

A **Socialist** ACTION

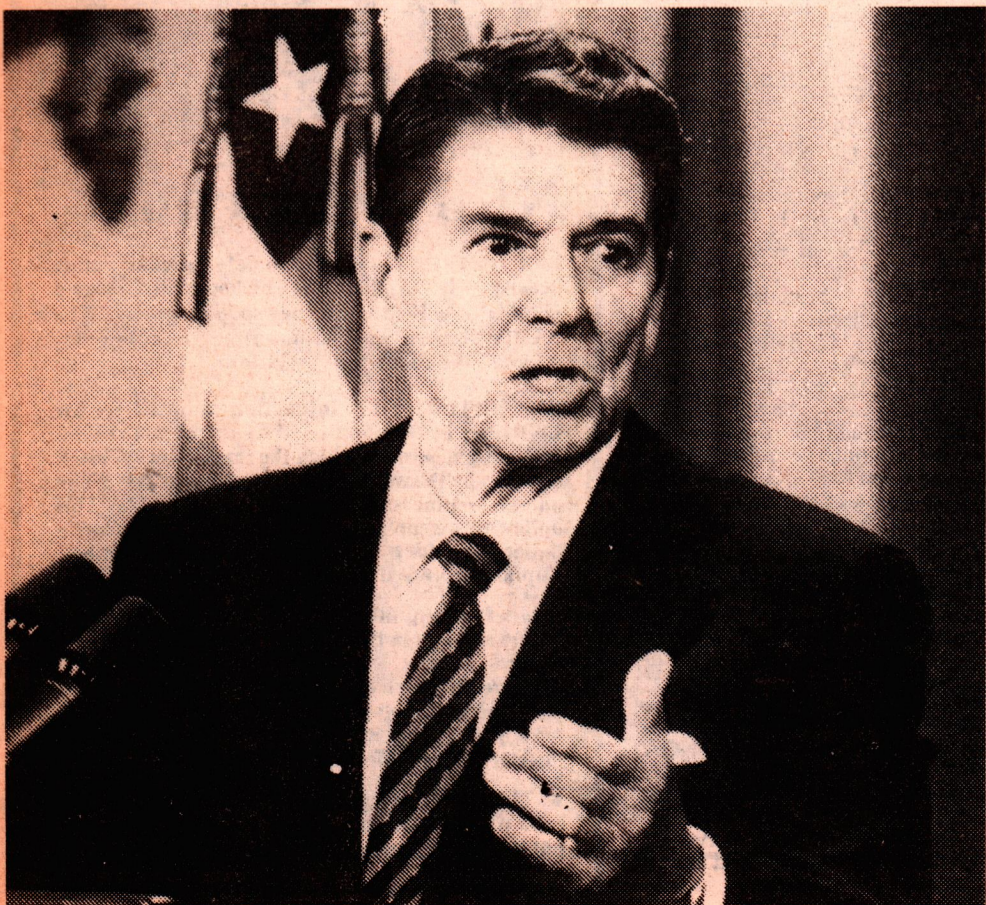
No. 37 9 December 1983 30p

**NGA
must
win!**

It hasn't taken long for the TUC right wing to get to grips with sabotaging the NGA strike at Stockport Messenger. This is the most vital union struggle for a decade. There are not only writs out against the NGA but also SOGAT '82 and the NUJ for different disputes. The courts are being used to push through anti-union laws far worse than Edward Heath's 1972 Industrial Relations Act. The outcome of the Stockport Messenger dispute is going to affect every single union case that is coming up — starting with the £3 million the Newspaper Publishers Association are demanding from the NGA.

LEBANON

Reagan's dirty war



THE AMERICAN air raids in Lebanon and the huge naval bombardment of Druze and Muslim positions have nothing whatever to do with 'peace keeping'. The raids come directly after Israeli prime minister Shamir's visit to the United States, and were obviously cooked up by him and Reagan in Washington. The United States and Israel have a common goal: to keep the Lebanon safe for the reactionary Phalangist government of Amin Gemayel, and in striking at Gemayel's enemies, to change the pattern of political power in the Middle East in favour of Western-backed reaction.

Central and northern Lebanon are to be placed under the control of the Phalangist government, which at present can hardly hold Beirut. To achieve that means defeating the Druze militias, who hold the Chouf mountains, and the Syrians who hold the Beha'a valley and

much of the north of the country.

The United States has an additional reason for striking at Syria — to attack the last remnants of Soviet influence in the region. By showing Syrian president Assad that the Soviet Union cannot protect him militarily, the US hopes to break his alliance with Moscow.

To achieve his political aims in the region, Reagan has no compunction in using America's awesome military might. In doing so Reagan may well precipitate a new and devastating Middle East war. Such a war would have completely reactionary objectives — to enforce the domination of US clients in the region.

In a situation where Reagan is preparing for war, the last pretence that the US and other imperialist troops are 'peace keepers' has been exposed. The British contingent are acting as the errand-boys of United States imperialism. They

Eddie Shah has all the right wing establishment lined up behind him. An Institute of Directors representative has already announced on the radio that now the NGA has called off the mass picket it will never get it started again.

The *Sunday Times*, the *Times*, the *Financial Times*, the *Sun* and every paper of the establishment demands the NGA be defeated.

Any judge will decide whatever the government wants on union law. The TUC policy of staying within the law is literally suicidal.

Heath's Industrial Relations Act wasn't changed and defeated by legal action. It was defeated through the 1972 and 1974 miners' strikes and through the threat of a general strike to free those imprisoned under the Act. The Industrial Relations Act was defeated when the AUEW simply refused to pay the fines imposed by the courts and brought its members out on strike to defend their unions.

The courts are now lining up to fine the unions. Every day the employers are learning they can take unions to court and bust strikes through the courts. If the TUC allows the NGA to be defeated every union in Britain is going to come under threat.

But the NGA can win. It was the solidarity strike action which broke the Fleet Street lock out. If the unions such as the TGWU which have pledged their support to the NGA mobilise their members the mass picket can be reimposed. If the NGA does not lead the industrial action itself Shah will only be the first of a whole series of union busting employers.

If trade unionism is to survive and do its job the NGA must win.

should get the first plane out of Beirut.

The US-Israeli plan involves attempting to throw the Syrian army out of Lebanon, defeating the Druze and Shi'ite militias and consolidating the hold of Israel over southern Lebanon. It also involves backing the Gemayel-Phalangist plan to expel all Palestinians — fighters and civilians — from Lebanon.

Since the horrific massacres at Sabra and Shatila last year hundreds of Palestinians have been assassinated or imprisoned by the Lebanese Phalangist gunmen, with the aim of forcing a Palestinian exodus to the West Bank of the Jordan.

The outline of the US-Israeli plan for Lebanon is now abundantly clear. Israel will hold Lebanon south of the Alawi river through the power of the pro-Israel Haddad militia. The mainly Shi'a Muslims in the area will be held down by Haddad with the help of Israeli army patrols.

Socialist ACTION

Labour and the law

Rarely has a more ridiculous exhibition been made than that of the Labour leadership over the NGA dispute. We are now informed it has become a principle of democratic socialism that the law must be obeyed.

Excuse us while we laugh!

If the law had always been obeyed there would have been no democracy and no socialism in the first place.

What was the act that established the sovereignty of Parliament against the tyranny of the monarchy in Britain? It was simply that Parliament rose in rebellion — totally illegally — and chopped off the head of Charles I.

The American Declaration of Independence starts, 'We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.'

For the American colonies which became the United States these words meant something quite specific. George III, the English king who ruled them, was a disgraceful tyrant. The American colonies — perfectly illegally — were going to shake off British government for ever.

In France the great revolution of 1789 wasted not one minute in rubbish about the law. Instead it overthrew the only too legal government of Louis XVI.

The English, American, and French revolutions are the great foundation stones of modern democratic liberty. All were completely and utterly illegal.

Only too frequently those who unquestionably obey the law are enemies of democracy. Hitler was made Chancellor of Germany in a perfectly legal way. Does anyone still believe that Hitler's succession should have been accepted because it was law?

Far better that the German working class had risen up there and then, shattered the law, and saved Europe from fascism and fifty million dead in the Second World War.

And what would have been Roy Hattersley's advice to the Tolpuddle martyrs? That 'in general' their attempt to create a trade union could be supported but concretely they shouldn't set one up because it was against the law?

If the labour movement had accepted the law it would never have existed in the first place. Those men and women who violated the law to create the trade unions are heroes and the pioneers of democratic socialism. Roy Hattersley, and those who bow down before unjust laws, are in the tradition of the oppressors. They betray democracy and socialism.

There is one final word on democracy and the law. There are many countries in the world in which there is law and no liberty. The vile apartheid system in South Africa is based on law. So is Israel's oppression of the Palestinians within its own boundaries.

To take another scale of values are we supposed to accept that children die of leukaemia because the law says British Nuclear Fuels has the right to pour radio-active contamination into the Irish sea? Or are not Greenpeace right to break the law and fight to bring that pollution to an end? Who is the democrat in that?

But while there are many countries in which there is law and no liberty there is no state at all — whether in the East or the West — in which there is democracy but there is no free independent workers' movement.

It is the power of the British labour movement, the power of its trade unions — not the power of its courts — which is the sole guarantee of whatever democracy exists in Britain.

The NGA, the pickets at Warrington, the Greenpeace protesters against pollution are champions of liberty.

Roy Hattersley is not just failing to defend the trade unions and socialism. He is not even a champion of the very causes that created and safeguard democracy in the first place.

Editor: ALAN FREEMAN

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

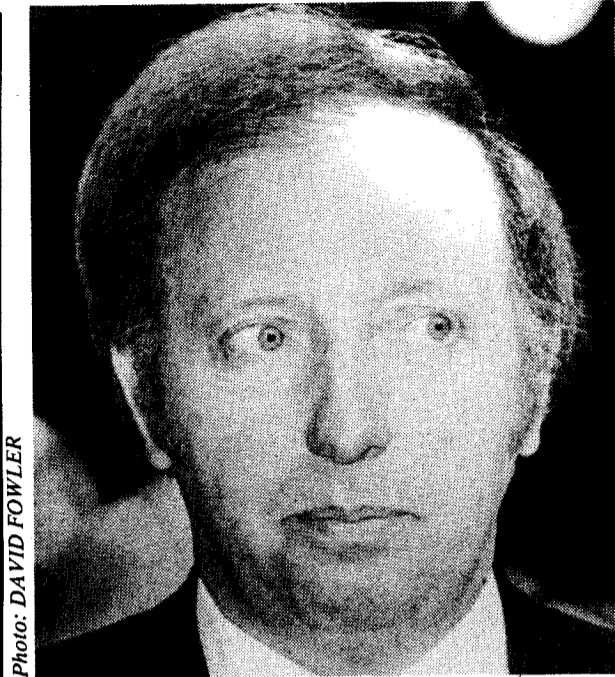


Photo: DAVID FOWLER

ON 30 NOVEMBER Arthur Scargill spoke at a rally organised by the Triple Alliance at Birmingham's Digbeth Civic Hall. His speech, was violently attacked by the press. Socialist Action prints the part of Arthur Scargill's speech on the NGA strike.

The dispute involving the NGA, who are currently fighting not only the simple single issue of the dismissal of six workers but also against the might of the establishment and the Tory government, requires further analysis from this movement, but it requires far more also.

There has to be a recognition that what is taking place today is a proposal put into effect by the

government, on the one hand, to have trade union legislation emasculating our movement and, on the other hand, high unemployment so that it can say that for every job 20 people will be desperately queuing at the factory, pit or dock gates.

In addition it is now clear that the government intends to take on this movement.

I have listened very carefully over the past 48

'It's time to start fighting'

hours to the views of my colleagues in the trade union movement and on the TUC General Council. I take a very firm position.

View

It is my view that having a decision of the TUC Congress, carried in this movement, to support any union or member who find themselves victims of the Tory government's legislation, there should be no calls for restraint on the part of the NGA.

There should be a united call from the Trade Union General Council which recognises that this

company is being backed by the media, the establishment and their anti-trade union laws.

We should be mobilising, all of us, the most massive picket ever seen.

It is time that our movement recognised that we have determined policy at our annual congress and reaffirmed that policy on two occasions. It is important that we dedicate ourselves to support those in our movement who find themselves victims, either of the Tories anti-trade union laws or at the mercy of an individual employer who is being supported by the entire weight of the

employer class, either directly or indirectly.

It is absolutely crucial that our party and our movement show the same commitment and dedication to the NGA and our class that the Tories show to their class. My advice is to try and mobilise mass support.

For anyone to attempt to divorce the issue that we are discussing tonight from what is taking place in Warrington would be naive and, in my submission, would be politically and industrially dangerous. It is time, as I said at this years TUC, to stop talking and time to start fighting.

The threat to the NGA

EDDIE SHAH has gone back on every agreement the NGA has made with him over many years. But Shah is only the thin end of the wedge of the assault the newspaper owners are making on the print unions. With a couple of anti-union renegades to help him Shah hopes to produce his papers with cheap labour, paying them below the NGA minimum of around £120.

New technology in the print industry means that no great skill is needed to produce a newspaper. Shah hopes to get away with using a few scabs, who can type a bit, and with a renegade overseer to put it all right.

Another renegade can operate the press and train a few more desperate-for-work people — not really scabs maybe — to do the dirty and heavy jobs.

Shah has even boasted of getting YTS people in, at £25 per week, from the Manpower Services Commission. Instead of paying six NGA typesetters a proper wage, he can take on

YTS trainees on the cheap. He can afford a few hold-ups and delays while they learn the job. New technology gives Shah that choice.

By Bob Smith
(Birmingham NGA)

The NGA is probably the oldest, wealthiest and most close-knit trade union in the UK. It has £10 million cash reserves and an income of £130,000 a week. It has a small highly-skilled membership of 133,000. The NGA through its tough, resolute

approach to national and plant negotiations has some of the highest paid workers in Britain. It has its Fleet Street vanguard as its force for keeping up wages in the entire print industry.

In the last 20 years, the NGA has pulled the wage rates in the general printing trade up to a reasonable level despite many closures, redundancies and even with the staffing reductions caused by new technology.

The NGA is one of the few unions to establish the 35 hour week — and without selling breaks and bonuses. It operates serious overtime bans after redundancies and ensures an effective training programme for all youth recruited to the industry.

Manning and redeployment are negotiated with all technical innovation. The NGA is not perfect, but it's a lot better than Duffy!!

Shah is a leading element in the 'crush the NGA' brigade. Already his friends — Robert Maxwell, T Bailey-Forman, Dimbleby, with the assistance of the Economic League — have closed or rationalised their plants without negotiations. Then they set up scab non-union operations.

A victory for this band of gangsters — who employ pick-axe wielding thugs from 'security' firms — would lead to a total escalation of anti-union activity in the printing industry.

This is a fight the working class cannot afford to lose. If the NGA goes under then nobody's wages and conditions are guaranteed. The Tory rationalisers will carve up every industry and union in the country.



NUJ President Eddie Barrett

NUJ defy court

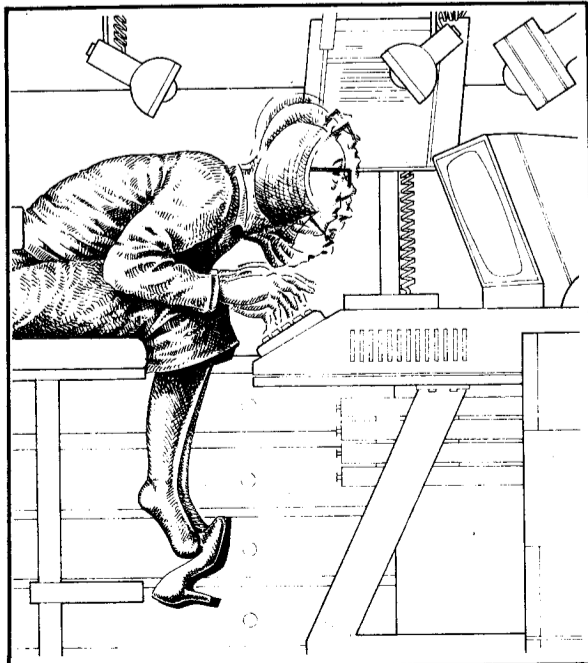
Last Friday the NUJ voted to defy the court ruling ordering it to halt its picketing of David Dimbleby's Richmond newspaper group. The NUJ's Emergency Committee unanimously adopted the following resolution:

'Our attitude to the injunction imposed by the Court has been conditioned by the unjust and ill-thought out laws on which the injunction is based, and also by the well established policy of this union on the crucial issue of trade unions rights. This policy was established by the democratic process under our rules by which the view of the membership are expressed through delegate meetings.

'To defy that policy on such a fundamental issue would be to fly in the face of those democratic procedures.

'We are unable to comply with the terms of the injunction although in no spirit of defiance. We are taking immediate steps to convene a special delegate meeting'.

● The TUC General Council voted to aid the NUJ with its legal costs and to help the union carry out its 'lawful function on behalf of its members'.



Battle of Warrington

'It's time for the TUC to pay its debts'

I RETURNED this morning from the Warrington picket line. Not only have we had to contend with police, but with Mr. Shah's private army using dogs, which in the first week of the dispute were unleashed on the pickets.

An AUEW member, Bill Trainer, had his hip broken and was dragged screaming 50 yards by the police. He was taken to a police station and it was an hour before he was allowed treatment.

We went to the journalists, and said this had happened, print it. The next morning the headline was 'Picket injured and taken to hospital'. That's the kind of conspiracy we've had to deal with — between the bosses, the media and the government to crush the trade unions.

Last night Frank Walsh, one of our officials, was injured on the picket. He's not in good health, coming up for retirement, but he played his part. He was taken ill, and it was half an hour before the police would let an ambulance through.

But at 4 am there were two thousand police forcing Eddie Shah's newspaper wagon through. What kind of society is it that values free newsheets more than a human life?

I've seen the tales in the press today about violence on the picket line. Let me tell you what really happened. We had 4000 people there and were controlling it from our picket van. The police threw us out of the van and smashed the PA system. They put a padlock on the van so we couldn't use it.

to come off the fence. But I say it's time for the TUC to get off its knees and start fighting.

What is the use of the TUC talking to the Tories about the political levy? If they smash the trade union movement there will be nobody there to pay the

Speech by Chris Newis, member of the NGA National Council, at the Triple Alliance rally, Digbeth Hall, Birmingham on Wednesday 30 November.

They prevented us from carrying out a controlled and peaceful picket because they wanted a riot. Any violence is the responsibility of the police.

I don't have to tell people at this meeting of the Triple Alliance the importance of the closed shop. As far as we're concerned, it's not just about people who have a job but also about those who are unemployed. It enables us to keep unemployment in the NGA down. It's vital to our members.

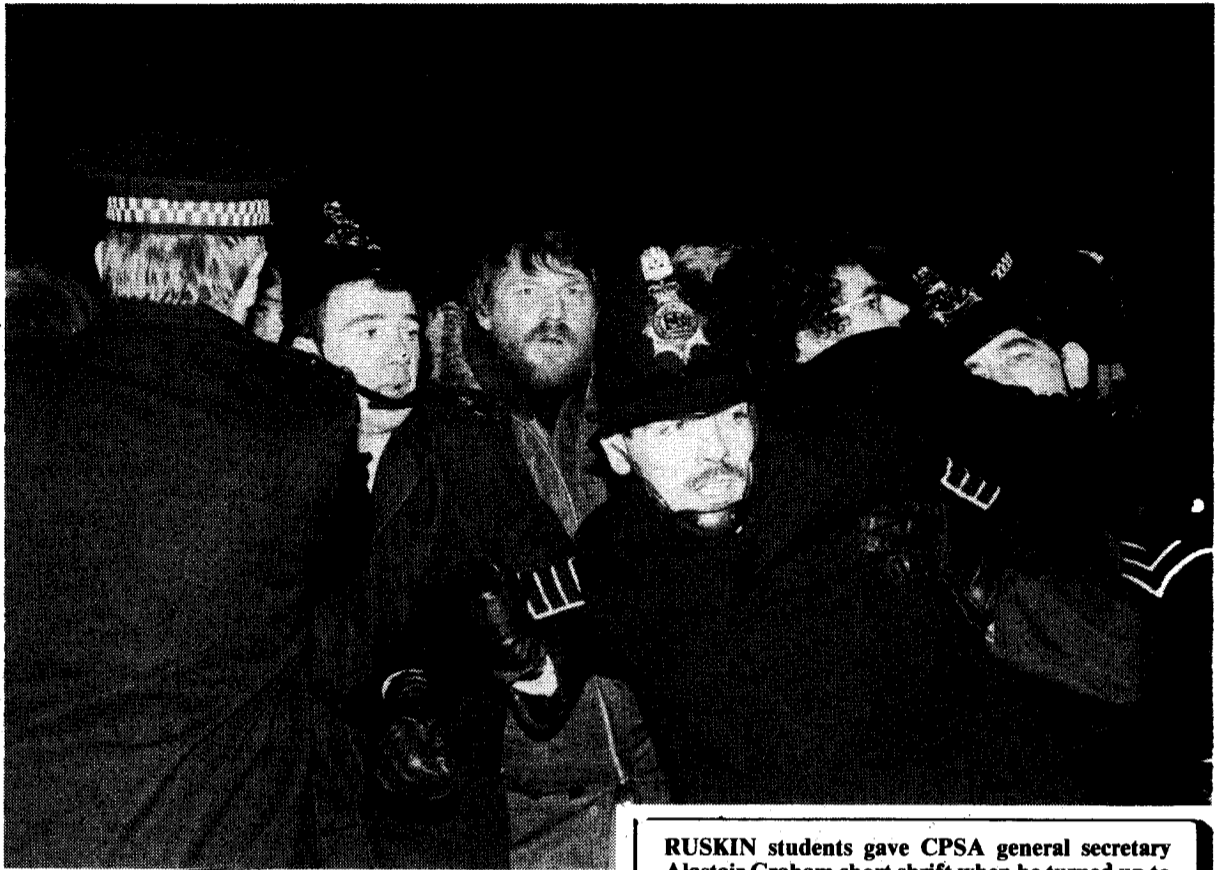
How can we comply with these anti-union laws? After the support given us tonight by Arthur Scargill and Jimmy Knapp I'm surprised it has taken the TUC three weeks to support us. We are confident the support from the TUC employment committee will be turned into support from the General Council. People have said that it's time for the TUC

political levy.

The NGA has got nothing left. Our funds have been sequestered. Our property has been taken over. We are outlaws now. The National Council of the NGA are preparing for all out strike action. But when we have done that comrades, when we are out on strike, we'll have nothing else left. It will then be up to the movement. It will be up to the TUC to prepare a 24 hour general strike.

On 22 September 1982 the TUC asked us to take part in an unlawful strike in support of the healthworkers. We called every Fleet Street newspaper, every provincial newspaper, every two man shop out in support of the health workers. We got injunction after injunction for it. It's time for the TUC to start paying its debts.

We have to tell the Tories, and Eddie Shah,



Police in action at Warrington

that our movement is not going to be held to ransom, either by Donaldson's court's, or Shah, or Thatcher or by anybody else. What I am appealing for comrades on the platform, is thousands and thousands of people on that picket line.

We need ten thousand miners, ten thousand steel workers, ten thousand NUR members if we are going to block and prevent that newspaper going out, which is the only suc-

cessful conclusion to the dispute with the Messenger group newspapers.

We can't do it anymore. We have to have the support of the movement. So go back to your branches, go back to your workplaces and get the people to the picket line.

We are doing all we can. It is up to the TUC to prepare the all out action but we have a responsibility to be on that picket line in our tens of thousands to prevent that newspaper coming out on the streets.

RUSKIN students gave CPSA general secretary Alastair Graham short shrift when he turned up to address some of his members on a short course at the college.

Many of the students who had been on the picket line at the Stockport Messenger the night before, had either seen or been subjected to the brutality of the police. They were incensed when at lunchtime the next day on TV Graham denounced the pickets and thus openly sided with the cops against trade union members defending their rights.

An 80 strong picket was set up and the college authorities were told Graham was not being allowed on the college premises. Eventually he was tracked down in the comfort of the Royal Oxford Hotel but had more sense than brave the picket line which had the support of the CPSA members.

Finally he sneaked out of the hotel and departed for home.

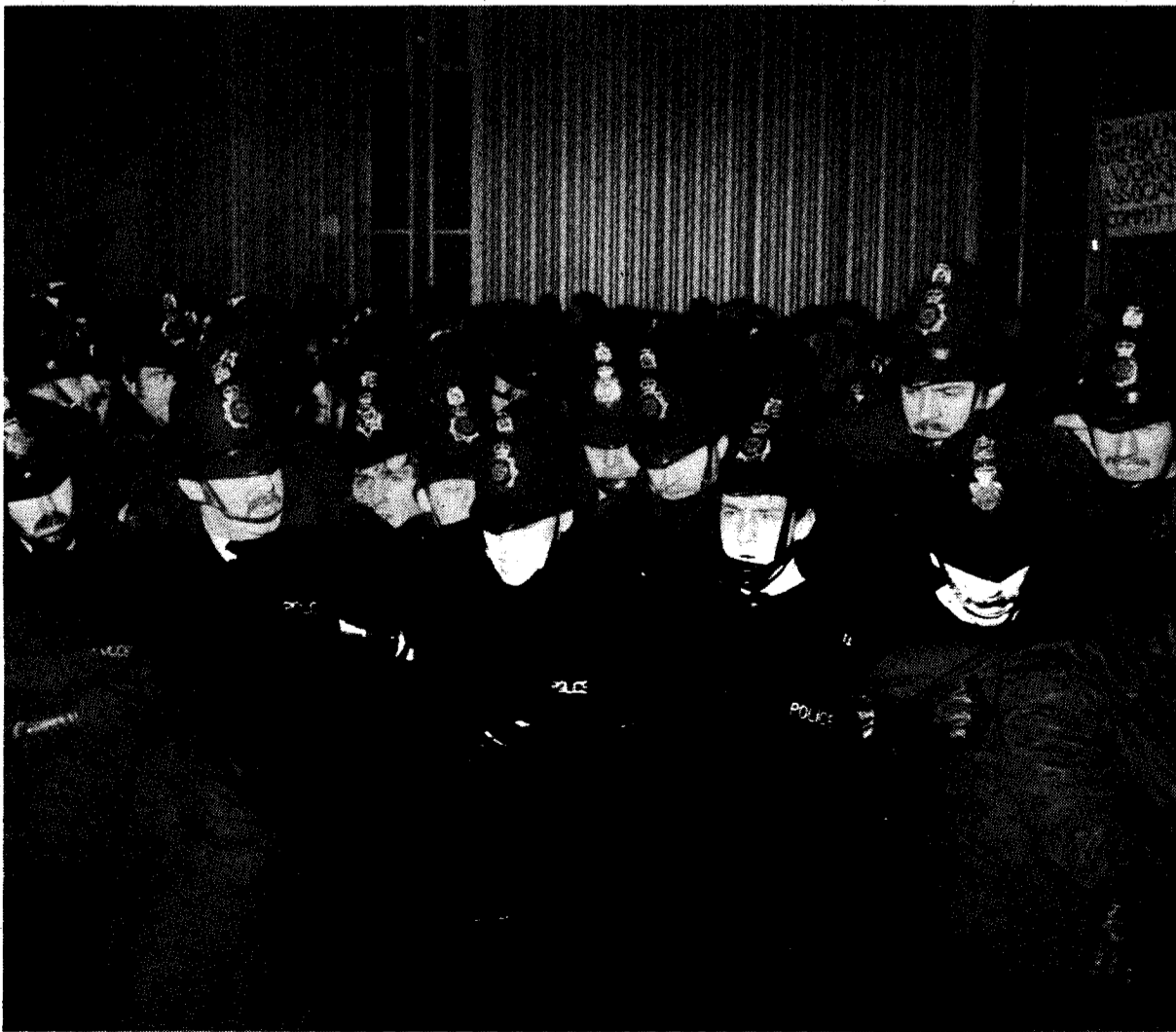


Photo: JOHN HARRIS

Thatcher's boot-boys

WE WENT up by coach from London — it took 5 hours and the police tried to re-route us. But it's a miracle we got there at all because the police blocked off the motorway and were turning others away after about midnight.

We thought we were joining a picket to stop the Messenger, and challenge Tebbit's anti-union laws. But we soon found out there was only one thing in everyone's mind that night — the police.

By Steph Grant

The LSE Students Union banner arrived behind the Bradford Graphical Association. They marched into the picket chanting 'the workers united will never be defeated'. The reception was fantastic for every banner, especially Fords Dagenham.

We marched right through to the front line of the picket and from then

on we were either surrounded by pigs, running away from pigs, dragging other people from the pigs or making way for ambulances.

The police smashed up the NGA van with all the communication equipment. So the stewards were left without radio contact, while more and more police appeared.

For a long time they weren't arresting people, just dragging them through police lines. A friend had his glasses ripped off and literally thrown away, another was nearly strangled when they grabbed him by his scarf.

Behind police lines you could expect a few punches or a pretty bad beating. We saw one guy come back with blood streaming from a gash on his head.

A friend saw someone with his kneecap so swollen he could hardly walk. The only exception was when TV cameras were there. Then the police would shout 'We're being photographed' and let

let you go.

At about 4 o'clock the pigs went wild. They'd managed to take most of the road in front of the warehouses. Then they divided the picket in half. I thought we were badly off on our side. Pigs in crash helmets and visors, wielding truncheons suddenly attacked the front line. We scattered, and people got knocked over in the rush.

As people drifted back to the coaches, we heard what had happened on the other side. The pigs backed Range Rovers full speed into the picket to scatter them, then actually chased them across a huge muddy field into ditches and drove people as far as the motorway in their raid. It's a wonder nobody was killed, let alone run over — and they claim it was NGA leaders who were inciting a riot!

We scored a final small victory before we had to leave. People started blocking the road with metal piping, fires, and made a fence connected to telegraph wires each side of the road.

Of course the pigs couldn't resist driving through to smash it up — and brought the telegraph wires down with it in a spectacular display

A nice way to go.

Tebbits law: Catch 22 for the unions

THE COURT injunctions against the NGA, the NUJ, and the POEU have begun to show just how much is at stake in the 1980 and 1982 Employment Acts. This scale of attacks on the unions would have seemed impossible ten years ago, when massive labour movement opposition overthrew the Heath government's Industrial Relations Act.

But the Tory legal assault is still only just beginning. HILARY DRIVER looks at how the new laws are designed to draw the noose around the neck of the unions.

The legal core of the Tebbit Acts is to make the trade unions legally responsible for the breaking of contracts. The catch is that of course virtually any industrial action involves technically breaking contracts with employers, suppliers or customers. Almost any union action at all can become subject to legal attack under the new Acts.

Before the 1980 and 1982 laws the definition of

a 'trade dispute' — which has immunity from prosecution under the law — was any action simply connected with terms and conditions of employment; physical conditions of work; hiring and firing; work duties; facilities for union officials etc.

Under the new law an industrial action by a union only has immunity if it is 'wholly or mainly' related to any such dispute. As the courts

alone decide what constitutes the meaning of 'wholly or mainly' the effects are legally devastating.

Furthermore a trade dispute is now defined so that it refers only to an action between workers and their own employer.

Under the new Acts all trade union solidarity action therefore becomes illegal. Strikes against informal incomes policy or government pay norms in the public sector could be declared illegal. Fleet Street bosses use the new definition of a 'trade dispute' to sue the NGA for their losses due to 'illegal' secondary strike

action.

The legality of nearly any strike is at the discretion of non-elected and anti-union judges.

Unions stepping over the line of this Tory legality are then made to pay dearly for their sins. They are liable to be sued for unlawful acts which are not 'in furtherance of a trade dispute'.

Unions can also be sued for secondary picketing, 'indiscriminate' secondary action and industrial action 'to compel union membership'.

Finally unions can be sued in many circumstances for the actions of their officials — a direct

attempt to encourage national officials to 'police' shop stewards.

Trade unions with over 100,000 members are liable to be sued for up to £250,000 for each different claim for damages. For contempt of court the fines can be even greater amounts. Considerable legal and labour costs can also be awarded against a union.

In addition to attacks on existing union organisation the new laws make it far harder to achieve union membership in the first place — a unionisation of non-organised workplaces very often requires secondary

action to secure victory.

To enforce these laws the courts are now given not merely the right to fine

unions but also power to seize their funds and imprison union officials.

What Thatcher has in store

THE LAST TWO Employment Acts were just the opening shots in the Tories war against the unions. Just as the impact of these laws is beginning to bite, a new bill was published by the government in October, the Trade Union Bill.

Unions Attacked has just been published by the Labour Research Department and gives a blow by blow account of the implications of this new Bill. The introduction to the pamphlet explains the new proposals:

Since 1979 the government has launched major legislative attacks on trade union rights and freedoms. Their impact is now beginning to be felt as with, for example, the recent court decisions on the POEU and NGA industrial action.

The government's latest proposals are contained in the Trade Union Bill. They will have a much more immediate impact on trade union organisation because the legislation does not rely on the possibility of legal actions taken by employers of third parties, but instead creates a framework which encourages individual



Miners picket to support a union at Grunwick. This is illegal under the new laws.

union members to bring legal actions against their own unions.

The law has never been a friend of organised workers. Judges have traditionally used their enormous powers to interpret laws so as to benefit employers. The history of the trade union movement is one of repeated legal at-

tacks on its right to organise effectively.

This new Bill represents a serious new development in the area of legal intervention in union affairs. For the first time it lays down a framework which allows judges, rather than union members, to decide on how unions should organise themselves.

It allows judges to decide what is 'political' and what is not. It permits them in effect to determine not only how the union should be organised but also where it should organise, what strikes it should support, which campaigns it can run.

It introduces a measure of state interference in the internal organisation of

trade unions which has not existed before. It is a measure which needs to be opposed by all who believe in the right of unions to organise in the best interests of their members.

The proposals have been presented as an attempt to improve union democracy. A Bill to 'give the union back to its members' is how government representatives have described the new legislation. But the intention behind the Bill is entirely different. The new law would, in effect:

- override established union procedures
- force unions to ignore their own rule books
- allow judges to determine what is 'fair and reasonable' rather than union members
- tie up unions in complicated procedures which effectively will prevent them from taking official industrial action
- limit the political activities of trade unions

Not surprisingly therefore those organisations who have come out

wholeheartedly in support of the government's proposals are the representatives of major UK employers. The Director-General of the Confederation of British Industry (CBI), Sir Terence Beckett hails the Bill as 'fair and reasonable'.

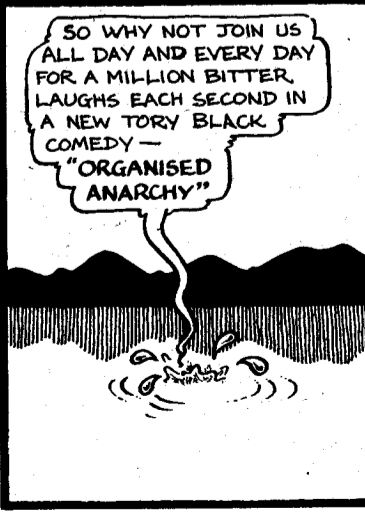
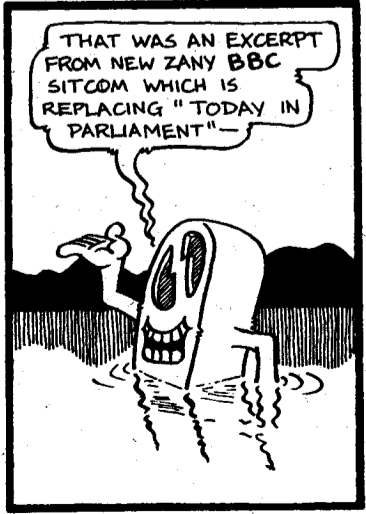
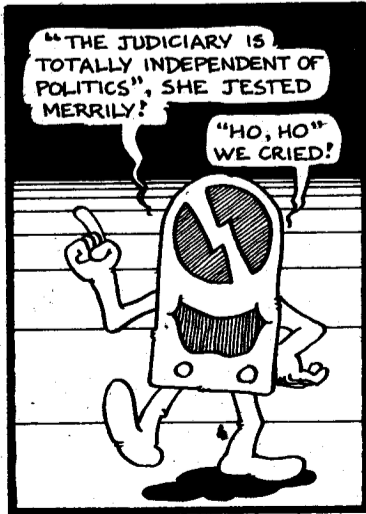
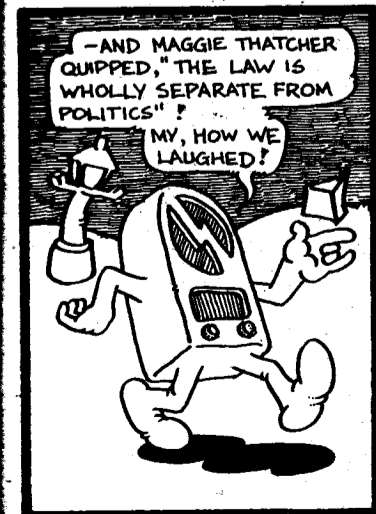
At the same time they, along with the Institute of Directors and the Engineering Employers Federation, are now in the process of encouraging the government to introduce even further restraints and are known to favour the outlawing of strikes where procedure agreements have been broken — by unions not managements of course.

The government will view its success in introducing the Bill as a green light for further, tougher measures. Mrs Thatcher has promised a new trade union law every two years. As each new piece of legislation is introduced trade union rights are limited further.

Unions Attacked is published by the Labour Research Department, 78 Blackfriars Rd, London SE1 8HF, 60p (includes post and packaging).

A PIECE OF THE ACTION

BY CORMAC #36 12/83



Transatlantic union busters

The TUC's road to suicide

One of the key reasons the TUC right wing gives for not backing the NGA is that it cuts across negotiating with the government. JOHN ROSS looks at the real meaning of the Tory union laws and shows how they are directly modelled on the employers offensive in the United States.

The Tebbit/King union laws are not 'ill thought out measures' — as Neil Kinnock has claimed. Nor are they a 'step by step' approach as the press have portrayed them. It is only the tactics, not the goals, which are flexible.

To see the driving forces of the Tebbit laws, and the future path of the Thatcher government, it is only necessary to look across the Atlantic.

Western European capitalism, including Britain, is today getting crushed in its economic struggle with the United States and Japan.

Whole British industries — television manufacturing, video recorders, popular hi-fi equipment — have been eliminated by Japanese and US competition. The same is true, on a less extreme scale, in West Germany and France.

The reason for this crushing defeat of West European capitalism by Japan and the United States is clear. In any economic competition which takes place on a capitalist basis the economies with the weakest labour movements and the lowest costs, will win.

In the United States the trade unions now organise less than 20 per cent of the workforce. In Japan the bulk of the main manufacturing industries are organised solely by company unions — that is unions which do not extend outside a single firm. This makes inter-union solidarity in Japan virtually impossible.

In neither Japan nor the United States is there any serious welfare state comparable to that won by the labour movement in Western Europe.

A result of a situation where they face feeble labour movements is that United States and Japanese capitalist firms do not have to finance the

welfare states, job protection and safer working conditions won by the unions in their West European rivals.

In order to compete with Japan and the United States, on a capitalist basis, the West European employers — including in Britain — must necessarily follow the labour methods pioneered by Japan and the United States. That means above all that Britain, France and West Germany must eliminate the welfare state and the strength of the trade unions in their countries.

The Thatcher government's union busting techniques are in fact directly imported from the United States — with a few Japanese specialities mixed in.

The goal of US capitalism today is simply and literally the elimination of trade unions from most of the American economy. Trade union membership in the United States has been forced down from 33 per cent of the workforce just after the Second World War to under 20 per cent today.

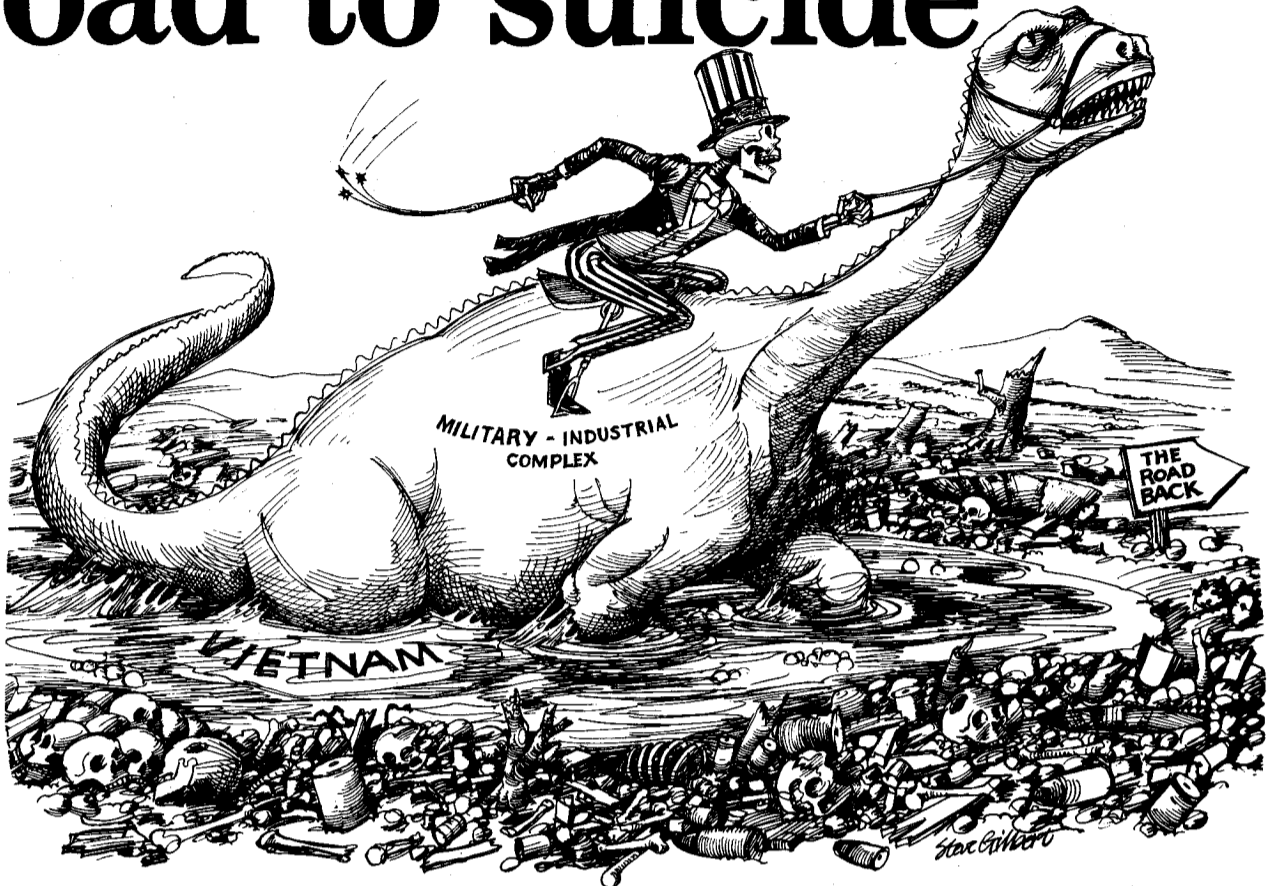
Sector

In the private sector unionisation is even lower. Only 16 per cent of workers in the private sector are in trade unions.

The key new US industries — the famous electronics firms of 'silicon valley' — are almost completely non-unionised. IBM, the greatest electronics firm in the world, is totally non-union. In the last twenty years US industry has been systematically moving out of the heavily unionised North East of the country into the non-union South.

In the Southern US states the entire battery of laws Thatcher wants to introduce in Britain can be seen in their full force. The cornerstone is the farcically named 'right to work' laws which ban closed shops and impose innumerable barriers against organising unions. Keeping the unions out of the Southern US states is one of the key aims of the US government today.

At the Federal level Reagan has been systematically removing the



previous gains won by the American trade union movement. This is applied in every field.

The administration has announced a plan for lowering the legal minimum wage for teenagers and creating a pool of cheap youth labour — the technique followed by Thatcher in establishing the YTS.

Average earnings for women have been reduced to less than 60 per cent of those for men — which compares to an average wage for women of 65 per cent of that for men in 1955.

Full time black women workers receive on average only 53 per cent of mens pay. Full time women Latino workers get on average only 49 per cent of mens wages.

The other symptoms of the slump and the weakness of the union movement in the United States are also increasing. There has been a significant jump in the suicide rate. According to a study by the University of Minnesota each percentage point increase in the unemployment rate is associated with 318 additional suicides.

The prison population is growing. Illiteracy is increasing. The poverty rate for blacks under 18 years old is 43 per cent and for black women over 65 who live alone it is 82 per cent.

Powerful

In 1982 the United States, the richest and most powerful country in the world, ranked only twentieth in male life expectancy and eleventh in female life expectancy. The US ranked twenty second in the world in infant mortality. Washington, the capital of the United States, actually had a higher rate of infant mortality than Costa Rica, Cuba or Jamaica.

In this situation Reagan has announced that his 'dream' is to abolish all minimum wage laws and his government has carried through major programmes of cuts in primary and secondary education, child and maternal care, and unemployment pay.

The result of these steps is that in a major city such as Milwaukee 40,000 households have been unable to pay gas and electricity bills because of poverty and have been sent termination notices. In Pittsburgh 15,000 families were declared to be in arrears on their mortgage payments and 2,000 were evicted.

At the national level the Reagan administration has consciously sought to bust unions where it can. The most notorious case was the air traffic controllers union PATCO.

PATCO was one of the new United States public sector unions

founded in 1970. By 1981 it had grown to represent 15,000 of the 17,000 government-employed air traffic controllers. PATCO had developed a strong reputation for militancy.

The plan to smash the air traffic controllers was drawn up by the Carter administration. Carter proposed large scale use of military personnel for air-traffic control as the corner stone of strike busting effort.

Office

When Reagan came to office he put the Carter plan into effect. PATCO was deliberately offered in the annual wage round an absurdly low wages and benefits increase. Reagan knew the union would have to reject the terms offered or lose all ability to defend its members interests. When PATCO duly rejected the offer all air-traffic controllers were sacked.

Under the guise of 'maintaining an essential service' military controllers, supervisors, and the 20 per cent of the union membership who were prepared to break the picket lines were used to keep air traffic control functioning.

PATCO was then deprived of all legal bargaining rights and smashed. An entire part of the US public sector had been de-unionised.

Coupled with this direct assault the US government and employers have also been careful to build up a powerful right wing within the union movement. During the 1970s sections of unionised American workers such as the garment and catering trades saw their real wages cut by 13 per cent and 24 per cent respectively. But steel and auto workers gained wage increases 74 per cent and 40 per cent above the increase in prices. The wages of all unionised workers have fallen less rapidly than the non-unionised.

The leadership of the American unions — the AFL-CIO — has been won to adopting a policy of collaborating with the government to try to safeguard their own interests against those of the overwhelming majority of the US working class.

The AFL-CIO unions have supported US foreign policy over rearmament. They have signed the famous 'give back' contracts in which unions have accepted wage cuts, total job mobility, and huge lay offs.

Under the combined impact of attacks by successive governments, the introduction of new technologies, and a lack of fight back by the unions the weight of the United States trade union movement in the country has slumped. These are the type of

measures the Thatcher government is now trying to introduce into Britain.

The lessons of the United States are quite clear. The TUC's policy of trying to negotiate with Thatcher is quite literally suicide.

The British employers are able to copy from the United States a well worked out and coherent policy to break the back of the trade union movement.

Unions in 'essential services' in the public sector will be increasingly attacked and restricted. Union membership as a whole will be driven down by eliminating the closed shop.

In the 'new technology' industries unions will be eliminated as much as possible. Trade unions in existing skilled trades — such as printing — will be drastically weakened or smashed.

The final long term aim of Thatcher's offensive is to drive Britain's ten million strong trade union movement to perhaps only five or six million workers in unions — if that.

This is not a fantasy but the practical policies pursued by the Reagan administration in the United States and which Thatcher is trying to copy here. The TUC's policy of negotiating with the government, and refusing to back the NGA in its fight for survival, is literally a question of talking with its executioner.



PATCO official Steve Walleart arrested during the 1981 strike

Arguments for

Thatcher and friends
The anatomy of the Tory party
John Ross
Photo Press

'This is by far the best book that has been published about electoral politics for a very long time' — Tony Benn

Available from The Other Bookshop, 328 Upper Street, London N.1. £2.50

RECT ACTION MOVEMENT

meals. Politics is for men — and it takes women acting together, putting the fact that they are women right to fore, for women to conceive of a different role for themselves. Any women's movement that succeeds in doing that is profoundly positive.

Perhaps the most difficult discussion to confront is that about tactics. Should women go jail? Is direct action a useful tactic? The argument for direct actions that result in arrests are that the 'proper channels are useless' since the decisions have already been made over most peoples' heads.

This is certainly true, but the argument is not really about legality. Even standing on a pavement can be deemed an offence. The question is what types of action, legal or illegal, are useful for the movement.

There is no doubt that there are two schools of thought on legality within the Greenham movement. Both start from the point of view that the actions have to be continually escalated otherwise the movement will stagnate and die. But one view holds that this means more and more women have to be involved, while another sees this as meaning that the degree of illegality of the actions and daringness has to increase.

At certain levels these are not mutually contradictory points of view. At many points in history a movement has been maintained or pushed forward by the exemplary actions or sacrifice of small groups of individuals — witness the effect of the hunger strikers in the North of Ireland in rebuilding the mass activity of the nationalist movement. Or the actions of the Sandinista guerrilla squads in



Photo: CLAIRE HERSHMAN

'What we want to change is immense. It's not just getting rid of nuclear weapons, it's getting rid of the whole structure that created the possibility of nuclear weapons in the first place. If we don't use imagination nothing will change. Without change we will destroy the planet. It's as simple as that.'

Lesley Boulton, June 1982

Nicaragua seizing the government building under Somoza and winning the release of hundreds of political prisoners.

But the vital element is that the exemplary actions have to be aimed at building a genuinely mass movement that all women can get involved in, to any degree.

Sylvia Pankhurst had a touchstone for how to judge militant tactics. When asked to burn down Nottingham Castle by

Christabel Pankhurst, she decided against — only being prepared to fling a torch as a symbolic act, accompanied by a large demonstration.

Sylvia explained: 'I regarded this new policy with grief and regret, believing it wholly mistaken and unnecessary ... The old, defiant, symbolic militancy performed in the sight of all, punished with a severity out of all proportion to its damage, if damage there were,

had roused an enormous volume of support; had brought the Cause to the fore and would keep it there. What the movement required, that it might reap what it had sown, was, in my opinion, a broader and more confident appeal to the people.'

We should apply the same measure to tactics at Greenham. Otherwise women will go to jail or pay heavy fines and the sacrifices will have been in vain. The story of the violence that was inflicted on the imprisoned suffragettes is not just history. When the state is determined to halt a movement it will use any force, any violence, any expense. The only counter measure we have is our massive numbers. A few can be picked off but a majority of the population raised in protest is a force ignored at a government's peril.

But if we make this judgement about tactics, we should not be led

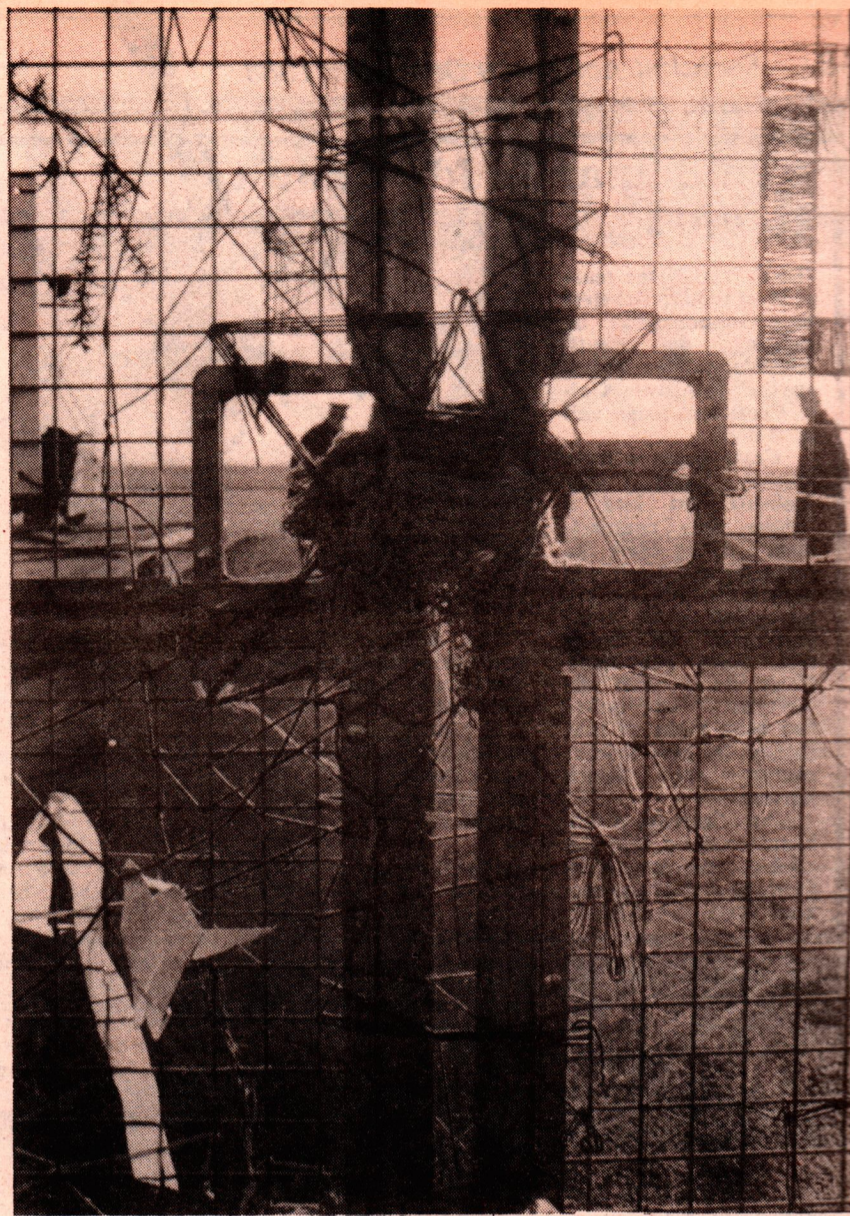


Photo: PAM ISHERWOOD

'In the name of sterile, meaningless abstractions like patriotism and duty, mothers' sons are sent off to murder other mothers' sons. The police, the armies and the courts are all "only obeying orders". People in Africa, India and South America starve while these same continents export shipload after shipload of tea, coffee, meat, exotic fruit and vegetables to the rich countries of the world. This is "civilisation as we know it", the "peace" they are so proud about. We are left in isolation to deal with this system, this outrage, with its privilege, exploitation and rape. If we can't cope with it we're made to feel that we're weak, inadequate, over-sensitive. The world is run by a handful of mad old men, indulging their ghoulish, expansionist fantasies. Disenfranchised women, despite the vote, we are campaigning against cruise missiles, but in doing so we are also taking on the world.'

Gwyn Kirk, April 1983

to dismiss all illegal actions. The cutting of the Greenham fence on 29 October was an inspiration and few voices could be heard condemning it for illegality.

The government simply warned about the use of troops, and the possibility of demonstrators being fired on as a result. Fear tactics used by the government only succeeded in winning the Greenham women more sympathy.

In 1913 George Lansbury (hardly a revolutionary) said of the suffragettes:

'When you are tricked and deceived, when Parliament betrays its sacred trust, you have the right to rebel. It is the only course left open to you. I ask that all of us here will stand shoulder to shoulder with the militant women; hold them up in the fight they are waging. Let them burn and destroy property! Let them do anything they will; and for every leader that is taken, let a dozen step forward to take their places ... this is a holy war!'

It would be nice to hear Neil Kinnock say the same about the Greenham women today.



The pictures and quotes from Greenham women on these pages are from 'Greenham Women Everywhere' (Pluto Press). Copies are obtainable from The Other Bookshop, 328 Upper St., London N1, price £3.50 plus 50p post and packing.



GREENHAM: WOMEN'S DII AND THE PEACE I

THE WOMEN'S peace movement is a year old this week. The peace camp at Greenham Common itself has existed for considerably longer. But the movement really came to birth on 12 December last year when 30,000 women surrounded the perimeter fence and decorated it with photographs, letters, dreams and mementoes.

Even the most hostile sections of the popular press had to find something good to say about Greenham that day. And they've been trying to find ways to discredit the movement ever since.

By Jude Woodward

It isn't just the popular press that has peddled misconceptions and confusion about the Greenham movement. It's also sections of the left itself. After the action last December some purists decreed that it was 'anti-feminist' for women to hang nappies and pictures of their children on the Greenham fence.

Not all women did that. But those who were there for the sake of their children renewed a consistent theme of the way that women have been drawn into mass movements and struggles.

Women in Russia started the 1917 revolution calling for bread and an end to war, because they cared for their starving children and dying sons. Even when the struggle was for women's own rights, for example the Suffragette movement, the testimony of many working class women indicates that they saw the fight as simply a first step to place themselves in a better position to improve the lives of their families and communities.

We should have no fear of this, either as feminists or as socialists, because in the course of the struggle other questions become posed. How many suffragettes first forced their husbands and sons to take more responsibility at home, because they wanted the time to go out and fight for the vote?

And in the Greenham movement perhaps the personal experience of Helen John best sums up the transformation in many women's lives through engaging in the struggle at Greenham. Helen left her husband and children to live at Greenham because as she

'The camp itself is a permanent reminder to the government that there are many people who don't want to be part of the nuclear arms race. We're not just a bunch of women sitting around a base. We're speaking for thousands of people who don't want cruise missiles sited here. It seemed a strange kind of democracy that a decision could be taken without even parliament being consulted, let alone the public. I sensed this sick mentality all around me that was motivated not by the sacredness of life but by fear that was feeding the arms race. It seemed crazy to me that the government were pouring our precious energies, our resources, billions of pounds, into something that was for mass murder, instead of this money going towards our social services, our health and education.'

Sarah van Venn, March 1982

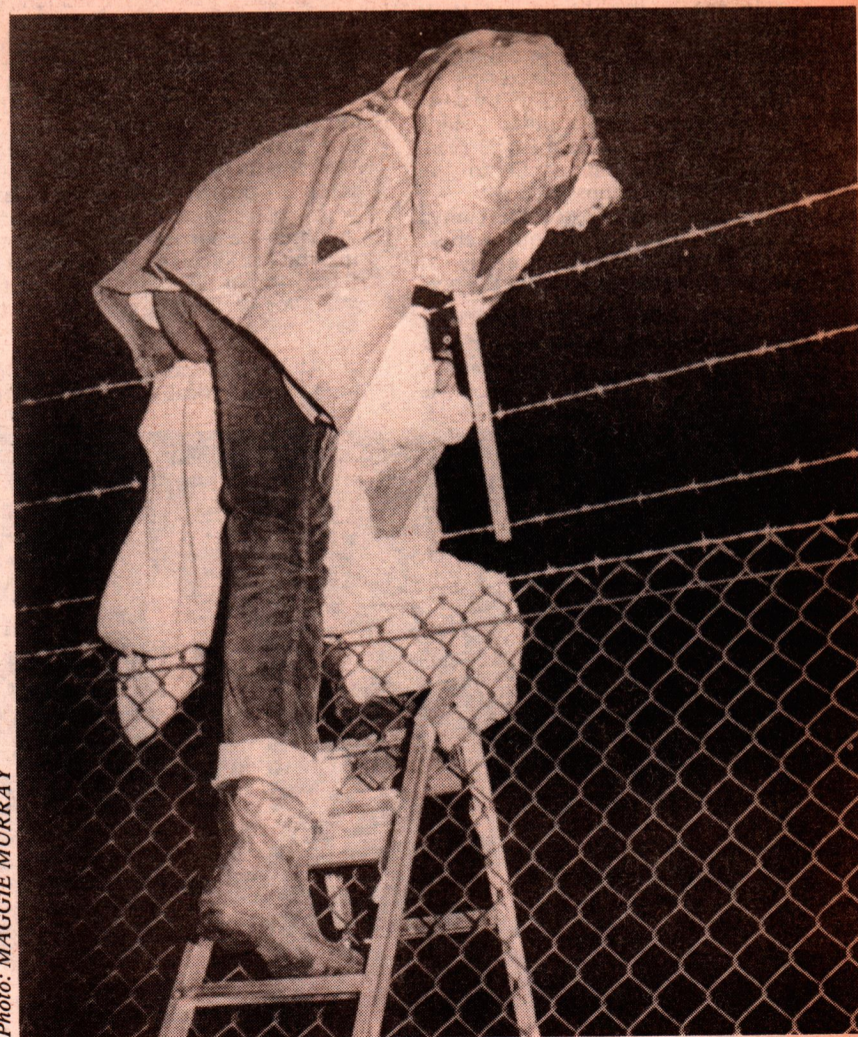


Photo: MAGGIE MURRAY

has explained, she cared for them. She broke with her family to fight for their future.

A parallel argument has been that women-only actions are in themselves a bad thing — supposedly not socialist and too feminist. 'You can't involve the unions in women-only actions' is one hoary old argument. Apart from the fact that this increasingly simply isn't true, it is also the case that our job as socialists is to argue

in the unions why they *should* support such actions.

The record of the labour movement in this country on supporting the fight for women's liberation doesn't bear close examination. Undoing that bad history demands that the labour movement itself makes the first move.

The overwhelming majority of women still see themselves as having no role in life outside work — bar changing nappies and cooking

Photo: CLAIRE HERSHMAN

Avoid apartheid — don't go out!

JUST WHEN the team of West Indian cricketers were supposed to be cleaning up South Africa's multi-racial image their fast bowler Colin Croft had to go and spoil it all.

Croft made a train journey and very foolishly got into a 'whites only compartment'. Along came the inspector and Croft was despatched off to the segregated black compartments. Bit funny that, when you think Croft along with his mercenary team-mates had been given all that money to play cricket against white South Africans.

But Croft probably hadn't realised that the cricket matches were financed out of government funds to sell South



Avoid apartheid — 'stay in'

Africa abroad. Now at home things are a bit different and you can't have these blacks going where they please, even if they are cricketers. Next thing you know and the locals will start thinking they can do the same.

Croft has been assured that it won't happen again. That is as

long as he eats in black cafes, only use black loos and keeps out of white bars. In fact if he and his team-mates simply play cricket then go back to their segregated hotels and lock themselves in until the next match they have been assured there is no chance of them being abused by apartheid.

Sold short

MR ALEXANDER FLETCHER now Under Secretary for Trade and Industry was promoted from being Scottish Education Minister because he obviously has lots of business sense.



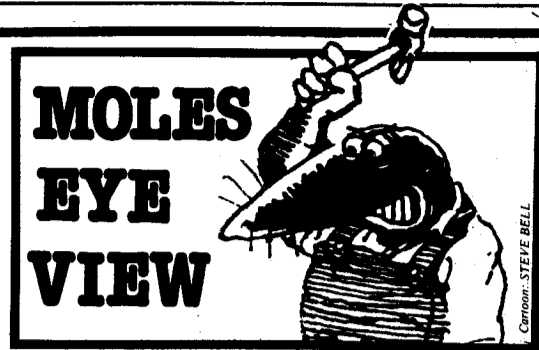
When they closed Hamilton College of Education, near Glasgow he quickly flogged it off to an independent school and some property developers for a tasty £680,000. The person who was acting as chief valuer tried sticking his nose into Mr Fletcher's deal because he valued it at £6 million.

But Mr Fletcher wanted a quick sale so naturally he wasn't going to waste time quibbling over a measly £5,320,000 which after all is only public money.

NGA

THE NGA were always assured of one thing when they appeared before the Master of the Rolls Sir John Donaldson — he would have very firm opinions about trade unions.

None of this hypocritical both sides of the argument nonsense for Sir John. After all he had been busy advising the government on industrial relations and the



introduction of legal restrictions on the right to strike.

He is against unions having the right to strike once the courts had ruled on the issue — ie. people like him have decided. The Master of the Rolls also thinks employers should be allowed to selectively dismiss strikers and all workers on strike should be sacked if the dismissals are to be lawful.

Sir John is also decidedly against outside interference in strikes.

He points out it is different for him — he is interfering from the inside — he did help to frame the law at the personal invite of Sir Geoffrey Howe.

Nobody ever invited the NGA and the pickets to interfere in the law. People like Sir John know that the plebs' job is simply to obey the law made by their betters.

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

DIARY

(These listings are free for all major labour movement and campaign activities — up to maximum of 50 words. 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).

International

- **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.
- **No Intervention in Central America and the Caribbean** (NICAC) is a broad based coalition of solidarity groups, human rights orgs, aid agencies and political parties. More details from NICAC 20/21 Compton Terrace, London N1 01-226 6747.
- **Hounslow Socialist Forum** last of a series of meetings on the internationalisation of the world economy and of conflict: 11 Dec The orchestration of violence and repression with speakers from Southern Africa, Latin America & Palestine. All meetings Sundays, 7.15pm, George IV pub, 185 Chiswick High Rd, W4 (Turnham Green tube).
- **From War in the Third World to the Third World War** — new pamphlet published by El Salvador Solidarity Campaign, 50p. Order from ELSSOC, 29

Islington Park St, London N1 01-359 3976. ELSSOC have also produced a 1984 calendar showing scenes from life in the liberated zones, £3 from same address.

● **Central America and the Caribbean** A series of open educational with videos and speakers at Peckham Labour Club, Lansbury House, 41 Camberwell Grove, London SE5: 6 Dec Cuba; 13 Dec Nicaragua; 10 Jan Guatemala; 17 Jan Honduras; 24 Jan El Salvador; 31 Jan Grenada; 7 Feb Evening of Central American culture. Admission £1/UB40 free. Organised by Sth London Central American Group, contact Edwin 01-733 7706 for details.

● **Reagan's war plans in Central America & the Caribbean** Sth West London Socialist Action forum, 8pm, Wed 21 Dec at Clapham Community Project, Venn St, SW4 (Clapham Cmmn tube). Further details from Carol 01-359 8371.

Ireland

● **'Cause of Ireland'** London premier of the controversial film, plus 'Free Country'. 7.30pm, Weds 7 Dec, Brixton Ritzy cinema, Coldharbour Lane, SW2 (Brixton tube). Entrance £2.25/1.50 UB 40 or NUS.

● **Labour Committee on Ireland** — meeting to form a South London LCI, 8pm,

Tue 6 Dec, Rm 31, Lambeth Town Hall, Brixton. (Admission with LP card only). Further information 01-737 1968 (eves).

Disarmament

● **'Sound around Greenham'** 11 Dec. National action at Greenham Common, women only. For details ring Manchester 061-225 7352 or 236 3112 or London 01-251 3133/226 6258.

Lesbian & Gay Liberation

● **London Lesbian & Gay Young Socialists** meet every four weeks on Sundays at 6pm, Marchmont Community Centre, Marchmont St, WC1. Next meeting 11 Dec. Further details from Martin 01-263 9484.

● **Gay NUR group** just forming. For details of inaugural meeting write to Gay NUR c/o 119 Southwyck, Coldharbour Lane, London SW9.

● **Nottingham Labour Campaign for Gay Rights** meets monthly. Next meeting 21 Dec, 8pm, Salutation Inn, Maid Marion Way. Details: Chris Richardson, 21 Devonshire Promenade, Lenton 0602 780124.

Hands off Grenada!

The New Jewel Movement and the Grenada Solidarity Campaign appeal for support on pickets every Tuesday and Thursday, 5-7pm. These will take place at:
US Embassy, Grosvenor Square, London W1
Eastern Caribbean Embassy, 10 Kensington Ct, London W8
Barbados Embassy, 6 Upper Belgrave St, London SW1

- **London Labour Campaign for Gay Rights** new office at 39 Chippenham Rd, W9 2AH 01-286 9692, open Tues-Thur 11am-7pm. (Westbourne Grove tube. Bad access, help available). Next London LCGR meeting at the office, 11 Dec at 6pm. Details from Mike 01-659 2938 or office number.
- **Why Labour shouldn't backtrack on Lesbian and gay rights** Islington Labour Briefing meeting with Peter Tatchell, Fri 16 Dec, 7.45pm, Rm 5, Islington Town Hall, Upper St, N1. 16 Dec, 7.45pm. Followed by London Briefing Xmas social at 3 Davenant Rd, N19 (off Holloway Rd), £1.50.

Anti-cuts campaigns

- **London Health Service Campaign.** 34 Dalston Lane, London E8 3AZ 01-249 8086.
- **Hayes Cottage Hospital Occupation Ctee,** Grange Rd, Hayes, Middx 01-573 5593.

Miscellaneous

- **Films at work** — a series of films at Jacksons Lane Community Centre, 271 Archway Rd, London N6. 11 Dec WR — Mysteries of the Organism; 19 Dec Days of Hope. All start at 7.30pm, £1.50/80p UB40.
- **East London Socialist Action New Year's Eve social** Sat Dec 31, 7.30pm-

- midnight. Buffet, bar and disco. £4/£2 unwaged. For tickets phone Trina 01-519 0037.
- **Ealing/Southall Socialist Action Xmas social,** Fri 9 Dec, 8pm-midnight, Featherstone Arms, Featherstone Rd, Southall. Food, music, bar extension. Entrance £1.
- **Civil Rights**
- **Campaign against the Police Bill National march and rally** Sat 21 Jan, Brockwell Park, London. Details of these and other events from NCAPB, 50 Rectory Rd, London N16 01-249 8334.



Reagan Free Caribbean badges in yellow, black and red. 25p each (plus postage); bulk orders 20p each. Money with orders to PO Box 36, 136 Kingsland High St, London E8. Cheques/POs payable to Hackney Book Club.

Checklist against the Police Bill

- **March and rally against the Police Bill.** Saturday 21 January. Assemble Brockwell Park, Brixton. Noon.
- **Next meeting of the National Council of the Campaign Against the Police Bill.** 7 January, Manchester. For details contact NCAPB c/o Rectory Road, London N16. 01 249 8334
- **Defend the Newham 8, mass picket.** 12 December. Old Baily, St Paul's London. 9 am

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One-sided history

BOB Pennington's 'sordid history' of the Communist Party of Great Britain is one-sided and therefore inaccurate. As a Young Communist League member in the 30s and a party activist until about six or seven years ago, and now sympathetic to the politics of Socialist Action rather than the CP, may I remind him of a few facts. In industrial Fife, that could boast of a Communist MP, it was not until the mid-60s that I met my first Trotskyist. The Fourth International did not exist except in text books. How did this come about Bob, if your scenario made us out so wrong?

Let it be perfectly clear that in Fife until the present day the dividing line

Defective

YOUR obituaries of Farrell Dobbs are defective because you do not explain that his career involved the most catastrophic political error ever committed by the Fourth International.

As a result of his work in building the Teamsters Union, Farrell Dobbs became a leader of this key union. One would have thought that a revolutionary group would have been pleased to have one of its members in such a position.

Not so the Socialist Workers Party (US), a propaganda group afflicted with delusions of grandeur. They made Dobbs resign his position and work fulltime for them.

In this way American Trotskyism lost its only major position of influence in

between reformist/careerist socialism and revolutionary socialism was, and still is, the choice between the Labour Party and the Communist Party. Crossing the Rubicon is from one to the other in the eyes of the ordinary worker.

True, there are now a few Militant supporters around, and I read in Socialist Action that the CP is divided like it never was divided before. But, Bob, do not get too carried away with your advantage of hindsight.

I know who carried the banner of Marxian socialism when no Trotskyist was in sight. It would take a lot for me to join the Labour Party knowing from first hand experience its 'sordid history' here in Fife and elsewhere.

JOHN P MATHIESON, Glenrothes

the living workers' movement and condemned itself to continued marginality.

Nor was this only a huge blunder for the Trotskyists. It also had a bad effect on the Teamsters. If Dobbs had still been around Jimmy Hoffa would not have been able to turn it into a gangsters union, subsequently to be used against the United Farmworkers.

To my astonishment the Fourth International has still not learnt this lesson. Comrades Frank and co actually boast of Dobbs' 'conscious decision to abandon his position as a trade union leader to become one of the key leaders of the Socialist Workers Party'.

What a miseducation of your readers! CHRIS ARTHUR, Brighton

Write to us!

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

THE ACTION INTERVIEW

Eyewitness in Grenada

A FEW DAYS after the US invasion of Grenada **DAVID HASLAM**, the vice chair of War on Want, went on a fact finding mission to the island with two representatives of the Parliamentary Labour Party, Ioan Evans MP and Nigel Spearing MP. In this interview with *Kathy Kirkham* he records his impressions. In addition to being vice chair of War on Want, David Haslam is a Methodist Minister and a member of Brent Labour Party. His trip with the PLP mission was his third visit to Grenada.

What was your impression of the fighting and the casualties during the invasion?

A lot of reports on this have been nonsense, part of the American disinformation campaign. Certainly the Grenadians fought back; the Cubans were only involved in as much as the American marines attacked them at the airport.

But the major force the Americans had to contend with was the Peoples Revolutionary Army. The PRA did set up quite a bit of resistance, although it was nothing as strong as it could have been if the army and militia had been united. Because of the previous divisions in the NJM Central Committee the militias were very suspicious of the PRA — that certainly weakened their fight back considerably.

One report we heard was that there was a counter-attack on the evening of the US invasion in which three armoured vehicles nearly got onto the airstrip. In fact we saw them, they were stopped 100 yards short.

A British observer told us that if they'd got on the airstrip there might have been much heavier American casualties. We were also told that there were at least 12 American helicopters shot down, and that suggests a much higher casualty rate than the Americans admit.

The anti-aircraft fire didn't cease till Friday night, that was four days after the invasion, and three days after the Americans said everything had been tied up.

What about Grenadian casualties?

There have been widely divergent reports about this, and clearly the Americans have been blocking any reports of Grenadian casualties. I would certainly have to discount the talk of between 1000 and 2000 dead. On a small island, with that extent of casualties everyone would have known. The best estimates we heard were that there were about the same number of people — perhaps 100 — killed during the invasion as on October 19, the day Maurice Bishop and the others were executed.

Did the people you talked to give you any impression of political differences inside the NJM Central Committee — or was it just a personal power struggle?

I think it was both. I think there were personal ambitions involved. But it seems that the Coard-Austin faction had a 'harder left' political analysis of the rate of change that should go on in



Photo: WAR ON WANT

David Haslam inspects the ruins of the mental hospital bombed by the United States.



the society. The Bishop-Louison-Whiteman group felt that things should go more slowly and that the divergence between what the Central Committee wanted and what the masses would accept, should not be allowed to get too wide.

By the end it had become a very bitter struggle. You don't go ordering the execution of people you have struggled with for years, sometimes decades, without the rift being very deep.

I'm not saying we know who gave the order for the executions. I doubt that it was Coard — having met him he didn't strike me as a man of violence. But there were people there who were younger, more hot-headed and less politically experienced.

What evidence did you find of US intelligence involvement in the split in the NJM?

Inside the island, very little. An Antiguan left wing paper *Outlet* carried evidence of US knowledge of discussions at the very highest level of the army and government. Whether or not those people were agents in the sense of actively trying to foment a split, that is not yet clear. My impression is that the Americans had very good information on the split in the leadership, but that people on the island didn't realise it.

You say in your report to War on Want that the invasion seemed to be supported by up to 90 per cent of the population. This seems to imply that the Coard-Austin faction was extremely isolated in terms of mass support?

I think it is more or less accurate to say that the Coard faction had very little popular support, certainly after the execution of Bishop, Whiteman and the others. I think they had developed the line of a vanguard party determined to pursue its line, irrespective of its communication with the masses.

That became clear when, on 19 October, 10-15,000 people came out to liberate Bishop — that is 10 per cent of the population of the island. The population of St Georges for example is only seven and a half thousand.

The bourgeoisie live in St Georges, and there was quite a lot of disaffection with the PRG there, and that is where a lot of journalists got their interviews with people saying they supported the invasion. My impression is that in the countryside there was a lot more support for the PRG, and especially for Bishop and his supporters.

One small piece of evidence for that is that we drove across the island with Ken Radix and George Louison, former PRG ministers, and saw a lot

of people waving and greeting them, but the nearer we got to St Georges the less this became. It is possible that if the journalists had got more out into the villages and countryside they would have found less support for the invasion.

Most of the people we talked to did support it. For example one person who was very close to the PRG before said that he regarded it as a necessary evil. Ken Radix and George Louison both opposed it, because although it probably secured their own safety, in the longer term it will have had repercussions.

When we interviewed Kendrick Radix while he was still boxed up in the Cuban embassy, he described it as Grenada's darkest hour. He thought it would be a long struggle to get out of the situation the Americans have created.

Did you get the impression that supporters of the NJM were being rounded up by the Americans, irrespective of their support or otherwise of the Austin-Coard coup?

We saw queues of PRA people handing in the arms and being 'processed'. We also saw the internment at Port Salines airport. It was early days when we were there and the cages hadn't been built yet. We heard of two or three hundred people being detained while we were there, some of

them for very short periods. Others, like officers in the army or members of the NJM Central Committee were being detained for longer times.

We saw people being picked up by the marines and taken away. The official position now is that only about 50 people are in detention. But the US troops are still going around and picking people up and holding them for a few hours. I talked to George Louison last week and he has been arrested three times in just over two weeks.

So that kind of harassment is continuing of the people who were not involved in any way in the events of the 19 October. That kind of pressure on all people associated with the NJM is continuing. The other factor is that many people were not Grenadians, working on different programmes, have been kicked out.

What do you think the future of the trade unions will be?

Well there are three different kinds of unions in Grenada. There were those that support the PRG, like the Bank and General Workers Union led by Vincent Noel and the Agricultural Workers under Fitzroy Bain, both of whom were killed on 19 October. There was another group which was neutral. And there were one or two unions which opposed the PRG, for example the water front workers.

I think that the latter will have welcomed the invasion and will want to collaborate with the Americans. Some of the middle unions will go along with that, although some of the younger members will oppose it.

What will happen to the pro-PRG unions is difficult to predict. They've lost their leaderships. There will be an ongoing battle in the unions between those who want to keep alive the memory of what the PRG achieved, and those who want to go along with the free enterprise economy that the Americans will seek to introduce.

What do you think are the prospects for the mass organisations?

Very difficult. There are reports that we're getting that they are being closed down. The National Women's Organisation and the National Youth Organisation have been closed down. It's not yet clear whether and in what form the Centre for Popular Education, which has done much to combat illiteracy, will be allowed to continue.

I think the big battle will centre round programmes like the National Association of Cooperatives (NAC-TA), the food farms programme, the agro-industries programme which bought up farmers spare produce, the Productive Farmers Union which had about 1400 small farmer members. This is the sector where the PRG made their major thrust.

It's pretty clear now that the US AID programme is preparing plans to return Grenada to a dependent cash crop economy which produces crops for export, rather than one which produces food for the needs of the people.

Overall, do you think the gains of the revolution are lost?

I think in the short term the gains will have been cancelled out. As Castro said, the revolution was destroyed when Bishop was executed. What the invasion may have done is resurrect a symbol, in the sense of maybe in the longer term re-awakening the consciousness of the people. I think that consciousness is there, particularly in the younger generation. That will re-surface over time, particularly if the Americans are ham-fisted and insensitive in the way in which they proceed.

1972 Miners strike

Mass pickets win the day



FROM 1970 until 1972 a Tory government was riding high. The power workers had been defeated as had the postal workers. Only a strike at Fords and the occupations at the Upper Clyde Shipbuilders had done anything to hold the line. The Tories then decided to go for the kill and break the back of the unions by crushing the miners.

The Times reported: 'Coal stocks away from the pits are large enough to withstand a strike for weeks, if it does not spread...' 'If it does not spread' were the key words. The TUC meanwhile did nothing to make sure the strike did spread.

It refused to call a meeting of transport unions to organise solidarity. The Seamen's Union, when asked to put an embargo on the import of coal, turned down the request saying 'our members are on articles when on board ship and they cannot break these.'

The EEPTU and the GMWU both made pay deals for the power workers which did not help the miners' case.

From the very beginning the government got tough. It cut power supplies which meant hardship for millions of people, and blamed this on the miners. Agcroft power station was shut down although it had 17 days coal stocks.

The employers and the state banded together to break the miners' resistance. At Dover scab lorry drivers were paid £20 a day — equivalent to around £85 now — to drive through picket lines. Although the drivers were armed with iron bars the police chose to ignore their weapons. At one firm a picket had his foot crushed

When someone sent a

newspaper photograph to the Director of Public Prosecutions which showed a scab driver wielding an iron bar he explained he did not intend to take any action!

Dennis Skinner, the Labour MP for Bolsover revealed that the cops were encouraging drivers to go at speeds of 40 miles an hour driving at the picket lines. From the start it was obvious the government and the state were out to win and they had no intention of fighting according to the Queensberry Rules.

Miners

But the miners also decided to make their own rules. Unlike Joe Gormley, then president of the NUM, who complained that his members 'are being a damn sight more militant than we would want them to be...', they did not restrict their picketing to the pits. With 31 million tons of coal stashed away who cared if the lorries couldn't get to the pit head supplies?

The Kent miners spread their pickets to London. Miners set out for East Anglia. Students and miners occupied Essex University and an action committee of miners, students and unemployed workers was set up to watch over the ports for the movement of coal supplies.



Kent miners in action

In London a 'naval blockade' was established when miners took over a pleasure boat and went down the river with loudhailers stopping coal being taken in by boat to Battersea power station.

The clashes on the picket lines grew even fiercer. One miner was killed by a speeding lorry.

But the miners had more sense than rely on the law so cherished by Mur-

ray and Hattersley to defend their rights. Workers' self defence was used with good effect. Scabs were pulled from their lorries and dumped on the road. At Kersley the floodlights were shot out with an air

rifle, the junction box for the lights was smashed with a sledge hammer.

The pickets drove six inch nails into the road and spread broken glass over it so lorries ripped their tyres. At Longannet

six naval boats were used to take oil in and special 'hard squads' of police were used against the pickets. Over a thousand people were on the picket line every day, miners were slung in jail without bail or trial and 13 pickets were arrested and kept in handcuffs.

Then at Saltley coke depot the miners won their biggest victory. For a week 600 police fought to keep the depot open. After four days of pitched battles between police and pickets, the Birmingham working class stepped in. Two hundred shop stewards from all the major factories in the East Midlands district of the AUEW met. The next morning further police reinforcements moved in and six lorries got out of the depot.

Stewards

Forty thousand workers in the factories answered the summons of their stewards and came out on strike. Then 11,000 of them poured down the streets onto the picket line.

Like straws in the wind the police were blown aside. At 10.45 on the morning of 10 February 1972 the gates of the Saltley coke depot were closed and they never reopened until the government had caved in to the miners' demands.

While the TUC and the Labour Party leaders had nervously droned on about the need to respect the law, gazing with transfixed horror at workers defying it, the government and its supporters could read the writing on the wall and moved towards a settlement.

As the Tory MP William Deedes put it: 'The crux at places like Saltley was not how the law was interpreted but how it could be enforced. It was not doubtful law but numbers which held the police back.'

Photo: JOHN HARRIS

Fight for your paper

SOCIALIST ACTION faces the hardest choices it has ever had to make. The facts are as follows.

● One year ago our landlord demanded a fourfold increase in our rent. Despite months of negotiations and appeals Socialist Action was still hit in June with a staggering 80 per cent increase in rent.

All socialist papers have been faced with increases in electricity prices, postage and all other essentials. But there is no way we can absorb this huge rent increase on top of the other costs.

● Immediately after June we were able to keep going because of the much higher sales created by the general

election. We also received generous donations from our readers.

But although our sales, and income from sales, are today higher than when we launched Socialist Action the exceptionally big increase in orders created by the election has now tailed off.

Thatcher's election victory didn't help either as it created some demoralisation in the left and a fall in sales.

● The result is that more and more of our sales, and income from sales, are today higher than when we launched Socialist Action the exceptionally big increase in orders created by the election has now tailed off. It swallows up money and allows no basis to expand. It does not even replace the high costs of modern equipment.

Money just disappears into the pocket of the landlord.

● The only way out is the one Socialist Action has begun. We have started looking for new premises. Meanwhile we have taken every step to cut our overhead costs.

This is why we have reduced the paper to 12 pages. We have made big cuts in staff.

If we don't do this money will continue simply to be drained away.

● In a capitalist society to save money you have to spend some. To get a lease on a new property, and move out of our existing one, will cost tens of thousands of pounds. If we do not make drastic cuts now we



will not be able to build up the cash to move our offices.

Cuts on the paper will then become permanent.

● We need to urgent-

ly boost our regular fund drive income. From this month we are asking all our supporters to increase their regular contributions to the paper.

But to drastically cut our overhead costs, and make a major saving, we also need to raise £30,000 minimum for our campaign for new premises. When that is done we can take our paper back up to 16 pages. We will also have made a major saving in costs that will safeguard the long term future of Socialist Action.

● We know that raising this large sum of money is going to be more than a campaign of a few weeks. But without it losses will just mount.

● We will be outlining detailed plans to raise all the money we need in the new year. But the most important point of all is that our readers know what is happening with their paper and what we

intend to do is safeguard its future.

The £1, £5, £10 you get for Xmas, can make a tremendous difference to us. If every one of our readers gave £5 we can make our target easily. Some readers can help even more — although we welcome just as much contributions from those who can give far less.

We have real confidence in the future of Socialist Action. In only 35 issues it has established itself on the left. With help now it can expand much further in the future.

But first we must jump the big hurdle of raising £30,000 to safeguard our long term future. We appeal to our readers for urgent help.

The Editorial Board

Where now for the POEU?

THE SELL OUT of the POEU dispute by the decision of the Broad Left majority NEC to comply with the high court injunction to connect Mercury and to call off the industrial action has been strongly resisted in the branches. **JOCK CAMPBELL** secretary of London City branch explains the reasons for the betrayal and the way forward for the POEU membership.

What was the state of the industrial action up to the November reconvened conference?

Our industrial action was going well up to November. We had built up a feeling in the national membership that was determined to win. We have the capacity to win under this Tory government but it means no retreat.

What started the retreat?

The injunction on 8 November instructed the union to lift the blacking of Project Mercury (a private Telecommunications firm). The members expected the leadership to reject the injunction. But later that night the NEC voted to comply with the injunction. It flaunted conference decisions and decided to connect Mer-

cury to BT lines.

Certain NEC members were content for the membership to put their jobs on the line but they were not prepared to make the same commitment themselves and buckled under.

As the result of the defection of the four so-called 'left' NEC members, the right wing gained control and we now see a change of direction with the emphasis being on parliamentary representation and leafleting.

In London City, area management have said that they have introduced computerisation into Broken Warf House, where 90 engineers were on strike, and that will result in redeployment of 20 to 30 members. All strikers will be shown a letter which will tell them if

they go on strike again they will be sacked immediately. This is not acceptable to London City branch. It is now a matter for the mass membership to become involved in this struggle as they did in the 35 hour week.

What should the NEC have done?

The Broad Left majority on the NEC should have voted to defy the Mercury injunction and lead the POEU into struggle. They should have been prepared to defend members' jobs even if this meant a complete withdrawal of all members and a shut down of the communication system in Britain.

How can the leadership issue be resolved?

The left must regroup and start again from scratch. The four NEC members who sold us out must be removed from the Broad Left slate. The POEU Broad Left must have a complete reappraisal of whom they support for the NEC and I hope that out of this will come a more disciplined and politically aware leadership.

Why did the Broad Left NEC fail?

Because certain people put getting a majority on the NEC above the principles that had to be carried out when the NEC got to power. The Broad Left,



POEU members discuss action

at its inaugural meeting, supported all the highest losers that joined them. That has proved to be a classic mistake. We lost our purposes for getting power in the fight to get the NEC elected so when the Broad Left NEC was elected it could do nothing with the power but give it back to the right. There were those of us that knew we would have pitfalls and

that we would have to regroup but the trouble was, the pitfall that happened, was so important that it was a disaster for the members of the union.

What can militants do now?

In City we are still arguing for national strike action and occupations of BT buildings to defeat privatisation. We have

also put out a national demand for the resignation of the POEU officers and the NEC. In this union the full-time officers control the union and must go.

We have to put the union into the members' hands and elect and NEC that has the policies and commitment to represent the interests of the membership and lead the membership into the fight

ahead.

The union must have a special conference to decide our strategy from now on. The fight for action to beat privatisation has now to come from the membership. The left minority on the executive should lead this fightback by bringing out minority reports and attending the national branch leadership meetings.

NALGO members prepare local gov't defence

NALGO members from the 'hit-list' local authorities threatened with massive government grant penalties and 'rate-capping' legislation met on Wednesday 30 November to discuss developing a national strategy against the cuts.

Speaker after speaker called for immediate solidarity with Liverpool Council who at present are standing firm against government pressure.

Two years ago Lothian Council shaped up to take on the Tories in Scotland and then made a humiliating climb down — resulting in a loss of over 4000 jobs and enormous service cuts. This experience showed that no local authority can fight alone.

By Bill Hamilton

The NALGO delegate meeting, which was unfortunately of an 'advisory' capacity only, passed two important motions. First, it rejected the tactic of councils raising rates and rents to buy their way out of the cuts and, in the words of the resolution 'thus increase the already heavy burden on working people'. The motion went on to give 'support to any local authority which refuses to cut jobs and services and increase rates and rents above the level of inflation.'

The NALGO national leadership was also called

upon to convene a national delegate meeting of all local government NALGO branches next January 'to discuss plans for co-ordinated strike action to support any NALGO branch which is faced with cuts in jobs and services.'

Finally and very importantly the motion was successfully amended to add that the delegate meeting should be held in Liverpool.

The second motion called for the national delegate meeting in January to decide to commence a compulsory strike levy of all members, in order that money is on hand before sackings are announced.

NALGO branches will have to follow up hard on the decisions of the conference. When asked if he would give his support to the motions, Mike Blick, chair of last Wednesday's meeting and of the National Local Government Committee, answered — 'definitely not!'

Labour women's conference 'insult'

ANGER, frustration and protest erupted at this year's national Labour Party women's conference held in London on 3 December. The customary 3-day resolutions conference for women clashed this year with the General Election and had to be cancelled. Instead, participants were offered what one constituency delegation called 'an insulting one-day alternative with its dictated content.'

The theme of the conference was fighting the Tories' attempts at privatising nationalised industry and public services, with the bulk of the day taken up by workshops.

The workshops however followed a lecture format, and stage-managed plenary session

squeezed out all but a minimum of questions and discussions.

The meeting was billed as a non-resolution conference. Yet very early on the organisers pushed through a ready-made conference statement of opposition to nuclear missiles which fudged

Labour's commitment to unilateral nuclear disarmament. It called for a 'unilateral freeze' of Britain's nuclear weapons 'as a first step'.

By Kathy Kirkham

The women who came to the conference from all over Britain needed no convincing that privatisation is a vital issue. Their readiness to campaign against the government was also evident from the message of support they sent to the NGA printers

and to the women of Greenham Common.

But many felt insulted by what they saw as an attempt by the Labour leadership to use them as fodder for the Labour Party's anti-privatisation campaign, without addressing the main obstacle they face — their lack of a democratic voice in the party. As representatives of the CLPD Women's Action Committee pointed out, even the decisions of the 3-day women's conference still carry no constitutional weight.

A lunch time protest

meeting attended by 40 women deplored the way the conference was organised and decided to raise the question in all the conference workshops. They also decided to raise in their women's sections, constituency parties and womens councils the importance of a full 3-day conference next year.

As NEC member Audrey Wise said: 'I think we have to take to heart the strong feelings expressed that the women's conference cannot be seen as an optional extra.'

People with disabilities get kicked by Tories

LAST FEBRUARY, Hugh Rossi, the then Minister against the disabled, put the knife into the Disablement Prohibition of Unjustifiable Discrimination Bill. The Bill was the first attempt to provide people with disabilities with some form of legal redress against those who discriminate against them.

Bob Wareing's private members bill, we thought, gave us another bite at the cherry but the Tories were already plotting its defeat. Bob Wareing MP for West Derby, introduced his Chronically Sick and Disabled Persons (Amendment) Bill for its second reading on Friday 18 November. Despite Tory assurances that they would not enforce whips, *The Guardian* revealed that the whips had been instructed to defeat the Bill.

Many of us welcomed the Wareing Bill. Despite doubts concerning 'legal redress' of the type used in the Race Relations and Sex Discrimination Acts, it would have provided a basis for action. Its defeat

weapons of destruction, hundreds of my brothers and sisters are deprived of even the basic requirements of survival.

Thatcher's attacks on the welfare state and living

By Bob Findlay (Liberation Network for People with Disabilities — personal capacity)

robs us again of the possibility of a legal fight-back.

Many people, including socialists, have little idea of the extent to which people with disabilities are oppressed and discriminated against. Since the birth of capitalism itself, every aspect of our lives has been subjected to cruel and callous control. Being excluded from work, forced into poverty and denied the right to love whom we please are just a few examples of this. While the Tories spend millions on

standards, and her promotion of the Falklands war, contribute to the increase in people suffering disabilities. Who gives a damn for the soldiers and sailors who returned 'home' with crippled and broken bodies and minds? Christian charity begins at home for the Tories — usually in the homes of the rich bankers and businessmen they serve. Support for Reagan's war drive is essential, £33 million for a commission to protect the rights of people with disabilities is not.

The Tories object to the very idea of legal rights. Hugh Rossi, showing his contempt, stated that it is impossible to believe that there was anything but goodwill everywhere towards people with disabilities. Thus 'education' rather than 'rights' was the order of the day.

Where do we go from here? I believe people with disabilities, and our supporters, must go on the offensive. We cannot wait for yet another bill. The issue of rights must be raised in both the Labour Party and the trade union movement. Len Murray, for example, remains silent on our needs in the employment field. Yet we have only a 50 per cent employment rate and companies such as BL are putting the squeeze on old and disabled workers.

The Labour Party should take the issue to the

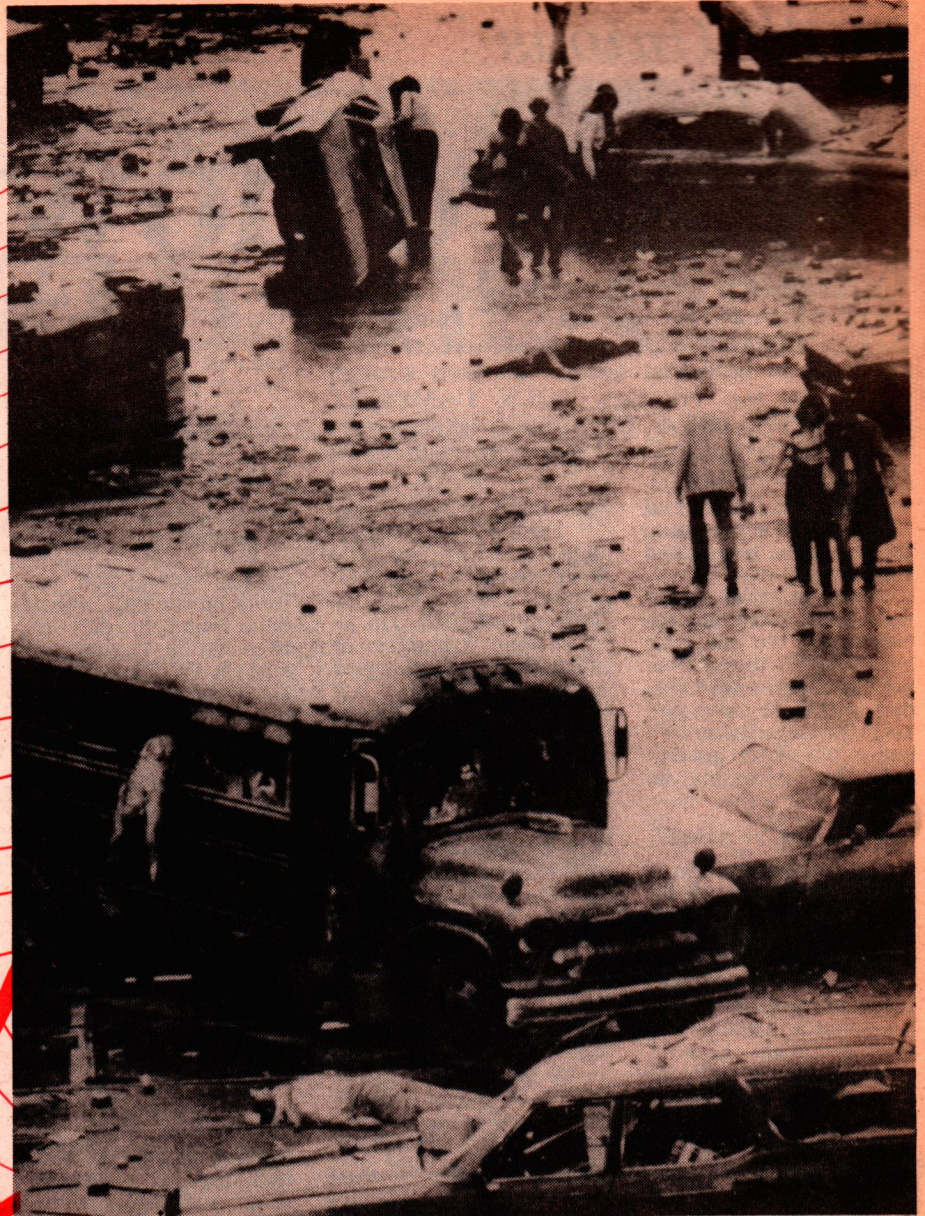
European Court of Human Rights. We should demand a public statement from people like Tim Yeo MP, a Tory and director of the Spastics Society. Where does he stand? With the Society's support for anti-discrimination legislation or with the reactionary policy of his own government? He can't do both!

Most importantly people with disabilities must start to *politically* organise themselves. Crucial is a national conference organised and run by us not by Tory MPs, which is what we had recently. One idea being floated is a 'commission in exile' run by and for people with disabilities. It would function in the manner proposed in the Wareing Bill. We must organise for our rights and kick out these Tories who refuse to recognise our needs and rights.

A ~~SOCIALIST~~ ACTION

Sound around Greenham

STOP THE NUCLEAR NIGHTMARE



THE DAY AFTER A film of the aftermath of nuclear catastrophe
Showing on the ITV Network
Saturday 10 Dec at 9.30pm

100 million Americans watched its first screening, making it the most-watched movie in television history the film will be followed by a live debate with international speakers

THIS WEEKEND a giant army of women will descend on Greenham Common air-base, resplendent with pots, pans, whistles and musical in-

struments. Anything that makes a lot of noise.

Women are going to Greenham on the fourth anniversary of NATO's decision to site the new-

generation missiles in Europe. They'll be bringing mirrors to turn the base inside out — to reflect the trees and fields that surround the Greenham base. This action is one year

after women embraced the base, forming a 9-mile human chain and hanging drawings, kids' clothes and toys on the perimeter fence in a life-affirming protest against the missiles of death.

That initiative was an inspiration for the whole movement in the year that followed. And support for the Greenham women has grown in the course of 1983. Now the missiles have arrived, and Defence Secretary Michael Heseltine has already threatened that troops will fire on the women if necessary.

Despite the war monger's threats and slanders, the anti-missiles movement has grown in Britain, as it has throughout Europe. At last weekend's annual conference of CND, General Secretary Bruce Kent announced that CND's membership had increased by 3,000 in the last few months alone. Far from demobilising the peace movement, the arrival of cruise in Britain has made peace campaigners more determined than ever to stop the missiles.

Tory smears have failed to roll back CND's support, and Heseltine has even demanded a right of reply from the Independent Broadcasting Authority when *The Day After* (an American film describing the horrors of a nuclear holocaust) is shown on TV this weekend.

In addition to the action at Greenham, many local events will take place on Saturday and Monday. Anti-missiles campaigners must show Heseltine that 1984 will be a year of redoubled activity against the missiles.

No freeze — more action against the missiles!

MASS ACTION to stop the missiles! No retreat on unilateralism! That was the verdict of CND's annual conference in Sheffield. Delegates voted overwhelmingly for more actions to stop cruise and Trident, and against a British unilateral freeze.

'There's nothing here that's meant to undermine the US peace movement,' said the mover of the Action CND amendment which threw out the freeze. 'We support that demand because it mobilises millions and builds the US peace movement. But a freeze policy for Britain pulls CND's tree up by its roots.'

By Carol Turner,
Vauxhall Labour Party delegate

Speaker after speaker affirmed that far from being a first step towards unilateralism, freeze was a step backwards for CND. This was a defeat for chairperson Joan Ruddock and those CND leaders whose support for a step-by-step approach has been well aired in the last few months.

During the cruise debate, conference made known its support for the Greenham women by defeating a resolution calling for CND to organise a mixed action at Greenham. This support was shown time and time again by the applause every reference to Greenham evoked.

Another area attracting overwhelming support was this year's labour movement action resolution, calling for CND to approach the TUC and Labour Party to jointly sponsor a national

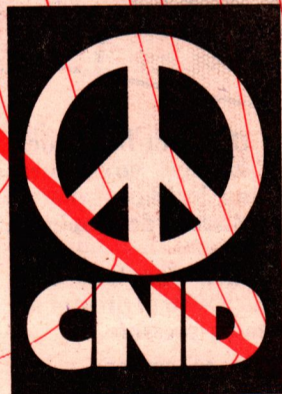
show than they have in the past.

But not all conference decisions were to be applauded. The strongest anti-NATO resolution was referred back, and one passed which called for the mutual dissolution of NATO and the Warsaw Pact.

Stop

After a witch-hunting attack on the *Revolution* newspaper by Dan Smith, conference supported the appointment of an interim youth committee. On the Labour CND closure though, a reference back showed that support for the executive was less certain. However, in the short discussion time, it wasn't possible to refute the executive's smear that difficulties stemmed from faction fighting.

Despite such set backs, conference closed on the clear note: unity around anti-nuclear struggles in 1984.



demonstration and to back up their support by effective industrial action. 'If industrial action was possible during the first wave of CND,' said John Chowcatt (TUCND), 'how much more possible is it today?'. CND's leadership will find it more difficult to sit on this deci-

CND and Central America

'If we are to have a strong and effective peace movement, we have to broaden it out and extend it back to its roots. The peace movement of today is the anti-imperialist movement of earlier years.' So said Tony Benn at the *Tribune* fringe meeting at CND's annual conference.

These sentiments were echoed by over 100 delegates and observers who attended another fringe meeting organised by Sheffield CND, 'US Intervention A Threat to World Peace', where Francisco D'Escoto, the Nicaraguan Ambassador, was speaking.



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