

# A *Socialist* ACTION

No. 57 11 May 1984 30p

## 14 May

# Besiege Notts!

**THE MINERS' strike must win. That's why it's vital that the whole labour movement responds to Arthur Scargill and the NUM's call for a massive demonstration in Mansfield next Monday.**

The NUM have called for it to be the largest trade union demonstration since the war. This is what it has to be. A really united mobilisation of the labour movement on this march can play a huge role in overcoming the disunity being sown around the dispute.

Every day the bosses' press tries to focus on a new area of problems confronting the union to present a view of the labour movement as disunited and in disarray.

This week media attention has focussed on the problems at Ravenscraig — problems that must be overcome. But no attention has been given to the steps forward the dispute has made, with all the Lancashire pits bar Agecroft now out on strike, and the proportion of miners striking in the Nottingham field still increasing.

The scabbing in the Not-

tingham field is being used as a cover by other sections of the labour movement which have failed to come behind the miners. A massive show of solidarity in Mansfield on Monday will step up the pressure on the other flash-points of the strike, like Ravenscraig.

The press claims that the labour movement is divided have to be proved false. Up and down the country the unions and the Labour Party are organised behind the strike. Monday will be the best opportunity to show that publicly.

There is no doubt that the NUM will mobilise for the demonstration, but that is not enough. All the unions that have supported the miners must be out in full force, and bringing their weight to bear on the rest of the TUC.

The miners have given the whole labour movement their best opportunity yet to stop Thatcher and the Tories in their tracks.

Monday 14 May is the day to show that all sections of the labour movement are behind the miners in their struggle.

Besiege Nottinghamshire. Stop the scabs.

### NUM Demonstration

## Unite for a Miners' Victory

**March 11 am from Mansfield Leisure Centre to NUM headquarters Mansfield**

**All Socialist Action supporters to attend. Bring Labour Party, Young Socialist and trade union banners.**



# Socialist ACTION

## Five years is enough!

LAST THURSDAY'S local government election results put the seal on a real turn in the political situation in Britain.

At the level of mass struggle the fight began quite soon after the June 1983 election. The NGA, GCHQ, the miners, the fight over the cities and Liverpool, marked its stages.

On the more narrow parliamentary political field Labour's recovery in the polls, and Tony Benn's victory at Chesterfield, marked the same process. From the beginning of the spring onwards the government was on the defensive on the political field — although still carrying out a massive organisational offensive against the working class.

But until last Thursday it could be, and was, still claimed by the press and 'opinion makers' that Thatcher was just faced with particular problems.

But Thursday was something more. It was the beginning of an openly expressed general rejection of the policies of the Thatcher government — one with more than five million voters participating. On one field, local government 'reform' — it was an annihilating rejection of the line of the government.

Three features stand out in the national picture shown in last Thursday's election — in addition to the struggles that surrounded the polls and the key importance of Liverpool.

Firstly the votes were overwhelmingly an attack on the Conservative Party. Votes went to Labour, to the Liberals, to the SDP, but the common feature was a massive desertion of the Tory Party.

Secondly the SDP/Liberal Alliance did not disappear.

This point is absolutely fundamental for the left to grasp. Because there continues to be a widespread sentiment that somehow the SDP, and the SDP/Liberal Alliance is a force that is going to go into a major decline.

The reality is the reverse. The SDP/Liberal Alliance is a long term and structural feature of British politics. Everytime the Alliance is put to the test electorally it confounds any low standing in the opinion polls.

Furthermore the Alliance's current political orientation was well summed up by Shirley Williams when asked by Robin Day what the SDP would do in the event of a hung Parliament — which statistically last Thursday's result would have produced if there had been the same vote in a general election. Shirley Williams replied succinctly 'I think we would go to the Labour Party and say "be sensible".'

Thirdly the elections were a triumph for the Labour left. There were large advances in Liverpool, Manchester and Sheffield. The opinion polls now show Labour's support in London 10 per cent above its national level. The new social alliances the Labour left has been building in the big cities are both standing firm and becoming a real factor and one of the best vehicles to show what socialist politics means in national terms.

For Labour it now has three key priorities. Firstly to support every struggle which is taking place — and by doing that begin to pose the end of the Thatcher government. To do this with vigour could force another election long before 1988.

Secondly to reject any pact or coalition with the SDP/Liberal Alliance.

Thirdly to adopt the type of socialist policies which provide the alternative both to Thatcher and the Alliance and which show a way out of Britain's economic and political crisis.

The labour movement must force a general election!

No pact and no coalition with the SDP/Liberal Alliance!

For a Labour government pledged to socialist policies!

Editor: ALAN FREEMAN

Published weekly except two weeks in August and the last week of December.

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

Send all correspondence regarding subscriptions, sales and receipts to Socialist Action Distribution, 328 Upper Street London N1 2XP. (Tel: 01-359 8180)

Send all material for publication (including advertising) to Socialist Action Editorial at the same address.

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

# Victory in Liverpool



Photo: TIM RIGBY

A YEAR AGO Labour were elected in Liverpool to run the city council. A rotten 10-year alliance of Tories and Liberals had run down services and housing. Fifty thousand jobs had gone down the drain. The last Liberal budget would have meant even more jobs being lost.

The rates would have rocketed. When Labour got in it set about increasing the number of council jobs and services and in their 1984 budget they turned down any idea to make people pay by raising the rates.

'Illegal!' screamed the Liberal-Tory press. 'Stay within the law!' whined the 'moderates'. When the

right-wing Labour councillors scabbed on party policy and refused to support Labour's budget, they were hailed as 'Defiant', 'Courageous', and 'Standing up for common sense', by the bosses and the right-wing of the labour movement. But, in Liverpool, the Labour group stuck by their guns. And the people of Liverpool stuck by Labour.

At last week's local elections, Labour increased their majority to 17, holding 58 of the 91 seats on the city council. With a turnout 10 per cent up on last year, the Liberals were reduced to 28 seats and the Tories to 13.

By John Nolan

'We proved that we would keep our word', said Labour leader, John Hamilton. 'No jobs or services were cut and there have been no enormous rate rises'. Deputy leader, Derek Hatton, was even

more explicit. 'After the 29 March rally — the biggest local general strike ever seen in this country — we knew we had the confidence of the people of Liverpool. The vast majority of Liverpool people are saying that they want jobs and services and are not prepared to accept the dictates of the Tory government.'

## Facing

Tory dictatorship is just what Liverpool is facing. Thatcher's hit-man, Environment Secretary, Patrick Jenkin, is praying

that the courts will do the dirty work for him. Jenkin is hoping that, if the city runs out of money — because the Tories will starve them of cash — and that councillors are surcharged for setting an 'illegal' budget, there will have to be another election, in which the 'moderates' will take over.

This pious hope conceals the Tories' nightmare, of having to send in puppet commissioners, backed by troops, to run a city against the solid backing of Liverpool workers' for the Labour council.

# Tories routed in local elections

THE LOCAL ELECTIONS make it clear that Thatcher and Thatcherism are not popular. Not just the icing, but the candles have been nicked off the fifth anniversary cake.

In Liverpool, the Tories' defeat came close to humiliation, as an 'illegal' and an 'unlawfully-bound' Labour Party cruised to power.

In Manchester, where people were under no illusions that they weren't just voting anti-Tory, but for Labour's left against its cowardly and timid right wing the election recorded an emphatic victory for radical policies. In Sheffield once again the left administration of David Blunkett got the thumbs up from the city electorate.

Wherever Labour stood up against the Tories it gained seats and votes.

In the industrial heartlands it is obvious that left-wing policies helped Labour's cause. They not only bloodied the nose of the Tories but they also kept the SDP/Liberal Alliance at bay.

## Groundswell

These elections showed that the groundswell of opposition against the Tories is beginning to build up and gain strength. The working class and its

allies are not yet in their majority dashing out on the streets to make the socialist revolution. But bigger and bigger numbers of them are prepared to endorse policies which are anti-capitalist and allegedly unlawful.

This is why they support the miners and why they rally behind councils like Liverpool. They are beginning to realise if they don't stand up to the Tories then their future and that of their families is in danger. Labour must in these circumstances adopt a realistic and sensible attitude. It must turn its back on collaboration with the due process of the law, because that can only line it up with the Tories in

their offensive against the miners and the people rejecting rate capping.

## Mandate

Thursday's local elections gave Labour a thumping majority for taking on the Tories. It showed that there are not thousands but millions of people lining up behind Labour's banner. Labour must make sure that these people are not left high and dry simply waiting for the day in the future when it has a majority in Westminster.

It must seize the mandate given by these elections and place itself at the fore of every struggle against the Tories — lawful or otherwise.

## APOLOGIES!!!

Socialist Action apologises to readers and to the victims of the Yardley witch hunt. Last week's page 14 article inadvertently gave the Labour Party regional headquarters as the address from which facts on the Birmingham-Yardley 5 could be obtained. This is most assuredly not the case. Instead, readers should write to the campaign address: 13 Oxford Road, Acocks Green, Birmingham. Resolutions in support of the Yardley 5 however should be copied to the regional office.



# All out 9 May

'I HAVE A MESSAGE for Jimmy Weed.' Dennis Skinner began his May Day speech in Glasgow with a well-deserved attack on Jimmy Reid, former leader of the Upper Clyde Shipbuilders occupation in the early '70s.

By Brian Heron, TGWU shop steward at Victoria Hospital (pers cap)

Now a writer for the Scottish *Daily Record*, Reid has found a place in the sun writing a weekly page wailing for a ballot and lecturing the miners on democracy. He speaks for the right wing of a severely split Labour Party and trade union leadership in Scotland.

The unity of the Scottish miners has meant no section of the trade union or Labour Party leadership has been able to use divisions within the NUM to get off the solidarity hook. From the beginning there has been a huge pressure for solidarity action, culminating in the Scottish TUC's call for a day of action on 9 May.

But the issue of coal supplies to the Ravenscraig steel works has divided an initially unified response to the miners. Right now the Scottish miners leaders are demanding support for the picket — an action which will strengthen the strike and help heal the disunity of the labour movement.

The Scottish TUC has reluctantly supported the all-union picket at Ravenscraig last Monday. The Scottish Labour Party leadership is more nervous, but still under pressure to unambiguously defend the miners.

Ravenscraig, led by Communist party dominated sections of the trade union leadership, has fought a five-year campaign against closure on a policy of mobilising 'bishops to brickies' to defend the Motherwell plant. Saving Scotland's steel was posed at the expense of steel production in Wales and the north of England.

Now the chickens have come home to roost: the Ravenscraig leadership is demanding the right of full steel production. They have collaborated with British Steel management in an enormous scab

operation.

The miners' pickets there are designed to stop all coal except that necessary for the safety of the plant. And the miners are calling on the rest of the labour movement to back them up.

This goes right to the heart of the problem faced by the trade union and Labour Party leadership. It will reflect heavily on the prospect of success on 9 May.

## Scab

Reaction to the day of action is mixed. Not surprisingly, the response of health service workers has been good. The Victoria Hospital and the Western Infirmary in Glasgow will be out for 24 hours, along with many others.

Engineering, employing 80,000 in Scotland, is more of a mixed bag. Major plants like Weirs in Glasgow will be lucky to win a half day strike. However, systematic levies and fund raising have now begun.

In the ship yards, Yarrow will work on 9 May, while Scott Lithgow, despite part time working and threats of major redundancies, are out for a full day. In Strathclyde, railways will stop, buses won't.

A docks strike throughout Scotland is on the cards, regardless of the threatened dismissals if they refuse to unload scab coal.

The miners strike is shaking up the labour movement in Scotland from top to bottom.

# Action at Ravenscraig

By Ian Gault, Hillhead Labour Party

**RAVENSGRAIG. MONDAY.** Miners pickets were joined this morning by NUR and ASLEF as well as other trade unionists and

members of the local Labour Party.

The turnout, 500, was a bit disappointing, and a convoy of private contractors lorries got through. But over 1000 pickets confronted even more police at Hunterston coal terminal in Ayrshire, where coal arrives for Ravenscraig.

After a bit of a punch-up there, twelve pickets were arrested. Nonetheless things are definitely looking up.

ASLEF have promised to cut off all coal arriving by train for Ravenscraig. And they're discussing cutting off supplies of ore to the plant, unless the lorry convoys stop. This

would make Ravenscraig inoperable.

TGWU dockers have made it clear that they'll respect the miners pickets and refuse to unload coal. And they say if anyone is victimised for this, they'll escalate the action, throughout Scotland and nationally if necessary.

TGWU haulage branches in the Hunterston area have threatened to stop their drivers delivering diesel to the scab haulage firms. And one company has already withdrawn.

Finally, miners from England are expected to travel up this week to support the Ravenscraig and Hunterston pickets.



## Battle for Notts

AS THE STRIKE enters its ninth week, the Coal Board, amply aided by the British media, still insist that coal production in the Nottinghamshire field is looking rosy. This is decidedly not the case.

Figures produced just over a week ago are instructive. Only two of Notts' 25 pits are anywhere near normal working: Calverton and Bilsthorpe, where less than five per cent of miners are working.

No coal at all is being produced at five collieries: over 95 per cent are striking at Blidworth; winders have refused to cross picket lines at Gelding; and at Silverhill, Ollerton and Bevercotes, production has stopped for lack of face workers.

By Carol Turner

More miners are out than in at 15 of the 25 pits. That must make well over 50 per cent of Nottinghamshire miners out on strike during the eighth week.

The Coal Board claims

an 80 per cent attendance level and that all 25 pits are working normally. Someone must be wrong.

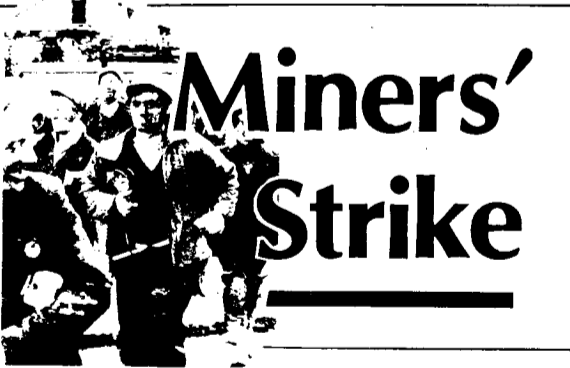
The British Association of Colliery Management (BACM) — not renowned for its militancy! — heard delegates to its annual conference last weekend claim that production is at least 100,000 tons below the 250,000 weekly target in north Notts, and 50,000 below the 160,000 tons figure in the south of the coalfield. It is also widely believed that shifts have been cut from three to two.

The colliery managers' assessment lends credence

to the unofficial list from Notts NUM branches, and puts a large question mark over the honesty of the NCB figures. But after all, this is no surprise. Notts has been presented as 'the jewel in Maggie's crown'.

It is certainly the weak spot in the NUM dispute. By playing up the reluctance of the Nottingham scabs to support their union's action, the media aids not only the government and the Coal Board, but right wing leaders in the unions and the Labour Party alike in their hold-fire approach.

While even a small percentage of Notts miners are still working, this makes industrial solidarity action harder to build. That's why next Monday's national demonstration in Mansfield in support of the miners needs to be the biggest show of solidarity yet.



## Notts women support strike

ORGANISATION is advancing apace in Nottingham since the rank and file forum of striking miners was established a few weeks ago. Starting this Wednesday, the strike centre for the whole of Nottinghamshire coalfield will be housed in Nottingham, courtesy of the AUEW who are providing premises.

This will lessen problems of coordination between the north of Notts, where most miners are striking, and the south, where ironically enough pits are most threatened but few miners are out.

There has been a big explosion of support in Nottingham itself, including a women's support committee which had its first get together at the beginning of last week. The initial idea came from women in the local Labour Party, but the

group is a loose collection of women eager to get on with organising practical support for the strike.

One job they've done so far is setting up a collection point in Nottingham town centre. Last Saturday, they were joined by Cotgrave miners wives, and collected over £200 plus donations of food.

The Nottingham women's support group also joined pickets at Thorsby pit last week. Carol Keely told Socialist Action: 'We went to picket the

arrival of night shift workers. About a quarter of the picket was women. It was well attended but there was a big police presence and two men were arrested.

'The pickets gave us a friendly welcome. We'll be going back again as soon as we're invited.'

• The Notts strike committee can be contacted at the AUEW offices, 218 Mansfield Road, Nottingham, or by phoning Nottingham 609626.

# Miners' Strike



## ESSEX Wivenhoe must close

OVER ONE hundred and fifty people were arrested in three days last week at Wivenhoe port attempting to stop coal being delivered to power stations.

Contrary to press reports the coal going through was not simply for domestic use. Scab lorry drivers in the TGWU knew full well they were driving through picket lines taking coal to industry.

By Valerie Coultas

In all four Essex ports — Wivenhoe, Brightlingsea, Colchester Docks and Roehedge — ships were arriving from Holland, Belgium, France and Poland loaded up with coal for hospitals, for domestic use and for industry.

On Tuesday Kent and Welsh miners had decided to take action against a police ruling that pickets could not even talk to the drivers. They sat down on the road and refused to move. Police had to carry them off, Greenham style.

On Thursday the police, worried by the large numbers of miners descending on the picket lines, started roadblocking



Pickets gather at the Essex port of Wivenhoe

tactics. The miners were prevented from getting to the ports. Angry, they organised a road cavalcade and blockaded the roads until police threatened to smash their cars if they refused to move.

By last Friday temperatures were high. One thousand police had been drafted into the area. The protests were swelled by students from Essex

University and massive arrests took place.

'It's really degrading to think that you're a British citizen and that you can't walk around the country without being harassed,' Brian from Kent NUM's A team told us.

Even in the woods when the miners had walked from Essex University to Wivenhoe there were police planted between the

trees with walkie talkie sets. 'It's definitely a police state', was on the lips of every miner.

You can make your contribution to stopping the movement of coal coming from the South East ports by arriving at Wivenhoe station between 6 and 9.30 any day this week or next. For further information contact Colchester 571104.

## SWANSEA

### 'The NUM and CND are fighting the same battle'

OVER 100 young people on the three-day march organised by Swansea and Neath Youth CND on 26-28 April were joined by a contingent of striking miners from Llynfi Joint Lodges. Mike McDonnell, one of the miners, told Socialist Action:

'There are a good number of miners in our pit who are CND supporters. Like them, I'm opposed to nuclear weapons because I don't think they defend us. The government wastes vast amounts of money on these weapons and at the same time refuses to spend money on jobs. This is

particularly true of the pits.

'If we lose this strike and the Coal Board has its way, the eight pits in the Maesteg will be reduced to two, despite the fact that the work is still there. This will not only throw thousands of miners on the dole, it will have a spin-off effect on many other workers.'

By Ceri Evans, Swansea YCND

'It is well known that there is 300 years of work left in the Margam coal reserves. But the government refuses to put money into this project. They prefer to put their money into nuclear weapons and

energy. It is clear to us why the government is doing this. They want to close the pits in Maesteg and then open them again as private pits. This would mean a drop in pay and conditions for South Wales miners and would weaken the NUM.

'We are on the march because we recognise the NUM and CND are fighting the same battle — to get the government to spend money on jobs and stop spending it on useless nuclear weapons.'

On the last day of the march we gave greetings to the Cardiff miners rally. Our message was clear: jobs not bombs, no to nuclear weapons, victory to the miners!

Photo: MORNING STAR

## CARDIFF

WITH UNDER two weeks' worth of coal stocks left at Llanwern steel works, negotiations are continuing between the ISTC and British Steel management over the amount of coal to be allowed in. Meanwhile, the Electricity Board are denying reports that the giant Aberthaw power station has been closed to conserve coal stocks, but are admitting slashing production.

There is no doubt that industrial solidarity is biting here in South Wales. South Wales miners are travelling throughout the country, and are continuing the picket on Point of Ayr, the only Welsh pit still operating.

By Graham Atwell

The scale of picketing activities, including arrests and heavy fines, together with mounting hardship, is stretching the resources of the South Wales NUM. But support committee activity and food collection is growing to meet these needs. The idea of support committees has met resistance from the South Wales trade union and Labour Party leaderships who have argued that the existing trades council structures are sufficient.

In Cardiff, local trade union and Labour Party activists have set up a support committee in the seventh week of the strike, with the backing of the NUM Rhondda Joint Lodges. It holds open weekly meetings, working from the local TUC headquarters. Its main work so



Photo: PAUL HIGFIELD

far has been to organise NUM tours to factory gate and union meetings.

The money is pouring in. Journalists are levying their members at the rate of 50p a week, while the doomed Rover plant workers have collected £500. NGA members have collected £175, and are promising a weekly collection. And NUPE NHS workers have been taking weekly collections since the strike began.

Local Labour Parties have already appointed collectors for their levy and are also going door to door. The Young Socialists and women's sections are organising regular food collections outside local supermarkets.

Cardiff Miners Support Committee aims to coordinate all these activities, but they see working towards industrial action in solidarity with the miners as their main job. The day of action called last Friday by the Wales TUC is an obvious focus for this.

The Cardiff Miners Support Committee can be contacted at Room 219, Transport House, 1 Cathedral Road, Cardiff, or by phoning 0222 31176.

## Yorkshire and Humberside

Yorkshire and Humberside Region TUC are calling on the region's trade unionists to stop work for 24 hours on Monday 21 May 'for jobs, trade union rights, civil liberties and Britain's economic future'. Many trades councils will be organising rallies and demonstrations on that day.

Further information and copies of the regional TUC leaflet can be obtained from Beryl Huttinley, secretary Humberside and Yorkshire Region TUC, Trades Council Club, Savile Mount, Leeds, or by phoning Leeds 620629.

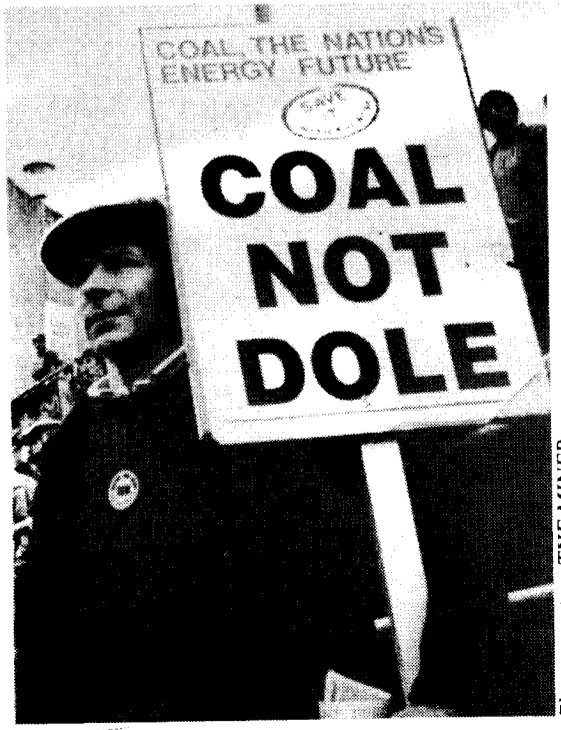


Photo: COURTESY THE MINER

## LANCASHIRE

OVER 700 people marched through Manchester in support of the miners on May Day holiday. They were led by large delegations from Lancashire and North Yorkshire pits.

By Paul Atkin

The rally in St Peter's Square was addressed by Jack Taylor, president of the Yorkshire NUM. He started his speech with strong congratulations to the Lancashire miners for successfully getting five pits out on strike.

'This strike is not about Jack Taylor or Sid Vincent, it's about you', he said, 'If you believe that then you're going to win.'

Other speakers included Bob Litherland MP, Eddie Newman, Euro election candidate, and Colin

Lenton of Bold colliery NUM.

Colin started his speech by apologising for the absence of Sid Vincent, leader of the Lancs NUM. 'He's sorry he couldn't make it this morning, but he's gone to work at Agecroft.' Agecroft is now the only Lancs pit not on strike.

Agecroft will be the scene of mass picketing this week with 500 flying pickets from the Durham field swelling the ranks of Lancs miners in attempting to get Agecroft out on strike.

Val Dunn, chairing the rally, said that her union, the bakers' union, was providing £50 of bread a week to pickets in the area. She and other speakers called for the Labour Party's 50p a week levy to be implemented.

Photo: BRENNAN YOUNG

# "We took a backseat before... ... Now women are in the forefront"

FROM THE earliest weeks of the miners' strike women have been very centrally involved in building support. In many areas women's groups have worked hard setting up food kitchens and distributing hardship money.

In Kent, the miners' wives have become involved in many other aspects of the strike, building their own marches and speaking at meetings. KAY SUTCLIFFE, chair of the Aylesham miners' wives committee, told us about what they have been doing and how she sees their activities.

WE GOT involved in the second week of the strike. I had a week's holiday from work. While the children were at school we thought we'd come up to the NUM office and see what we could do and it grew from there.

We asked what we could do, and they said 'What do you want to do?' We said we were having a meeting and we'd see how many women we could get together and decide from there. As soon as we mentioned that we wanted to do a demonstration they were all behind us. Ever since they've welcomed us to every meeting.

My husband is the branch chairman. He was away picketing the week we got organised.

That was another thing. He was away so I didn't have anyone at home that I could ask and say: 'What shall we do?' 'Will you go and ask the union if we can do this?' 'Will you mention this?'

He wasn't there so we had to come and do it ourselves. We had to organise ourselves. I didn't have anyone there to give me advice on anything.

When he came back though he thought it was great. There's been no hostility at all. In fact when we went to a meeting at Lambeth some of the men up in that area organising for support and picketing came over just to listen at the meeting.

Normally they only get one or two representatives coming over to do collections, but there was an awful lot of them there and they thought it was good.

Annette is the vice-chair. She isn't working so therefore she comes up to the strike meetings every morning and gets all the information from the union. Or she tells them what we've spoken about, what plans we have, what we would like to do. She's invited in to attend the whole of the strike committee meetings. They have done that from the beginning.

We've not elected a committee, because we didn't want to have private committee meetings. We just elected officials to sort out the business side of it. But everything else goes to every woman that comes to the meetings, for them to decide.

I don't think people have ever heard a miners' wife speak before. We've always taken the back

seat. Until this time when we realised we had to do something, and it's just snowballed.

I didn't expect to have the phonecalls I've had requesting me to speak at meetings. People are ringing up from all over wanting specifically a miners' wife to come and speak.

We've been speaking at a lot of meetings, and they've been really good. The one at Lambeth was the second really big meeting I've done.

The first was at County Hall. I was really worried. I didn't know what to expect. Once I got up and started speaking I was alright, but Bob Morrison, an ex-miner, spoke before me and said a lot of what I was going to say.

Nevertheless, I said what I had prepared because there was no point in me trying to change it, I could only speak about what I knew.

## Sparked

At Lambeth, which was a bigger meeting, I found it easier, even though it was nerve wracking. I stood up and started speaking and got really involved in what I was saying.

Then Greenham came in to what I was saying. I didn't have that down on my paper. I said to my husband afterwards: 'I don't know where that came from.' I'd said something and it sparked it off.

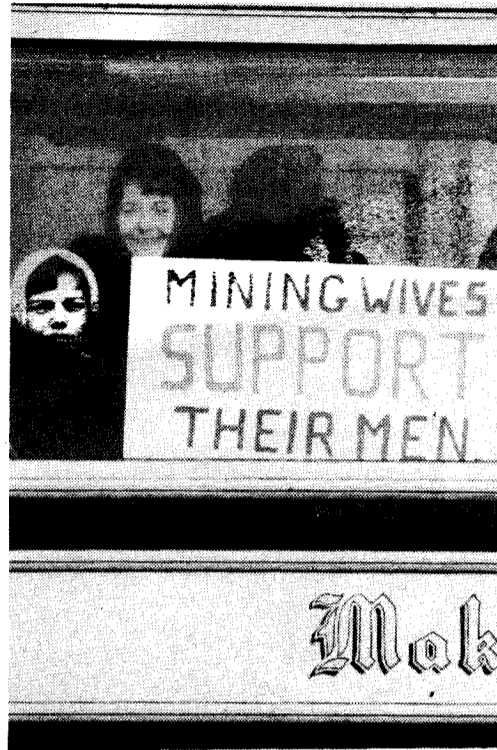
In the last strike the women tended to sit back, organise a bit of catering, or going on marches with their husbands. We didn't know anything else. We weren't involved with the union.

Maybe it's not the union's fault, but going back ten years to the last big strike women didn't have a voice. It's come since that time. Women realise that they know a lot more.

I've never been involved in anything like this before. We've got a women's section at one of the clubs, and I'm the secretary. But it is purely a social thing, playing skittles, and organising dances.

We've also organised the kitchen and the food distribution between the three Kent pits. We feed the children from Monday to Saturday, on a rota basis. Some of the men are helping to clear up.

I think the hardship of the strike is being covered up. I think there are a lot



Mak

of proud people here, who won't tell you that they are really in need. Everyone up to now appears to manage, but there are a lot of desperate people.

Now that they know the children are being fed it has taken the edge off it and eased their minds.

Some women do oppose their husbands going out on strike because of this hardship. But I've always understood the argument.

I don't think the unions or the Labour Party have done enough for women.

Unionwise especially, I don't think the men do enough. In an all-women situation, where say it's all women in a particular factory, then obviously there's going to be a woman representing them.

But in a mixed environment the men always take the lead. Perhaps it's not always the men's fault, because the women let them, but it's got to change.

A lot of women seem to be involved in the Labour Party, but I'd like to see more women in parliament. I think women aren't promoted enough at a local level.

But I don't think women should work down the mines. I wouldn't want to work down there. I don't really, if I'm honest, like the fact that Philip's down there. But he's always been down there.

I was brought up in a mining community, my father was a miner and I think you just grow to accept the fact that they are underground.

I'm all for women's rights and equality. But equality is one thing, I can't see the point in women fighting to do a job like that. If it was possible I think no one should work down there, but now there is no alternative.

I was hardly involved in the last strike. I was in the women's committee, but I stayed very much in the background. But I suppose that has helped and made it easier to organise this time.



## Our lying press

**MOST SOCIALISTS take for granted that the media are biased against trade unionists.**

But the media are not all powerful. They can and should be challenged. The media is made up of trade unionists, many of them are sympathetic to the struggles of other unions, and are equally appalled by media distortion.

A welcome feature of the miners strike has been the links made between the NUM and media workers. This has led to important challenges to the never-ending trail of media bias and lies.

**By Davy Jones (Campaign for Press and Broadcasting Freedom)**

Even before the strike the media were at it. On Tuesday 10 January the *Sun* carried its own page 2 'ballot form' on the miners' overtime ban. 'The ballot that Arthur Scargill won't give you', it screamed. Printworkers on the *Sun* were incensed at this interference in the NUM's internal affairs. They insisted on and achieved a disclaimer beneath the 'ballot form' from the local NGA chapel.

But after contact with the Campaign for Press and Broadcasting Freedom and the NUM they went one further. An in-

dustrial dispute seemed likely until the NUM was given a page two right of reply of equal space and prominence. And lo and behold on Friday the 13th, unluckily for the editor, a page two reply appeared from Arthur Scargill.

## Similar

A similar story occurred on the *Sunday Times*. On Sunday 26 February the paper gave over almost half a page to Ian MacGregor to put the Coal Board's case for pit closures. Liaison between the NUM and the NGA led to the local NGA chapel insisting on an equal space right of reply for Arthur Scargill. Again the NGA workers were successful and the reply appeared two weeks later.

Media workers have established direct links with the miners. On Thursday 19 April Fleet Street NGA Father of Chapels held a meeting with speakers from the Kent NUM, London Region NGA and the Campaign for Press and Broadcasting Freedom, to discuss coverage of the miners' dispute, and campaigning for the right of reply. The FoCs also pledged weekly collections for the miners. Subsequently miners have toured Fleet Street with SOGAT officials, and NGA chapels have held a fundraising party for the NUM.

But it's not just printworkers who have

challenged media bias on the miners strike. On 26 April, broadcasting union members from the NUJ, ACTT and ABS met in West London with representatives of the NUM to discuss bias in the BBC's coverage.

All three broadcasting unions are affiliated to the Campaign for Press and Broadcasting Freedom and are committed to the right of reply as the most effective means of gaining redress against media distortion.

## Video

Further support for the miners has come from a group of ACTT filmmakers who are currently assembling a series of video tapes about the strike. The films, which have been sponsored by a number of NUM areas, include one specifically on media coverage of the dispute and the right of reply campaign.

So, media bias against the miners strike can be challenged. Local solidarity committees play a role in this work. Below is a checklist of ideas to follow up, and some useful addresses:

● Allocate someone from the solidarity committee to monitor media coverage of the dispute

● This media monitor should work with the solidarity committee's press officer (you do have one to keep the local press informed of the local labour movement's sup-

## Miners' Support Committee

**Bristol**  
c/o TGWU, Transport House, Room 1, Victoria St, Bristol BS 1  
Tel: 0272 293001 ex 55

**Manchester**  
c/o FTAT, 37 Anson Rd, Victoria Park, Manchester 14

**Preston**  
c/o John Parkinson, Trade Union Centre, St Mary's St North, Preston

**Huddersfield**  
c/o Friendly and Trades Club, Northumberland St, Huddersfield

**Vauxhall**  
c/o Joan Twelves/Greg Tucker, 1 Alverstone Hse, Kennington Park Estate, London SE11

**Southall**  
c/o 14 Featherstone Rd, Southall, London

**Birmingham**  
c/o Trade Union Resource Centre, 7 Frederick St, Hockley.

**Ealing**  
c/o West London Trade Union Club, 33 Acton High St, London W3.

If your local support committee is not included here it means we have no address for it. Send it in!

port for the miners, don't you?)

● Contact local media union officials and branches to get them represented on your solidarity committee. If you don't have the number, ring the national unions (see below).

● When media bias happens don't just sit there bemoaning the capitalist media — do something and do it quickly. Lodge an official complaint with the radio/TV station/paper about the particular item. Don't be put off, try and get the local radio station to interview someone from the committee about your complaint against the TV station or paper. Or write a letter to the paper about it.

● Contact the media union chapel/branch officials to explain your complaint. Ask them if they will also complain to the editor/programme producer.

**Useful phone numbers**  
ACTT (film technicians) 01-437 8506  
ABS (Broadcasting staff) 01-262 0162  
NUJ (journalists union) 01-278 7916  
NGA (printworkers) 0234-51521  
SOGAT (print/clerical) 0702-553131  
Campaign for Press and Broadcasting Freedom 01-437 2795  
Miners Campaign Video Project 01-278 8394

AS FOR THE last few years, women's conference will be dominated by the Labour Women's Action Committee demands for constitutional reform to give women more power in the Labour Party. This year the National Women's Committee of the party is recommending the resolutions are accepted.

It is becoming increasingly hard for the Labour leadership to resist the growing pressure from organised women in the labour movement for a greater voice in party policy and affairs.

On these pages Jude Woodward interviews ANN PETTIFOR, secretary of WAC, about the prospects for the campaign and JANET MAGUIRE looks at some of the Labour Party's past record on women.

Some women have argued that WAC's demands are a diversion from the real policy questions confronting women. How would you answer this?

Ann Pettifor: I should start by saying that the reason I resolved to become involved in the political organisation of women within the Labour Party was simply to do with a policy issue. In

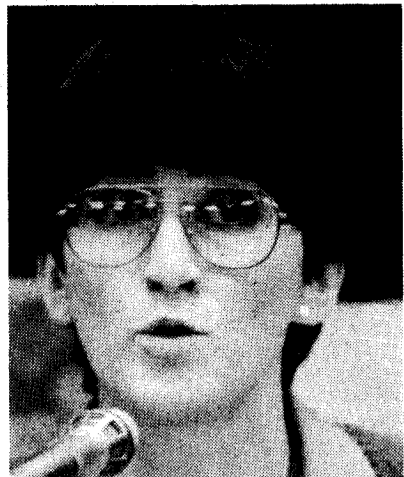


Photo: JOHN HARRIS

Ann Pettifor

1976, when I was at home with two children and no income, helpless and dependent, Dennis Healy and a number of leading trade union men decided to ditch Labour's commitment to child benefit. This commitment was first mooted in the Labour Party in the 1920s.

It was that policy failure which mobilised in me, and other women, the determination to organise politically. Because we saw leading men within the party making decisions on behalf of women without having to refer to those women.

Because there was no forum to refer to, no power base, no organisational base to which they could refer. I've been assured that there was a lot of lobbying behind the scenes by leading women but clearly individual lobbying is not as forceful as the lobbying of an organised force like the trade union movement or individual groups within

that like the miners' union.

So in order for women to get the policy changes they want it is necessary for them to organise politically. What WAC is trying to do is to create the forums within which women can formulate their demands, formulate their interests and then advance those interests. WAC doesn't presume to have the answers, to know what it is that women want. We simply want to create the structure within which women themselves can advance those policy demands.

So what are the next steps in trying to win WAC's demands?

I think the very next step is to build a political organisation for women within the Labour Party that is established and recognised by the party as part of its formal constitution. That is recognised by the annual conference and acknowledged by the trade unions, who at conference are the dominant political force.

For that we have to have a rules conference, and for that we have to have women from the affiliated organisations, in other words the trade unions, represented as well as women from the constituencies. These women have to get together to hammer out a constitution and organisation which suits and fits their needs and their interests.

That is the first step and I think that we are close to it. The resolution calling for a rules conference of trade union and Labour Party women was very narrowly defeated at last year's conference. And certainly trade union women feel the need for it, for part of their resentment is that the women's

from some special supporting body or could provide money themselves.' She went on to say '... the constitution needed to alter to fulfill the requirements of the movement and make possible the adoption of working class women candidates.'

The NEC simply told the women's sections that this was not on, as it 'would require very important and far reaching changes in the present constitutional method of promoting and selecting candidates.' The women in the party did have one advantage at least over us in 1924. Then there were 14 women Labour MPs out of a total representation of 191. Now with the election of Ann Clywd we have 11 Labour women out of a total of 242 which you might call progress in reverse!

At least at that time Labour women did have a paper. Launched in 1913 *Labour Woman* was finally folded up in 1971. In its early years, particularly in the '20s, it was a lively campaigning newspaper which not only took up women's struggles in Britain but opened its columns to international socialists like Clara Zetkin and Alexandra Zollantai. It was sold by the then thriving women's sections of which there were 1828 by 1929. *Labour Woman*, like the women's sections it spoke for, was very concerned about Ireland and its May 1920 edition reports a resolution dealing with Ireland moved by Mrs Crabb from Macclesfield at that year's Women's Conference.

The resolution read: 'This conference strongly condemns the government's policy in Ireland and demands the immediate withdrawal of troops from Ireland and the granting of the right of self determination.' Only two votes were cast against the resolution. At the following year's conference the words of the Manchester delegate, Ms Wilkinson, have a familiar and uncomfortable ring today.

She told conference '... it is difficult to understand the incredible apathy of British people with regard to what is going on only seven hours distance from where they were sitting so comfortably'. This weekend when delegates discuss Ireland it will be as well to remember those words said 63 years ago by our sister from Manchester.

Today women in the Labour Party still have to take on many of the same battles and fights that women did in the '20s. But we do this from a stronger position and we also have the advantage of their experiences, provided we are willing to learn from those early women pioneers of the labour movement.

## The battle is still to be won

THIS WEEKEND's Labour Womens Conference will have plenty to say about positive discrimination in the Labour Party. It is however, not exactly a new topic for debate. Way back in the twenties our sisters were campaigning away on this issue and often meeting the same stubborn indifference from the male-dominated NEC that we do today.

In 1923 the NEC received a workshop petition urging that 'fuller opportunities should be given for women members of the party becoming parliamentary candidates'. The NEC's reply was abrupt, and rather unhelpful to say the least. It read 'the selection of candidates was a matter that rested in the hands of the local parties and not with the NEC'.

By Janet Maguire

But that year the NEC did not exactly ignore women as it produced a circular to all the local parties entitled *The Organisation of Women and Women's Day*. The circular explained: 'The results of the general election (1922) have brought home forcibly before us the primary importance both of securing the votes of women electors and of getting a large number of women to take part in an electoral campaign.' By 1928 when the voting age for women had been reduced from 30 to 21 thereby enfranchising around five million new women voters, Labour was once again very interested in the women's vote.

The women's sections naturally enough thought this was a good time to have more women candidates so back they went to the NEC with a resolution from the Labour Women's Conference held that year. Their suggestion was to set up a special Women's Section fund and then to draw up a list of women candidates, the list to be decided on by a ballot of the women's sections. As one delegate asked, have 'any Labour candidates ever reached parliament unless they had financial help

## Labour women

# Women, your st

organisation is a shambles, particularly compared to their own union conferences — a shambles in organisational terms, in constitutional terms and in terms of standing orders.

I think trade union women want to see some order created out of that chaos, and certainly CLP women want to see that. So that is a demand upon which we can unite immediately, and is the very next step.

Once we have created a structure, we need to ensure that we give those forums some political power. That will then require us to advance the demands for five resolutions to be put to the annual conference by women, by the organised women of the movement. And for the women's section of the national executive to be elected by the organised women in the movement.

You said that the union women wanted to see things more organised. Obviously the opposition of the unions is one of the big obstacles to WAC. How do you see dealing with that? Also could you say something about the fact that at previous women's conferences it's been presented that there is a big division, that the union women don't want the changes that WAC proposes. Do you think that's true?

Well, I think what we're having to grapple with is one of the party's major political weaknesses. For us to take on the restoration of the strength of the political/industrial wing of the movement is not a small task.

What we are faced with is a party that is deeply divided in terms of its industrial and political wings. Of course that division comes up, surfaces, in the women's organisation. Because of that division it really hasn't been possible for women who are active within the political wing to talk to and communicate with women active within the trade union wing.

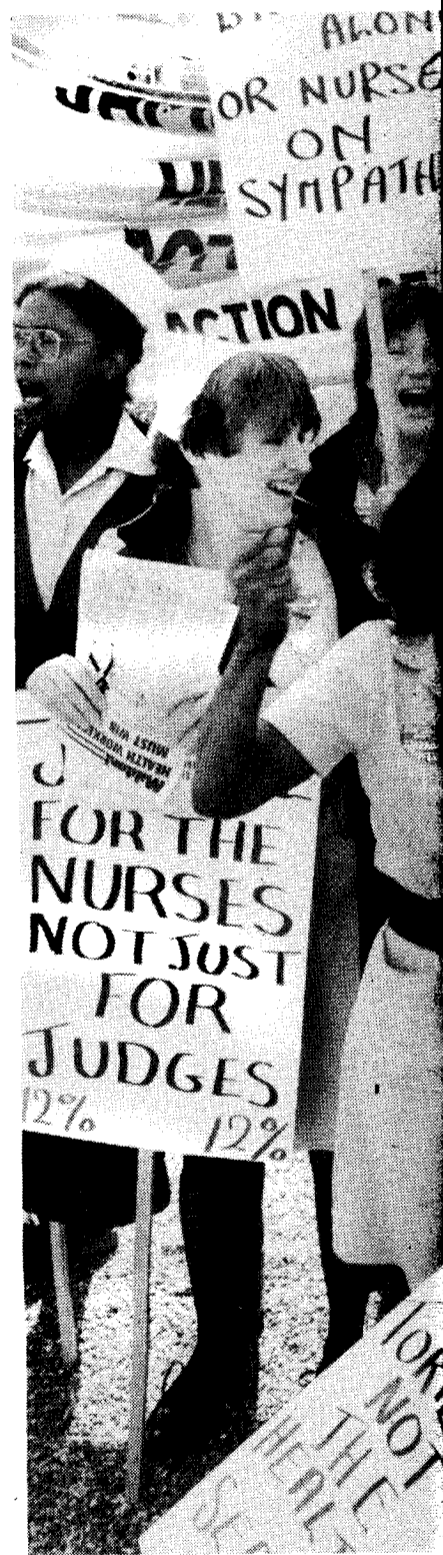
Both sides have to be members of the party and have to be members of the trade unions. But there is still a great gulf between those two wings. We are very firmly committed to bridging the gulf.

We think it is a political healing that the party needs. But also it is a strength that women need if they are going to win any of their interests. Because women in the constituencies will not win very much unless they have the organised power of trade union women alongside them, advancing their interests in terms of childcare, in terms of jobs, in terms of equal pay and so on.

Equally we think that trade union women need the political support of the constituency women in the party. So our first commitment is to bridging a gulf that is in our view artificial and being imposed upon us by long years of right-wing domination of the party.

A lot of women in the unions are fighting for similar things. Every year the same kind of demands are put forward at the Women's TUC. Even things as simple as rotating the chair. Do you think there is anyway of linking that up with the demands of WAC?

Our problem with the Women's TUC is actually a major political and organisational



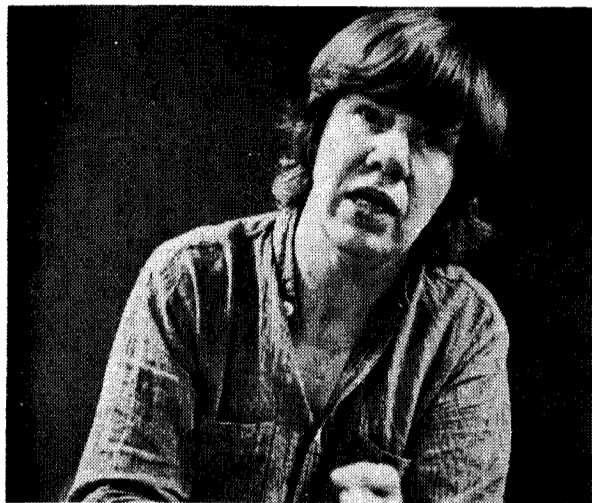
tional problem. Because unions in which women predominate are on the whole unions that are not affiliated to the party, so unions that are represented at the Women's TUC, like the NUT, NUJ, SCPS, CPSSA and NALGO, which are unions in which women form the large proportion of the membership, are unions which are not affiliated to the party. So we have to overcome that gulf as well.

But, yes, certainly the TUC women's movement and Labour Party women can support each other and advance their demands through cooperation. I would very much like to see that happen. I just think that the logistics of that are quite difficult given that even



American peace movement

# A focus needed



HELEN JOHN: 'I didn't meet one American who had fully understood just how Trident was escalating the arms race.'

**GREENHAM WOMEN** have been an inspiration to the movement against nuclear rearmament right around the world. Women's peace camps have even been set up in the United States.

To further the campaign to get a court hearing for the Greenham Women Against Cruise case against President Reagan, **HELEN JOHN** recently went to the States for the campaign. Here she explains what she saw and felt while she was there.

The most disturbing thing that I found in the States was the general lack of urgency about the weapons. Many people in the peace movement are totally committed to stopping

the nuclear weapons, but with the vast size of America it's hard to keep up with what's happening in one state, never mind the whole country.

For example there

are people in Grotten, Massachusetts, where Trident is launched. Down the coast in Boston, there's a group concentrating on Draper Laboratories which designs and produces all those unpleasant nuclear things for us. But they don't link up with each other.

One of the things we hoped to do there was to encourage these links. For example in May, when another Trident is to be launched, we are asking all the groups to go to Grotten and demonstrate.

We pointed out that Trident is an update of our so-called independent Polaris, but increases each one from 64 clutches of weapons to 800!

## Period

I didn't meet one American who had fully understood just how Trident was escalating the arms race. I also tried to stop them using the term 'euro-missiles' which seems to mean 'for the benefit of Europe'. I wanted them to use instead 'American Cruise, Pershing II and Trident missiles', because they are undoubtedly American weapons placed in Europe entirely under the control of the US.

It's tragic that there is not one focus for the US peace movement. Especially where their so-called 'euro-missiles' are concerned. Cruise and Pershing is one campaign, and Trident is an entirely separate group. They are thousands of miles apart so they don't look at these weapons as one package.

The senators who voted for the freeze have with one bound voted for MX and the deployment of missiles in Europe, so now the campaigns are focussing more on the individual weapons and their illegality. There is an attempt to coordinate the Cruise and Pershing campaigns at a national level but there is no national campaign at the moment.

## Nuclear

The freeze in the States did unite the movement for a whole period, but now real disillusion is setting in. It is like the nuclear free zones — it's the beginning of something, but we all know that becoming a nuclear free zone doesn't really mean much.

In a way we are fortunate that we have one focus here for the whole campaign. Even that has failed to completely unite the British movement but in America the situation is mind-boggling.

But it is important for us because until the movement has really built up in

the States we won't be able to stop the missiles here. That's why people should take every opportunity to say to Reagan when he comes here in June we don't want him. It's the most repressive administration you can imagine.

Reagan is very unpopular but people are too concerned with removing that one man. The bosses of Lockheed, Douglas MacDonald, Boeing and all the other firms that make weapons, and really run the show, are the ones they should be looking at.

## Dense

But it is wrong to call Reagan a monster. I saw him on TV and he said: 'I guess you're used to seeing me on a different set', referring to the plinth he was standing on.

You honestly get the impression he thinks he is on a film set and today he is playing the President of the United States, and tomorrow Roy Rodgers or whoever. He's not a very intelligent individual, but he's got the whole run of the set.

The missiles will be an issue in the elections. But the build-down proposal is one of the most callous deceptions I've heard of. The proposal is that for every two weapons taken out of commission they will replace it with just one.

But the same plutonium is put into a smaller and more accurate weapons — so in reality it is a build up. Whoever heard of one nuclear weapon being even a smidgeon less deadly than the one it replaced.

The US will have 480 cruise missiles stationed on the SS Iowa at Staten Island. That will make the most densely populated part of New York a military target. That has got nothing to do with



HELEN JOHN: It's wrong to call Reagan a monster. You honestly get the impression he thinks he is on a film set and today he is playing the President of the United States, and tomorrow Roy Rogers or whoever. He's not a very intelligent individual, but he's got the whole run of the set.

SS20s and everything to do with Central America.

## Control

I was very disappointed that when Kinnock went to the US he made the promise that although Labour would get rid of the nuclear weapons, the bases would stay. I think that is either political naivety or hypocrisy.

If Labour isn't prepared to get rid of the weapons then it's not worth reelecting. I know where I stand with the Tories, they will grind my bones and use it for fertiliser. But I don't ever again want to see a Labour government that does the same thing and says it's for my own good.

The knowledge of Greenham is growing in the States, but they don't

even know about the peace camps their own women are engaged in. There's one at Seneca, where I was very disturbed to see young men — well fed, baseball hats, like clones — yelling and screaming at the women in blind rage. 'Nuke them 'til they glow': they said.

But somehow it's still respectable to be allied to that country. It's not the American people who are behaving like this, it's the administration. CND should stop worrying about being anti-American and start worrying about stopping Reagan.

## Metal workers vote for strike

By Paul Lawson

**THE CAMPAIGN** by West German trade unions for a 35-hour week to combat growing unemployment received a massive shot in the arm last Thursday when metalworkers in Stuttgart voted in favour of a union proposal for strikes to back up their demand. The vote is even more remarkable in light of the fact that under West German law a 75 per cent majority is required for such a strike call.

Last week's ballot was one of a series being called as 'test votes' by IG-Metall, Germany's biggest union with 2.8 million members. About one tenth of the union's membership is in the Stuttgart (North Baden-North Wurttemberg) region balloted last week. Coinciding with last week's ballot were a series of 'warning strikes' in the printing industry called by the IG-Druck trade union, which closed down all the country's daily papers last Thursday. During the strike in Frankfurt a car ploughed through a printworkers picketline, seriously injuring ten workers.

The vote in the Stuttgart region is a major victory for IG-Metall against widespread predictions that they would fail to gain the necessary 75 per cent vote. The area includes much of Germany's auto industry, including Daimler-Benz, Porsche and the giant Bosch electrical plant. The next series of ballots will now be in the Ruhr industrial regions.

What is especially remarkable about the campaign waged by IG-Metall is that their demand is for 35 hours without loss of pay. Now that the vote in the Stuttgart region has been successful, the series of rolling strikes in the print industry will be followed up in the auto sector.



Join the Kent miners wives on  
The Labour Women's Delegation  
to Greenham Common  
Sunday 20 May

and show your support for the women there facing eviction. The evictions show that the government is afraid of what the Greenham women have achieved by their protest against the deployment of cruise missiles.

The Labour Party and the trade unions must be in the forefront of the fight for nuclear disarmament. The miners, in their present fight for jobs, understand the connection between their struggle and the Greenham women's stand. All women fighting this Tory government must stand shoulder to shoulder — from Greenham Common to the coalfields.

The delegation is supported by the Aylesham Ladies Section of the NUM, London Labour Party Women's Committees, Labour CND, Labour Briefing, and more. Further information from 'Labour Women to Greenham', c/o 129a Seven Sisters Road, London N7 7QG.





# Labour's alliance for socialism

'LABOUR'S ALLIANCE for Socialism' by Tony Benn in last week's issue was very welcome. So was *Socialist Action's* first response.

Doubtless we would all quibble over details. But I would endorse the broad thrust of both contributions.

Indeed, their general argument is in line with the position the Labour Co-ordinating Committee (LCC) has pressed for some time now.

This is encouraging, because new circumstances are opening up for the labour movement, in which it is essential for Labour's left to achieve the maximum possible *unity in action*.

## Peter Hain

In this new phase, one of the key issues, as Tony Benn rightly identifies, will be support for groups and individuals in struggle.

That is why it is so critical that the whole Party gives full support to the miners. The outcome of their battle will not only affect the future of workers in the mining industry. It will determine the terrain upon which other industrial struggles will have to be built. It will also affect the confidence of others resisting Tory policies, for example in local government or the peace movement.

Having come through a period in which it was necessary to allow the Party through its new leadership to re-establish Labour as the authoritative Opposition — and the LCC was honest enough to argue openly for that after the Brighton conference — it is equally necessary that the left does not duck its current responsibilities.

One of them is to make sure that every local party organises regular collections for the miners, not just donating from existing CLP funds or from GMC members, but actually knocking on individual member's doors and appealing for support. That is partly the way we will build the depth of political support needed to enable the miners to win.

That is also the way we will help to achieve a much better stance from the party leader and PLP which so far has been inadequate.

For it is our job as labour movement activists to ensure that the base is built of strong and deep support for the miners, counterposing the political pressures on the leadership in the other direction.

This illustrates what the wider role of the Labour's left should now be. It must act independently of the party leader — and it is mischievous of *Socialist Action* to suggest that the LCC has ever suggested otherwise.

The left cannot and must not be expected to act as a Neil Kinnock fan club. But neither must we assume the oppositionist posture necessary with most previous Labour leaders.

There is, in short, an important distinction between *oppositionalism* and *independence*. Our task is to create conditions at rank and file level which are favourable for socialist advance. To do that Labour's left must act independently of the party establishment. But, equally, it must cure itself of the disease of automatic oppositionism, for the simple reason that this allows us to duck our own responsibilities.

Some currents on Labour's left appear more interested in 'exposing' leaders or other left currents than in building the mass support for socialism so obviously absent in Britain. This may serve their own sectarian interests but does nothing to advance the wider interests of the party or the working class.

Moreover, it should be recognised that in a very real sense the left is now dominant in the party. The right has been marginalised, though it still clings on in Parliament in numbers disproportionate to its party support.



Both photos: GM COOKSON

Miners on the march. Inset, Peter Hain

That broad left dominance was reflected in the party leader election last autumn. The plain fact is that the right lost at Brighton '83, whatever reservations different sections of the left has about the victor.

All of this places unprecedented responsibility on the left's shoulders. We have to deliver. No longer can we fight our corner knowing that Labour's electoral base is relatively secure. It is up to the left to make sure the new leadership serves the interests of the party by being constructively critical, not oppositionist.

It is also the Labour left's task to ensure that the party supports struggles on every front, whether conducted by councillors in Liverpool or women at Greenham. And we should do so regardless of arguments over 'illegality': the history of the labour movement is the history of defying and overcoming unjust laws manipulated for class reasons to defend capital.

But below these more 'confrontational' struggles is an important level of work which needs to be given at least equal priority. The left must link into daily issues and problems in the community, not just the high profile conflicts of the moment.

Ultimately, we can only win battles like those coming over local

government if we have a credible record of patient and regular work on issues which may seem mundane to middle class 'revolutionaries', but which deeply affect ordinary people's lives: housing repairs, playgroup facilities, and so on.

We can only win battles like the miners' if we re-build the foundations of the labour movement, arguing for a socialist form of trade unionism, rather than an economist one; winning support at workplace level, rather than simply capturing positions in union structures; establishing Labour Party workplace branches.

## Activism

As Tony Benn says, the left's aim must now be to turn the party outwards. Not under some false fog of unity which smothers debate and argument within the party or shackles the independence of the left. But on the basis that the different ideas swimming around in the pool of the labour movement are best tested against the hard reality of campaigning and activism, of actually battling for socialism, rather than in passing resolutions or directing internal propaganda at each other.

Such extra-parliamentary activity is a key part of creating a new alliance for socialism, a new historic bloc to replace the 1945 one upon which the party has depended ever since. We have been appealing to a contracting class base, when new class forces have been emerging: whether in the service, white collar and public sectors, or in the demands made by women.

We have to find a way both of rebuilding our traditional class base and integrating the 'new politics' groups which have grown in importance this past decade: women, black people, ecologists, for example.

That will also require a fresh look at policy. The alternative economic strategy, for instance, originated from conditions in the early 1970s which have altered dramatically as the economic crisis has deepened. We need to update it, making it more radical, more specific as to priorities for public ownership, and also formulating it in such a way as to allow workers to campaign around it *now* and not simply to await the arrival of a parliamentary majority.

And, although feminism has made major progress within the party, women's rights are still seen as an op-

tional extra rather than shaping the whole thrust of policy. This is true of both employment policy and social policy, for example.

For it would be complacent to assume that the crisis into which the labour movement plunged in the early 1980s was pre-eminently the product of a power battle inside the party. That battle took place when there had already been an erosion of support for socialist ideas and values.

Labour's left must therefore give serious attention to the question of socialist vision. Far too often we have defined socialism in terms of being 'against capitalism' or 'against Tory policies'. (The battles currently being waged industrially and over local democracy are themselves indicators of the defensive position in which we find ourselves.)

## Values

And we have been found out by our own supporters. Socialism may have meant something to them around 1945: nationalisation and the welfare state. But they certainly don't know what it means now — or to the extent they do, they are pretty suspicious of its statist and bureaucratic connotations.

We have to re-present socialism as being fundamentally about transferring power to those denied it, building current and future struggles around a coherent vision of how a socialist society might operate. John Ross explained it very well in last week's *Socialist Action*: 'One based on the radical extension of democracy into every sphere of life — and that means first and foremost into capital's domination of society. Such a society requires an economy which is socialised in the true sense — both democratically planned and with a market in many fields to ensure the distribution of its goods and the meeting of its people's many needs. It is a society with a full and universal right of its citizens to vote — an enormous extension of democracy.'

To argue through such basic points is not to plump for the luxury of armchair theorising. It is to recognise just now how much we need to get back to talking about socialist values and ideas again if we are to stand a chance of creating mass popular support for Labour in a very cold climate.

One other point needs underlining. A new 'alliance for socialism' is something quite different from the 'anti-Thatcher alliance' with which some Euro-communists seem to flirt from time to time.

There can be no alliance with the Alliance: no pre-election pact: no post-election coalitions. The Alliance seeks to displace Labour, completing a Thatcherite restructuring of British politics in which there would be two capitalist parties along American lines. Labour has to fight and ultimately destroy the Alliance if socialism is to make progress in Britain.

That is not to say we must dismiss the political constituencies to which the Alliance has been appealing: for many of them are previous Labour supporters and could be won back by the kind of strategy suggested in this article. But there can be no compromise with the Liberals or SDP.

Meanwhile, it would enormously assist the cause of Labour's left if Tony Benn's article helped to establish a fresh agenda for joint action and campaigning.

PETER HAIN is Vice-Chair of the Labour Co-ordinating Committee. His book on Labour's future, *The Democratic Alternative*, was published recently by Penguin (£2.50)

## Next week

JON BLOOMFIELD, regular contributor to *Marxism Today*, continues the discussion.

## IRELAND UNFREE

### All Ireland forum — lifeline to the SDLP

By Anne Speed (People's Democracy)

THE ALL-IRELAND forum, which has just reported, was founded by the bourgeois nationalist Irish parties (SDLP, Fiana Fail, Fine Gael) in response to the H-Block/Armagh campaign which mobilised upwards of 60,000 people on the streets at the time of the hunger strikes.

This campaign affected political life at every level both south and north. It also gave a boost to the Republican movement on the electoral level, winning support from the SDLP to Sinn Fein.

This development left the bourgeois nationalist parties running scared. The Forum was an initiative of the present coalition government in the south to assess once again the question of Irish unity, to win back some credibility. The Forum report talks about three options — a unitary state, a 'confederal' solution and 'joint sovereignty' between the British and Irish governments over the North.

The three options represent the political debate among the Irish bourgeoisie. On the one hand Fianna Fail as the 'traditional nationalists' hold out for the single unitary state, and on the other hand the historically pro-partition party Fine Gael basically capitulating to Britain with the 'joint sovereignty' solution. The 'confederal' solution was thrown in as a sop to the Loyalists and Unionists, and is basically meaningless.

Overall the Forum report is as Danny Morrison called it a 'dolly mixture'. It doesn't come down decisively in favour of any option, although Charlie Haughey of Fiance Fail wants to believe that it calls for a united Ireland. Gareth Fitzgerald, as opposed to Haughey, is emphasising the possibility of all three options and is just pleading with the British for discussion.

The Forum report does not in any way address the question of the Unionist veto, and that is its fundamental weakness. It talks about a constitutional conference, the possibility of drawing all political forces together to discuss the future of Ireland, but this would be just a conference of the capitalist parties and not the mass of the Irish people. It's a long way from the demand which we in Peoples Democracy would put forward, for a Constituent Assembly, a democratic assembly which would give the opportunity for the leaders of the working class and the Republican movement to participate.

Without doubt the main attention of the Forum was to rescue the SDLP, 'constitutional nationalism' in the Six Counties, from the rise of Sinn Fein, for example in a number of local government elections which have taken place recently — and who are being seen on the ground less and less as the voice of the nationalist community, but rather as the people who will sell out when the crunch comes.

Without saying that the SDLP are finally dead, which would be an exaggeration, we are likely to see the rise of Sinn Fein being deepened in the coming EEC elections, marginalising the SDLP as a collaborationist party. But the SDLP still retains credibility on an all-Ireland basis, and there lies the crucial question for Sinn Fein — what is their strategy to build a 32-county working class leadership, and how can they turn their success in the Six Counties onto an all-Ireland level?

At the centre of this is the need to turn to the working class and its organisations, particularly trade unions and community organisations. That will put the final nail in the coffin of the SDLP.

## Danny Morrison interview

# Sinn Fein and the Euro-elections

Question. Why has Sinn Fein decided to contest the European elections?

Sinn Fein over the last three years has adopted an electoral strategy as one of the central planks of the struggle. This came about basically from the mass movement behind the hunger strikes and the need to develop an alternative to the constitutional, collaborationist Social Democratic and Labour Party (SDLP).

Our intervention in electoral politics has cornered the British nationally and internationally and shown that there is a popular war of liberation going on against the British imperialist presence. So, it would have been to give up that strategy had we not decided to contest these elections, just as we had contested the June 1983 election to the British parliament at Westminster and the election to the Northern Ireland Assembly in October 1982. It is part of our ongoing strategy.

How does Sinn Fein view the EEC and Ireland's membership of it?

Membership of the EEC has been disastrous for Ireland North and South, particularly for agriculture. There were initial benefits but they soon disappeared. The EEC is now geared to large farmers. Small farmers are its victims — there are attempts to drive them off the land, particularly in the South. In the North small farmers to some extent have been protected against the full effects. In the South where there is dairy farming they are going to be particularly hit by



Sinn Fein candidate Danny Morrison

the super levy — the decision to curb milk output.

The EEC also opens up Ireland North and South to multinationals and exploitation of the people. Take for example even housing, there is talk of the money being thrown in here, but when you actually study where it's going to, it's just being gobbled up by the British government. They are supposed to match the amount and they do not. What is needed is a huge injection of resources to end the scandal of the housing situation, the North of Ireland has the worst housing in Western Europe.

We consider there to be extreme dangers linked with membership of the EEC. Hand in hand with membership of the EEC is an orientation to a military alliance. The EEC at this point in time is almost interchangeable with NATO — the Western Alliance.



Photo: AN PHOBLAUGHT

EEC disastrous for Irish farmers

the rest of the country, there will be a campaign where we believe we can win. So, what we hope to do is produce a political veto to match the Irish Republican Army's (IRA) military veto on the British attempt to stabilise their rule and the Dublin government's collaboration with them.

Once we command majority support within our community in the North there will be two developments. Firstly the British government is going to have to change its policy. Since the Sunningdale 'power-sharing' agreement in 1974 the British government have continued to insist — although this insistence has been whittled down over the years — that any devolution of powers to a local assembly must command cross-community support.

Once we command majority support within the nationalist community we will demand not power sharing, nor a reformed Six County state, we want a united Ireland with the Brits out and an end to the Loyalist veto.

The Brits are going to have to change their policy and either face up to reality or give much greater support to the Loyalists and their call for devolution which would mean support for a sectarian state, which would have its ramifications on relations with the South.

For the Southern government itself, once the SDLP could no longer claim to be the majority representatives of the nationalist people in the North, then that would be their anchor in the North gone. The Southern parties have formulated their policies around the SDLP, and once it is in a minority position they are going to have to deal realistically with us. Sinn Fein's victory will have a dramatic effect on the overall political situation with regard to the nationalist question.

How does Sinn Fein hope to advance in the South?

What kind of campaign will Sinn Fein be fighting in the North and in the South?

In the South there are many restrictions on us. There is a lack of access to the state radio and television networks which has a 'spillover' effect to the rest of the media. There have been attempts to make political lepers out of Sinn Fein.

We are also handicapped in terms of underdevelopment. We are a very small organisation engaging in a very big election. However, in the North where Sinn Fein is much stronger than it is in

through these elections?

We don't expect to win any seats but its the experience we are looking for. We are flying our flag and hoping to get an injection of new members. You have to crawl before you can run. Also, we believe that when the total vote is counted we will be the third largest nationalist party in Ireland. We will have more first preference votes than the Irish Labour Party.

What is the significance of Sinn Fein's decision to take seats in the European parliament if elected?

We realise it would have been political suicide to contest the elections on an abstentionist ticket. Also the EEC does not have the same relationship to us as the British occupation or Leinster House (the Southern parliament) which was set up by the British in 1920. The European parliament is sufficiently distant from the question of Irish sovereignty for us to go in and take our seats. What we would hope to do is to use the EEC platform as an international lobbying point. We believe that some one in Europe could lobby sympathetic political parties, the international labour movement and embarrass the Brits and expose their violence in Ireland.

How will you measure success in the elections?

Success will be measured in two ways. First of all the vote in the 26 counties to see if we have made many in-roads. In the North it will be measured by comparison with our June vote — 103,000 at its minimum, taking the seat at maximum. It will be a vote on which we hope to build and strengthen our organisation.

We remember

**BOBBY SANDS  
MP (1954-1981)**

**Murdered three years ago this week  
in the Long Kesh H Blocks by  
Thatcher and British imperialism.**

Socialist Action

# Len Murray's decade of disaster

**THE ANNOUNCEMENT** of Len Murray's early retirement will hardly provoke great sadness in the rank and file of the labour movement. He will be remembered as the man who supported the disastrous 'social contract' in the 1970s, the betrayer of ASLEF, the health workers and the NGA; and the trade union leader who craved co-operation with government even when it was kicking the unions in the teeth.

Murray, it is said, is not in the best of health. In his own statements he explained that he wanted to go out on top, and contemplate the meaning of life. But no one is convinced by this story. In reality, Murray's decision to go next September, three years early, reflects the crisis in which the TUC finds itself, and the increasing fight inside the unions about what its role should be.

For Murray's instinct, that of cravenly co-operating with government no matter how reactionary, has less and less possibility of implementation at a time when the Tories just don't want to co-operate with the unions.

Three recent events demonstrate how untenable Murray's position had become. First, the uproar even in the TUC general council over his refusal to back the NGA's 'illegal' picketing at Warrington. Second, Murray's defeat in the general council over participation in NEDC and other government consultation bodies — a dispute in which even

right wingers like Basnett turned against him. And lastly his handling of the GCHQ dispute, when Murray was apparently genuinely shocked by the refusal of the government to seriously discuss a compromise. For someone who genuinely believes that everything can be sorted out by negotiation and manoeuvre, rather than struggle, this was a rude awakening indeed.

By Phil Hearse

The background to the crisis of the unions is the TUC's policy over the whole ten years of Murray's leadership. During the 1974-79 Labour government Murray placed his faith in co-operating with government through the social contract. In return for wage restraint, so the theory went, the unions would receive benefits, especially for low-paid members, through the 'social wage' — welfare benefits and the like.

The social contract's authors, among them Hugh Scanlon, Jack Jones and Murray himself even



Murray: position untenable

denied that wage restraint was a central element of the social contract at all! In practice it turned out very differently. Real earnings slumped, unemployment rocketed and after the IMF intervention in 1976 social spending cuts started in earnest. The latter were presided over by the first monetarist Chancellor — Denis Healey.

To all this Murray and the TUC leadership had no answer. Their strategy of collaborating with an anti-working class, right wing Labour government fell in ruins during the 'winter of discontent' in 1978-9. The bankruptcy and treachery of the TUC leadership was fully exposed in the 1976 firefighters' strike — the TUC left them to fight alone. The real result of the social contract — falling living standards — was the backcloth to the defeat of Labour in 1979 and the election of the Tories.

## Test

Despite the betrayals of the TUC, union membership had continued to grow during the 1970s, to a high point of 12 million in 1979. But the

Thatcher government put the trade union movement to a new test by combining mass unemployment, through deliberately crashing the economy, with anti-trade union laws. Thatcher understood that Heath had failed because he tried to introduce anti-union laws at a time when unemployment was 'only' one million and the organisational strength of the working class not severely weakened.

## Failed

Again Murray and the TUC leadership failed the test. As the Tebbit laws were introduced, social spending slashed and unemployment rocketed, they failed to prepare for inevitable confrontation and instead pressed for discussions with the government — the 'new realism'. Derisory protest actions and publicity campaigns, like the 1980 'day of action', just demoralised the trade union rank and file.

The strategy of lobbying government with minimal 'protest' actions necessarily led to the betrayal of the ASLEF drivers, the health workers and the NGA. But it has

also inevitably led to the growth of a 'hard right', 'new realist' current inside the unions leaderships.

At worst, as with Chappel's EETPU this means simply business unionism, offering employers 'no strike' contracts on the American model. But with a wide coalition of union leaders — Alastair Graham of the CPSA, Duffy of the AUEW and Murray himself it has led to the demand for 'non-political' unionism — weakening the links between the TUC and the Labour Party, and trying to establish links with other parties, particularly the SDP.

Politically the new realists on the TUC general council are coalitionists, preparing to pressure the Labour Party into coalition with the Alliance, and an electoral 'arrangement' at the next general election.

In the absence of a leadership actually prepared to fight the Tories, to break the Tebbit laws and take effective action to defend the Labour Party political levy, the growth of right wing business unionism is one inevitable product. A section of the right wing union bureaucracy inevitably seeks a new way of finding a way of living with reactionary government — by simply capitulating. Another section of the union leaderships, most obviously the NUM leadership, want a real fight. The room of the compromisers and manoeuvrers gets squeezed.

The GCHQ affair was the final humiliation of Murray. He went to Thatcher, cap in hand, as the betrayer of the NGA having done huge service for the ruling class. All he wanted was a little concession — to be able to keep union membership at GCHQ in return for no strikes and no effective unionism there at all. Murray came out of his meeting with her white and shaken — 'she just kept saying "I've made up my mind" 'said Murray.

## Defeats

Murray knew full well that his leadership faced a big left wing challenge at the coming TUC conference. His policy of ask-

ing for concessions from government is in ruins. Under his leadership TUC membership has fallen from 12 million to nine and a half million, and hundreds of thousands of trade unionists have suffered bitter defeats.

The TUC has been powerless in fighting unemployment. Unlike the German unions, no fight for a shorter working week has been made. And the TUC's capitulations over

the NGA have just strengthened the Tebbit laws.

If a real fight back is going to be made against the Tories, then a very different kind of leadership is needed. Len Murray came from the TUC bureaucracy. He never led a union branch or strike, let alone a national trade union. Unfortunately most of the candidates to replace him come from the same stable.

## Building Fund Drive Return of the Red Trotters

**THE FUND DRIVE** is off and running — and running is the theme of our column this week. A supporter is running on Sunday 1 July in the Lambeth Half Marathon. Successful sponsorship for a 13 mile run like this can bring in a substantial amount of money.

If we had more than one runner of course that would be even better. We are therefore appealing this week for runners to take part in the Lambeth run. If you want to take part contact us immediately. If you can't run but you are willing to sponsor somebody else sponsorship forms are available from the paper — but contact us immediately — time is getting short. Only 10 pence per mile sponsorship would cost £1.30.

With only 100 people sponsoring one runner that's £130 — if we could get 4 runners that's £520 — well worth the effort. Support the return of the Red Trotters — after last year's successful Birmingham Marathon they are back on the scene. So run yourself or sponsor somebody else. Marathons and half marathons take place every weekend — if you're prepared to run in one to raise money for the fund drive let us know immediately. We'll contact the 'Red Trotters' as well and get them to step up the training.

The other scheme we're organising is the raffle of a litre bottle of Jameson's whiskey which we've been donated by a supporter. So if you look out for further information in these pages on that and other prizes, which you can win.

The target can and must be reached. Send us your contribution today and pledge your support. Take out a standing order and pay us a regular amount for the fund drive. Also a subscription guarantees the paper every week. Fill in the form on this/the back page today.

**Support Socialist Action!  
Support the Fund drive!**

## Islington nursery workers' strike

**ONE HUNDRED** and fifty NALGO and NUPE nursery workers have been on strike in the London Borough of Islington for nearly four weeks over a claim for improved pay and conditions which was submitted to the council last October.

By Terry Conway, nursery worker's strike committee (pers cap)

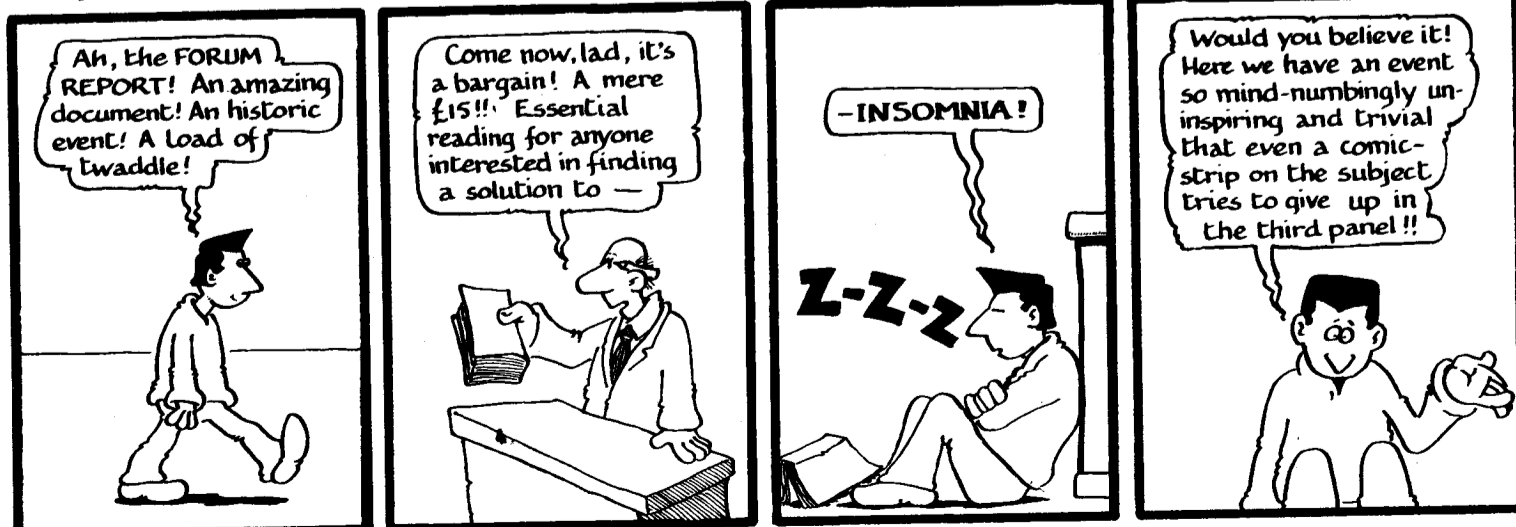
Despite Labour's manifesto commitment to improve wages and staff ratios for this group of

workers, it has taken three weeks of strike action to get the council to negotiate.

The strike is being supported by parents who occupied the town hall for 48 hours last week, and by a large number of local Labour Party wards. Islington NALGO is discussing a series of solidarity actions to be taken if negotiations are not successful.

But the council seems determined to go down the same road as Lambeth and Southwark councils — attacking the workforce rather than uniting with them to fight the Tories.

## A PIECE OF THE ACTION



## Socialist Action Bankers Order Form

Date 19

To: \_\_\_\_\_  
(Name of your bank in capitals)

of \_\_\_\_\_  
(Address of your bank in capitals)

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

Name \_\_\_\_\_  
Address \_\_\_\_\_  
Signature \_\_\_\_\_

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

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

# Socialist ACTION

## Mobilise against Botha!

# Liverpool: Vote of defiance

**THE DECISION** of the Thatcher government to invite Peter Botha, Prime Minister of South Africa, on a state visit is part of a clear attempt to rehabilitate South Africa as part of the international community.

After the 'peace' agreements between South Africa and Mozambique and Angola, the United States and Britain want to make South Africa a 'respectable' part of the Western alliance.

Thatcher's argument that a state visit does not imply support for the policies of the regime in question is just eyewash. When is Thatcher going to organise a state visit by the Chairman of the Soviet Communist Party? Or Fidel Castro?

The truth of the matter is of course that South Africa has always been a de facto member of the Western alliance, a bulwark against 'Communism' in Africa and a lucrative source of US and British imperialist profits. Neither Tory nor Labour governments have taken

effective measures to break links with South Africa.

By Paul Lawson

The government's real attitude to South Africa and its white citizens has been starkly revealed by the indecent haste with which Zola Budd has been made a British citizen — and defended personally by Thatcher in the Commons when she denounced anti-apartheid demonstrations against Budd as 'despicable'.

The government's at-

titude to Zola Budd is in stark contrast to its inhuman and really despicable deportation last week of Afia Begum, who had the base motives of having her husband die in a house fire and also, incidentally, of being black.

Botha's visit must be met by a huge wave of demonstrations. The labour movement must show its outrage at the stamp of approval being given to the South African reich at a time when both its external aggression against its black neighbours, and its internal policy of deportation of 'surplus' blacks to the notorious 'homelands', is causing revulsion throughout the world.

Socialist Action will be giving details of all demonstrations against Botha in future issues.



Council leader John Hamilton with deputy leader Derek Hatton

**THE WORKING** class of Liverpool has let its voice be heard. Last Thursday they went to the polling booths and gave Labour and its 'illegal' budget a resounding yes vote.

Now no one, particularly from the ranks of Labour, can justifiably argue that John Hamilton and Derek Hatton along with their colleagues on the council are just wild-eyed lefties acting without public support.

As Labour's majority on the council, on a poll of over 50 per cent, shot up to 17, the *Liverpool Daily Post* was forced to admit that it 'is seen as a massive vote of confidence in Labour's confrontation with the government ...'

Of that there can be no doubt. The Tories, the Liberals, and the media

had all made sure that the voters knew just what they were doing if they put a cross against Labour's candidates.

By Bob Pennington

The working people of Liverpool didn't have much choice. Their city is dying on its feet — one in five insured people don't have a job and another 5000 jobs will go if the Tory target is met. Its already chronic housing situation will worsen and its streets and buildings will sink into further decay.

Rather than stoically accept the destruction of their city and their future, the voters chose the only practical course, which is to defy the government and back their Labour council.

The workers of Liver-

pool have now joined their council in the front line and the Labour Party must heed their voice. Kinno's nonsense about 'legally' and 'humanely' applying the cuts must be dropped forthwith. Cunningham's disgraceful refusal to answer Robin Day's question on *BBC Two's election special* about whether he thought the Tory government should give Liverpool more money, gives no help to the population of Liverpool, but it does allow the Tories to hide behind the cover of some of the Labour leaders.

The sooner that Kinno and Cunningham get in line with people like Benn and Heffer who have made no bones about backing the Liverpool council, the better it will be for the cause of Labour. Not to stand with people fighting for their right to a future is to betray both the

ideals of socialism and the most basic humanitarian principles.

Every single Labour leader has to rally behind Liverpool. To defeat the Tories there would encourage all those other boroughs threatened with Jenkin's savage and destructive cuts. It would also make clear to millions of people that Labour is on the side of those opposing the dole queue, poverty and all the other soul-destroying blights of Tory Britain.

Labour has a duty to the working class of Liverpool to aid their struggle. It also has a duty to rebuild itself through such actions so that once again it can claim to speak for a majority of working people.

By its unconditional defence of the cause of Liverpool it can show to all the working class that it has the right to be the party of Labour.



## Stop Reagan on 9 June

says Joy Hurcombe, Vice chair of CND and chair of Labour CND



Joy Hurcombe

**WHEN REAGAN** arrives for the World Economic Summit, we have a unique opportunity to show our total rejection of everything he stands for. We need enormous support for the demonstration on 9 June, both at the American Embassy and on the march from Hyde Park to Trafalgar Square.

The international media will be focussed on Lancaster House. Thatcher, Mitterand, Reagan, Kohl and their friends will be deciding

how to increase profit by further exploiting the world's resources and workers.

They will be planning how far they can cut public spending in order to fund their space-age weapons. They will plan cooperation in selling arms to the Third World disguised as overseas aid.

Off the agenda will be any discussion of the real issues. They won't be talking of stopping the nuclear arms race, or of world poverty. They won't be talking about death squads in El Salvador or the CIA in Nicaragua, or the abuse of civil liberties here at

Greenham Common and on the picket lines.

So, it's up to us to force the issues out into the open. CND will be concentrating on the message that Reagan should take his cruise missiles back with him.

This should be our focus, but the wider issues of global strategy, the role of NATO, and the effect of Western policies on the Third World must all be spelled out clearly by the Labour Party, the Young Socialists, the trade unions and the women's groups — with a massive presence on 9 June.

# SUBSCRIBE

## Special free book offer!

Take out a years inland subscription and we will send you free one of these books:

Thatcher and Friends by John Ross —  
Over our Dead Bodies or  
Women Against the Bomb

Introductory offer for new readers: Eight issues for just £2!

**RATES:**  
Inland  
6 months £8;  
12 months £15  
Overseas  
(12 months only)  
Europe £17; Air Mail £24  
(Double these rates for multi-reader institutions)

Name .....

Address .....

Please send me as special offer

I enclose cheque/PO payable to Socialist Action for £ .....

Send to: Socialist Action Subs, 328 Upper St, London N1 2XP.