



# **new** Socialist ACTION



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● 'Why Labour must fight coalitionism'



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# NO CRUISE NO TRIDENT

# BRITAIN OUT OF NATO



## CND EVENTS

CND Diary is a regular column in *Socialist Action*, giving a round up of useful facts, news and dates of forthcoming events in the Anti-Nuclear movement.

The listing of events is free and the details should reach us by the Wednesday, one week before publication. Send to CND Diary, *Socialist Action*, 328 Upper Street, London N1 2XP.

### Starwars

REAGAN'S LATEST PLANS to play star wars are not the first attempt of the Pentagon to obtain space-based particle beam weapons. A few years ago the Pentagon claimed to have discovered a particle beam weapon gap (as in bomber gap and missile gap!). The whole ploy eventually floundered on the difficulty of manipulating the figures to prove there was a gap. Since neither side had these weapons, and  $0+0=0$ , even the most sophisticated statistical analysis of the figures was in vain!

### Shipbuilding

WITH THE GOVERNMENT clamping down on expenditure for all nationalised industries, there is one place where the rules are to be relaxed. Vickers shipbuilding at Barrow-on-Furness has been given the go-ahead to build a covered shipyard. Why the change of mind do I hear you ask ... Well it might just be that Trident submarines will be built in Vickers yard ...

### Toys for the Boys

EARLIER THIS MONTH the British Army took delivery of its first Challenger Main Battle Tank. The Challenger tank is the army's first new battle tank for 20 years. The tank is a snip at £1.5m for each tank and it is planned to give the army 250 of them to play with.

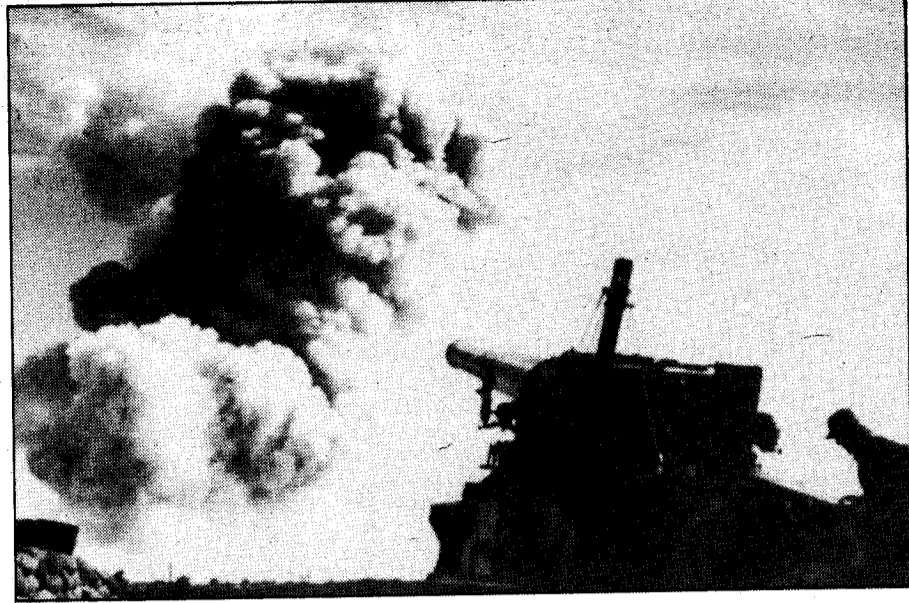
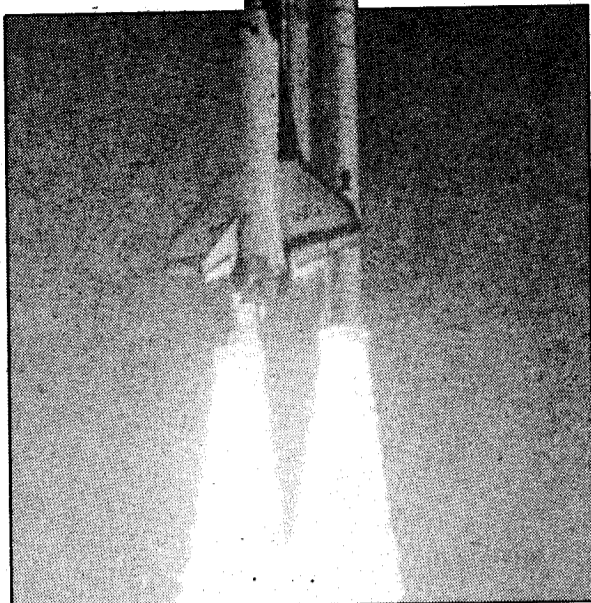
### Denationalisation

WHILE ON THE SUBJECT of tanks, the Challenger is built at the Leeds Royal Ordnance Factory. Last year the Royal Ordnance Factories made a cool £60 million profit. This is of course a heinous crime, and so there are plans afoot to — you've guessed it — hive them off.

### Look Out!

LAST THURSDAY journalists were given a conducted tour of Greenham Common base by Heseltine. Apart from saying that he had every faith in the reliability of the guidance systems (which is more than the people in the US who live near the test range have!), he announced that perimeter security will be stepped up. The perimeter is patrolled by US Air Force personnel allocated to the USAFE command. USAFE is already in the process of equipping its base security police with machine guns, mortars and light tanks, so the mind boggles at the thought of what further upgrading means. Tactical nuclear weapons, perhaps?

- ★ 28 March-2 April International Peace Studies Week (for students) at Pimlico School, London.
- ★ Thur 31 Mar 12 hour blockade of Greenham Common (women only) and Burghfield Royal Ordnance Factory (mixed).
- ★ Fri 1 April 14 mile human chain from Greenham Common to Burghfield via Aldermaston. Starts 1.30pm, followed by a festival at Aldermaston.
- ★ Sat 2 April Scottish CND March in Glasgow. Starts in George Square at 11.00am, and ends at Carnival in Kelvingrove Park.
- ★ Sat 2 April GLC Bunker Party. 7.30pm at Civic Centre, North Peckham.
- ★ Sun 3 April GLC Easter Parade, featuring specially commissioned 'Peace Float'. Starts Battersea Park at 3.00pm.
- ★ Sun 3 April Demonstration at Faslane Nuclear Sub base.
- ★ Thur 7 April Aberdeen CND meeting discussing END. Starts 7.30pm at 24 Adelphi (off Union St), Aberdeen.
- ★ 8-10 April Campaign Against the Arms Trade National supporters meeting, Friends Meeting House, 16 Newton Terrace, Glasgow G3. Details contact (01)-278 1976.
- ★ 8-10 April International Peace Camp at Wycombe. Contact Bob Saunders Bourne End 22624.
- ★ 8-10 April Nuclear Free North Atlantic Conference Mitchell Theatre, Glasgow.
- ★ Fri 8 April Film: 'Guide to Armageddon', organised by Orpington CND. At 7.30pm, New Village Hall, High Street, Orpington, Kent.
- ★ Sat 9 April GLC Bunker Party, 7.30pm Riverdale Hall, Lewisham.
- ★ Wed 13 April Meeting organised by Twickenham CND on 'Nuclear Weapons, Nuclear Power and Sizewell 'B'', speaker Chris Church. Starts 9.00pm at the Albany Pub, Station Yard, Twickenham, Mdx.
- ★ Sat 16 April GLC Nuclear Bunker Party. 7.30pm at Langdon Park Community Centre, Tower Hamlets.
- ★ 23-24 April North West London Labour Movement Conference against the missiles 'Jobs not Bombs — No Cruise Missiles' at Brent Town Hall. Speakers: Ken Livingstone, Pat Arrowsmith, Tim Webb and women from Greenham Common. Details/credentials from Nick Papoloi 01-904 7951 or write to PO Box 332 NW10 5HU.



# The nuclear future — Reagan style

The plans revealed last week by Ronald Reagan to construct a 'shield' around the United States to 'render nuclear war impossible' was a monstrous use of the big lie technique. It would be funny if it weren't so tragically dangerous.

Reagan's fantastic scenario for mobilising the scientific community to construct ray-guns in space, laser beams and the rest was the very opposite of rendering nuclear war impossible.

It is a scheme for the most incredible escalation of the arms race.

If achieved, it would give the United States invulnerability to Soviet attack, while of course leaving the Soviet Union open to US attack. The whole multi-billion dollar nonsense would pro-

voke the most massive escalation of the arms race, with both sides working frantically to build weapons of the most destructive kind.

It's a plan to avoid dealing with disarmament by arguing that nuclear war is being rendered impossible ... by stepping up the arms race to the most frantic level seen so far.

Part and parcel of Reagan's insane proposals was an alleged massive Soviet build up in Cuba and Nicaragua. This amounted to an airfield and Soviet MIGs in Cuba. To combat these you obviously need laser beams in space.

ALAN LENTON describes how US military strategy from now until the end of the century has been centred on the first use of nuclear weapons.

COMMUNISM IS '... the focus of evil in the modern world': Ronald Reagan speaking at the conference of fundamentalist preachers in Florida earlier this month.

That Reagan is a warmongering cowboy has been obvious for a long time. The extent to which his war drive programme relates to the strategic needs of the US in the '80s is more difficult to appreciate.

The period from 1968 to 1975 was one of considerable setback for US imperialism. The period began with the rise of the working class struggles in Europe, and culminated with the defeat of the US in Vietnam.

### Armed

To deal with this problem the 'Nixon Doctrine' was introduced. The 'Nixon Doctrine' was a two pronged offensive. On one hand it envisaged a series of heavily armed pro-imperialist client states to provide a local 'police force' (for instance South Vietnam, Iran, and Israel).

On the other an attempt was made to neutralise the Chinese and Soviet bureaucracies through the diplomatic offensive of 'detente'.

By the end of the Carter administration this policy was in a shambles. Client states were collapsing around Carter's ears, and it had become obvious that the Soviet Union lacked the capacity to contain the national liberation struggles breaking out — particularly in Central America.

Reagan's election programme featured the most

staggering military build-up in peacetime history. The cost? \$1½ trillion, to be spent over 5 years. After 5 years, it was calculated, the US would be spending a twelfth of its gross national product on arms.

The aim of the war drive is very clear. It is to achieve a level of strategic superiority over the Soviet Union. This will allow the US a free hand at the tactical level to intervene against the colonial revolution.

The tactical forces are being reorganised and re-equipped to fit them for this role. The key to this process is a technical revolution in the accuracy of weapons.

Conventional explosives are getting more powerful and nuclear explosives are getting smaller and more specific in their effects. On the nuclear side, the neutron bomb is typical of this trend, minimising the blast effect and maximising radiation.

In conventional weapons the US 'Daisy Cutter' and fuel-air bombs produce blast effects which are similar in scale to those of smaller nuclear weapons.

This has had its effect on the US armed forces tactical doctrine, so that the difference between the use of nuclear and conventional explosive is a matter of choice for the battlefield commander.

At the strategic level there are three missile and two bomber systems under development. The missile systems are MX, Trident D5, and Pershing II.

The systems are all extremely accurate — capable of knocking out Soviet missile silos.

As such all of the systems can be characterised as *first strike* weapons, knocking out missiles in their silos during a pre-emptive attack.

Of the three systems, the Pershing II missile is undoubtedly the most dangerous. Based in West Germany, it will be only five minutes flight from European Russia. This makes it the first strike weapon par excellence.

Unfortunately its role has been overlooked by the movement in this country because it is not going to be stationed here.

### Zone

Closely linked to the drive for strategic superiority is the struggle to control the zone of space surrounding earth.

Three quarters of all satellites are military satellites. This is the *real* significance of the space shuttle. Three quarters of the shuttle flights are booked for military projects.

The military use of satellites includes communications, early warning, surveillance, weather and navigational reference. Without satellite mapping accurate terrain-following weapons like cruise would not be possible.

The core of the tactical component of the US war drive is the *Rapid Deployment Force* (RDF). The RDF is the US's spearhead for intervention in the colonial revolution.

It is the unimpeded use of this force that the US is trying to achieve by obtaining strategic nuclear superiority. What they are in effect saying to the

Soviet Union is that any attempt by the Soviet Union to oppose the RDF will result in nuclear war.

The RDF is nuclear capable. It is made up of components from the US army, airforce, navy, and marine corps. As its name suggests it will be able to intervene anywhere in the world at very short notice.

Militarily the whole war drive is tied together by the US Army's new AirLand Battle Doctrine. This is the military reflection of US *political* strategy discussed earlier in this article.

Air Land Battle Doctrine emphasises seizing the initiative, and is

designed around small, nuclear equipped forces. The logical outcome of the doctrine is the use of pre-emptive strike.

Air Land Doctrine not only advises early strikes, but specifies that they should be deep in enemy territory.

The sheer scale of the US war drive is difficult to grasp at first sight, but once its political essence is understood — to neutralise the Soviet Union, and to directly intervene in the process of the colonial revolution — then it becomes easier to cope with its dimensions.

## Convention against Trident

By Martin Meteyard (vice-chair, Anti-Trident Campaign)

AN ANTI-TRIDENT convention is being planned for June as the next stage in building up opposition to the next generation of British nuclear weapons.

The convention is being organised by the Anti-Trident Campaign, which changed its name from the Scottish Campaign against Trident last December as part of a plan to step up action against Trident throughout Britain.

Already delegates from north of England peace groups have started to attend monthly planning

meetings of the campaign's executive in Glasgow.

The Convention is intended to take the campaign beyond the existing audience of the peace movement and into the organisations which represent people in their daily lives — trade unions, tenants associations, community groups, churches etc.

These are being approached to send delegates to give a real mass basis for discussing future action needed to stop Trident.

The Convention will be held at Kelvin Hall Arena, Glasgow, from 11am to 4.30pm on Saturday 4 June.

● Further details: *Anti-Trident Campaign*, 420 Sauciehall St., Glasgow G2. 041-332-3141.

24 MAY

# Action call by Greenham women

**THE GREENHAM COMMON peace women have called for European-wide action by women on 24 May, International Women's Day for Disarmament. Following the backing of the Women's TUC representing three million working women for the Greenham peace camp the opportunity exists to win the labour movement to support for their call.**

In 1982 some 90 different events took place in Britain on 24 May. The events were comparatively small — from a schoolgirl wearing an armband into her exams to full-scale processions through city centres.

The Malvinas crisis was at its height at that time.

By Valerie Coultas

The original idea for a decentralised European women's day of action emerged through meetings on the Copenhagen to Paris Women's Peace March in 1981.

Because there was already a widespread network of women's groups active in the anti-missiles movement it was possible to circulate a chain letter.

The chain letter in Britain has now been written for this year's International Women's Day of Action and the debate has begun among women about what kind of events we should have this year.

It's not new for women to organise and act separately on the question of peace. In 1915, while the labour leaders of Germany, England, France and Belgium urged their members to fight in defence of the fatherland, over 2000 women from socialist parties in Europe, America, and Canada met in the Hague to protest against the war.

In the '20s and '30s Lida Heyman, Anita Ausburg and Virginia

Woolf began to link feminist and anti-military ideologies.

In the '50s in response to the 'cold war' new organisations of women sprang up — the Voice of Women and Women's Strike for Peace.

Women mailed their babies teeth to congressmen in protest at the effects of radioactive fallout and held massive demonstrations against NATO in Amsterdam and Paris.

Crucial to building this year's day of action in a more popular way than occurred last year, is to win the backing of the labour movement. This would not take the action out of the hands of women, but would promote the involvement of women in the factories, offices and shops who will only be mobilised if they are approached through their trade union representatives.

## Grips

What the labour movement has to come to grips with is the fantastic inspiration it gives to women to see women taking the lead on an issue, pushing their ways of organising to the fore, giving their content to the demands of the anti-missiles movement.

Feminists have highlighted women's opposition to militarism and related it to their role as women. Women create life say the feminists. Men destroy it.

This is simplistic but it has struck a chord among women. Women, because of their social conditioning, and their social position, are less likely to identify with militarism. Their pacifism is the pacifism of the oppressed who don't want to die to protect the profits of the capitalists.

## Movement

The labour movement in Britain and throughout Europe has every interest in pushing this movement among women forward.

Only the organised labour movement has the power to stop the missiles in Europe, but it needs every ally it can get to achieve this end. 24 May will be a day where women make their statement against the missiles — in workplaces, streets, housing estates and schools.

● On the evening of Sunday 27 April women from the Brighton Women's Peace Camp came to London to establish London-wide co-ordination for the 24 May Women's Day for Disarmament.

The Brighton group now has contacts in 15 countries, and an international kit is being distributed as well as a nationwide kit of suggestions for activity on that day.

ACTTS is promising to give its women members the day off. NALGO executive is discussing what action to take. Labour CND and the Labour Liaison Disarmament Committee have already given their backing and are calling on the Labour Party NEC to do likewise on Wednesday 27 April.

Write to 16 Arundel Street, Brighton for your kit and ring 01-226 1474 for regional contacts, leaflets etc.

## Labour movement must support Greenham action

**THIS EASTER thousands and thousands of people will be demonstrating against nuclear lunacy.**

Inspired by the women of Greenham Common a 14-mile human chain will stretch from Greenham via Aldermaston to the Burghfield Trident factory. The day after swarms of people will take over George Square in Glasgow in a die-in which will show how nuclear war will wipe out entire populations in our cities.

The anti-nuclear movement has never been so strong in Britain. And it can and must become even stronger.

On 24 May the Greenham women have

called for a Women's Day of Disarmament. Here is the chance for the TUC and the Labour Party to put into practice the policies agreed at their conferences last year.

Young people have been the backbone of this movement. On 7 May Youth CND will be organising a mass demonstration and festival in Brockwell Park. This will give us the chance to win thousands of new youth to the campaign for unilateralism.

Instead of sitting back the TUC and the Labour Party National Executive should get off their backsides and campaign for 24 May to be a mass day of action against nuclear weapons.

They can make sure that the labour movement is seen to be leading the fight against mass destruction — a policy that did Ossie O'Brien no harm in Darlington. Furthermore by putting

itself at the heart and the centre of this campaign it can make sure the heroic actions of the women at Greenham have a victorious conclusion.

Helen John from Greenham Common told *Socialist Action*: 'I would like to see mass backing from the trade union movement for the Women's Day of Disarmament. We hope this will provide the necessary spur to the trade union movement in general for their own initiatives for the arms escalation to be brought to a halt.'

'Multilateralism is an objective we all hold. But it can only be achieved if you are prepared to take the first step. A unilateralist is a multilateralist who means it.'

The women at Greenham have shown they mean it. Now the TUC and the Labour Party must show they also mean it.

**GREENHAM COMMON**



August/September 1981: the march from Cardiff to Greenham Common.



January 1983: dancing on the silos

## Stand together: Easter activities



Here is a reminder of the activities planned for the Easter weekend:

● **THURSDAY 31 MARCH** Demonstration — Greenham Common USAF base and of Burghfield ROF from 6am. For organised groups only, and each group should have a support group. People should aim to arrive on Wednesday evening for final briefing sessions and report to the main support areas. Groups from the North West, West, Wales, West Midlands, South West, West and Ireland should go to Greenham; groups from London, the South East, East Anglia, East Midlands, South Midlands, and North should go to Burghfield.

● **FRIDAY 1 APRIL** A human chain linking Greenham and Burghfield via Aldermaston. On disembarking from coaches, people should walk

towards Aldermaston — which will be clearly signposted. Toilets, medical facilities, etc. will be available at fourteen 'stations' situated en route at one-mile intervals. Link-up from these stations at 1pm. Later: Aldermaston Festival — bring puppets, music, games, decorations etc. Please pick up your litter.

● **SATURDAY 2 APRIL** A demonstration and carnival in Glasgow. Assemble from 11.15am in Cochrane St. (by George Square, city centre) for a mass 'die-in'; proceeding to Kelvingrove Park (two miles) for the carnival. Music, speakers, theatre, stalls, children's events, etc.

● **SUNDAY 3 APRIL** A human chain along the perimeter of Faslane nuclear submarine base on the Clyde. Transport from Glasgow and overnight accommodation will be available.

# LPYS conference CND key to building Labour's youth

ALTHOUGH the Labour Party Young Socialists remains a key target for the right wing purge delegates at the Bridlington annual conference will mark a further increase in the growth of Labour's youth organisation. The main issues facing the conference are how to defend the LPYS against the NEC's attacks, cuts in education and nuclear disarmament.

Record numbers of motions have been received by the conference organisers. 'LPYS rights' (the witch hunt) was the subject of 22 resolutions followed by education cuts (21) and disarmament (20).

The LPYS has been under almost constant attack since the last Labour Party conference and the installation of a right-wing majority on the NEC's youth committee.

In particular the budget for *Socialist Youth*, the LPYS's paper, has been cut by £11,000 and this money 'transferred' to the National Organisation of Labour Students.

The purpose of the right wing is to create a division between students and other youth.

However the transfer of funds is also a straightforward attack on the LPYS in the context of the expulsion of the five *Militant* editors and the dumping of socialist

policies.

Further actions by the right are on the cards like attempts to dictate who the LPYS is able to elect to the NEC; the autonomy of its own national con-

**By Richard Rozanski (Hackney North LPYS)**

ference; and the possible restriction of the rights of the National Committee and the local branches.

Despite these problems two major events have been organised by the LPYS in the last year. The first was a 3000-strong lobby of the House of Commons shortly before the last LPYS conference and the other was a demonstration in Liverpool last October, which attracted 7000 youth.

But progress since last conference has been disappointing given the potential. Much of this is attributable to the LPYS's leadership's reticence in building YCND. Many recruits could have been



Photo: JOHN HARRIS

The LPYS on the march in Liverpool last year

made from the hundreds and thousands of youth who support CND.

Youth CND, the youth organisation of CND, refuses to stop growing. Next month will see a massive youth festival on 7 May in Brockwell Park in London.

The response of the LPYS to this mass movement has been very mixed. In some areas the LPYS has taken up YCND events enthusiastically, such as the march from Manchester to the Labour Party conference last year and the march from Oxford to Greenham Common this month.

But *Militant*-led branches have been much less willing to take up the campaign. Statements of support from the national leadership of the LPYS are to be welcomed but now that support needs to be translated into action.

## Eager

That paper support is due to the thousands of members eager for action. Likewise there has been movement in the positions of the *Militant* leadership on the necessity for the self-organisation of blacks and women. This is conceded, grudgingly, however, not recognising that the working class is already divided along lines of sex and race and that is necessary for those op-

pressed by that division to organise themselves to overcome it and achieve unity in action.

This is why the *Militant* fails to place the national question at the centre of the struggle of the Irish working class.

## Positive

Despite these problems there is a real possibility that the conference can answer some of these questions in a positive fashion. The leadership of the LPYS was hamstrung by *Militant*'s position on the witch hunt. They were opposed to expulsions, but if the push came to a shove CLPs should implement them even of their own people.

As the expulsions have happened *Militant* realised that if the NEC succeeded the individuals concerned would not get back into the Party for a long time and that they would be followed by others.

They also realised that they could not defeat the witch hunt by themselves and have agreed to joint campaign activity with the broadly-based Labour Against the Witch-hunt, which they previously denounced as divisive.

These developments are entirely positive and should be extended. The LPYS has to link up with YCND, and declare in favour of the Greenham

Common women.

This approach should be extended to the black youth fighting for their rights by building on last year's LPYS-convened black workers' conference.

The LPYS should also convene a women's conference to harness the enthusiasm of the many young women coming forward into politics, many of them under the banner of CND.

There is a need to win the LPYS to a socialist campaign for a Labour victory, throwing LPYS branches into the battle to defeat the Tories, defend socialist policies and defeat the witch-hunt.

## LPYS fringe meetings

- **Youth CND.** Saturday 2 April lunch time. Southcliffe Hotel. Speakers: Jim Coultts, Judith Bonner (YCND National Committee).
- **Labour Committee on Ireland.** Saturday 2 April. 6pm. Southcliffe Hotel. Speakers: Pete Cashman (LCI Youth officer), Dave Douglas (NUM) plus ex-soldier.
- **Revolution meeting.** Sunday 3 April. Evening. Wingrove Hotel.
- **Gay Young Socialists.** Sunday 3 April lunch-time. Venue to be announced.

## Why the left should build the YS

OVER 2000 youth, representing 493 local branches, are expected to attend the LPYS annual conference at Bridlington over Easter weekend.

Welcome visitors to the conference will be Tony Benn and Dennis Skinner addressing the pre-conference rally. Not so welcome will be Dennis Howell, the right-wing chair of the NEC's youth committee, who will be giving the 'fraternal' address on behalf of the NEC.

Howell, supported by Foot, Kinnock and other former 'lefts' on the NEC has spearheaded a series of attacks on the rights of the

throw resources into this. Forces like the Labour Coordinating Committee and the CLPD have not supported this approach. They have already distanced themselves from the campaign to prevent leading *Militant* supporters being expelled from the Party.

The National Organisation of Labour Students' leadership has lined up with the right-



Photo: JOHN HARRIS

**John Golding — attacks on YS**  
wing on the NEC's Youth Committee — actually voting to end YS control of their campaign funds! The Clause 4 grouping is highly influential in the LCC, CLPD and NOLS.

At this YS conference the LCC will be attempting to launch 'a non-trotskyist left-wing group to operate inside the LPYS'. But we are confident that this will be treated with the contempt deserved of people whose 'left' credentials don't even stretch as far as defending the YS against the likes of Dennis Howell.

## Drive

What is necessary is a serious drive to unite those in the YS to build a mass campaigning youth wing with the left-wing of the party campaign for socialist policies and an end to the witch hunt. Campaigns like Labour Against the Witch-Hunt and Socialists for a Labour Victory begin to make this possible.

The left should come behind the small forces with a similar approach in the LPYS and create conditions whereby *Militant* either adopts a non-sectarian mass campaigning approach or gives way to a leadership which will.

Photo: DAVID FOWLER

## Militant witch-hunted in Blackburn

On 12 March the *Guardian* printed an article attempting to expose supporters of the *Militant* newspaper in Blackburn Labour Party. Local Party member Michael Gregory claimed to be a recent defector from *Militant* and has produced a dossier of 40 pages including alleged minutes of *Militant* meetings.

Blackburn MP Jack Straw, a member of the Tribune Group of MPs, has stated his confidence in the authenticity of the dossier, and that the *Militant* is an unconstitutional organisation.

## Case

Blackburn CLP decided by a vote of 34-19 on Monday 14 March that there was a case for *Militant* supporters to answer. This will now be prepared by the national executive for the next CLP meeting, which will decide whether to take disciplinary action.

Previously the constituency has had a policy against the register and against expulsions. However, the Gregory dossier has now created a witch-hunt atmosphere.

Dick Witcombe spoke to PETE HARRIS, a supporter of *Militant* in Blackburn.

'Gregory's dossier is a pack of lies. Gregory is an ex-public school boy who only rejoined the Labour party in 1982. He's a poor

man's Eddie Shoestring who has misled people as to his politics, and shown by his actions that he wants to use the party for his own ends.

'The first we had seen of any dossier was in the local press. Jack Straw immediately corroborated it as true — he's not once attempted to contact any of the people cited in the dossier. There is an unholy alliance to have a go at us.

'This has done the local party a lot of damage, not only the publicity in the press, but also the mood in the Party is one of hostility and suspicion. In Queens Park Ward, Councillor Sylvia Liddle has already jumped the gun by moving the expulsion of the five *Militant* supporters on the CLP. Some people are talking about the expulsion of all the 16 people mentioned in the dossier.

'The total unity of the left to fight this witch hunt is necessary. We want an opportunity locally to answer the charges. So far we have not been allowed to put our case. Resolutions should be sent urging the Blackburn Labour Party to oppose a witch-hunt.

'Any action against the *Militant* in Blackburn will be a green light for the right wing in other constituencies.'

● **Resolutions should be sent to: Blackburn CLP, LP Offices, 36 Church St, Blackburn. Copy to: Pete Harris, 35 Westminster Court, Blackburn.**



# The way forward for Labour democracy fight

THE CAMPAIGN for Labour Party Democracy has earned a formidable reputation as the champion of party democracy. Since the mid-'70s it has organised and led the fight for automatic reselection of MPs, democratic election of the party leader, and more control over the manifesto.

Yet, at a time when the witch hunt openly threatens these gains, CLPD is increasingly reluctant to lead the struggle for socialist policies. Carol Turner discussed CLPD's future with WALTER WOLFGANG, a member of the CLPD executive committee.

This year's annual meeting of CLPD was a controversial one. What did you make of it?

The significant point of the AGM was that it asserted the right of groups to organise inside the party (the Greenwich motion), and voted down the position for a democratically controlled register with expulsions in the hands of the conference instead of the NEC (the Withington motion).

The executive, whilst it supported Greenwich, also supported Withington. It did this against the advice of the out-going executive.

The AGM urged constituencies to refuse to expel party members. At the same time, it voted for an executive which, by and large, agreed with the Withington position, and it decided by a narrow majority to register the campaign.

Since the AGM, the executive have failed to act on the decisions of the annual meeting, haven't they? In fact, at the London Regional Conference they supported a motion which was the same as Withington.

The executive maintain that the AGM voted both ways. This is a lot of nonsense. The AGM clearly supported Greenwich and rejected Withington.

Nevertheless, the executive has decided to prioritise an omnibus motion also passed at the AGM, which included a clause about expulsions being determined under the impartial conditions laid down by the party constitution and the right of appeal to annual conference.

They voted down my motion which would have rejected registration outright.

The executive's behaviour has convinced some CLPD supporters that the campaign has signed its own death warrant. Do you think CLPD has a future?

The executive have broken the AGM mandate by not giving proper prominence to the main democratic issue facing the party this year — the registration and expulsions. It might not be dead, but it's trying very hard.

**Ignoring the decisions of its own AGM is certainly a sharp practice for a campaign that's about democracy.**

Ignoring the decisions of its own AGM is certainly a sharp practice for a campaign that's about democracy. It's marginalised itself for this year. Perhaps it can retrieve this later on.

CLPD has done good work in the past, and the present officers must be given the credit for this. But they seem unable to handle comparatively minor differences in a way which holds together the campaign.

Surely the question of expulsions isn't a minor difference? if CLPD has fought the witch hunt,

Labour Against the Witch hunt wouldn't be necessary as a separate campaign.

I agree. LAW wouldn't be necessary. LAW had to be set up because CLPD wasn't doing its job.

But the differences inside the CLPD are ones about tactics, how to fight the witch hunt. Instead of seeing this, the executive majority are attempting to enforce a split which the left have resisted. Some of the executive are very concerned about this, and considering what action they should take now.

I can't agree that the differences are primarily tactical. The executive majority have a consistent position of not organising to protect individuals and constituencies against the witch hunt. For instance, the advertisement that CLPD intends to put out jointly with the Labour Coordinating Committee argues for unity around conference policies and the existing leadership. And it contains the 'impartial conditions' clause on expulsions. It is existing because the existing leadership won't unite around conference policy that this formula is one-sided — it favours only Labour's right wing leadership.

The CLPD/LCC statement's not a draft I agree with — it's pompous, it protests too much. On the 'impartial conditions' clause alone, I wouldn't be prepared to sign it.

The executive will claim that people have signed because they agree with registration. But the ad contains a lot of general sentiments which most people will agree with. They'll sign it on that basis.

Holding firm to a Withington position isn't dealing with the main concerns of CLPD supporters. Because of this, the executive is losing a lot of credibility. The joint ad won't help.



## End racist deportations!

SEVEN THOUSAND people marched through London on Sunday 27 March to demand an end to racist deportations and the repeal of the 1971 Immigration and 1981 Nationality Acts.

Called by the Campaign Against Racist Laws, the march was supported by black organisations like the Indian Workers Association and the Bangladeshi Workers Association.

The Newham 8 campaign, which addressed the rally in Trafalgar Square, brought a vociferous contingent with a giant yellow banner proclaiming 'self defence is no offence'. The Colin Roach and Mohammed Idrish campaign were also out in force.

Support from the labour movement came with Civil and Public Servants Association and transport union banners at the front of the march and a small number of Labour Party and trades council branches.

But more labour movement backing is needed if the racist attacks of the Tories are to be thrown back. This is

emphasised again by the publication last week of another set of racist crime statistics. These are designed to reinforce the myth that black people are responsible for muggings.

Crucial facts go unreported — black people are most often the victims of violent crime; the figures released deal only with 4 per cent of crime; and they reflect police bias to black arrests.

At the end of the CARL march, Fiona MacTaggart from the Joint Council for the Welfare of Immigrants explained that despite the change of the immigration laws — to allow British women not born here to bring in non-British husbands — in the first few weeks more than half such husbands have been refused entry into Britain.

Speaking on behalf of the Labour Party, Joan Lester warned marchers to rely on their own campaigning and not promises from any party to get racist laws repealed. She can rest assured, black activists will continue to fight racism from whoever is in power. It is up to all labour movement activists to do the same.



## Rape horror in US

MORE THAN 90,000 rapes are officially reported each year in the US. Undoubtedly, as in Britain, many more attacks go unreported.

But one particular attack has rocked the country and enraged women.

In New Bedford, Massachusetts, a woman went into a bar for

cigarettes and stopped for a drink with a woman friend. The friend left, and soon afterwards the woman was raped countless times by men who held her in the bar for two hours.

As the woman was raped and tortured, more than 20 men continued drinking around

the bar, occasionally taunting and cheering. No one left to call for help.

A march of 2,500 women demanding retribution took place later under the banner 'Rape is not a spectator sport'.

The bar has been closed down, four rapists have been charged and two other men indicted as accessories. So far, there have been no charges against the rest of the animals in the bar.

## Protection for rape victims?

NEW HOME Office rules were issued to police last week on the treatment of women who have been raped. These

rules of conduct have been drawn up after the TV documentary Police last year showed cops grilling a woman who had been raped — questioning her about her sex life and generally treating her like a criminal.

The new rules of conduct mean that women are guaranteed anonymity from the moment they go to the police.

They also propose that questioning be done by experienced officers, with a policewoman present; that medical examinations take place as quickly as possible in a proper clinical environment; that women can choose to be examined by a woman doctor and that they be allowed to consult with a social service, medical or voluntary agency before they leave the station.



Sexist ads promote rape

Although this code of conduct is to be welcomed, it goes nowhere near far enough in combatting the stigma and prejudice women who have been raped have to face.

One section states that women should not usually be questioned about previous sexual experience, and that it will

probably be necessary to ask questions about her relationship with the rapist.

The assumption being, presumably, that if the woman is the wife, girlfriend, relative or friend of the rapist then this affects the truthfulness of her allegation.

## Women bite back

AT A recent symposium on 'Women and the Media' in Jerusalem, a current TV advert showing bra-less women in T-shirts juggling grapefruit was discussed.

Shulamit Aloni said: 'I will accept this ad as non-exploitative if they will also show a naked man running across the screen to advertise eggs!' (Jerusalem Post International, 13 March)

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

Photo: CAPTION: ULLUSTIGUARIA (Photo)



## Patrol by fire

US TROOPS in Lebanon are coming close to armed clashes with the Israelis.

The reason is not a sudden upsurge of anti-Zionism among the Marines, but Israeli patrol tactics — which consist of firing off thousands of rounds from machine guns from the tanks and armoured vehicles.

US troops by the Sidon Road in Beirut have had ricochets from Israeli gunners flying over their heads. At least five civilians have already been killed by this Israeli patrol tactic.

## Free fall

THE FRENCH Communist Party once again did badly at the ballot box during the municipal elections a couple of weeks ago.

In the 'red suburbs' of Paris — places like St Ouen, Saint-Denis, and Aubervilliers the Communist Party vote dropped by 10 per cent.

The decline in support for the CP seems almost irreversible. The ever-optimistic CP leader George Marchais however once again has an answer.

French Communists are going to launch a 'serious and sustained' campaign against the 'over-concentration' of immigrants in working class areas. Which of course will dramatically increase the CP's popularity with the rest of the French left.

## Sinn Fein victory

THE SOCIAL Democratic and Labour Party (SDLP) in Northern Ireland suffered a significant defeat last week when they heavily lost a council by-election to Sinn Fein in Omagh.

It is the first council seat contested by Sinn Fein for over 60 years and demonstrates the continued mass support at the polls for the Republican movement.

Weakened by the defection of Gerry Fitt, and already shaken by the success of Sinn Fein during the Assembly election, the leaders of the SDLP must be quaking in their boots.

Irish premier Garret FitzGerald is trying desperately to re-furbish their image by including them in 'cross border talks with all democratic parties'.

## Loony Ronnie II

LATEST in the US weapons build up: a new type of battle cruiser able to carry 180 sea-launched cruise missiles, the DDG 51.

The new cruiser

could be operational by the end of the decade, and will operate in European waters.

While continuing to advocate the zero-option of removing all land-based intermediate missiles the United States is redoubling its efforts to hit the Soviet Union with nuclear missiles which will be undisturbed.

## Snubbed

BRITAIN got a new ambassador from El Salvador last week. As usual the Foreign Office arranged the usual diplomatic booze-up — the formal presentation of the ambassador's papers to the Court of St. James.

These shindigs are usually bustling events as the diplomatic community gathers round the trough.

This time only five other diplomats turned up — all from Central America.

When the Nicaraguan ambassador presented his papers more than 70 diplomats turned up.

## Strauss out

TO THE RELIEF of all European citizens with a modicum of sanity, Franz Joseph Strauss, the extreme right-wing leader of the Bavarian CSU, has refused a post in the German cabinet and gone back in a huff to being Prime Minister of Bavaria.

Strauss had demanded that if his electoral partners, Kohl's CDU, were victorious in the general election, then he should become foreign minister.

As we know, Kohl did win, but has to rely on the support of the Free Democrats who refused point blank to tolerate the tubby Bavarian gauleiter.

Kohl then reluctantly offered Strauss any post he wanted — except the post of foreign, economics or finance minister, and made it well known that Strauss was especially welcome to the post of minister of agriculture.

Rumours suggest that Strauss, who is now 67, is starting to forget his lines, that his speech is getting more indistinct, and that during meetings his spectacles fall off the end of his nose and that he appears to be asleep.

## More executions

FIVE more people were executed by firing squad in Guatemala City last week after a secret military tribunal.

Fifteen people have now been executed in this fashion since Rios Montt came to power a year ago.

Meanwhile 85 people are known to have been killed last week by the death squads in El Salvador.

# Nicaragua faces danger of all-out war

THE INCURSIONS into Nicaragua by right-wing insurgents could lead to an all-out war with Honduras. That's the danger which the Sandinista government is pointing to, as fighting with the 1,200 or so insurgents continues in the provinces of Jinotega, Nueva Segovia and Matagalpa.

Although claims by the rebel National Democratic Front (FDN) that they have control of these three provinces are almost certainly untrue, fighting with the rebels is far from over.

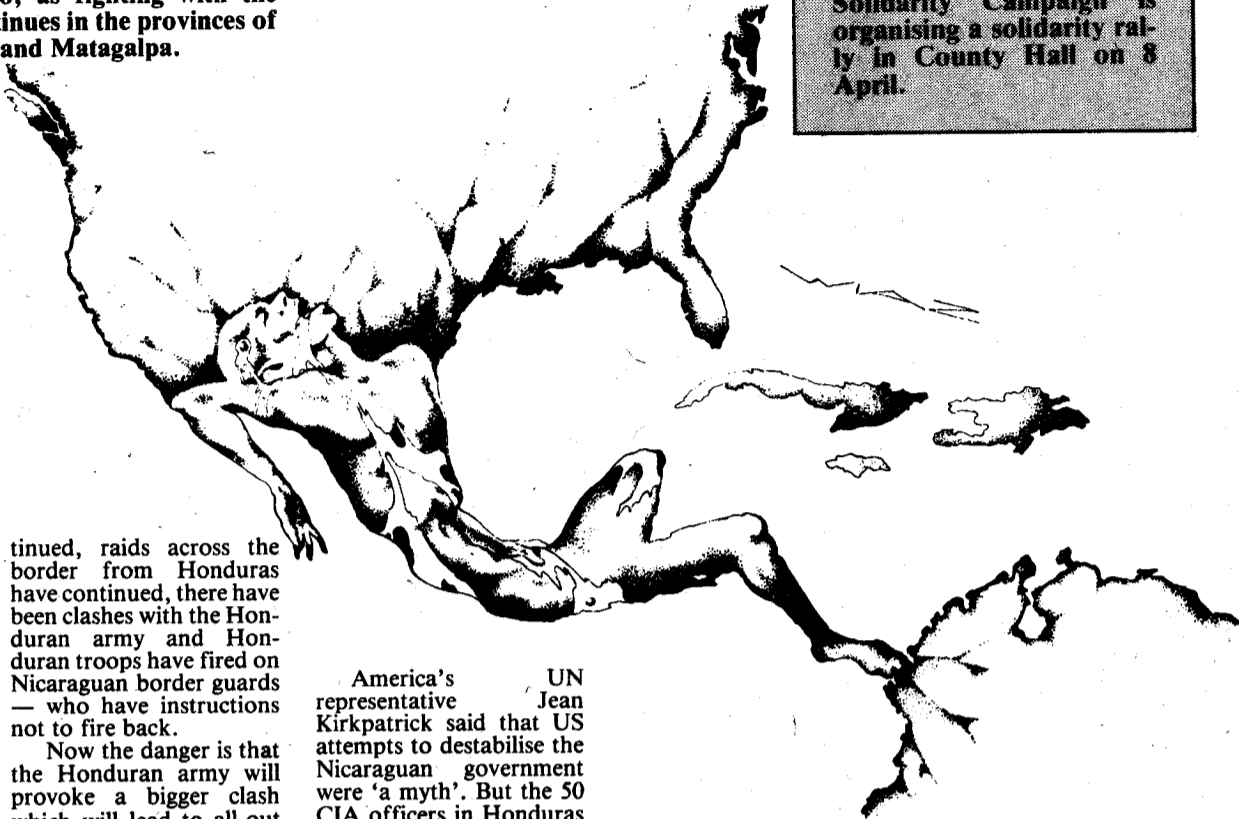
The insurgents are adopting hit and run tactics and are being gradually encircled by Sandinista defence forces.

As Interior Minister Tomas Borge pointed out last week the danger is that the present raids are a feint designed to draw away the Sandinista army while a more substantial invasion is prepared on the Pacific coast.

## Raids

Since the current incursions began, utilising Honduran aircraft and equipment left behind by US troops in Honduras in January, it has become clear that the present series of raids do not in themselves constitute a serious attempt to overthrow the government militarily. The forces involved are far too small to make that a realistic possibility.

But while the fighting inside Nicaragua has con-



tinued, raids across the border from Honduras have continued, there have been clashes with the Honduran army and Honduran troops have fired on Nicaraguan border guards — who have instructions not to fire back.

Now the danger is that the Honduran army will provoke a bigger clash which will lead to all-out war.

Last week Nicaragua called an urgent meeting of the UN security council to expose the 'creeping invasion' being prepared by the United States in collaboration with Honduras.

America's UN representative Jean Kirkpatrick said that US attempts to destabilise the Nicaraguan government were 'a myth'. But the 50 CIA officers in Honduras and the huge amounts of US equipment being supplied to the counter-revolutionaries are not a myth.

Now the United States is planning to build a huge radar complex in Honduras which will be able to

monitor virtually all the countries in the Central American isthmus.

Meanwhile in Britain the Labour Party failed to get Tory approval to hold an emergency debate on Nicaragua in the Commons last week.

Britain has loyally backed up the United States in the United Nations — a determined campaign to expose Britain's complicity with the US war in Central America is needed.

## Fourth anniversary of the Grenadian revolution

ON 13 MARCH this year Grenadians celebrated the fourth anniversary of the revolution which overthrew the dictator Gairy.

This year's events were supposed to be low-key — the People's Revolutionary Government had decided to make next year's anniversary grander to coincide with the opening of the new international airport.

But at the last moment the scale of the celebration was stepped up, to mobilise people against the escalating US attacks on Grenada.

During his 'space wars' speech Ronald Reagan accused little Grenada — a tiny island of just 115,000 people — of harbouring Cuban and Russian military bases. This is an outrageous lie.

On 11 March the United States Navy began massive manoeuvres using Puerto Rico as the focal

point but sending a large flotilla to the waters surrounding Grenada.

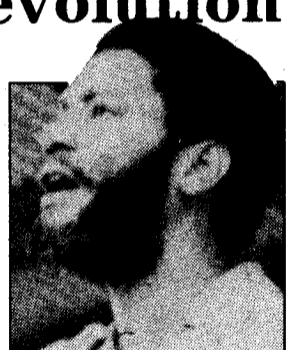
## From Roger Roberts in Grenada

These latest events are part of an ever-increasing campaign against the Grenada revolution by the United States. Defence secretary Casper Weinberger and Vice-President George Bush are among those who in recent weeks have made ferocious attacks on Grenada.

The United States even circulated a long position paper attacking Grenada at the meeting of the Non-Aligned foreign ministers meeting in Nicaragua.

At a rally on 13 March Prime Minister Maurice Bishop stated that the government had realised that more earnest and determined attempts at destabilisation 'were bound to come at some time or another'.

He called for vigilance in the coming months against what he described as 'a more desperate and



Maurice Bishop

dangerous imperialism'. The Grenadian people, he said, 'are ready to fight at any time.'

## Miners' union supports El Salvador conference

A LARGE delegation from the Nottinghamshire and North Derbyshire area, including NUM members, is expected for the El Salvador labour movement conference on 14 May. This follows a successful tour of the area by a Salvadorean representative of the FDR, Jaime Lopez.

During his week long stay Jaime met leaders of the Nottingham and Derbyshire NUM — including national executive members Peter Heathfield and Henry Richardson. He spoke to branch officials at seven pits.

The national union is backing the conference with two executive committee delegates, a £100 donation and publicity.

The response at local level is equally positive. The Derbyshire NUM is discussing sending delegates, Nottinghamshire executive has circulated conference leaflets to all branches and Yorkshire and Northumberland executive committees are sending delegates.

By Andy Miller

Jaime's visit was met with keen interest from the miners. At Gedling colliery near Nottingham, they crammed into the union office to hear him. At Blidworth colliery an impromptu meeting was held with miners staying on at the end of the dayshift.

Jaime also met striking hosiery workers on picket duty at Daleside Hadden in Nottingham

(see report on page 14). He addressed meetings of Chesterfield and Nottingham trades councils.

At the end of the tour, trade unionists and Labour Party members came together with Youth CND and members of the exiled Chilean community for a social evening. Jaime repeated his message of the week in his speech.

'The struggle is reaching greater levels of confrontation between the United States and the El Salvador people. The US is really afraid that if it doesn't increase its intervention in Central America, the repressive regimes will collapse in a matter of months.'

'The policy of the US is failing in all fields because of the resistance of the people. Our struggle will go on until final victory.'

**LABOUR MOVEMENT CONFERENCE ON EL SALVADOR**  
COUNTY HALL LONDON MAY 14

**SPEAKERS** Judith Hart  
Jenny Pearce (author of 'Under the Eagle')  
Salvador Moncada (FDR Representative)  
Salvadorean Trade Unionists

**DELEGATES invited from Trade Union & Political Party branches**

**FURTHER INFORMATION from:**  
El Salvador Solidarity Campaign  
29 Islington Park Street  
London N1 Tel: 01-359 2270

# “THE ACTION INTERVIEW”

**THE ELECTION of Owen Carron as MP for Fermanagh and South Tyrone, following the death of Bobby Sands, was another blow to British domination of Ireland.**

**BOB WHITEHEAD spoke to him.**

**What are the main campaigns which Sinn Fein is currently engaged in?**

Obviously the number one is the national issue, the fight for self-determination for the Irish people. Second are economic issues — the fact that because of the national issue people are deprived socially — the housing situation in the North of Ireland, the poverty, the unemployment situation.

Both the Northern and Southern states in Ireland are unstable. This leads us to see that there must be a revolutionary solution to the whole problem — the establishment of a socialist republic in Ireland.

**Is the Northern Ireland Assembly an attempt to bring back Stormont — and to what extent is it succeeding?**

There is no doubt that the idea behind it is to restore Stormont rule and give credibility to the various shades of Unionism. The fact that Sinn Fein won 10 per cent of the votes made it more difficult to restore Stormont, because it forced the middle-class Catholic party, the Social Democratic Labour Party (SDLP) into a boycott of the Assembly.

The intervention and success of Sinn Fein has made the SDLP adopt a slightly 'harder' position and thus the Assembly is seen as a totally one-party body. That's made it untenable, even in the eyes of the Tory party in Britain who haven't given it real backing.

**So do you think it can be finished off for good in the near future?**

It's part of the total problem, just another initiative by Britain to prolong its presence in Ireland. No doubt when the Assembly goes, some other initiative will be brought out.

Just as if Britain were to ban plastic bullets from their arsenal, then they would come up with some other form of population control.

The Assembly could fall at any time due to the in-fighting of the various Unionist parties; or it might even survive to the general election. It hasn't any chance of success so long as the nationalist people refuse to recognise it.

**What's your attitude to the European Court of Enquiry into Northern Ireland?**

Our attitude is to welcome any body which will try to highlight the situation in Ireland, the character of British rule in Ireland, and the false situation of a contrived 6-county state. It's an 'artificially created state in Ireland which gives privilege and power to one section of the community over another.

But at the end of the day the only enquiry we want is one that will get Britain out of the North.

**Who is behind the enquiry?**

A number of Euro-MPs, particularly Irish MEPs like Silé De Valera, Neil Blaney and John Hume — those type of people — have forced this through the European parliament.

Of course the British government, the British establishment, both the Tory Party and the Labour Party front bench have gone into hysterics that anyone should want to investigate Northern Ireland. That's symptomatic of their attitude.

## Owen Carron MP



Photo: PETE GRANT

Owen Carron

**'Sinn Fein see the need, not just for Brits out, but for a socialist Ireland'**



Sinn Fein vastly increased its mass support during hunger strikes.

Photo: CHRIS STEELE-PERKINS (Camera work)

**What's the meaning of Fitzgerald's idea of 'a cross-border forum for democratic parties'?**

He's trying to bluff the public that he is actively doing something about Northern Ireland, whereas his vested interest is in maintaining British rule and in maintaining his own right-wing rule in the Irish Free State.

**So is he trying to undercut support for Sinn Fein and boost the SDLP?**

There's no doubt that he's trying to boost the SDLP. There's an attempt being made by both the British and

Irish governments to boost the morale of collaboration and compromise and that's good for Britain.

Even if Britain were to withdraw from Ireland tomorrow, they would be trying to do it on their own terms — the establishment of a neo-colonial state.

The SDLP and elements like Fine Gael and Fitzgerald in the South would fit into that because they would attempt to hold Ireland, economically and socially, for the British ruling class.

That is why you have seen the recent development in Sinn Fein, whereby Sinn Fein has taken a rather more left-wing trend, because they see the need not just for Brits out, but for

a socialist Ireland.

**Will Sinn Fein be contesting many seats in the coming general election?**

Our position is that we will contest as many seats as possible. Obviously there are some seats that wouldn't be worthwhile — but we'll be contesting at least 30 of the 78 seats.

The idea behind it is to maximise the Republican vote. There is a Republican vote — 60,000 or ten per cent voted Republican at the Assembly elections. If we got less, or just the same, we would have some problems, but we believe on the basis of the campaign last time and the work that we've done since then we

can increase the vote.

Of course there's a point beyond which we can't increase the vote because class interests will intervene. There's a hard core of middle-class voters who will stick with the SDLP.

On the other hand there are many people who voted SDLP down the years because there was no realistic alternative. Now we are in a position to show that there is support for an uncompromising stand.

**Has there been discussion about Sinn Fein's manifesto?**

In the Assembly elections we stood purely on the national issue, whereas in the general election we'll obviously be campaigning on social and economic issues. It's hard to ask people to campaign for 'Brits out' if you don't have bread in your cupboard or your roof is leaking.

**Would you take any seats in Parliament if you were elected?**

No, we would abstain, we see that as a fundamental principle. If we were to come to Westminster it would be seen in some way as giving legitimacy to the British presence in Ireland.

**Is Sinn Fein trying to build up support in the 26 counties or are you concentrating on the North?**

We see the 26 counties as being perhaps the most important to the development of the struggle, if only because the majority of the Irish people live there — and because you can't solve the national question without the support of those people.

Our problem at the moment is that we don't have a strategy in the 26 counties whereas we do have a strategy in the North.

In the South, Sinn Fein's abstentionist strategy doesn't work because the majority of the Irish people see the parliament as a legitimate parliament — and that is a problem that we have got to come to terms with. We've got to build an organisation which comes to terms with that situation, which can de-stabilise the southern state.

It's ripe for revolution, not just on the national question, but on the whole economic climate that pertains there; the severe budget that's been introduced; mill workers in Dublin who've been imprisoned for contempt of court; and the possibility of a general strike — there's tremendous potential in the 26 counties.

Unfortunately people are not fully organised for it at the present time.

**We've just seen the visit of Ken Livingstone to Ireland and lots of Labour Party support for the plastic bullets conference. How much interest is there in Sinn Fein in the development of the Labour Party's Irish policy?**

We would see hope in these developments in the Labour Party, and in the Labour left. The nationalist community would be grateful for developments in the labour movement on a broad level.

We would not see any hopes in a narrow movement in Britain which has been the case for years. The hope of building the withdrawal movement lies with a broad movement, the labour movement.

**What effect would the various statements made by Ken Livingstone have in the nationalist community?**

Livingstone is seen in the nationalist community as a hero. People will say 'well there's a guy who cares about us' — he's one of the very few national leaders who does.

There are many different facets to the struggle. We need the development of a revolutionary movement in Ireland, to destabilise the southern state and bring about the road to socialism in Ireland, and at the same time we need to build a withdrawal movement.

IN 1914, when the ruling classes of Europe pitted worker against worker in a war of plunder and conquest, social democratic leaders led workers to the slaughter to defend 'birthright and fatherland'.

Lenin called upon workers to turn the imperialist war into a civil war to overthrow the capitalist classes once and for all. The Irish put this into practice, rising in Easter week 1916 against their British rulers.

Revolutionaries at once supported the rebellion, but British leftists in the main failed to understand why they should. Dogmatically insisting that workers had to unite to overthrow capitalism they lined up with the British ruling class in denying the legitimacy of the Irish claim to self-determination, and turned their backs on the real anti-capitalist struggle that was unfolding in front of their eyes.

SYLVIA PANKHURST — revolu-

tionary, feminist and workers' leader — was a rare and honourable exception to the chauvinist British tradition. Her *Thought on Easter Week* published in the *Workers' Dreadnought* is a clear statement of her internationalism.

Socialist Action is pleased to reproduce this short work by Sylvia Pankhurst in commemoration of the heroic Irish freedom fighters of Easter 1916.

**JUSTICE can make but one reply to the Irish rebellion and that is to demand that Ireland shall be allowed to govern herself.**

**Differences of opinion in England, Scotland or Wales as to what measure of self-government Ireland is to have ought not to affect the matter — by the 'freedom of small nations' which the British Government has so bombastically sworn to defend, this is essentially a question for Ireland herself to decide.**

Let a popular vote be taken in Ireland as to whether she shall be an independent, self-governing republic, or an autonomous part of the British Empire like Australia and New Zealand. That is the only method by which the Irish difficulty can be solved.

The 'firm and vigorous administration' which *The Times* demands for Ireland, which we suspect is but another term for coercion, and such suggestions as that of the professing-Liberal, Professor Longford, that conscription shall be applied to Ireland, and that the Irish Rebels shall be set free on condition that they join the army, will only lead to graver trouble in the near future.

Ireland has been held in subjection by force too long, not to retaliate with what force she can, when provoked beyond a certain point.

Official reports in the very nature of things, are of course, one sided, and these are all that may be readily obtained from Ireland as yet. Therefore it is not possible to say at the moment of writing whether the time of the Irish rebellion was chosen by its leaders, or whether the outbreak was finally provoked by outside agencies, but there are various indications that the latter view may be correct.

The reason for the discontent which has caused the rebellion are clearly apparent. In the first place the Home Rule Act fails to satisfy considerable sections of Irish men and women, who regard it as a mere extension of local government.

In the second place, the Home Rule Act itself is not secure. Should a Unionist Government succeed the present administration at Westminster (and what at the moment seems more probable?) the Home Rule Act could easily be repealed before it had ever been put into force.

On the eve of the European War, Sir Edward Carson and the Ulster Unionists were threatening and openly preparing revolution, to prevent the application of the Home Rule Bill.

*The Times* which supported Carson and his Ulster rebels, now declares that: 'The country will not be satisfied with the Irish situation until the men who sat and looked on while armed potential rebels were openly trained in Dublin are removed from office.'

But *The Times* is not referring to Sir Edward Carson himself, though he talks very glibly of preserving Law and Order, just now, makes it quite clear that he intends to revive his pre-War threats of armed rebellion when there again appears a prospect of enforcing Home Rule, which in a letter to the Press of 29 April, 1916, he described as a 'gross wrong'.

## Carson

As a matter of fact, so far from being prepared to forego armed resistance to Home Rule, the Carsonites are keeping their ammunition ready, and when asked by the British Government to hand over their arms for use in the present War, they refused to do so on the grounds that they would need them later on.

Everyone knows that it was the Carsonites who first armed to resist Home Rule. It was afterwards that the Redmonite Home Rulers set up an army; and that the Sinn Fein organisation armed to fight for the

Irish Republic; whilst the working-class industrial movement under Larkin and Connolly, also set up its Citizen Army later than the Carsonites, and did so in the first place to protect peaceful meetings of the workers from ill-treatment by the police.

## Bayonets

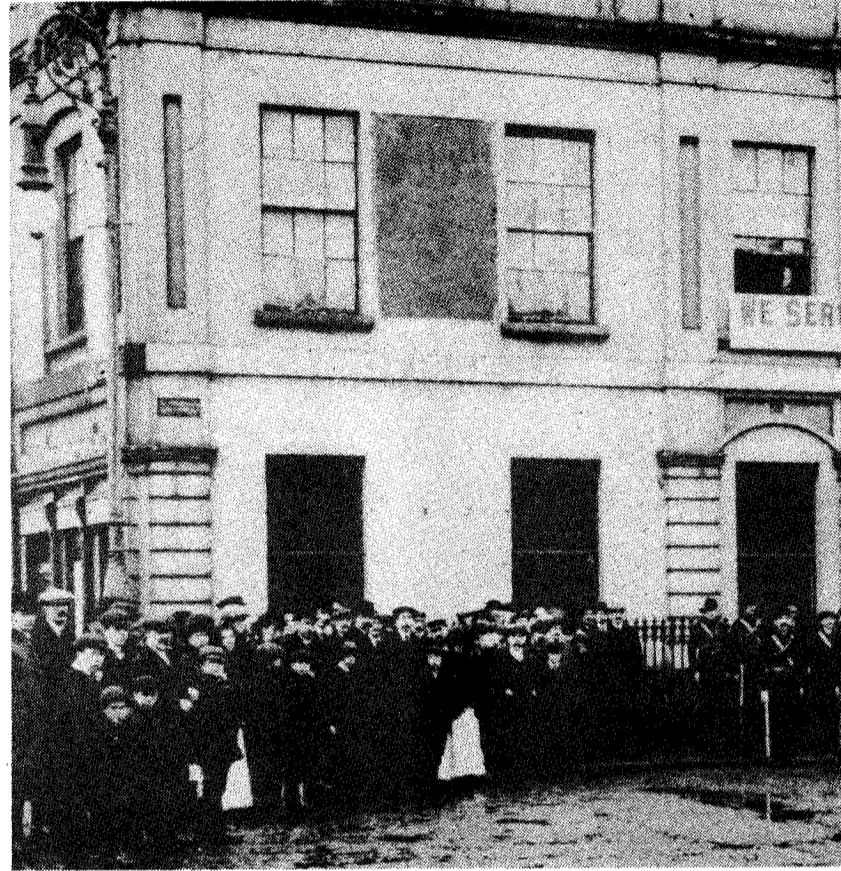
The Sinn Feiners and the Larkinites have gradually drawn together, though during the great strike in Dublin the Sinn Feiners accused the Larkinites of appealing to the Irish people 'to foreswear the name of Irishmen for that of the world' and Larkin and his comrades declared it mattered little to the workers whether they were enslaved by British or Irish capitalists.'

To many of us who believe that neither race nor creed should separate the workers of the world, it is a matter of regret that the old position of Larkin and Connolly should now be somewhat obscured.

We believe that the co-operative millenium cannot be reached till Capitalism is overthrown by the workers. Yet we know the impatience which many an earnest reformer feels with the slow growth of the proletarian movement.

We understand the revolt of the impetuous Celtic temperament against being tied to slow moving England, more conservative than either Wales or Scotland, England who with her strong vested interests and larger population is always the predominant partner in the British Isles.

We sympathise with the dream of so many ardent lovers of Ireland to make of her an independent paradise of free people, a little republic famous, not for its brute strength, but for its happiness and culture, something unique in all the world, holding a position amongst nations like that of Finland, who until Russia trampled on the constitution which she won not by bloodshed, but by a universal strike, was thought here to be, and probably was politically, the most



Volunteers in the Irish Citizen Army parading outside Liberty Hall, headquarters free of all lands.

The Irish rebels today find almost every man's hand against them, yet reckless though they may have been, their desperate venture was undoubtedly animated by high ideals.

And we also know that their action will further those ideals.

In proclaiming the Irish Republican Brotherhood, they declare 'for equal rights and equal opportunities for all its citizens,' and resolved to 'pursue the happiness and prosperity of the whole nation, cherishing all the children of the nation equally.' They promised that as soon as a permanent Government could be established it could be elected by all the men and women of Ireland.

'Mad folly' perhaps, but hardly as *The Times* calls it a 'brutal, bloody and savage rebellion.'

The Republic of a week was evidently set up without violence and bloodshed, the Rebels' *War News* says that it was proclaimed with cheers.

When the soldiers came, there began, indeed heartrending slaughter — slaughter perpetrated by both sides, but the Rebels, untrained men, women and boys, had for arms only 'a job lot of rifles' whilst the authorities opposed them with machine guns, bombs, bayonets and cannon.'

## Bravery

The Rebels — condemn them who can find heart to do so — well knew, in their reckless bravery, they would be defeated, that their rebellion could be no more than a stage in the long struggle for Irish independence.

A writer in the *Manchester Guardian*, much opposed to the Rebels, says: 'The Post Office was on fire. It has been shelled and was now ablaze. I have learnt something of the spirit of the garrison from two or three different sources. On Monday night I am told by a priest who was admitted to the building, it contained 500 or 600 men and a score or so of young women, who proposed to cook and nurse.'

'The priest heard the confessions of many of the men and they told him they were going to die for Ireland. He counselled some of the young women

to leave, but they replied that they would stop and die with the men; a spirit too good for so bad a cause.'

'When the end came and the fire drove the garrison out they sought to escape by rushing in a body from the rear of the building. The street at the back bends a little, and beyond the bend was a machine gun which, as soon as the rout began, discharged its volleys in to the fleeing rebels.'

## Pride

Can the story of scenes like that bring pride to the British heart?

Parnell, without allying himself with armed rebellion in Ireland, never publicly repudiated or criticised his countrymen, and always pointed to the fact that they fought because the justice they longed for was withheld.

Mr Redmond, on the contrary a once placed himself in line with the British Government, and in his eagerness to do so, he declared Ireland's grievances had been redressed and that she had been led 'from slavery and poverty to freedom and prosperity.'

But no open-eyed, unbiased person could visit Ireland in recent days without being impressed by her desolation.

Dublin was obviously a city of decay, the fine old mansions, let off in tenement dwellings, were crowded with poor, ill-clad people. Five shillings a week was a wage commonly paid to adult women there.

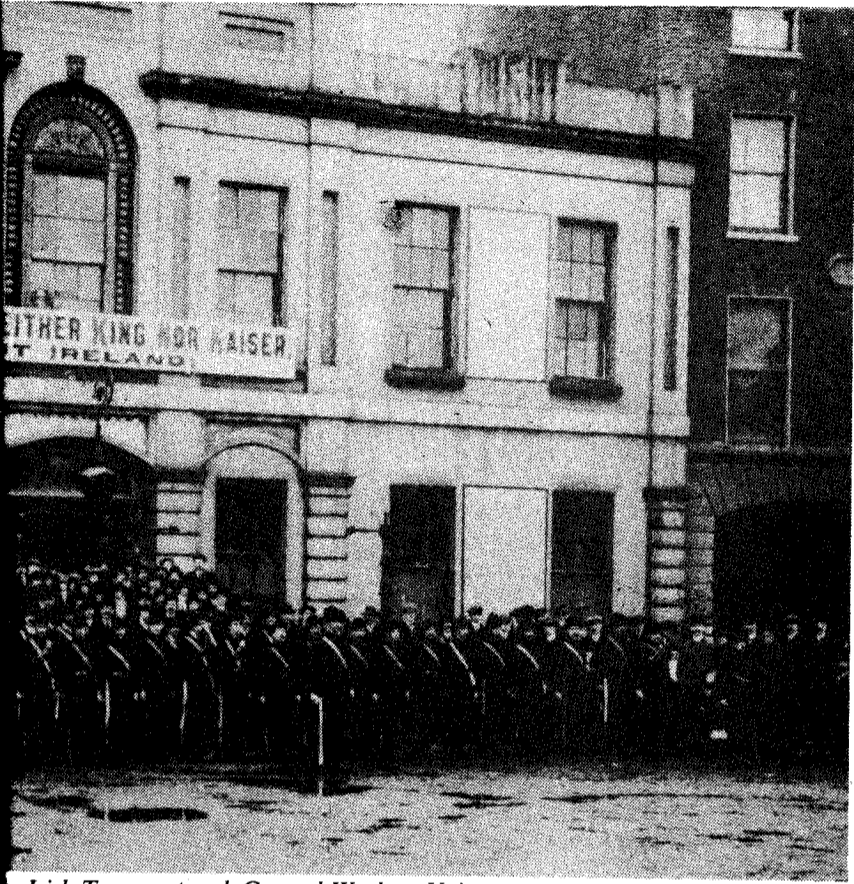
It was natural that the premises occupied by Murphy, the hotel-keeper, and Jacobs, the biscuit manufacturer, who fought the workers in their long starvation strike for a bare subsistence wage, were amongst the first to be captured by the Rebels.

In the West of Ireland the people live in hovels built by themselves, with roofs of turf, mud floors, and walls of tough stones which the tenants heat with their own poor implements out of the hillside. For the little strips of undrained stoney ground on which their homes are built they pay rent that are far too high.

The Congested Districts Board which is a supposed charity under the auspices of our British Government finds work for the people to enable them to pay their way, allowing them







Irish Transport and General Workers Union.

to get 3s. 6d to 7s a week for making crochet or lace, and 10½d a dozen for socks.

The children are kept at home to help with this wretchedly paid work, and, as a result, Government Blue Books admit that in country districts the proportion of illiteracy varies from 35 to 70 percent; 50 to 65 percent of illiteracy being most common.

The earnings of the people in these industries have fallen instead of rising in recent years. Government reports show that whereas in 1912-13 the total earnings in the lace-making trade were £29,754 they had fallen in

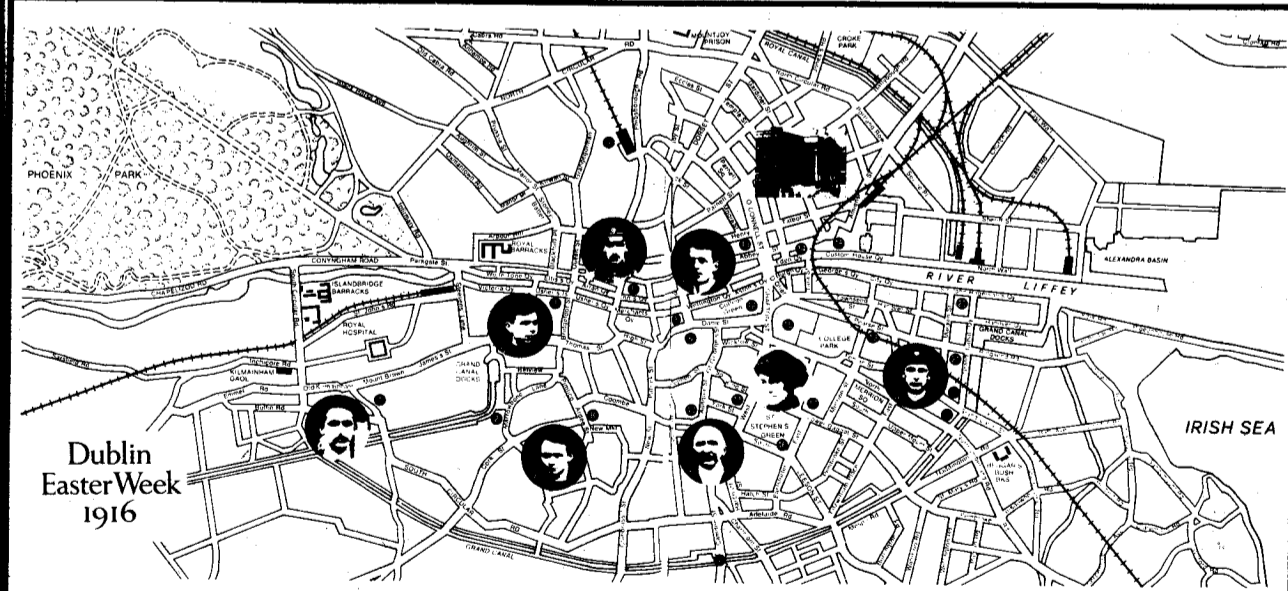
1914-15 to £11,680.

We learn that the kelp-making industry on which the people in the West of Ireland largely exist, is improving as a result of the War. Yet the Government inspector in this year's report states that an entire family in the best districts can earn £20 in a season, though years ago they could make £40.

Knowing these things, we understand why rebellion breaks out in Ireland, and we share the sorrow of those who are weeping there today for the Rebels whom the Government has shot.



Sylvia Pankhurst, the author of these articles on the Easter Uprising, is shown here when she was in jail for her activities as a suffragette. She supported the struggle for Irish independence and warmly welcomed the Russian revolution a year later. She remains an inspiration for all revolutionary socialists today.



1. So. Dublin Union: Under the command of Eamonn Ceannt (photo) this position—vital for its proximity to British HQ in Royal Hospital—was held by hand-to-hand combat till the Surrender.
2. Marrowbone Lane Distillery
3. Mendicity Institute: Sean Heuston (photo) and 23 men captured position to delay passage of British on north quays. They were ordered to hold for 3 or 4 hours, and held instead for 3 days.
4. Broadstone Railway Terminus
5. Four Courts: Under Edward Daly (photo) company destroyed Army Pay Center and captured British garrison. After heavy fighting, position was surrounded.
6. Dublin Castle
7. Portobello Bridge

8. Watkins Distillery: Con Colbert (photo) was unable to hold with 15 men, and joined the group at Marrowbone La. Distillery.
9. Dublin City Hall: Sean Connolly (photo) took to contain British in Dublin Castle across the way. Position given up after heavy bombardment, entire company surrendered, and Connolly killed.
10. Jacob's Factory: Sean MacBride (photo) and Thomas MacDonagh led group using factory's towers as a vantage point for sniping.
11. College of Surgeons: Countess Markievicz (photo) took and held this position, commanding St. Stephen's Green, with fighting intermittent but costly.
12. Bank of Ireland

13. Post Office (photo): HQ of Provisional Gov't and signers of the Proclamation, set on fire and gutted by the British.
14. Liberty Hall
15. Trinity College
16. St. Stephen's Green
17. Shelbourne Hotel
18. Custom House
19. Westland Row Railway Station
20. Gas Co.
21. Hammond Lane Foundry
22. Boland's Mills: Eamon de Valera (photo) commanded 5 companies with main objective of cutting British supply route on railway line through area. Fighting was extremely heavy, casualties high.
23. Clanwilliam House

# IRELAND UNFREE



## The legacy of partition

SEVEN DECADES after the Easter Rising, Ireland is still not free. James Connolly predicted that if the movement unleashed by the uprising was blocked by partition then a 'carnival of reaction' would follow. The legacy of the 1921 partition — a brutal sectarian statelet in the North and a South slavishly dependent on imperialism — bear eloquent testimony to his foresight.

But it is not simply a question of the brutality of these states or the barbarity of the British Army's occupation which has to be condemned by British socialists. Marx explained that the British labour movement would never achieve

defender of partition?

Despite the red-baiting smears of the Tories, disarmament has become one of the main electoral assets of the Labour Party because the left fought for straightforward unilateralist position.

A commitment to end the war in Ireland by pulling out the troops would have a similar effect. Ken Livingstone's popularity as a politician of principle is one proof of that.

### Left

The left of the labour movement should emulate his example by opening a dialogue with the nationalist community. If the right wing leadership of the Labour Party conspire with the Tories to prevent the representatives of the nationalist community — in particular Sinn Fein — coming to address audiences in Britain then the left must go to the north.

On the basis of such a dialogue the left can clarify why the next step for the Labour Party conference must be to break its bipartisan support for the Loyalist veto. In immediate terms that means adding British voices to the campaign in the North to break up Prior's phoney Assembly.

### Enough

But resolutions are not enough. There are forces active within the labour movement, in particular the Labour Committee on Ireland who have proved, through initiatives like the recent conference on Plastic Bullets that there is a growing audience within the labour movement for discussion and action on Ireland.

If the LCI magazine can be transformed into a forum for the lively debate that is beginning on Labour's policy, it will be able to boost campaigning activity.

Whilst the Troops Out Movement hesitates on the edge of involvement in the labour movement it remains plagued by those still fighting the battles of ten years ago.

The LCI is poised to move ahead. It needs the participation of all those who backed the Plastic Bullets conference to be part of the process of building a CND-type mass movement that can play its part in liberating Ireland from Britain's yoke once and for all.

● Come to the Annual Conference of the Labour Committee on Ireland. Saturday 23 April. County Hall SE1.

Membership costs £3 per year (£1 unwaged) CLPs can affiliate for £5 per year, union branches for £6. For details of the conference or membership write to: LCI, BM Box 5355, London WC1N 3XX.

### By Martin Collins

anything until the enslavement of Ireland was broken.

The idea that the British workers alone will defeat the British ruling class is utopian and runs counter to the course of world history over the last century. This imperialist ruling class is based on the gains of a world empire.

From India to Zimbabwe when oppressed people have risen up they have fought our ruling class and have helped its decline.

But the South Atlantic war shows that this ruling class has not exhausted its capacity to fight like a cornered tiger to maintain its colonial possessions, and it fights no more tenaciously than in Ireland.

### Veto

Britain's rulers know that a victory for the national liberation forces in Ireland would be a crippling blow for the repressive forces of the British state and in particular the capacity and morale of the Army. It would remove the Loyalist reactionary bloc and open up the way for a socialist Ireland on Britain's doorstep, a potentially powerful ally of the British working class.

But despite this, Labour's current Manifesto proposals would still give the Loyalists a veto over progress towards Irish self-determination.

Opinion polls show that neither the Irish nor the British people are in favour of maintaining the British occupation. So why is the Labour left so slow in campaigning to remove the army which is the main

## Labour after Darlington

**AFTER** the Bermondsey by-election Keith Waterhouse wrote in the *Daily Mirror* that what was needed by the Labour Party was 'a candidate in a suit'. Ossie O'Brien fulfilled this qualification: but what else can be learnt from the Darlington victory?

In the first place O'Brien did not have the albatross of the Labour leadership's condemnation hanging around his neck. On the contrary, while O'Brien himself was a 'man above factions' the Labour leadership rushed to embrace him.

### Found Forces

The Trade Union Campaign for a Labour Victory found the forces that were lacking in Bermondsey. But apart from this it must be said that the Darlington campaign was better than that run for Tatchell.

Unemployment was made the centre of the by-election campaign, not just in words but through mass action by the Shildon workers who marched with thousands of their supporters through the town.

Secondly, O'Brien had no inhibitions about declaring himself for unilateralism. Finally a determined attack was made on the SDP, with Labour canvassers specifically approaching voters who had early on in the election campaign declared for the SDP and convincing them that only Labour could beat the Tories.

### Fanned Flames

But the result has also fanned the flames of a debate which refuses to go away — that of coalition. The 1.3 per cent swing from Tories to Labour in Darlington would mean on a national basis the Tories, while comfortably outstripping Labour, would not have an overall majority in the House of Commons.

The upturn in the economy hailed by the CBI this week will probably not result in a decrease in unemployment but will also most certainly lead to an upturn of industrial struggle (the employers are already preparing for this in the car industry with the resulting battles at Halewood and Cowley).

This means that the longer the Tories go on without an election the more the gains that Labour will make, with the probability that no one party will emerge with an overall majority in Parliament.

The Labour right have a two-fold response to this. Increasingly the National Economic Assessment will be rolled out to show that only Labour can control the unions. At the same time the NEA opens up the way to incomes policy which would be the precondition of any governmental pact with the Alliance.

### Incomes Policy

Under these conditions it would be fatal for those on the left not to continue to fight both in the Labour Party and the forthcoming union conferences, to make sure that incomes policy is not smuggled through the back door. It is the key both to defence of living standards and against coalitionism. Dennis Skinner's demand for the Labour national executive to declare unequivocally against incomes policy and for unilateral disarmament, should be fought for in every labour movement body before the final manifesto is drawn up.

Editor: ALAN FREEMAN

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

## GREETINGS

### Jake Magee

(PPC Uxbridge, Middx)

'Fraternal greetings to *Socialist Action* on launching a newspaper which will be a priceless weapon in the struggles that lie ahead for the Labour left.

'May I congratulate your excellent coverage of Ken Livingstone's recent visit to Northern Ireland, which I would describe as the most accurate account yet of the real situation that now exists.

'I'm confident that *Socialist Action* will put the British problem in Northern Ireland to the forefront of Labour's agenda.

'Yours for workers unity and socialism.'

### Eric Davies

(Lodge Secretary, Brynllw Colliery and Executive member South Wales NUM)

'Despite the defeat on the ballot, we're not going to cave in on pit closures. But we must learn the lessons because we haven't won a national ballot in the NUM for ten years now.

'First, it's no good the NEC paying lip service to unanimous decisions — they must get the message back to the members by campaigning round the pits.

'Second, we've always been opposed to piecework. Apart from anything else, it is divisive. Some areas are getting as much as £400 a week so they are less likely to support us with strike action.

'Third, the redundancy payments are undoubtedly having an effect. In the ballot, we got a lot of support from younger miners, but older miners are obviously tempted by the big money being offered to take jobs away from the industry.

'Now, we must go on the offensive. We must choose the pits as test cases before they are bled dry by lack of investment.

'I've taken out a subscription to the new paper and welcome your attempt to unify the Labour Party round conference decisions.'

## Labour and Racism

HOW CAN the Labour Party continue to pretend it speaks for black people after the disgusting treatment of Russell Profitt.

He was hailed in the South London Labour Party as Labour's first black MP for decades when he was selected for Battersea North.

Now he has been dumped by an apparent vote of 57 to 3 by the Battersea parties in favour of Alf Dubs. For myself this appears like racism. Not so much because Dubs won but because only three people voted for Profitt, already a PPC.

As far as I know both are left wingers, so why the wide disparity in their support? The answer is only

## Sexist Deportation

SARAH JABAAR, a black South African woman, came to live in Cwmbran, Gwent five years ago with her husband and three children.

Her husband has since left for America and obtained a divorce by letter. As it was her husband that had the work permit, the Home Office asked Mrs. Jabaar and her sons to leave the country by last April, obliging them to return to the racism and segregation of apartheid.

They made their decision even though Mrs Jabaar is now studying for a B. Education, her eldest son is working in a local factory and the two others are doing well at school.

Sarah Jabaar is hit by the sexism of the immigration laws, but she is also fighting back. She has appealed against the Home Office decision and

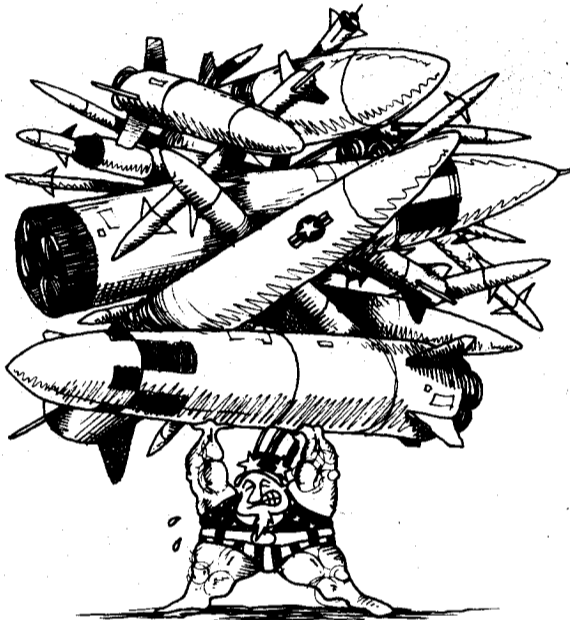
though the appeal was turned down on legal grounds her case will go to a tribunal in the near future.

The defence campaign has won wide support from the labour movement in Wales, including the Wales TUC, Wales Labour Party and the South Wales NUM. 11,000 people, mainly from the Cwmbran area, signed the petition which was presented at the appeal hearing.

A postcard campaign has been initiated prior to the tribunal requesting Mr. D. Waddington, Minister of State at the Home Office to intervene and prevent their deportation.

May I appeal to your readers to write to him at the House of Commons, London SW1, requesting him to intervene. Further information on the campaign from: The Corn Street Centre, 8 Corn St, Newport, Gwent.

M. COLES, Newport.



## Indian Ocean

A GROUP of people concerned with the proliferation of nuclear weapons in the Indian Ocean area have joined together to form a campaign for the demilitarisation of the Indian Ocean.

There are now 10 French, 5 Soviet and 12 American military bases or port facilities spread throughout the Indian Ocean area.

But in particular we are concerned about Diego Garcia, which was part of Mauritian territory where 1,700 people were forcibly removed to Mauritius against their will, which has been transformed into

a military base capable of handling planes equipped with nuclear weapons and it will also be used as a forward base for the destructive Trident submarines.

The aims of the campaign are:

- \* A nuclear-free Indian Ocean.
  - \* The dismantling of the American military bases in Diego Garcia.
  - \* The return of Diego Garcia to Mauritius.
  - \* The non-proliferation of nuclear weapons by the littoral and hinterland states of the Indian Ocean.
  - \* The dumping of nuclear waste in the Indian Ocean.
- Campaign for the Demilitarisation of the Indian Ocean, 139, Draketell Road, London SE4.



Russell Profitt — a case of racism?

too obvious. Labour considers black candidates an electoral liability.

While it does so for black and brown people the Labour Party will at

best be a poor alternative to the Tories and at worst part of the white racist state.

S. PATEL, Balham

## Roach Family

ON 12 JANUARY this year Colin Roach died of a shotgun blast through his head in Stoke Newington police station. Since then his family and friends have launched a campaign (Roach Family Support Committee) demanding a public inquiry into the circumstances of his death.

Throughout this time the police and media have mounted a campaign of lies and distortion to cover up the truth of Colin's death; once again we are told that another 'mentally disturbed' black man has taken his own life, as was said of Paul Worrel and Richard Campbell.

From the night of Colin's death, the Roach family, on top of their grief, have suffered police abuse and harassment.

86 people have so far been arrested in an attempt by the police to brutally force the campaign off the streets. In the most recent attack, on 12 March, twenty four people were assaulted and arrested, including councillor Dennis Twomey and Colin's father, James Roach, who has been charged with two counts of assault.

We, the defendants, have formed the 'Roach Family Support Committee — Defence Campaign' to demand a full independent public inquiry into the death of Colin Roach and to demand the dropping of all charges against those arrested during the Colin Roach campaign.

Despite attacks from the police and courts, on

ourselves and our rights, we will continue to publicly demonstrate.

We call on all supporters to attend the court pickets for the defendants. We call on all Hackney councillors who have pledged their support for this campaign, to show that support and picket with us at each court appearance.

We further call on all supporters to generously donate to this campaign and help in the raising of urgently needed funds.

We are being criminalised in the courts, yet the methods being used are openly political, such as the bail conditions now imposed on certain defendants, who are forbidden to attend any pickets or demonstrations, others are banned from Hackney or north of the river Thames.

It is the same racist police who are responsible for Colin's death, who are now trying to silence all those who protest at his murder.

It is only massive numbers on the streets, led by the black community, that will force an inquiry into Colin's death, and ensure the dropping of all charges.

In campaigning in defence of those arrested we are at the same time fighting the cover up of Colin's death.

Please support the picket of Stoke Newington police station every Saturday 12-2pm.

Roach Family Support Campaign, c/o CAPA, Oxford House, Derbyshire St., London E3. (01-729 2656/733 5121).

## Fodder

(For the women of Greenham Common)

The milkman's horse.  
Soft-eyed, gentle-footed, children-patted.  
"Here's your oats, old girl."

Nine months it took  
From that late-autumn ploughing  
To the harvest.  
Nine weary womb-months  
And then perhaps seventeen or eighteen years  
Of love and labour  
For the consuming cannon.

The hungry bombers  
Swallowed whole cities  
Of sleeping children  
And their desperately-clutching parents.  
Then one August day  
A fireball tore a world into red raw hunks of  
meat.  
And a smell of grilling flesh.

Now the fire-horse  
With devouring teeth  
Stalks a whole planet of fodder.

-2-

But the women have given birth  
To a song of peace and love  
And anger.  
And they marched it  
Through the weary dusty heat,  
And they lived it  
Through the icy snowy cold.  
And they sang, "We will not";  
And through the fodder merchants' iron bars  
Come the rays of their song.

JENNY FLINTOFT (19-2-83)

## Write to us!

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

Photo: LAURIE SPARHAM (IFL)

# One man's war

ONE OF the lesser-known areas of modern history is the behaviour of the European populations under German occupation during the Second World War. Many ex-collaborators and fascist sympathisers are still alive inhibiting historians from publishing incriminating material.

The recently recaptured Klaus Barbie has warned the French that he will reveal damaging information at his forthcoming trial. Even in Britain the government has blocked the declassification of state papers concerning British fascists in the '30s and '40s.

Only a handful of films have dealt with this period. In *One Man's War* Edgardo Cozarinsky has gathered some striking material. The film is made up from newsreels taken in France during the Occupation.

## Diaries

The soundtrack alternates between the newsreader's commentary and extracts from the diaries of Ernst Junger, a celebrated German writer and career officer who was posted to Paris as military commander.

Junger's meticulously detailed observations are in contrast to the strident, bombastic newsreels. His sardonic comments on

society intrigues, rumours about the extermination of Jews and dinner at Maxim's overlay pictures of fashion shows, collaborators' rallies and German victories on the Eastern Front.

By Paul Russell

This unusual approach to documentary effectively demonstrates the difficulties facing both soldiers and civilians who are trying to understand their situation and destiny in war-time. Fraudulent news and rumour permeate every aspect of life.

But this view of occupied France is misleading. The urbane, articulate Junger drones on over the period newsreels, suffusing the film with a perverse nostalgia. His situation as a sensitive, cultivated man caught reluctantly in an unpleasant predicament invites our sympathy.

Cozarinsky's handling is therefore ambivalent. On the one hand the vulgar ideology of Nazi rule, on the other a central

Ernst Junger

character who attempts to maintain life's civilities. This notion of war as a troubling dilemma is essentially a bourgeois humanist idea.

What is needed is a reworking of these newsreels from a committed socialist viewpoint. War is a variant of class conflict, and the conflict with fascism was of unsur-

passed brutality and degradation. Fascism is a product of capitalism — specifically of conservative and reactionary capitalism.

Occupied Europe's middle classes acquiesced, colluded or collaborated in their own exploitation and in working class suffering.

Despite enormous propaganda efforts and

material inducements, comparatively few workers volunteered to work in Germany. The film misleads you to think otherwise.

We see the reopening of the stock exchange, but the film does not connect this to the fact that France provided the greatest economic support of any Western country for the German war machine.

There are scores of scenes of the collaborationist blackshirts and their leaders. It looks impressive unless you know that the leaders were uniformly mediocre and that the Germans considered them negligible forces, playing one off against the other.

## Torture

Hundreds of collaborators condemned for torture and extortion were pardoned after the war in return for volunteering to fight with the French colonial army against Ho Chi Minh and the Vietminh. This is the legacy of fascism.

Until film makers with access to the archives can use their material from a committed and knowledgeable class position, we must view films like *One Man's War* with the utmost care.

● *One Man's War* plays at The Everyman Cinema, Hampstead, London until 4 April.



The harsh reality of the concentration camp behind Junger's civilities

## TV CHOICE

**Karl Marx — The Legacy**  
Thursdays 31 March and 7 April BBC2

THIS appalling series is enough to make you throw all three volumes of 'Capital' at the screen. It's no surprise that Marxist historian David McLennan disassociated himself from it.

If you want to see the depths that British

liberalism can descend to, this is the series for you.

In this week's gripping episode, Briggs tells us how Lenin got it all wrong in prescribing the Bolshevik method for the rest of the world. Next week, how Lenin

wanted to abolish the state but didn't.

And on 'Did you see ...?' (Friday 8 April), Tariq Ali and *Daily Express* hack Max Hastings discuss the series.

**Glasgow — The Work**  
Sunday 3 April  
BBC2

THE highlight of this programme in the BBC's series about Glasgow should be Harry McShane recalling his

years of struggle on Clydeside.

The militancy of the past is compared with today's union organisation.

**First Tuesday**  
5 April, 10.30pm.  
ITV

FIRST in a new series with Jonathan Dimbleby which features the letters of Lieutenant David Tinker, killed in the South Atlantic war.

'I cannot think of a single war in Britain's

history which has been so pointless ...'. Useful ammunition against Thatcher's militarism.

**Dallas**  
Wed. 30 March  
BBC1

DID YOU know JR was smuggling oil to Cuba? Yes, it's true!

Dallas has always been the only one of its type remotely worth watching, and this added ingredient should be good for a laugh.



## Falls Memories

By Gerry Adams  
(Published by Brandon Book Publishers Ltd, price £2.95)

The Falls Road has been at the centre of the nationalist struggle in Belfast ever since the British partitioned Ireland.

The present political crisis first hit Belfast with a vengeance when the Lower Falls was attacked by mobs of loyalists in 1969. The loyalists were naturally supported by the armed gangsters of the B Specials. It was also the first anti-unionist area to taste the severity of British military oppression with the imposition of martial law and the consequent curfew of 1971.

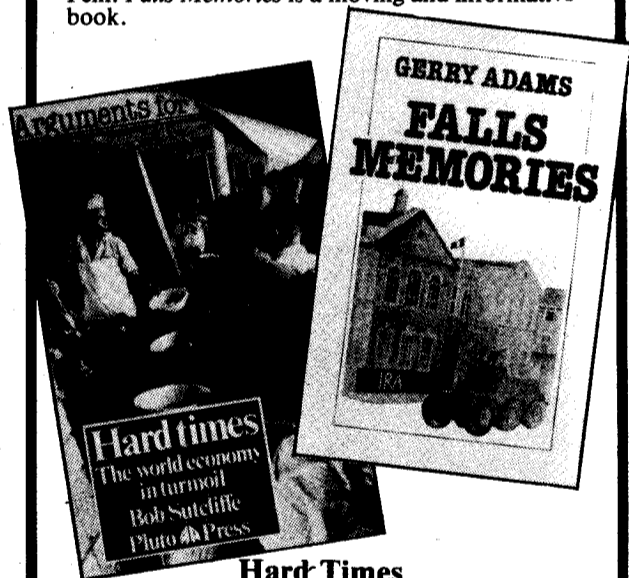
The Falls since 1969 has truly lived up to its reputation as being the heartland of anti-unionist and anti-British struggle.

Gerry Adams, in this lively and entertaining account looks at the poverty and troubles of the thirties. He shows what effect the war had on the area in the forties, using the method of interviewing the older inhabitants of the community.

By the use of the street games, songs, anecdotes and lure of the Falls, Gerry Adams adds a richness and colour to the lives and history of this brave community which has never dipped in surrender the flag of Irish unification.

Born in the Falls in 1948, the author has lived in the area all his life. He knows his community and has a deep and genuine affection for its people. Like them he has fought for a united, free Ireland. His record shows this.

In the late sixties he was involved in the West Belfast Civil Rights Association and in the Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association. He was interned without trial and has been imprisoned several times. Now he is Vice-President of Sinn Fein. *Falls Memories* is a moving and informative book.



**Hard Times**  
By Bob Sutcliffe  
(Published by Pluto Press £2.50)

The British political scene is not exactly strewn with able Marxist economists and it's certainly short of people that can explain economics in a clear and readable way.

Fortunately for us, Bob Sutcliffe is an able economist who actually has mastered the art of dealing with a complicated subject by the use of the English language rather than internalised left jargon.

In *Hard Times* Bob Sutcliffe shows what has gone wrong with the capitalist miracle which so disarmed the Labour right and its pet economists that they thought full employment would last forever. All that was needed was for 'responsible' people — like the right-wing and certain sections of the capitalist class — to administer a new and increasingly benign capitalism.

Now unemployment has broken all records. Production is stagnating and living standards for millions of working people are on the slide.

*Hard Times* shows how this has happened and how the 'moderates' dream became a nightmare. It explains and demonstrates how capitalism's need for profit will only inflict even greater hardship and suffering for the great majority. The book gives a concise criticism of the 'alternatives' like those put forward by the remains of Keynesianism and the Alternative Economic Strategy. It argues for a radical socialist solution that is democratic in content and internationalist in policy and outlook.

Make sure you use a bit of that Easter spare time, between demonstrations, meetings and drinking the odd beer to read this book. At only £2.50 and with 118 pages it is affordable and manageable.

Both available from The Other Bookshops: 328 Upper Street London N1 and 137 Digbeth Birmingham 4.

**DIARY**

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

● **Monstrous Regiment** present 'The Fourth Wall' with material by Dario Fo and Franca Rame. A vocal and musical presentation attacking the political and sexual servitude of women. 22 March until the 9 April at the Drill Hall, 16 Chenies St, London WC1. Box Office 637 8270

● **'Labour's policies on disarmament'** public meeting with Joy Hurcombe (Sec Labour CND) plus the film 'The War Game'. Sponsored by Gillingham CLP. Thurs 7 April, LP HQ, Twydale Lane, Gillingham.

● **'Towards a Police State?'** Hounslow Socialist Forum meeting, Sunday 10 April with Brian Rose-Smith, a leading criminal lawyer, speaking on the new Police Bill. George IV Pub, 185 Chiswick High Road, W4, 7pm.

● **Labour Research Department AGM.** Saturday 16 April, 2.30-5pm, Tudor Room, Caxton Hall, Caxton Street, SW1. Details: 01-928 3649.

● **Black Theatre** Cooperative benefit for Roach Family Support Committee. Guests include Saka Eati, Benjamin Zephania, Spartacus, Indian Dancers. Sun 17 April, Half Moon Theatre, Mile End. Details: 01-254 7480.

● **Easter Sunday Commemoration March:** Assemble at Speakers Corner, Hyde Park at

1.30pm, march to rally at Kilburn.

● **Hunger Strikers Commemoration Rally, 1 May** in Birmingham. Assemble at Spark Hill at 1.30pm.

● **'Plantation Workers of Sri Lanka'**. An international conference on 23/24 April organised by the Sri Lanka Research and Information Group. Further details from SLRIG, 9 Grays Inn Buildings, Rosebury Ave, London EC1.

● **El Salvador Labour Movement Conference.** 14 May, County Hall, SE1, 10am-5pm. Speakers include Judith Hart MP and Dr Salvador Moncada, senior FDR/FMLN London representative. TUS, LP and LPYS branches are invited to send two delegates. Details from El Salvador Solidarity Campaign 29

Islington Park St, London N1. Tel: 01-359 2270.

● **International Women's Day for Disarmament — 24 May.** For more information please contact 'May 24th', 16 Arundel Rd, Brighton, E. Sussex.

● **Labour Committee On Ireland Conference/AGM.** Sat 23 April, County Hall, London SE1. Discussion on new magazine and trade unions. Details: Box BM 5355, London WC1N 3XX.

● **Labour Campaign for Gay Rights** national conference: 'The fight in the labour movement for lesbian and gay male rights'. Sat 9 April, 11-5, Shepherd's Hall, Old Market St, Bristol. Details: LCGR c/o 3 Raleigh Rd, Southville, Bristol. Tel: Bristol 634203.

● **'Public Service Action'** — an anti-privatisation

newsletter for the labour movement, first issue just out. Send 30p inc post (bulk rates available) to SCAT publications, 27 Clerkenwell Close, London EC1, 01-253 3627.

● **'Greenham Common and Labour'** public meeting on Thurs 28 April, sponsored by Islington Labour Parties, Islington Labour CND and Islington Labour Womens' Council. Speakers include Helen John and Anne Cesek. Islington Central Library, 7.30pm.

● **'Ireland and Labour'** public meeting with Ken Livingstone (GLC leader) and Clive Soley (LP deputy spokesperson on N. Ireland). Called by Islington Stth Labour Party. Thurs 26 May, 7pm, Islington Central Library, Holloway Rd.

● **'Gay Liberation and Socialism'**. Speakers from

the Labour Campaign for Gay Rights. Fri 8 April, 7.15pm, Adult Education Centre, Shakespeare St, Nottingham. Organised by Nottingham Fabian Society. Details: Eddie Ashbee (FS) 0602 784870 or Chris Richardson (LCGR) 0602 780124.

**Socialist Action Forums**

**CARDIFF Speakers:** Pat Hickey (SA), Ray Davies (PPC Cardiff N), Monica Walsh (NUPE). Wed 30 March, Ex-servicemen's Club, Bristol Mews, Penarth Rd. Followed by social.

**SOUTH EAST LONDON 'After Bermondsey, which way for Labour?'** Speakers: Alan Freeman (Editor SA), Chris Knight (London Labour Briefing). Thurs 7 April, 7.30pm, Deptford Town Hall.

**Arguments for Socialism**



**New titles for March**

**Bob Sutcliffe**

**Hard Times**

**The World Economy in Turmoil**

Hard Times shows how the economic nightmare of the 1980's has resulted from the capitalist system's need for profit and how government policies will impose yet more hardship worldwide. Bob Sutcliffe criticises existing alternative plans and argues for a more radical, democratic and internationalist approach.

**David Hall**

**The Cuts Machine**

**The Politics of Public Expenditure**

The Cuts Machine shows how public services are controlled in secret and subordinated to the interests of private business. State spending operates on the assumption that public services produce nothing of value. David Hall exposes the limitations of Labour Party and TUC alternative economic strategies and argues that a political strategy must rise out of the fight for jobs, services and democratic controls.

**All books £2.50**

"Arguments for Socialism can play a significant part in re-establishing the necessity for socialism that is democratic, libertarian and humane." **Tony Benn**

"Arguments for Socialism has a major role to play in building the intellectual framework for the radical socialist struggle of the 1980s." **Ken Livingstone, leader of the GLC**

Available from all good bookshops or direct from Pluto Press PLUTO PRESS, The Works, 105a Torriano Ave, London NW5. Allow 50p for p&p.

Existing titles in the Arguments for Socialism series:

Charlie Clutterbuck and Tim Lang **More Than We Can Chew**

The Crazy World of Food and Farming

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Women as Trade Unionists

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# 'It's time the left started campaigning against coalition plans'

By Ken Livingstone

**LABOUR'S VICTORY** in Darlington has confirmed that Bermondsey was totally untypical of everything else in the recent electoral past. The major lessons were specific to Bermondsey.

The first has to be that you have trouble winning an election when 15 months earlier the Labour Party NEC said the candidate was totally unfit to be a member of parliament. It's very difficult to come back to people a year later and say 'no, we got it all wrong, he's wonderful really'. I don't think people are that stupid, and therefore it becomes an almost impossible situation to retrieve.

Secondly, you've got to look at what must be the most sustained campaign of abuse against an individual that there has ever been.

Finally you've got the special circumstances of Bermondsey. It was quite obvious to a lot of us as far back as fifteen years ago that Southwark Labour Parties were controlled by people who should really be in the Tories or National Front, but who were in the Labour Party because they knew that they could not advance their political career if they joined what they really wanted to be in.

They did terrible damage to the name of the Labour Party: huge pro-

vital because there is a strong conservative strand within the ranks of the working class. It is a legacy of colonialism and imperialism and the fact that the Labour Party was created out of craft unions — and the Labour Party still in part reflects that.

The problems of the Labour movement have been compounded by the role of the main stream trade union leaders. Since the national government during the last war they've relied on the fact that the government would consult and negotiate with them. Now for the first time there is a Prime Minister who isn't even interested in talking to them.

Why should she? They pose absolutely no threat to her. The helplessness of the trade union leaders reflects the fact that under Thatcher they are cut off from their main base of influence — the government bureaucracy and the corporate state. They haven't tried to build a base amongst their own rank and file or in the community, and now they find themselves isolated.

So they are terrified of five more years of Thatcher and they think that the way to avoid it is to clamp down on the left and go along with the purges and witch hunt.

But there are also those who support the witch hunt, not because

needs fascism — they are not under threat from the working class. In fact the leadership of the working class is lying down and pretending to be dead.

So why is there all of this ridiculous rhetoric? It's because if

give a firm commitment to their Party that they will not enter into a coalition of any kind with any other party.

If Labour were to do a deal with the Liberals, the SDP or the Ulster Unionists, it could only be on the basis of ditching all of the left wing policies we have won over the last few years. The only 'alternative' policy they would follow would be a slight printing of money to boost employment for a while. It's not too difficult to see what would happen after that. There would be inflation and the International Monetary Fund would come in — but the crunch would be even worse than it was in 1976/7. Labour would then be seen to have failed for three successive governments. It would be a disaster. I think that the Labour Party could be decimated.

Some people have linked coalitionism with the issue of proportional representation — for example some people in the Communist Party. I'm not opposed to proportional representation in principle, because the sort of Labour Party I envisage is the sort of party capable of winning a majority for socialism.

But I don't think that the views of the Communist Party are really relevant, as was shown in Bermondsey. Only 50 people out of 50,000 supported them, which is probably the number who would accidentally vote for them when they put a cross against the wrong candidate. The right-wing views being put forward by CP members on coalitionism are the kind of policy which has led to the decline of the CP over twenty years.

In Bermondsey, Screaming Lord Sutch got more votes than the CP and the RCP put together. So I think the CP is dying on its feet. That's a tragedy for the CP, but I don't think it's something which should detain the rest of the left, history has moved on past the British CP.

In any case, if the CP backed coalitionism they would completely destroy themselves because they would be lining up with the social democrats against the left-wing of the Labour Party.

Finally, in the struggle to prevent a coalition we come to the question of how to fight the right wing.

Some people, and I think that we see this in the latest initiative for 'unity' from the CLPD and the LCC, want an accommodation with the right wing. To my mind this is just not on.

The LCC and the CLPD leaders may be wonderfully nice people. But the right wing is just not interested. If the CLPD and the LCC want to bend over to kiss the boot of Golding, then he will simply have less far to raise it when he kicks them in the mouth. The right wing isn't looking for that type of accommodation.

When people roll over and hope that Golding will tickle their tummy they're wrong — he'll jump on their neck.

For the right wing, nothing will do short of full control of the party.



'if the CLPD and the LCC want to bend over to kiss the boot of Golding, then he will simply have less far to raise it when he kicks them in the mouth'

Their real problem is that they have no real base — just the manoeuvring and bloc votes of a few trade union leaders and the discredited old social democrats inside the Labour Party.

No amount of cosying up to the right wing by the CLPD and the LCC is going to change their policies one iota. Everyone has been trying to accommodate to the right wing since the deputy leadership campaign. But every accommodation merely leads to greater demands for witch hunts and purges. That's why I'm not in favour of accommodation with the witch-hunters.

I support the parties that refuse to recognise the expulsions. I think we will have to fight for an anti-witch hunt majority on the NEC at the October Party conference. It's impossible to predict exactly what will happen, but personally I think they are likely to accelerate the purge, for ex-



'if Labour were to do a deal with the Liberals, the SDP or the Ulster Unionists, it could only be on the basis of ditching all the left wing policies'

ample by trying to prevent people like myself from being eligible to stand as candidates.

So it is the time for the left to start campaigning against any plan for coalitions and for support for radical socialist policies. That's why I am supporting Socialists for a Labour Victory. If the left doesn't launch this campaign it looks unlikely that anybody else is going to.

We have to both win the traditional labour vote and the potentially much larger band of opinion that you could categorise as either women with no collective work experience, or ethnic minorities, gays and so on. In order to do that we need a campaigning party with radical socialist policies.



'in Bermondsey, Screaming Lord Sutch got more votes than the CP and RCP put together'

Thatcher were a fascist then there would be a justifiable basis for an alliance with the SDP and others against her. That's what the ground is being laid for: 'let's get the left out of the party and then we can have this nice cosy old social democratic regime running the country — just like it was before Thatcher.'

The problem for the right wing is their economic illiteracy. They don't understand that they can't run the country like they did twenty years ago. Today there is no world boom. In a sense, Margaret Thatcher has been quite right to force a series of difficult options and choices on people, because the options are difficult. You either go down the road that the party conference and the TUC rank and file have been pointing to, or you go down the Thatcherite road.

As things stand at the moment I don't think moves towards a coalition would provoke a split in the Labour Party. When Labour lost its majority in 1977 and the Lib/Lab pact was formed no Labour MP voted against it and as far as I am aware no constituency party voted against it. The whole of the labour movement was dragged behind the idea that a compromise was necessary to keep Thatcher out.

If the SDP hold the balance of power after the next general election there will be a massive pressure on the Labour Party leaders from right wing MPs and trade union leaders saying that it's necessary to do a deal.

This is why it's so important to support the campaign for every single parliamentary candidate and MP to



'I'm not opposed to proportional representation in principle'

they're afraid of Thatcher, but because they want to prepare the way for a coalition. They want to purge the left from the party, so that the right wing rump can line up with the SDP, the Liberals and the Tory 'Wets' for a grand anti-Thatcher coalition.

This is the main line of reasoning behind all those in the party who are starting to say that Thatcher is a fascist. They know full well that Thatcher is not a fascist. We are not in a position where the British ruling class



'the leadership of the working class is lying down and pretending to be dead'

party deals for which they were well rewarded; appalling estates; whole working class communities swept away.

That factor had an influence in that a lot of people were blaming the Labour Party at this election for the last twenty years of corruption in local government. Darlington shows that those circumstances will not be repeated anywhere else.

But throughout the last twenty years Labour's vote has declined — and it's easy to see why. During that time we've had two appallingly bad Labour governments. It's extremely difficult to get people to come out and vote for Labour when they remember that during these two governments things got worse for working people and not better.

Since then the social democrats who controlled those Labour governments have by and large confined their activities to parliament. So I'm not surprised that we have recently lost votes to the SDP. The SDP was specifically aimed to siphon off votes from Labour, and although these types of manoeuvres rarely last long, the record of the Labour leadership has played into their hands.

Building a campaigning party is

# Left gains in teachers union

UNILATERAL nuclear disarmament will be the first major item of discussion at the annual conference of the National Union of Teachers meeting in Jersey this Easter.

Last year the Conference passed an unequivocally unilateralist position but the right wing leadership of the national executive thwarted any action on it by a process of bureaucratic manoeuvres.

'Unilateralism is political' they declared, 'and the union is non-political!'

Despite the fact that Rule 3 of the NUT states baldly 'conference is the supreme authority of the union' the right carried the day on the executive.

Local union branches organised two conferences of rank and file delegates — one in Manchester and one in London — as a result of which another unilateralist motion has been voted to the top of the agenda. The two rank and file conferences also established 'Local Associations for Peace and Disarmament' which will continue to campaign for



By Bernard Regan

Since 1975 teachers pay has dropped by around 34 per cent. Without consulting even their right-wing allies on the full executive however the union's negotiating team dropped the two stage return to '75 levels for a 'staged' return over an unspecified period.

But the right went further — it refused to put any figure on the claim despite constant pressure from STA executive members. Whilst opening moves on pay began in November 1982 it was not until February 1983 that the figure of 15 per cent emerged.

## Pay

The NUT has pledged support for co-operation through the TUC on pay in 'opposition to any cash limit policies'. The leadership however has done nothing to develop any collective campaigning.

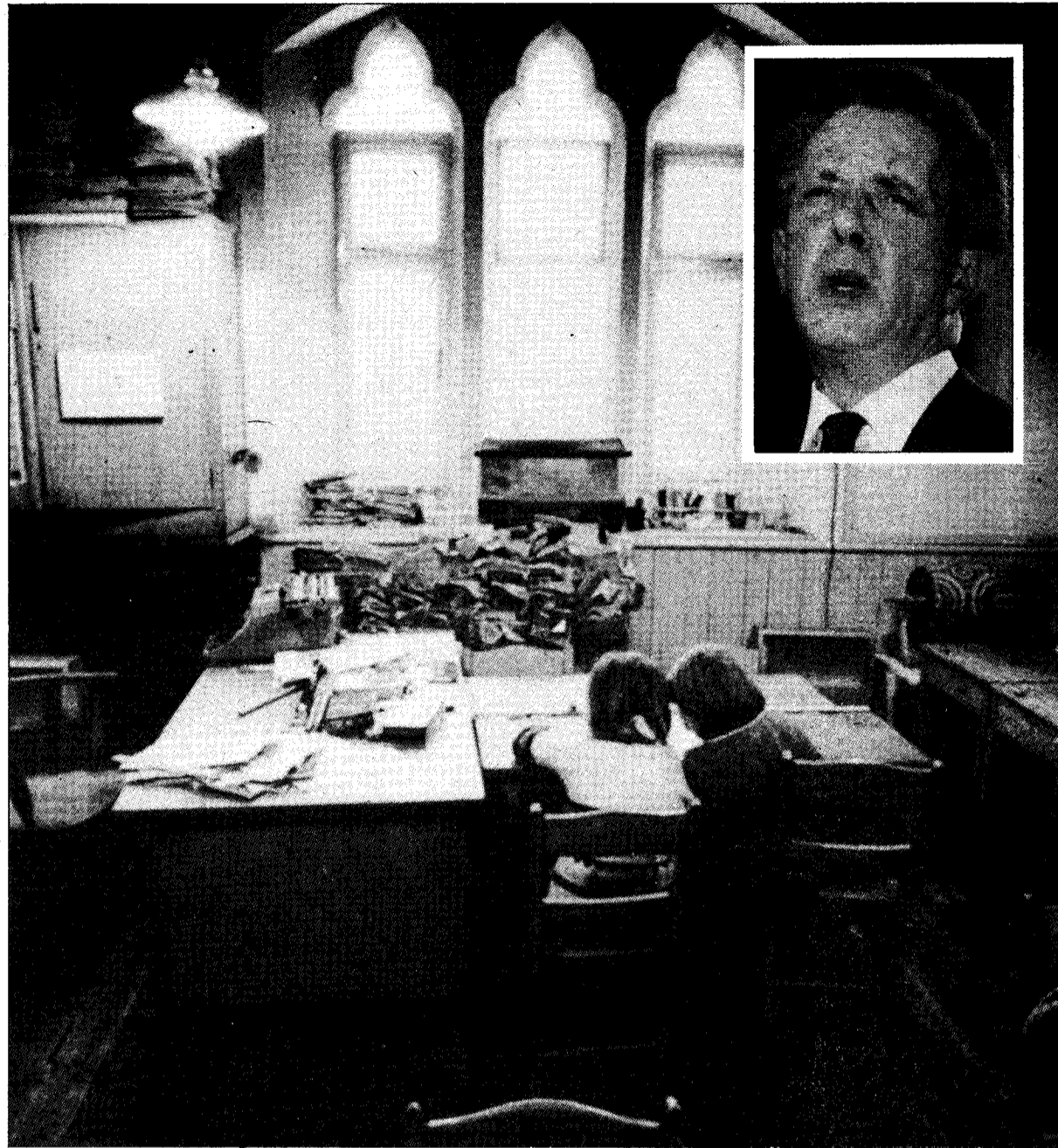
Teachers responded in their masses to 22 September's Day of Action in support of the health workers. That day saw thousands of teachers on the streets and pointed to an alternative strategy, but the bureaucrats balked at the prospect.

## Left

On Friday 25 March the employers offered 4 per cent and the talks adjourned until 15 April. At the emergency executive meeting afterwards however, only 5 out of 42 members voted to discuss a campaign of action at the conference. The STA will challenge this at Jersey.

On a number of other issues the union has been pushed leftwards. The union has adopted policy declaring racist behaviour an offence for which members can be thrown out of the union. The union has also expressed support for positive action for women (while not yet adopting a pro-abortion position).

In a number of cases policy still has to be created. Despite many objections this year's conference will be held in Jersey which means gays attending the conference face the prospect of prosecution by the local police under the island's laws.



'Mad monk' education minister Keith Joseph blames teachers for poor standards as he cuts spending on books, buildings and resources.

An attempt will be made to get the union to adopt a progressive policy on gay rights.

## Won

Much of these changes are directly attributable to the left. Since its creation six years ago the Socialist Teachers Alliance has emerged as the largest campaigning left grouping that organises in an open and democratic way in the union. The STA recently won the elections for the officers positions in the 14,000 strong Inner London Teachers Association.

The STA has just published a pamphlet arguing for the NUT to affiliate to the Labour Party and will be making moves to get the union to support the return of a Labour government.

The other main 'left' tendency, the Communist Party dominated Broad Left acts only as a conference caucus and election machine. So far it has failed to break in any significant way with the right wing leadership of the union.

Rank and File, the Socialist Workers Party 'front' organisation, has folded completely. The

STA, whilst disagreeing on many issues with Rank and File, regrets the SWP's refusal to engage in a serious fight with the right wing leadership of the union.

## Gains

Last year's conference registered important gains. The STA will be aiming to consolidate them and to build a grass roots movement committed to campaigning action for socialist policies in the NUT.

● Bernard Regan is a member of the NUT executive.

## NUT fringe meetings

- Socialist Teachers Alliance. Friday 1 April, Town Hall, 8pm. Regular lunch time meetings in Pomme d'Or, 12.30pm.
- Disarmament. Sunday 3 April, Town Hall 8pm.
- Women in the NUT. Monday 4 April. Venue and time to be announced.
- Gay Teachers' Group. Tuesday 5 April As above
- For a Labour government'. STA meeting. Wednesday 6 April. As above



unilateralism throughout the union at every level whatever the result of Jersey.

## Joint

Importantly this achievement is the result of joint efforts by the Socialist Teachers Alliance and some sections of the Broad Left's supporters. The Communist Party however have continued their attack on unilateralism calling instead for muddle-headed multilateralist motions to placate the right wing's hysteria about the dangers of membership loss due to the union becoming too political.

But the losses in NUT membership to the right-wing, non-TUC 'professional associations' and the reactionary National Association of Schoolmasters/Union of Women Teachers is not the result of left policy decisions at conference.

They are the product of a systematic failure by the right-wing leadership of the NUT to lead any fight against the continuing offensive of the Tory government against the education system.

One example of the right's failure is on the issue of pay. Last November the executive declared themselves in favour of a two stage return to the level of teachers pay in April 1975.

## Daleside Hadden still solid

By Andy Border

IN THE ninth week since management locked them out, workers at Daleside Hadden in Nottingham are still determined to win.

The dispute began when management tried to impose a continental shift system with compulsory overtime. This was part of a package which included the tearing up of all previous agreements with the union.

Picketing of the dyeing factory is maintained

around the clock and management is feeling the pinch. They have recruited scabs off the dole, so some work is produced. But this is proving counter-productive.

Contracts have been lost because of poor quality work and failure to meet deadlines. Other customers are returning bad work. In solidarity, hosiery and knitwear workers in other mills in the area are refusing to handle Daleside Hadden work.

On 20 March, strikers were made an offer after talks between management and officials of their union — NUHKW. The management would give them a golden hand shake if they abandoned their picket line and regarded themselves as dismissed. The strikers were asked to exchange their livelihood for the princely sum of £400, plus £50 for each year of working. This was rejected unanimously.

The longer the dispute, the more embittered the strikers

become. Last year they were paid a profit linked bonus. Management claimed a £1 million profit. Picketers have now read in the Nottingham Evening Post that managing director Fry declared profits of £6 million last year. This has fired their determination to win.

● Donations and messages of support to: Daleside Hadden strike committee c/o Martin Lawson, 1 Eugene Gardens, Meadows, Nottingham.

## Grosvenor House

THE BITTER dispute at the Grosvenor House hotel in London is still on. Twenty seven GMBATU workers have been sacked for demanding contracts of employment.

The Tories anti-union laws were used last week to force the Association of Broadcasting Staffs to televise the British Film and Television Awards. Their earlier vote not to cross the picket lines gave heart to the pickets, who face management abuse and police harass-



ment — three pickets were arrested on the night of the film jamboree.

Messages of support, donations and help on the picket line are urgent. GMBATU member and waterworker steward Harry Bristow, called on Socialist Action supporters to support the dispute at an East London SA launch meeting.

'This is a tough dispute. We saw a lot in our strike but it is something else in this day and age not to have a contract of employment.' His appeal raised £20 in the collection.

● Donations and messages to: GMBATU, Thorne House, 154 Brent St. Hendon NW4 2DP.

# Left victory in NUR

**JIMMY KNAPP's crushing victory in the election for general secretary of the rail union is a decisive blow against Sid Weighell's years of company unionism and collaboration with right wing Labour and Tory governments.**

Knapp got 63 per cent of the votes — with 90,078 out of 142,675. This majority is 5,000 larger than that of Weighell when he was returned as general secretary in 1975.

By P. Sikorski

The harsh realities that gave Knapp almost 40,000 more votes than the other three candidates combined are found in the tens of thousands of lost jobs and as many railworkers forced to choose between social security supplements or massive overtime.

No wonder that Weighell's red-baiting tactics cut no ice. Knapp's call to rebuild unity in the NUR and with all the rail unions struck a chord.

The sell out of last year's pay and productivity strike opened the door to sectional and local deals, similar to those introduced by MacGregor to decimate the steel industry. It paved the way for the scab rail union based in Derby, which management is already using against the closed shop.

Knapp's victory will mean some immediate changes. The executives of the NUR and the driver's union, ASLEF, now caucus before meeting the Board. The Triple Alliance will meet with the balance shifted against the right wing steel union leadership.

Now Weighell has gone, so too has a chief architect of the witch hunt. Knapp has made a welcome statement of intent to allow democratic institutions of the union to function. Even better is his statement on disarmament, quoted in the New Statesman, 'As general secretary I will argue strongly in favour of change to the unilateral principle'.

On the Serpell report, which threatens to carve up track and jobs, Knapp says 'we have to keep the issue of closures in the front of the country's mind. We must not allow the government to keep it under wraps until after the election'.

But NUR members want results from this new leadership — more so if the left win out at the election for assistant general secretary and president.

The Tories are not keeping Serpell under wraps until after the general election. They are implementing it now.

Three engineering workshops face closure over the next 12 months. The rest face major cuts unless they break even or make a profit. This is impossible without investment like the electrification of the network. This needs a socialist Labour victory at the general election.

The members want a united union but they also need fighting unity. To rebuild the destruction of the Weighell years, the new general secretary and the national executive committee must break the disastrous link between pay and productivity and travel the depots and workshops to plan industrial action against closures.

The lessons of the miners' ballot will have to be kept in mind. Knapp should organise those activists who delivered him the vote and link them with the left across the movement, especially in the NUM, the other transport unions and in steel.

Unless that fight starts now, Serpell and Thatcher cannot be put in the dustbin or a Labour victory based on socialist policies won.



Halewood pickets. Jimmy Atkinson, second from right

Photo: CARLOS AUGUSTO GUARITA (Photom)

# Halewood strikers take on Fords

**THE OFFICIAL strike of 4100 assembly workers at Ford Halewood in Merseyside has entered its fourth week.**

**The action, taken to defend sacked worker Paul Kelly, has shut down Halewood, with 4600 body plant workers laid off.**

**For the sake of a bracket worth 85p, which Kelly is wrongly accused of damaging, Ford management have sabotaged production of over 12,000 Escorts, at the cost of £60 million.**

Ford management and unions alike see this as much more than harassment of an individual worker. It is a test of strength. Ford bosses want submission to radical new work practices and demanding. Whatever the cost, they are trying to crush the workforce. But Halewood workers are having none of it.

By Celia Pugh

In 1980 Ford bosses travelled to Japan to inspect management methods. The result was a major anti-union rationalisation project, nicknamed 'After Japan' — AJ for short. Ford claim that its introduction in other countries has brought them from a \$2 billion loss in 1980 to a payout to shareholders.

Only British Ford workers stand in the way of these ruthless measures to screw more out of the workforce. Ford workers here have resisted moves to AJ, which threaten jobs, speed-up and a shattering of shop floor organisation.

Another 1700 jobs could go on top of the 1300 lost from Halewood through voluntary redundancy. In the next 18 months, 3,000 of the 19,000 Dagenham jobs are threatened.

## Mass

Within days of being laid off, a Halewood body plant mass meeting voted to take strike action if management introduce new work patterns on their return.

Halewood assembly plant shop steward Jimmy Atkinson explains: 'This dispute is about control. It reached this dramatic level because the national Ford hierarchy took it up. They want to do their utmost to empty the lads' pockets and take the backbone out of a future fight.'

## Plan

'The AJ plan affects all Ford workers, not just Halewood. While we were on strike, the body plant took the opportunity to discuss how this would affect us all with robotisation and demanding.'

'The mass meeting decided that when work resumes, whether we're out for 24 hours or 24 weeks, this will be the next issue.'

## Strike

'The body plant will walk along the road on strike if they try to introduce new work practices.'

'The Bridgend plant were working overtime like it was going out of style. The work was going

to Valencia and Saarlouis to bring it back into the country at Halewood's expense.

'We've had a word with the dockers and they're going to stop this. Now the Escort engine assembly workers at Bridgend are back to a 39 hour week with an overtime ban to support us.'

Jimmy describes management's attempts to break strike support with 'love letters promising an industrial tribunal' and frighteners about plant closure.

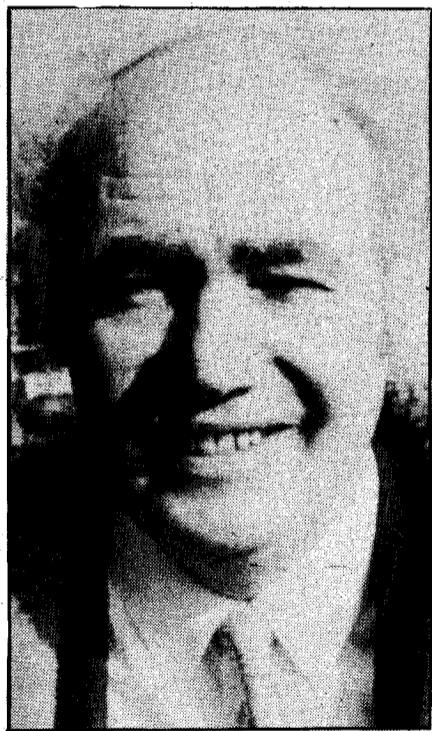
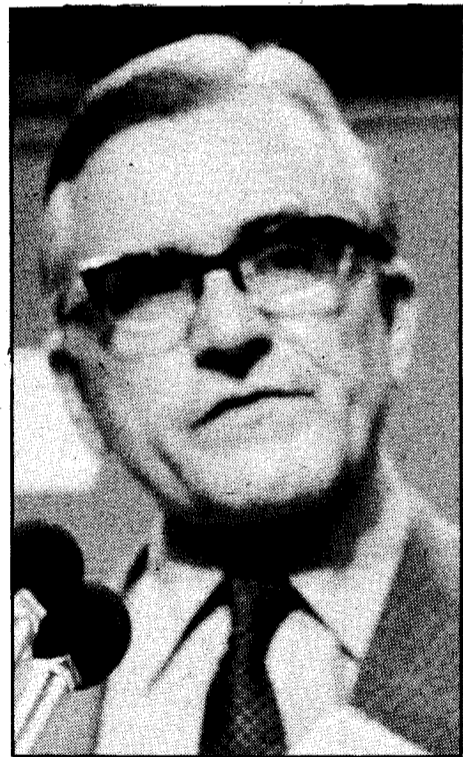
## Fight

'We believe that even if the tribunal finds in Paul Kelly's favour, it may not make a recommendation to reinstate him. This is why this is totally unacceptable.'

The *Financial Times* (26.3.83) reported that in 1981 only 0.7 per cent of unfair dismissal tribunals resulted in a decision for reinstatement. Can this be a misprint?

Ford workers rightly know they have to take things into their own hands for unconditional reinstatement and to fight a Ford carve up.

Photo: MORNING STAR



Jimmy Knapp

# WORM'S EYE VIEW



Steve Bell

though they are racist.

His dissertation explained that it was impossible to negotiate with the Russians because of the 'Mongol influence'. He reasoned that the Russians were descended from the Mongols and respected nothing but brute force.

His way of dealing with these 'aggressive foreigners' is simple. Confront them with US military superiority.

US imperialism now has a half-baked racist conducting their negotiations with the USSR. But a crazy system like capitalism does not need sane, human people to conduct its negotiations. It can manage very well with monkeys who dance to the organ grinder's tune.

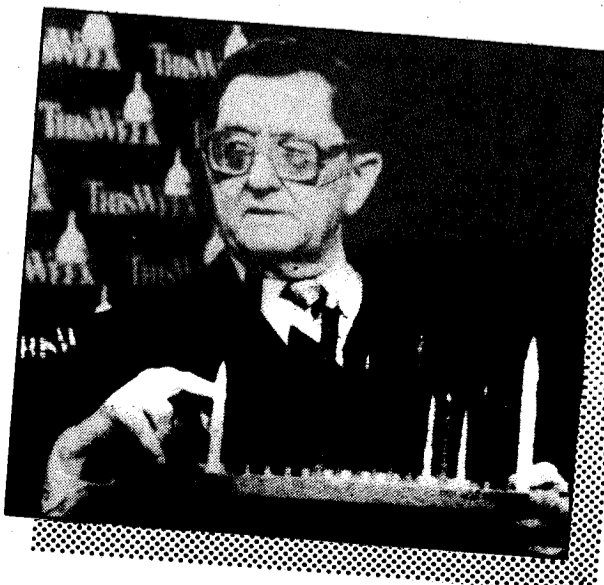
## Reagan's half-baked racist

MOST ARMY generals are not very bright. After all what intelligent human being would want to spend their life killing other people?

General Edward Rowny, the US special representative for arms control and disarmament negotiations, is no exception to the rule.

When he left the army he put pen to paper and wrote a study of US and Soviet negotiating tactics. One reader had a very apt description of Rowny's thoughts on this rather important issue. He described them as 'drivel'.

But Rowny did have some original ideas, even



Rowny blames it all on the Mongols

## Captain Mainwaring rides again

LAST WEEK'S mock 'terrorist' raid by Territorial SAS men on Kingsworth power station in Kent ended in fiasco.

The 17 machos toting their guns and fantasising about *Apocalypse Now* and Port Stanley had forgotten to tell the power workers that they were going to storm the station.

Unfortunately for 'our brave lads' the workers did not know it was just a game so they knocked the hell out of the midnight marauders. One SAS man got beaten

up badly — how sad. Two others ran away as fast as their legs would take them and fell into dyke. No, I am sorry, it was not a terminal job, just painful.

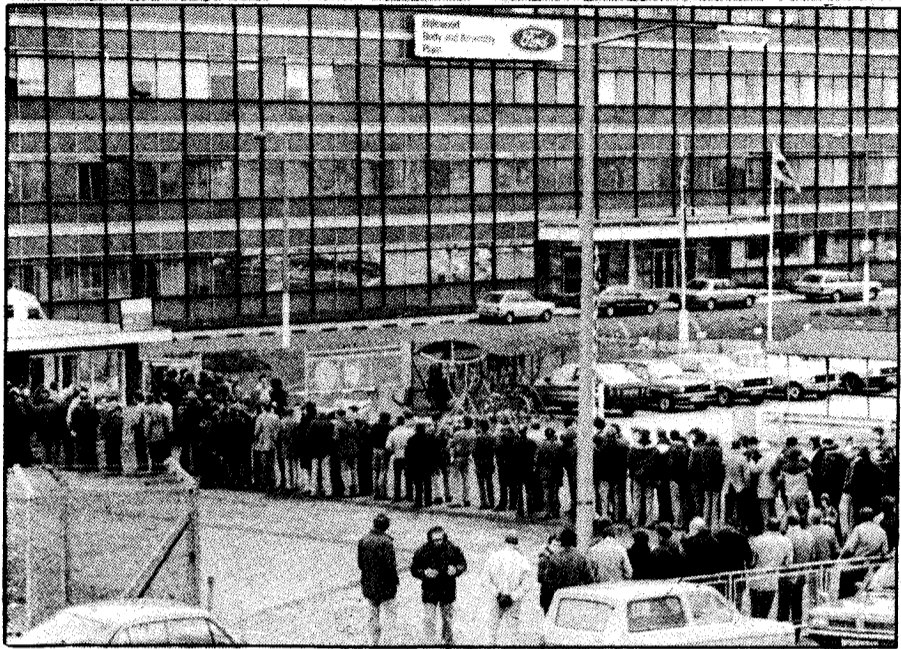
However, as long as the Territorial SAS is led by Captain Mainwaring and staffed by Dad's Army the safer I will feel.

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

# LABOUR'S MANIFESTO

# Cut profits, not wages!

Photo: CARLOS AUGUSTO GUARITA (Photom)



Halewood strikers queue for tax rebate

## Car plants rocked by action

**CAR BOSSES, from Fords to BL, have tried for years to force more profits from their workforce.**

**Speed-up, demanning, closure, changed work patterns and attacks on union organisation are the chosen methods.**

**But with a wave of strikes, BL and Ford workers are hitting back. A BL Cowley assembly worker explains.**

Next time Thatcher drives a Maestro she won't be so comfortable in her seat. Last Monday, a mass meeting of Cowley assembly workers voted to go on immediate strike. We rejected management's decision to cut the three minute hand-washing time at the end of each shift.

Nearly 100 per cent of the 2500 workers on the day shift turned out to hear Transport union convenor Bobby Fryer explain the shop stewards' unanimous recommendation for strike action.

In a week, the 'three minutes' means 66 minutes extra out of the day and

night shift. Workers would not get extra money for this.

Fryer pointed out that the three minutes was not a gift from management but has existed for 30 years and has been compensated for in faster line speeds. A concession on this issue would lead to slave labour on the line.

By taking a principled stand, workers would be defending more than the three minutes. Fryer continued that a vote in favour of the shop stewards recommendation was a vote for unity in defence of our union and to protect basic rights, working conditions and jobs.

A massive cheer went up when the vote was carried by an overwhelming majority. Only five voted against.

Engineering union convenor Doug Hobbs was surprised by the vote. 'Never in my 22 years at the factory have I seen such a decisive vote as the one here today.'

One of the strikers remarked, 'I've been in Cowley for 30 years and I've always been one of the moderates. But I've never been so incensed as I am over this. In the last two years management at-

titudes have changed to that of a bully boy.

'It's not really about the three minutes because the management know that an extra car goes on the line to compensate. We're not getting uptight about the three minutes but over the whole change of management attitude.'

'We're fed up being trampled on. They have turned a factory of moderates into a bloody-minded state.'

If management thought that a new young workforce meant a weak and feeble one then they have been proved wrong. Attacks on conditions at Cowley tie in with the attacks on car workers nationally at Halewood and Longbridge.

The Tories are trying to kick car workers into line. But the Cowley strike shows that a national fightback is possible. All trade unionists in car related industries should demand that the strike is made official and solidarity organised.

Send donations and messages of support to Bobby Fryer, c/o TGWU office, Cowley Road, Oxford.

● Halewood strike p.15.

**THE PUBLICATION of Labour's draft manifesto on Tuesday has met with predictable hostility from the Tories and their press. Spokespersons of both the left and right in the Labour Party have united to defend the statement.**

**But at the heart of the document is a repeat of the disastrous 'social contract' policy of the Wilson-Callaghan governments of 1974-79.**

It is true that the new campaign document contains many of the policies the left has been fighting for. This is a victory.

It proves that the right wing have not yet been able to defeat the rank and file of the party and the gains they have made.

It will make it easier for Labour Party activists to link up with those, such as the Greenham Common women and striking workers, who are already fighting the Tories for these policies, and in whose hands lies the real prospect of achieving them.

But events at the NEC meeting which discussed the document should remove any doubt as to whether the present right wing leadership has any intention of implementing socialist policies.

The NEC roundly defeated three motions against incomes restraint and, in particular, Dennis Skinner's motion that in accepting the TUC Party Liaison Committee report, the NEC recognises that it 'in no way mitigates against collective bargaining and will not be used to introduce wage restraint.'

## Green

Whatever formulae are used to try and distance the new policies from the social contract on which the last Labour government foundered, both the TUC and the Labour Party are now committed to try and hold back wages.

This is a wrong and disastrous policy. Let's look at the arguments.

First, it is claimed we need a wage policy to stop inflation. This is not true. Real wages in Britain have fallen in comparison with countries like Sweden and Germany whose inflation

rates have been lower.

Moreover, the truth is that Britain's capitalists want a wage cut.

## By the Editor

Peter Shore, Shadow Chancellor, has based his policy on a Treasury computer model based on a 1-2 per cent wage rise while inflation continues at 4-5 per cent. Over five years this means a 20 per cent reduction in real wages!



Peter Shore

It is also claimed a wage policy will make British industry more competitive. It is said we cannot compete because our wage costs are too high.

This is false. British industry is uncompetitive because its owners will not invest in new equipment.

Trying to correct this with wage cuts is like trying to make an iron plough compete with a combine harvester by starving the farm labourers. If British wages are uncompetitive, why are they among the lowest in Europe?

Only one argument has a semblance of truth in it — this is the claim that without a wage policy, Britain's balance of payments will soar into the red.

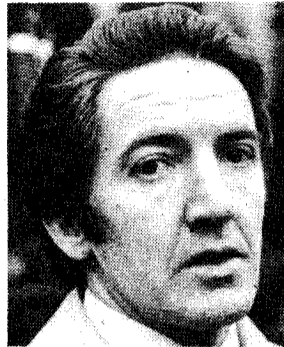
When Peter Shore ran his proposed budget through the treasury's computer last year, it told him that unless he kept wage rises within two per cent, there would be a £28bn balance of payments deficit.

But it also told him something else. As the *New Statesman* (26.11.82) said: 'profits and unearned income,' on his policies 'would roar away into the stratosphere'.

Company profits would double because 'almost every element in the Shore package helps companies prosper'.

And that's the point. Labour's policy is being recommended by the TUC and even Tony Benn, but it is based on boosting profits at the expense of wages.

Instead of attacking those responsible for the present crisis — the private owners of British industry — it would launch Labour into a new social contract, a new attempt to hold back the unions, a new 'Winter of Discontent' — in short



Denis Skinner

the policies which discredited the Labour Party utterly and lost it the 1979 election, and which paved the way for the Thatcher government.

In the coming trade union conferences this new social contract should be rejected.

Plans for the general election should be drawn up based on defending those conference policies which start to meet the real needs of the working class.

## Campaign

And a campaign should be built to put those policies and commitments at the centre of Labour's campaign to defeat the Tories.

That's the role of Socialists for a Labour Victory, a campaign uniting Labour Party members, trade union left tendencies, campaigns, women's and black movement activists. Build it!

● Contact SLV, c/o 28 Middle Lane, London N8.  
● Labour after Darlington p.10.

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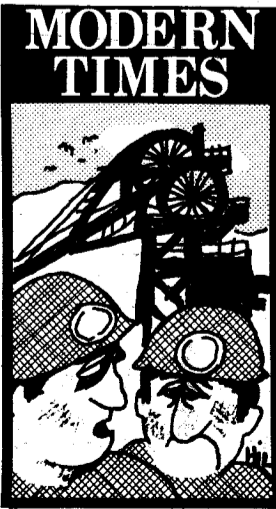
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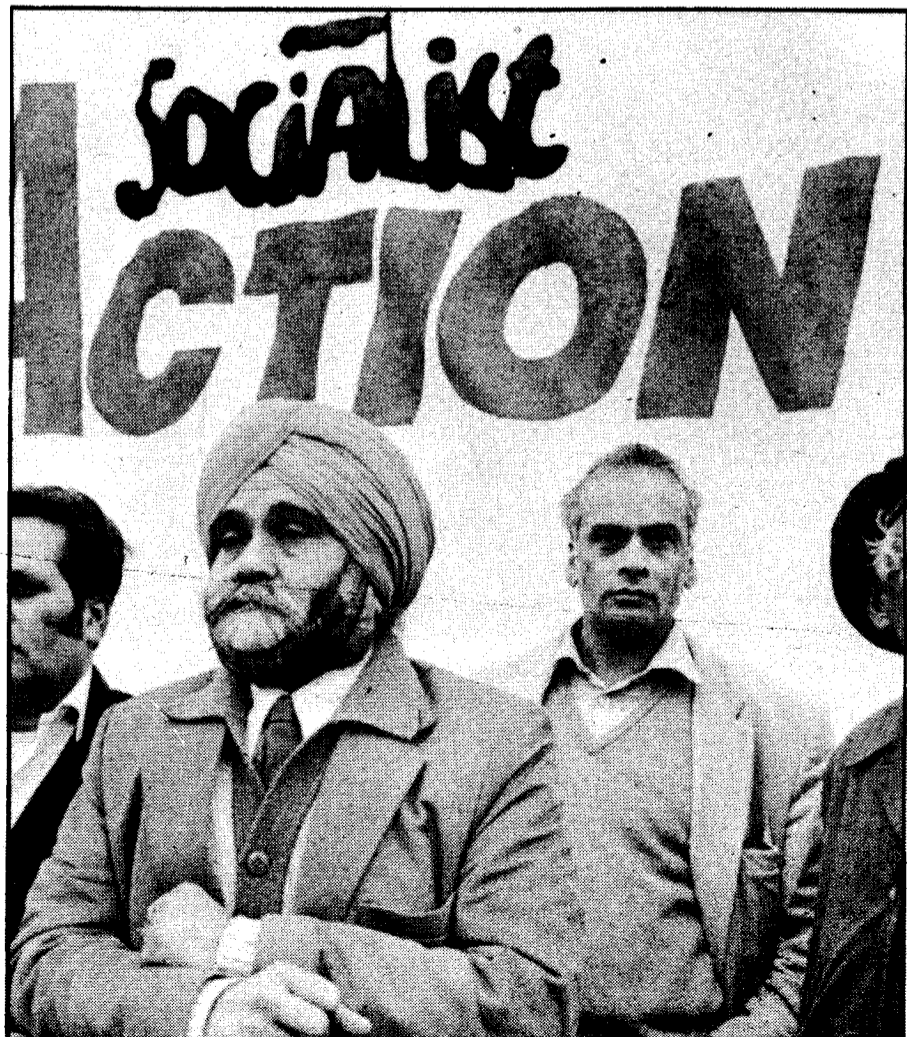
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They reckon Thatcher's going to offer British Rail to McDonalds ...



Campaign Against Racist Laws demonstration. Story page 5

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