

A Socialist ACTION



**Hands off
Central America
No more Chiles**

National demonstration
Sun 11 Sept. Join the
Socialist Action banner at
12.30pm, Clerkenwell
Green, EC1.

TUC: STAND UP AND FIGHT!

TWO ISSUES above all else should concern the TUC when it meets next week. Firstly, there is the threat of the extinction of most of western-Europe's population by nuclear weapons.

Secondly, there is the scourge of unemployment in Britain, which in the very short future will total around six million.

On both these matters the Tory government is determined to have its way. It is firmly committed to cruise and Trident and will go all the way with Reagan's war-like policies.

It is equally determined to make Britain a land fit for capitalist speculators and does not give a damn for the misery that unemployment causes.

Any compromise made by the TUC with the Tories on any of these issues can only be to the benefit of the government. If people are to escape the threat of nuclear annihilation and have a right to earn a living this government has to be fought. And that is what the so-called general staff of the trade union movement should be doing.

Past experience and present policies, however,

augur very badly for such a fight. On the nuclear issue the TUC has done nothing to organise a boycott of nuclear sites nor has it organised any industrial action against the presence of nuclear weapons. What is more it is obvious that they have no intention of doing anything in the future.

On unemployment their record is deplorable. When workers have resisted redundancies and sackings the TUC has been more conspicuous by its silence rather than by the help it has given those workers.

Now has come the most craven capitulation from Len Murray. He has discovered that full employment is not 'desirable or necessary' and thinks 'creative non-employment' is the answer. Presumably he means doing something like working on the TUC General Council which is

strong on non-employment, as far as the class struggle is concerned, but is a bit weak on the creative aspect!

There is a way to fight unemployment, and that is by throwing the weight of the unions behind every struggle that workers wage for work sharing. It is for the TUC to start a campaign inside the labour movement for a programme of public works which can create millions of new jobs and at the same time build the houses, schools, hospitals and produce all the other goods that we so badly need.

That means all-out opposition to the Tories. It involves organising extra-parliamentary action, and above all else it means no collaboration with the Tories.

Murray and his ilk are not going to do those things. They lack the political spine for such a job. This is why at this TUC the left have to begin to organise inside the unions and the TUC for the removal of this cowardly leadership otherwise they too will fail in their responsibility to the working class.

● TUC preview — see page 5

Troops out of Lebanon

IN AN ACT of naked aggression, United States imperialism has launched military exercises in North Africa and the Middle East — code named Bright Star '83.

To uphold US domination in the region, these operations involve 5500 US troops in Egypt and the Sudan, manoeuvres by the US fleet off the coast of Lybia and 1200 marines stationed in Lebanon — backed by 800 more on helicopter gunships.

Direct US military intervention led to the death of two US marines in Lebanon on 29 August. They were part of a supposed 'peace-keeping' force of 5400 US, British, French and Italian troops.

Active

Their active role was exposed when the marines used heavy weapons for the first time since their arrival in Lebanon against the Shi'ite Moslem militia south of Beirut.

After 40 minutes in-

tense attack with howitzers and mortars, the US marine commander reported that they had 'suppressed' the militia.

This suppression of Druze and Shi'ite militias — who are opposing the reactionary regime of President Gemayel in a developing civil war — will continue when Reagan completes a deal with Israeli prime minister Begin. This will hand over Israeli policing of the Shouf mountains, south east of Beirut to the so-called 'peace-keeping force' and Lebanese army.

Shock

Despite shock from the US public at the death of the marines — including a tearful plea from one of the dead marine's parents to 'bring our boys home' — the White House is unswayed, 'the marines are playing an extremely critical role and will stay in the Lebanon'.

The pending resignation of US imperialism's firmest ally, the butcher Menachem Begin, has made things more difficult for Reagan.

Begin's coalition government is being torn apart by differences over how to tackle the

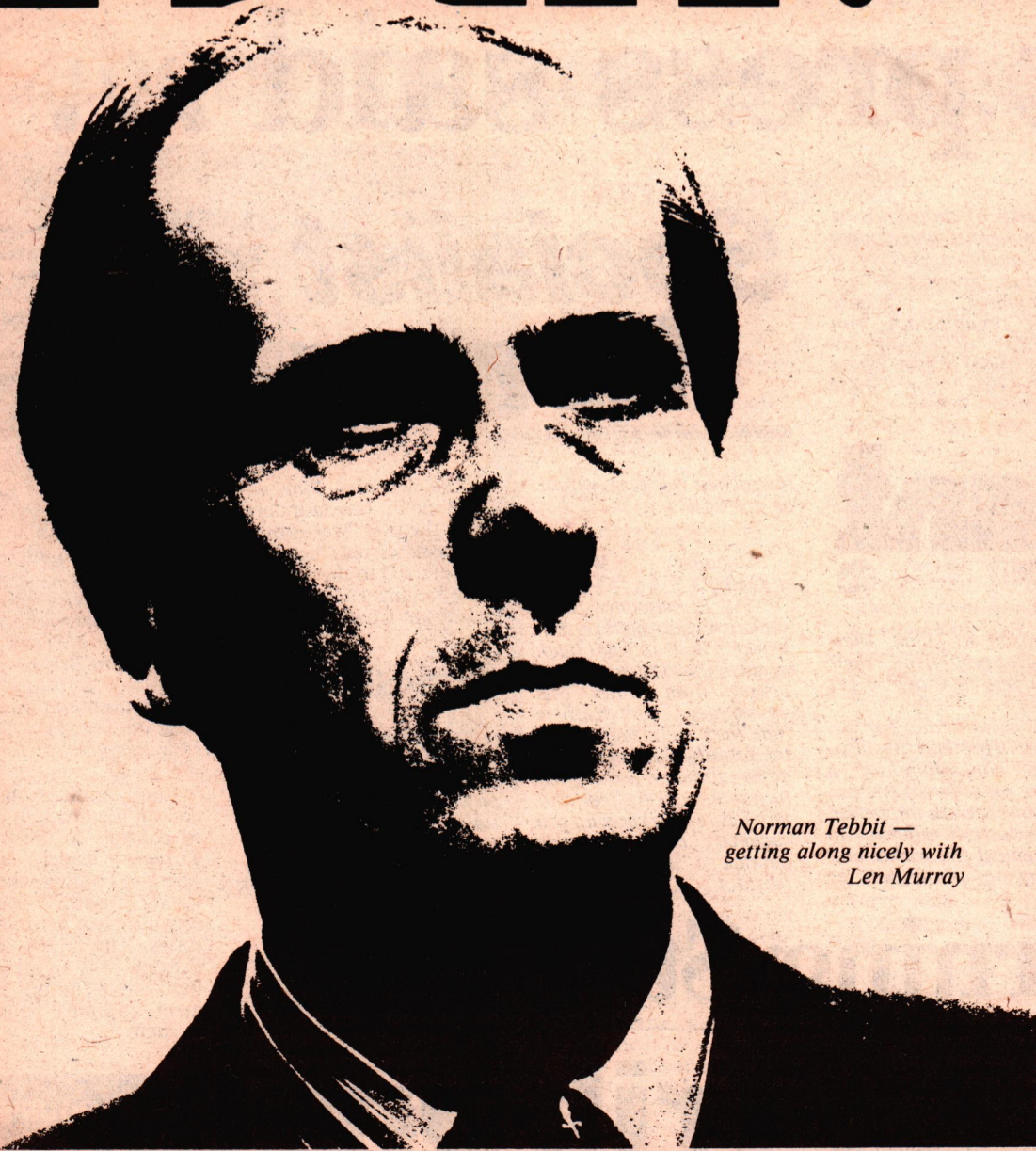
economic crises and growing opposition to austerity, Israeli operations in Lebanon and continued repression of Palestinians.

With Reagan's allies in the region buckling under resistance, an escalation of direct US military aggression is likely — backed by Reagan's faithful friend Thatcher. The call must go out — US and British troops out of the Middle East.

**MODERN
TIMES**



He's somebody who should be creatively non-employed...



Norman Tebbit —
getting along nicely with
Len Murray

Socialist ACTION

Labour Party 'moles' Witch hunt escalates

THE WITCH HUNT against Socialist Action, which started with Cowley and moved onto CND, has now exploded in the Labour Party.

'1000 Labour Party moles' claimed the *Daily Telegraph*. Last Tuesday *The Times* broadened the attack, linking Socialist Action supporter Davy Jones with the national *Labour Briefing*, and via devious routes, with Ken Livingstone and Jeremy Corbyn MP.

By the end of the last week the Labour Party was being buried under a mountain of Trotskyist moles.

While Labour Party General Secretary Jim Mortimer moved last Wednesday to pour cold water on the story, Walworth Road information officer Frank Ward was busy stoking up the 'mole hunt' fires.

It was entirely predictable that the witch hunt which started at Cowley would end up in the Labour Party. As MP

Ron Brown rightly pointed out in our pages last week, those on the right wing of the Party who have stoked up witch hunts against *Militant* and others are in part responsible for the general climate of anti-left hysteria which made the Cowley events possible. Whether or not the right wing pushes its attack on Socialist Action before the Labour Party conference, it's not hard to predict that there is more witch hunting to come.

The political context of the attack on the militant left in the Labour Party is that of the attempt by the right wing to 're-centre' the party, to abandon left wing policies on disarmament, the Common Market and incomes policy.

Unfortunately, the drift to the right after the outcome of the general election is only too obvious in sections of the Labour left itself.

The statements by Michael Meacher, the left's candidate for Deputy Leader, that the left should abandon its obsessions with unilateralism and the re-instatement of the five expelled *Militant* editors, is a sign that the section of the

Left around the Labour Coordinating Committee is moving rapidly to the right.

Meacher's statement on the expelled *Militant* editors is especially scandalous. No compromise with the right wing of the party is possible on the witch hunt question — once the principle that socialists can be expelled is accepted, then the door is wide open to further attacks.

While the present witch hunt has been started by the right wing press, the right wing leadership of the labour movement is complicit in this attack. Frank Ward is only the most publicised feeder of scare stories about Socialist Action to the press. It seems transparently obvious that somebody in the CND leadership has been briefing the press, and in particular the *Guardian*, with lying accusations about our supporters.

Marxism

The fabrications about 'plots' and 'conspiracies' are organisational devices to conceal a political attack. That is true both inside the Labour Party and CND. In both, sections of the leadership want to be rid of the most determined fighters for militant policies.

The attack on Socialist Action differs in no way from the attack on *Militant*. The scare stories of 'infiltrators', 'moles' and 'conspirators' are designed for one thing only: to portray the militant left both inside the Labour Party and the trade unions as 'evil people' whose ideas are not to be taken seriously.

The sensationalism surrounding the 'plot' stories aims to make the ideas of Marxism in the labour move-

ment appear bizarre and irrational, the prerogative of a few 'fanatics'. The ultimate aim is to drive Marxists out of the labour movement.

Ideas

One of the scandals of the present attacks is the assumption that Marxists do not have the right to put their ideas in the Labour Party and the labour movement as a whole, while open agents of the capitalist class are assumed to have a God-given right to be part of the labour movement — and indeed even lead it.

Everyone knows that many of the leaders of both the Party and the unions regard the objective of socialism as a joke — good for Sunday speeches, but nothing to do with practical reality.

Everyone knows that people like Hattersley and Shore have more in common with the SDP than with the declared objectives of the Labour Party constitution — the social ownership of the means of production.

Socialist Action will expose the right wing witch hunters every inch of the way. We will continue to point out that the witch hunt is an attack not only on the whole of the labour left, but on basic ideas of the labour movement — class solidarity and the settling of differences by democratic debate.

We have no intention of being driven out of the labour movement or sitting idly by while other left wingers are vilified and expelled. As Ron Brown said last week: 'the fight for socialism will and must go on.'



What the left press said ...

THE DISMISSAL of 13 trade unionists at Cowley is a clear case of political victimisation by the employers. As such it is a simple and clear cut issue of basic democratic rights — the right to have a job irrespective of your political views.

The Cowley management and the Fleet Street press have tried to make the issue a very different one — a question of whether lies were told on the application forms, a question of whether the 13 'conspired' together to get jobs in the plant.

If everyone who told lies on their application form were sacked the factories would be emptied. If socialists have to lie to get jobs, then that only shows the existing state of repression which already exists against trade union activists in industry. This is a fundamental issue not only for socialists, but for all supporters of basic democratic rights.

It is interesting therefore to review the response of the left press to this issue.

Labour Herald under the title 'BL whips up witch hunt' argued that 'Tory press jackals' took the opportunity to launch a general attack on 'subversives' in the trade

Militant itself the victim of an appalling witch hunt in the labour movement had a much better editorial line. 'The trade union movement has a duty to defend the thirteen workers sacked from BL because of their political

hundreds of thousands of job applicants who change their qualifications in a desperate attempt to get employment. Where bosses organisations run blacklists of union activists, there is even direct justification for trade



views'. Arguing that the victimisation was part of BL's continuing crusade against trade union militants, *Militant* stated:

'It is an indictment of capitalist society, in any case, that workers often have to lie to get a job. With mass unemployment, there are probably

unionists to hide their backgrounds from their employers in order to get jobs ...

It is ludicrous for BL bosses to pretend that a so-called conspiracy of a dozen or so workers can have any serious impact on the industrial relations in BL against the wishes and feelings of thousands of

Socialist Worker

Neither Washington nor Moscow but International Socialism

the sacked workers, would be a serious mistake ...'

Socialist Worker argued:

'All 13 happened to be socialists who believe that workers have to fight back against the destruction of people lives under this government. The truth is that they were sacked for their political beliefs ... the press campaign is designed to make workers feel that any fellow worker who is a socialist is a strange animal, a 'mole', an infiltrator'.

INSIDE

World banking crisis
See page 10

Whatever happened to Labour's housing dream?
See centre pages

The Morning Star, in an article by Jim Saunders under the title 'McCarthyism rears its ugly head at BL' referred to the alleged letter urging socialists to get jobs at Cowley.

Opposed

'This may have been in the eyes of some an act of crass stupidity. But is it any worse than a trade union selecting a non-union firm to organise, or for CND to set up factory branches in the cause of

peace or for the Labour and Communist Parties to recruit shop floor workers and build organisations? Is it any worse for example than the advice given by Mrs Thatcher to this year's conference of Tory trade unionists in Bristol urging them to "infiltrate" the trade unions and win positions and support for the Tory Party?'

Jim Saunders hit the nail on the head, in marked contrast to the foolish *Tribune* leader writer. There is nothing whatever wrong with socialists organising to get into factories. The attack on the Cowley 13 is an attack on the whole union movement, and must be fought as such.

Morning Star

INCORPORATING THE DAILY WORKER FRIDAY JULY 15 1983

PAGE TWO
Mandela's challenge

Labour HERALD

20p

Friday July 8, 1983

other workers there ... For the trade unions to give only "token" support, to merely "go through the motions" without any serious intent to defend

Tribune

JULY 1, 1983

VOL 47 NO 26

40p

STILL LABOUR'S INDEPENDENT WEEKLY

Heffer says 'Fight McCarthyism'

Eric Heffer, left wing challenger in the Labour leadership race last Friday issued a press statement attacking the witch hunt of socialists in industry and the Labour Party. The text is as follows:

Letter to Party members from Eric Heffer, MP

A very dangerous situation is developing in Britain which I believe all genuine democrats must concern themselves with. Clearly, the 'blacklisting' of workers for their political opinions and who are engaged in trade union activity is on the increase and the high levels of unemployment are being deliberately used to try to weaken and ultimately destroy trade union shopfloor organisation.

The campaign in certain organs of the press, based on the action of the BL Management, supported by some engineering and other employers' organisations, against the so-called 'Left-Wing Moles' in industry, is clearly not only concerned with whether some people filled in their application forms correctly, but is designed to frighten off workers from being shop stewards and trade union representatives at their place of work.

The question that has to be asked is where will it end?

Over the years we have seen the Communist Derek Robinson dismissed from his job. We have also seen other shop stewards (not members of the Communist Party, or of any other left wing group) but because they were active trade unionists, dismissed from employment.

The dangerous atmosphere is being created in

Britain, in all honesty not yet as advanced as in the USA in the 1950s, of the need for a witch hunt against so-called 'reds' similar to that which took place in the USA after the second world war, developed and supported by Richard Nixon and Senator McCarthy where scapegoats were required, and which I believe was the reason for the judicial murder of the Rosenbergs.

Danger

Certainly we in Britain have not got to that stage yet, but the danger signs are there and this is the time for all true democrats to say enough is enough before it is too late and the atmosphere develops into one of hysteria.

The latest episode is of course the further attempts by some newspapers to undermine the Labour Party by such stories as 1,000 moles

within the Party. These no doubt in addition to the supporters of the paper, *Militant*.

I note that some of the most right-wing reactionary newspapers have editorials concerning themselves with the health of the Party, the same newspapers, incidentally, which at no time ever supported Labour when Clem Attlee, Hugh Gaitskill, Harold Wilson or Jim Callaghan were leaders.

They have always been anti-Labour in their policies and they will continue to be so.

Damage

As a socialist all my adult life, over the years I have read in certain newspapers that the Labour Party was being infiltrated, that the CLPs were Communist dominated, or Trotskyist influenced, and that a takeover was about to take place.

Sometimes a few Labour and trade union leaders have given credence to the statements, usually ones who later have left Labour's ranks after having used the Party for their personal advancement.

I warn Party members that the statements being made today about moles etc. are designed to damage the Party and stop us from winning power at the next election. They are designed to frighten the people by painting a picture that bears no relation to the real situation.

There are differences within the Labour Party, there are those on the left and those on the right,

there always have been, and as long as we are a democratic Labour Party, there always will be.

It should be remembered that during the days of Nye Bevan, the Bevanites were attacked as a Party within the Party, and that Tribune was the mouthpiece of the Bevanites. Nowadays, the left which holds Bevan's point of view, is sometimes referred to as the 'legitimate' left, when in the past it was argued they should have been expelled.

It is worth recalling that when the Parliamentary revolution took place, there was an upsurge of groups all adhering to Parliament and the revolution, who sold their pamphlets in stalls in Westminster Hall.

It is a long tradition in Britain that groups within the wider movement argue their case. Sometimes their arguments win the majority support, usually they do not.

Democracy

The real point is that it is our tradition to have varying groups and journals and it is a tradition that is at the heart of British democracy.

If that is destroyed or undermined then we are moving increasingly towards the authoritarianism which George Orwell wrote about in his book '1984'. Orwell believed in genuine workers' democracy and it is a view I also hold, and anything that tries to undermine it must be strongly resisted.



Eric Heffer: time to fight McCarthyism

Labour movement against the witch hunt



Photo: JUDE WOODWARD

Jo Richardson MP

Jo Richardson MP

THE atmosphere created by BL's actions, coupled with increased publicity of 'entrist' in the Labour Party risks leading us into a McCarthyite era. Ordinary people in this country have never experienced the scandalous way in which McCarthy destroyed the lives of many people in

the USA. It's time that ordinary people realised that with the help of the capitalist press and an extreme right wing Tory government such developments could begin to happen here. It's got to be fought through the unions, political parties and any other ways open to ordinary folk in Britain.

Chris Smith MP

'I HAVE just returned from a fact-finding visit to Turkey where trade unionists, elected MPs and councillors, people in the peace movement and other citizens are in prison for their beliefs. They are being tried for what they think, not for anything they have actually done. I have

Henry Richardson, General Secretary Nottingham area NUM

THE sacking of the 13 workers at British Leyland's Cowley Plant shows that the labour movement must be on its guard. This could be the start of a general witch hunt of socialists in British industry, orchestrated by the media. The labour movement must fight tooth and nail against any drift to a West German-type situation where socialists are denied employment on the grounds of their political beliefs.

been horrified by what I have seen.

When I see the same thing beginning to happen here I become even more worried. People have been sacked from British Leyland because they hold particular views. Members of the Labour Party are being attacked — and their membership is under threat — because of their particular vision of socialist progress. Such attacks are profoundly undemocratic and indefensible.

The labour movement is composed of many different viewpoints united in a common aim. I will defend the right of all in the labour movement to develop and argue for their own beliefs — be they on the left or the right of the party. And in the face of recent attacks I will defend the right of Socialist Action to fight for their particular corner. The Labour Party should be welcoming an open discussion across the whole of the socialist spectrum and a dedication to fighting a cruel Tory government, it shouldn't be condemning it.



Photo: GM COOKSON

Stuart Holland MP

Stuart Holland MP

THE hysteria about moles in Cowley is a smokescreen. The real moles in British industry are those who have undermined trade union rights and pumped billions into foreign investment or property speculation.

British Leyland is in crisis because private

enterprise failed to manage a successful merger of the British vehicles industry fifteen years ago and because British capital prefers financial speculation to industrial investment.

Former BL chief Lord Stokes complained years ago of a capital strike — that the British stock

Labour Campaign for Gay Rights

'LABOUR Campaign for Gay Rights wishes to state its total opposition to all witch hunts, whether at the workplace, in the unions, in our movements or in our Labour Party.

'Having had experience of what happens when socialist ideas meet the British media, we can express great sympathy. We must not bow down, but double the attack!'

market valued the then British Motor Corporation at less than one empty office block in central London — Centreport.

It is capital not labour which has struck down British Leyland over many years. The sacked workers should be reinstated.

IRELAND UNFREE

Referendum campaign

IN THE RUN UP to the Abortion Amendment Referendum, on 7 September, opponents will be pulling out all the stops for a NO vote.

Eddie Conlon, who is the national organiser for the anti-amendment campaign, says 'the issue is really about whether women should be driven back to the home and tied forever to the kitchen sink. We are challenging the church and state who try to control our bodies and our lives.'

'We are challenging the ideas which have led to the amendment and the vicious attacks which are now going on against workers' living standards. Voting NO is saying we have a right to control our lives.'

A year ago it would have been inconceivable that the amendment could have been defeated. But in the last couple of months, opinion has shifted. The argument that the Catholic church should not assume moral responsibility for the entire nation has gained ground. The debate has opened up opportunities for socialists and feminists to explain more clearly the relationship between the church and the state, and in favour of a woman's right to choose whether to have children or not.



Belfast protest against RUC 'shoot to kill' campaign

Campaign of passive resistance

AT THE funeral for Thomas 'Kidso' Reilly, the latest victim of the army's 'shoot to kill' policy, Gerry Adams MP called for a new campaign of popular resistance to the army and RUC which can augment the armed struggle.

In a speech to the 1500 mourners, Adams spelt out the tactics of the nationalist struggle. He described the armed struggle of the IRA, and dealt briefly with the sporadic rioting that has affected nationalist areas throughout August.

He said that much of the rioting had been provoked by the army and, as much as he respected the spirit of resistance of young people involved, felt that things should be better organised. 'Stones or even petrol bombs', he said 'cannot penetrate armoured cars'.

The third kind of resistance which should now be promoted is one which every single person can be involved in. Although the details of such a campaign are yet to be spelt out, more than in a refusal to cooperate with the army of RUC, it is obvious this is the direction that Sinn Fein should be leading the nationalist movement.

The resumption of womens' patrols and street organisation can create a continual obstacle to the military occupation. A campaign to smash the Assembly which focuses on immediate goals such as ending the 'shoot to kill' policy and combatting the informers, could rekindle the flame of 32 County resistance that grew around the H-block/Armagh struggle.

It would also provide the best ammunition to break up the so-called All Ireland Forum, behind which the SDLP and bosses' parties of the South cooperate with British imperialism.

The real issues facing CND

IT'S high time the left-wing of CND went on the offensive against the backtracking leaders of the Campaign. What have we seen Bruce Kent and Joan Ruddock do since the general election? Act on the policy decisions of last CND conference and mobilise labour movement support behind the demands of no cruise, no Trident, no Pershing, no bases and no weapons in Britain, building on the anti-Trident and anti-cruise vote and developing the case for unilateralism?

You must be joking. Top priority for Bruce and Joan has become the suppression of the militant sections of CND, downplaying the importance of mass action, a turn away from the labour movement and a re-ordering of its demands so that the focus is shifted away from unilateralism and towards a 'nuclear freeze' as a priority for campaigning.

By Valerie Coultas

Let's just look for a moment at the question of the influence of socialists within the Campaign as a whole. Bruce Kent in his latest editorial in *Sanity* draws his balance sheet of the general election saying that 'We have to avoid tactics that do more to alienate than convince'.

Which tactics have alienated support? The mass demonstrations over the last three years, the 60,000 strong YCND Rock

Against the Bomb festival in May at Brockwell Park, the activities of Labour CND which through pressure helped the unilateral nuclear disarmament become policy for the Labour Party? Or perhaps Bruce is talking about those 'uncontrollable' women at Greenham Common who the bourgeois press are doing such a wholesome job on at the present time — portraying them as unloving mothers, hippies, non-political druggies etc?

We would take strong issue with the suggestion that these mass actions did anything to damage CND's cause.

Women

Quite the contrary, every mass action taken, and particularly ones such as the Greenham women organised all over the world on 24 May of this year reach out to new peo-

ple, win more supporters for CND, more supporters against the false arguments of the Tories that we are protected by the bomb, so having more of them will keep us even safer.

Crime

So socialists are involved in these sections of CND. They have helped build the mass actions. What a dreadful crime! 'Seek them out, try and make them pariahs, try to put CND on a "respectable" course, for we have to go further now and be prepared to face much more basic fixations and emotions. People have been made more fearful of possible aggression and want to be defended.' (*Sanity* September 1983)

Argue

You can't argue for unilateralism if you bend to the argument that somehow the 'British nation' is under attack and needs to be defended. There is no evidence to justify the Tories' propaganda on this point. Rather than talking about 'alternative defence' systems the CND leaders should go on the offensive

against Thatcher, pointing out that as members of the NATO alliance, with its 'first strike' strategy, we are likely to start a nuclear war — a war that no ordinary person in Britain has any interest in waging and one that is impossible to win.

But this of course means taking a political stance, breaking with the idea of CND as being a 'nice little pressure group' that involves 'nice concerned people' and going out and mobilising the labour movement to stop the bomb.

Wave

And this is where the CND leaders have fallen down most decisively in this new wave of the campaign. The support of trade unionists for the demands of CND has been massive but its potential has never been tapped. The last TUC conference was mandated to initiate European wide action on Hiroshima day but no move to implement this resolution was made. Nor have the CND leaders or TU CND been particularly dynamic in pushing connection.

At the Transport and General Workers Union Conference in the Isle of

Man there was not one of official CND meeting, on-meeting, only the Greenham Common women were there to put CND's case. 'We in CND', says Bruce Kent, 'are seen as all-or-nothing people. This must change. Without the slightest loss of vision or principle we have to highlight measures which are immediately possible and which, when carried out, will make further steps possible.'

Vision

This is not the approach of the anti-cruise spirit that swept across Britain a year ago. It is not the bold argument of a break with the nuclear spiral that unilateralism calls for. It is the admittance of defeat and its rationalisation by a weary priest.

The rank and file of CND must organise against this mealy mouth view by building October 22nd as a labour movement event. Leaders should be accountable in every movement. The witch hunting must stop and the case against the bomb must be made more forcefully with this government in power.



All out 22 October!



Arthur Scargill: right to attack Reagan and Thatcher

ARTHUR Scargill's comments in Moscow, that the biggest threats to world peace were President Reagan and Thatcher have caused uproar.

Both Tories and right wing Labour leaders have rushed to condemn him. But Scargill said nothing which he had not said a hundred times before in Britain. And as the West hurtles headlong towards the deployment of hundreds of cruise and Pershing missiles and Reagan sends his troops and ships to Central America, his comments are surely right.

Last week, Soviet president Yuri Andropov offered to scrap a substantial number of the Soviet SS-20 missiles if the West refrained from deploying the cruise and Pershings. Whatever the particular merits of this offer, it exposed once again the hypocrisy of the West's 'zero option' offer, which in effect asks the Soviet Union to lower its defences against the West's submarine and air-

launched missiles.

Time is rapidly running out for the peace movement in the West to mobilise against the deployment of the new medium range missiles.

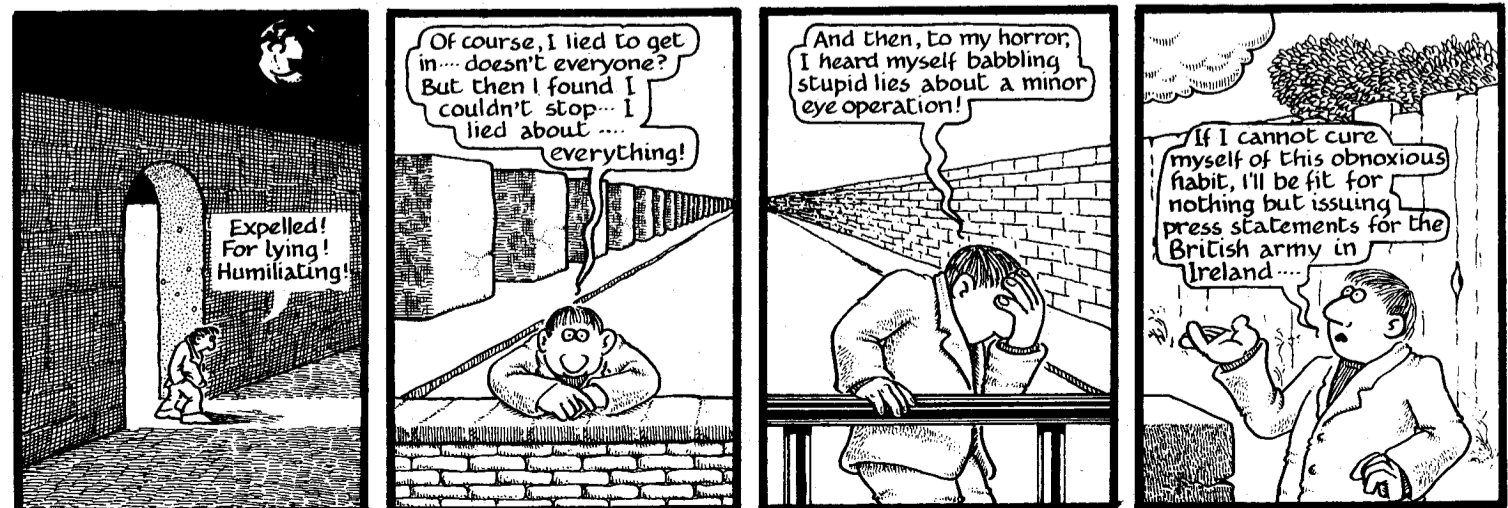
All over Europe there will be major demonstrations this autumn. In West Germany in particular huge mobilisations including mass civil disobedience, are expected in December. In this context, any temptation to take off

the pressure and start speculating about a decades-long strategy is surely inappropriate.

The decision of the CND National Council to call for a mass demonstration to coincide with other throughout Europe could show the depth of feeling in Britain against the missiles.

The general election result was NOT a mandate for cruise and Trident. Throughout the labour and peace movements the call should go out for a big show of strength for the peace movement on 22 October. The Tories and all opponents of CND are waiting to show that CND is dead. A mass turnout in October must be our reply.

A PIECE OF THE ACTION



TUC Conference:

No talks with the Chingford skinhead

THIS SEPTEMBER'S TUC Conference will see a determined effort by the right wing, led by Len Murray, to whip the trade unions into line behind Thatcher. At the centre of the battle will be the question of talks with Norman 'boot-boy' Tebbit on the Tories anti-union legislation.

The train drivers union, ASLEF, has called for 'total opposition to the proposed legislation', while the Civil and Public Services Association calls for 'reasoned discussion' with the government.

AUEW-TASS calls for no talks with the government, but an amendment from the shop workers union USDAW asks the TUC 'to convey their reasoned opposition' to Tebbit's proposals and to persuade the government to table no further legislation.

The issue is not simply about anti-union legislation. At the heart of the matter is whether the TUC will lead any serious opposition to the Tories anti-working class laws.

The right wing have decided that appeasement is the best approach and Len Murray has been busy for some time preparing

the ground.

Last week he emerged from talks with Tebbit on the Youth Training Scheme allowance, and on payment of wages by cheque, declaring that the talks had been 'constructive and quite fruitful'. Since Tebbit did not change the allowance, and payment by cheque remains a Tory objective, the 'fruitfulness' of the discussions is difficult to see.

This week he went even further. In an interview with the *Guardian* he declared that he did not consider full employment 'desirable or necessary'. He went on to explain that the labour movement should now have a different aim: 'creative non-employment'. Mr Murray was very concerned to ensure that we learned to live with a society that will probably have a 5-6 million

unemployed in the next few years.

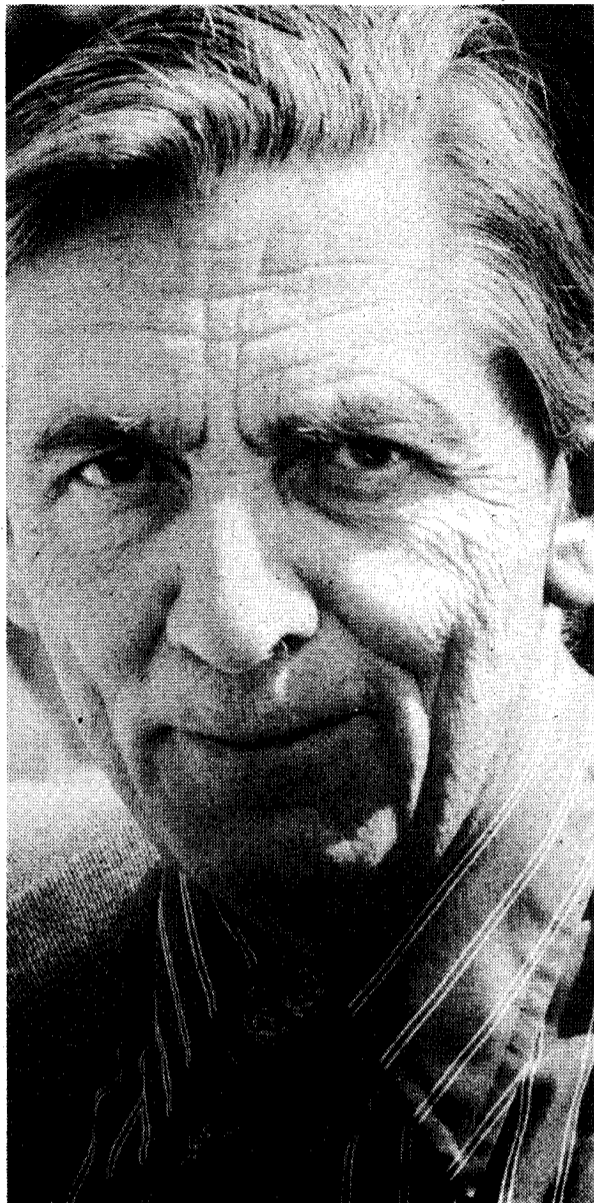
Noticeably absent from the platform of the right has been the matter of the political levy. The ruling class has made clear its intentions to break the Labour Party and replace it with the Alliance as the main opposition to the Tories.

Alliance

The trade union right wing is more concerned to negotiate with all comers and to prepare the ground for future deals with the Alliance than to fight the Tory attacks.

The stakes in the battle which will open at this TUC are very high indeed for the working class. Opposition to unemployment, defence of trade union organisation, and the links between the Labour Party and organised labour are now under threat.

The Tories have no intention of retreating on any of their main objectives. Thatcher, within days of Murray's 'fruitful'



Len Murray — leading TUC even further right

talks with Tebbit, made it clear that there would be a further round of anti-union legislation when the current proposals were passed.

Unemployment continues to rise and the final assault on the nationalised industries and the welfare state have yet to come.

In this situation the policy being pursued by Murray and friends is nothing short of treason. They hope that by not op-

posing the Tory attacks they can get a deal which will preserve the privileges of the bureaucracy.

In the meantime, the unemployed and many of those now in work, can devote their energies to 'creative non-employment'.

These policies must be opposed by the left with all the strength at its command. And that fight must go on long after the TUC Conference.



London Transport — latest for Tory cuts

Mystery tour

TORY MANIA for job cuts and privatisation is to be extended to London Transport. Latest government proposals plan to take away the service from the GLC and give it to a government appointed committee whose job would be to run the buses and underground as much like a business as possible.

The new setup — called London Region Transport — will be split into subsidiaries and subsidiaries of subsidiaries. These will have to compete with private tenders if they are profitable and, where possible, sold off.

It will be made easier for private firms to run their own buses on profitable routes. Safety standards will inevitably

decline with job cuts, and pensioners will no longer have the right to free or cheap travel.

Union response to these proposals has so far been weak. It seems that even when the will is there, union leaderships have forgotten how to mobilise their own members.

But the basis exists for a popular political campaign to rescue London Transport, involving the travelling public, the GLC and the transport unions.

Most Londoners want to keep the GLC, keep London Transport, keep fares down, keep transport accountable and keep jobs. The unions will be decisive in either making use of those sentiments or letting London Transport go down a very slippery slope. At the moment the prospects are not good.

Press profits from sexual attacks

'THERE HAS never been a crime like this before. Gang rapes of girls and women, perhaps, but nothing as brutal' — Detective Inspector Peter Whitehouse.

This comment is from one of the police officers leading the hunt for the three men who raped a six-year old boy in Brighton two weeks ago.

By Hilary Driver

The attack has, rightly, horrified everybody. But the way that the 'popular' papers have sensationalised and exploited the case has been outrageous. Rape and sexual attacks on young girls or women occur daily with barely a comment from these moral crusaders.

Without exception, the *Sun*, *Mirror*, *Express* and *Daily Mail* have poured scorn and ridicule on the recently



published TUC guidelines on sexual harassment at work.

Sexual harassment and attack, as the media sees it, is understandable if women (however young) are the target. After all, it's only 'human nature', and while rape and assaults on women provoke a bit of indignation, there's always an implicit accep-

tance that women are 'asking for it'.

The media have also expended a lot of energy over the years to firmly link in most people's minds gays as child molesters — many lesbians as well as gay men have been witch hunted out of their jobs if they work with young children at schools or nurseries.

Gays are systematically attacked and discriminated against for being 'perverts' and 'abnormal'. The fact that most sexual attacks are committed by heterosexual men passes by unnoticed — it's not news.

Meanwhile, back at Fleet Street, jubilation bordering on hysteria was sparked off by the publication of a report

on the Paedophile Information Exchange. Worse than the 'moles' at Cowley, worse than gays, paedophiles were 'YOU SCUM!' PIE has become the scapegoat for the grotesque double-standards of our society towards sexuality.

Exploitation

In the same issue of the *Sun* that led with YOU SCUM!, page three gave us a preview of bride-to-be Karen the day before her wedding, with little on except her head-dress.

Sexual scandal and the exploitation of women are the life-blood of the media. If the story or picture sells the paper, the profits are the only consideration.

Uncovering the identity of the victim of the Brighton attack is all but impossible. It is a good front page picture is just one example of the cynicism and profit-worship of the mass media.

Public Jobs for Private Profit Fighting contractors in Wandsworth

Written by Dave Simmonds, Branch Chairperson, Wandsworth NALGO
Peter Ramage, Branch Secretary, Wandsworth NALGO
Dave Benlow, Branch Secretary, Wandsworth NUPE
Mike French, Convenor, Wandsworth Council Manual Workers Unions
Dexter Whitfield, SCAT and Public Service Action

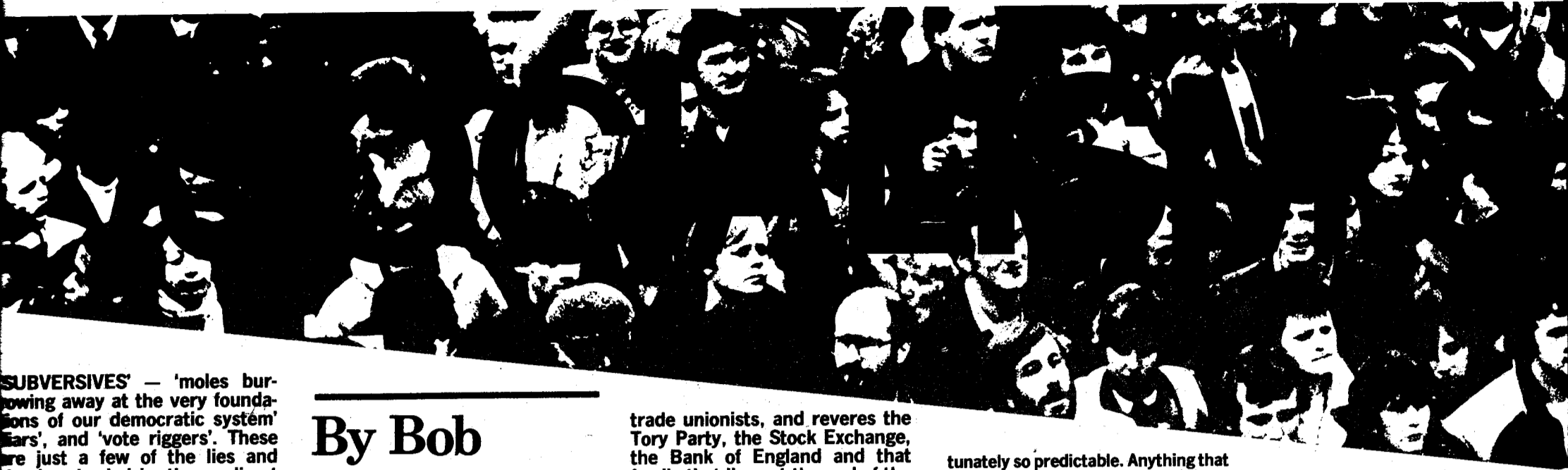
Contents include The Tory Offensive; Lessons and Strategies; The Wandsworth Story — the loss of street cleaning and the threat to the workshops, and the strike over refuse; Future Threats; plus all the details of the campaigns.

Price £1.40 in bookshops
Special Trade Union and Community Rates
90p for 1-4 copies
85p for 5-9 copies
80p for 10-29 copies
77p for 30 plus

Order this new book now!

Please send me . . . Public Jobs for Private Profit
Name
Organisation
Address

Send to: Wandsworth Trade Union Publications, 45 Bedford Hill, London SW12 9JL. Make cheques payable to Wandsworth Trade Union Publications.



SUBVERSIVES — 'moles burrowing away at the very foundations of our democratic system', 'liars', and 'vote riggers'. These are just a few of the lies and slanders hurled by the media at the 'Cowley Moles' and socialists who support Socialist Action. All the hoary old chestnuts have been dragged out. 'The reds believe that the ends justify the means' and 'moles threaten democracy' are two of the most popular ones.

The *Sun* which lied through its teeth about the interview it never got with the wife of the Falklands VC, got in a real lather about a group of young people who didn't want to fit that rag's image of being social security scroungers and decided to lie to get a job.

Knowing full well the opinions of the Leyland management these people decided not to tell them that they were socialists and that they had academic backgrounds. So like millions of other people they made up their references.

This initiative, in a society which is constantly harangued about the need for people to get off their arse to show some enter-

By Bob Pennington

prise, did not find much sympathy in Fleet Street. Perhaps Fleet Street thinks it's OK for Thatcher to lie to win an election but that it's not quite right for socialists to do that to get a job and to work in a place where they might be able to convince their workmates about the correctness of socialist ideas. But you have to be naive to think that Britain's unfree press is ever going to be on the side of those who want to challenge the establishment.

The press makes its money by sensationalising trivia, by insulting women with its sexism, by pandering to racism, and in many cases by actively encouraging it. Because it is owned and controlled by the ruling class it lies about strikes, villifies lefts and militant

trade unionists, and reveres the Tory Party, the Stock Exchange, the Bank of England and that family that lives at the end of the Mall and scrounges off the public. So the reactions should really come as no surprise.

Nor should the silence from Britain's other defenders of democracy who have failed to speak out against the witch hunt of 13 young people who dared to lie to get a job. Ms Shirley Williams who left the Labour Party because of its alleged 'lack of democracy' stays silent about the 13 people who found that British Leyland management did not respect their democratic right to have a job. Mr Callaghan and Mr Wilson, long-time defenders of Britain's 'democratic traditions' just do not seem to get around to speaking out about the right of socialists to have a job — perhaps their version of democracy does not include the rights of left-wing socialists.

In contrast to the outspoken stand of Eric Heffer, neither Neil Kinnock nor Roy Hattersley have had anything to say against the Cowley witch hunt. Even Michael Meacher has stayed silent. The silence of Len Murray and the main body of the TUC was unfor-

tunately so predictable. Anything that does not fit in with the plans of these timid and bankrupt leaders for class collaboration with the bosses is to be abhorred. So how could they defend socialists who might have had different ideas about the management and the union bureaucracy?

Reactions

The reactions of the left and the right against the witch hunt raise all the questions about class morality. They show that those in the labour movement who refuse to oppose the witch hunt, are morally and politically bankrupt. Their values are those of the exploiters. Only the socialist movement stands for democracy and for a higher form of morality than that of capitalism. This is why Socialist Action is publishing these articles on *Socialist Democracy* and *Do the ends justify the means*.

They show the superiority of the socialist method and demonstrate that it is only the road of democratic revolutionary socialism that can lead the working class and its allies towards a new and equal society where oppression is ended.

Political freedom and socialist democracy

MARXISTS do not favour a one-party system under socialism, nor do they believe such a system is a pre-condition for achieving socialism. We are of the opinion that the banning of political parties and the refusal to allow tendencies and factions inside the parties of the working class is harmful to the task of building a socialist society. The theory advanced by the Stalinists that only one party represents one class's interests and that therefore the working class only needs a single party to represent its interests, is nothing more than a justification for the rule of the bureaucracy in the Soviet Union and other bureaucratized workers states.

Never in history has one party solely represented one class. In the capitalist countries different capitalist parties represent different interests and put forward different strategies for capitalism. In these countries the workers parties are invariably divided into reformist, centrist and revolutionary parties.

This is the case now under capitalism. It will be the case when workers states are established in the capitalist countries, and will continue to be the case in the process of constructing a socialist society.

It is a precondition of building a healthy workers state — the first step on the road to socialism, after the overthrow of the capitalist state — that freedom exists for parties, and factions, and tendencies within these parties, and that oppressed groups have the right to form autonomous movements.

If these freedoms do not exist then it is impossible to have freely elected and

democratically controlled workers councils. Democracy in a workers state can only be real if the people have the right to elect whoever they want.

In the workers councils the elected delegates must at all times be accountable to those who elected them, which means they must be subject to periodic re-election and be liable to re-call at all times.

There must be no restrictions in the workers councils on the rights of the delegates to enter into alliances with other delegates, to form groups and to start a new party if the need is there. There must be freedom for the delegates to pursue policies which they believe are important.

Access

Equally, they must have access to the media so that the people are made aware of their views and can decide for themselves whether or not to support them.

Neither will all these parties be revolutionary. It is crazy to believe that the day after the revolution, society will obligingly divide into two ideological camps. There will not be a small band of 'ideologically unsound' counter revolutionaries confronted by a great majority of committed revolutionaries who have discarded all their bourgeois and reformist notions and whose sexism and racism has evaporated overnight.

It will be necessary for oppressed people like women, blacks, gays, youth etc to maintain, and if need be, to form new autonomous movements with access to the media so that they can influence the workers councils and win mass opinion to their side.

Even after a socialist revolution, reformist ideas will not immediately

disappear. In Britain where there has been a long tradition of reformism it is inevitable that the ideas of reformism will continue to express themselves for a long period after the setting up of a workers state.

But there cannot be any restriction on the rights of people to put forward such concepts. Any restriction of political parties leads to the restriction of workers democracy and ultimately it will strike at the heart of the Marxist party itself.

If power in a workers state is not to rest solely in the hands of cliques and groups, mass participation is needed. But it is not possible for millions of people to take control over their own destiny unless they have access to all the information and unless they have freedom to organise. The latter implies the right to collaborate with people holding similar ideas which means forming either tendencies or parties.

If this is not a basic right then the needs and opinions of the great majority of people are atomised and consequently they cannot influence events and decisions. Furthermore the knowledge, skills, experience and creativity of the people will not be harnessed in a constructive way and there is no possible way that socialism can be built without this happening. The alternative to this is to leave planning and decision making to a group of blinkered bureaucrats.

If the great mass of the people are not allowed to organise freely for their needs and opinions then they will not see any point in political activity so they will leave the political institutions in the hands of unaccountable leaders.

Democracy and mass participation are not therefore some optional luxuries but are the only routes along the path to socialism. The workers councils themselves will not be simply based on

the workplace. If the vast majority of the people are to participate directly in the administration of what are now the functions of an elite then this means them extending well beyond the 'point of production'.

The councils of self-organisation have to be based on all the areas of economic and social life such as the factories, hospitals, schools, offices and neighbourhoods etc. This is of vital importance because it is the only way in which the most oppressed and poorest such as pensioners, blacks, women, one-parent families and workers in shops etc can be joined with the powerful sections of the working class to create a new society.

It is also needed to build an alliance with the lower ranks of the petty bourgeoisie who have to be won to the side of socialism. The purpose of socialism is to build a free and classless society. It has to be a society which is free of exploitation and oppression.

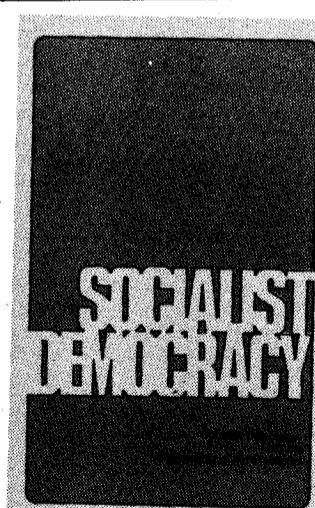
Build

The means of production will be owned in common and no one will be able to exploit the labour of another person. People will be free to develop all their creative talents and will freely exercise and choose their own sexuality. Society will be cleansed of the cancer of racism. The young and the old will be treated as equals. Sexism which is a sore on the body of society will be eradicated.

But the setting up of a workers state does not mean that these objectives will inevitably be achieved. They will only come about as part of a mass campaign waged in the workers councils and in all spheres of society and that must be inspired by the autonomous organisations of the oppressed in alliance with



Rosa Luxemburg and Leon Trotsky: *bo*



**SOCIALIST
DEMOCRACY**

The pamphlet on Socialist Democracy available from The Other Bookshop

the advanced workers parties.

Therefore without democracy there can be no socialism. This is why all the leading marxist thinkers like Marx himself, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky advocated mass participation and mass democracy. It is why they counterposed the broad-based workers state resting on mass support and self-activity against the class dominated and exclusively based bourgeois state.

Socialists have nothing to fear from democracy because without it their ideals can never be realised. This is why they are on the side of Solidarnosc in Poland and the working class and the oppressed in all the capitalist and neo-colonialist countries.



...h argued that for socialists the ends and means must be compatible

Solidarnosc fights for political freedom against the Stalinist bureaucracy in Poland and would have been supported by Lenin

THOSE PEOPLE who find it their moral duty to defend the decencies of capitalist democracy against the immoralism and anti-democratic practices of Marxist socialists inevitably accuse us of saying that the ends justify the means. As this accusation is made by people whose acquaintance with Marxism is often limited to the interpretations made by 'liberal' professors there are, to say the least, some problems about the means they use to achieve their ends. But not to worry. In the crusade against 'red moles' anything will do, and niceties like the truth cannot be allowed to get in the way.

Marxists say that the ends are justified by the means only if both are compatible. Marxists are for the removal of capitalist society and its replacement by a workers state. But we know that this can not be done without a mass social upheaval.

Such a social upheaval will only take place in Britain when millions of people are convinced that things can no longer continue in the old way and that they must do something about changing the situation.

The capitalist class has at its disposal a professional army, a judiciary, a police force, and the civil service. It is also served by a media that is overwhelmingly pro-capitalist and in the ranks of the trade union and Labour Party leaderships it has many compliant and subservient spokespersons.

This mighty array of forces will only be overthrown when millions of people are prepared to take action to end the rule of capitalism. It is not possible for some well-drilled squad of Marxist revolutionaries to stage a coup to achieve that end. Only when the ideas of marxists coincide with those of masses of people, is the socialist revolution on the agenda.

This recognition determines our attitude to the means and the ends.

For example, Marxists who work on the shop floor could become workers' leaders by disguising their aims. They could cover up the fact that we favour workers control and that we want factories nationalised that threaten redundancies. To become popular with the more right-wing union officials they could oppose strikes and encourage their workmates to vote for people like Duffy and Chapple — if they get the chance at all to cast a vote for Mr Chapple.

Lead

This might lead in a period when right-wing reformist ideas were dominant to Marxists getting positions of influence inside the unions. Then when there is a shift to the left they could reveal their true colours. Presumably their ideas would then have more credibility because they spoke from positions of leadership. But these means would not achieve their ends.

Because they had got their leading positions by encouraging their workmates to support both right-wing

policies and leaders they would have helped to educate the workforce and the unions' members into the acceptance of rightist ideas. The means they had used would have strengthened the very ends they were against.

Decided

Marxists should not take full-time jobs as union organisers that are not decided by a vote of the union members and which are not subject to periodic re-election. Any influence that Marxists might have would be negated by the damage that they had done to union democracy. Their presence as a full-time non-elected union organiser would strengthen the arguments of the bureaucracy against control of the unions by the rank and file members. Also because their position is dependent on the bureaucracy, and not on the memberships' vote, their freedom to act on behalf of the members would be restricted. The means used to get such a position invariably leads to unsatisfactory ends as far as the class struggle is concerned. Ends and means are never separable. The means used determine the ends.

In Germany whilst the Nazi movement was growing and taking to the streets against socialists and communists the leaders of German Social Democracy counselled their members against violence telling them to rely on the Weimar Republic and its forces of law and order. When the Nazis took the power and banned the workers' parties those German Socialist Party members

who did argue for armed resistance went unheeded. You can't tell people for 23 hours and 59 minutes of the day that the bourgeois state will preserve democracy, then at midnight ask them to take to the streets arms in hand. Such cowardly reformist means can only lead to such bloody ends.

Marxists only think that the means justify the ends when the means and the ends lead to the emancipation of the working class and lead to the liberation of all those that capitalist society treats as second class citizens.

Manipulation is alien to the traditions of the marxist movement. It can not serve the ends of working class revolution — it can only act as an obstacle on the road to proletarian freedom. Lies and deception are the stock in trade of the ruling class because their rule is based on the interests of a minority.

Means

The ruling class will use any means to justify their rule. They perpetuate the myths that working people are incapable of running their own lives. They spread the slander that black people are inferior. It is them and their paid scribes of the *Sun* and the other papers that portray women as objects. They will use any means to serve their real objective that capitalist rule is permanent and desirable. They have their tame, well-paid academics and writers like Paul Johnson, Asa Briggs, Bernard Levin and deserters from the class struggle like Gus MacDonald and Roger Rosewell who can write equally

well for both sides of the case — but write best for who signs their pay cheques. All are wedded to a principle — which says any means will do, as long as it serves the ends of their bourgeois masters.

Alien

Such methods are alien to marxists. We can only build a movement that is capable of overthrowing capitalism if it tells the working class the truth. Our means can have no meaning unless they lead to working people taking their own lives and destinies into their own hands.

The ends advocated by revolutionary marxists flow out of the need for the working class and the oppressed to assert their independence and to build the most democratic society that history has ever seen. The bourgeoisie and its servants accept the idea that any means, no matter how dirty or unscrupulous, serves the ends of maintaining things as they are.

Our interests — which are the interests of the overwhelming majority of people — calls for a change. We want freedom from the threat of war. We want freedom from poverty and misery. We want the right of everyone to be free of oppression. Only the most democratic means can achieve these noble ends.

The dirty tricks, the connivance, the subterfuge, and the lying means which are used to cover up their exploitative ends, we leave to the bourgeoisie and their witch hunters. Our means will never contradict our ends because the working class has nothing to lose by knowing the truth.



Britains toy strike

THREE HUNDRED striking workers at Britains Toys continue their five week picket in defiance of police arrests and a picket hospitalised by a scab driver's car. They are demanding a reduction in their fifty

hour week, with no loss of pay.

One of the strikers, Z Iqbal gave greetings from the strike to an East London meeting to defend the 13 victimised Cowley workers. 'My sympathies go to the 13 Cowley workers. Managements everywhere use intimidation ...

'Management are worried because they are running short of supplies

which have been cut off by solidarity action at the docks. We will stay firm in our strike and will not be bullied by our firm'.

On 26 August strikers picketed Hamleys, one of the world's biggest toy shops in London, urging customers and buyers to boycott goods from the firm.

Photo: MORNING STAR



Britain's workers outside Hamley's toy store

Donations and messages of support: Britain shop stewards' committee, 205 Fore Street, London N18.

Miners action

THE REJECTION of strike action against

closure of the Cardowan pit on Scotland is a setback for the miners' union.

But a rash of pit battles shows that miners refuse to bow down to Coal Board drives to change manning levels, bonuses and productivity.

In the first six months of this year there were 179 stoppages at pits and last year 185,000 miners were involved in 403 such disputes.

Since the summer shut-down three pits stopped work over management attempts to boost productivity by redeploying men underground.

At all three, Bet-

teshanger in Kent, Dinnington in Yorkshire and Westoe, Durham management were forced to retreat.

Other stoppages have occurred at Monk Hall in Scotland, Silverhill in Sutton-in-Ashfield and Bolsover colliery.

Asbestos strike

HEALTH RISKS from asbestos have sparked off an all out strike of 150 social security staff at Woodgrange Park House in East London.

The dangerous asbestos was found in the boiler room, air ducts and lift shaft by Civil

Service union stewards. The Property Services Agency, who are responsible for the upkeep of the premises, have refused to make a full survey or take adequate measures to protect the safety of workers and claimants who use the building.

Speakers have gone to other offices to win support, and solidarity action is taking place, including stoppages at Ilford and Romford DHSS offices.

Donations and messages to: Woodgrange Strike Committee, c/o NALGO, 7 Chapel Street, London E15. 01-555 1871.

DIARY

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

Lesbians in the Labour Party We exist! And it's about time the Labour Party campaigned on our issues too! National meeting for Labour Party lesbians. Sun 4 Sept. 1 pm County Hall, South Bank, London. Nr. Waterloo. Creche available.

Palestinian Solidarity and the Trade Union Movement Labour Committee on Palestine fringe meeting at TUC conference with speakers, film, literature and discussions on building solidarity work in trade unions and Labour Party. Monday 5 September, 6pm.

Forest Peace Festival 1983 a major folk and jazz festival Sat 10 Sept, noon to 7pm, Friends Meeting House, Bush Road, Leytonstone, London E11. £1/50p unwaged/children free. Organised by Waltham Forest CND.

No Intervention in Central America (NICA) — a broad based coalition of solidarity groups, human

rights orgs, aid agencies and political parties. NICA have organised a daily vigil outside the US Embassy, Grosvenor Sq, 9-7.30. until 11 September.

No more Chiles — Hands off Central America National demonstration 11 Sept assembles 12.30pm Clerkenwell Grn, London EC1.

London Labour Campaign for Gay Rights next monthly meeting 11 Sept, 6pm, Marchmont Community Centre, Marchmont St, WC1. For details contact Mike Haran 659 2938 or Chris Beer 785 9515. National LCGR can be contacted via Chris Richardson, 21 Devonshire Promenade, Nottingham NG7 2DS.

Glasgow Polish Solidarity Ctee Conference 17/18 September. For details contact Gordon Morgan, 59 Durward Ave, Glasgow 041-649 8958

Leggin' it for peace East London Youth CND March, 17/18 September from Kelvedon Hatch Civil

Leggin' it for peace East London Youth CND March, 17/18 September from Kelvedon Hatch Civil



Defence HQ to London Fields, Hackney. For details contact East London YCND, Box 5, 136, Kingsland High St, London E8.

Gay Young Socialists next London meeting 18 Sept, 6pm, at Gay's the Word. Discussion on the Police Bill with speaker from Gay London Police Monitoring Group. Future meetings on 'Gays and Central America' and showing of South London GYM video 'Revenge of the teenage perverts'. Further info from Martin Goodsell, 13 Buxton Rd, N19, 263 9484.

Ireland and the Labour Party Conference Labour Campaign on Ireland public meeting, 19 Sept, 7.30pm. Venue Community Centre, Warrington Road, London. W10 (Ladbroke Grove tube). Speakers: Tony Benn (Kensington), Sheila Healey (Brent), Cllr Pat Smyth (Kensington), Cllr Tony Powell (Fulham) — all conference delegates. Opera House, Upper Foyer, Blackpool

Lambeth Labour Campaign for Gay Rights open meeting on Gays & Lambeth Council 23 Sept, 8pm, Lambeth Town Hall.

Against Racism and Racist Attacks! National march called by Newham 8 Defence Ctee and supported by National Campaign Against the Police Bill. Sat 24 Sept, 1pm, Plashet Park, East Ham, London E6.

Swansea YCND Festival 24 Sept, St Phillips Community Centre, 1-6pm. Stalls, videos, music, food and workshops. Admission 30p, all welcome. Further info from Gareth Harding, 2, Overland Rd, Mumbles, Swansea, tel. 68660.

CND National Demonstration London, 22 Oct. Details: 01-272 8896.

National Abortion Campaign conference is on Oct 1-2nd. For details please contact NAC at 374 Grays Inn Road, London WC1. Tel. 01-278 0153.

The Politics of Health in Zimbabwe Hour long video available for meetings or functions. £10 (payable in advance). Send to Books for South Africa Fund, PO Box 50, London N1.

Sri Lankan Research & Information Group will provide speakers on the

current situation there for meetings. Write to 9 Grays Inn Buildings, London EC1.

Oxford Claimants Defence Committee One day conference on Sat 3 Sept 1983. Discussion of 'operation Major' Sept '82. Fee only £1.50, unwaged pay less. Information and registration papers contact CDC, 44b Princes Street, Oxford.

Advertisement

Artists include
Los Awatiñas from Bolivia
Yolocamaba-ita from El Salvador
Mayapi, Pueblo, Adrian Mitchel
plus theatre groups, mime, Latin American food, childrens events, films, music, poetry, exhibitions, and much more.

British film Premiere: 'Fuera de Aqui', introduced by the director, Jorge Sanjinez 'Blood of the Condor', 'Courage of the people'

September 10th Festival
For Chile, El Salvador, and Nicaragua

10.30am-11.30pm
Imperial College Student Union
Prince Consort Road
London SW7

Sponsored by:
Chile Democratico, El Salvador Solidarity Campaign, Nicaragua Solidarity Campaign
c/o 29 Islington Park St. London N.1. Tel. 359 2270.

Advertisement

EL SALVADOR

EAST LONDON. Solidarity rally sponsored by Hackney North Labour Party, East London and Hackney CND.
Speakers from FSLN, FDR, Guatemala and films.
Rio Cinema Dalston. On Sunday 4 September.

Advertisement

Advertisement

Advertisement

BOOK OFFER

Chinese Revolutionary
by Wang Fan-Hsi

The only account by a leading Trotskyist participant in the events between 1919-1949 in China. Unique attempt to construct a Marxist analysis against Stalinism for the backward countries.
Normally £15. Now available in hardback £5 employed, £4 low paid/unemployed plus 90p postage.
Cheques & POs to: Mr James, c/o 123 Kingsthorpe Close, St Anns, Nottingham.
Hurry as limited number only.

Mole hunt continues

IF YOU thought the disappearance of the witch hunting theme off the front pages of the press marked the end of the affair you would be allowing the optimism of the will to take over from the pessimism of the intellect.

Every indicator points to the fact that the mole hunt is still on. It is still on in the CND as the pro-freeze leaders have given up on getting rid of Cruise and seek the road of protest sherry evenings with the middle classes.

It is going on in the trade unions as Len Murray reconsiders whether or not Norman Tebbit should be kneed or crawled to.

Expose

It goes on in the factories where every right winger worth their salt has the Sun's '10 ways to spot a Mole' folded up in their pocket ready to present to management.

It is building up in the Labour Party as 'friends' like Michael Meacher say the expulsion of the Militant editors is no more of a 'sticking point' than unilateral disarmament when it comes to gaining support from suitable trade union bosses.

Socialist Action is not going to give up that easily. In every CND branch, every factory and trade union branch, every Labour Party ward, constituency and at party conference, we will oppose this witch hunt and expose the perpetrators of it for what they are.

But whilst the Economic League burrows away getting the 'dirt on the left' for the benefit of the bosses, they have big financial backing.

All four of the big banks give them money. The Sun and Daily Mail do the right wing's work with the support of their big advertisers.

All we have is the commitment and support of our readers. Against the daily stream of gossip and slander from the press and media, we have a weekly paper.

Against the millions of pounds available to the class collaborators we have our weekly Socialist Action appeal.

This is the most sustained attack on the left many of us have ever seen.

We are always short of money, but now it is crucial. We are fighting for our existence.

Thanks this week to:

Birmingham	£100.00
Southampton	60.00
Parker	5.00
Huddersfield	25.00
East London	300.00
Liverpool	40.00
South West London	202.00
Hemel Hempstead	25.00
Cardiff	102.50
Middlesborough	40.00
Leeds	50.00
Orford	120.00
Islington	130.00
Haringey	70.00
J Hartley	5.00
E Coleman	6.00
C Langford	15.00
C Potter	15.00
P Stern	40.00
W Hamilton	5.00
P Draycott	3.00
Anon	5.00
Anon	5.00
C Long	10.00
MB	30.00
Anon	95.00
Camden	300.00
Traub	5.00
Middlesborough	10.00
D Moore	5.00
D Pearce	1.00

Total this week: £1,824.50

I would like to become a Socialist Action supporter.

Please send me my supporters bulletin

Please put me in touch with local readers

I enclose a standing order/donation of £

Socialist Action Bankers Order Form

Date 19

To: (Name of your bank in capitals)

of (Address of your bank in capitals)

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

Name

Address

Signature

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

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

Socialist Action

Join the fight for socialism

Name

Address

Tel

Age Union/CLP (if any)

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

THE GOVERNMENT of Salvador Allende in Chile was going to be the living proof that classical Leninism was outdated and unnecessary. Popular Unity was going to demonstrate that the working class and the peasantry in alliance with 'the progressive bourgeoisie' could march along the 'peaceful road to socialism'.

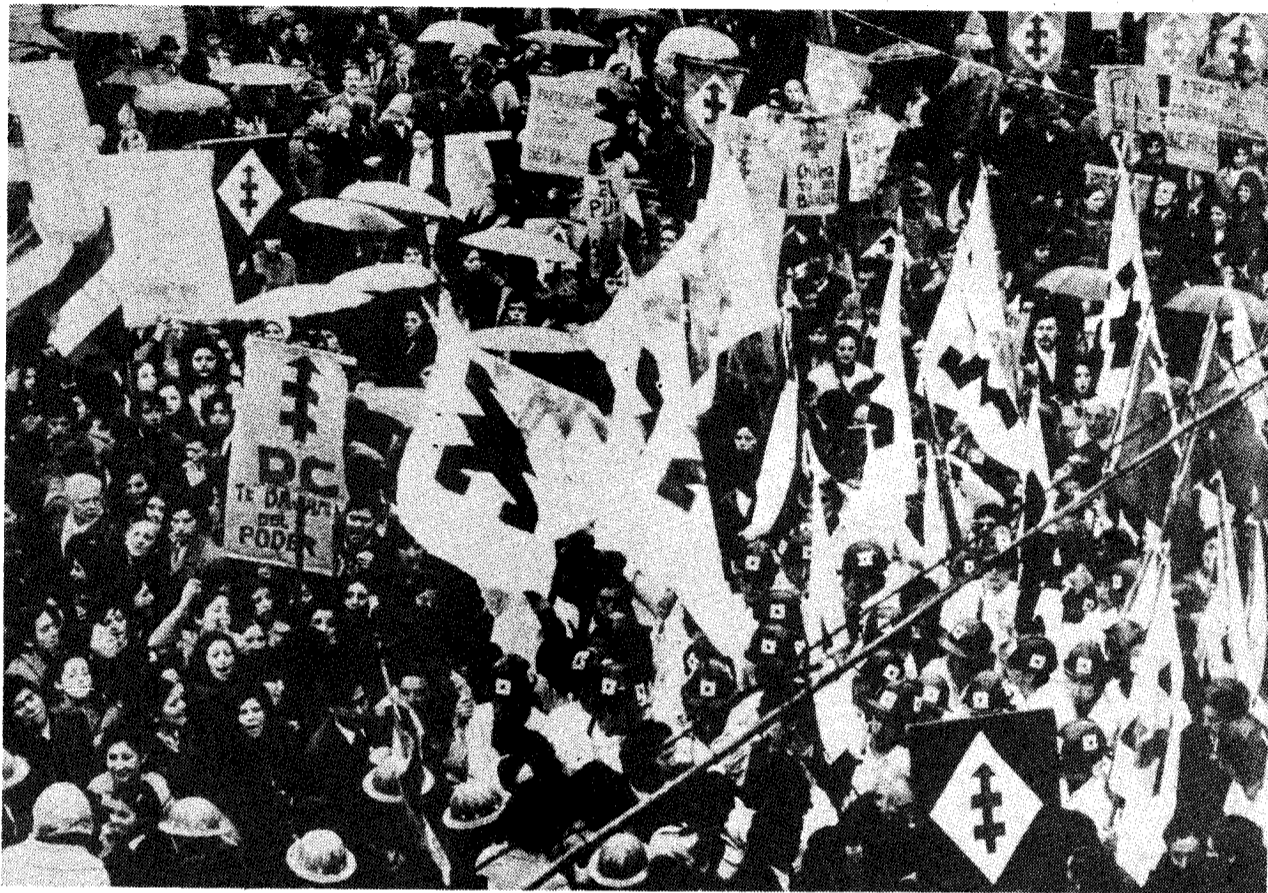
Unfortunately the bourgeoisie refused to play the part allocated them in the script written by the Socialist and Communist Party leaders. The capitalist class wilfully and stubbornly decided that their own class interests came first.

Instead of collaborating in the 'anti-imperialist and anti-oligarchic alliance' it mobilised its forces to overthrow that alliance and crushed the Popular Unity government and the militants who supported it. The lost lives and tortured bodies of the Chilean working class are a grisly testimony to the fact that the class war can't be solved by collaboration and compromise.

In this article on the events in Chile, ESTEBAN, a member of the Chilean section of the Fourth International, shows how the Popular Unity Front government's policies of containing the class struggle and insisting that the workers and peasants moderate their demands so as not to provoke the bourgeoisie led to its overthrow.

Chile is a lesson for all the workers' movement and it is a lesson that must not be forgotten.

Chile '73-Ruling class takes to the streets



This strategy demanded an alliance at all levels, especially in parliament with the National Party, right through to joint street actions with the fascists of Fatherland and Freedom. The first step in constitutional warfare against the government was the impeachment of Jose Toha, the Minister of the Interior. The joint opposition accused him of being incapable of keeping the peace in the country during the bourgeoisie-inspired demonstration of the 'empty pots'.

The response of Popular Unity was to keep this issue confined to parliament — a response which was to become a norm whenever they were under attack from the right. It made no appeal to its popular base to take extra-parliamentary action to defend it against such attacks. As the capitalists' opposition resorted more and more to such methods in order to obstruct the working of the cabinet, the reformists recoiled in horror from mass action and reshuffled its ministers, thus playing the game according to the bourgeoisie's rules.

Inflation

In March 1972 the Christian Democrat MPs introduced the Hamilton/Fuentealba Bill. This took away the right of the government to intervene in any enterprise or to expropriate and nationalise such enterprises. From then on the government could only carry out expropriations by introducing a special bill.

The Hamilton/Fuentealba Bill even stripped away the legal validity of previous government expropriations. The political project of Popular Unity was therefore paralysed. At that time less than 300 commercial, industrial and financial enterprises had been taken over out of a total of Chile's 35,000 industrial units. The Bill was clear evidence of the Christian Democrat's reactionary aims. But the government swept the whole affair under the parliamentary carpet where it lay dormant until August 1973 when the bourgeoisie used it again. No move to oppose this Bill came from the government.

By the middle of 1972 scarcity was getting worse. Inflation was moun-

ting. Industrial production was declining and the black market was booming. The Popular Unity met at Lo Curro to try and find a way out of the impasse.

Grotesque

Two different approaches emerged at the meeting. The first, expounded by Orlando Millas on behalf of the Communist Party and the right wing, proposed consolidation of what had been done. Millas put forward the proposition that interventions and nationalisations by the government should be restricted to the 91 enterprises which had appeared in the Popular Unity manifesto. Also that there be no encouragement of workers' control in the private sector — in fact such measures should be actively discouraged — so as not to scare off the middle classes and the small capitalists.

The idea was to let the market forces regulate the operation of the economy so that these people would be guaranteed 'an adequate and rational margin of profit'. According to Millas 'control over the enterprises, administered by workers' organisations would lead to "anarchic and socialist idea"'. Then Millas produced what he called the Chilean New Economic Policy. He called for a 'battle of production' and insisted on the need to impose efficiency and profitability criteria on the functioning of national production. Of course Millas failed to explain that Russia's NEP was in a workers' state, whereas his NEP was in a capitalist state. His analogy was both misplaced and grotesque.

State

Pedro Vuskovic, the Minister of Economics, had an alternative to the Chilean NEP. He wanted to increase the size and influence of the state sector and to make it the dominant sector. This, he insisted, would ensure that the workers would have real power. Vuskovic said it would not only lead to an advance toward socialism but it was the best way to defend the gains already made.

He argued for workers' control to ensure the best means of distributing

the goods and to make sure the capitalists invested their profits in the production of goods that were needed. Finally, he was for the suspension of payment of the foreign debt as a way of confronting the threat of imperialism.

Vuskovic's proposals were defeated and Millas' were adopted. The Popular Unity leaders said that Millas' proposals were better suited to their strategy of working within the legal framework and gave a basis for a dialogue with the Christian Democrats.

Therefore, despite growing criticism from the left, especially those in the Socialist Party, talks between Popular Unity and the Christian Democrats started up again for the third time round. In July 1972 they broke down once more but the breakdown was described as 'amicable'.

Whilst the government was consolidating the working class was on the offensive. The workers of Cerrillos-Maipu, an industrial area of Santiago, were the first to resist the attempts of Popular Unity to put a brake on their struggle.

Struggle

When these workers, who had taken over many factories in their district, were told that they were to be handed back to their former owners they set up barricades on all the roads leading to Cerrillos-Maipu and occupied the premises of the Labour Ministry as well as marching to other workers' districts asking for solidarity.

It was out of this struggle that the first *cordone industrial* was born. The *cordone* was the embryo of workers power — a soviet-type organisation — it gave organisational form to the situation of dual power that had been opened up with the election of Popular Unity. The *cordones* put forward a programme of struggle which combined economic and political demands. It gave support to the government as long as the government in turn supported the struggle of the workers and their mobilisations. It called for generalising workers' control through the economy and called for automatic wage increases to keep up with inflation. It also

demanded the replacement of the bourgeois parliament with a popular assembly.

Very prominent in the leadership of the *cordones* were the left wing of the Socialist Party. The Communist Party, the Socialist Party right wing and the union bureaucrats bitterly opposed the *cordones*, saying they were becoming a parallel government. At the same time a Popular Assembly was taking shape in the south of the country in the industrial city of Concepcion.

The regional branches of five political parties and 139 mass organisations responded to the call of the MAPU regional branch — a split off from the Christian Democrats which had joined Popular Unity — to set up a regional Popular Assembly.

Allende, the Socialist Party leaders and the Communist Party bitterly opposed the Assembly calling it 'an ultra-left masquerade'. By the second half of 1972 the bourgeoisie was working at full speed to reorganise and rebuild its supporters for a showdown with the working class. They knew the chips were down for real and they understood that they must unite as a class. However they knew that their traditional forms of political representation had become an obstacle to them organising their supporters around a unified strategy.

Strike

It was the bourgeoisie's 'social vanguard' who led, encouraged and acted in the mass actions during the strike of the bourgeoisie in October 1972. There were the lorry owners, shopkeepers, industrialists, land owners, doctors, technicians and so on who gave enormous support to the general strike. The strike was a national lockout. Its aim was to force either the government's capitulation or lead to its overthrow. Had it not been for the workers' resistance there is no doubt that the capitalists would have succeeded in their aims.

Nevertheless on 2 November the government appointed three heads of the armed forces to the cabinet. These were not sympathisers of Popular Unity. They were there to defend bourgeois legality and interests. Two trade union leaders were also made cabinet members — their task was to put a brake on the rising mass movement.

Cemetery

The general lockout had failed to bring the country to a standstill. The strike had shown the workers that they could run the country without the bosses and as a result the anti-capitalist consciousness of the workers grew. *Cordones industriales* and other embryo forms of workers' power sprang up around the country and rudimentary forms of workers' militias began to take shape.

But the political faintheartedness of the government, especially the leaderships of the Communist and Socialist Parties, kept allowing the ruling class to recombine its forces, even after they had been pushed back by the mass movement.

Two formidable social blocs prepared their forces for a life and death struggle. In that struggle the ruling class was prepared to break all the legal rules. It was prepared to fight to the last gasp for its interests.

The working class was less fortunate. Its leaders trusted in capitalist law and order and expected the armed forces and the police to maintain it. As a result the peaceful road led straight to the cemetery for the workers' movement.

A military coup destroyed the Popular Unity government. The workers and militants in particular suffered death and torture because their leaders had done everything they could to appease the bourgeoisie rather than fight them.

It is ironic that these 'practical' reformists accuse us Marxists of utopianism. You only have to look at the scale of their defeat and the sufferings that defeat inflicted on the Chilean people to make your own judgement.

ALL OUT 11 SEPTEMBER

US Out of Central America

ON 11 SEPTEMBER thousands of labour and solidarity movement activists will take to the streets of London under the banner 'Stop US intervention in Central America. End Britain's support for US aggression'.

This opposition to another Chile in Central America comes at a time when US imperialism is preparing its military might for direct intervention against the revolutionary governments of Nicaragua and Grenada and the popular liberation forces of El Salvador.

In July Reagan diverted warships from around the world to the Pacific and Atlantic coasts of Nicaragua. The naval force totals 19 ships, including two aircraft carriers, battleships, destroyers and frigates.

140 warplanes and 16,457 troops will be carried on board. Their task is to 'practise' the blockading and intercepting of shipping to Nicaragua. 5000 US ground troops have been sent to Honduras for joint exercises with the Honduran army.

The Nicaraguan government estimates that 2000 Honduran troops are massed along its northern border, along with 7000 supporters of the deposed Nicaraguan dictator Somoza.

Reagan claims these 'routine manoeuvres' will end within months, but there is evidence that they are a cover to mass troops on the Nicaraguan border and are aimed at turning Honduras into a perma-

nent US garrison in Central America.

These military moves were backed this month with a coup in Guatemala to provide the US aggressors with a more secure ally in that country. The deposed Guatemalan leader, General Rios Montt, was far from a liberal threat to US domination in the region.

By Sian Hughes

In his 17 months reign of terror 10,000 men, women and children from the Indian population were slaughtered, accused of sympathising with left wing guerrillas.

But 'Montt's fanatical support for a born-again protestant sect made him many enemies in this Catholic-dominated country, as did his taxation and austerity measures, which aroused suspicion in the business community.

Sections of the military were upset by his promotion of young officers who held his religious views.

On Monday 8 August Montt was removed in a coup led by defence minister General Mejias Victores. All evidence points to US involvement.

On the weekend before the coup, Mejia met with General Frederick Woerner, the second in command of the US

Southern Command in Panama. He also visited the US aircraft carrier *Ranger*. During the coup itself the US Embassy's deputy military attache was televised directing operations through a walkie-talkie.

This escalation of direct US involvement shows that imperialism is becoming more desperate as the revolutions in the region become stronger and efforts collapse to crush them through repression and phoney democratic reforms.

After four years the revolutionary governments in Nicaragua and Grenada have made massive strides against

profit grabbing capitalist concerns and towards a life for workers and peasants free from degradation and oppression.

Massive mobilisations of the people in militias have turned back the military assaults on this progress.

Stop

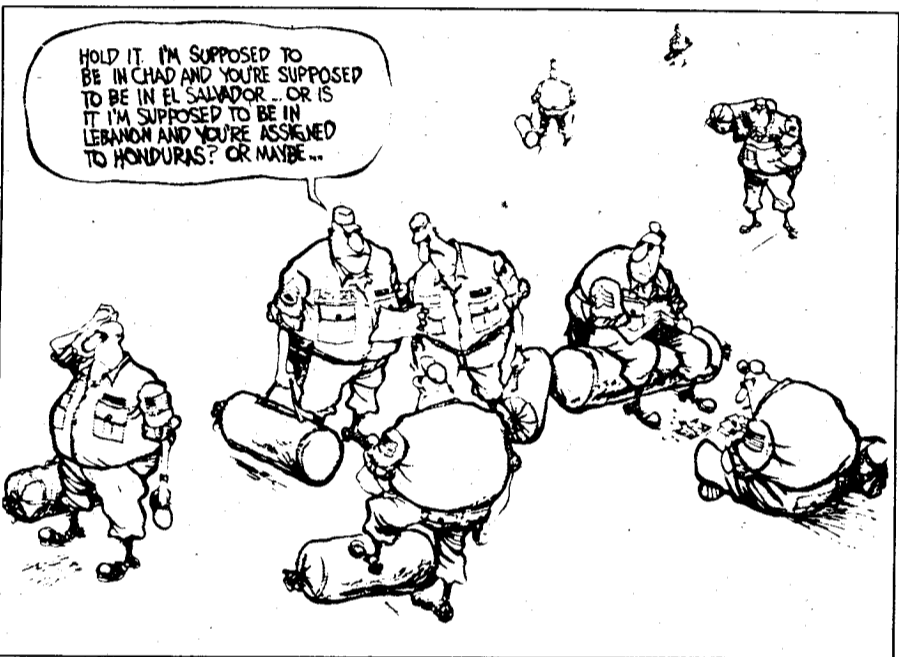
Reagan's headaches don't stop at the revolutionary movements of the workers and peasants. Traditional allies in governments like Mexico, Colombia, Panama and Venezuela — known as the Contadora group — have

spoken out firmly against the United States military intervention.

Opposition is mounting in the United States itself.

Internationally, there are some isolated voices raised to back Reagan's new Vietnam. Thatcher has stated that 'What the Americans are trying to do in the region...was also in Britain's interests'. Foreign Secretary, Sir Geoffrey Howe said 'Britain absolutely endorsed the objectives...which the United States were pursuing in the region'.

On 11 September we have to make it loud and clear that the working people of Britain don't agree.



PEACE AND FREEDOM IN LATIN AMERICA

STOP U.S. INTERVENTION



National demonstration Assemble 1pm, Clerkenwell Green, London EC1 Rally in Trafalgar Square

NATIONAL DAY OF ACTION September 11th

Organised by No Intervention in Central America (NICA)

Checklist for action...

WITH ONLY little over a week left before the 11 September demonstration no stone should remain unturned to build support, particularly from the trade union and labour movement. Check that:

- Transport has been booked
- Labour movement organisations are sending delegations with banners
- Petitions from NICA are being circulated in workplaces, unions, Labour Parties and communities
- Solidarity committees and CND's have been approached for support

Leaflets and petitions available from, No Intervention in Central America (NICA), 20/21 Compton Terrace, London N1. Tel 01-359 8982.

Behind the war in Chad

'FROM CENTRAL America to Chad, it's the same the whole world over — the spreading Soviet menace and communist terrorists invading free and democratic lands'. This is what the bosses' media would have us believe.

In Chad the red threat is supposed to be Libyan leader Colonel Qaddafi.

But the real terrorists who topple governments, crush popular rebellions and interfere with political, life are the empire defenders of the United States, French and British ruling class.

From the days when black Africans from Southern Chad filled the holds of slave ships, through to the 1900's when French imperialism sank its roots, the economy, politics and lives of the Chad people have been at the mercy of these profit sharks and their puppets in the region.

The borders of Chad are an invention of the French who carved an arbitrary domain from a multitude of geographic and economic regions, from different language, cultural and ethnic groups. Coercion and repression were needed to keep this state together.

French

French rule left a trail of deprivation in a country which is now one of the poorest in the world — twice the size of France it has only 150 miles of paved road and only 10 per cent of its 4.5 million people can read or write.

When Chad was given independence in 1960, French interests remained and Ngarta Tombalbaye, a dictator friendly to French imperialism, was installed. The Southern cotton industry, which provides 75 per cent of Chad's export earnings is totally controlled by French companies.

By Celia Pugh

The people of Chad have not remained silent. During Tombalbaye's rule, the Muslim people of Central and North Chad were subjected to severe discrimination. Peasant uprisings met repression and hundreds were killed.

In 1966, the Chad National Liberation Front — Frolinat — was set up in the North to oppose French domination and to overthrow the puppet regime.

This struggle for national self-determination got a boost in 1969 when Muammar Qaddafi came

to power in neighbouring Libya.

Qaddafi defied the dictates of imperialism and backed revolutionary and national liberation struggles in the region — including military and financial aid to Frolinat.

These developments sent shivers up the backs of US and French rulers. French imperialism has extensive interests in the region — in Cameroon, Ivory Coast, Gabon and the Central African Republic — guarded by



Mitterrand

10,000 French troops. Extensive US interests in North Africa and the Middle East are threatened by Qaddafi's defiance.

But by 1976 Frolinat split into a number of factions, including those led by the present combatants in the war — Goukouni Oueddi and Hisène Habré.

French imperialism played on this split, using Habré as a counterweight to Goukouni's larger Frolina faction, which allied with Qaddafi. So, in 1978, when Goukouni's forces threatened to topple the pro-French regime, the French sent 2,500 troops to restore order and convinced Habré to enter a coalition with the then leader General Felix Malloum.

This coalition soon broke down and, for a short while, Goukouni was brought into a new coalition as president. Then in 1980, Habré moved to take total power, backed by the French and pro-imperialist regimes in Egypt and Sudan.

Blow

With the help of Libyan troops, Goukouni's forces defeated Habré in the civil war that followed — a blow for imperialism described by the then US Secretary of State Alexander Haig as a 'grave turn of events'.

The US and French government could not let this turn of events rest for long. Under French pressure Goukouni removed the Libyan troops from Chad. This reopened the way for Habré's exiled forces to drive President Goukouni out of power, backed by the CIA, Egypt and Sudan.

But the Habré regime,

the safer option for imperialism, is under siege again from the Libyan backed Goukouni forces who now control large parts of North Chad. And again Reagan and Mitterrand are not standing idly by to see imperialism's interests dented in the region.

Today there is the biggest show of US military strength in North Africa since World War II and the largest French presence in Africa since the Algerian war two decades ago.

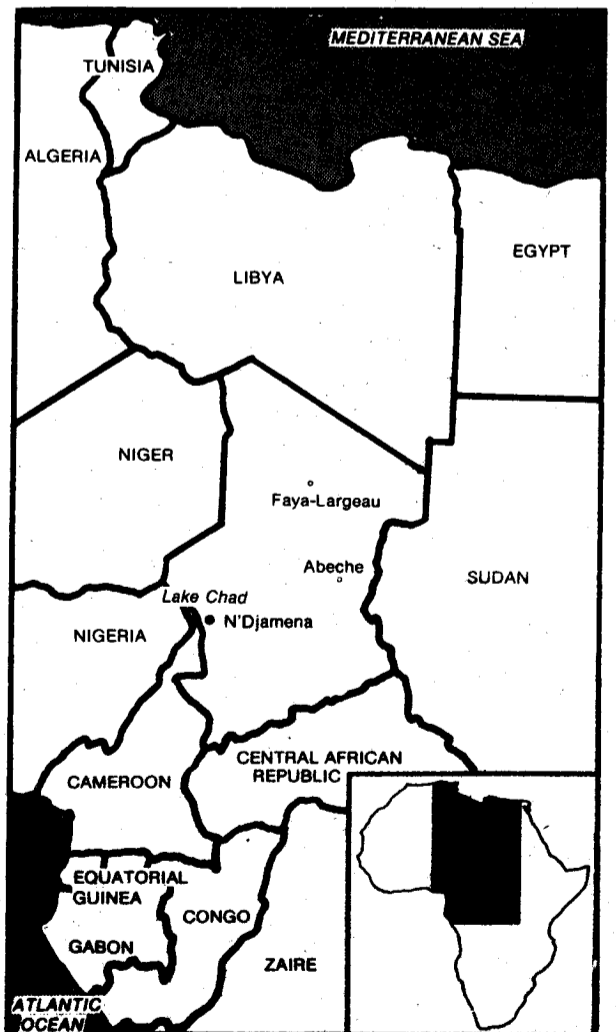


Habré

With Operation Bright Star '83, 5500 US troops are in Egypt, the Sudan and neighbouring countries and the US fleet is manoeuvring off the coast of Libya.

This month Reagan dispatched \$25 million of military aid to the Habré regime.

The Mitterrand government has sent an estimated



3000 troops to Chad, \$40 million worth of arms since last June

In May 1982 Mitterrand announced that France would no longer play 'the gendarme for colonialism' in Africa. He is now being reminded of this at home by opponents of the French invasion of Chad.

This mounting opposition at home is forcing Mitterrand to claim that his aim is peace in Chad. But, as with Reagan's phoney claims for peace in Central America, the French government will doubtless back this peace talk with more bombs, tanks and troops.

Another witch hunt overlooked

WHILST IT is both correct and to be expected that Socialist Action should devote its attention to the current witch hunt which has been directed against Socialist Action supporters, it is a shame that another witch hunt being conducted by the press seems to have been overlooked.

The horrible assault on a six year old in Brighton can provoke only the universal reaction of condemnation.

But unfortunately (if predictably) the gutter press, as the mouthpiece of the most reactionary sections of society, has chosen to highlight this crime as the vehicle for its own campaign of hate, directed against any form of sexuality which differs from the adult, heterosexual 'norm'.

Gay people across the country are now in fear of attack or harassment as a result of a press-inspired hysteria. When did the Sun ever carry banner headlines about a case of 'queer-bashing'?

The target for the attack is PIE, the Paedophile Information Exchange. The issues of child sexuality and of sexual relations between adults and children deserve more serious attention than the blanket condemnation of paedophiles as 'scum'.

I believe Socialist Action has a duty to start explaining what revolutionary socialists think about these questions.

Do we or do we not believe that 'children' are a category of historically recent invention; that people develop the capacity for emotional and sexual relationships a lot earlier than any artificial age of consent;

KLMNOPQRSTU
 IJKL**LETTERS**TU
 IJKLMNOPQRST

that there is nothing intrinsically wrong about consenting relations between people of widely different ages and that the main problem in such situations is legal and social repression?

If revolutionary socialists remain silent about these 'difficult'

issues, then we can expect the labour movement to take its lead from the Sun and the Express. I don't think we'd allow them to do that on any other subject.

PETER PURTON,
 Southall



MOLES EYE VIEW



Historic interest

I UNDERSTAND that a number of senior Oxford councillors and Oxford dons would like to put a blue plaque on a certain house in Bullingdon Road commemorating it as a place of national in-

terest. They are hoping that British Leyland management, Bruce Kent and the Labour right wing might make a donation so it can be preserved as an historic building.

Mrs. Marcos

WASTE NOT want not. That's a golden rule according to Mrs Imelda Marcos, wife of the Philippines' boss Ferdinand Marcos. In the 18 years since her husband was elected as president she has saved over £300

millions of her housekeeping money. Mind you, she is dead careful about how she spends her money. Good Catholic, she had to go to Rome when they inaugurated John Paul I as 'God's representative on

earth'. So she commandeered two aircraft from the Philippines Airline — a real patriot is Mrs Marcos, none of these foreign planes for her — to fly her and 29 mates off to the 'big do'.

But she won't waste her own or public money. When the airline sent her a bill for £1 million she replied: 'piss off'. Keen to keep public expenditure down she told the airline accountants that if they sent her any more bills they might at worst get a little short of breath, or at best be her guests in a Manila jail.

Now Reagan is planning a visit in November. He is said to be very impressed by Mrs Marcos' devotion to the cause of anti-communism and her ability to deal with the opposition.

And so he should be. She does not believe in half measures when dealing with her opponents. She told Benigno Aquino, a bourgeois critique of her hubby's



Troops Out delegation

AS MEMBERS of the Troops Out Movement delegation to Belfast on 5-7 August, we should like to support the appeal by the Labour MP for Birmingham Ladywood, Clare Short, for British troops to be withdrawn from the six counties of the North of Ireland.

It is now 14 years since the British Army was sent to the North, and Clare Short is only echoing what many on the left of the Labour

Party have been saying for most of that time.

In fighting for their self-determination, the Irish people are only demanding what has already been won in India and, more recently, Zimbabwe.

We were able to see at first hand the reality of colonial armed rule only an hour's journey from Britain: soldiers prowling around suburban streets with loaded rifles, convoys of armoured cars,

barricaded forts and armed city centre checkpoints.

All this shows that Britain's propping up of the six county sectarian state will only lead to more bloodshed and strife.

The only solution is for the troops to be pulled out now and the Irish people to be allowed to determine their own future.

We hope that many

more labour movement delegates will join next years TOM delegation and see for themselves the contrast between what is reported in the press in Britain and the reality of the situation in Ireland.

PETE LEYDEN, Mick Rice, Stewart Richardson, Tina Rowe, Cherry Sewell, George Wright. Birmingham Troops Out delegation

Building a socialist Europe

I AM amazed by the convoluted logic of John Palmer, Jackie McDonough and others (SA 18 August) who argued that British membership or non-membership of the EEC is not an issue we should

spend any time on.

The demand for withdrawal, they say, is a nationalist diversion from more important struggles. Are they then saying that a socialist government should keep Britain in the EEC given that, as John

Palmer puts it, 'the policies and institutions of the EEC are incompatible with the actions which any serious socialist government would take'? Not at all they say — they are in favour of neither staying in nor getting out!

Such demands would, for example, include:

- * EEC funds for the nationalisation of key industries and of firms creating redundancies
- * Abolition of the Common Agricultural Policy
- * A European minimum wage
- * Free health care
- * Full and equal citizenship rights
- * Britain out of Ireland and France out of Chad
- * A European socialist public transport policy
- * A non-nuclear energy policy; no arms sales to repressive regimes; no nuclear weapons in Western Europe.

The Common Market fence-sitters would in fact let the social democratic misleaders of the labour Party off the hook.

Jackie MacDonough rightly states: 'any serious moves towards socialism and a working class planned economy in Britain would involve breaking out of the EEC'. It is for this reason that 'Britain out of the EEC' remains a correct slogan, aimed not at the Tory Government (as John Palmer foolishly suggests), but at the Labour and trade union leadership — the Hattersleys, Kinnocks and the Duffys who would readily agree that the EEC shouldn't be an issue at a future election.

These demands and the demand for withdrawal aren't based on 'know nothing chauvinism' but on a firm commitment to international socialism, which includes a commitment to improve the living conditions of working people in Britain and Europe and beyond.

Cutting costs

WHEN DEFENDANTS argue that they are not guilty, court cases drag on and on. Barristers cost more, the solicitors cop their share and even the jurors have to be paid.

So the West Midlands police are worried about all this public money going down the drain. They have decided to try and help to nudge 'justice' along just a little. When they get a suspect they simply put a plastic bag over their heads and squeeze their necks to cut off the air supply.

Four men who got this treatment put their signatures to statements confessing to crimes they say they hadn't done. Why should people complain about this public-spirited action by Sir Philip Knight's men?

It gets the conviction rate up, and keeps court cases down and saves the police having to do any work.

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

All this is not to say we should abandon the fight for European-wide solidarity in support of socialist policies. Such demands would only be attainable with the break-up (not reform) of the EEC, and the creation of an alternative structure involving socialist states in Western Europe and beyond.

Our basic aim must be to build a socialist Europe by breaking up the EEC and urging socialist comrades in Europe to join us in this struggle and in campaigns for international socialist policies such as those outlined above.

IAN HARRISON,
 London W6

Socialist ACTION

Throw back the witch hunt

LABOUR leadership contender Eric Heffer last weekend issued a broadside against the dangerous atmosphere of witch hunt and political persecution which the press have been whipping up this summer.

In his statement he says: 'The dangerous atmosphere is being created in Britain, in all honesty not yet as advanced as in the USA in the 1950s, of the need for a witch hunt against so-called "Reds" similar to that which took place in the USA after the Second World War, developed and supported by Richard Nixon and Senator McCarthy where scapegoats were required, and which I believe was the reason for the judicial murder of the Rosenbergs'.

Moles

Certainly, we in Britain have not got that far yet, but the danger signs are there and this is the time for all true democrats to say 'enough is enough' before it is too late and the atmosphere develops into one of hysteria.

Heffer goes on to point out that the witch hunt that started in Cowley is now transferring itself to the Labour Party.

Without doubt, the economic recession and mass unemployment are making it easier for employers to victimise militants. The Cowley affair has revealed and spotlighted the activities of the far-right Economic League and other employers' black-listing organisations.

By the Editor

At the same time the witch hunt in the Labour Party has been stocked up by the NEC's decision to ban *Militant* from being sold at party meetings, and to prevent *Militant* supporters using party facilities.

This scandalous decision is another attack on basic democratic rights inside the party — the right of party members to buy and read whatever socialist newspapers they want.

The fantastic press stories of '1000 Trotskyist moles' in the Labour Party only add grist to the NEC's witch hunt mill.

In the coming weeks socialists in the Labour Party must support a number of inter-linked campaigns to throw back the witch hunters:

- a campaign, being launched this week, against political victimisation at work. The aim will be to get hundreds of signatures from the labour movement and beyond to support the basic democratic right to work, without being blacklisted by the employers and their narks.

- a campaign in defence of socialist newspapers, for the withdrawal of the ban on *Militant*. Resolutions should be put in every possible labour movement body calling for the rescinding of the ban on *Militant*.

- the continuing fight for the reinstatement of the five members of the *Militant* editorial board.

There can be no holding back in opposition to the witch hunters. Their attack is one against the whole left. Unless they are decisively defeated, they will constantly return to the attack.



Labour Solidarity meeting: supporters of the witch hunt.

Photo: JOHN HARRIS

TURKEY:
A nation behind bars
Saturday 10th September
2:30pm
Stoke Newington Town Hall, London N16
Speakers include:
Jeremy Corbyn MP, Anthony Kendall (leader Hackney Council), Turkish trade unionists, Kurdisan Solidarity Campaign
Organised by the Turkey Solidarity Campaign to coincide with the 3rd anniversary of the coup in Turkey



National Newham Eight March

AGAINST RACISM AND RACIST ATTACKS

Saturday 24 September

Assemble 1pm at Plashet Park, Plashet Park, East Ham E12 (East Ham tube).

Called by Newham Eight Defence Campaign, supported by National Campaign against the Police Bill.



Greenham women: under attack

Campaign mounts against Greenham women

THE WOMEN of Greenham Common are facing a sustained campaign of harassment and abuse in an attempt to close down their camp before the Cruise missiles arrive.

In Newbury itself local 'vigilante' groups have been harassing the camp, carrying out 'daring' and 'public spirited' actions like cementing up the women's water pipe and throwing maggots over the camp.

At the same time, the Fleet Street press, well into the witch hunt season, has run a series of scare stories about the camp. Over the summer stories started about how the women have degenerated into 'drug addicts' and 'mystics'.

Then the press had a field day about the alleged

'dysentery' sweeping the camp. And to finally cap it all came the 'undernourished baby' story.

The baby in question was snatched from the camp by the police and taken to a nearby hospital, where staff said the baby was not undernourished at all.

The women at the

camp are also facing a continuing campaign of harassment by Newbury Council and the Ministry of Transport. Last week the women were forced to move to Ministry of Transport land, after they were evicted by bailiffs acting for Newbury Council.

Support

The Ministry of Transport will now try to re-evict the women from their land which they say they need for road building. The bailiffs are being used to constantly harass the camp, to try to make the functioning of the camp

impossible.

There is no doubt that these coordinated moves are in preparation for a major attempt to drive the women away and close down the camp permanently.

As the missiles are due to arrive, probably within weeks rather than months, the Greenham women are calling a major action for December. If an attempt is made to remove the women before then, the peace movement must be ready to mobilise to defend the continued existence of the camp.

subscribe SPECIAL OFFER

Subscription rates:
Inland: 6 months £8;
1 year £15.

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

Please delete as appropriate

Name:

Address:

.....

.....

For multi-reader institutions double the above rates.

Please send me as special offer

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

For readers who take out a year's inland subscription we are offering a free copy of *Hard Times*, a new book in the 'Arguments for Socialism' series by Bob Sutcliffe. The book normally costs £2.50. Alternatively we are offering Alan Freeman's book, *The Benn Heresy*. For new readers there is our special introductory offer of 8 issues for £2. All subscriptions are posted first class on day of publication.