

A **Socialist** ACTION

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Hands off Lebanon!



THE EXTREME right wing government of Amin Gemayel is teetering on the edge of collapse after days of streetfighting. Muslim soldiers in the Lebanon army are deserting, refusing to fight their Muslim brothers and sisters. Gemayel's cabinet has already resigned, and he is going to have the greatest difficulty in forming a new one.

This new crisis in Lebanon represents a massive defeat for the United States and Israel. Gemayel is only President courtesy of the Israelis — they put his assassinated brother Bashir into power after the 1982 invasion.

The United States has done its utmost to impose the authority of the right wing Maronite Christians. But their plans have been thwarted by the revolt of the Shi'ite and Druze militias.

The impoverished Shi'ite people of southern Lebanon have suffered harshly under Israeli occupa-

tion, sanctioned by the so-called 'Troop Withdrawal Agreement' the Israelis made with Gemayel in 1983.

The people of Muslim West Beirut have been the victims of a harsh army clamp down after their part of the city was occupied by the Israelis in 1982.

And the Palestinians have been the victims of infamous massacres and continual harassment by the Phalangist militias, who work hand-in-glove with the Lebanese Army.

The 'peace-keeping force' of the US, Britain, France and Italy was sent to Lebanon precisely to bolster the Gemayel government and ensure its authority in Greater Beirut. But the Shi'ite Militias in South Beirut, protecting the homes of their people against battle tanks and artillery, have broken the will of the army and left the European and US troops isolated and powerless.

With the army disintegrating the left wing and Arab nationalist militias have liberated West Beirut, a devastating defeat for Gemayel and his imperialist backers.

All the US firepower, the huge guns of the New Jersey and the murderous air raids, have been in the end unable to establish Gemayel's authority.

The pro-Western Maronite elite in Lebanon are a minority. They cannot hope to impose their will against the majority of the population. The danger now is of a desperate US or Israeli attack to attempt to save Gemayel. If that happens there can only be a new and bigger bloodbath.

The British labour movement must demand that the war-weary people of Lebanon be left in peace to solve their own problems.

Last Sunday 40,000 people marched in Jerusalem to demand the complete withdrawal of Israeli troops. In the United States, opinion polls show a 2-1 majority against US troops in Lebanon.

The time has come for the British labour movement to play its full part, by demanding loud and clear the withdrawal of British troops, who only serve the purpose of giving credibility to Reagan and Gemayel.

SOCIALIST ACTION

A party of Labour

THE LABOUR movement has been on the defensive ever since the June election. It still is. But through the gloom some chinks of light are beginning to emerge. Ironically they are being created by the same processes that ensured Thatcher's electoral success last year.

The economic and political policy of the Thatcher government can be accurately summed up as 'divide and rule'. From 1979 onwards the full force of the capitalist market was let loose in British society. It destroyed twenty per cent of manufacturing industry and it also fragmented the working class.

Benefits

For many of those in employment Thatcher's policies brought real benefits. In the year up to June 1983 average real take home pay rose by five per cent. The huge consumer boom of 1982-83 was the result of the major increase in real wages for those in employment.

It was those outside the core of employed workers who took the economic strain of Thatcherism. Unemployment rose by two million. Youth wages fell as a percentage of adult wages. Women's earnings fell as a percentage of men's. Black unemployment soared.

The logic and aim of Thatcher's policy was to create two working classes. One an employed, prosperous Thatcherite heartland. The other an unemployed, young, black, female sub-proletariat.

Politically the result was the voting pattern seen in the June 1983 election. The Tories maintained their vote in the south and south east and among employed skilled workers. Labour was driven back into the north and big cities.

If Thatcher's economic policies had been capable of creating prosperity then the outlook for Labour would have been grim indeed. The higher wages of the south east would have spread into the big cities and the north. Thatcher's 'property owning democracy' would have swept Britain.

Country

But the opposite has happened. Thatcherite prosperity is not spreading throughout the country. The increasing political problems facing the government are an expression of the economic processes it has itself unleashed.

Even the 'prosperous' workers of the south and south east need a health service, public transport, and education for their children. Many live in the big cities. They still belong to unions. Women are not an 'oppressed minority' but the majority of the population and the majority of the electorate.

The fiasco over Cheltenham, the storm over rate capping and the abolition of the Metropolitan Councils, the fact that there is no longer public support for big spending cuts, are immediate issues that threaten the government. They are superimposed on still more threatening long term trends for the Conservative Party — the huge decline in its vote among women, in Scotland, and in the cities.

The areas in which opposition is blowing up to the Tories are perfectly logical. They reflect a growing number of layers not brought within Thatcher's consensus. Some of these forces — particularly the alliances that are growing up against the Tories in the cities — have tremendous social weight.

Largely despite its leadership Labour has been pulling itself out of the ditch in the last three months. Binding together the forces which are emerging against Thatcher — those inside the unions fighting to defend them, those supporting the political levy to the Labour Party, those defending the cities, women's rights, those seeking to bring black workers actively within the party — is the big challenge for Labour in the next six months.

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After Moss Evans Wright road for TGWU?

THE RESIGNATION of Moss Evans as general secretary of the TGWU opens the way for the most important union election in Britain for many years. PAT HICKEY looks at the stakes involved.

The TGWU, with 1.5 million members, is Britain's largest union. Under its founder Ernest Bevin, and his successor Arthur Deakin, the union played a consistently right wing role. Basing themselves on the years of recession and defeat after 1921 Bevin and Deakin kept power firmly in the hands of the general secretary and a machine based on 11 regional secretaries.

After the war the TGWU began to change. The long boom and the rise of post-war shop stewards organisations saw power move from the regional machines to the trade groups. The untimely, if not unwelcome, death of Tiffin, Deakin's chosen successor, allowed Frank Cousins to take the reins of TGWU leadership in 1956.

Cousins was succeeded in 1969 by Jack Jones — whose power bases had been the Midlands car industry and the powerful Automotive section. Moss Evans was in the same mould as Cousins and Jones when he took over the leadership in 1978.

In the last five years however the TGWU has lost almost a quarter of its members — falling from over two million to one and a half million. A large part of this loss has been in the industrial sections — the trade groups which were the base for Jones and Evans. And together with this loss has gone a dramatic decline in the shop stewards system.

Faced with the new power vacuum at the centre, the TGWU regional machines have moved in to fill the gap. The union executive has also been divided almost 50-50 between

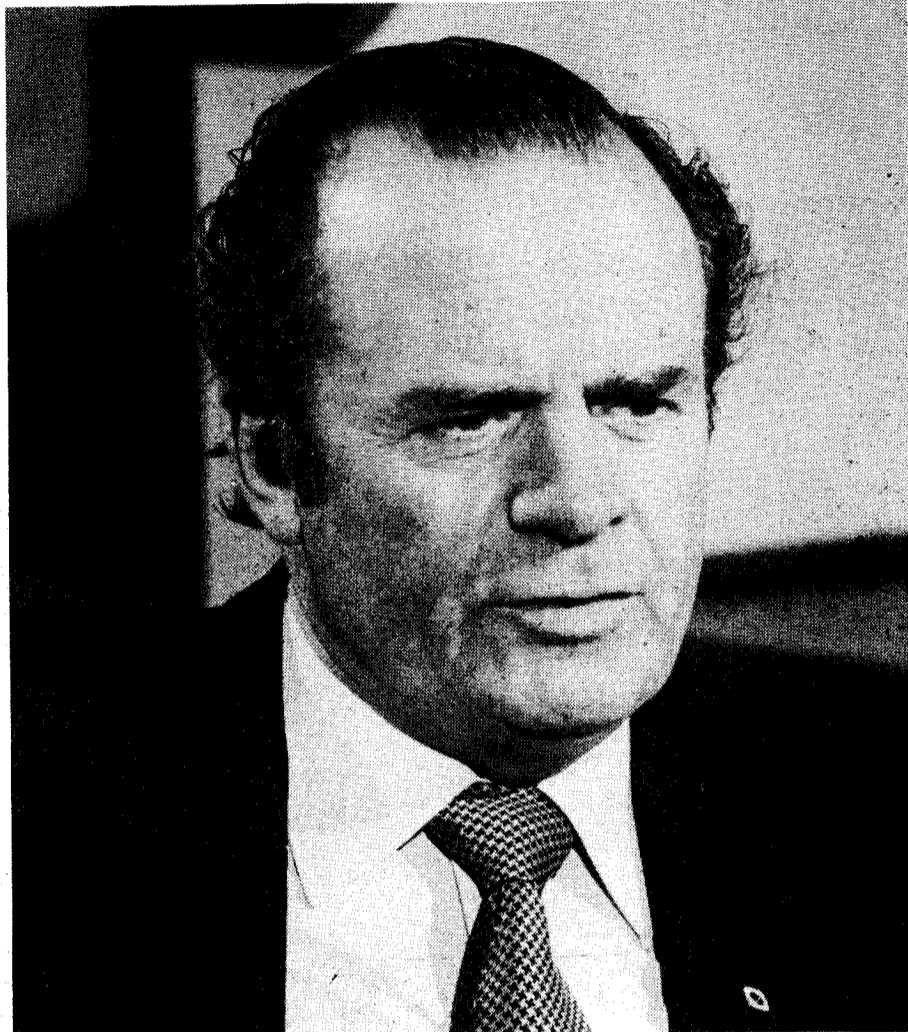
left and right throughout Evans' leadership. The result has been a weak leadership, with the union following a centre left course in the labour movement.

Weakness

The weakness of central direction also disarmed the TGWU in the face of the new right in the TUC. The union is no longer able to swing votes on the General Council — as its defeats at the last TUC Congress and over the NGA dispute demonstrate.

The defeat of Labour in 1979 and 1983 much deepened the TGWU's problems. Long gone are the days when Bevin and Cousins joined the Cabinet and Jack Jones and Prime Minister Harold Wilson agreed the Social Contract.

Socialists should not weep for the old TGWU left. The Social Contract, the betrayals at BL, Fords and elsewhere, the refusal to take on the Tories have weakened the TGWU's own base. But neither can anyone underestimate the threat which the open right poses in the TGWU now and the consequences of any victory it gained.



Ron Todd, the only serious candidate of the left

The TGWU has played a key role in all the left-right battles in the labour movement since 1979. Despite its vacillations the union supported the electoral college reform and has supported a greater say for the constituencies in the Labour Party. After first voting for Silkin the TGWU supported Benn against

Healey in the deputy leadership election contest in 1981. Since 1981 the union has steered a course between the hard left and the hard right.

A right dominated TGWU would greatly strengthen the Healy wing in the Labour Party. It would directly threaten unilateralism — of which

the union has been a consistent supporter. Similarly in the TUC the Duffy-Chapple wing would see its position decisively strengthened if Wright were to win the TGWU contest.

The left in the TGWU has to be supported, despite its record, to ensure the defeat of the right wing.

Vote Todd

ONE OF the signs of the crisis in the left wing in the TGWU is the plethora of candidates which have been put forward to take up the banner against the right.

George Wright is the only serious candidate of the right wing. The *Strategy for the Future* document now being touted around the TUC by Len Murray is very much in line with a similar document written by Wright when he was secretary of the Wales TUC.

In 'Social Plan — A Bargain' Wright argued for a new type of incomes policy, acceptance of redundancies, and cooperation with employers. The practical meaning of these points were shown in Wright's sabotage of a Welsh General Strike in support of the steel workers. This action sent the steel workers down to defeat.

If Wright wins the general secretary's post the TGWU will move as decisively to the right as did the AUEW after Scanlon's retirement and Boyd and Duffy's victories. For the right wing in the TUC it would mean a virtually clear run for the business unionism/coalitionism line being pushed by Murray.

The direction in which Wright intends to lead the TGWU can already be

seen in his campaign. He launched a 'red baiting' attack on Ron Todd's ticket claiming that, 'it is clear that a deal has been done with the Communist Party and the hard left in the union.' Wright claimed that what the union needed was 'a good strong leader but not a puppet of the hard left'. This red scare is the hall mark of someone trying to recreate the old Deakin dictatorship in the union.

Withdrawal

On the left has characterised Moss Evans' leadership was shown in no less than four different candidates being put forward by the left. Now however the withdrawal of Larry Smith and John Freeman has reduced the

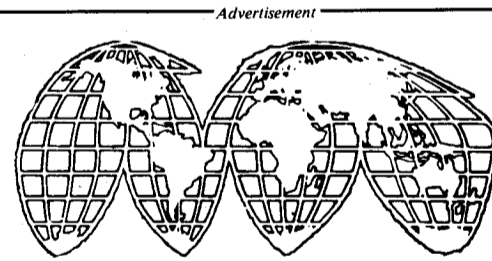
risk of the left vote being split.

The remaining left wing candidate, apart from Ron Todd, is now Alec Kitson. Kitson however, has only 18 months to retirement and is not a credible alternative left candidate. Kitson's victory would mean the election process would have to start again in six months.

As yet the left wing slate has not been finalised. Nor has the election date been set. The left still has time to campaign — which is vitally important in the TGWU where the machine plays a key role.

But the right wing has the stronger machine today and this is reflected in the number of branch nominations Wright has got to date. The only way that the left can hope to win is by waging an open united campaign for Todd. Such a campaign would help to strengthen the left in the union, and overcome the reluctance of many activists to support Ron Todd.

Todd's record does not inspire much confidence — particularly with Ford workers. But it is the only way to stop Wright. And that is the vital task today.



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Why defend local government?

THE TORIES assault on local government and the cities is moving into top gear. JOHN ROSS answers five key questions on why the Metropolitan Councils and the GLC have to be defended.

Why are the Tories abolishing the Metropolitan Councils and the GLC?

Because the Tories are increasingly unable to win elections in the big cities. In 1963 for example the Conservative government abolished the old Labour controlled London County Council. The aim was to break Labour's control by bringing in the Tory controlled outer London boroughs.

But even the suburbs have been increasingly turning against the Tory Party. By 1983 Labour controlled London and every Metropolitan Council.

Tory electoral support in the big cities has been progressively collapsing for thirty years now. If you take general elections then between the Tory post-war peak of 1955 and the 1983 election the Tory vote fell by 29 per cent in Glasgow, 24 per cent in Liverpool, 20 per cent in Manchester, 20 per cent in Edinburgh, 14 per cent in Sheffield, and 5 per cent in London.

The Tories are increasingly unable to win any popular support for their policies in the big cities. They face the risk that the Metropolitan Councils and the GLC would become permanent bastions of opposition to the Conservative Party and Conservative governments.

Unable to win democratic support for her policies in the cities Thatcher therefore decided to step in and smash the Metropolitan authorities.

But if the Conservative decline in the big cities had been a prolonged one why did Thatcher decide to act when she did?

Because of the policies the Tories aim to implement if they win their struggle to destroy local democracy.

Since the mid-1970s both Tory and Labour governments have been putting a tremendous squeeze on local government spending. Much to its shame it was the Labour government under Dennis Healey, James Callaghan and Harold Wilson which started the attack on the cities. Thatcher followed where the last Labour government led.

Between 1975 and 1983 local authority spending fell from 15.9 to 12.8 per cent of Gross Domestic Product. Local government employment has been cut by 100,000 since 1979. The amount of local government expenditure financed by central government has fallen from 60 to 50 per cent in the same time.

But even these cuts are only the beginning of what the government wants. Thatcher and Lawson are demanding local government spending cuts of between 3 per cent and 12 per cent. Up to 300,000 jobs will be eliminated — 100,000 going in education alone.

Popular cheap fare policies such as those in London and South Yorkshire will be totally eliminated — as will be libraries, park facilities, meals on wheels and innumerable other services.

But isn't the government in reality just eliminating Labour councils which have been putting the rates up to ridiculously high levels?

There is no doubt that some Labour authorities have responded to government attacks by putting up the rates. This is a short sighted and extremely divisive policy which should be resisted.

But the argument that it is *Labour councils* which are responsible for rate increases is a straightforward lie which should be exposed.

The reason for the huge increase in rates is the cutbacks made by the



Speaks for itself

Anyone looking to find out why the Thatcher government is trying to abolish the GLC and the Met Councils need look no further than the following article which appeared in *The Economist* on 4 February.

Mr Eric Livingston is a Tory Conservative councillor on 31 March 1983. In Greater London Council, London for its over-spending, has managed to outstanding finance for 10 consecutive years of life: a rate cut of 6 per cent, combined with a 14 per cent increase in current spending.

This pleasant budget, due for a final vote on St Valentine's day, has been made possible by the council's failure to spend last year so much as it

planned, by the unforeseen success of its cheap fares policy and by a little bit of creative accounting.

For a start, a £100 million windfall is due from central government, which is being used to pay the GLC's arrears. In 1982, when the council did not manage to complete its budget, it was forced to borrow £100 million from the public banks. It has also dug into its reserves for the contingency of being abolished.

From the government's point of view, the most painful bonus for the GLC has been its unexpected £35 million extra income from London Transport. The success of the 25 per cent cut in fares last May has jacked up passenger traffic and cut the

number of cars entering the capital every day. The number of tube train journeys has risen by 11½ per cent, the number of cars is down by 2 per cent. For a government which was hoping to reduce road traffic by £200 million a year, it is a most welcome result of success for well-established, but embarrassing, reasons.

Present councillors (likely to be replaced by Whitehall shoguns for the GLC's last year) will be able to meet rates and fares, and fulfil their remaining manifesto commitments. To add a last twist to the knife, the GLC has commissioned an opinion poll from MORI which shows Londonians more than two to one in favour of keeping it in existence.

Tory government in the central government's rate support grant. Since 1979 the equivalent of £2.5 billion has been cut from government support to local councils.

These cutbacks have been made with the aim of confronting Labour controlled councils only with the choice of slashing services or of putting up rates — with all the unpopularity that flows from that.

Some Labour councils have made a wrong choice in putting up the rates as a way of fighting cuts. But there should be no ambiguity but that it is the *Conservative government*, not local Labour councils, that are responsible for the rates increases. That truth should be spelt out.

What will be the consequences of abolition?

The aim of the Tories is to take local government services out of any local democratic control at all. This will be

in order to cut them to pieces.

In London for example there will be a minimum of 24 joint boards controlling education, police, fire services, public transport. *None* will be democratically elected.

The results will be obvious. The cheap fares policy of the GLC, for example, has been a huge public success. It is a big electoral asset for the Labour Party.

But the Thatcher government is against cheap fares because it wants to run down public transport. By taking London transport out of democratic control, and giving it to some non-elected quango, the government can destroy the cheap fares policy.

There should be no misunderstanding of the scope of what is involved. If the present Tory attacks on the Metropolitan Councils, and on rate capping, are successful within ten years British cities will become increasingly like American cities.

There will be public squalor. Elimination of any efficient public transport. Enormous cut backs even in present inadequate public housing. Education outside the privileged areas will be shredded.

The only service that will be thriving will be the police — who will be called in supposedly to deal with the mounting crime and vandalism that will result from these policies.

The quality of life in Britain's big cities — and in many other areas of the country — will quite literally begin to disintegrate under the Tory proposals.

What can be done? And can the battle be won?

Precisely because of its scope the attack on the big cities is one of the most explosive issues facing Thatcher. This is why there has been opposition even inside the Conservative Party over the government's proposals.

What happens in the big cities is not going to affect just the trade unions or even just the labour movement — although the effect is going to be concentrated there.

Old people are going to have their services cut to pieces. The entire population of the cities is going to be hit by the cutbacks in services such as transport. Education will deteriorate. Women are going to face a greater risk of sexual attacks because of the deterioration in services, transport, street lighting etc. Black people are going to be attacked even more by the police patrols that will be stepped up to meet mounting crime. Small traders will be sharply affected by the overall decline in the cities.

Labour has the opportunity around the issue of the cities to build one of the broadest and most needed alliance of forces it has ever created.

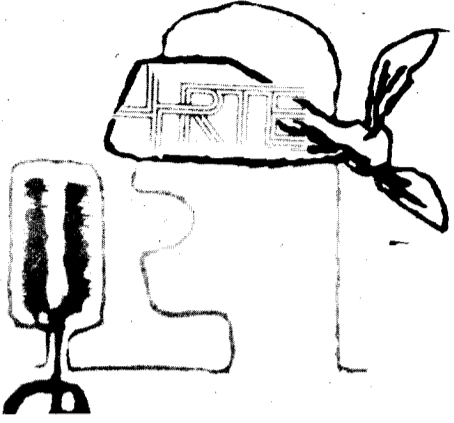
To defeat Thatcher's proposals needs first industrial action and mass demonstrations and protests. It also needs a policy of complete non-cooperation with the proposals and a solid alliance between the local councils and the public sector unions. Another opportunity is giving the Tories a tremendous defeat in the May local government elections.

But if Labour *does* lead the campaign to defend the cities it will clearly show the labour movement it is the vanguard force fighting for the rights of the working class and all the oppressed in society. And also that it is the *labour movement*, and not Thatcher, that is the fighter for democracy and civil liberties in Britain.

If that campaign is carried out by Labour then not only can services and local democracy be defended but Thatcher can suffer a crushing electoral defeat in the cities. If the Conservatives city base is thoroughly destroyed it will be extremely hard for them ever to recover from that blow. It could begin to tip the relation of political forces in society.

The stakes really are that high.

IRELAND UNFREE



Censorship of Sinn Fein

AS THE ONLY major 32 County party in favour of socialist policies and Irish reunification, Sinn Fein's decision to contest all five Irish Euro-constituencies will not please those who hold the reins of power.

This must have been in the mind of the Southern government's Minister for Communications, Jim Mitchell as he signed the statutory order extending section 31 of the Southern Irish Broadcasting Act for a further year.

This Act, dating from 1960, allows the government to censor the main television network, RTE. It was first invoked against republicans in July 1970 when coverage of events in the North highlighted the Fianna Fail government's lack of action and implicit support for the British. The Justice Minister O'Malley then complained to Post and Telegraph Minister Collins about the 'irresponsible behaviour of RTE in glamorising people well known to have engaged in subversive or criminal activities'.

This indirect warning was followed a year later by a directive which told RTE to stop 'broadcasting any matter that could be calculated to promote the aims or activities of any organisation which 'engages in, promotes, encourages or advocates the attaining of any particular objective by violent means'.

The next development was in 1972, when RTE news features editor, Kevin O'Kelly broadcast the summary of an interview with Sean Mac Stiofain. Mac Stiofain was subsequently charged with IRA membership and O'Kelly got three months (later reduced to a fine) for contempt of court when he refused to identify Mac Stiofain's voice on the tape.

After this the government then demanded the RTE Authority discipline O'Kelly. When they refused, all nine members of the Authority were summarily sacked. The new imposed Authority quickly issued guidelines to broadcasters warning that action would be taken against individuals who 'are deemed to have disregarded the Governments' instructions or who have been careless in observing them'.

The cringing self-censorship of RTE, which has operated ever since is a direct result of this threat. In 1973, Conor Cruise O'Brien, then Minister for Post and Telegraphs in a coalition government, responded to a television programme about torture of internees by accusing the makers of 'promoting the activities of the IRA'.

Three years later, the Broadcasting Authority (Amendment) Act was introduced. This Act for the first time specifically named both the IRA and Sinn Fein as organisations banned from the airwaves. It was made clear by Patrick Cooney — Minister responsible for RTE in 1982 that this was to include electoral broadcasts. The Sinn Fein candidate in Cooney's constituency took this to court as unconstitutional, but despite winning in the High Court, the Supreme court upheld the government's censorship.

In the 1983 Westminster elections, journalists persuaded the RTE Authority to take up the case again with the government for the sake of their election coverage. The government turned down the application.

In the South where the national question is the dominant political issue, and where Charles Haughey could get a 10 per cent swing in favour of Fianna Fail after making just one statement criticising Thatcher, government leaders are wary about allowing Sinn Fein the opportunity that electoral broadcasts provide. They want to avoid comment on their own failures and to deny Sinn Fein the chance to put over its policies and social aims. This would refute the whole 'mindless terrorists' tag.

The battle to get rid of the reactionary Section 31 will be an important part of the coming Irish Euro election campaign.

CLPD: Still a left force

By Jude Woodward

THE CAMPAIGN for Labour Party Democracy's Annual General Meeting (AGM) is now complete. The smaller size of this year's conference reflects the first decline in membership since CLPD was formed.

Last year's CLPD AGM was the scene of a bitter fight over whether to join the National Executive's register of non-affiliated groups. The left saw this fight as a disagreement over future campaigning. The CLPD executive majority saw it as a 'takeover' bid.

The most important of this year's debates was the Labour Coordinating Committee's attempt to commit the campaign to 'one member, one vote'. The majority of the CLPD executive argued against this proposal and will probably win support for its position when votes from all three conferences are tallied.

This outcome indicates a rejection by the CLPD membership of the LCC's drive to take the Campaign to the right. CLPD clearly remains an organisation of the left in the party. It can continue to play a useful role in the fight for Labour Party accountability and socialist policies.

However the CLPD's success continues to be undermined by the rigid 'constitutionalism' of the Campaign which blinds it to the real situation in the Labour Party. The pure and simple argument that Labour Party conference is sovereign cannot be a mechanically guiding principle today because conference is not yet genuinely democratic, nor the leadership genuinely accountable.

Today this 'constitutionalism' means CLPD will not fight adequately against decisions which are forced through conference against the wishes of the majority of Labour Party activists. This approach has led the CLPD this year

to reject supporting CLPs that resist undemocratic expulsions of Labour Party members.

Despite this failure however the Campaign is neither a tool of the right, nor irrelevant. But how useful a role CLPD plays is not just a question of the resolutions it passes at its AGM.

CLPD's decline in membership last year is explained mainly by the absence of any central campaigning focus with which it could galvanise and organise the constituency left. CLPD rejected a strategy of 'confrontation'. This, however, left it unclear what kind of campaign will be waged in 1984.

A number of issues at this year's annual meetings could provide such a focus. The local AGMs will probably support campaigning in defence of the political levy and trade union affiliation.

Many speakers favoured linking up with black people fighting for the right to organise in the party. And the witch hunt



Jude Woodward

was clearly opposed — even although the kind of action to be taken against it was left ambiguous.

If CLPD puts resources into active campaigning on these issues, it can rapidly regain its lost members.

CLPD also supported increased representation of constituencies at Labour Party conference.

There are still some serious differences with CLPD. In particular there is a danger of hostility to the Women's Action

Committee (WAC), which has decided to be entirely independent of CLPD. While CLPD reaffirmed its commitment to WAC's demands, the Campaign treasurer Victor Schonfield used his report to attack WAC.

It is not the political debates within it which threatens CLPD. But if these disputes become too bitter, they will obscure the contribution that all currents fighting for democracy in the labour movement can make.

Photo: GM COOKSON

Why Labour needs black caucuses

THE BLACK Activists' Group was set up last year to combat racism in the Labour Party by fighting for black members' rights. RUSSELL PROFITT is a councillor for Lewisham, and a leading member of the group. He told Socialist Action how the group began and what it's fighting for.

Race is an issue everyone's aware of but no one wants to discuss. That applies to the Labour Party. A lot of pious resolutions are passed which mean nothing because they're not acted on.

The Black Activists' Group began with black Party members in London, concerned that black issues were largely ignored in the labour movement — by the left as well as the right. Our aim is to get a better understanding of racism within the Labour Party.

This will be profoundly uncomfortable for many Party activists. There are Parties in London you'd expect to have loads of black activists. They don't. It's been suggested the Party doesn't go recruiting down black streets. That's the sort of overt racism we want to take up. But there's also another sort. The Labour Party is afraid to confront racism in the community.

It's afraid to pick black people to stand for public office because this might turn off the electorate.

There's no way black people will join and be active if they're not fully involved. We want the black point of view recognised and taken account of in the Party. And we want adequate black representation at all levels in the Labour Party.

The Black Activists' Group decided the issue needed highlighting on the floor of annual conference. We set up a steering group responsible for organising our intervention and sorting out the necessary constitutional changes.

First, black people have the right to organise separately within the Party. We proposed constitutional amendments to allow this. We also organised a fringe meeting. There's never been such a black-led initiative before.

The resolution was submitted with an undertaking from the National Executive Committee to set up a working party. But there is an ethnic minorities working party, and it seemed they would be discussing the issue. As usual, very few of its members are black.

A number of us decided to make a black input, so we attended the last meeting — even though we weren't invited — to make sure the right decisions were taken.

That meeting decided the original party should be set up, with black representatives from across the country. Now that's going to the NEC, and we're still waiting for the outcome.

In London, we decided to act as though black caucuses are in existence whether the constitution recognises us or not. We've got a regional structure emerging. We're encouraging constituencies to set up black sections. Some exist, with a relationship with the general committee like that of the women's and youth sections.

This might not be nice and proper constitutional-



Russell Profitt

ly, but it shows the commitment black members have on this issue — it shows the degree to which we're starting to organise. We're not waiting till the white institution called the Labour Party says it's okay, we're going ahead now.

We are learning from the success of women's struggle in the labour movement. We emulate that. Our constitutional changes would create black sections in local constituencies and representation at regional level. We also want to create a national black's conference along the lines of women's conference.

We've put down resolutions for the London region conference, asking that black activists' right to organise be recognised. And we call for discussion on racism within the Labour Party.

We're determined this issue won't stay under the table, or at the back of the agenda. We hope it will be carried — people have been passing anti-racist resolutions for years, and do nothing about them — so we're under no illusion that it's going to be easy.

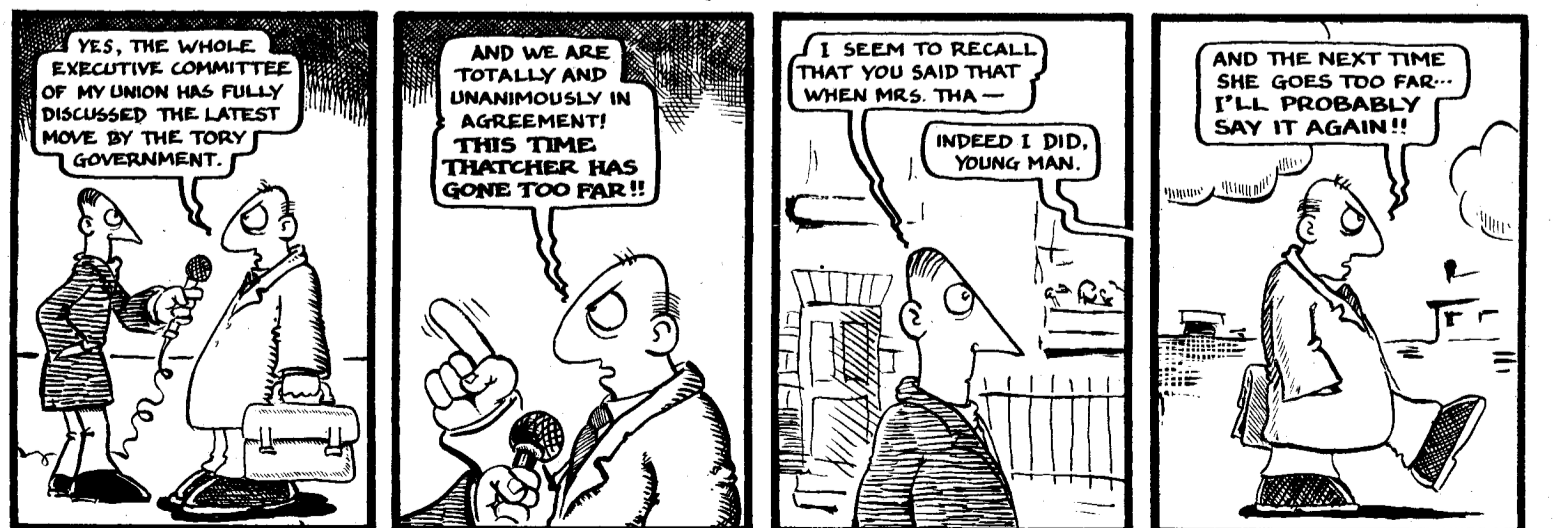
All black activists must campaign inside the Party, especially outside London. We will assist where we can: with speakers for meetings, or help on formulating constitutional changes. But, in the end, it's down to them to make contact with other black members in their area and begin to discuss the problem and organise locally.

Whichever way you look, black people are at the bottom of the pile. It's up to black members to fight to change the Labour Party.

• The Black Activists' Group can be contacted c/o Herbert Morrison House, Walworth Road, London SE17.

Photo: LAURIE SPARHAM

A PIECE OF THE ACTION



BY #43 2/84 CORMAC

Non-nuclear defence or a socialist foreign policy?

By Joy Hurcombe (Vice-chair of CND, in a personal capacity)

ARGUMENTS FOR having a non-nuclear defence policy go like this. At the last election we left ourselves open to the charge that unilateral nuclear disarmament would leave this country 'defenceless'. People need to feel adequately defended.

Conventional weapons provide all the defence we need. Other countries, like Switzerland and Sweden, have no nuclear weapons but appear well-defended.

As a non-nuclear power, we could follow a range of options. We could increase our military budget, as Kinnock suggested in a recent television interview.

We could have effective modern defence by diverting the money from, say, Trident, to interceptor aircraft, anti-tank guided missiles and any amount of new technology weapons. There are 6,514 non-nuclear weapon systems to choose from, according to the latest edition of Jane's Catalogue of military equipment.

This might mean a more expensive defence system but would stimulate the economy by investment in industries such as British Aerospace. Arms industry jobs would be protected; we would still fulfil our commitments to NATO; and we would by moving towards defensive defence.

There are variations on the same theme. Mary Kaldor suggests (*New Socialist*, Jan/Feb 1984) that we could have adequate territorial defence that would much reduce our present defence budget.

Others have radical notions of conscription, civilian militia and mass mobilisation in the event

of an invasion. These appear to be non-provocative defence measures, but would result in greater militarisation of society.

The more radical alternative defence ideas have problems for the pragmatist. They can't be easily argued on the doorstep. They don't shore up belief in the importance of Britain's role.

Profit

The 'expensive but effective' lobby says that votes can only be won by trimming policies. In the case of defence, nationalism and a strong, armed state is a preferred platform to disarmament and internationalism. Not only is disarmament out of the window, but socialist ideas are blatantly replaced by capitalist ones.

For years, the Labour Party has attacked Western capitalism because it exploits people and resources for profit. The arms trade is central to capitalist economics. The war machine feeds on nationalism and international tension. Peaceful initiatives and international cooperation are not good for trade. Nuclear disarmament initiatives which break the deadlock, will cause ripples of internationalism.

Spelt out, it means that unilateral nuclear disarmament by Britain must result in reducing the need for strong defence. Strong



'Non-nuclear' defence can lead to a further militarisation of society

modern defence implies that the same tensions exist, that nuclear disarmament has not changed the state of play.

However, capitalists are adaptable. To meet the needs of a potentially non-nuclear state, they are now promoting their alternative products.

Forget that the ultimate goal of nuclear disarmament is a lower level of conventional defence spending. Throw away the steps towards complete and universal world disarmament. Replace nuclear weapons with conventional weapons. Then, persuade the Labour Party to adopt this policy for the next election.

In the final analysis, nuclear disarmament may yet be good business. Think of the export potential. Think of the fortunes for private investment. Think of the boost for in-

ternational banking.

One problem remains for the supporters of strong defence. Basic assumptions are being questioned.

First, we have to be clear what we are defending. Advocates of strong defence never question our commitment to NATO. Yet there is a direct contradiction in repudiating nuclear weapons but belonging to a nuclear alliance.

We should formulate our options in line with a real socialist foreign policy. Socialism is international, uniting working classes in opposition to armed capitalist states. Strong national defence seeks to isolate workers within frontiers. It reinforces the belief that war is the means of setting conflicts.

A further development which has to be carefully

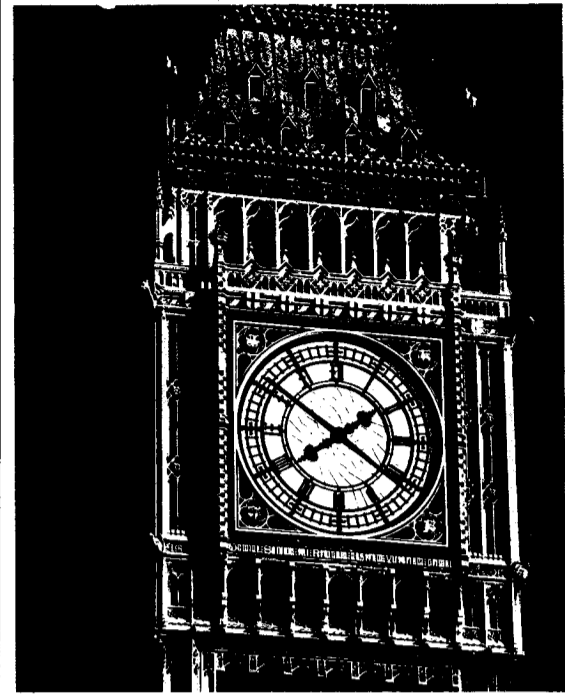
examined is the idea that Europe, with its own coherent defence system, could make a space between the superpowers. This could mean we substitute a European alliance backed by French nuclear weapons for NATO.

Well, what do we say on the doorstep? First, we make our case against nuclear arms. We argue for unilateral nuclear disarmament to break the international deadlock.

We point out how big the existing conventional arms budget is, compared to other countries and to our Gross National Product. Then we talk about reductions, our real international status, and the dangers of a conventional arms race.

Let's fight for socialism and peace on the doorsteps, not for alternative ways of fighting war.

View from



Westminster

Kissinger's Central American fantasy

By Stuart Holland (MP for Vauxhall and shadow spokesperson for overseas development and cooperation)

LAST FRIDAY the United Nations Security Council met to consider a protest from Nicaragua that six US-made A-37 bombers had attacked its territory from Honduras, leaving four people dead and eight wounded.

This was within 24 hours of US Secretary of State George Schultz attacking Nicaragua's left wing government, dismissing its claims that Washington has recommended the invasion of Nicaragua, accusing it of harassing the Miskito Indians, and questioning whether next year's elections would be open and free.

The Schultz claims and the Honduran planes are not coincidental. They are part and parcel of the anti-Sandinista argument packaged in the Kissinger Report. The Kissinger Commission warns of the Soviet threat in Central America.

In our counter-report *Kissinger's Kingdom?* following our December visit to Central America — Donald Anderson and I find no evidence for claims that the Soviet Union is significantly involved in the region.

The Kissinger Commission claims that 'from the standpoint of the Soviet Union, it would be a strategic coup of major proportions to impose on the United States the burden of landward defences ... if they succeeded in doing so they would have outmanoeuvred us on a global scale'. This is alarmist fantasy.

Nicaragua is separated by a vast land mass from the US border. As Neil Kinnock put it in the preface to our report: 'the claim that Nicaragua threatens the United States is about as im-

pressive as a report of an impending assault of an ant on an elephant'.

Obsessed by claims of Soviet-Cuban destabilisation, the United States refuses to recognise the problems of Central America are North-South not East-West.

Seeing the Nicaraguans as Central American Bolsheviks is politically illiterate. It is as absurd as seeing the Mitterand government in France as Marxist-Leninist because it includes some Communist ministers.

Model

What does challenge the United States is Nicaragua's model of an autonomous national revolution, with its potent blend of radical Christianity and indigenous Marxism. Rejecting both East European and Cuban economic models, Nicaragua has pioneered a new economic model, based on redistribution to meet essential human needs. It may well be because Nicaragua has achieved so much so quickly, with such small resources in the fields of economic reform, health and literacy that the United States considers itself threatened in the region.

It is the United States, abetted by the International Monetary Fund, which has been destabilising the Central America region. It is the United States, backing the 'contras' which has been the main supplier of arms.

It is the United States which should be pressured to withdraw its forces as a precondition of demilitarisation, democracy and development in the region.

CND plan for Reagan's visit

THE FIRST meeting of this year's CND national council discussed two competing proposals for national action. One proposed joining a European demonstration, at an unspecified date, against all cruise and Pershing bases — which can only be Molesworth for British CND.

The other, moved by Dick Withercombe from Manchester, called for national action to coincide with Reagan's visit to Britain in early June.

After a statement that no resources existed for a June action in London, council opted for the Molesworth plan. No national CND protest related to Reagan's visit is planned.

Despite this, sections of the peace movement will see the need to ex-

press opposition to Reagan's policies during his visit. This can only result in ragged, small-scale actions — giving the impression that CND is unable to respond effectively.

CND groups who do see the need for an adequate response to Reagan's visit must get together to agree on a single action, and start mobilising for it now. Essex CND has arranged a meeting at County Hall, London, on Sun-

day 19 February between 2-5pm.

They are circulating all CND branches in England and Wales for this meeting. Make sure your group sends representatives. CND national council will be asked to support the planned action, at its April meeting.

● Essex CND can be contacted by writing c/o Jimmy Johns, 17 St John's Green, Writtle, Chelmsford, Essex - or by phoning 0245 420178.

Model resolution for CND groups: This group demands that CND organise a mass demonstration in London against cruise, Trident and US bases, and for a nuclear-free Europe, on Saturday 3 June, just before Reagan's visit to Britain, as part of CND's campaign during the European elections. CND should propose this to other European peace groups as a day for coordinated demonstrations throughout Europe during the EEC elections.

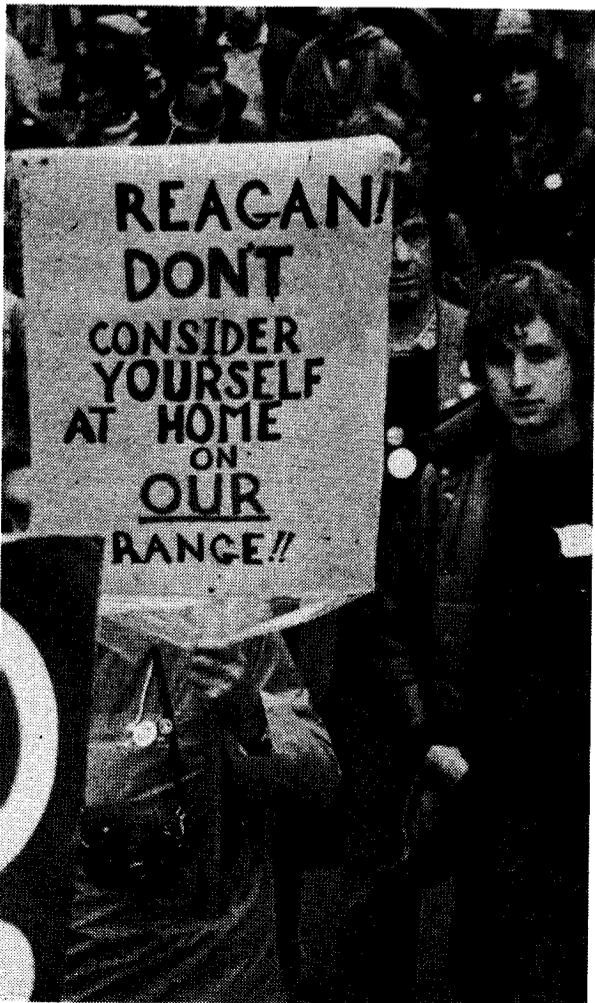


Photo: RICK MATTHEWS (IFL)

Demonstration the last time Reagan came

'AirLand Battle'

NATO has always planned to use nuclear weapons if threatened by defeat in a conventional European war. Thus NATO has always believed in the first use of nuclear weapons.

But the use of nuclear weapons is no longer a last resort for the United States. The US Army's new 'AirLand Battle doctrine' specifies the use of nuclear weapons in virtually any large armed conflict. PAUL LAWSON here argues that for NATO the distinction between conventional and nuclear war is rapidly disappearing.

Alongside the fight against Cruise and Pershing, the West German Peace movement is raising a new battle cry — the struggle against 'AirLand Battle doctrine'. This aggressive new warfighting policy now constitutes the US army's basic 'how to fight' principles for what the US army sees as a decade of 'intense, deadly and costly battles'.

AirLand Battle doctrine makes nuclear war much more likely for two reasons: it emphasises 'seizing the initiative' and has a clear bias towards pre-emptive, offensive strikes. And it proposes the substitution of small nuclear-equipped rapid deployment forces as a substitute for slower, less mobile conventionally armed forces.

AirLand Battle doctrine was developed at the Training and Doctrine Command headquarters at Fort Monroe, Virginia and is codified in the August 1982 field manual (100-5, *Operations*). The manual declares that in future wars US forces should conduct 'rapid, unpredictable and violent' attacks deep into enemy territory to disorientate the enemy.

The manual declares that 'the offensive is the decisive form of war' and advises the use of 'every



weapon, asset and combat multiplier to throw the enemy off guard with a powerful blow from an unexpected direction.'

The significance of this new US Army approach is threefold. First, as Harvard military analyst John Mearsheimer put it, 'it comes very close to calling for pre-emptive strikes'. Second, the 'deep battle' attacks it calls for would hit enemy troops, equipment and potentially civilians as distant as 72 hours manoeuvring time (between 75 and 150 miles) — before the enemy troops even began to fight. And thirdly, the combination of weapons advised for such attacks invariably includes tactical nuclear weapons.

The nuclear armed AirLand Battle divisions will be available for

worldwide military operations, but are regarded as particularly suitable for fighting wars in Europe, the Middle East and Korea. While the United States has gone to great pains to construct its massive conventional Rapid Deployment Force, it would take several weeks to put it into full operation.

Brigades modelled on AirLand doctrine will be able to go into action rapidly and deliver devastating firepower. An AirLand Battle division, will employ 'light weight vehicles, new weapons, advanced electronic warfare devices and heavily armed helicopters'. The *US News and World Report* commented that 'it is no accident that this new division will most closely resemble Israel's lean fighting



force'. Such a division would only require half as much air power as a conventionally-armed division to get to, for example, the Middle East.

The US Army's public relations approach to AirLand battle is that it is so destructive, that it would make escalation into nuclear war less likely. But this is not borne out by the policy itself. US forces have always been prepared to use nuclear weapons first, but previous strategy has reserved nuclear weapons for situations where conventional means prove inadequate to attain the desired goal. The new doctrine sharply alters this concept.

Repeated emphasis in the doctrine manual is put on the objective of using the maximum violence to rapidly attain total victory and completely destroy the enemy force.

If nuclear weapons are to be used, they should be used early on and in depth. 'Tactical nuclear weapons' are 'among the chief

means of deep battle' (along with air-delivered weapons, field artillery, air manoeuvre units and unconventional warfare forces).

Power

Nuclear weapons are deemed to be particularly effective 'when attacking follow on formations or forces in depth because of their inherent power and because of reduced concerns about troop safety or collateral damage.' Or to put that in plain English, the policy instructs commanders to target nuclear weapons deep into enemy territory and fire them early, so that blast and radiation only kills enemy troops and civilians and does not spill over into US forces.

Nuclear weapons are recommended for use in other situations as well. After a successful attack, when the force must move quickly to exploit its forward momentum, 'nuclear or chemical weapons may be useful for destroying enemy artillery and reserves, closing routes

Doctrine'

being taught to US army commanders on the Janus computer system at the US Army War College in Carlisle, Pennsylvania. Described as the 'world's most powerful combat simulator' the Janus computer can project any 15 square miles of the earth's surface on the screen.

Indiscriminate

Janus director Donald Blumenthal noted that the high ranking officers who played the war game had a disturbing tendency to resort to nuclear weapons indiscriminately. 'If they were caught out of position' he said 'they would try to retrieve the situation by using nuclear weapons'. Perhaps this willingness to resort to nuclear weapons stems from the fact that the simulation is after all a game, but there is little doubt that such training makes the use of nuclear weapons more thinkable for US Army commanders.

Despite the complete integration of nuclear weapons use into US combat plans, it remains the case that only the President can sanction the use of nuclear weapons. But this authority is limited to an 'authority to release' nuclear weapons. The when, where and how of their use would be given to the battlefield commanders, who would have full discretionary rights to utilise them to attack towns and cities as well as enemy troop formations.

Previous debate has tended to focus on whether a 'limited nuclear war' could be restricted to an ex-

change of battlefield weapons. AirLand Battle doctrine makes things much clearer. The 'tactical' weapons would be of Hiroshima size or bigger.

In a European theatre war millions of civilians would probably die even if the war did not escalate into an all-out exchange of intercontinental weapons.

But the final conclusion is even more stark. There is no possibility whatever of the US army engaging in a conventional war in Europe without it turning into a nuclear conflagration.

Moreover, the AirLand scenario is being prepared for a 'third world' situation. This would involve the US fighting any enemy, for example in the Middle East, of considerable size and power — whether a conventional army or a strong guerrilla force — with large units of the US forces.

In other words, the AirLand style of devastating attack is being prepared for use against enemies which do not even possess nuclear weapons, let alone an enemy which has not yet used them.

No major conflict will be fought in Europe by NATO forces without involving the United States Army. That army is irrevocably pledged to the use of nuclear weapons in wartime, and by inference so is the NATO alliance. Those many people who support unilateral nuclear disarmament by Britain but wish to stay in NATO should take careful note of this fact.

**Unless otherwise stated, all quotes are from the AirLand doctrine manual (105 — Operations) published by the US Army.*

of escape, and engulfing suitable targets ... With sufficient nuclear or chemical fire support, the exploitation can be launched shortly after the attack itself'.

Or again, during a withdrawal operation 'stealth or nuclear or ground attack may be necessary to divert the enemy's attention'.

The huge amounts of firepower are dealt with here in such a matter-of-fact way that it might lull us into thinking that we are dealing here with 'little' nuclear bombs. The very opposite is the case. 'Tactical' refers more to how a weapon is used ('attacks on targets with more or less direct effects on the course of the battle') than the destructive power of the bomb. For example many of the weapons used under AirLand doctrine are more powerful than those dropped on Hiroshima (13 kilotons) or Nagasaki (23 kilotons).

Necessity

The US army's *Lance* missile carries a warhead of up to 100 kilotons. Over 2000 *Lance* missiles have been built and an 'enhanced radiation' version has been under production since 1981. *Pershing* missiles are also a component part of AirLand divisions, with warheads of between 60 and 100 kilotons.

The necessity to win battles quickly by using all-out violence is



Euro-elections and nuclear disarmament

By Walter Wolfgang, CND executive member and vice-chair of Labour CND (in a personal capacity)

CRUISE AND Pershing have arrived in West Europe. But opposition to them, and to NATO's nuclear strategy is growing. So is the European peace movement. In Britain, more of the people who oppose cruise now support British unilateral nuclear disarmament.

Labour Party conference is opposed to all nuclear weapons and bases on British soil, and committed to a European nuclear-free zone. These are catalysts for nuclear disarmament world-wide.

In its Euro-election appeal to party members, *Labour Weekly* singled out the pledge to send back cruise and oppose the nuclear holocaust. Election literature must be based on these commitments — Labour's unilateralist policy as a contribution to a European nuclear-free zone.

The European Economic Community is a capitalist structure which benefits the multinationals. The EEC locks its member states' economies more firmly into the international capitalist order. Defence doesn't concern the EEC. But all Europe's NATO members are in the EEC, and defence is a concern of the European Assembly, a mere talking-shop with no practical power. A talking-shop can talk about anything.

Opponents of the arms race have already tried to use the Assembly; but Euro-missile supporters have done it more effectively. Last November a resolution was passed supporting cruise and Pershing.

Some would like the EEC to have a defence role. They yearn for a European superpower, perhaps with nuclear weapons. That would be highly dangerous.

Labour Party members and CND activists have three tasks in the Euro-elections.

● First, they must ensure that opposition to Euro-missiles and advocacy of a European nuclear-free zone feature strongly in all election literature, as well as Labour's arguments for unilateralism.

● Second, they must get pledges from all candidates that they will use the Assembly to put forward these positions. If anyone says this isn't the concern of the EEC, point out that the Assembly has already concerned itself.

● Third, they must ensure candidates oppose any moves to make the EEC responsible for defence.

Task

This pressure can be brought to bear in many ways.

If your candidate hasn't yet been selected, that conference is the opportunity to make these demands, and then discriminate in favour of the unilateralist candidate. CND groups should publish candidates' replies to questionnaires.

Once the candidate's selected, the pressure must be kept up. Nothing should be left to chance.

Electoral support for a future Labour government and its disarmament commitment has to be patiently constructed. Strong advocacy during the Euro-elections can help build that support. We cannot afford to neglect this opportunity.

There will always be some who hide their basic disagreement with Labour's unilateralist policy by pleading electoral opportunism. They must not be allowed to do so.

There is widespread opposition to cruise. And Labour is in the business of changing public opinion and building support for socialist and peace policies. We must give a strong lead. Conviction politics will succeed, nothing else will.



Women - active, angry and fighting back

By Sue MacDonald
Socialism in America eh! TV newsreaders calling us 'brother and sisters', days of celebrating the power of the labour movement called by the government - sounds too good to be true ... and it is!
 Born in *Flames* is set in New York 10 years after the 'War of Liberation'. Despite the rhetoric about 'American Socialism' (which very strangely, expresses 'abhorrence at Fascism and Communism'), the reality for the working class, especially women, is very far from perfect. In fact it all sounds horribly familiar: women thrown out of jobs to make way for the needy

'male heads of family'; the police force, more reminiscent of your local SPG than peoples' militias, never worrying about battering the odd 'counter-revolutionary' who just happens to want a job; blatant and crude sexism used by the 'comrades' on the TV screen.
 Then appears the Womens' Army, sick to death of the attitudes and politics of the government and willing to use any means necessary to get their voices heard and to continue the battle for the 'freedom of all'. As one of the leading women in the Army says, the essence of revolution is 'constant change'.
 No doubt the left will debate at great length

whether the women's struggle was justified, and whether their admittedly anarchistic methods (ranging from 'vigilante' squads on bicycles, to armed struggle) were right. But with little or no real information in the film about what sort of revolution it was, what sort of state it is at present, it is impossible to pass real judgement.
 Nevertheless, you (assuming, just for once, that 'You' are a woman!) can't help coming out of the film with a sense of elation that, for once, women are portrayed as active, angry and fighting back. For that reason alone it is well worth seeing.
Born in Flames is now showing at the Screen on The Green, Islington.

At the rendezvous of victory

C.L.R. James
 Allison & Busby, London - £4.95.

This latest selection of the writings of C.L.R. James is a kaleidoscope of the literary and political life of this outstanding Caribbean revolutionary. The title itself is characteristic of the person.

In his 83rd year he has retained his unquenchable revolutionary optimism. In the last chapter in the book, which is a speech he made at an American Support Rally for the Polish free trade union, Solidarity in November 1981, he discussed the prospects of revolutionary developments in the United States and South Africa. While he has no doubts about a future American revolution, he says: 'I don't know that I will see that. I have been in the world a long time. But I expect to see it in South Africa before I go and when it comes in the United States I may be away but you can be certain ... I will do my best to come back ...'

The collection of writings and speeches in this volume traces the evolution (or degeneration, depending on one's point of view) of James as a socialist thinker, writer and innovator. It starts off with a couple of short stories he wrote in Trinidad in the 1930's through his period as a leading Trotskyist in Britain, the United States and elsewhere including his gradual abandonment of Trotskyism for some sort of unique combination of pan-Africanism blended with a Marxism which owes a great deal to the

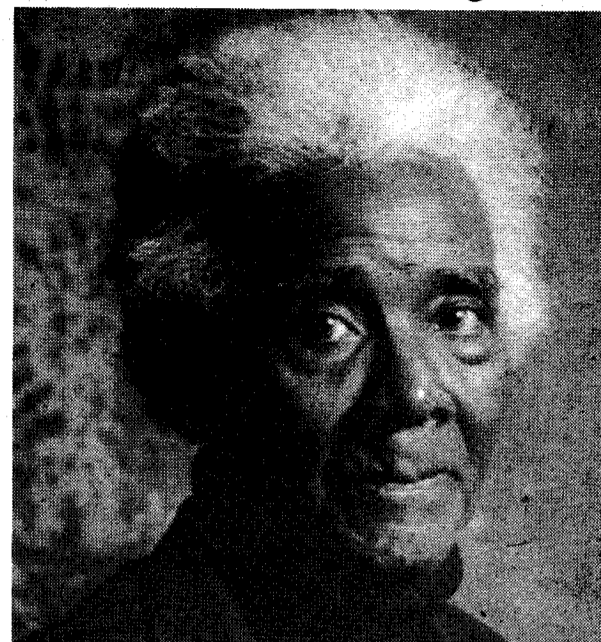
spontaneism of Rosa Luxemburg.

For readers of this review, the greatest interest will probably lie in the extract from *World Revolution, 1917-1936*, James's major history of the Third International and perhaps the first to deal comprehensively with the rise and fall of the Comintern from the Trotskyist point of view, and his *Discussions with Trotsky* in April, 1939.

Review by Charlie Van Gelderen

Of the former, the editor mentions that Trotsky described this as 'a very good book' but he also added that he noticed 'a lack of dialectical approach, Anglo-Saxon empiricism, and formalism which is only the reverse of empiricism.'

This extract, *The Revolution Abandoned*, however is one of the best descriptions of the events which convulsed France in the 1930's, events which were to lead the country to the classical revolutionary situation where the people no longer wanted to live in the old way and the ruling class was unable to carry on in the old way. We see here vividly described the zig-zag policies of the French CP, who were more concerned with the



requirements of Stalin's foreign policy than the preparations of the French revolution. This led them from 'united front' actions with the fascist, Union Nationale des Combattants (readers who want verification can find it in Andre Marty's article in *Humanite* 3 February 1934), to the Popular Front with the bourgeois Radical Party in 1936.
 Then Stalin's greatest fear was war with Nazi Germany. He sent Chemadantov, Secretary of the Russian Communist Youth to Paris to tell the working class youth: 'If there is a war it will undoubtedly be against the USSR ... Your duty, comrades, is at the front. If in

this period you make your revolution in France you are traitors...'

The *Discussions with Trotsky* covers what was then called 'the negro question' in America and ranges over world politics. It is noticeable that Trotsky does not hesitate to criticise the mistakes of his own followers. What is also remarkable is that here James and Trotsky raise the tactic of 'sit-ins' at 'whites only' restaurants in the States, the tactic which was to be pursued so successfully by Martin Luther King years later.

This is a book that deserves a place on every socialist bookshelf.

DIARY

These listings are free for all for labour movement and campaign activities - up to a maximum of 50 words. Semi-weekly advertisements cost 5p per word and must be paid in advance. Send to: Diary, Socialist Action, 328 Upper Street, London N1 2XP to arrive not later than Thursday, one week prior to publication.

Labour Movement

- CLP National conference County Hall, London SE1. Credentials £3 and £2 for second delegate (must be a woman), c/o Islington South CLP 295 Upper St, London N1.
- Labour Against the Tech-hunt national council meeting, 12 noon, 11 February, County Hall. Details from K. Lichman 01 286 1709. Creche available.
- Broad Left Organising Conference Octagon Centre, Western Bank, Sheffield, Sat 10 March 11-5.30. Credentials from George

Williamson, 11 Sutton Place London E9 6EH.

Disarmament

- Youth CND conference 18-19 Feb, Kingsway Princeton College, London N1, 9.30 am.
- Trade Union CND AGM, Sat 25 Feb. Details from TUCND, 11 Goodwin St, London N4.

International

- Sri Lankan Research & Information Group will provide speakers on the current situation there for meetings. Write to 9 Grays Inn Buildings, London EC1.
- No Intervention in Central America (NICA) is a broad based coalition of solidarity groups, human rights orgs, aid agencies and political parties. More details from NICA 20/21 Compton Terrace, London N1 01-226 6747.
- From War in the Third World to the Third World War - new pamphlet published by El Salvador Solidarity Campaign, 50p. Order from ELSSOC, 29 Islington Park St, London N1 01-359 3976. ELSSOC have also produced a 1984 calendar showing scenes from life in the liberated zones, £3 from same address.

● Chilean art 10 years of struggle. Exhibition at Pentonville Gallery, 47 Lambs Conduit St, Holborn London WC1, 25 Jan-18 Feb, 11-6.30.

25 Years of the Cuban Revolution

- Britain-Cuba Resource Centre Information about activities, subs to Granma weekly review and newsletters from 29 Islington Park St, London N1.
- Womens study tour of Cuba 4-20 April, information from BCRC, 29 Islington Park St, London N1.

Ireland

- Labour and Ireland day school for budding writers, workshops with trained journalists. London, Feb or March, £1. Write to Labour and Ireland, BM Box 5355, London WC1N 3XX.
- International Womens Day delegation to Belfast. March 9-12, women only delegation and mixed picket of Armagh Jail. Information from London Armagh Group, 374 Gray's Inn Rd WC1.

Lesbian & Gay Liberation

- Nottingham Labour Campaign for Gay Rights

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meets monthly. Next meeting 21 March, 8pm, Salutation Inn, Maid Marion Way. Details: Chris Richardson, 21 Devonshire Promenade, Lenton 0602 780124.

● London Labour Campaign for Gay Rights new office at 39 Chippenham Rd, W9 2AH 01-286 9692, open Tues-Thur 11am-7pm. (Westbourne Grove tube. Bad access, help available).

● Labour Movement Lesbians is a new organisation of lesbians in the labour movement to support each other and organise initiatives on issues that affect lesbians. Further information from Sarah c/o Feminist Library, Hungerford House, Victoria Embk, London WC2.

Miscellaneous

- GLC workshops Employment and training for the future. 23 Feb Cooperatives. Black Women's Centre Brixton, 41A Stockwell Green, London, SW9, 7-9.30 pm.

● Theatre workshops at the Drill Hall, 16 Chenies St, London WC1, led by actress Effie Arestides. Start Fri 20 Jan, 6.30-8.30pm. Every Friday until September 1984. Booking tel: 01-387 9639.

Anti-cuts campaigns

- London Health Service Campaign. 34 Dalston Lane, London E8 3AZ 01-249 8086.

New pamphlet: Politics in the 1980's - The British Crisis.

Articles reprinted from Socialist Action and *International* - John Ross, British politics in the 1980's; Alan Freeman, How Labour Can Win; Steve Marks, the 1983 Election; John Ross, Facing 1984; Alan Freeman, Rebuilding the Labour Party. Available from The Other Bookshop, 328 Upper St, London N1, price 35p.

- Raffle result Bristol Socialist Action. 1. C Starks 34, 2. R Simon 1300, 3. H McDonald 1214, 4. D Berry 684, 5. H Holden 1979, 6. A Radford 359.

- Defend GLC meeting Thur 9 Feb, 6pm County Hall supported by Socialist Teacher's

Alliance, NALGO Broad Left.

Abortion Rights and Facilities Conference University of London Union, Malet St, London WC1 25 February 1984. 10-5 Registration from NAC, 47 Waldrum Park Rd, London SE 23.

Advertisement

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Licence to kill

IN 1981, Gordon Asher killed his wife. They had quarrelled about her relationships with other men. His six month prison sentence was suspended for two years.

'Your conduct' said Judge Mars-Jones 'was extremely callous and I suspect calculated, but I have come to the conclusion that having spent 10 weeks in prison and having had the remorse which I am told you feel, you have suffered enough'.

Jane Asher was judged a bad wife. The marriage licence became a licence to kill — but only for a 'wronged husband'. Two years earlier, a Glasgow woman got a six year prison sentence for killing her violent and drunken husband.

The judge said, 'There are various expedients open to a woman regularly subjected to rough treatment by her husband, but a licence to kill was not one of them'.

For these judges, a woman's place is as a passive, uncomplaining servant in the home. Women who try for something different get what they deserve.

These attitudes to

women are brutally revealed in *Judging Women*, a pamphlet on legal attitudes to women published by the National Council for Civil Liberties.

While Thatcher parades the virtues of family life, the NCCL reports that the largest single category of murder is of a spouse or cohabitant. Eighty per cent of the victims are women.

Violence against women is often treated as a private affair — part of a woman's lot. In 1982, a woman wanted to divorce her violent husband. The judge turned this down.

'Before such assaults are said to inflict exceptional hardship' he said, 'there must be something

out of the ordinary in what happened'.

Rape trials expose some of the worst degradations of women. Rape in marriage is not recognised and in most cases the woman is in effect put on trial. It is assumed she doesn't know her own mind, is untrustworthy and complicit because of her attitude or lifestyle.

By Celia Pugh.

A Cambridge woman finally submitted to a rape after initial struggle and after making it clear she didn't want sex. She was terrified of being injured or killed. Judge Wild acquitted the rapist.

'Women who say no do not always mean no' he said. 'It is not a question of saying no, it is a question of how she says it, and how she shows it and makes it clear. If she doesn't want it she only has to keep her legs shut. She would not get it

without force and there would be marks of force being used.'

But if a woman puts up a fight, that's wrong too. When guardsman Holdsworth sexually assaulted a 17 year old woman, he inflicted horrendous injuries.

Rape

Justice Slynn remarked, 'It is probable that this girl would have been less severely injured if in fact she had submitted to rape ...'

Guardsman Holdsworth had his three year prison sentence quashed by Lord Justice Roskill. 'The best thing you can do to make amends' he said 'is to go back to your unit and continue to serve your country'.

Serving their country, and the class that runs it comes first for these 'learned' judges. That means treating women as second class citizens.

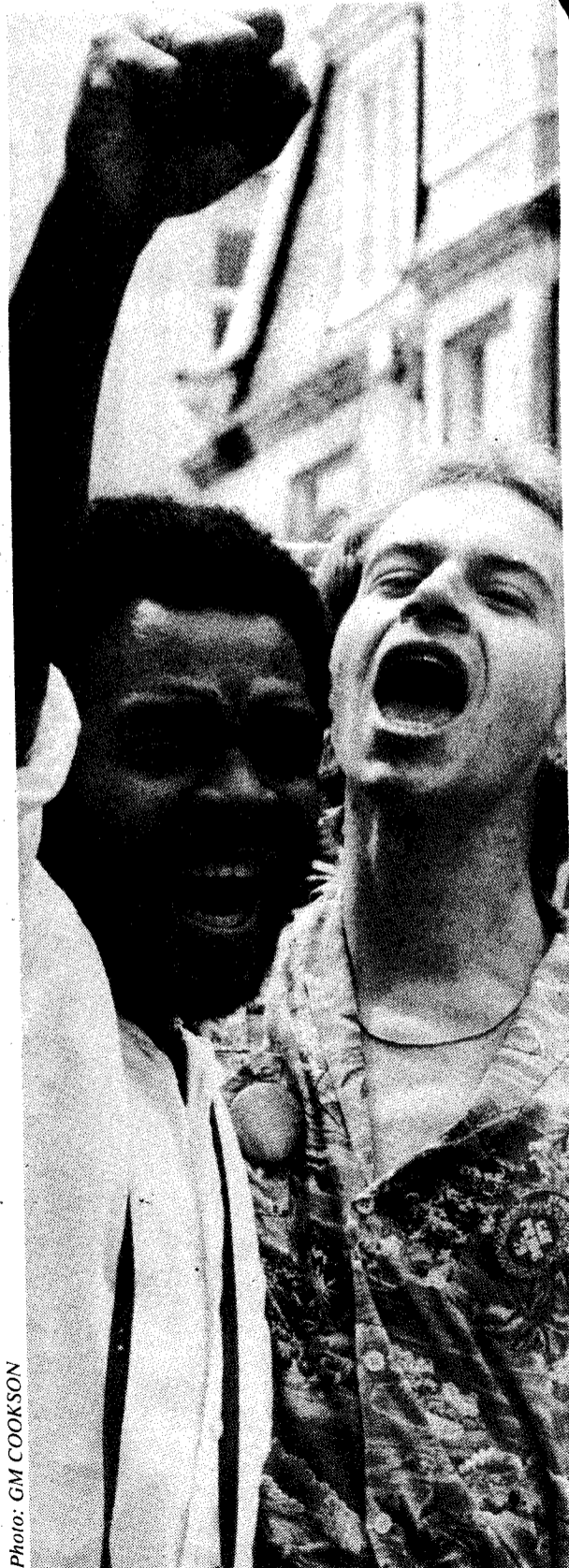
The NCCL pamphlet



gives graphic evidence of the degradation and violence faced by thousands of women. But its recommendations centre on male dominance of the legal system, training of judges

and some legal reforms. While this may limit the worse excesses, the treatment of women has roots deep in economic and social conditions which need far more

radical changes. ● *Judging Women* by Polly Pattullo. A study of attitudes that rule the legal system. Published by NCCL, 21 Tabard St, London SE1.



Gay pride march 1979

No retreat on lesbian and gay rights

AMONG THE SMALL minority in the Labour Party not swept away in the euphoria surrounding the Kinnock-Hattersley leadership election, were many of those campaigning for lesbian and gay rights. The image of the tough, 'manly' rugby-player, complete with his nuclear family, was hardly one to reassure lesbians and gay men.

No indication was given that the new leadership was likely to extend Labour's minimal commitment to ending discrimination or challenging the prejudice that afflicts lesbians and gays in all areas of life. The doubts inspired by Labour's reaction to the Bermondsey by-election, and reinforced by the Kinnock-Hattersley image, have proven well-founded.

The left upsurge and the development of women's organisation in the Labour Party since 1979 allowed unprecedented openings for taking up lesbian and gay issues. Bodies like the Labour Campaign for Gay Rights (LCGR) started to make an impression at party conference. LCGR has grown by 150 per cent during 1983 alone. These issues have been seriously raised in the Young

Socialists for the first time. Again for the first time, lesbians have begun to organise through Labour Movement Lesbians. Significant support for lesbian and gay activists at NALGO's 1983 conference was the most public sign of advances made in the unions.

By Theresa Conway and Peter Purton

Labour's ruling elite even put a handful of words on the subject in the 1983 election manifesto. Now the signs are that lesbians and gays will find themselves unceremoniously dumped if the Kinnock leadership is allowed a free hand. Neil Kinnock has given new credibility to the long-held party view that Labour has to abandon its public commitment to 'fringe' issues if it is to regain support among its traditional base.

This is defined as the white, male, heterosexual working class voter. The

arguments now heard at Labour Party and union meetings are not only that 'lost voters' can be won back by ditching any socialist policy of minority appeal, but Labour's base is so inherently conservative that more will be lost than gained by campaigning for progressive policies! Unfortunately, these arguments are finding an echo even amongst those sections of the Labour left who have been making the strongest running on gay rights issues.

Council

Even councils like the GLC and Islington who have the best records on lesbian and gay rights, have begun to draw back. The GLC's 'Save London Charter', for instance, is silent on this issue.

Apart from the overall situation in the party, the other reason for hesitation has been naivete and lack of thought. You can't deal with deep prejudices by proclaiming the council supports gay rights from the steps of the Town Hall, without a vigorous campaign to explain why this is in the interest of the working class. You certainly don't make any progress if Labour activists avoid the issue on the doorstep — instead of taking it up as they would, say, racism.

No progressive policy has ever been won by deliberately keeping quiet about it with the people whose support we need to win. Labour parties and councils must point out that lesbians and gay men are used as invisible scapegoats for a sick capitalist society. The law, the courts, and the police tell us that — even if certain strictly limited forms of homosexual activity are now legal — two gay people holding hands is an affront to public decency, or that lesbians wanting custody of their children are an intolerable abuse of the natural order.

Millions

Lesbian and gay teachers are, of course, bound to corrupt or rape their pupils. Lesbians and gays having a good time in a pub or a disco are likely to cause a breach of the peace just by being there. By these arguments, the state gives a cloak of legitimacy for popular prejudice. If industrial tribunals will defend the sacking of a lesbian bus conductor because she might offend the public, then the 'lads up town' on a Saturday aren't likely to think it a serious offence to queerbash the odd 'fairy'.

For every open form of oppression, there are 100 hidden nightmares for lesbians and gays. What would have happened if you had taken a partner of the same sex to your works Christmas party? Or the union weekend school?

Can you think of any situation where lesbians and gay men are not seen as abnormal? We believe the labour movement must openly challenge these prejudices. We believe that the Labour Party can be rebuilt as a campaigning vehicle for socialist policies only by understanding it must base itself on the most oppressed sections of society, including lesbians and gays.

In practice, this is far more likely to win back the missing millions than Kinnock's approach. Support and encouragement for lesbian and gay self-organisation is the best way to raise these issues within the movement. The Labour left must start to defend giving rate-payers' money to gay centres, and select openly gay candidates in elections, and establish a non-discrimination policy which is carried through. Understanding that the struggle to end lesbian and gay oppression is part of the struggle for socialism is how we can win the battle.

What you can do
Raise lesbian and gay rights in your party and union branch.
Contact the following organisations: Labour Campaign for Gay Rights, 21 Devonshire Promenade, Lenton, Nottingham NGT (0602 780124), or 39 Chippenham Rd, London W9 (01-286 9692); Lesbian and Gay Young Socialists, London address above; Labour Movement Lesbians, c/o A Woman's Place, Hungerford House, Victoria Embankment, London WC2.

New attacks on abortion

A RECENT REPORT from the Royal College of Obstetricians and Gynaecologists (RCOG) — based on a questionnaire sent to College members but not general practitioners — has recommended a reduction in the time limit for abortions, from the present 28 weeks to 24. But the same report makes it clear that a change in the law will not solve the problems leading to late abortions.

Few abortions are performed after 21 weeks. A change in the law would mean, in practice, almost no abortions after 18 weeks. The women hardest hit by this would be:

- foreign women — four per cent of whom are more than 21 weeks pregnant by the time they have their abortion here.
- young women — who deny their pregnancy until it's well advanced.
- older women — with particular medical problems, or whose condition is not recognised by them or the doctor.
- women with suspected malformed foetuses — for whom earlier diagnosis is still not generally available.

In each case, RCOG make recommendations which are sensible enough — better diagnosis for older women, more easily available sex education for young women, and so on. But how will reducing the time limit help?

Most serious of all, it's clear from the report that avoidable delay is the most important reason for late abortion.

The report shows a clear trend towards increasing use of the private

abortion for non-medical reasons should be private and not take up a hospital bed. Indeed, they may believe a delay will lead the woman to change her mind.

Time limits *increase* the likelihood of such delay.

If women did not need permission from two doctors, and could refer themselves direct to a clinic, delay would be avoided. An even higher proportion of abortions would take place earlier.

Delays at the consultant stage can occur for similar reasons. They also occur because of cut-backs and shortages within the health service.

Women

Changing the law will *not* help. Increased facilities, with a massive growth in day-care facilities in particular, are what's needed. This would cut costs because it would lead to earlier abortions, with less after-effects and administration costs.

Time limits will be central to the National Abortion Campaign facilities conference on 25 February. Women don't want late abortions any more than doctors.

All changes to make a real reduction in the time of abortion will be included in the action proposals debated at the final session. And we'll be working out how to counteract the anti-abortionists' latest moves, which include a motion in parliament — signed by MPs of all par-

sector. One reason for this is because of delays within the National Health Service.

By Leonora Lloyd (NAC treasurer)

Delays occur at three crucial times: between the woman's recognition of her condition and first visit to the doctor; between that visit and referral to a consultant; and between the consultation and the operation. Literally, weeks may pass between each stage — and abortions cannot wait.

The first delay, by the woman herself, can be shortened by increased information and education.

Above all, it is shortened by 'self referral'. It is clear from the report that women who refer themselves to a consultant, for example by going private, suffer fewer delays.

Women present themselves late to their own doctor for fear of the reception they'll get, and because they don't know the procedure. GPs delay for a number of reasons. Perhaps they're anti-abortion but not prepared to tell their patient.

Or they may believe an



Leonora Lloyd (centre) joins MP's Jo Richardson and Ian Mikardo in abortion protest.

Photo: Jenny Matthews

ties — calling for the Infant Life Preservation Act to be strictly implemented.

This act disallows abortion once the foetus is capable 'of being born alive' — a formula open to wide interpretation by anti-abortion doctors. Such a move would help the Society for the Protection of the Unborn Child (SPUC) and LIFE increase their spying on doctors.

It would lead to more threats of prosecution and more women being denied the help they urgently need. If this motion succeeds it will open the way

to further attacks on the 1967 Abortion Act, either by a new bill or administrative methods.

The motion must be fought vigorously. It won't be easy — late abortions are an emotive subject. We can be sure of a new series of 'live foetuses on the draining board' stories in the headlines any day now.

The NAC conference is the first step in our fight back. All labour movement bodies and women's organisations must support it.



Greenham attacks go on ...

LATEST victim of attempts by the establishment to smash up the women's peace camp at Greenham is Pat Coxon.

Until recently Pat was a social worker employed by Labour-controlled Gateshead council. But then Pat was imprisoned for two weeks for refusing to pay fines for obstructing nuclear war at Greenham. So the council sacked her.

Council officials had refused to give her unpaid leave while she served her sentence. When she was released, Pat received a letter from the council dismissing her for repudiating her contract of employment. The council's Labour group have backed the sacking.

In 1982 the council pledged support for all peace campaigners after declaring Gateshead a nuclear-free zone. It is now thought to be among the front runners for the Jim Callaghan Hypocrisy Challenge Cup for 1984.



... and on, and on and on

AS IF Labour councils weren't bad enough, a nasty little publication was forwarded to this column called *Breaching the Peace* — a collection of radical feminist papers.

This contains a number of articles attacking the Greenham women as a symptom of what is called the

'liberalisation and demise of the women's liberation movement'.

The cartoon shown here from the pamphlet however goes somewhat further than sisterly criticism. It's a pernicious — and sexist — caricature of the peace women that would be more at home in the *Daily Male*.

Compiled by HILARY DRIVER. Send contributions to arrive one week prior to publication to Male Order, Socialist Action, 328 Upper Stree, London N1 2XP.

National Abortion Campaign Conference: 25 February
Abortion rights and facilities — fight back against the anti-abortionists
University of London Union
Malet Street, London WC1
10am till 5pm
Registration: individuals-£1 • unwaged-free
creche available
Contact NAC, 47 Waldrum Park Rd, SE23
answerphone: 01-993 2071

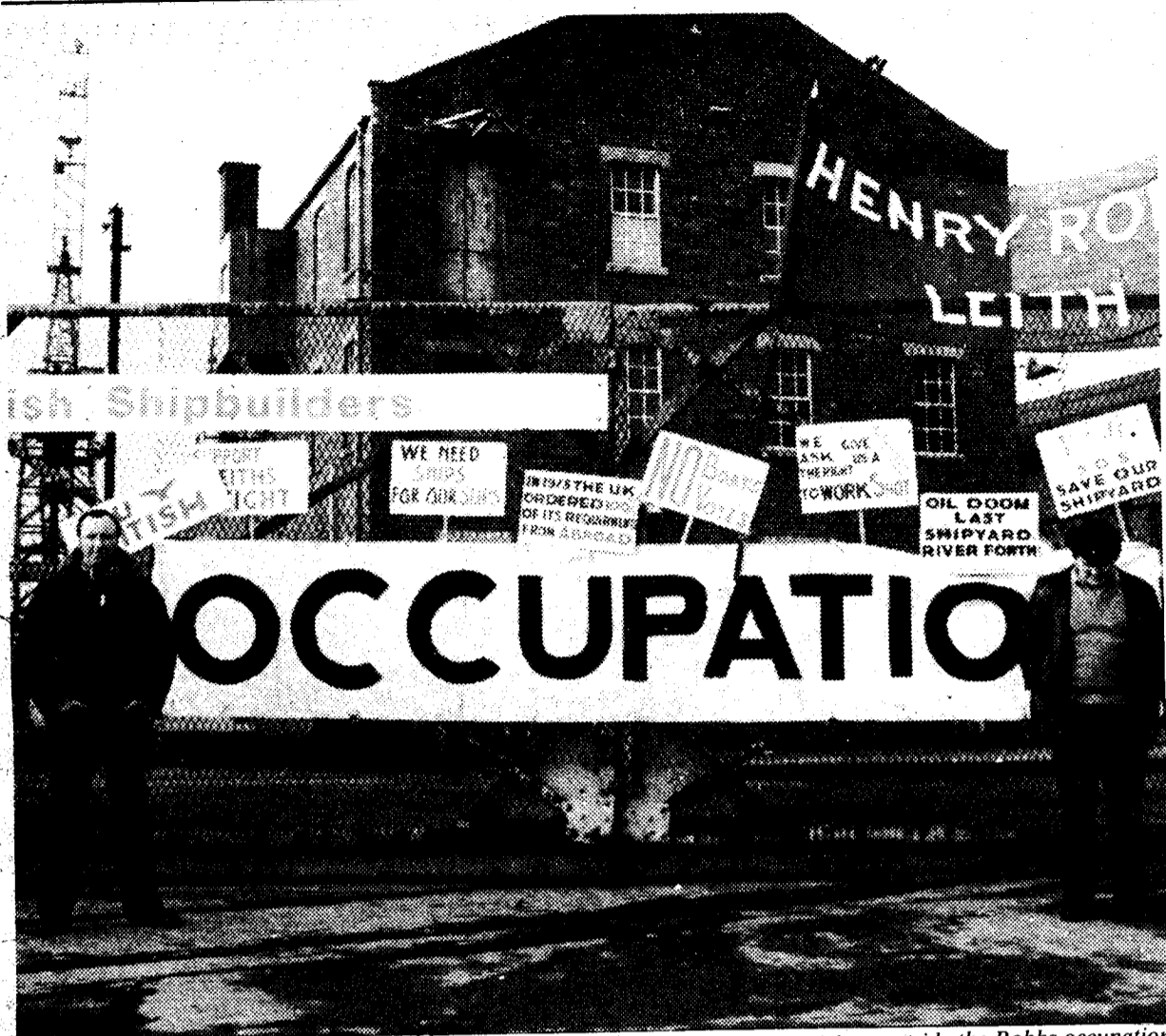


KEEP IT LEGAL



Photo: MARK RUSIER (1/1)

Cartoon: BREACHING THE PEACE



Pickets outside the Robbs occupation

Support Robb's shipyard occupation

By Ron Brown MP

THE FIGHT to save Robb's shipyard goes on. Despite pressure from management, a substantial section of the workforce is resisting closure plans announced by Graham Day the British Shipbuilders' chairperson.

An occupation committee has been set up and a special Ministry of Defence research submarine, which was in the yard for a refit, has been impounded.

Mr Day, a Tory hatchetperson, claims that he was forced to close the yard because it has run out of orders. But it has been recently revealed that Robb's had a good chance of securing orders from the Suez Canal Authority, the Libyan RASCO Company and Cal-Mac.

Indeed the Libyan ambassador and the managing director of the Scottish Transport Group who own the Cal-Mac Ferry Company have issued statements expressing faith in Henry Robb Limited.

Clearly the closure is political, particularly as Graham Day has stated that his job is to sell off the

profitable section of the industry and close down the smaller yards, in accordance with Mrs Thatcher's instructions.

While I have raised this matter in parliament, there is no doubt that Robb's struggle as well as others can only be won by using the strength of the working class. The men on the other hand, feel betrayed by the trade union leadership, who acquiesced in the closure as part of an infamous productivity deal.

Unity

Activists must rally round at this critical period. Obviously the trade union movement must give the upmost support during the next few

days. Unity is still strength.

Shipyard workers in particular must put up a united front against the Tories. Otherwise they will continue to be picked off one by one, and destroyed.

Mr Graham Day has a hit list of yards which he wants to shut down. He is, after all, the new Dr Beeching for the shipbuilding industry. And his medicine will only create further problems for the working class.

No yard however big is immune, as we have seen from the crisis affecting Scott Lithgow. This is why the Robb men must not be forgotten.

• Send messages of support plus any donations to John Keggie, chairperson of the occupation committee, Henry Robb Ltd, Leith near Edinburgh, Scotland.

The YTS trap

When the Youth Training Scheme was introduced, the Tories claimed it was voluntary. This was a condition of TUC cooperation with the scheme.

Last year however the Department of Employment told careers officers that they must inform on young people who refuse to participate in the scheme. Supplementary and unemployment benefits will be cut off from young people who 'repeatedly' turn down YTS offers.

In Sheffield around 100 local government union members are now refusing to cooperate with the Department of Employment in singling out young people for victimisation for refusal to participate in YTS schemes. Careers officers in Man-

chester and Scotland are taking similar action.

The Department of Employment declared last Thursday that local government workers refusing to carry out instructions to finger young people for withdrawal of benefits are acting illegally.

The 2,500 strong Institute of Careers Officers which is affiliated to NALGO, has condemned the use of social security cuts to force young people onto YTS schemes. But it is refusing to support NALGO members breaking the law to comply with government instructions.

Don Hayden, the Institute's president, in effect accepted the government's instruction and argued, 'I think most careers officers will be able to decide for themselves what constitutes an unreasonable refusal'.

MOLES EYE VIEW



Cartoon: STEVE BELL

Less pay for shorter hours?

THE TUC last Friday held a national conference on working hours. The centre piece of the conference was a proposal by Len Murray that unions should accept lower pay rises in exchange for shorter hours. Murray rejected a direct pay cut to get shorter hours but stated: 'There is a trade off here. It is a trade off between incomes and jobs ... workers choosing between pay increases alone or smaller pay increases with shorter hours'.

Opposition to Murray's policy was led by NUM leader Arthur Scargill who argued: 'I do not believe in the argument that we should refrain from pressing for wage increases in return for a cut in the working week'. Scargill called for a general ban on overtime to take 2 million people off the dole.

The *Financial Times* described Murray's comments as 'typically realistic', and greeted them with obvious pleasure. But only what's good for British capitalism pleases the *Financial Times*.

There is no question that a crucial way to attack unemployment is to cut working hours. But the key question remains: at whose expense? At a time when inflation is beginning to heat up again and wages will come under pressure, Murray's position is basically that workers shouldn't pay the whole cost of a shorter working week — they should just pay most of it.

According to Murray getting millions off the dole should be paid for out of the wages of employed workers, not the profits of capital.

Len Murray's attitude is in strong contrast to that of leaders of the German trade union movement. Ernst Breit, Secretary of the West German DGB union federation, has called for a 35-hour week without loss of pay to reduce Germany's 2.5 million unemployed. Breit

also called for strong 'social control' of the introduction of new technology to ensure it didn't create massive unemployment. This theme was echoed in Scargill's speech in which he called for new technology to be used to cut down the working week, not to create more unemployment.

Len Murray's proposed policy for the unions is suicidal. Trade unions should enthusiastically embrace the demand for shorter working hours to help the unemployed. Murray's is a policy for division and disaster.

Print union defies the court

PRINT UNION SOGAT '82 was fined £10,000 on Wednesday 1 February for banning the distribution of the *Radio Times* in London. The union took this action against print boss Robert Maxwell who refuses to invest in the Park Royal plant of the British Printing and Communications Corporation — so threatening closure and redundancies.

The BBC cancelled their *Radio Times* contract with BPCC and moved production to a different firm in Northampton. The court then ruled that SOGAT was taking illegal secondary action. Faced with sequestration of union assets, the SOGAT executive lifted the ban on *Radio Times* distribution. But the court went ahead with a £10,000 fine for contempt of a previous ruling.

SOGAT conference policy is to refuse payment of fines for industrial action. The SOGAT executive meeting on 2 February agreed to uphold this and defy the court.

The Great outdoors

YOU PROBABLY thought that all those US citizens sleeping rough huddled around the warm air grates of the cities had no homes to go to.

Nonsense. No less an authority than the US President says they 'may well be doing it of their own free will'. So every night people lock up their houses or apartments, 'cast a contemptuous look at their cosy beds and make for the great outdoors.

If Reagan could sleep under the stars in his cowboy films then it's good enough for them in life. Then take the case of the soup kitchens which you naive people thought were needed to feed the starving.

Edward Meese, one of the President's counsellors has scotched that lie saying that some of them just turn up because 'the food is

free.' So now you know its not because the 'American Dream' has gone sour for millions of people it's just that the workers are too mean to buy their own dinners.

But Reagan has not lost faith in the future of the US. He knows a mixture of free enterprise and God will do the trick. Last week he told us that he was 'going to put God back in our schools'. Whether the man from above is going to help the kids with their lessons, or whether Reagan thinks the almighty himself needs a course in literacy he didn't say.

But you can rest assured God or not, he won't be getting free school meals.

Moles Eye View compiled by BOB PENNINGTON. Contributions should be sent to arrive by Thursday am.

Socialist Action

CHELTHENHAM: UNIONS MUST ACT



Defy law to save our services

Defy Tory rate laws!

KEN LIVINGSTONE called on Friday for Labour councils to break the Tory laws on rate capping and the abolition of the Metropolitan Councils and GLC.

Speaking at the Labour Party local government conference in Nottingham Livingstone argued, 'I think we would very much weaken our position if Labour indicated that we would cooperate with the new system.'

Livingstone said it was out of the question for Labour councils to begin discussions with the unions about how to cut thousands of jobs. Nor could Labour survive politically if it cut local services to pieces by decisions of councils it controlled.

The Tory laws were unworkable if Labour councils refused to operate them. The Department of the Environment could not

cope with running as many as 20 major local councils now controlled by Labour.

David Blunkett argued that councils could not 'wait crouching behind dustbins hoping that someone will bail us out after a general election.'

Eric Heffer, Labour Party chairperson, recalled the 1920s when George Lansbury and Poplar Council had gone to jail

rather than implement Tory laws. 'In the process of breaking a very bad law they helped to mobilise the people of this country to change the law.'

Opposition to Labour councils breaking the law was led by Neil Kinnock — who argued that councillors had a duty to stay in office to minimise the effect of cuts on services and jobs. Kinnock said it was necessary to reject the 'self-wounding habit of turning every daily decision on tactics into an issue of profound principle' — an obvious support for right wing Labour councils accepting the law and implementing the spending cuts it would entail.

• See page 3 'Why defend local government?'



After his 'comedy of errors', a glum looking Howe

THE TORY MINISTERS are in disarray over the Cheltenham affair. Howe is bogged down in falsehoods, denials and counter denials. He is in dispute with ITV and quarelling publicly with Treasury Minister Barney Heyhoe.

Two former Foreign Secretaries, Lord Carrington and Mr Francis Pym have more or less disowned him. Sir Brian Tovey a former Cheltenham director is openly contradicting both the Foreign Secretary and the Prime Minister. Howe and Thatcher are vehemently claiming the Cheltenham ban had nothing to do with the Americans, while Tovey says US pressure was a factor in deciding to forbid union membership. Even the *Sun* has described the Tory ministers behaviour as a 'spectacle of bungling pathetic incompetence ...'

Yet despite the confusion that reigns in government circles, neither the TUC, the civil servants' unions, nor the Labour Party have turned it to an

effective advantage. The civil service unions have halted the spontaneous walkout, and aren't even calling a day of action until 28 February, by which time Thatcher may have got her house in order.

By Bob Pennington

The TUC and the unions hope a compromise can be reached and believe that they and the government can get together and over talks find such a compromise.

Unfortunately the union leaders lack the realism of the *Economist* which comments: 'Not for the first time, the Prime Minister and Sir Geoffrey appear to have blundered straight into a minefield and are now determined to



Carrington with Pym contradicts Foreign Secretary

blunder on through it, come shell and shot, until they get a medal at the far side.'

Both Kinnock and Labour's spokesperson on Home Affairs, Gerald Kauffman, have seized on the government's embarrassments but have restricted their attacks to exchanges from the parliamentary benches.

Both the union and the Labour leaders have demonstrated a real ineptitude at kicking an opponent when they are on the floor. The call for Howe's resignation came first from David Owen — of all people!

There is now a big danger that despite overwhelming popular opposition the Tories are going to win over the ban on unions at Cheltenham. So far they have not retreated one inch on the actual decision. The prestige of the government is now totally tied up with the ban.

The only thing that is going to reverse the government policy is the calling of strike action throughout the civil service. And the TUC backing such action with its affiliated unions and breaking off its talks with the Tories.

Meanwhile the Labour NEC should pledge its unconditional support to any action taken by the civil service unions.

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Fund drive campaign big success



A slap on the back to all our supporters! We started off in December by asking all our regular friends to think about raising their financial commitment to the paper. In the light of our difficulties, we said that we would do our bit by cutting back on all our costs. We asked that individuals try to give 'according to their ability'.

Too often in the past it was the pensioners and the low wage earners that set the pace with their donations. February contributions have smashed the goal and reached a staggering

55 per cent increase. Well done everybody!

The next thing to do is make sure that the promised money comes in. The best way of making sure is not to rely on your memory, but to take out a bankers' standing order. All you have to do is fill in the form on this page and send it to your bank. If you want, send it to us with the address of your bank and we will do the rest. It has been a good week for money coming in, but don't let it slip. We have just had to pay a £1000 rates bill, next week it is £1000 for the phones, the week after that our rent is due.

| | |
|-------------------|-----------|
| Cardiff | 175.00 |
| Newport | 148.00 |
| Manchester | 365.00 |
| Glasgow | 96.00 |
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| Leicester | 6.00 |
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| Ealing | 12.00 |
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| South West London | 24.00 |
| Haringey | 49.75 |
| Hounslow | 12.00 |
| South East London | 220.00 |
| Bristol | 40.00 |
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| Birmingham | 190.00 |
| E Griffiths | 5.00 |
| D Burn | 5.00 |
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| C. Mason | 4.00 |
| Stoke | 4.00 |
| J Nolan | 50.00 |
| Anon | 3.00 |
| M Coulson | 4.00 |
| J Ferris | 5.00 |
| Total | £2,622.25 |