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Health Workers for the Full Claim latest bulletin 10p (5p for strikers) from Anna Lunts, 78 High Street, Atherton, Lancashire (0942 877296)

dedication SHT HOT

Health Workers for the Full Claim badges - 20p each from the same address.

Paper of the Socialist Organiser Alliance No.98 SEPTEMBER 2 1982 (Claimants and strikers 10p) 25p

TUC Health Services Committee Albert Spanswick stonewalls as rank and file activists demand action

THREE WEEKS ago, the first trade whion militant was hauled before the courts, threatened with jail under anti-union laws passed by the Thatcher government.

In a few weeks' time a further package of anti-union legislation - Norman Tebbit's Bill - will enter the statute book. Management throughout industry is using the recession to mount an offensive against shop floor trade union organisation. Yet still trade union officials continue to collaborate with the Tories and the CBI — on the National Economic Development Council, its local offshoots, and a whole edifice of 'tripartite' committees, commissions, and tribunals.

The Roman Emperor Nero played the fiddle while his capital city burned around him. The TUC leaders — lacking even musical talent - simply continue friendly relations with the very same government and employers who are hell-bent on

smashing the power of the unions.

The Brighton TUC Congress next week will see the right wing oppose resolutions calling for an end to such links with the Tories. They will also oppose an FBU motion calling for

immediate action if any trade unionists is jailed under the Tebbit laws, and an NGA motion insisting that the TUC 'fighting' fund should not be used to pay legal fees arising from the new legislation.

The reality is that the vast majority of union leaders are opposed to taking any action at all against the Thatcher government. That is also why the health service pay dispute despite the inescapable militancy and tenacity of 700,000 union members - has been allowed to drag on for five months, with the wave of solidarity strikes in other industries curbed by NHS union bureaucrats.

Last week's meeting of TUC health unions once again brushed aside resolutions for all-out strike action and for a 24 hour general strike, and failed to take advantage of the twoto-one ballot rejection of the Tory pay offer by the nonunion Royal College of Nursing. Instead it limply called yet another one-day stoppage.

But this did not go unopposed. Outside was a vocal lobby of 100 health workers organised by the rank and file group

'Health Workers for the Full Claim' - demanding all-out strike action and a call for a 24-hour general strike. And many health union militants will join the lobby of the TUC on Monday September 6.

They will be demanding that the TUC gets off its knees and gears up for war with the Tory government. This means firmly rejecting any use of the courts to fight the Tebb breaking all links at all levels with this vicious unit government, and building up instead of undefighting strength of the working class.

A decision for all-out action by the NHS call for a 24 hour general strike in defir support of the health workers, could offensive — giving a powerful to other sections now entering the

The Tories can be defeated front the compromisers leadership.

Punder that's what we call a seducation.



Why the CP slam Marxism Today

by Tony Richardson

A FURORE has been caused in the ranks of the British Communist Party, and among its fellow-travellers, by an article in the September issue of the CP magazine Marxism Today - or, rather,

by quotations in the Daily

Mirror from the article. The article, 'The Unions Caught on the Ebb-Tide', by Tony Lane, is about the current state of the trade

Most of the article is noncontroversial. But at the end it discusses the shop stewards' movement. "The move towards company bargaining with shop steward participation has gained a new client-ele for the British Rail breakfast, as shop floor representatives have sat cheek by jowl

with managers on their way to London".

"Here we are simply observing the creation of a new working-class elite which has the opportunity (and too often takes it) of sharing in the expense account syndrome: the franchise of perks and fiddles has

It says some stewards use their positions to become foremen and even personnel managers. "Other stewards simply use the role as a means to an end; an easy life, an opportunity to get off the job and out of the plant with spurious excuses of 'union business'...

The article goes on to say that this produces cynicism

in the membership.

Much of this is an accurate account of how the employers sometimes bureaucratise even the lowest level of the trade unions. The struggle against such bureaucratisation is part of the everyday struggle of militant shop

want to fight the Tory attack on the trade unions should be in the forefront of

exposing this corruption.

But the answer of the CP has been for their Industrial Organiser, Mick Costello, to give interviews with the capitalist press attacking the article. A front-page piece in the Morning Star has declared that the article ought to have been in the capitalist press, and that "the shop stewards' movement" should be defended.

Tony Lane's answer is to get away from shop stewards bargaining and to go for nat-ional bargaining through the full-time officials. In defence of this he quotes former NUM general secretary (and, at the time, leading CPer) Will Paynter.

This is the way that bargaining is going anyway, especially in major industries like the motor industry. More important, the corruption of the organisation at national level is far worse.

The answer of the CP is to defend the trade union leadership at all costs, because so many of their members in industry have cosy relations with the bureaucracy. This explains why they denounce their own theoretical journal.

The answer from genuine socialists should be a cleansing of the trade unions at the same time as we face the Tory attack. We defend even the union bureaucracy against the Tories, but only so that we can do the job of clearing them out ourselves.

Labour **Party Conference** Socialis

For just £2 you can get this amount of space to urge delegates to back a resolution that you support, to remember an issue you feel strongly about or come to a meeting you are organising ... and its amazing how much you can cram into a space this size!

Just write to Nik Barstow. c/o 41 Ellington Street, London N7.

Preparing the gags for

EVEN before this year's Annual Conference the Labour Party has had a chance to discuss the Militant Tendency Report (MTR), attempts are being made to stifle debate.

The just published Conference Agenda reveals that about a dozen amendments to Conference resolutions relating to the Militant Tendency Report, based on the Campaign for Labour Party Democracy model resolution' been ruled out of order by the Conference Arrangements Committee (CAC). The amendments were to a resolution submitted by Plymouth Drake CLP and Manchester Withington CLP in the Party Unity sec-tion of the Agenda. The tion of the Agenda. CAC's decision means that Conference is to be denied the opportunity of considering proposals which alone may offer a positive alternative to the recommendations of the MTR. If Conference, faced with a straight yes/no vote on the report, were to pass it, this would without doubt throw the Party into a civil war of unprecedented ferocity at a time when the Party should unite to bring down the Thatcher Government.

The CAC's reasons for ruling out the amendments are specious and totally



respective CLP's that

1. 'the amendments are of a different subject to the resolutions';

in fact 'a constitutional amendment ... and ... (as such should have been submitted)... by the closing date for resolutions, July 2nd.

In the case of (1), the resolution from Bermond-

The same demands are included in the resolution from Plymouth Drake and Manchester Withington CLP's. In addition the Ber-Withington mondsey resolution calls for 'policy or constitutional disagreements to be resolved in a spirit of tolerance and not by autocratic and arbitrary vetoes or regis-ters'. It goes on to urge Conference to 'instruct the NEC to reverse its decisions which have infringed the above mentioned constitutional and custo-mary rights of CLP's, and to bring before the 1983 Annual Conference constitutional amendments to bring the above rights of CLP's within the constitution of the Labour Party'

matter amend-Withington resolutions is

Walworth Rd wants to avoid a conference vote no different to that contained in the original resolution from Bermondsey which the CAC have allowed to stand. It relates to the rights of Labour Party members to form groups and urges that these rights be specified in the Party's Constitution. It cannot be argued therefore that the area covered by the Drake/Withington resolutions and amend-



THE NEXT Socialist Organiser delegate meeting is on Saturday September 4, UMIST students' union, Sackville St, Manchester.

All local groups are asked to send delegates — and to operate 'positive dis-crimination' by sending a woman delegate if possible. Comrades who will be go-ing to Labour Party conference are also specially asked to attend, whether they are local group delegates or not, for the discussion on Conference prepara-

from 11.30am to 4.30pm at

The agenda will include: the witch-hunt; preparations for Labour Party conference; resolutions including one on campaigning for police accountability; the NHS dispute; and other reports.

For creche facilities or accommodation in Manchester, phone John Blox am at 01-609 3071.

Far from observing the previous Labour Party custom and practice and the generally accepted rules laid down in Citrine's 'ABC of Chairmanship' re amendments to resolutions, the CAC instead

suggestion.

ments to them contains two

As regards point (2), in 1979 amendments to resolutions containing

detailed proposals for con-

allowed and indeed were

composite resolution on

As for the CAC's asser-

the election of the Leader.

tion that the proposals should have been sub-

mitted as a formal con-

stitutional amendment, the

facts are as follows: The NEC approved the MTR on

the 23 June and the closing

date for resolutions and

constitutional amendment was 2 July. Official noti-fication of the contents of

the MTR did not reach affiliated organisations until well after the above

deadline. So much for the realistic nature of this

unrelated subjects.

stitutional changes

incorporated into

appear to have lent themselves to a blatant political manoeuvre to ensure that Conference be deprived of considering the one option opposing the MTR that stands a good chance of commanding a majority. This CAC decision will please all those who wish to see the MTR passed. It will also gladden all those who no longer see a Labour victory at the next general election as being of prime importance, and hope that after a period of internecine warfare, the Party as we know it will be transformed

into another SDP. The CAC manoeuvre also exposes as utterly misguided the criticisms of the CLPD decision to go for a positive alternative

to the MTR as well as working for its outright rejection. Such criticisms advanced by ultra left or muddle-headed iust sections of Labour's Left clearly mistake 'radical' 'uncompromising' phrasemongering for

socialist strategy.

The decision of the CAC can still be reversed, and CLPD is urging CLP's and other affiliated organisations to send to the CAC emergency resolutions on

the following lines:
'This CLP/trade union/
socialist/Co-op society is gravely concerned that at least 11 amendments pro-viding for a positive alter-native to the Militant Tendency Report have, according to Labour Weekly [27.8.82], been ruled out of order on grounds which seem to contradict both previous CAC practice and Citrine's ABC of Chairman-

ship. ThisCLP/trade union/ socialist/Co-op society therefore urges the Con-Arrangements ference Committee to reconsider its decision and to include the amendments on the agenda so that Conference has a further option before it concerning the MTR'.

It is possible that a reference back to reverse the CAC decision will have to be moved at Conference. It is important therefore that all affiliated organisations should mandate their delegate(s) to support the reference back and to vote for the resolution incorporating the amend-ments. All Labour Party members must be made aware of the crucial issues at stake. It is vital that all those who want to see a Labour Government returned at the next General Election should treat this issue as their top

priority.

Blackpool

tice and even some of its decisions this year. CAC claims in letters to the

2. and that they represent

sey CLP contains three demands relating to demo-cratic rights of CLP's and individual Labour Party members that the NEC should respect tolerance for dissent and in particular the 'customary right of Party members with similar views to form groups to advocate these

The subject covered by the ments to the

ITE THE LEFT!

John Bloxam comments

THE Labour Party Conference Arrangements Committee has ruled out of order two amendments proposed by the Campaign for Labour Party Democracy and supported by several Constituency Labour Parties.

The CLPD press release explains the details and the procedural arguments.

Unfortunately it cannot resist a side-swipe at those of us on the CLPD Executive who disagreed with the authors of the press release on tactics.

Labour movement conference: September 11 Fight the Tories, not the Socialists!

At Wembley Conference Centre, London

All bona fide labour movement organisations are entitled to send delegates (maximum 5 per organisation), and are invited to sponsor the conference. Credentials fee £1 per delegate.

Credentials from Tony Saunois, 23 Ironside House, Homerton Road, London E9 5PW. Cheques payable to Labour Movement **Conference Fund**

but what the cost was. The original proposals of the CLPD right wing were practically identical to the register, but they were sub-stantially modified after getting only a one vote majority on the EC. And the fact that the CAC might want to get 'delaying resolutions' out

The disagreement was

not quite as reported. It

was not whether a delay-

ing tactic was legitimate

of the way does not mean that they were more likely to get a majority. The fact still remains that if the trade union leadership feel strong enough for a purge, they will not want to delay, particularly with an election coming up. In any case, the CAC decision probably means

that the issue must be fought out between the register and outright rejection, whether we like it or not. Our job is to unite the Left and rally the forces for outright rejection.

After PLO withdrawal

WHAT NEXT FOR LEBANESE MASSES?

THERE ARE plenty of grey clouds with no silver lining. And for the people of the Middle East there is no bright side to the Israeli victory in Lebanon which has brought the evacuation of Palestinian fighters from West Beirut.

The withdrawal of the

The withdrawal of the Palestinians does not mean that the Zionist troops have gone, or show any sign of leaving. They remain dug in by the tens of thousands around Beirut and within shelling distance of the Syrian capital of Damascus.

The conditions for a Zionist withdrawal have not been clearly spelled out. On the one head Menachem Begin and Ariel Sharon have spoken of a withdrawal hinging on the prior withdrawal of Syrian troops from Lebanese soil: some demands however seem to go even further, apparently demanding the deportation of some left wing Lebanese militias from their homeland as a precondition for pulling out Israeli troops.

Meanwhile, by dint of

Meanwhile, by dint of the Israeli presence, the weakening of the Lebanese resistance as a result of the withdrawal of the Palestinians, and a campaign of terror and bribery, Phalangist militia leader Bachir Gemayel has secured election as the next President of Lebanon.

Nazi

Gemayel heads an armed force of upwards of 6,000, modelled on Hitler's Nazi Party, and secured his unchallenged position as head of the Maronite military apparatus by the slaughter of prominent members of the rival Franjieh family. He has been supported with arms and cash by the Israelis since taking over the Phalange from his father in 1976. His election as President

His election as President

by a 'Parliament' elected
back in 1972 – was greeted
by a personal telegram of
congratulation signed, "Your
friend Menachem Begin".

Gemayel's abiding hatred for the Lebanese Left and for the country's Muslim majority has been amply demonstrated. and he is described hy his own brother as "possessed by megalomaniac violence". Yet the Tory press in Britain has concentrated on building the image of the new President as possibly the bringer of peace to Lebanen.

If indeed there should be a period of realignment and lull in the political struggle between the forces of left and right in Lebanon, however, this would be a result not of Gemayel's personal preferences so much as the situation in which he finds himself.

Reagan

On the one hand Gemayel is beholden to the Israelis, and they in turn are subject to the demands of the Reagan administration.

Reagan administration.
For the US imperialists, the main objective in supporting the Zionist invasion of Lebanon has been the establishment of a stable regime not the prosecution of a new stage in the unresolved civil war of 1975-6. Gemayel

Not peace, but an onslaught from the Lebanese Right and the Israelis, is the prospect. Harry Sloan reports.

would therefore need to be certain that he had sufficient political and material forces at his disposal before embarking upon such an enterprise; and it is by no means certain that he could do so.

Crush

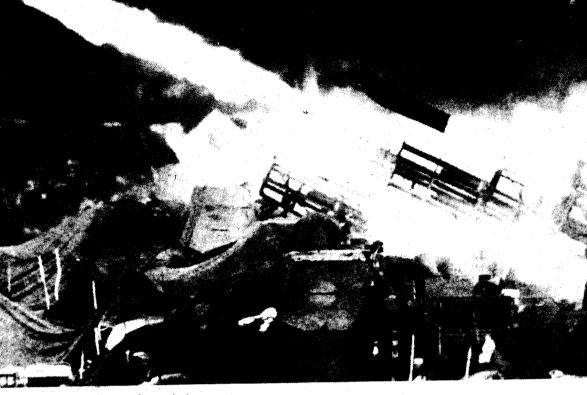
On the other hand Gemayel's ambitions to crush the strength of the Lebanese Left have already been partly realised by the Zionist invaders. The withdrawal of the Palestinian forces has left the Lebanese Left militias isolated – and the fact that a large quantity of heavy armaments and equipment has been handed over by the PLO to them and not the Lebanese army will not compensate for the losses suffered and the bitter taste of defeat

It seems clear from reports that the Zionist use of the 'big stick' has indeed cowed a number of prominent leaders of the armed left wing opposition. Behind blustering statements refusing to talk with Gemayel until "after the Israelis have left", or even to talk to him at all, it seems clear that manoeuvres are already beginning towards an arrangement for 'peaceful coexistence' with the Phalangist president.

Jumblatt

Such talks were foreshadowed by the various frantic attempts which were made during the Israeli siege of Beirut to set up a Lebanese 'government of national unity', involving leaders of the Lebanese Left, in particular Walid Jumblatt.

Now the leader of Amal, the 5,000-strong Shi'ite militia, Nabieh Berri, has declared his view that the Muslim



Rockets, bombs, bullets.... the war isn't over yet

community should seek reconciliation through negotiation — and urged Gemayel to take the initiative for talks.

Meanwhile the Zionists have suggested that they might press for one of the more hard-line groupings, the left-wing Sunni Muslim Murabitoun militia, to be removed from Beirut.

Army

The Murabitoun have forces estimated at anything between 700 and their own claim of 5,000, and are currently issuing press cards to journalists in continuity with those previously issued by the PLO. Their leader, Ibrahim Kolleilat, has consistently said that he will oppose any use of the Lebanese army in West Beirut.

But Kolleilat too has gone along with the sombre mood of compromise and retreat, talking of Murabitoun putting down their arms—though not until after a Zionist withdrawal.

If indeed it proves possible on this basis to subdue the armed forces of the Left without waging a renewed



His own brother says he is 'possessed by megalomaniae

civil war, we can expect Gemayel to take advantage of the situation.

But even there remain problems. The departure of the Palestinians from Beirut does not eliminate the PLO strength in Lebanon. PLO forces retain their strong foothold in alliance with Lebanese leftists further north in Tripoli. Will the Israelis seek to eliminate this pocket of resistance? Or will they leave the task to Gemayel, hoping his regime proves strong enough?

Nor is the challenge to central authority confined to the North. Even under Israeli occupation the Druze population of Lebanon has staged

a one-day general strike, and guerilla action continues to defy Zionist repression in the shattered cities of Tyre and Sidon.

and Sidon.

The south of Lebanon is also the home of hundreds of thousands of Palestinian refugees, who are unlikely to submit without a struggle to Gemayel's threat to expel

hem from the country.

Additionally there is the question of the Syrian forces inside Lebanon. Around 50% of the Syrian army is still on Lebanese soil, though its initial mission – preserving a balance between the Phalangists and the Lebanese Left and Palestinians – has now been superseded by events.

A formal withdrawal by Syria would be seen as a further major retreat before the Israeli army, and would open up the possibility of Zionist troops advancing unopposed up to the Syrian border.

A refusal to withdraw, on the other hand, could still produce a renewed military confrontation, possibly even all-out war between Israel and Syria, which the Syrians would be certain to lose.

It is not clear whether — or how strongly — the USA would regard such action as detrimental to its longer-term hopes that Zionist military terror will — as in the case of Egypt — bludgeon the Arab regimes as a whole into a submissive stance in which the USA in the guise of 'peacemaker' can establish alliances on its own terms.

One thing is certain: with

One thing is certain: with the PLO leaders driven still further into the arms of reactionary Arab regimes, and reconciling themselves to a long-term existence as supplicants of US and European imperialism, and with the Lebanese Left preparing to compromise with their fascist opponents, the future holds immense danger for the Widdle Fast

PRESS Daily Research of the Middle East. PRESS PRESS FINANCIAL TIMES FINANCIAL TIMES THE COLUMN THE TIMES THE TIMES

by Patrick Spilling

THE ROYAL Family showed today why not a single one of their number has had to wait in a dole queue for handouts from the state.

They proved that when it comes to grey matter, these talented aristos are not only superior to every subject, but also top in every subject.

Dr. Tony, Renn, that grad-

Dr Tony Benn, that graduate of some Marxist redbrick commissariat, thinks he can garrotte the Queen and replace her with one of his professors in idiocy from County Hall.

But Prince Edward has

But Prince Edward has shown Benn where he can put his MA in misery. The Balmoral boffin has

The Balmoral boffin has won himself a place at Cambridge in an astonishing display of brilliance.

He faced the trials of the

He faced the trials of the exam room just like millions of other boys and girls – but with the added burden of missing the so-called education dished out by comprehensives so beloved by Benn and his cronics.

يمقدما أغيا حرادية

While his competitors were swotting up on advanced sex lessons, or whatever passes for 'French' in LEA, Prince Edward was taking cold showers and rolling in nettles at his five-star training camp, Gordonstoun.

To send him there, his mother, like so many others, had made sacrifices. She was prepared to scrimp and save so she could hand over for his education £5000 a year — more than some NUPE members have the nous to carn for their whole existence, let alone be prepared to spend on their children.

to spend on their children.

This battle to give her children the best whatever the cost paid off. Prince Edward scored one of the most devastating intellectual successes in the whole history of the British monarchy.

Fifth, in a spelling bee.

There are of course some sneering knockers who try to twist every success for their

own ends.

There are those who say

the other four 'ahead' of Prince Edward did not get places at Cambridge — or at any other university. They complain they did not even win places on a job creation scheme.

Carping

Such envious carping is beneath our contempt.

The beauty of our education system — which survives now almost alone in Oxford and Cambridge — is that it is not confined to the narrow dictates of the winning post.

Character and breeding are required to win a place at our great educational establishments. The fact that his mother owns the place is neither here nor there, as everyone knows.

Even if Prince Edward was a dustman, his quality would show through.

that made Admiral Woodward select his brother Prince Andrew to act as decoy for Exocet missiles in front of the flag-ship of the great British task force.

hich makes his brother Prince Charles such a compelling raconteur. The Prince of Wales' tales

of nights in the red light districts of his naval ports are the stuff of which English literature 'S' level passes are made.

Trendy

And what if some perverted anti-monarchist decries his nights of bliss?

It is better than condoning adultery, as some trendy bishops would have us do.

Besides, visits to a brothel are in the long tradition of the true English monarch — Elizabeth and Victoria apart,

Benn may moan and sharpen his guillotine, but that's what we call a real education.

Central America

"James Dunkerley's book 'The Long War' is the only substantial account of the present situation in El Salvador. It is written by a revolutionary socialist. It is well-researched, well-organised, and readable. Buy it, or order it from your library (Junction Press, July 1982: paperback £5.95 hardback £12.80)".

BILL McKEITH reviews and summarises the book.

For two years, up to the 'election' of last March, the ruling junta in El Salvador embarked on a US-sponsored programme of 'repression with reforms.' The failure of this project under President Duarte resulted in the 'electoral' victory of Roberto D'Aubuisson long-time leader of the country's death squads, and the appointment of a puppet president (Alvaro Magana) to front the military's all out 'pacification' of the population.

The Long War

Full-scale war may be said to have begun in El Salvador in April 1980. Then the armed opposition to the junta formed a unicommand. the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front, or FMLN.

But armed actions by different guerrilla organisations against the country's rulers have been continual since the early 1970s. And, in the consciousness of the Salvadorean masses, the 'long war' goes back to the rebellion of 1932 and beyond — to the today's \mathbf{when} oligarchy seized lands from communal and municipal ownership in order to establish the coffee plantations from which it still

plunders its wealth. Socialists must deepen their understanding of why solidarity with the FMLN should be a priority of work in trade unions, the Labour Party and other Labour movement organisations.

Dunkerley's James book The Long War is heartily to be welcomed on this count. It is the only substantial account of the present situation in El Salvador and its back-ground. It is written by a revolutionary socialist who is active in solidarity work. It is well researched, well organised, readable and deserves to be read widely.

Contents of the book

The first part covers political developments from the 19th century up to 1961, emphasizing the 1932 Revolution. Chapters 4 and 5 describe the formation in the 1960s of the economic and social fabric of present day El Salvador. the third part covers the marked polarisation of class forces in the 1970s, and two final chapters analyse the collapse of the reformist October 1979 junta, the move to unrestrained civil war in the international



centext of renewed Cold War. Conclusion. the

Dunkerley returns to the theme of the regional nature of the conflict. The book's value is much enhanced by the endmatter including a really useable bibliography, chronology of main events, and glossary of organisations (over 50 acronyms!)

US intervention

There is another respect in which the present, military, phase of political struggle in El Salvador is a relatively 'long war'. Between the first big offensive of the FSLN in Nicaragua and the Sandanista's overthrow of Somoza in July 1980 was a war of 10 months. It is now 30 months, and one 'final offensive' since the formation of a single military command of opposition forces in El Salvador.

The decisive factor here is the attitude of the US government. In place of the vacillation in its support for Nicaraguan dictator Somoza, in El Salvador the government has reasserted its traditional role of increased military intervention in the face of popular movements in the Central American region.

More 'aid' now goes from the US to the butchers of El Salvador, a country of 5 million people, than to the rulers of any other Latin American state. Since the installation of a 'reformist' junta in October 1979 on a 'pacification-with-reform' platform in the US's Vietnam mold (and with the same leading advisor) — over 40,000 Salvadoreans have been massacred by forces trained and armed in the USA, equipped with US helicopter gunships, and guns and ammunition shipped in by daily flights from the USA, alongside over 800 US troops ('advisors') in El Salvador.

The US government now ranks El Salvador top in the struggle against 'Soviet expansionism' — New Cold War terminology, covering the threat of independent anti-imperialist move-ments. (Certainly the USSR, like Cuba offers no concrete aid to the FMLN any more than either did before the FSLN victory in Nicaragua).

By its bloody intervention, the US government demonstrates an understanding that a victory for the workers and peasants of El Salvador over the USbacked oligarchy and military will be a devastating blow to the ability of US banks and corporations to exploit the rest of the Americas. In crude terms, the US government has been obliged in the Central context the 'doi American 'domino resurrect theory

This is the reason for US 'internationalisation' of the Diplomatic conflict. support from Britain, Israel client states such as Egypt and all the Latin American underpins dictatorships, underpins direct military intervention. In this the USA, Argentina, Israel and South Korea have provided arms, troops basis, to prevent the linking up of Central American struggles (notably those in Guatemala and El Salva-

The coordinated support from the Honduran and Guatemalan armed forces (as well as former sections of Somoza's National Guard) is of a kind the Nicaraguan FSLN did not have to cope with and is an escalation that has vastly increased casualties and homelessness (an estimated 700,000 refugees) in the civilian population.

The 1932 Revolution

Part of the histor, of

is the intervention of US Marines in Central America politics, when US financial and strategic interests have been seen to be threatened by a reformist government or by popular revolt. Stationed in the Pacific off El Salvador during the few days of the abortive 1932 Revolution were three US and two Canadian war-ships. British marines landed briefly from one of the Canadian vessels until the Salvadorean military pointed out they were not needed.

If 'revolution' seems exaggeration for a rebellion which failed to take off at all in the capital, when rebel control of the few towns taken was lost in a couple of days, we must remember that the young Communist Party (PCS) had endeavoured to had organise an armed insurrection on January 22nd, that barely armed and illprepared peasants engaged superior forces in a number of battles, and above all, that over 30,000 peasants were killed in the pogrom that followed (government casualties were about 80).

In this, 'perhaps the single most important

today's war in El Salvador







Roberto D'Aubuisson with friends

event in Salvadorean history', as Dunkerley describes it, argument and inadequacies in the PCS foreshadowed questions which are still unresolved

One faction, including the youth wing led by Miguel Mármol, called for immediate preparation for armed insurrection, following the military coup that had brought a brief liberal interlude to an end. . 'he majority, including the intellectuals and party leader, Agustin Farabundo Marti, argued for intervention in elections in order to unmask the military, strengthen contact with the masses, and secure support masses, and secure support from section of the San Salvador garrison. When the first round of voting proved a fraud and PCS victories in some districts were annulled, the PCS reversed its position and fixed, then postponed, a date for insurrection.

During the postponement, the pla was discovered by the government any possibility of winning over sections of troops was denied, Marti and others were arrested.

It was in these conditions with no mass membership no organised cell structure and with a political line that had zigzagged over the crucial 2-3 weeks before the

El Salvador Solidarity

Street

London N1

22nd January, that the PCS decided to go ahead with its attempt to coordinate 'the uprising.

Dunkerley's own view is that the failure of the uprising had another, underlying cause — 'above all else, these absences reflected a greater weakness - an unborn working class that was so tiny and young it could not yet form the nucleus of a mass revolutionary party.' The PCS was virtually

destroyed in the genocide that followed. Marti, who had admired Trotsky (then leading the Left Opposition), and who had failed to convert the Nicaraguan Sandino to communism, was shot. Miguel Mármol survived miraculously, later to pen memoirs which Dunkerley describes as an ignored classic of Latin American revolutionary

Such was the trauma of 1932, it was to be 40 years before any coordinated independent armed opposition to the landowners represented all this time in government by a succession of military juntas and dictators.

The 1960s

US response to the Cuban Revolution was to launch the 'Alliance for Progress' in Central America: US economic intervention in the 1960s accelerated the increasing poverty, unemployment and alienation from the land of the peasants, the trebling of the urban working class, the creation of a large under- and unemployed population in shanty towns on the edges of the cities, continued concentration of land ownership, radicalisation of the students, teachers and other petit bourgeois sections.

Dunkerlev covers the reformist occasional attempts to democratise

government and introduce agrarian reform. some In one of these, Napoleon Duarte (for two years recently nominal head of the junta), had as his successful running mate in presidential elections the same Guillermo Ungo who resigned from the junta and now heads the FDR, the broad grouping of which the FMLN is the military wing. In 1972 a military coup put paid to Duarte-Ungo

Rise of the Left

political But developments in the working class and peasantry can best be recorded in the PCS, which throughout the 1960s - while still paying lip-service to a distant overthrow of the regime through its trade union activity backed what it detected as progressive industrial employers against the still-dominant oligarchy, in the vain quest for a non-existent national industrial bourgeoisie that would lead a bourgeois democratic revolution.

The PCS majority backed the so-called football war against Honduras over a border dispute. Soon after, in 1970, a PCS minority, led by General Secretary Cayetano Carpio, left to form the Popular Liberation Forces — Farabundo Marti (FPL). The FPL described itself as Marxist-Leninist in character, with a strategy of 'prolonged people's war'. First of the politicomilitary organisations to arise in the 1970s, the FPL was and is the largest. Durkerley's analysis of the political and social origins

and trajectory of these forces is one of the most interesting parts of the book, summarised roughly here. In 1972, rejecting a

Christian Democrat party unable to deliver any

reforms in the face of the military, a radicalised middle class grouping established the People's Revolutionary Army (ERP) with a guerrillaist perspective divorced from building a mass movement in the working class, and developing a strategy of 'people's armed insurrection'.
The ERP itself split in 1975
the new organisation being
the Armed Forces of
National Resistance (RN) which favoured a defensive 'anti-fascist' resistance to allow for the building of a

Popular organisations

Based initially in the east the politico-military organisations extended the areas under their control, mounted tactical engagements with government forces, assassinated leading right-wingers and ransomed western business-During the 1970s in a development distinct from those in Nicaragua and elsewhere, each organisation allied itself with a 'popular organisa-largely comprising affliated unions linked to it

by a common programme.

Thus the FPL/BPR Thus the (Revolutionary Popular Brigades) and ERP/LP-28 were established. The RN linked with FAPU and the PCS continued with its own front, the UDN.

The profound influence of developments in Nicaragua made itself felt even before the FSLN victory.

The October 1979 junta was abandoned, first by the leftists which entered it, then by the PCS, and finally some of the

Christian Democrat ministers, as the counterinsurgency character of the agrarian 'reforms' became inescapably apparent.

The armed organisations came under unified command (DRU, then FMLN). Unification of the organisations' followed the same month, January 1980, under the banner of the Revolutionary Coordinator of the Masses (CRM).

The FDR

The influence of Sandinista politics was apparent in the CRM's 'Programmatic Platform for the Revolutionary Democratic Document'. This was not simply a compromise document between left organisations, but it soon turned out, a reformist platform preparing for a broad

Reformist politicians who had left the junta set up the Salvadorean Democratic Front (FDS) in April 1980. Within two weeks a rally of 100,000 in San Salvador marked the establishment of a CRM-FDS alliance, the Democratic Revolutionary Front (FDR) on the same programmatic platform.

Although this platform includes nationalisation and land reform, the language is such that it can be favourably' interpreted by both socialists and reformists. Such was the opinion at the time the platform was drafted, although political independence was certainly to a large degree sacrificed, for example by dropping any mention of the overthrow of capitalism or socialism, in favour of such catch-all phrases as 'social progress

It is quite possible to the political



Organise solidarity on the streets of Britain

strategy of the Platform whatever the intention of certain parties to it — is a capitalist reconstruction, with state control of certain sectors, and democratic reforms.

This is what the governments of France and Mexico, and the social democratic Second International of which the Labour Party is an affiliate support, and this is doubtless the message conveyed to them by the reformist overseas emissaries of the FDR such as Ungo.

Their hope is for a negotiated settlement to the war which will leave these 'leaders' in control. 'The Long War concludes that this is an extremely unlikely outcome It is not possible to gauge

the actual political balance in the FDR within El Salvador. It is in any event Dunkerley's view that for the left organisa-tions to break publicly from the reformists and leave the FDR would be a catastrophe in the middle of the war. This may be right. What is certain is that solidarity action in Britain should have a socialist orientation what-ever the 'public' FDR

As James Dunkerley argues in his conclusion, the 19 million people of El Salvador, Nicaragua

Guatamala Honduras, Rica share and Costa similar societies and eco-In escalating nomies. actions in defence of its own interests, US

capital respects no borders.

We should recognise too that the 'balkanisation' of Central America, which serves imperialism well, is based on administrative and church divisions of the Spanish empire, reimposed after the collapse in 1841 of the Federal Central American Republic.

Regional conflict

Unlike the social democratic leaders in Europe,

Argentine

general

the US government has concluded that it cannot defend its interests and at the same time concede the most basic democratic and economic demands in El Salvador, or in neighbouring Guatemala, because to do so would threaten uncontrollable anti-imper-

ialist developments. For the workers and peasants of El Salvador, Guatemala and other Central American states, the only prospect of im-posing and defending even such basic demands is the building of their own leadership independent of Stalinist reformist and misleaders, during the reformist and

imperialist native and oppressors.

This must mean calling not for a 'democratic popular front government, but for a workers and peasants government based on their councils and defence committees, built now wherever possible, and alongside the military organisations; only such a government can open the way to establishing a Socialist United States of Central America.

Solidarity

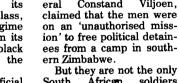
Socialists in Britain should redouble efforts in opposition to the Reagan/ Thatcher strategy of increasing military intervention. The removal of the Tory government from office would be the greatest act of solidarity with the struggle in El Salvador. We should demand the reversal of the US policy of increasing invasion of Central America and the Caribbean.

We should call Nicaragua, Cuba, the USSR and other workers states to provide arms and other concrete aid to the struggles of workers and peasants in Central America; in the face of US interven-America; tion, their failure to do so threatens the gains made in both Cuba and Nicaragua. We should campaign for trade union blacking of with El Salvador and all reactionary Latin American dictatorships. We should organise public meetings and demonstrations in support of these demands, and affiliate to the El Salvador Solidarity Campaign in Britain.

The long arm of apartheid state

FACED with a growing radicalisation among its own black working class, the South African regime has not held back from its efforts to beat down black workers elsewhere on the continent.

Last week saw official acknowledgement of the fact that three white soldiers killed by Zimbabwean armed forces inside Zimbabwe were members of Force.



South African soldiers operating outside their own borders. From their bases in occupied Namibia, troops from the apartheid regime have waged repeated interventions into southern Angola, striking heavy



South African soldier in Namibia

The Force's chief, General Constand Viljoen,

blows at the nationalist MPLA regime.
The South Africans have

supplemented their own interventions by training and sponsoring counterrevolutionary guerillas of the so-called 'National Union for the Total Independence of Angola', or

UNITA's leader Jonas Savimbi has just been explicitly unmasked as an the Portuguese fascist regime in its struggle against the liberation forces of the MPLA in the early 1970s.

Savimbi

Documents just released to the Portuguese press reveal Savimbi reporting to his fascist paymasters on an attack by UNITA on a 30-strong contingent of MPLA fighters.

Savimbi later continued his reactionary struggle with CIA and South African support, and is currently still harassing the MPLA regime. A similar band of South African sponsored guerillas is at work in Mozambique, striking both at Machel's Frelimo regime and at training camps and exiled leaders of the illegal African National Congress of South Africa.

The long arm of apartheid intervention has also been seen in the abortive coup attempt in the Seychelles last November, in which the mercenaries involved were members of an elite South African army unit supplied with weapons by the Defence Force.

In a period in which economic crisis will prompt growing instability in black Africa, we can expect such interventions by the capitalist rulers of South Africa to intensify: the answer must be international action by the workers' movement in solidarity with the black proletariat in struggle against repression and exploitation.

strike THE revival of working class struggle in Argentina Falklands/ Malvinas war continues to develop. One wing of the Peronist

CGT trade union movement has called a general strike for September 1, demanding wage rises in line with the roaring inflation. The Bignone regime has conceded a one-off payment of \$12 in August, and a increase from eptember, but the unions have re-

jected these as inadequate. The Paris daily Le Monde reports:

The moderate wing of the CGT has announced its intention to call a 24 hour general strike for the beginning of September, while the more radical CGT is preparing to relaunch the 'second stage' of its plan of mobilisation. The first stage ended on March 30 with a harshly repressed demonstration in the centre of the capital, a few days before the 'reconquest' of the Malvinas.

'The bosses, organised in the Argentine Industrial Union (UIA), have made their oppostion clear to any massive wage crease...

The armed forces are

still, from all accounts, in deep disarray. The crisisridden regime, trying to protect its flanks, last week published its plans for the legalisation of political parties. This legislation will mostly be just the formal recognition of the accomplished fact.

Committee for Human Rights in Argentina. c/o 29 Islington Park Street. London N1 90B. Newsletter subscription £3 per vear.

Food scandal

THIS week's Sunday Times points out a scandal in which meat pies branded as unfit for consumption have been consigned to refugees in Lebanon.

The meat pies, originally processed by Mattesons under the Walls label, were found to contain an admixture of horsemeat, and withdrawn from sale.

But the regulations involved meant that the 288,000 cans were only declared unfit for human consumption inside the United Kingdom and Western Europe.

Elsewhere, apparently, the world's population of oppressed and exploited people are considered a legitimate target for unfit meat — some of which is thought to have come from knackers' yards.

There was at first dismay when it was revealed that the pies were headed for Cyprus: after all, as Matteson's managing director pointed out, get English tourists there ... So he should now rest

easy in the knowledge that the dodgy food will be essen by people securely outside Western Europe few of whom will even speak English.

Except of course that the Cypriots and Lebe Tave a reputation street busines who magne vet shipping them back to England, 18 months after their manufacture, to make a neat profit.

Spanish poll

SPAIN will go to the polls on October 28. The UCD (centre party) government of Leopoldo Calvo Sotelo. now in a minority after repeated splinter group defections from the UCD. has decided to dissolve parliament.

This is no surprise. The only unexpected fact is the precise date - which means that the Pope's visit to Spain, on October 14-22, will be in the middle of the election campaign.

The PSOE (Socialist Workers Party - k is rather more pro-capitalist that is name would seem it might is expected to wm the election. PSOE leaders have condemned the timing of the election as a gambit to maximise votes for the Right.



has only reached national prominence in the last

year.

The town hall union

NALGO initiated a cam-

paign against it in 1981.

Pressure had been put on

NALGO by a case of sex-

ual harassment in Brent

a few years previously.

official campaign, the extent

of the problem has been reflected in how quickly

many union branches have taken it up.

More recently, the Nat-

ional Council for Civil Liberties has called a conference

Knight in Socialist Organiser

no.96), and issued a pamphl-

et. The pamphlet sets out to

define sexual harassment and, using the work already done in the US and by

done in the US and by NALGO, suggests guidelines on how to fight it.

new but the problem is not. As the NCCL pamphlet

which was a 'hidden issue'

until ten years ago, sexual harassment is still not seen

The campaign may be

Like domestic violence,

(reported by

points out.

sexual harassment

Deborah

from a chief officer.

Sept.18: Decision day!

Gerry Byrne previews the September 18 conference of the Women's Campaign for Jobs (at County Hall, London)

AS WE wind into September and political activity starts to warm up again after the summer lethargy, it's time to rebuild the links and renew contacts.

While the Labour movement (at least the official, routine part of it) has been resting, the unemployment figures have crept up, a whole generation of school leavers has been thrown on the dole, and vicious new

attacks on the low-paid and unorganised have been set in motion.

The campaign for the June 5 Women's Right to Work demo created a movement, albeit an amorphous and disconnected one. The task now is to link those activists who took up the call — at the very least the 5,000 women who came onto the streets on June 5 - into a campaign which can agitate and fight...

At a meeting in July, 20 women resolved that the Campaign must not end with the one-off Women's Right to Work March. We need to deepen the local roots generated by the work for the march. So the Women's Campaign for Jobs

But it will take more than 20 women to make it a in more than campaign

September 18 is the step in this. We need to define our priorities, generate initiatives, and give coherence to the widespreading in favour of a woman's right to paid work, independence and decent facilities.

The primary aim must be to develop a real base in the localities. This doesn't mean demanding that a handful of women gather under a new

novement there. It is

important that instead we argue that sexual harassment

must be taken out of the

realm of personal or individ-

ual problems and 'cases' (which is the way the bourg-

eois legal system treats everything). It is an aspect of

the overall oppression of women in society, and it needs to be fought collect-

ively by the labour move-

In some instances taking a case to an industrial tribun-

Essentially it will be up

NALGO has started the

But already many

workplaces sexist litera-

ture and pin-up calendars

which undermine the

position of women at

London N8 8PL.

ment.

banner and go to yet and ther meeting. It means tha the initial small numbers of activists turn out to build o existing links with labou movement and other wome - to link up with the strug les of women in work who jobs are threatened (an whose aren't, these days and 'non-working' wome (i.e., those who are exclu ded from paid employmer and defined as 'useless' t

We will have to utilis existing organisation whether trade union, Labou Party, or women's right t work, and create new one where there is a need. It not the form or the name that's important, but th work that is done in resi ting and publicising thattacks on women. We mus generate support for wome workers taking action in defence of jobs and service (like nurseries, health se vices, etc.) and attempt t organise women who are a home, under attack from th new social security rules an the destruction of local serv

must counter th ideological barrage that tel us our place is at home ar we should have no ambition beyond that.

Movement

A real movement is als than a collection local activities. It needs a c rection and a focus to wor towards. It needs co-ordin tion so that local group don't get sucked into wh can become a depressing an isolating round of unconne

ted activity.
That's why it's importa that the campaign adopts militant national focus link isolated groups and inc viduals into a moveme with a goal, a purpose, ar

agreed focuses for action. A 'nation-wide ever (e.g. a Women's March follobs)' was proposed at the July 3 meeting. It will be t to the September 18 confe ence to fill out the detail Some of us will be suggesting that a 'tour' of loc marches, with the hard-co marchers going from city 1 city by bus rather the expending most of the time and effort in poundir lonely highways, is the be

formula.
What is important is the it should be a forceful, mit tant affair, which generate enthusiasm — which, for from diverting from loc activity builds on i activity, builds on istrengths and helps make fighting force from the figh ing spirit of women, wage and unwaged, organised ar not yet organised.

THE HIDDEN 'THE MOST common and least discussed occupat-HAZARD ional health hazard for women' is how the Canadian Labour Congress describes the problem of sexual harassment at work. In the US and Canada, the trade union fight against sexual harassment goes back seven years. In Britain, this 'common occupational health hazard'

Mary Corbishley reviews a new pamphlet on sexual harassment at work by Ann Sedley and Melissa Benn, published by the National Council for Civil Liberties (95p).

when two women complained to their shop stewence has been accepted as normal within a marital relaard about the intolerable harassment they faced The issue became of majtheir husbands or importance in Brent NALGO, but ended bitterly with the women eventually leaving their jobs.
Since NALGO started its

further reminder to women but also by fellow workers.

For black women the

as unacceptable practice. "Just as domestic violby racism.

tionship — women being considered the property of so sexual harassment has been considered normal behaviour in the relationship between men and women at work throughout history'

Just as low pay and low status for women's jobs despite 'equality' legislation indicate women's secondclass status as workers, so too sexual harassment is a of the place this society gives them. And they are reminded not only by their bosses

If women are not considered as workers with equal status, their presence at work can be a source of diversion, amusement and assertion for men. Sexual harassment can range from a whole series of seemingly trivial jokes ("I see you've got legs, then" when a women wears a skirt to work rather than trousers), to leers and suggestive remarks, right through to actual rape.

harassment can be doubled

Because the office 'wolf', the pin-ups, the dirty jokes, and the grope in the cup-board have been seen as 'normal' behaviour, a bit of fun which helps to make the time pass, women have generally not complained for fear of being seen as 'kill-joys' or abnormal.

Sometimes they have blamed themselves, feeling possibly that they encouraged it. As with rape, women are made to believe that maybe it's their own fault.

woman approached by a hospital porter in her first job said: I was young and naive and automatically assumed that I had encouraged him in some way. Ashamed and embarrassed, I left the job several weeks early'.'

For many women, especially in small non-unionised workplaces, the sexual harassment can take the form of blackmail - not complying with the sexual advances of the boss can cost a woman her job.

The case of Julie Wyatt is an example. A clerk in a small building merchants, she refused the advances of her boss, Richard Smith and was sacked. Unlike many others, Julie took her case to an industrial tribunal for unfair dismissal and won.

In other instances going along with sexual harassment from customers is seen to be part of the job – barmaids are expected to chat up the clients, waitresses are expected to be 'nice and friendly'

Refused

Another case reported to the NCCL involved a waitress in a Pizza Parlour: "Her basic wage was ex-

tremely low so she had to rely on tips from clients to supplement her wages. Ms M told us: 'All the waitresses accepted that they would have to put up with behaviour they normally wouldn't tolerate. You would often get a group of men coming into the restaurant. into the restaurant and they would think it funny to talk about you and your body while you were serving them. Sometimes they would actually touch you... pinch your bottom... It would have been useless to complain to the manager. He thought it

was funny too'."

Just as the economic dependence of women on men has forced them to accept violence at home

from their husbands, so too the type of work that many women do and the low wages that accompany it make them subject to harassment at work. In discussing how to combat sexual harassment, the authors of the pamphlet

The National Organisation of Women have provided legal and counselling services. The Working Women's United Institute, originally set up to better general working conditions for working conditions for women, began to receive as many as 200 letters and phone calls a week from women seeking advice on how to cope with sexual har-

have looked at work done in

assment. A group called the Alliance against Sexual Coercion was set up specially to deal with sexual harassment. It grew out of the Rape Cris-It grew out of the Rape Crisis Network, because women who had been sexually harassed had gone to Rape Crisis centres seeking help. In June 1977 they opened an office in Boston to deal with victims of sexual harassment. In 1980 the Equal Opp-

ortunities Commission adopted guidelines which confirmed that sexual harassment can be seen as sex dis-crimination under the 1964 Civil Rights Act.

ment, and how to get the issue raised and made part of

branch to discuss action.

used to amend the present Sex Discrimination Act in Britain. But they stress that the use of the courts and

The widespread use of the courts as a means of settling issues of discrimination in the US reflects the



The last chapter of the NCCL pamphlet provides a very useful list of suggestions for action and proposals for model resolution – it discusses how to raise the problem in the first place by informal networks and discussions, how to challenge particular forms of harass-

union policy.

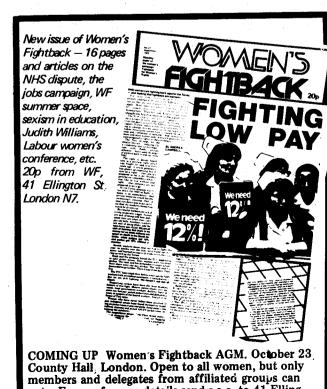
The guidelines laid down by NALGO are also reproduced in the pamphlet. Although the NALGO proposals for action stress the necessity for setting up alternative support networks for women who maybe have an unsympathetic shop steward or would prefer to talk initially with other women about the problem, still the guidelines tend to leave the onus on the individual to take the case through a lengthy grievance procedure, rather than taking it to a union branch meeting for the

The NCCL argue that these guidelines could be tribunals is a last resort.

weakness of the trade union

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vote. For conference details send s.a.e. to 41 Ellington St, N7; to join WF too send £3 (or £5 to include

regular mailings and the paper).

SWP on the Writeback Marxists and sidelines

This letter has also been sent to Socialist Worker

Dear Comrades,

In Islington we are used to the right-wing local paper attacking the Labour Party and our councillors. Its favourite tactic for doing so is 'exposing' some individual aspect of our manifesto (support for gay rights for example), claiming that is all we are interested in, and then saying But what good will this do for ordinary ratepayers?'

We don't expect the same sort of treatment from left-wing newspapers vet on August 21 we got it from Socialist Worker.

The article by Mike Simons on 'Life Under Labour's Left' used a very similar 'straw man' technique: it 'exposed' our manifesto commitment to decentralisation of council services, claimed it was our only answer to the government's attacks, and then said, 'but what good will this do tenants and council workers?

A few individual councillors may see decentralisation as a way to avoid a fight with the Government. But a joint meeting of Islington Labour Party delegates and our council-lors decided in July to mount a major campaign from September to carry out our manifesto promises in full next year, to freeze council rents and keep the rates down - regardless of what the Government says. Yes, there is talk of a

40% rate rise — from the right wing in the Labour Party. But it is the left wingers in the Labour Party who are leading the fight to stop the Council from following that cop-out road that was taken by Lambeth and Lothian.

stand that it is vital to get the full support of the

council's workers for such a fight, we have committed the council to supporting the national wage claims of the local authority unions in this year's pay rounds. We want to break the idea that Labour councillors should act as employers, albeit 'good employers', and instead be bodies fighting on the side of the working

But, that said, the view that it is 'ironic' that council workers 'will have to organise and fight', whether there's a left-wing Labour or an SDP council just misunderstands the basic issue. Left-wing councils would mean nothing at all if there was not class struggle and it would be the most naive 'municipal socialist' view to think that the class struggle will stop in one borough if there is a left-wing council. Like many other Labour Party members who work for Islington, I know that it is up to us, the workers, to organise and fight if we want the council to follow the right road.

At least, as Labour Party activists, that is what we are trying to do; trying to turn the Labour Party outwards from resolutionmongering to the real fight. So far, though you would never have guessed it from Mike Simons' article, we are winning. But Socialist Worker seems content to sit on the sidelines and passively predict that it will all go rotten.

You may, in the end, be proved right, but no-one will thank you for it unless you join in with the fight that's going on now instead of setting up straw men.

Yours fraternally, Nik Barstow, Chair Islington Labour Parties.





We invite readers to send us their letters, up to a usual maximum length of 400 words.

Send to 'Writeback', Socialist Organiser, c/o 28, Middle Lane. London N8.

GAY RIGHTS NOT KRAY RIGHTS

Atwell's (SO 97) states that 'the Krays were part of an oppressed minority (they were gay) — in that sense it is an obligation on all revolutionaries to unconditionally defend them'. But what should we defend about them?

Ray says we don't defend their acts of violence as a method of solving non-political disputes, even disputes, though this violence was in part a response to the oppressive straight society they lived in. I would agree but this seems to contradict Ray's 'unconditional defence'.

Do we argue for the state to be more lenient in punishing them? Presumably Ray thinks we should. As far as I am concerned, it is no job of the workers to defend those, gay or not, who carry out acts of violence like the Krays did.

We do defend gay people We defend their right to be gay; to organise as gay people and to publicly assert their sexuality with-out fear of intimidation or

But we don't therefore defend any actions of gay

The logic of Ray's letter seems to be that we would defend Martin Webster in all the current faction fights within the fascist movement, because I'm sure we can trace a lot of Webster's actions to the fact that he is a gay male in a straight male society. But of course we don't argue for special treatment for Webster.

Neither should we argue for special treatment for the

Will Adams, Tower Hamlets.

national -liberation

Jette Kroman (SO 96) sums up the feelings of many comrades in other lands who find themselves in general sympathy with Socialist Organiser but profoundly disagree with the arguments it put forward over the Falklands.

Whereas SO argued for defeatism on both sides, many argued that British and Argentinian workers should support with various degrees of criticism the Junta's attempt to reclaim the Islands.

As Jette argues, the central plank for this position is that whatever the subjective desires of Galtieri, 'the invasion was objectively anti-imperialist and historically progressive'. This I believe to be incorrect.

Carte blanche

Marxists do not give general carte blanche support to nationalist struggles. We support them even where led by anti-working class forces where there is a specific progressive content, where the struggle, by being successful, will remove nationalist blinkers which tie workers in both oppressor and oppressed country to their bourgeoisie, and weaken imperialism as a world system.

It is because of their specific progressive content in this sense that Marxists supported struggles of India Ireland against Britain and China against Japan.

no such progressive contact to Galtieri's war. But it was between an imperialist and a dependent nation? We would agree that this is a factor to be taken into account in our analysis, bearing in mind the transformations in world imperialism in the last 70 years.

We would profoundly disagree that it is the sole factor, the final test of whether or not Marxists struggles, and that all we need to do is read off whether the combatants are First or Fourth Division clients of US imperialism.

Impact

The crucial test remains: was the specific content of Galtieri's invasion 'objectively anti-imperialist and historically progressive'? The answer surely is 'no' a thousand times 'no'!

How would the capture of a few barren rocks have led to a blow against Imperialism? It would have had the same internal impact as Mussolini's success in Ethiopia and shifted the balance of forces in Buenos

Aires in favour of imperialism. The USA would have few problems in coming to terms with the fact that Suez had been repeated as farce, that Britain had dropped and Argentina risen a few notches in the table of trusty client states, and that Thatcher's ruffled feathers needed massag-

Strengthen

It manages far more problems intractable between Saudi Arabia and Israel. Why should a victorious Junta not strengthen its ties with US imperialism? Why would the sacrifice of the prestige of the maverick Prime Minister of a declining power weaken imperialism when the gain would be a more pliant Latin American sub-continent?

I can go no further in the space allotted but I hope this gives some understanding to our Danish comrades as to why we argued as we did.

Comradely, Carol Hobbs, Bolton.

Enclaves and imperialism

READ Jette Kromann's letter ('An anti-colonial war' August 19) with a sigh of relief. Letters and discuss ions on this issue can never be too numerous, even considering that the war is long ended, in view of Socialist Organiser's totally erroneous position on it, and the serious implications in terms of developing the anti-colonial consciousness of the Brit

ish working class.

British settlers on the Malvinas do not want 'self determination' themselves.

They consider themselves. part and parcel of Her Majesty's Kingdom, i.e. of its colonial, racist and reactionary tradition, and for that reason they do not want any independent form of relation either with Argentina, Latin any body else.

That is, they see them-selves for what they are. an enclave and extension of British colonialism in the South Atlantic.

The argument that the inhabitants of the islands are not native Argentinians suppressed by British colonialism, but free-willed British 'subjects', is absurd. The Malvinas inhabitants are not Argentinians precisely because colonial Britain expelled Argentinians from it by force in 1833. The whole development of the conflict, at any point in history is thus part of a colonial conflict

Your position that in the case of a British arrack on the Argentinian maintains we will then support Argentma negates every thing that Lenin and Trotsky ever said on colonialism, war national independence, etc.

We must always (i.e. before any conflict or war breaks out) support Argent ina, Guatemala, or any other reactionary regime, against their own masters (European

This is part or at least it should be — or the revolutionary programme of any Trotskyist organisation. It does not even need discuss ion, conditions. 'ifs', 'whens

Thus, we must equally support Guatemala in its claim to colonial Belize, regardless of the independent' 'self-determined' rea Britain has established ther with the support of its army and no matter how reaction ary and murderous the Guat-emalan government. Who is the 'aggressor', who invaded whom and broke international laws, agreements and irrelevant' Lenin. "what matters is the class-historical nature of any

war or conflict".

A lesson should be learn
ed from this, just as for us. Latin American Marxists. the danger is to adopt positions based on a rationalisation of narrow petty-bourgeois or bourgeois nationalistic ideology, so for British Marxists the danger is to adopt positions based on the rationalisa tion of a deeply ingrained colonial consciousness which I have noticed, seems to affect even revolutionary parties and militants of

Your first duty is to attack the colonial tradit and ventures of your own rainer class, let above us record survivals (but then will Later American revolutionaries trust your claim to represent the revolutionary

(member of the Trotskvist

NUCLEAR by Les Hearn (CON)FUSION

IN CONTRAST to nuclear fission, little has been written on the Left about nuclear fusion. So here

In fission, large unstable (hence radioactive) atoms (such as uranium, U, or plutonium, Pu) break down spontaneously, radiating energy in the form of heat, light, X-rays, gamma rays and neutrons. The neutrons can then strike other unstable atoms and them to break down, and a chain reaction is set off. If uncontrolled, the result can be an atomic explosion; if controlled, the result is the steady production of heat which can be used to electricity.

Nuclear fusion is the process of joining atoms together, and with a few types of light atom, such as hydrogen, H, this also releases energy. Fusion will happen spontaneously, but only at inconceivably high temperatures and pressures (hence the term, thermonuclear).

Fusion reactions so far utilised have been those between two isotopes of hydrogen; namely, deuterium, D ('heavy' hydrogen, found naturally in small amounts bound up in water), and tritium, T (a radioactive form which breaks down quite fast -

half the atoms go in 121/2 compared 24,000 years for Pu).

The problem is to get more energy out of a fusion reaction than you put in to get it going. So far this has only been achieved in an H-bomb, where the necessary conditions are obtained by exploding an ordinary fission bomb around a charge of D and T, smashing the atoms into each other. The vast amount of energy in the resulting fusion is released destructively into the environment.

Peaceful

For the peaceful production of energy, the process must be modified somewhat:

1. It is important to note that energy is produced in a pulse - there is no possibility of a chain reaction so we need to produce safely a series of pulses (unlike the steady release of energy in a fission reactor). And this on a much smaller scale than in a thermonuclear bomb - we don't want the hower

station vaporising! 2. We must find a way of containing the reacting atoms - no known substance is solid at 100 million degrees Celsius (deg C). We need a way to get the D and T to the right temperature and pressure other than setting off an atom bomb each time.

3. We must trap the energy produced so it can be turned into electricity.

4. We must obtain T, available only from certain

Problem 2 has been tackled in two ways:-

At temper above a few thousand deg C, all atoms separate into electrons and nuclei, making an electrically-charged gas or plasma. This can be contained for some tens of seconds by an intense magnetic field, while it is heated by pumping in radio-waves or by hitting it with beams of fast-moving ions (charged atoms), so that fusion takes place. This is known as Magnetic Confinement Confinement

Fusion (MCF).
b. The fuel is injected as a sand-grain-sized pellet of frozen D and T or as a little glass sphere containing D and T at high pressure, and is instantly blasted with either laser light (at the same rate as sunlight falls on the whole of Britain) or with beams of heavy ions (as above). Inertia prevents the pellet or glass sphere from

instantly exploding and, before it has time to expand, some fustion of D and T nuclei takes place, forming the gas Helium, He. Fast moving neutrons are released which carry most of the energy produced. This process is called 'inertial confinement fusion' (ICF).

3 is solved by surrounding the vessel with liquid lithium (Li), a light, highly reactive metal like sodium. which traps the neutrons, turning their energy into heat, used to make steam to drive turbines and produce electricity.

4 is also solved here, as nuclear reactions between Li and the neutrons will 'breed' more T.

Problem 1 is the least worry of fusion researchers at the moment, but is nevertheless not simple. The apparatus must be strong enough to withstand the ten or so explosions per second needed to produce a useful amount of energy, without leaking. Dangers of racioective contamination are less than with fissic reaction incre is less radioactive fuel involved, and it is kept separate from the site of the reactions, being fed in, like petrol in a car

engine, a little at a time A failure of cooling would not affect the supply of fuel at all, unlike in a fission reactor with the danger of a 'meltdown'. Leakage of liquid Li would be dangerous, though, with the possibility of fire and release of radioactive T. Though T gives out less powerful radiation and for a shorter time than U or Pu being a gas it can easily enter the lungs and, being chemically identical to H, it can be incorporated in water and enter the tissues of the body, in both cases being best placed to cause mutilations and cancers.

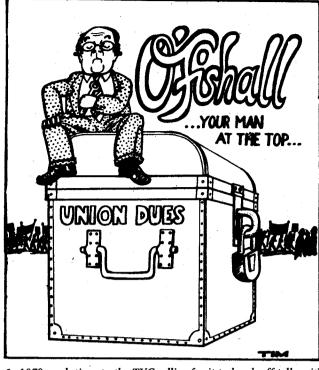
The danger may be low globally but could be high for workers in such establishments, or for nearby residents. In any case, fusion reactors would appear to be safer than fission reactors, but since at present no one has succeeded in getting out more than a few per cent of the energy they put in to start a fusion reaction. commercial fusion power seems rather a long way off - 150 malion kilometres off in Sect 1 And even the the is thereers, as light-skinned people sunny lands learn to their cost; and as we shall all learn, if we destroy the ozone laver!

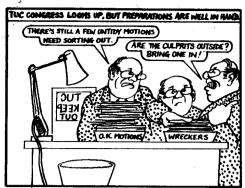
and US imperialism).

or 'in cases of'...

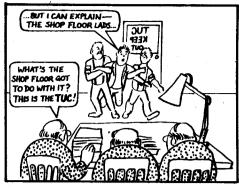
will in your country.

Communist League of Chile)



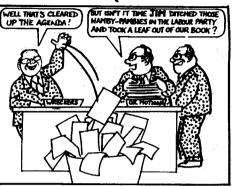












In 1979 resolutions to the TUC calling for it to break off talks with the Tories were pushed off the agenda by Congress House

HOW BACK ROOM BOYS RUN THE TUC

THE SELL-OUT of ASLEF has focused the attention of socialists on the operation of the TUC.

The Finance and General Purposes Committee (a subcommittee acting with no authority from the General Council, and consisting of leaders with no mandate from their own unions) successfully broke the official strike of an affiliated union, by means of threats, and in defiance of the democratically expressed wishes of the union's members.

The structure of the General Council will also be a big issue at this year's Congress - specifically, whether the 41 person leadership of the trade union movement should be elected annually

Congress proposes and who disposes? Carol Hobbs looks at the backstage plans and plots in the TUC

by the Congress, or whether unions with more than 100,000 members should have the right to automatically appoint members to the General Council. (The smaller unions would then vote in their own minnows' section to elect a specific number of representatives



"... never out of place, whether he is choosing wine and a cigar in a smart restaurant, making deals with employers and Ministers, or simply chatting to rank and file trade unionists".

The Sunday Times describing VIC FEATHER', TUC general secretary 1969-72

the moment, the entire General Council is elected from 18 trade groups based on specific industries like engineering and electricity, or clusters of unions in a particular area like the civil service.

principle deduced from this is that once elected the General Council member is answerable to Congress, not to his (and almost always it is his) individual union.

At first glance responsibility to the whole movement will appear a valuable principle, one which embodies the unity of the working class and the necessity to overcome sectionalism.

This was the aspiration years ago of the militants of the Shop Stewards' Move-ment and the Minority Movement, who fought for "All power to the General Council", as a "general staff of labour".

They saw it as a means of concentrating the power of labour against the growing concentration of capital.

Shield

In reality, alas, this conception of accountability has often been used as a shield and justification for those who wished to take steps which were far from being in the interests of their members.

Bryan Stanley of the POEU said at last year's Congress.
"It is inconceivable that

the General Secretary of the Transport Workers or the Engineering Workers has a responsibility to Congress when their own unions is telling them to go in a different direction".
Yet in 1977 Jack Jones

informed the executive of the TGWU that they were bound to observe the only one wage increase in 12 months' rule despite TGWU conference decisions to the contrary. Similarly when the 'late' Hugh Scanlon faced a move by the AUEW National Committee to bar him from taking part in talks with the Heath government, he replied:
"Do your damnedest! I

am participating as a repres-

of the General entative Council, not the Engineers".

Moss Evans or Alan Sapper, if asked to explain their strike-breaking on the railways, could reply in the same terms.

Where the militants of the generation before 1926 saw the role of the 'general staff' as leading struggles, the General Council has in real ity acted to dampen resistance, limit working class action, and relay the policies of the capitalist state into the labour movement.

As so often, a weapon forged for the emancipation of the workers has become an instrument to discipline

The state's exploitation of the contradictions inherent in the role of the union official has led in the last 60 years to the growth of a trade union super-bureaucracy, centred on the General Council, whose personnel are far more remote from and resistant to rank and file control than the officials of the national unions in the

early 1900s. In 1914 the predecessors of the General Council, the Parliamentary Committee (the title illustrates its far narrower focus) was little more than a talking shop with a part-time

What consolidated the General Council as a mediator between labour and capital was the 1926 defeat and the strategy of 'influenc-ing the state' followed after that by Ernest Bevin, the most powerful union leader of the day, and Walter Citrine, the first real TUC General Secretary.

Partner

During the second world war and after the TUC was accepted as a (very junior) partner in the administration of capitalist society. Its leaders were given direct access to government its representatives sat on hundreds of state boards and committees, its purpose became the succul management and control rather than the successful prosecution, of industrial

The attitudes that union officials have always brought to Congress House can be

seen from Citrine's comment "I set about cultivating the acquaintance of the employers' officials being as frank with them as my duty to my members permitted. I tried to play straight with them. I found they did the same with me.

We knew that ours was

a continuing relationship".

By the '70s, the TUC had developed into a hard bureaucratic machine its policy and decisions being increasingly centralised at the top and relayed downwards.

Rule 14

Its devolved machinery such as regional councils and Trades Councils, has been hemmed in by controls such as the notorious Rule 14 (which forbids Trades Councils from taking decisions contrary to TUC policy). Its officials are total and cap-

able bureaucrats.

By the 1960s, George Woodcock could inform

"The General Council do not as a rule welcome motions on the Congress agenda. Our general attitude to motions is that if they tell us do what intend to do, they are redundant, and if they try to tell us what we do not intend to do they are offensive".

The Sunday Times could describe Woodcock's successor as general secretary Vic Feather, similarly insulated from rank and file control

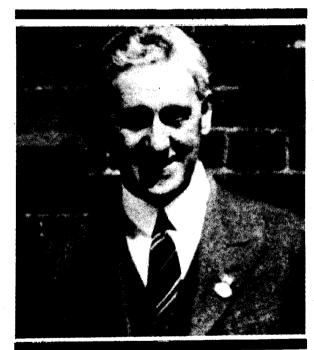
, never out of place, whether he is choosing wine and a cigar in a smart restaurant, making deals with employers and Ministers, or simply chatting to rank and file trade unionists".

Like their successor Len Murray, Woodcock and Feather were bureaucrats in

the pure sense.

They had never moved up the union structure, never led a strike, never fought out policies at stewards' committees or branches.

Down from Oxford, Len was appointed as a researcher in the TUC economic



"I set about cultivating the acquaintance of the employers' officials and being as frank with them as my duty to my members permitted. I tried to play straight with them. I found they did the same with me.

"We knew that ours was a continuing

WALTER CITRINE, TUC general secretary 1926-45

department in 1947, having impressed his interviewer Woodcock with his cynical view of trade unions.

After 25 years as a backroom Uriah Heep Len event-ually made it by dint of scrupulous orthodoxy and

'Buggins' Turn'. Such an individual is not likely to possess even the residual shards of union consciousness that must lurk somewhere deep in the souls of General Council *left-

If one strand in the creation of a hard bureaucratic centre in Great Russell St is the bureaucratising pressures on the individual union tops as they scramble up the ladder from Hartlepool section steward to Hampstead general secretary, the other ingredient is the interplay of General Council members with the full-time staff of Congress House.

Murray's powers are immense because ill-defined. Rule 10 of the TUC simply states that the General Secrtary is elected by Congress and sits in an ex-officio capacity without a vote on the

General Council.

He is there all the time. He is not burdened with the suppression of the rank and file of an affiliated union.

The full-time staff at Congress House, which has burgeoned in the last decade, is at his beck and call.

There are seven main departments in Congress House, intended to provide nouse, intended to provide expertise and resources for Murray and the General Council.

Organisation and Indust-

TUC '82



rial Relations will be familiar to militants because of their witch-hunting supervision of Trades Councils such as Oxford and Tameside.

The Economic department exists to justify Len's argument that wages don't cause inflation when the Tories are in but do cause it when Labour sits in Down-

ing Street.
When Labour is in, its bent is Treasury economics, today it peddles a right-wing but still utopian version of Alternative Economic

Strategy.
Social Insurance and Industrial Welfare has in the past been dominated by the extreme right-wingers Peter Jacques and Jim 'Ins' Hamil-

At Education, Roy Jackson's job has been to ensure minimal uproar over Labour's cuts and argue that in order not to endanger the £1.6 million subsidy from Tebbit, shop stewards should learn nothing more practical than how to interview a

CIA

The International Department relates more to the Foreign Office than the rank and file (members of the staff have actually been seconded to the FO). In close liaison with CIAbacked unions, it has worked to bring 'safe' TUC-style structures to control the rank and file in Third World countries (most recently Kenya and Zimbabwe).

There is also a Finance and Publicity Department.

Each Department employs upwards of 10 staff. Its head is answerable to Murray. Murray's deputy, Norman Willis, and the two Assistant General Secretaries, Ken Graham and David George Woodcock signs a TUC-CBI statement on productivity, in 1967. With him (from left): CBI chief John Davies, TUC chairman Harry Douglas, CBI chairman Stephen Brown

"The General Council do not as a rule welcome motions on the Congress agenda. Our general attitude to motions is that if they tell us to do what we already intend to do, they are redundant, and if they try to tell us what we do not intend to do they are offensive"

GEORGE WOODCOCK, TUC general secretary 1960-68

Lea, are like their master impeccably orthodox in their dedication to the economic and social status quo. troublemakers

Any among the staff are worn down or get out.

Sub-committees of the General Council in theory administer the areas 'serviced' by the full-timers.

In reality decisions are often initiated by the Congress House apparatus, work ing with the more far-seeing General Council members those who can propound the most convincing and saleable strategy for the continued subordination of workers to the system.

They have a lot of scope given the open-ended and contradictory nature of Congress decisions, and the lack of expert knowledge and General resources many Council members experience as they move away from their immediate concerns and their natural immersion in these more immediate concerns (quangos, second homes, Board seats, House of Lords seats...)

The mingling of the appetites of the apparatus statesmen takes place in the Finance and General Purposes Comm-

HUGH SCANLON

ittee, the TUC delegation to the National Economic Development Council and the Joint Liaison Committee with the Labour Party.

Through these mechanisms Murray worked with Jones and Scanlon in the '70s to develop and sustain new forms of class collabor-

Wage controls

As Robert Taylor writes of the genesis of wage control from the TUC side

"In the spring of 1975, Murray and his full-time advisers grew impatient with the inability or refusal of the unions to reduce their wage demands".

The "inner cabinet" then went to Downing St and bargained the £6 flat rate policy with no mandate, later pres enting the General Council Congress with a fait accompli.

Similarly, today's eight points for putting a brave face on accepting Tebbit were drafted first by full-timers, then passed on to the General Council for rubberstamping and a Special Congress with no amendments allowed.

The power of the full-time apparatus as against the General Council is today on the upswing.

The system of industrial committees set up to deve-lop greater links between individual unions, has been a means of actually imposing more control from Congress

Peter Jacques, as Secretary of the Health Services Committee has played an important role in limiting the NHS dispute.

When the Printing Indus-tries Committee tried to tighten up on the anti Tebbit eight points, they were subject to interference from Ken Graham.

Yet strictly speaking Graham and Jacques, like Murray, are purely 'civil servants' (and unlike Murray they are not even elected).

Suppressing

Len himself is not retic ent in following Woodcock's dictum on suppressing the decision making powers of

Congress.
In 1979 Paul Kennedy, Manchester branch secret-

ary, successfully moved a resolution at the annual conference of the Bakers' Union calling for the General Council to break off all talks with the Tories.

A week before Congress. Paul was called down to London to be confronted by Len, Harry Urwin (deputy general secretary of the TGWU), and Alan Sapper of

He was informed in no uncertain terms that they wanted the resolution with-drawn and that they had already persuaded Les Wood, general secretary of UCATT, and Alistair Graham of the CPSA, to withdraw similar motions.
Paul wilted under pro-

longed pressure and agreed to go along with this con-spiracy to withdraw the motion in favour of a composite which did not call for the end of all talks.

So once again the wishes of Len prevailed against the democratic desire of the members of UCATT CPSA, and the Bakers.

This is the harsh reality of TUC decision-making and we should see attempts to restructure the General Council in this context.

Election

The issue of election or appointment cannot be divorced from the fight for democracy at all levels, or viewed in isolation.

Take for example the next step down, voting at Congress itself.

As TUC historian Vic Allen comments, looking

over the years
"General Council members who have been chairmen of delegation meetings have used their authority over procedural matters to question the competency of delegations to determine policy.

"When everything else has failed, the opinion of delegation meetings has been flouted and union block votes cast to meet General Council requirements".

We all remember Carron and Scanlon.

In other words, undemocratic centralising tendencies operate at every level and are on the increase.

Principle

The present trade group electoral units are unrepresentative and the present system depends on patronage, but we should still stand by the principle of election not appointment, and argue that those standing for the General Council should stand in front of the whole movement on their record.

We would like to see the whole Congress annually elect not only the General Council but also Murray and the other officials.

But to make this proposat reality, we will have to intensify our fight to introduce or develop democracy within each TUC affiliate.

'Break links' is the big debate

AMONG the usual plethora of bland and toothless resolutions for debate at this year's TUC Congress, a few topics stand out as relative hot-spots of debate

Some might even break through the alcohol induced slumbers of delegates to produce a real buzz of interest.

Key among these of course is once again the question of jobs — not the record levels of unemployment, but the positions of top General Secretaries on the TUC General Council.

A proposal adopted last year, to replace the traditional method of election of the General Council by trade groups with a new process which would automatically give a seat to every leader of a union with over 100 000 members, is up for debate again — with the TGWU leading a strong lobby to have it thrown out.

Another issue of bureau-

cratic jobs, power and privilege at stake focuses on a call for the TUC to break its toplevel links with the government and employers which have functioned for the last 20 years through the National Economic Development Council (NEDC).

The TASS motion calling

for withdrawal has been toughened up by an amend-ment from the ISTC which demands that affiliated un demands that affiliated unions should pull their representatives out of "all official and semi-official (quangotype) government bodies". The right wing stance in support of continued collaboration with MEDC is arruped. oration with NEDC is argued by ASTMS in an amendment to a SOGAT 82 motion. ASTMS claims that continued involvement is "of substantial value to working people in general".

Other issues which could provide a focus of interest in week which will be largely filled by routine speeches by well-rehearsed General Secretaries, include the question of opposing Tebbit's anti-union legislation. The Fire Brigades Union has tabled a resolution specifically demanding that the TUC should:

respond to any trade unionists being jailed under the proposed Act by taking positive action and calling for an immediate withdrawal of labour"

And the print union NGA has a motion to prevent the use of the TUC's 'fighting fund' to pay legal fees arising from Tebbit's out the real meaning of the 8-point plan adopted in

On wages, the right wing appears to be mounting a determined thrust for adoption of a policy which would lay the basis for a new 'social contract' under a re-elected Labour government.

A resolution from the AUEW Construction Section rejecting talks on pay restraint "with this or any other government" faces an amendment from the ISTC affirming support for such talks with a Labour government as part of a 'national economic assessment 'earnings and embracing incomes'.

In general however the motions on the week's agenda are sufficiently vague or innocuous to allow General Secretaries and lay delegates to cruise comfortably through a week of highliving on lavish expense allowances in Brighton, far removed from the mass unemployment and plunging living standards of the members they supposedly represent.

Harry Sloan

Marx Socialist made Bookshelf

Books and pamphlets that you should read

easy

MARY WILKINS introduces Wage Labour and Capital' and 'Wages, price and profit'

A common jibe hurled at Marxists is that they never read Marx. And many socialists feel especially guilty about not reading Marx's works on economics but find 1,000 pages of 'Capital', Vol.1 a very daunting prospect. Marx probably realised

this himself, and tried to summarise the basic points of his theory about capital very concisely, and in language which beginners at economics would find easy to understand. In 1847 Marx wrote

which explains how capital produced and capitalist exploitation takes place. This booklet is based on talks Marx gave at meetings of the German Workers' Society in Brussels.

But I think that 'Wages. price and profit' written 18 years later in 1865, is clearer. And this booklet is probably the best way to start reading about Marx's theory of capitalism. It's not too long, and is divided into short chapters, each dealing with one particular subject.
One of the hardest things

about Marx's writing is grasping precisely what he means by the particular terms he uses. What, for example, is 'labour-power' and how exactly does it differ from just plain 'labour'? In 'Wages, price

and profit' Marx defines these terms very simply and clearly. And he doesn't just

explain what decides the level of wages, prices and profit. He also shows how labour-power is a thing, a commodity, with a price just like any other commodity; how a capitalist pays for workers' labour power at its value, but still makes a profit; and how profit is nonetheless the direct product of exploiting workers.

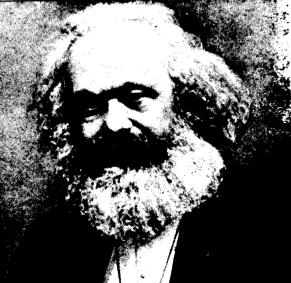
Marx ends up by showing that the only way in which workers will get a fair, decent standard of living, is by arguing not for 'A fair day's wage for a fair day's work', but for the revolutionary demand 'Abolition of the wages demand system' and doing away with capitalism altogether ~

The main problem with 'wages, price and profit' is that the beginning chapters are a bit involved, and keep mentioning people you've never even heard of! So I'd suggest to anyone who finds Marx a bit hard to read, to start at Chapter 6

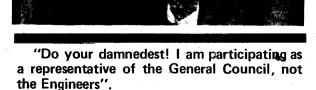
on 'Value and Labour'.

After reading 'Wages,
price and profit' you may even feel like having a bash at 'Capital Vol.1. Once you get into the hang of it. it's quite readable, and Marx does give lots of examples to explain what he means.

What's more, at the same time as scientifically explaining how capitalisn works, Marx make you share his disgust and anger at the misery and injustice capitalism produces - and makes you feel you've got to organise and fight back



Marx: not so obscure



Defend Baba Bakhtura!

DMMUNITY keted the Home Office August 27 to protest out the case of Bakhtaur

ngh. Popularly known BA Bakhtaura, he is a nger who came to this contry 3 years ago. He phied to extend his leave be here, and this was proved.

He applied again, but refused. Then his licitors failed to make his peal within the set time

On June 14 Bana Bakhra was arrested and imisoned. Oldbury Magisetes sent him to prison 2 months on July 7 and commended to the Home ffice that he be deported. s only 'crime' was wantto stay here with his and serve the

munity. Owing to wrong advice counsel, he pleaded to knowingly overaying his leave to be here the Immigration

After he finished his tence he was still rended in custody. Only after a prolonged campaign by the community was he given bail with strict conditions.

Bakhtaura Baba crippled in one of his legs.

Fears

He is a much loved and respected Punjabi singer of religious, cultural and historical folk songs. During his 3 years here he has sung at many temples all over the country. These temples have now written to Timothy Raison, Minister at the Home Office, urging him to let Baba Bakhtaura stay.

Baba Bakhtaura's case proves that what the Minister says publicly is only to appease the fears of the black community, when in reality hundreds of black people are being deported', said Mr. Tariq Ali, Secretary of the Defence Committee which has compaigned in support of Baba Bakh-

The arrest, imprisonment and criminalisation of Baba Bakhtaura is part and parcel of a vicious witch hunt of black people in this country. Our communities are being destroyed at an ever increasing pace.

In Bradford 18 people are threatened with deporta-tion, in Manchester whole families are being kicked out of this country, in Oldham 30 families are split up and are now waging a struggle to be re-united with their loved ones, and now there's Baba Bakhtaura.

Picket

Contact: Baba Bakhtaura Defence Committee, 19A, Birmingham St., Oldbury, W. Midlands. [021-552-6121]. Friday September 3:-

Mass PICKET outside Wolverhampton Crown Court, 10.30 am, when Baba Bakhtaura's appeal is to be heard.

Friday September 10:-Public MEETING and SOCIAL at the New Inns, Holyhead Road, Hands-Birmingham, worth. at 7.30 pm.

peak season.

'Support for the strike is still strong, and it is really hitting the airline. Flights are leaving Heathrow as many as 150 seats light, and this during the

SACKED Air India shop steward, Alroy de Silva,

Since the reservation section is paralysed, the company is carrying on only at enormous cost. Baggage has been disrupted and much of it is being totally lost, yet the company is determined to carry on paying out huge amounts in compensation as they don't want to admit that they can be beaten by the unions.

Only 20% of Air India cargo is going through, and we're trying to deal with the private cowboys who are taking it in.'

After 9 weeks, the 100odd Air India strikers are still solid. Last Thursday the Air India TGWU branch totally rejected a proposal put to the union leaders by the management that they were prepared to take back some of the 91 sacked workers, but not the union

Management have been

trying every trick in the book. Their latest effort has been to get some of the strikers, who are suffer-ing badly financially, to circulate a petition criticising the leadership of the

Air India strikers

As Alroy de Silva pointed out, 'That confirmed to us that it had been instigated by management as they would not have known about it (prior to it being handed in) unless they had been responsible for it themselves. In fact some of the strikers who were involved in getting it signed have admitted as much themselves.'

Blacking from other workers is still very important. There are possibilities of international blacking. The International Federation of Transport workers has said to the strikers that if the TGWU nationally was to ask them theyt would black Air India.

hasn't Moss Evans got round to this yet, but he has writted to Mrs. Ghandi about the dispute!

There is also the possibility of solidarity action from Air India workers in

'Nine weeks is a long time and for many of our either members, either they are the sole bread winners in a family, or both wife and husband work for Air India. There are only 100 of us. so a little money can go a long way'

The Air India strikers will be at the TUC next week looking for support, and they are speaking at the anti-witch hunt conference at Wembley on September

Send donations messages of support to: TGWU AIR INDIA Branch 1/1305, c/o Transport House, 7-9 South Road, House Southall, Middlesex.



The Bengali community and the labour movement joined to oppose the Nazi stall....

Brick Lane challenge

by Will Adams and Susan Carlyle

THE MARCH last Sunday in protest at the NF bookstall in Brick Lane, East London, was the first coordinated anti-racist fightback, with substantial support from both the labour movement

and local Bengali groups.

The local Labour council, having unknowingly granted permission for the bookstall to operate, is refusing to revoke the licence because they maintain the fascists would win on appeal. Evidence of racist material has been sent to the Director of Public Prosecutions, but in any case legal manoeuvres are not the solution, nor a guarantee of justice for the

people who are constantly the target of the fascists' propaganda and the physical attacks that they are feeling confident enough to launch on black people.

A survey of local papers and reports from estates and local schools show the vicious attacks, with knives and iron bars used as weapons.

Some attacks have taken place outside mosques and in areas where Bengalis have traditionally felt safe, like Spitalfields.

The march's route led away from the market area, but some anti-racists stayed behind to ensure the protection of the Trades Council bookstall, and some remained in the neighbourhood after the march ended in case the fascists organised a retaliatory rampage as they have done in the past. However, the hard core of 60 or so fascists removed themselves from the area, probably to maintain a respectable face and not jeopardise their stall

strikers.

and

Legally the stall can be closed if it causes a breach of the peace, but only the police can activate this

important, as the way the

dispute has been covered

in India shows how the

Air India UK management

are trying to play down the

success the strikers at Heathrow have had. The

Federation of Guilds (Indian unions) involving

Air India workers in Bombay has already

written expressing support

and is trying to arrange a

meeting to discuss further

support for the British

Alroy de Silva stressed

the importance of donations and financial support.

Many strikers are feeling

the pinch, having been out

Pitch

Guilds

clause.
500 marchers was an adequate number, but on the organising committee Socialist Organiser supporters had to argue strongly for the march to go ahead, even if small, and against a proposal to disband it and concentrate numbers in the market around the stalls.

Susan Carlyle, a Socialist Organiser supporter and local Labour councillor, spoke at the end and stressed the need to stay behind as an act of solidarity with the Bengali community and

to continue the campaign.

We want to build on this march to rid Brick Lane of all fascist literature sellers and to support the communities under attack as a result of the poisonous racist atmosphere which the Labour council refuses to see itself as responsible for.

Labour Party supporters who have taken a stand against the council must discuss the role of local authorities carrying out racist housing policies where ghettoes are being created, and fight for an open policy of allocations for people of all races on new estates.

The council's unwillingness to act allows the fascists to organise with some kind of legal sanction. The policy of total reliance on legal sanctions is running out of time, and it is an illusion if anyone thinks that it will reverse the racialism generated.

Building a united antiracist movement which involves the unions, Labour Parties, and ethnic and community groups, is a vital necessity in the face of the racist violence. We must ensure there is no return to 1978, when the labour movement lost the fight and black and Bengali people were isolated.



Missed queue

ANYONE lethargic enough to be caught watching Granada television's latest night will remember the rious scene in which the hang-dog 40 year old married man announces to his unenthusiastic 22 year old lover that he has discovered the ideal venue for their first sexual encounter - a hotel bathroom!

The ensuing repeated scenes of orginstic pleasures are unaccountably never errupted by the hotel's other guests rattling the deer, carrying the regulaties toothbrushes, towels, and transistor radios. But perhaps there is a reason for this.

The hotel front entrance used in the play is that of the Great Western Royal at Paddington — where delegates to London meetings of ASTMS are regularly boarded overnight.

Yet apparently it is far from easy for such travellers to find any bathroom at all in the place — let alone the huge Roman-style marbled edifice depicted

in the film. For a while at least ASTMS members and other visitors to the hotel are now likely to find their stay even more taxing, elbowing their way to the head of queues of freeloaders looking for a

Into Foot's shoes?

AS MICHAEL Foot's popularity ratings sink slowly in the sunset, a new hatchet man is being groomed for office in the hope of

NORMAN Tebbit is no namby-pamby. Not for him the velvet glove when a hobnail boot is available. No weeper of crocodile tears he.

On this score he disagrees with his predecessor James Prior – who is not so much wet as soggy.

Prior had somewhat rashly described the present level of unemployment as 'intolerable'. The same empty cliché is trotted out regularly by union bureaucrats, Labour politicians, and sundry do-gooders. Tebbit disagrees.

"I don't like the use of the word 'intolerable' in relation to something which is in fact going on and being tolerated'.

Who is right?

bridging the gap between the soft Left and the overt right wing.

He is Peter Shore, the

tub-thumping nationalist whose enthusiasm for the Falklands war left even Tory backwoodsman Julian Amery gasping for breath, and whose jingoistic opposition to the Common Market is unsullied by any hint of socialist aspiration or rhetoric.

According to the Observer, Shore is being promoted by the cabal of right wing union bureaucrats whose expense accounts allow them to dine regularly together at the St Ermin's Hotel in London. And he could also win big votes from the 'left' bureaucrats of the TGWU.

His rivals Dennis Healey - now 65 - and Roy Hattersley, though vicious enough for the right wing, apparently lack the pan-ache to deliver their politics in a way that will be swallowed by the soft left.

And nobody now seems even to remember the name of John Silkin.



... But the 'master race' are still peddling their poison

A lead from **Belfast**

John Bloxam, just back from Belfast, reports on the action there in the NHS pay dispute

BRIAN Sullivan, (NUPE) secretary of the North and West Belfast District coordinating committee, told me that workers are 'solid' throughout the Since August 20, North. Central Sterile Supplies Department units are out in every hospital. With in every hospital. other action, e.g. in transport and laundries, that makes the North of Ireland one of the strongest areas in the NHS dispute.

The 2800 workers at the Royal Victoria Hospital, Belfast, where Brian Sullivan works, have been at the centre of the fight.

The CSSD there has been closed down for over 4 weeks. Accident and emergency work has been covered through Theatre Sterile Supplies Unit, with three workers from the CSSD vetting what is needed. It was they, through the shop stewards committee, who decided re-cently what would be needed in a bone marrow surgery case, and made sure it was provided.

There has been a slightly different form of workers' control in the canteen. There, the cashiers have been withdrawn on lightening stoppages, and every-body standing in the queue at the time gets a free

NIPSA (the civil servants' union, which also organises hospital administration employees) has been very strong throughout the dispute. They have come out themselves on a three-day strike, and their action has extended to the Civil Service Agency where they are refusing to pay out money to GP's and dentists until they all agree to take NHS patients, (and drop their option of not doing so).

Their latest trick was last weekend. The consultants at the Maternity Unit closed it down to babies needing treatment. It was due to the CSSD strike, they claimed.

Brian Sullivan says that the feeling for all-out action is very heavy', and points to the 2,000-strong meeting at the Grosvenor Hall on Friday, August 13, which supported the all-out call, as just one example.
'The TUC leadership has

been absolutely pathetic throughout the dispute, to say the least'.
One aspect of this has

been the isolation of different regions throughout the dispute. The women in the RVH need to be able to pick up a sheet and see that the CSSD in Southampton is also out.' He thought that was a very good aspect of the Health Workers for the Full Claim Broadsheet.

Even in the North itself, local co-ordinating committees had to push the regional officers to call an all N. Ireland Co-ordinating Committee, made up of 2 delegates from any local committee.

At the second of its well-attended meetings, a resolution was passed which called the all-out indefinite stoppage of CSSD's from the 20th, and for other groups of key workers to come out where there were no CSSD's.

It also called on the Northern Ireland Committee of the Irish Congress of Trade Unions to call a 24 hour general strike in Northern Ireland in support of the health workers. This was forwarded to the British TUC, but on the understanding that if it didn't act, then N. Ireland would go ahead on its own.

Brian Sullivan had this to say about the TUC Health Services' Committee's decision on the 26th. 'I couldn't believe that the TUC had given the 22nd as the day of action, and leave people waiting around that long. My attitude is let's go and do

something positive. Let's not wait until the TUC acts. If we have to give a lead from Northern Ireland, then we will.



Albert Spanswick in fighting mood... against members lobbying the TUC Health Services Committee

Glasgow action

SHOP stewards from all over Scotland are being called to a conference in Glasgow on Friday September 3 to organise action for the NHS strike day of September 22.

The Scottish which has organised the conference, is avoiding the words 'general strike' but union officials are saying that 'the appeal for 'maximum support' rules out nothing'.

Meanwhile 100 workers are still on indefinite strike at the Scottish NHS administrative HQ Trinity Park He at Trinity House. Edinburgh. Glasgow am-

LAST Tuesday, 24th, Mike Docherty, a CoHSE member

Health Workers for the Full

Claim in Nottingham, was

beaten up in the grounds of

His attackers were police who alleged that he

was driving a stolen car. The

car was his own.
Mike was later charged

with refusing a breathalyser

test, blood sample, and urine sample, and with possible criminal damage to the pol-

ice vehicle that he was boun-

ced off. He was not charged

with stealing his own car,

and Mike says he was not

and active supporter

Highbury Hospital.

bulance workers have been on indefinite strike after their pay was docked on the pretext that the Trinity Park House strike made it impossible to compute overtime money.

NUPE ambulance workers throughout Scotland are on strike for four days -from midnight on August 30 to midnight on September 2 - for the 12% pay claim. And at the Western General hospital in Edinancillary burgh, workers walked out for the afternoon on Thursday 26 after hearing the RCN ballot decision to reject

Militant suspended

asked for any tests or

Highbury hospital man-agement must be feeling

quite confident now. They

have already sacked another

Health Workers for the Full

Claim supporter, whose case

for unfair dismissal is being

pursued by the union full-

Both these members are

still playing an active part in the dispute. On Friday morning 27th they joined a picket at the Queen's Medic-al Centre, where a CoHSE member had been suspended

ended him the next day.

Hospital authorities susp-

samples.

timers.

at London Hospital

THE DECISION last week to end the 12-day strike at the London Hospital in Whitechapel is a setback for union

organisation there.

The victimisation and eventual sacking of shop steward Phil McEntee can be taken as a sign of the NHS administration's policy to take revenge for the months of disruption in hospitals successfully organised by trade unionists in pursuit of

their pay claim.

Many of the reasons for the failure to reinstate Phil rest with the management's ability to act during the holiday period, when the bed patient level was about 50% and when the workforce had already lost wages all summer with the health union leaders' policy of drawn-out

Nevertheless the strike was still strong despite one union steward going back in, and most workers stuck with their union's mass meeting decisions. Management even admitted to the press that the trickle back to work was so slight that they had been unable to run the hospital properly.

The latter part of the strike was marked by the emergence of the problematic demand for an independent inquiry, which deindustrial action against the dismissal.

the previous day – for being 'seen talking to' hospital employees who were alleged

to be planning an occupation

followed by an immediate

walk-out by porters, ancill-

aries, and the man's col-

leagues in security.

The victims of this sort

of intimidation are steeled in

their determination to fight

on. However, the trade

union bureaucrats are dis-

couraging any campaign against the intimidation in

the wider movement (it only makes trouble, doesn't it?) ROB JOHNSTON

The suspension

of parts of the hospital.

Setback Carworkers 'no' to 7.5%

by Tony Cashman

TWO thousand TGWU mem bers at Vauxhall Ellesmere Port unanimously rejected the company's 7.5% pay offer at a mass meeting on Tuesday 31st.

The unions are demand

* £25 on the basic * A 38 hour week now, followed by progress to a 35 hour week,

* Better pensions staff

status, * Five weeks' holiday at time and a third.

The main aim of the claim is to restore our basic wages to the buying power they had three years ago.

The company's offer

includes improvements on holidays, holiday pay, pensions, and lay-off pay - with strings. The conditions are:

It should be compulsory for wages to be paid by credit transfer to bank accounts,

* The works rule book to

be updated

* The company should have the right to re-time any

job at any time, * Workers should be expected to identify their

own mistakes on jobs,

* No interference by the unions with GM imports.

came just offer before Vauxhall announced losses of £21.6 million the first six months of 1982 The company are using these figures - and the state of the car market and the economy - to try to get workers to accept this ridiculous offer.

They have used the same sort of pressure to force through 6,200 redundancies in Vauxhall in the last two years, and keep the Elles mere Port plant on shorttime working for one and a half years until recently.

But General Motors the multinational that owns Vauxhall – made a *profit* in the first half of 1982. They imported 45,000 Cavaliers into Britain from Germany. where they can be made £1500 cheaper than in Britain - thus notching up large profits which do not show

in the Vauxhall accounts.

Although the car market is depressed, Vauxhall's share has gone up from 85%. last year to about 12% this

What we need now is a massive rejection of the offer by all the unions in the major Vauxhall plants, and, if necessary, an all-out strike by all the plants, supported by blacking of GM imports like the Cavalier and Opel

Glendale gains

cessions have been made by management in the nine week dispute at Glendale Engineering, North-West

At talks with the AUEW last Thursday 26, Glendale boss George Banborough offered to recognise the union and to take back two of the three strikers. The union has given no definite answer, and the offer has not been put in writing, but new talks are expected this

Banborough's can be attributed to the commitment for blacking Glendale goods obtained at a major customer - Glynwed - and the determina tion shown by the strikers who have campaigned widely in the labour movement for support and have organised mass pickets every Monday. Contact: Mick Woods.

(01) 624-1931.

POEU sold out again

by Ricky Houston

Engineers' one day strike on Monday August 23 was called off, initially we thought it was a victory

be yet another in a series of sell-outs of postal engineers in the POEU by the Union leadership since the split of the Post Office and British Telecom.

After calling off the strike by phoning branches, the NEC has published a letter to branches, together with the letter from Dearing (Chairperson of the Postal Board) to Bryan Stanley (the POEU General Secretary) on agreement was based.

It amounted to a stay membership.

Postal engineers (who

WHEN the POEU Postal for the engineers.

But it has turned out to

of execution of an agreement Postal Engineers had with the old Post Office, giving them until Christmas when Dearing 'hopes' to have reached a new agreement with magnanimous Stanley - an agree-ment which will worsen the pay and conditions of postal engineers working in mechanised depots, and which Stanley hopes to add his signature to over the heads of the POEU

make up about 10% of the POEU membership feel they are being pushed out of the union by the bureaucrats in Greystoke House, but they are beginning to fight for themselves following Monday 23rd's grand old Duke of

Never

Liverpool Power branch. a major postal branch unanimously decided that the strike should never have been called off, and are writing to branches with postal members to call a conference of branch officers and delegates to fight to remain within the POEU and to fight the management's Postal attacks on their pay and conditions.

Postal branches wil certainly support this, but Telecom branches should also. It is the same POEU leadership who lack the wil and direction to lead their members into fighting for pay and conditions in both the P.O. and B.T., and it is the same Governmen behind the P.O. and B.T who are directing both management boards into attacks on our jobs.

AUGUST

Paid ads 5p per word, £4 per column inch. Send to Socialist Organiser (What's On), 28 Middle Lane, London N8.

CLASS FIGHTER Steering Committee meeting. Saturday September 4, 1pm to 5pm, Labour Club, Bristol St, Birmingham.

SPARTACIST Truth Kit. New pamphlet on the politics and practice of the Spartacist League, by John Lister. 70 pages, £1 plus 26p postage, from WSL, PO Box 135, London N1.

BRENT Socialist Organiser/ Women's Fightback joint meeting. Socialism in the 80s. Speakers: Gerry Byrne, Mick Woods, Tuesday Sept-ember 7 7.30pm, Trades and Labour Hall, 375 Willesden High Rd, London NW10

SHEFFIELD Socialist Orga-

8. The Alterna ive Economic Strategy.
September 22 The Labour Party witch-hunt.
All at the Red Cow, The Wicker, starting 7.30.

LAMBETH/SOUTHWARK Socialist Organiser Group Open Forums. 8.30pm at 41 Camberwell Grove, London SE5. September 16: The Fight

Against Black Oppression.
September 30: Fighting
Women's Oppression.

BIRMINGHAM Palestine Solidarity Committee march. Saturday September 4. Assemble 2pm Chamberlain Square.

NORTH London Irish Solidarity Committee: showing of the film The Patriot Game', Friday September 3, 7.30, Holborn Central Library, Theobalds Rd. Admission 50p. ISLINGTON Socialist Organiser. next meeting Sunday September 12, 3pm at the Thornhill Neighbourhood Project, Caledonian Road. Speaker from Labour Committee on Palestine, on the Middle East. Tea, coffee, and sandwiches provided for baby-sitting phone Nik, 607

MIDLANDS People's March for Jobs. September 15 to 18: a five-pronged march from Stoke, Derby, Rugby, Hereford, and Shrewsbury, converging on Birmingham. Coordinator: Sid Platt, NALGO, 7th Floor, Tower Block, Centre City, 7 Hill St, Birmingham B5 4JD (021 643 6084).

TURKEY Solidarity Campaign activities to mark the second anniversary of the coup in Turkey.

Friday September 10, 11 am to 1.30pm: picket in Fleet Street to protest at newspaper coverage of events in Turkey since the coup. Sunday September 12,

noon to 2pm: join the picket of the Turkish Embassy, organised by CDDRT.

MANCHESTER Socialist Organiser meetings. Sunday September 5.

The fight for gay liberation. Speaker from Labour Camp-

aign for Gay Rights.
Sunday September 12:
Solidarnosc two years on. Speaker from Polish Solidarity Campaign. Sunday September 19.

i nation divided Speaker from Labour Committee on Ireland.

All 8pm at the Lass O'Gowrie, Charles St.

POLISH SOLIDARITY Contact addresses. Solidarnosc Trade Union Working Group, Acorn House, 314/320 Gray's Inn Road, London WC1X 8DP. Tel. 01-837 9464. Glasgow Polish Solidarity Campaign. Ian McCalman, 18 Mossgiel Rd. Glasgow G43, 041-632 1839. Edinburgh PSC. C/o Edinburgh Trades Council 12 Picardy Place. Oxford Labour Commit-

tee on Poland, 468 Banbury Road, Oxford, 0865 58238. Coventry PSC. John Fisher, c/o ASTMS, 26 Queens Rd., Coventry.
Labour Poland Solidarity

Fund, c/o Cooperative Bank, 110 Leman St., London E1.

TRIBUNE Rally. Unite to defeat the Tories!

Tuesday September 14, 7.30 at the Free Trade Hall,

Speakers: Tony Benn, Michael Meacher, Les Huckfield, Chris Mullin, Ian Brown (EETPU Shell Carrington). Johnny Aitkin (EETPU London Press br.)

Advertisement

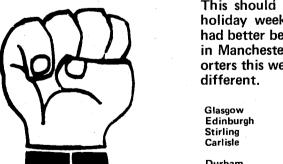


OUΓ NOW! 40 pages: single copies 70p plus 20p P&p, 5 copies £3.50 post free. Orders: WSL, PO Box 135, London N1 ODD.

Socialist ganiser OLIDARNOSC

From triumph in 1980 to rearguard battle in 1982 - the struggle continues

£6000 fund



This should be the last of the slow summer holiday weeks for the fund - or at least, it had better be! Only £20 from Pete Keenlyside in Manchester and £3 from Glasgow SO supporters this week. Let's make sure September is

Glasgow	44.40	37%	Birmingham	448.00	87%
Edinburgh	70.00	22%	Coventry	574.80	137%
Stirling Carlisle	•	•	Nottingham Leicester	114,00 86.00	114% 22%
Durham	110.00	110%	Northampton	-	-
York Bradford	4.00	8%	Cardiff/Bristol	45.00	45%
Leeds Hull	88.00 1.25	88 % -	Oxford	423.50	83%
Sheffield	102.50	103%	Southampton Basingstoke	45.00	45%
Merseyside Manchester Winsford	120.00 183.00	38% 47%	Brighton London	304.00	14%
Stoke	20.00	67%	Miscellaneous	744.51	
			TOTAL SO FAR	3527.96	59 %
			Send the Fu	donationd to: Ser Fur	

tions to Socialist Fund, 28 Middle Lane, London N8 8PL.

LIVES!

2 years on

THE POLISH government says that there were no strikes on the second anniversary of Solidarnosc's founding, August 31. Whether that is true or not, we won't know until the reports of that day from underground Solidarnosc activists reach Britain

But it is certain that strikes and non-cooperation in the factories have been one of the major forms of resistance by Polish workers since the imposition of martial law.

As exiled Solidarnosc activists in Britain put it in the latest issue of their Solidarnosc Trade Union Working Group newsletter:

The real battle is fought not on streets but in workplaces, over workers' sense of commitment. In this field the government has been soundly defeated.

'Billions pumped by Western bankers, and ten Siberian pipelines, will be of no use when the ruled reject the idea of working for the rulers'

The demonstrations on Tuesday showed not only the anger and courage of Poland's militant workers, but

also that their organisation is still strong - despite being forced underground, despite the repression, despite the 'socialist' police who used tear gas, batons, and bullets against the workers on the streets.

The TUC stood alone with die-hard Stalinists among West European union organisations in abstaining from the Polish solidarity demonstrations on Tuesday.

The same complacent, compromising attitude towards the executioners of Poland's workers is shown by much of the Labour Party Left. It was the left-wingers on the Labour Party National Executive - with the honourable exceptions of Eric Heffer and Dennis Skinner - who favoured continuing the invitation to the Warsaw Pact's ruling Stalinist parties for this year's Labour Party conference.

The continuing struggle of the Polish workers against the bureaucracy is also a protest against this indifference, and a challenge to us to increase

Biding his time

THE THOUSANDS of Longbridge workers currently facing short-time working will be comforted to know that they are soon to be joined by another BL employee - Sir Austin Bide, the new chairman.

There are some minor differences in the arrangements, of course. The Longbridge workers will be on 75% of grade rate for the duration of the short time - that's around £93 per week for most of them.

The arrangements reached for Sir Austin may seem at first glance to be rather more generous. He'll be receiving £1,200 per week.

But, remember, the Longbridge people are only having to work one day per week, whereas Sir Austin will have to work a two day week. So don't start making simplistic compar-

And one other thing. Many BL workers these days are having to moonlight to make ends meet. We don't approve of this sort of thing, of course. But it's nice to know that Sir Austin also has difficulty getting by on just one wage packet. His other job – chairman of Glaxo – brings in a handy £1,000 a week or so extra.

If we're honest, the 'chairman' job

is a pretty cushy number, well away from the pressures of the production line. But after all, Sir Austin is 66 years old and might have difficulty holding down a track job.

Just like the workers over 60 years of age at the Cowley Assembly plant who are being taken off light subassembly work and forced onto production lines for the first time. They are told: "If you can't hold it, you can leave".

Let's hope nothing like that happens to Sir Austin.

Mobilise to defend rights

broadsheet out now!

10p from the Mobilising Committee for the Defence of Trade Union Rights, 28 Middle La., London N8.