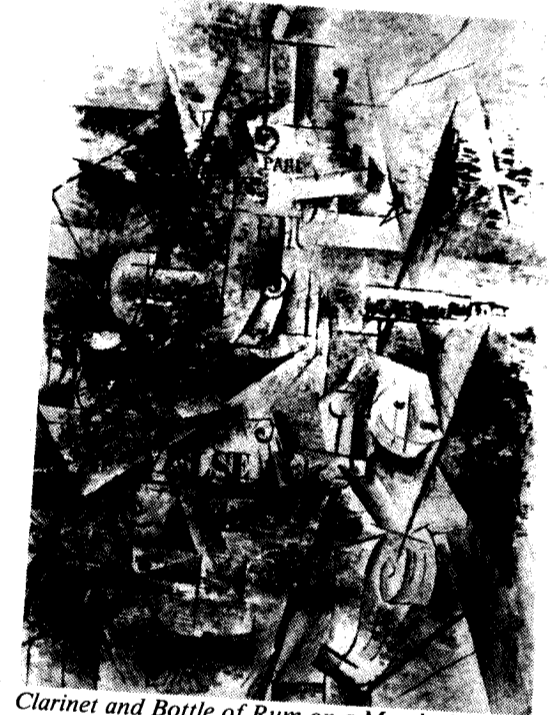
**By Paul Russell**

The word 'valse' refers to the clarinet, but then does it? The letters float on the surface of the painting and bear no compositional connection — another ploy by Braque to break the conventional reading of a painting.

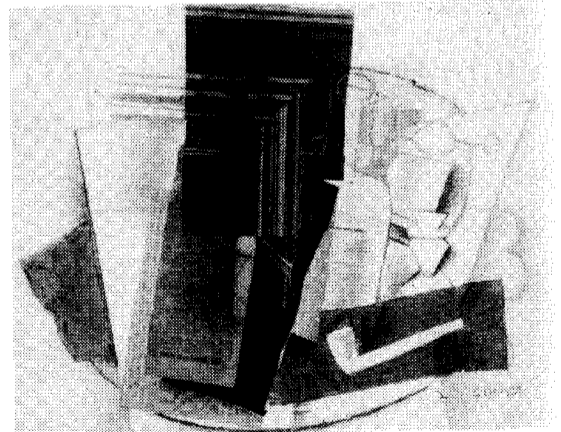
The synthetic phase of cubism involved reconstituting the fragmented image into a simpler composition. A key element in this reconstruction is the use of collage, paper cut-outs pasted to the canvas. Although we have become used to collage (who has not made cut-outs as a child?) its use in 1912 represented a new and potent challenge to realism.

Collaged pieces of newspaper and wallpaper enabled the cubists to eliminate all the illusory space which had lingered in the analytic paintings. A good example is *Bottle, Newspaper, Pipe and Glass* 1913 by Braque. The background wall is represented by fake wood paper with a printed moulding which Braque has copied and extended in charcoal.

The wall is at the back of the composition — but the paper has been pasted on top of it! To further complicate matters the outline of the bottle appears both on the same plane as the charcoal drawing of the wall and 'in



*Clarinet and Bottle of Rum on a Mantelpiece — George Braque*



*Bottle, Newspaper, Pipe and Glass — George Braque*

front' of the wallpaper. There is also a pipe, or rather the outline of a pipe stencil-cut from a newspaper. Paradoxically Braque has shaded-in the absent pipe's bowl so that, given our traditional viewing habits, we misread the pipe as being there rather than not there.

None of which prevents Braque from managing a harmonious and balanced composition with a classical feel for the picture area.

Each painting in this exhibition will repay careful study to decipher

the artist's intentions, including some clumsy or indecisive failures. But it should also be seen as a forerunner of another promising exhibition arriving at the Royal Academy this autumn: Soviet Russia's art of the revolutionary period.

**The Essential Cubism 1907-1920**  
Tate Gallery, London.  
nearest Underground: Pimlico.  
Until 10 July.  
weekdays 10-5.50.  
Sundays 2-5.50.  
Admission £2



# DIARY

*These listings are free for all major labour movement and campaign 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.*

- **Carla Latin American Resource Centre** are holding an open day on 11 June, 11-4, at the West Library, Bridgman Rd, London N1. Slides, exhibition, singers, crafts, food etc. Admission free.
- **Avanza Chilean Women's Group** social and discussion on women's organisation in Chile today and our work in exile. Tickets 80p (unwaged 50p). Women only. Fri 10 June, 7pm, LSE Graduate Common Room, East Building, Houghton St, London WC2 (Holborn tube).
- **Soweto: 7th Anniversary of the uprisings** with speakers plus cultural programme. 16 June, 6.30-9.30, St Matthew's Meeting Place, Brixton, London SW2. 'Solidarity with the oppressed people of Azania'.
- **National Abortion Campaign** conference is now postponed until September. Next National Planning Meeting of NAC is Sat 2 July in Leeds. For details please contact NAC at 374 Gray's Inn Road, London WC1. Tel. 01-278 0153.
- **Anti-abortion rally: counter demonstration** organised by 'Ladies against Women' 25 June, Hyde Park - fancy dress a must!
- **East London Rally for disarmament.** Speakers: Tony Benn, Alf Lomas (MEP), Illyd Harrington (Dep Ldr GLC), Dan Jones (Tower Hamlets TUC). 29 June, 7.30pm. East Ham Town Hall.
- **Britain - Tasks for anti-imperialists today**, third of four forums organised by the Irish Freedom Movement to discuss its new *Anti-imperialist guide to the Irish War*. Speaker Claire Riley. 15 June, 7.30, University of London Union, Malet St, WC1 (nr Goodge St tube).

- **Why Labour is a loser** RCP post-election meeting. Tue 14 June, 7.30, Holborn Library, Theobalds Rd, WC1. Speaker Mike Freeman (editor *The Next Step*).
- **Stop Halimat Babamba's deportation:** national demonstration 18 June. Assemble 1.30pm, City Square, Leeds.
- **Release Nelson Mandela! Victory to the ANC!** Weekly picket of South Africa House, Trafalgar Square 5.30-7.30, Fridays. Called by City Anti-Apartheid Group.
- **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.
- **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. For more details of events contact the Scottish Campaign to Resist the Atomic Menace (SCRAM).

Advertisement

**Preparing for Power**  
For the third year running the Revolutionary Communist Party is holding a major conference on the theme *Preparing for Power*. This year's conference will run for a full week from 16-22 July at the Polytechnic of Central London. The programme includes: over 80 workshops on a wide range of issues - Marxism after Marx, racism, women's oppression, Ireland, the Soviet Union, and much more; debates: films, music and other entertainment. Registration £10.00 (£6.00 unemployed). Phone 01-274 3951 or write to BM RCP London WC1N 3XX for further details.

Advertisement

## The Other BOOKSHOP

### For Marxist books, posters, postcards, badges Feminist literature

London 328 Upper St. London N1 telephone 01-226 0571  
Open - Mon, Tues, Sat, 10-6 Wed 12-7  
Thur, Fri, 11-7.  
Birmingham 137 Digbeth Birmingham B5 telephone (021) 643-5904  
Open - Mon-Sat 10-6 Closed Wed.  
*Mail Order Service - Add 20% for P&P*

11 Forth Street, Edinburgh 031-557 4284.

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


venue. **HOUNSLOW Socialist Action** forums held every other week. Celebrate or mourn at our post-election social, music and late bar extension on Fri 17 June. For details phone Ian 01-577 4329.

**Socialist Action National Tour**  
*Socialist Action supporters are organising a national series of meetings to discuss What Next after the election? Come to the meeting in your town! Meetings so far arranged are:*  
**HACKNEY Sun 12 June** (contact 01-986 6439)  
**BIRMINGHAM Wed 15**

**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

June, speaker John Ross (contact 021-643 5904)  
**EALING Thu 16 June**, speaker Alan Freeman (contact 01-571 5019)  
**GILLINGHAM Thu 16 June**, speaker Redmond O'Neill  
**BRISTOL Fri 17 June**, speakers Alan Freeman, Helen John (contact 0272 510242)  
**ISLINGTON Sun 19 June** (contact Nick 01-359 8288)  
**SCOTTISH TOUR: Mon 20 June - Thu 23 June** - Aberdeen, Dundee, Edinburgh, Glasgow (contact 041-339 0333 or 0224 896284)

Advertisement

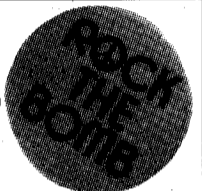


**International**  
New issue out now!  
**Red or Green for Europe?**

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

Advertisement

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



**Rock the Bomb**

If SAATCHI & SAATCHI 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.

● **Inquest into Colin Roach's death** restarts on Mon 6 June, at Clerkenwell County Court, 33 Duncan Terrace, Islington, London N1. Picket for duration of inquest.

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

**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

# Socialist ACTION

## Join the fight for socialism

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

Name .....

Address .....

..... Tel .....

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

## Don't let the money dry up!

IF WE were confident that as you read this week's issue Labour will have romped home in the biggest election victory since 1945, our column would be quite different.

As it is, we have a sneaking feeling that the knife in the back delivered by Messrs. Callaghan et al has done the dirty deed, and that Labour's chances of beginning to reverse the effects of four years of Toryism have been put back.

So we are in for a little bit more of the Thatcher magic. Socialist Action is not going to give up easily, though. We'll be out on the streets, fighting for a Labour leadership that can organise the kind of anti-Tory opposition that should've been built after the last election.

There is good news on our sales front. During the course of the election campaign, new sales areas have been opened up in towns that we hadn't managed to get to in the past. In Bradford, Gillingham and Stoke, new sellers are spreading the influence of Socialist Action.

If you can spare a little bit of time each week to help out with street or estate sales, or have mates at work who would regularly buy the paper, write in and let us know.

We can provide special rates for bulk orders and you needn't sell every paper you order.

At every CND, Labour Party or union meeting, there is always someone who has never heard of the paper but thinking on the same lines about the way things are going.

After the election we will need our readers' donations. We want to get the paper sold in the trade union and labour movement and anywhere where people are asking what happened in the election campaign.

We can only do this with your help. We know our readers have been working hard through the election period, fighting for a Labour victory, but don't let the money dry up!

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.



Thanks this week to:

Islington	£125.00
D Draycott	3.00
W Hamilton	5.00
P Stern	40.00
Wakefield	45.00
Birmingham	240.00
R Gimpel	10.00
C Archer	10.00
Bristol	58.00
Kent Johnson	10.00
J Blanco-White	40.00
BW	30.00
Brent	327.00
South East London	200.00
C Mason	4.00
Mansfield	30.00
Bath	3.75
Exeter	65.00
Louis Heinsman	3.00
South West London	100.00
Wakefield	45.00
Newcastle	29.00
Leeds	10.00
Manchester	109.00
East London Cabaret	35.00
Bristol	20.00
Oxford	65.29
J Baker	2.00
South East London	15.00
Aberdeen	25.00
East London	10.50
Camden	165.00
Bath	3.50
London Rally	172.00
Total this week	£2155.04
Total so far	£10,022.33

I would like to become a Socialist Action supporter.

- Please send me my supporters bulletin
- Please put me in touch with local readers
- I enclose a standing order/donation of £

**Socialist Action Bankers Order Form**

Date ..... 19 .....

To: .....

(Name of your bank in capitals)

of .....

(Address of your bank in capitals)

Please pay to the credit of Socialist Action, Acc. No. 70372315 at Co-Op Bank, 08-90-33, 1 Islington High Street, London N1. Starting on ..... (date of first payment) and thereafter monthly on the same date until further notice. Debit my A/C No ..... for the amount of £ .....

Name .....

Address .....

Signature .....

When completed and signed please return to: The Business Manager, Socialist Action, 328 Upper Street, London N1 2XP.

Please do not send the Bankers Order direct to your bank. Thank you.



# “THE ACTION INTERVIEW”

**ALAIN KRIVINE** is a leader of the French Ligue Communiste Revolutionnaire (LCR) and the most prominent spokesperson of the far left in France. Socialist Action spoke to him about the events in France which have put the Mitterrand government under siege.

**The current crisis of the Socialist Party-Communist Party government in France is obviously related to the imposition of austerity measures by Mitterrand. Why did he make the choice to have these measures?**

The government made the only choice possible for a government in a period of crisis which refuses to break from capitalism. When the Socialist Party and the Communist Party came to power, they tried to reflate the economy by giving concessions to the working class — wage increases and so forth. They thought that this would solve unemployment.

This policy went along with a whole series of economic gifts to the bosses, in the hope that bosses would invest. Of course this policy was rapidly defeated, since the bosses refused to play ball. Neither investment nor sufficient wage increases to boost the economy took place.

So now you have a big budget deficit and austerity is the only choice — unless you attack the power and wealth of the bosses which Mitterrand is not prepared to do. The result of the austerity measures is bound to be a further lowering of production and increased unemployment.

**What strategy are the bosses and the right wing parties following?**

Despite the pro-capitalist policies of Mitterrand, they have no confidence in a government of the two mass workers parties. Now, after the defeat of the right wing parties in May 1981, they have found a second wind in a situation in which the working class is demobilised.

The bosses of course are not preparing a fascist coup or anything like that — they are preparing to take political revenge on the left at the next elections.

For the last six months the right wing parties have been running a big counter-offensive against the left. The social force which they are using is the middle class. Part of the middle class voted with the left in 1981 in the hope that there would be a big change.

Now, they have seen that this reformist government has no solution to their problems, and have moved back to the right — a section of them have even gone over to the extreme right.

The two big right wing parties — the Giscardians and Gaullists — are building regular street demonstrations of the middle class to create a situation of insecurity. They want to show that with the left in power, everything is chaos and crisis.

**What was the role of the students in the recent disorders?**

You have to distinguish the role of the students from that of the small business people, merchants and so on who also demonstrated against the government. Of course the business people were mobilised for reactionary demands — against price controls, taxes on their businesses and so on. But the mass of students were opposed to what is a pro-capitalist reform of the university, which for example brings businessmen onto the board of governors to make universities more integrated with the 'business community'.

The problem is that the right wing

## The political crisis in France

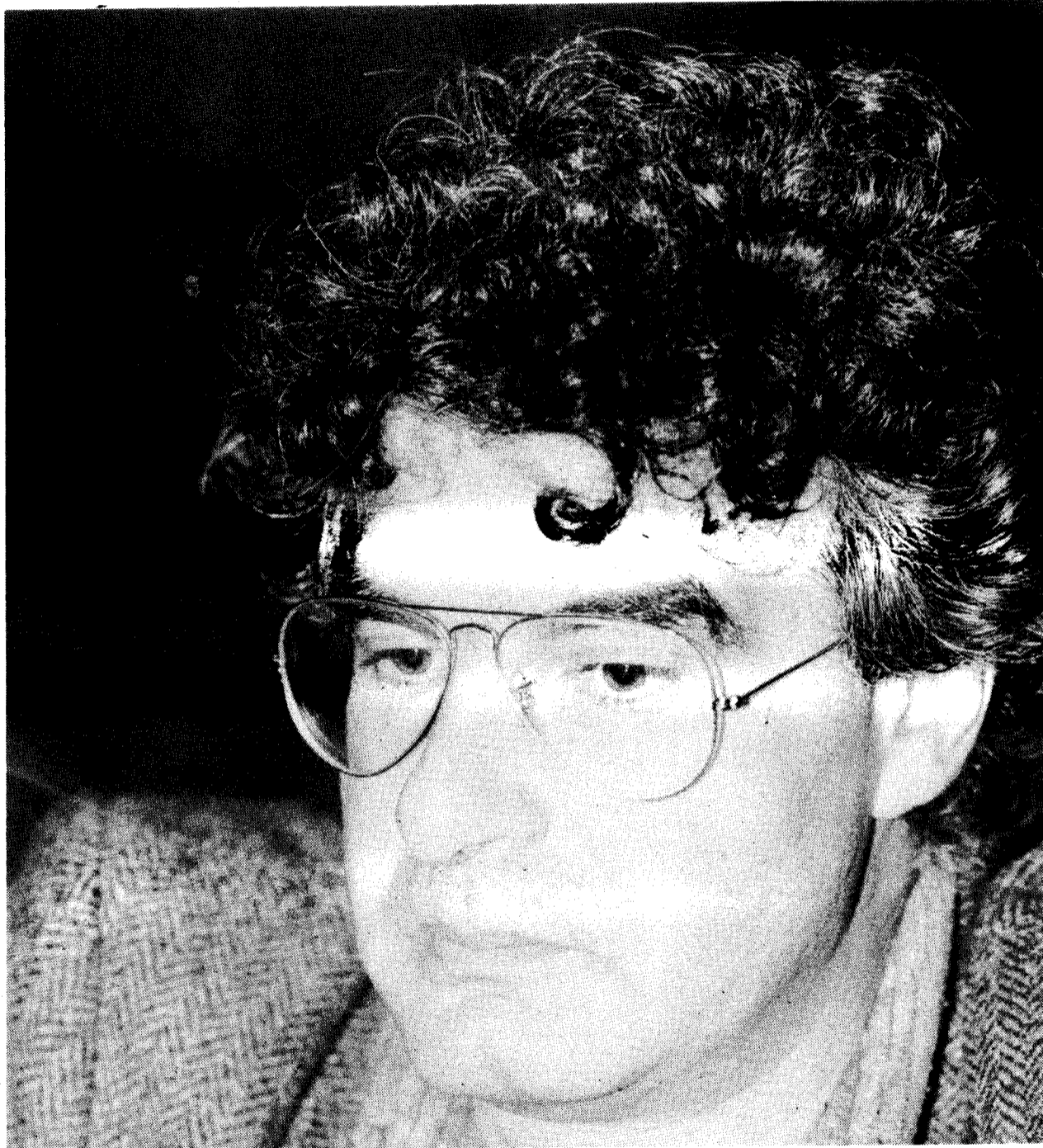


Photo: GM COOKSON

took the initiative to lead the mobilisations against the reform, because the majority of students who are on the left were not prepared to fight a 'left wing' government.

We also opposed the reform, but we were not powerful enough to make a strong counter mobilisation to fight the reform from a left wing viewpoint. In other words, the situation among the students parallels that in the working class itself.

If you mobilise against the pro-capitalist policies of the government, you are accused of helping the right. And most of the workers, just like the students, don't want the right wing back, however disappointed they are with the government.

So the result is a demobilisation and demoralisation, which will prepare a return of the right wing to power unless it is fought.

**What are the prospects of a working class fightback against austerity?**

Already there are some strikes against the effects of austerity. But after the long French holidays, when austerity starts to bite hard we are sure there will be a big series of struggles. The French working class is maybe in

political disarray, but the level of combativity is still very high. There is a big debate breaking out inside the Communist Party and the Socialist Party, but especially inside the trade unions about the political course of the government.

The most important developments are the emergence of left wing, 'class struggle', currents inside the two main union federations, the CFDT and the CGT. The LCR is very involved in working with SP and CP militants in these currents.

**In fact the student demonstrations were very small, because of the refusal of the mass of students to be manipulated by the right. But if you read the newspapers you get a totally different impression.**

Two groups have an interest in exaggerating the situation. First of course are the right wing parties and their press. Every day they had stories about the heroic students on the barricades and the terrible role of the police. What they wanted was to explain that if you have the left in power, you only get trouble, riots and

so on.

Perhaps I am a little cynical, but I think the government itself has some interests in dramatising the situation, to over-stress the danger of the right and the fascists. They say to the working class 'look at these disorders organised by the right and the fascists. You have to defend your government.' This has some impact, because it's certain that the working class doesn't want a return of the right wing.

The LCR was the only force to organise a street demonstration against the right wing and fascists. The CP and SP refused to mobilise with us, but we were able to bring out thousands of people to deny the ultra-right the monopoly of the streets.

**What has been the role of the Communist Party and CGT leadership? Surely they can't be the prisoner of right wing austerity measures forever without risking the loss of their base in the factories?**

Publicly they say the government measures are not austerity, but everyone knows they are. Then they say to the working class that you have

to put pressure on the government to avoid a 'right deviation'.

They explain it by the poor electoral showing of the CP in 1981. They say 'OK, you voted for the SP and not for us, so you have to pay the price for that'. The one alternative they offer the working class is to join the CP. They don't organise national struggles against austerity, but of course their militants organise local factory struggles, while avoiding all attempts to generalise those struggles and give them a national focus.

So they attempt to appear as the 'left' of the government majority, but there's no doubt that there is a political crisis in the CP. A lot of CP members in the rank and file are asking for the CP ministers to leave the government.

If the pressure gets too much, if they calculate that they have more to gain by leaving the government than by staying in it, then they will leave for sure. But at the moment they are swallowing everything — austerity, nuclear policy, everything — in order to be able to stay.

**Surely the emergence of left wing tendencies inside the Socialist and Communist Parties would help change the balance of political forces?**

Political life inside the workers parties in France is minimal. Because of the structural and political blocks to having any real democratic internal debates, all the disagreements tend to emerge inside the trade unions.

For example, the CP is so bureaucratized, has such a heavy internal regime, that those people who disagree with the line just don't go to meetings. But we meet them inside the trade unions. That's why opposition tendencies to austerity exist inside the trade unions, but not in an organised way in the SP and CP.

In the SP it's very difficult, because of the structure of the party, to build an oppositional tendency from the bottom. It would only be a real possibility if one of the SP leaders built it from the top down.

**Everything you say points to the necessity of a credible alternative to the reformist parties, the CP and the SP. But as you yourself say, most workers even if they agree with you say 'OK, but you're too small, we'll stay with our own parties.' How can you overcome this problem?**

The first thing is our proven capacity to lead struggles. In the towns where our comrades have been recognised as the leaders of strikes, then when you speak about the LCR, people in the factories identify with us. Of course this is not a national phenomenon, but a very real one in some localities.

Secondly, we are undergoing a process of joint action possibly leading to fusion with another big Trotskyist organisation called Luttes Ouvriere. Both organisations have declared themselves in favour of this fusion, and today we work together in many fields. Each month we have a common newspaper with them. If this fusion comes off this will create an organisation with a following of tens of thousands.

The third thing, and most important is how to attract the militants in the CP and SP. This is part of a discussion we are having, but the main thing is not to impose on the people close to us that we are Trotskyists, our line on everything.

If in the future situation we have the possibility of building a party on an internationalist, anti-capitalist basis with a significant layer from the SP, CP and even the PSU, then we could conceive the Trotskyists being a minority, even a small minority. I think that in the future centrist tendencies will occur in the CP and the SP, and especially in the trade unions.

You will not have thousands of workers coming directly from the mass parties to the LCR. For us it's a question of finding the right structures to intervene in the radicalisation as it exists.



# South Wales miners prepare jobs fight

SOUTH WALES miners have campaigned hard for a Labour victory. Their activities have spread from their own safe Labour constituencies to areas outside the coalfield where Labour could win, like in Cardiff Central where Llanwern steelworker Ray Davies is the candidate.

They have built mass actions like the People's March demonstration on 5 June to boost Labour's campaign.

This battle for a Labour government was a major theme of the recent South Wales miners annual conference. President Emlyn Williams highlighted unilateral nuclear disarmament and massive job creation as the two most burning election issues.

He told the conference, 'Changes of this character can only be obtained by electing a Labour government with true socialist policies'.

A Labour victory would also provide more favourable conditions for

defending jobs and pits in South Wales. Michael Foot has promised the NUM that a Labour government would halt the Tory programme of pit closures.

By Barry Wilkins

At a special conference last month to discuss how to resist closures in South Wales, the miners decided to launch a campaign throughout the coalfield.

The existing policy was endorsed for opposition to all pit closures, except

where reserves are exhausted. The South Wales leadership will now visit every pit to argue for continued resistance to closures with industrial action if necessary.

This campaign will go ahead whatever the result of the election. Labour has broken promises before, shut pits and cut jobs, so this is vital.

A Thatcher victory is the greatest danger. Half of the area's 33 pits would be threatened with closure in the next five to ten years. Miners in South Wales, and other areas facing closures, have a problem with the failure of the March ballot for national strike action to save Lewis Merthyr pit.



Dai Davies

The right wing and the soft left of the South Wales leadership has pulled back from industrial action. They have campaigned against Des Duffield who, while vice president, led the stay down strike at Lewis Merthyr.

At the South Wales

conference elections for vice president, Des was defeated by Terry Thomas, by the narrowest of margins. But Des strongly defended his action and won a standing ovation from the delegates. 'I fought for my pit, the area and union policy. I would do the same all over again.'

'All the rhetoric and eloquence in the world won't save South Wales pits if you're not prepared to translate it into action when the crunch comes.'

Rank and file leaders in the militant pits support this argument for further industrial action. Tyrone O'Sullivan, secretary of Tower lodge told *Socialist Action*, 'Several lodges, including Tower are rejecting Coal Board plans to link up our pits underground. This would be the first step to closures.'

'But if the Tories win, closures could be announced this summer. When threatened pits want to fight we must move straight to a coalfield strike on our present mandate and then rapidly spread it to other areas.'

South Wales executive member Dai Davies told us, in his personal capacity, 'We've learned that a ballot is not the way to win a national strike to defend our pits.'

'Next time we must escalate the strike rapidly by going to the rank and file in other coalfields and getting them out on strike, by persuasion and picketing. Building up rank and file action and solidarity is the way to win, not ballots.'



It's official. Scargill's claims of 70 pit closures in the next five years are confirmed by Tory documents exposed this week.

Photo: GM COOKSON



## Sheffield occupation victory

OCCUPYING workers at the Sheffield Firth Derihon plant have won their battle against compulsory redundancies.

The owners, Johnson Firth Brown caved in after eight weeks of the sit-in. This will boost the confidence of the workforce to take on future attacks on jobs and conditions.

## Asian textile strike

FOR 15 WEEKS 21 Asian workers at Aire Valley Yarns have been on strike against low wages and appalling conditions.

Their strike bulletin explains 'Workers are divided into two twelve hour shifts, paid a basic rate of £1.02 per hour and compelled to work a 60 to 72 hour week.'

Overtime is compulsory... Machines are put before the lives of workers. There is inadequate protection against wood dust, the guards on carding machines (responsible for 23 per cent of accidents in the textile industry) do not work, spinning machines (which run up to 500 mph) have loose brakes and do not work. No first aid box exists on the premises.'

When the workers tried to set up a union to fight these conditions, their steward, Liaquat Ali was sacked and the strike began. His case is being considered by an industrial tribunal, but the strikers are determined to carry on their strike.

They explain 'The tribunal is composed of a manager, a trade union representative and a

layman who chairs the panel. The composition of the panel is not always favourable to workers.'

'They do not always get an outright verdict. Their findings are not binding or enforceable by law.'

One of the employers, Derek Bedford has already told Liaquat Ali 'Whatever the results of the tribunal you will not be employed by this company'.

The pickets have suffered harassment and intimidation from management and the police and need firm solidarity. A mass rally and demonstration has been called to support them on 18 June — assemble 3pm, Coal Hill Lane, Farsley, Pudsey, West Yorkshire.

● Money and messages to: AVYS support committee, 34 Dirkhill Street, Bradford 7.

## Greenings strike

MANAGEMENT AT Greenings in Warrington threaten to sack the 400 shop floor workers if they do not return to work by 6 June.

The workers are in the eleventh week of their strike against forced redundancies and changes in working practices.

A previous attempt to break the strike, by sending redundancy cheques and P45s to workers' homes, failed when the union collected and returned them.

Delegations are still travelling around the country gathering support.

● Messages and donations to: N Greening JSSC Strike fund, c/o Len Blood, 26 St John Street, Newton-Le-Willows, Merseyside.

## Scargill battles for Labour victory

MINERS' president Arthur Scargill roused election audiences throughout the country with his message for a Labour victory.

In meetings in Shipley, Sheffield and the Rother valley in Yorkshire and in Kent and London, Scargill hammered home the message.

'It wasn't the winter of discontent that stopped Labour last time. It was Labour trying to manage capitalism better than the Tories.'

'We can talk as much as we want about socialism, but at the end of the day we have to win a Labour government on 9 June accountable to the people for all its policies'.

At the Dinnington

miners' hall in the Rother valley, Scargill spelt this out.

'With the appointment of Ian McGregor as national coal board chairman the Tories really took the gloves off. Only by electing a Labour government can we bring the butchery of our industry to an end without having to resort to direct action.'

'I refuse to be bullied into submission by obviously massive coal stocks. I ask the government — do those stocks mean that our nation has no need of coal?'

'On the contrary. Those stocks symbolise a dying and wasteful economy that ignores the needs of pensioners, the unemployed and low paid, of schools, hospitals and

countless institutions where fuel is badly needed'.

His plan of fighting policies extended to other issues. At a Labour Party rally in Kent he challenged Tory efforts to wipe out the National Health Service. In West London Scargill's speech to a Trade Union for a Labour Victory meeting left no doubts of his total opposition to incomes policy and 'unequivocal commitment to unilateral disarmament'.

What a contrast to the election antics of electricians' union leader Frank Chapple — unaffectionately known to his members as Franco Cappello — with his personal backing for John Grant the SDP candidate for Islington.



Arthur Scargill

Photo: GM COOKSON

## Garment workers in conference

THE NATIONAL Union of Hosiery and Knitwear Workers (NUHKW) holds its annual conference from 13-16 June. With 57,000 members, the NUHKW is Britain's second largest garment workers' union.

A majority of members are women. Almost all members receive under the average wage for manufacturing industry.

The militancy of hosiery workers in struggles over piece rates — the main system of payment — has not been matched by the union's leaders. National officials have concentrated on joint campaigns with the bosses for import controls and for 'buy British' projects.

Without a definite plan of action, such resolutions, passed year in and year out, eventually lead to disillusionment on the factory floor.

There are welcome resolutions supporting the disarmament movement from the Scottish district and the national executive. Ilkeston and Scottish districts both criticise the use of youth training schemes as cheap labour.

There are resolutions from Scotland and Nottingham-Trent urging greater participation by women members. This is

vital, as the majority of women members is not reflected at district committee or NEC level.

Import controls are pushed by the Hinckley district. This demand has the support of the bosses, who see it as guaranteeing their markets and profits.

But the call for import controls directs the anger of workers over poor wages and job losses away from the real culprit — the bosses — and towards hosiery workers abroad.

One issue which national president David

Lambert does not intend to discuss is the 11 week strike at Nottingham firm Daleside-Haddon. This strike was defeated not by management, but by the half-heartedness of top union officials and their eventual threat to declare it unofficial.

The lesson of Daleside-Haddon has to be learned by all conference delegates and NUHKW members — to elect union leaders who will back us, and to prepare every member to defend jobs and improve living standards.



# Plans for NALGO Broad Left

**THIS YEAR'S** annual conference of the National and Local Government Officers' Association meets on 13 June.

It is one of the first union conferences in the wake of the general election.

With the likely return of a Tory government, delegates will have to consider how best to fight the Tory onslaught.

To some extent, NALGO members have been cushioned from the worst effects of Tory rule. Although pay has fallen drastically, jobs have gone and there have been moves towards privatisation, unemployment has largely stayed as 'someone else's problem'.

But the Tories have made it clear that they now intend to launch a massive attack on the public sector and in particular local authorities. They plan to break up the Greater London Council, the Inner London Education Authority and other metropolitan authorities.

There will be swingeing cuts in public spending and a stepped up privatisation of lucrative services. Faced with this, only a determined and well organised national cam-

paign — up to and including all out strike action — can protect jobs and living standards of NALGO members.

Up to now, any branch facing cuts and privatisation has had to fight alone, even though NALGO has a policy of national support for branches resisting redundancies. So, in most cases, the fight has been lost, jobs have gone and services have been hived off.

**By Terry Conway, Islington NALGO and Carolyn Sikorski, Newham NALGO.**

We now need national financial support for branches taking action, a rolling programme of supportive industrial action and a vigorous campaign among the whole membership to impress on them that they will be in the firing line, sooner rather than later.

Unfortunately, the present NALGO leader-

ship is hostile to this approach and has failed to put existing union policy into practice on these issues.

The left within the union has failed to organise on a national scale to force the leadership into action. Until now, the left in NALGO has concentrated on localised organisation, particularly in the larger and stronger districts.

This has had some limited use but, even in these cases, it has failed to organise the bulk of active shop stewards around a fightback. Continuing in the old way is pitifully inadequate in the present political situation.

At NALGO conference, *Socialist Action* supporters will be calling for sponsorship of a broad based national conference in the autumn to develop a strategy for action to fight the Tory attacks on local government.

From the autumn meeting, we hope that a genuinely representative Broad Left can be set up to break the insularity and sectarianism of the past, and prepare a fightback.



Will militant action come forward in NALGO to put people first?

## NALGO's campaign against Tory cuts

**THE HIVING-OFF** of the lucrative parts of public services and more savage cuts will be the result of a Tory victory on 9 June.

That is the warning Sid Platt, West Midlands district organisation officer of NALGO gave at its Peoples March at its reception in Stafford on 18 May.

**By Mick Archer**

Speaking from the steps of Stafford Town Hall he called on the marchers and the people of Stafford to defend the

public service sector and to support NALGO's national campaign to 'Put People First' and not the 'part-time gangsters who ... are in it for profit and not for service to the public'.

NALGO's one million pound campaign was launched in May to fight both cuts and privatisation. Its stated aims are to win public support for the public service sector and to boost morale amongst its own members and trade unionists in general.

In Birmingham, council workers themselves tendered a bid for a contract for rubbish collection, having suggested a £3.3 million cut in costs

and a 38 per cent reduction in the workforce. Job loss, a poorer service and a weakening of union organisation are the results.

No doubt encouraged by this sacrifice Birmingham's Tory controlled social services committee is trying to get in on the act. A cut of £2.5 million was made in the social services department last year and management consultants, Price Waterhouse Associates were engaged to carry out an 'efficiency scrutiny'.

Their report, published in January, recommended the scrapping of 198 jobs. Action, co-ordinated by

the NALGO social services stewards committee, has prevented the implementation of these measures so far.

Sid Platt has said that NALGO's national campaign, involving extensive advertising in national newspapers, a poster competition, the commissioning of three new videos and a campaign balloon is not seen as an alternative to 'traditional forms of action'.

Local stewards are more sceptical. Only the outcome of disputes like those in Birmingham will demonstrate NALGO's real capacity to 'Put People First'.

## Post Union conference



Postal workers let down by union leaders in battle against job loss and privatisation.

**THIS YEAR'S** conference of the Union of Communication Workers (UCW) proved to be a fairly low key affair.

The executive council (EC) continued its obsession with 'avoiding confrontation' with the Post Office. So there was no serious discussion on privatisation.

Resolutions on Greenham Common and bank nationalisation were pushed off the end of the agenda.

A highpoint of conference was the vote of no

confidence in the postal services committee of the EC, following its failure to follow UCW policy to defend the overseas postal service. This was not just an isolated issue.

**By Margaret Vallins UCW, Chesterfield PFD, personal capacity**

It reflected many delegates' anger with a union leadership which puts its cosy relationship with the employer before its members' interests.

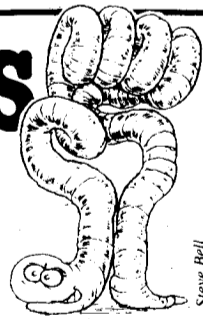
On the positive side, conference voted to withdraw UCW cooperation with the introduction of new technology, which

it has been estimated could destroy nearly 60,000 jobs in ten years.

The election for the EC saw little change, reflecting a stalemate between right and left in the union.

General secretary Alan Tuffin told conference he 'was prepared to fight on the right issue'. UCW members will ask themselves, just what is the 'right issue', if it is not the Tories' and Post Offices' plans for tightening the productivity screw, privatisation and victimisation of union militants? We can't afford to wait for Tuffin. Our fight starts now.

## WORM'S EYE VIEW



### No politics here — I'm Labour

**YOU** probably thought the election had something to do with politics. Bruce George the Labour candidate for Walsall South suffers from no such illusions.

He knows politics can get you into trouble with the voters. Mr George won't even wear a Labour rosette because 'it is too political' he explains. As he says he wants to represent all his constituents.

I see his point. He can hardly get some Tory racist who wants to bring back hanging and flogging



Bruce George keep politics out?

to vote for him if he tells him Labour does not agree with that.

Bruce George has got it right. Keep politics out and be nice to everybody and you too could be sitting on the back row at Westminster one day.

### Rate for the job?

**COMPANY** boards have found a new way to combat slumping profits and declining production. They are handing out hefty pay rises to boost morale. Now before you dash off to your firm's pay office I had better explain the rises are restricted to those who run the company and got the firm into that position.

Sir Campbell Fraser of Dunlops has just been given a 21 per cent increase although his firm has a drop in pre-tax profits of seven million pounds.

Sir Campbell is also president of the Confederation of British Industries — that's the body that keeps saying wage increases should not exceed three or four per cent.

At Bowaters the highest paid director got a 31 per cent increase which nearly equals the £34 million drop in their pre-tax profits. Now all this might seem a bit funny to you but there is a logic behind it all. Each of the two firms above got a share of 12,000 and 100 workers respectively in the financial year...



Sir Campbell Fraser

there does help to finance the directors' increases.

And as one director explained: 'The worse a company's prospects the better salary you have to pay to entice your favourite candidate'.

So if you are thinking of applying for a job on the track at British Leyland you should point out that the prospects for British cars look lousy so you need at least £50,000 a year for starters.

Compiled by BOB PENNINGTON. Send contributions to Worm's Eye, Socialist Action, 23 Lower Street, London N1 1EP. It is a weekly paper in circulation...



# Socialist ACTION

## Defend the peace camps!

**FOLLOWING** the nuclear election and the mass arrests at Upper Heyford, CND is entering the most critical phase of its recent history. Only six months remain to build a movement which is capable of stopping the missiles.

At the CND conference last year it was accepted that the only force powerful enough to achieve this was the labour movement.

By Dick Withecombe

But since that time there has been little effort by the CND leadership to capitalise on the tremendous potential support for CND in the unions. These problems were exposed by the election.

At a highly successful rally called by CND and the Manchester city council, the 5000 people gathered in the city's Albert Square heard CND leaders give conflicting views on how to vote.

Pat Arrowsmith for Labour CND and Helen John from Greenham Common forcefully called for a Labour vote, whilst veteran peace campaigner EP Thompson argued for any vote to keep out the Tories.

His speech was based on his new pamphlet *The Defence of Britain*, the sequel to *Protest and Survive*, produced specially

for the election.

His speech and pamphlet show a new shift in his thinking. His opening words were that this election is the most important in our time: 'Not because I am optimistic but because I grow with each month more pessimistic about civilisation's future'.

He called the Tories the nuclear rearmers and advised: 'Make your own judgement in every constituency guided by two considerations — a vote in favour of a candidate with the best anti-nuclear policies and vote in the best way to ensure that Mrs Thatcher's administration is not returned.'

In contrast were the speeches from Pat Arrowsmith and Helen John, representatives of the activist and optimistic wing of the CND leadership.

Pat brought the fighting spirit of Upper Heyford, where she was one of those arrested, to Manchester. Her closing words were, 'Vote to end nuclear war on Thursday — that means vote Labour.'

Helen spoke on the confidence of the Greenham women that we can stop cruise. She disagreed with Thompson's speech, saying that tactical voting was useless, recalling how tactical voting for Silkin cost Benn the deputy leadership of the Labour Party.

Calling for a vote for Labour, she added that votes for the Communist Party, the Ecology Party etc were a wasted vote. Thompson's approach leads to nothing but despair and defeatism.

The Greenham women who have started to build a movement against missiles in the labour movement, the defence of those arrested at the peace camps must be the starting point for all-out industrial action to stop the missiles.

*\* A petition is circulation in Manchester calling for the incoming Home Secretary to drop the charges against those arrested at Upper Heyford. First signature — Denis Healey.*

*The petition also commits the signatories to supporting the decisions of Labour Party conference on unilateralism. But Denis probably didn't read that part.*

● CND's leaders election failure — pages 8-9.

## Upper Heyford vs the People

**MARCHING** squads of police, rain and thunder, nuclear bunkers fringed with barbed wire and the US military.

depressed and scared. No one felt like getting arrested after getting soaked wet, but in the end we had to defy them.

man refused to stand to be photographed so the arresting officer had to lie on the floor behind him and hold his head up by the hair to have their photo taken together.

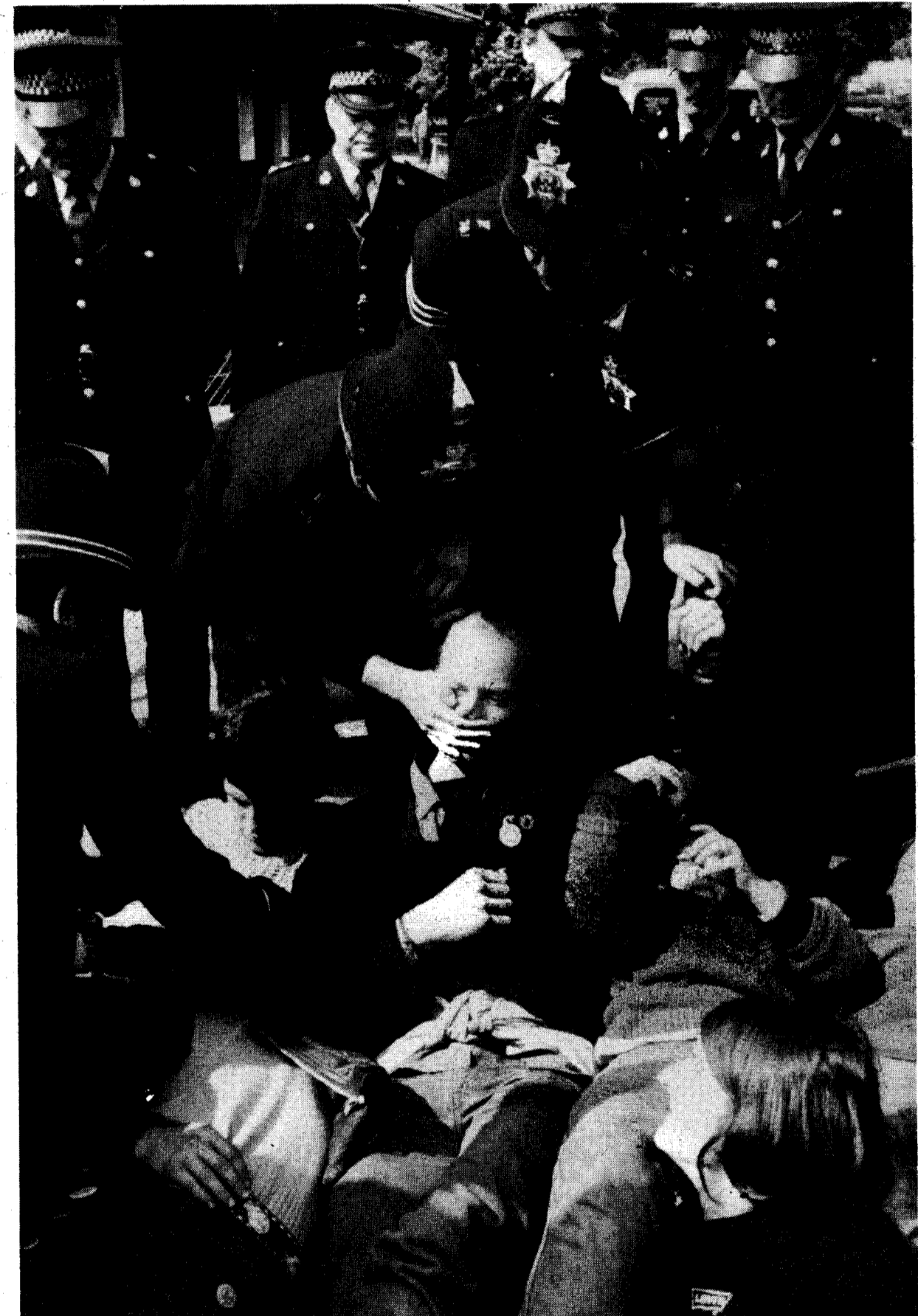
By one of the 752 arrested

The arrest itself was a set-up job. They had to go and find a car to come through our gate. It took them about 20 minutes. It was a political set-up too. Heseltine had already implied that there would be mass arrests on the radio on Monday morning!

That wasn't the only photographic work going on. Plain-clothes police took videos of people decorating the fence and dancing about at the women's gates. No doubt they are studying this strange phenomena of people doing something about their futures.

We were taken to a tent and photographed against our will. One

# STOP THE MISSILES



Police try to gag nuclear protest at Upper Heyford by mass arrests

Photo: JOHN HARRIS

## subscribe SPECIAL OFFER

Subscription rates:

Inland: 6 months £8; 1 year £15.

Overseas: (1 year only): Surface and Europe £17/Air mail £24.

(Please delete as appropriate)

Name: .....

Address: .....

For readers who take out a year's inland subscription we are offering a free copy of *Hard Times*, a new book in the 'Arguments for Socialism' series by Bob Sutcliffe. The book normally costs £2.50.

Alternatively we are offering Alan Freeman's book, *The Benn Heresy*.

For new readers there is our special introductory offer of 8 issues for £2.

All subscriptions are posted first class on day of publication.

For multi-reader institutions double the above rates.

Please send me as special offer .....

Send to Socialist Action, 328 Upper Street, London N1 2XP.

Greetings to the Greenham Women

**POEU**  
Post Office Engineering Union



**DELEGATES** representing over 100 branches of the Post Office Engineering Union signed cards sending greetings to the Greenham Common women.

The card was circulated by the Women in

Telecom group. Support for the Greenham Common women is part of the fight to get the union to adopt a positive campaigning policy against cruise missiles.

Horsham branch of the POEU submitted a resolution calling for blacking of work on the

communications system of the relevant bases. The motion, not taken at conference, is now being circulated amongst branches.

British Telecoms is one of the biggest of the 100 companies working on the site.