

SOCIALIST ACTION



**US Hands off
Central America
and the
Caribbean**
Picket the US Embassy
Grosvenor Square
London W1
5 July, 4.30-7.30pm

Your next wage rise: 2 per cent

**Wolfe Tone
commemoration**
Gerry Adams page 7

'WAFER THIN' — that's how the *Times* describes the wage increases which the Tories want you to have in the next year.

At a meeting with the Confederation of British Industry, Thatcher agreed that in the coming year the government should try to keep down wage increases to just 2 per cent.

The government will set an 'example' by trying to keep down wage increases for those in the public sector to this balmy figure.

Civil servants, health workers, postal workers, teachers, local government workers, miners and steelworkers are all on the 2 per cent hit list.

The CBI and the Tories know full well that this amounts to a substantial decrease in real living standards — for yet another year.

Inflation

The inflation rate is now around 5 per cent. By the autumn the government knows full well that it will be up again.

The Tories' cynicism, in their objective of forcing down living standards, was shown last week when the new Chancellor Nigel Lawson announced that in the autumn social security benefits and pensions will go up just 3.5 per cent.

Since the Tories came to power, the value of social security benefits has gone down by 25 per cent. But that is not enough for Thatcher and Lawson.

As the oil revenues run out, the underlying crisis of the British economy is coming home to roost. For the Tories there is only one way out — cut living standards all round.

The joint Tory-CBI announcement of 2 per

cent pay increases is a direct challenge to the trade union leaderships. After the election Len Murray expressed a wish for 'constructive talks' with the government. But how can you have constructive talks with those determined to crush you?

The TUC must break off all talks with the government and withdraw from the NEDC and all joint consultative bodies. We need a national plan of action against falling living standards and jobs loss.

And the leaderships of the public sector unions must urgently arrange joint wage claims and industrial action to meet those claims and fight privatisation — a huge public sector alliance to take on the Tories.

Organise

Make no mistake, wage cuts were explicitly linked with job loss in the Tory-CBI statement. Now is the time to organise a fight.

Last year the health workers fought for nine months and got precious little from it — thanks to the sabotage of the TUC. It's going to be the same dismal story all over again, unless the leaders of the movement are forced into action.

LNCI Branch have been brought in to work with staff of the union journal, to turn this outwards the issues facing the rank and file. LNCI have a well-established branch bulletin which circulates widely in the union.

The new Exec recognises this experience as important in changing the union journal. A levy of £1 is being imposed on members to raise funds for what is undoubtedly going to be a long battle. And there is to be a special conference at the end of August, to prepare for wider action against the Telecoms Bill.

MODERN TIMES



I suppose the only chance we'll get now to shoot kids is in Northern Ireland...

Chile protest



LABOUR MPs joined a picket outside the Chilean Embassy last week protesting at the current wave of repression being meted out to workers by the Pinochet government. Union leaders called off the general strike on Sunday, which had followed the most widespread and open opposition to the junta so far.

Pinochet said that the government had been tolerant in allowing the two days of national protest, but added: 'That is it, gentlemen.'

Meanwhile, the Tories are chatting to Admiral Merino from the junta, who is over here for arms talks.

• Ten years ago in Chile — see pages 8 & 9

Post Office engineers fight 'Operation Black Hole'

WHILE their Tory paymasters prepare for denationalising the industry, management in British Telecom are stepping up the pressure on the union.

Two members of the union, the POEU, have been sent home for refusing to connect up the privately owned Mercury system to the state network.

Management have tried to get round the unions refusal to wire up Mercury by doing the work themselves at night. The POEU has responded by boycotting two buildings where this has been done. About 35,000 lines are affected.

Management have drawn up a strategy document called 'Operation Black Hole', which aims at drawing the union rapidly into a battle on secondary aspects of the privatisation campaign such as Mercury, while preparing plans for wholesale denationalisation.

Matching

The POEU Executive is matching management move for move at present.

The Industrial Action Sub-Committee has co-opted the leadership from the branches affected by the action, and has begun a campaign to prepare the membership for the major battles ahead.

Members of the

Photo: CARLOS AUGUSTO GUARITA (Photom)

Interview with Eric Heffer

Why I am standing for the left

THE MAIN REASON that Eric Heffer has put his candidature forward in the battle for the leadership of the Labour Party is that the party membership was faced with a narrow choice between Messrs Kinnock, Shore and Hattersley.



PHOTO: Laurie Sparham (IFL)

'I believe that my record as a socialist stands for itself', he says. 'I want to see Clause 4 defended in the party constitution. There should be freedom of discussion. Members of the party should not be expelled because of their political views.'

'I don't believe that the problems of this country, or those of Europe as a whole, can be solved outside the context of democratic socialist policies.'

While he is unwilling to comment directly on other candidates, the Liverpool MP believes that his record on all these questions compares favourably with that of the other candidate regarded as left wing by the media — Neil Kinnock.

While Kinnock has consistently voted on the NEC of the Party against such measures as the nationalisation of the clearing banks, total opposition to incomes policy and against the expulsion of the *Militant* editorial board, Heffer has stood up for the views of the majority of the rank and file of the party.

Battle

He is standing for the leadership of the party too because he thinks that there should be a vigorous lead from the parliamentary platform in the battle against the measures announced in the Queen's Speech.

'In the country there needs to be a mass

mobilisation through the trade union and labour movement to defeat Thatcher. There has to be a combination of parliamentary and extra-parliamentary action in a way that is traditional to the British working class movement.'

The election for the leader and deputy leader has once again raised the question of how the rank and file of the trade unions should participate in the election as well as broader questions of the relationship between the Labour Party and the trade unions.

Unions

Heffer had written an article for a forthcoming issue of *New Left Review* six months previously on this topic. 'I believe, along with Alex Kitson, that the weighting between the constituencies and the trade unions is disproportionate. I believe that the weighting of the constituencies must be increased to give the rank and file activists of the Party a greater say in conferences.'

'Secondly, only those who pay the political levy should be able to vote on matters concerning the Labour Party.'

'It's completely wrong that Conservative, SDP and Liberal supporters can influence the direction of the party without paying a penny to support it.'

He thinks that, in general, NUPE's action in seeking a branch ballot on



PHOTO: Labour Weekly

Michael Meacher

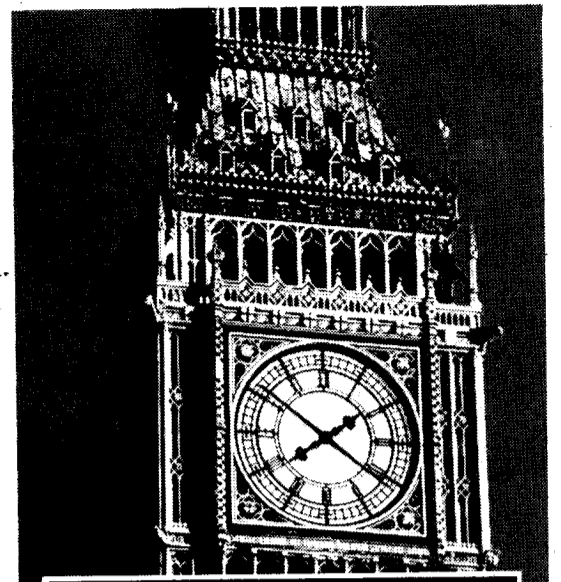
the leadership is a good one.

'The membership should be consulted. The problem is of course that this opens up the election campaign to manipulation by the media, who try to massively influence the result.'

He is unhappy about appearing on radio and TV during the election campaign, but in the absence of other forums, and given that his opponents are gaining every minute of media time possible, he has had to use it as a platform himself.

But in the lead-up to the Party conference he fully intends to speak at rallies to reach the membership with his views. He thinks that many people in the labour movement will be putting himself and Michael Meacher forward as a slate for the leader and deputy, although he has had no contact with Meacher on the possibility of formalising such a ticket.

● **The Great Heffer-Meacher mystery — Editorial, page 10.**



In Parliament

THE NATIONAL defeat of the Labour Party on 9 June was the product of a Party leadership more interested in purging the movement of socialists, and protecting their own positions, than in campaigning for socialism.

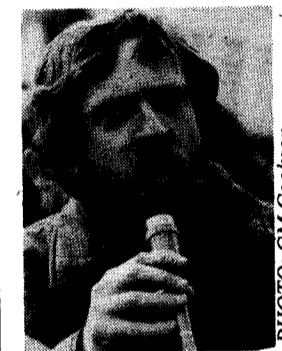


PHOTO: GM Cookson

By Jeremy Corbyn (MP Islington North)

Our election policies were the product of years of hard campaigning activity in the Party and union branches — unilateral nuclear disarmament, quitting the EEC, repealing the racist laws, reversing the social spending cuts — but the NEC and the Shadow Cabinet were the product of the very worst kind of machine politics.

Given this basis, the schism in the party, so ably opened by Callaghan and Healey, was to be expected but nevertheless did much damage to our cause during the election campaign.

The Tories have preached the lesson of exploitation, private profit, injustice and greed; the SDP/Liberal Alliance have in every real sense preached the same capitalist message to some effect.

It may seem trite to say it, but Labour must go out and fight with all struggles of the working class, and preach a class message of socialist change. Capitalism cannot provide work, an end to discrimination against women, an end to racism — neither can it provide the welfare services needed. We have to hammer out this socialist message loud and clear; we have no national media to help us.

The battles which face us will be the making of the party. Thatcher has declared war on the working class in the

Queen's Speech, which proposes the privatising of a whole range of services, bringing cruise missiles to Britain, a further colonial policy over the Falklands and the destruction of much of local government and the Health Service.

There will also be an attack on the trade unions which will make the 1971 Industrial Relations Act and the earlier Tebbit laws look like a piece of benign liberalism.

The only course for Labour to adopt is one of electing a leadership determined to take the action outside parliament and to defend the basic policies against a rightward ideological shift.

The first meeting of the Parliamentary Labour Party after the election showed just how far we have to go. The discussion on the leather bound benches, surrounded by oil paintings and oak panelling, seemed a million miles away from the mass unemployment and poverty of the inner city, the victims of which had just elected these MPs.

The discussion was just as irrelevant too; who should be the Speaker of the House — which Tory we should elect to this 'non-political' office.

However the new parliamentary party is to the left of the last one. The Campaign Group has about 30 members determined to link up with the left of the party and trade unions, and to take the battle against the Tories outside parliament.

We must use the leadership campaign to get this message across and, in the absence of Tony Benn, support candidates the most to the left, and prepared to support extra-parliamentary action.

A number of us wished to support Jo Richardson as a candidate. It is our loss that she cannot stand; so the only viable alternatives are Eric Heffer for leader and Michael Meacher for deputy leader.

The battle is on — to develop the party with more members and a real campaigning approach. But we also have to fight to prevent a leadership creeping in which seeks the cemetery of the middle ground of politics.

Manchester faces 'Kangaroo court'

THE LABOUR Party NEC is reconvening its enquiry into the Manchester City Labour Party this Friday.

The City Party has consistently fought for council resistance to cuts and defended the 27

Manchester councillors expelled from the Labour group for defending party policy.

The enquiry is expected to be a kangaroo court to give grounds for closing the City Party down.



NEXT Monday a continuous blockade of the Greenham Common USAF base will begin ending on Friday 8 July. Labour movement delegations will be at the base during the week to support the blockade's rejection of America's war plans for Europe. Further information from: London Greenham Office, 5 Leonard Street, London EC2 (01-251 3133).

THE QUEEN'S SPEECH at the opening of parliament last week held few surprises. Not really short, sharp shocks, but plenty of long-term and deadly policies aimed at swinging the balance once and for all firmly in favour of the bosses.

The Tories are hoping to push through their plans to cripple the unions and the Labour Party, sell off nationalised industry and build up Britain as a nuclear zone before any mass opposition can be built up to stop them.

Below we look at the real meaning of the Queen's speech, and some of the initial reactions to it.

What the Queen's speech really means

'My government and I are going to teach you a lesson'



Cartoon: TONY HALL (from Labour Herald) available in postcard series

Local government

Legislation will be brought forward to provide a selective scheme to curb excessive rate increases by local authorities, and to provide a general power for the limitation of rate increases for all authorities. Proposals will be prepared for the abolition of the GLC and the metropolitan county councils. Legislation will be introduced to reform the organisation of public transport in London.

THE rates issue has always been a thorn in the side for Labour authorities.

In order to maintain public services and avoid the massive spending cuts the Tories would dearly love to see, they have responded by raising rates to balance the books. This has been an unpopular strategy which the Tories have been quick to cash in on.

The only way round this dilemma for Labour would have been to build a massive campaign, together with the unions, to expose Tory cuts and fight for adequate central funding for our services.

But there can be nothing gained by going along with Thatcher's planned legislation to curb rate increases. This will amount to direct government control of how local authorities decide to spend money to benefit local communities.

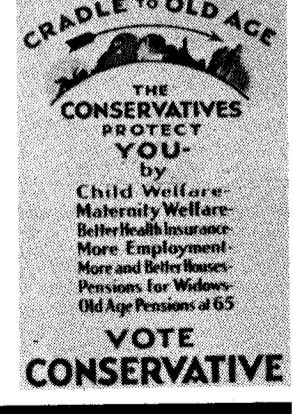
The proposed abolition of the GLC and other metropolitan councils (all Labour controlled) is an attempt to wipe out what could be the strongest op-

position to these and other plans.

'Taking London Transport away from the GLC and placing it under a non-elected quango will lead to a reversal of the present cheap fares policy and see higher fares and worse services.'

'We will do everything in our power to resist this outrageous take-over by central government and will be launching a major campaign to resist these proposals.'

Ken Livingstone (GLC)



The economy



based upon sound money and lower public borrowing. NOW doesn't that sound nice and fair? The Tories are aiming to give us all much more: more of us on the dole, more spending cuts, more opportunities to change jobs, more leisure time. And for the lucky few, more profits.

By Hilary Driver

There is not surprisingly, no change in the Tories economic policies. In their pursuit of the goal of low inflation, they'll let nothing get in their way.

No doubt they'll make an attempt to explain away the Building Societies increase in mortgage rates — announced just an hour after the Queen's speech — by blaming it on the unions.

My Government will pursue policies designed to increase economic prosperity and to reduce unemployment. They will seek a further reduction in inflation. They will continue to maintain firm control of public expenditure and a responsible financial strategy

Trade unions

A Bill will be introduced to give trade union members greater control over their unions.

THE Tories want to 'democratise' our unions. They've waited some time to do this, ensuring that mass unemployment would undermine the numerical strength and militancy of the unions before they attempt to really put the knife in.

Giving union members 'greater control over their unions' is another way of explaining that there must be secret ballots before any strike or industrial action.

This will, of course, allow unions to defend their members much more easily. 'Well, I realise that machine is dangerous, Fred, but you'll just have to stay on it for a few weeks until we organise a secret ballot'.

Bosses will be able to sue unions, and union officials for losses incurred during strikes or actions where ballots aren't held. They are proposing a ban on strikes in essential services.

The unions should be democratised, and union leaders elected regularly and subject to recall, but democracy cannot be

reduced to putting crosses on pieces of paper, as it is in general elections.

Real union democracy means the active participation of the mass of members in decision making at all levels.

The other major 'reform' in this package will be to reduce the Labour Party's funding from union members by effectively destroying the present, voluntary, political levy. And your Tory workmate will be able to vote to stop you affiliating to the Labour Party — very democratic.

It seems likely that the TUC, true to form, will decide to negotiate the degree of their destruction with the Tories.

'We should talk with any government. We should talk to them to see if there is anything worthwhile in return.'

Terry Duffy (AUEW)

Fortunately, not all union leaders are prepared to play dead: **'We shall resist these proposals, taking extra-parliamentary action if we must, against attempts to remove union rights. In my view they constitute straight forward violation of civil rights.'** Arthur Scargill (NUM)

Privatisation

Legislation will be introduced to prepare for the introduction of private finance into nationalised industries.

THE government are going to reintroduce the notorious Telecommunications Bill and sell off 51 per cent of British

Telecom to the highest bidder (see report on page 16 of the fight against the Bill).

But although the fight of Telecoms workers will be the immediate focus of the fight against privatisation, the Tories are aiming at a much larger range of

publicly owned industry and services than this.

Their plans for local government, the health service, education and council house sales are all linked to a drive to replace essential services with profit chasing.

They are also planning to sell off parts of British Rail, British Airways, the British Airports Authority, Sealink, North Sea oil, British Shipbuilders, the National Bus Company and Rolls Royce.

Where they aren't selling off nationalised in-

dustry and services to the highest bidder, they are aiming to decimate them by closures and withdrawal of subsidies.

The mines in particular are to be hit, following close on the heels of their almost total destruction of the steel industry.

'Law and order'

A Bill will be introduced to replace the existing law on the prevention of terrorism. Legislation will be brought forward to modernise the law on police powers and to amend the law of criminal evidence. A Bill will be introduced to improve family law and its administration.

THE Tories have been thinking ahead. They realise that their policies are not going to be accepted meekly by workers, and are taking out an insurance policy in the form of the Police and Criminal Evidence Bill.

This will ensure they keep the upper hand in strikes, riots and other disorders unacceptable to the ruling class.

Another increase in Police powers comes with the introduction of a new prevention of terrorism act. This repressive and draconian legislation is to be extended to give the police rights to arrest and detain any suspected terrorists, and not just Irish people.

To relieve the current and expected prison overcrowding the Tories will be opening two new prisons each year and recruiting 1,260 more prison officers.

The government plans to provide nearly 5,000 more places for us in 10 new prisons by the end of the '80s.

Another change in legislation will be in the divorce laws. A proposed Bill will abolish the present almost total restriction on divorce within the first three years of marriage, which is to be welcomed.

But it will prevent any chances of divorce in the first year, when often the most extreme cases of violence against women occur.

The press have made much of these proposals

ending the 'meal ticket for life' of divorced women, a fallacy constructed out of a few exceptional cases — most divorced women don't in reality receive financial support.

Maintenance will still be awarded for the support of children, but the aim will be financial self-sufficiency.

It sounds like a good sentiment — many women object to being dependent on men anyway. But until women have absolute and real equality, especially economically, then it is a nonsense for the courts to treat men and women in divorce and maintenance judgements as equal partners.



Photo: JOHN STURROCK (Report)

'It's early to comment on the Police Bill in detail, but if the press speculation is correct then it's madness to suppose that having independent prosecutors and tape recordings are going to be any sort of safeguard. Certainly not as far as we're concerned. If this Bill is anything like the last one, there'll be a fight!'

'The divorce law reforms are based on the myth of women being alimony drones, when most women don't receive any. Basically, this Bill is just tinkering with the present laws.' Legal Action Group

Ireland

In Northern Ireland, my government will continue to give the highest priority to law and order.

Through the Northern Ireland Assembly, the people of Northern Ireland will continue to be offered a framework for participation in local democracy and political progress on the basis of widespread acceptance throughout the community

ROUGHLY translated, this piece of 1984-style newspeak reads as follows.

We don't have any new ideas what to do about the nationalist resistance in the North.

What we do know is that our army can continue to murder people,

blind them with plastic bullets, and terrorise them into accepting British rule.

To give an impression of democracy, you can have your own Assembly. If some of you stubbornly refuse to participate, we will think up yet another pretend-democratic scheme to give the impression we're doing something.

'Sinn Fein stood in the election on a radical republican platform, in the socialist republican tradition of Connolly and Pearse.'

'We are winning and we will be victorious in driving the British out of Ireland.'

Gerry Adams MP (see page 7)

Arms and war

My government will ... modernise the existing nuclear deterrent (Trident) ... begin the deployment of cruise and Pershing II missiles by the end of 1983 ... continue fully to discharge their obligations to the people of the Falkland Islands.

with China over Hong Kong?

'The Tories have no mandate for installing the missiles. As far as CND is concerned, the general election hasn't changed a thing.'

'We are organising a major demonstration on 22 October which will show the Conservative government that in going ahead with their plans to install the missiles, they are acting against the wishes of the majority of the population.' Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament

SO IF all else goes wrong, Thatcher will at least be in a position to help the US to blow up the world. Or perhaps if the resolute approach looks like flagging, they could start a war with Spain over Gibraltar, or

IRELAND UNFREE

'Of course the Provos can win'

AS reverberations over the Sinn Fein election victory continue in the North, a surprising interview with Ballymurphy priest, Fr. Des Wilson, took place on RTE — the Southern radio network which has banned Sinn Fein from the airwaves.

On the Day by Day programme, Fr. Wilson said the British government had been 'utterly tyrannical' in Northern Ireland and would have to go.

He thought that it was just a sophism to say that while the Provisionals could never lose, they could never win either.

'I think they can win', he said, 'of course they can win. The British government is an evil government as far as the people in the North who have to watch people suffering from it are concerned. It must now be removed from the scene. The question is how? Obviously it is not going to respond to anything except a lot of force.'

The interviewer stepped in to ask whether the Loyalists would resist. Fr. Wilson replied that although 'the Protestant minority in Ireland was the most heavily armed, the most clearly organised and best protected minority in Europe', he was convinced that a rising against any new arrangement could be prevented.

He disagreed that the recent high vote for Sinn Fein was a vote for violence, because, he said, violence had to be reinterpreted.



Gerry Adams

'The vote was a vote for Sinn Fein that told them: look, solve this problem once and for all. Do it by non-military means if you can. But if you have to use military means, all right, we'll support you.' Fr. Wilson said that the SDLP had got themselves into a position of depending 'almost pathetically' upon clerical support, and proposed that they should sit down with Sinn Fein and the Church to discuss policies for the future.

Although this final note seems to contradict the main points of Fr. Wilson's argument, it still stands head and shoulders above the whacky proposals coming from the Methodist Assembly held in Enniskillen which proposed the 6 Counties should be turned into an EEC protectorate.

Dublin building workers strike

LAST week all major building sites in Dublin were closed and main roads into the city blocked as construction workers protested against unemployment levels of up to 45 per cent in the industry.

All nine building unions participated in the day of protest and construction machinery was used to make the road blockages effective.

The government has been trying recently to deflect opposition to massive tax increases by proposing new cuts in State expenditure. But as pay talks collapsed which offered teachers, civil servants, health and local government workers a paltry 6 per cent spread over 15 months, and the Labour Court look like bending to bus workers' wage demands, resistance is being prepared.



YCND is the fastest growing part of the disarmament movement

YCND debates strategy

THE ANNUAL Youth CND conference in Manchester on 2-3 July will be the first major opportunity for debate in the disarmament movement since the general election.

It will also mark the meteoric growth of the youth movement in the last year including the hugely successful 7 May 'Rock the Bomb' festival and demonstration.

The festival was attended by 70,000 people making Youth CND Britain's biggest youth movement and the fastest growing wing of the disarmament movement.

YCND National Office is now recruiting members at the rate of 500 per month.

The YCND's conference's main job will be to build on this through more festivals, gigs and marches, national and locally, and further recruitment. The main focus for the conference will be the job of building the 22 October demonstration in London as part of a massive international day of action.

Reflecting this international dimension a motion calls for an international youth conference on disarmament. This would be an enormous boost in many European countries where

youth are not separately organised or where youth committees have been established only fairly recently. It also poses the possibility of internationally coordinated youth activities.

By Piers Mostyn

But above all the conference will be trying to answer the question 'How can we stop the missiles?'

With the re-election of a reactionary Tory government totally committed to nuclear madness, this question is a very serious one. If Thatcher was completely unmoved by the deaths of ten Irish hunger strikers, she won't be moved by individual protest at missile sites.

There is a danger that, in the face of these difficulties, activists will

either move increasingly towards desperate direct action — resulting in more hardship and ultimate demoralisation — or towards increasing cynicism and inaction.

Youth CND has a good record of standing by the demands of the movement for unilateral disarmament and Britain out of NATO. It is expected that this will be re-affirmed at this year's conference.

Youth CND has also always identified with the most active wing of the movement — exemplified in the recent past by the Greenham women — but also has fought for mass action by the labour movement.

A resolution proposing a march to the TUC at Blackpool from Manchester will be a focus for such a campaign alongside a proposed conference for young trade unionists.

These and other issues will be taken up at an LPYS fringe meeting organised on the Saturday, featuring speakers from the labour movement, Greenham and the People's March for Jobs.

Briefing calls for national journal

LONDON Labour Briefing has called for a national meeting of Briefing groups on Sunday 3 July in London.

The meeting will spend most of its time discussing a proposal for a 'National Briefing Supplement', which would effectively serve as a national focus for the forces who have been involved, at constituency level, in setting up local Briefings and left wings.

If such a development does take place it would be a vital step. At national level there is a vacuum in the leadership battle because of Benn's failure to reach parliament.

Kinnock's advance is a product of the left's failure to effectively challenge the right.

Briefing has been the focus for spectacular ad-

vances at local level, in particular Ken Livingstone's rise to prominence.

It has helped create conditions both for organising the left and for a serious leadership challenge in the party. But further progress depends on national advance: on a national forum through which the left can prepare a long, organised battle to rebuild itself and the party in and through a long-term challenge to the right wing and Kinnockite leaders in both the Labour Party and the unions.

If Briefing succeeds in translating its local successes into the national arena by involving such forces as Ken Livingstone in a sustained drive to organise the left wing nationally, it will have made a start in solving the crisis of the left.

● Details: Briefing Conference, 23 Leghorn Road, London NW11.

LABOUR BRIEFING

Witch hunt resistance planned

ON SATURDAY 2 July at 12.00 in Camden Town Hall, Labour Against the Witch Hunt's national council will be meeting to discuss its tactics for the Labour Party conference.

Any affiliated Labour Party may send a delegate, and other bodies may send observers.

A glance at the front runners in the leadership contest shows why this meeting will be important. Three out of four candidates for the leadership have a record of supporting, and voting for, the expulsion of socialists from the Labour Party.

Only Eric Heffer and

Michael Meacher, have consistently opposed expulsions. Yet the 'dream ticket' of Kinnock and Hattersley is being pushed forward as a great unifier of the party!

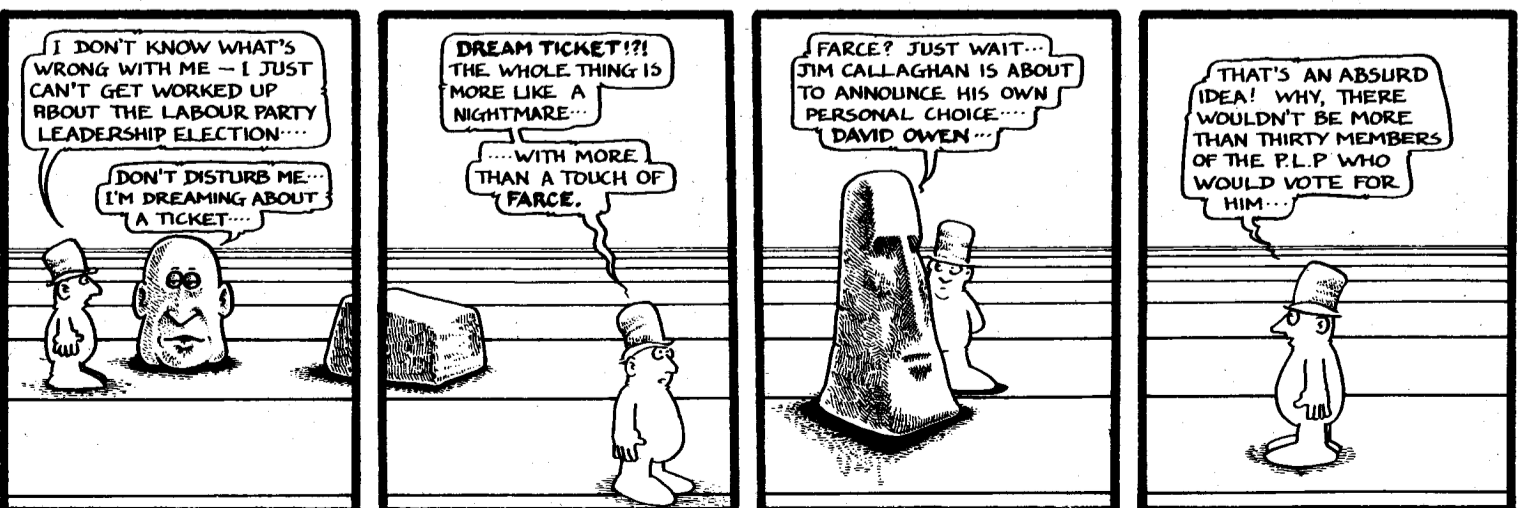
LAW is campaigning around two model resolutions. One, in support of the 'Greenwich amendment' to the party constitution, would guarantee the right of all groups to organise inside the Party.

The second calls for the reinstatement of the five expelled members of Militant's editorial board.

Be there on 2 July to make sure these resolutions are passed in October.

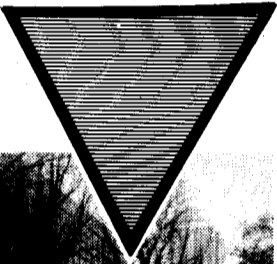
● Details: L.A.W. secretary, Keith Lichman, 11 Wilderton Road, London N16 (802 1709).

A PIECE OF THE ACTION





Gay Pride in Mexico, 1982



Photos: SOCIALIST ACTION

Mexican gays on the march

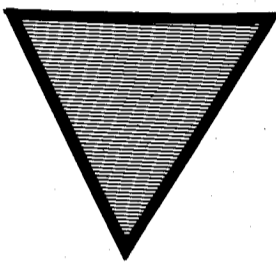
IN MEXICO there is a savage repression against gay people.

Their clubs are raided. Gays are often flung into prison with no charge brought against them. The murder of gays is common.

It is against this background of repression in society at large, often encouraged by the state, that gays have begun to organise. The first groups were small and clandestine, but since 1978 the situation has changed dramatically and gay pride marches have been held annually.

the greatest hold, the situation is at its worst. Gays from working class and shanty-town neighbourhoods live with the constant risk of violence from macho heterosexual men, and are daily subjected to intimidation and extortion by the police.

Grupo Lambda, an organisation of lesbians and gay men, and OIKABETH, a lesbian organisation, the initials of which stand for Strong Women Warriors Who Support Flowers on the Road, now lead gay resistance. They came together in 1981 to form CHLARI, both to organise the 1982 Gay Pride march and to support the election campaign that year of Rosario Ibarra de Piedra, the presidential candidate of the PRT (Mexican section of the Fourth International).



On 26 June last year, 4000 marched through Mexico city on the annual Gay Pride demonstration.

The atmosphere was festive, with music, balloons, brightly coloured banners and flags, and with the marchers in colourful dress.

The mood of festivity was intended by the organisers, CHLARI, the National Coalition of Lesbians and Homosexuals, to be in contrast to the general conditions of gay existence in Mexico.

In the south-centre of the country, and especially in Guadalajara, the third city of Mexico, where machismo is strongest and the Catholic church has

previously untouched by organised gay or revolutionary left politics. These organisations are now in touch with and giving support to the women workers of the free trade factories strung along the border with the United States. These factories take parts imported from the US, Europe and Japan for final assembly and re-export.

Escaped

To escape labour protection clauses in the Mexican constitution and to exploit a source of cheap labour, they employ women aged between 18 and 30 on 90-day contracts. Many of these women run single parent families, and many are lesbians. They are now becoming organised both on the basis of their oppression as workers and their sexual oppression.

It is typical of gays in Mexico to see their struggle as part of the class struggle and to identify themselves with the fight for revolutionary socialism. Their liberation will never come about, they believe, until the Mexican state is overthrown, as the governing party, the PRI, supports and reinforces the machismo which has been a vicious source of oppression for women and gays for centuries past.

The position of Mexican gays was summed up on the banner on the Gay Pride march which proclaimed: 'Nobody is free until we all are free'.

By Tim Rigby

The role of the PRT has been important in the growth of the gay movement, for it was comrades of the PRT who were central to the building of Grupo Lambda, and the PRT is the only political party in Mexico which stands intransigently for gay liberation.

The 1982 elections allowed the PRT and CHLARI to reach out to parts of the country

Asian women threatened with deportation or starvation

MANJIT KAUR and Parveen Khan are two Asian women who have both been fighting to stay in the country for over 12 months. The Home Office is trying to deport them and their children as 'illegal immigrants'.

At the same time the DHSS is refusing them supplementary benefit and child benefit, even though their children were born here and are British citizens.

Manjit Kaur's story illustrates vividly the problems faced by black women at the receiving end of Britain's racist and sexist immigration laws.

Manjit was married in India in 1974. She arrived in Britain in 1979 to join her husband.

There were many pressures on the marriage, not least of all her husband's continued unemployment.

Pregnant

During this period Manjit was pregnant and her health was deteriorating. She was admitted to hospital for six weeks and gave birth to a daughter, Palbinder, in 1981.

Marriages break down all the time, and women are forced into destitute positions. However, the consequences for Manjit Kaur and other black women are multiplied.

By November 1981 her marriage had broken down and Manjit and Palbinder moved to the Asian Women's Refuge,

where she began to build her own life.

Manjit began to receive supplementary benefit when she moved into the refuge. She was constantly asked to produce her passport for no apparent reason, except that she is black.

In April 1982 the payment of benefit was stopped and she received a letter from the DHSS stating 'they had been in touch with the Home Office and were told that she was an overstayer and therefore no longer entitled to any benefits'.

Denied

Palbinder has been denied child benefit even though she is a British citizen, and has a legal right to child benefit.

By denying child benefit the DHSS has taken upon itself the role of implementing immigra-



Manjit Kaur and Palbinder

tion policy, and the Home Office appears quite happy to see Manjit starved out of the country.

• The Khan and Kaur Defence can be contacted c/o 593 Stockport Road, Longsight, Manchester 12 (061-225 5111).

What you can do. Write to Gerald Kaufman MP, House of Commons, London, demanding that Manjit and Parveen should stay and be paid supplement-

ary and child benefits.

Send copies to your own MP: Leon Brittan, Home Office, Queen Anne's Gate, London; Norman Fowler, DHSS, Alexandra House, Elephant and Castle, London. Get your Union Branch, Women's Group, and local party branch to do the same.

Send donations to the Khan and Kaur families Defence Campaign so the families can be supported until they win their struggle.

SPUC adverts

MORE right wing reactionaries are following in the footsteps of Saatchi & Saatchi's Tory advertising campaign.

The Society for the Protection of the Unborn Child (SPUC) took out full page advertisements in at least two national newspapers at the weekend, the Daily Mirror and the Observer.

It is clear that the anti-abortionists are building up for another try at legislation to restrict even further a woman's right to choose, probably again in the form of a Private Member's Bill.

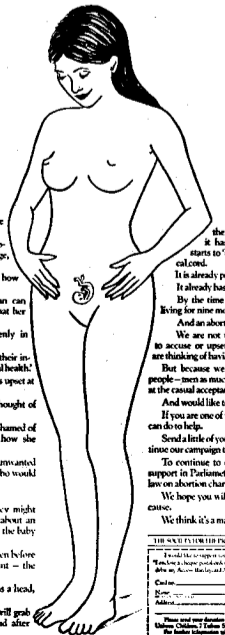
Anti-abortion agencies offering pregnancy counselling are stepping up their advertising, two million anti-abortion leaflets were distributed door to door over Easter, and SPUC and LIFE held an anti-abortion rally last weekend (see report on back page).

All this makes it even more urgent to build the largest possible attendance at the next National Abortion Campaign conference in the autumn.

• National Abortion Campaign, 374 Gray's Inn Road, London WC1. 01-278 0153. Labour Abortion Rights Campaign, PO Box 110, London SE21.



If women had glass tummies would they ever have abortions?



Over 172,000 unborn babies are aborted in Britain every year. That's more than the entire population of Suriname, and one, on average, every three minutes. From figures like this you can see how easy it is to get an abortion. Yet, as the law stands, no woman can have one unless two doctors testify that her 'mental or physical health are at risk'. Of course, some doctors are openly in favour of 'selective' abortion. And they can be very generous in their interpretation of 'risk to mental or physical health'. But should it cover a woman who is upset at the prospect of interrupting her job? Or a woman who can't face the thought of dirty nappies and weeding again? Or an unmarried woman who is advanced of being pregnant. And doesn't know how she would cope with a baby, anyway? (She wouldn't have to. For every unwanted baby, there are 30 childless couples who would love to adopt it.) But one thing is certain. However innocent a pregnancy might be many women would think twice about an abortion if they could see how quickly the baby develops inside them. After 21 days from conception - even before most women are sure they're pregnant - the baby's heart is beating. As early as two months the baby will grab an instrument placed in its palm, and after nine weeks it can suck its thumb.

As early as three months the baby can kick legs and feet, it has its own fingerprints, and starts to 'breathe' through the umbilical cord. It already has its own personality. By the time a baby is born it has been living for nine months. And an abortion takes that life away. We are not using such emotive phrases as 'selective' or 'spare' women who have had or are thinking of having an abortion. But because we believe that a great many people - men as much as women - are concerned at the casual acceptance of abortion. If you are one of them there is something you can do to help. Send a little of your money so that we can continue our campaign to protect the unborn child. To continue to educate the public, to rally support in Parliament, and eventually to get the law on abortion changed. We hope you will consider this an important cause. We think it's a matter of life and death.

A small form with fields for Name, Address, Postcode, and a box for 'I am interested in receiving more information from you'.

Solidarnosc uses Pope's visit to mobilise

JARUZELSKI and the other leaders of the Polish Communist Party must now regard the Pope's visit as a decidedly mixed blessing. On the one hand his public appearances with the CP leaders have given the government some limited Church sanction. On the other hand, his defence of the 1981 Gdansk agreements which legalised Solidarnosc has enabled the union militants to mobilise demonstrations against the government. It should not be thought that the Pope has given his unconditional approval to the Solidarnosc underground — far from it. He has played a much more subtle game.

The Pope's main message was that there should be 'national reconciliation' between 'society' and the 'government' — between Jaruzelski and Solidarnosc. In this reconciliation, of course, the Church would play the crucial role as mediator. Jaruzelski realises that he cannot afford to make a complete break with the Church, and has done all he can to maintain privileged relations with it.

First

In fact, the Pope was one of the first people to know that Jaruzelski's 13 December 1981 coup was going to happen.

The preceding evening, the Polish am-

bassador visited the Pope and made a deal. If the Polish church kept quiet for 48 hours, there would be no repression against priests who supported Solidarnosc, and repression against the workers would be minimal.

The Polish church faithfully kept its side of the bargain and failed to speak out against the coup. The main concern of the Polish church has always been to maintain its own position. To do that it has manoeuvred between the Stalinist government and Solidarnosc.

In the days immediately following the coup the main meeting places for Solidarnosc supporters were the churches.

Aid

The Church has utilised its resources to organise aid for the relatives of the detainees. But at the same time Cardinal Glomp, leader of the Polish Church, has urged moderation and publicly attacked calls for strikes, for example in November 1982 and again before May Day 1983.

During 1982 the Polish bureaucracy made a big attempt to win the Church to its 'normalisation' process. Church activities were given great prominence in the press, a new programme of church building took place, and discussions started for the Pope's visit. But the bureaucracy had to pay a price.

Both the Pope and Glomp understand that Solidarnosc has won a fundamental loyalty and following among the Polish workers, and it would be disastrous to break their links with it.

On the other hand,

they don't want a movement which assumes revolutionary proportions and takes 'extreme' actions. As the Polish workers' movement rebuilds, the Catholic Church wants to maintain maximum influence.

Activists

Solidarnosc activists have been quite right to utilise the Pope's statements to demonstrate support for their movement. The visit may well result in a temporary boosting of the Church's prestige.

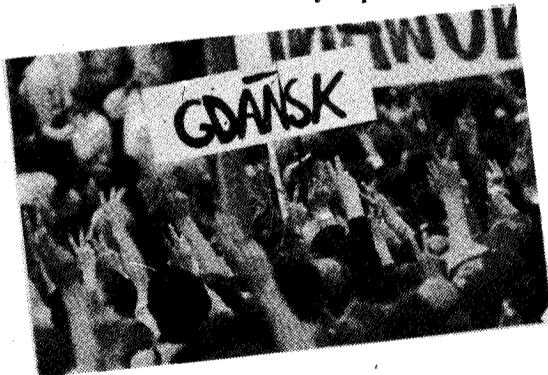
But it would be wrong to conclude that Solidarnosc will now become an effectively Catholic movement. In a certain sense it always has been, in that virtually all its supporters are Catholic. But that doesn't mean that they will now meekly submit to the authority of Archbishop Glomp or that their goals will be confined to those of the Church.

The Polish workers have charged through the gap opened up by the Pope. But the Pope doesn't lead Solidarnosc. Socialists should defend the right of the Polish workers to their own organisations of struggle.

If the Pope gives that movement a boost, and it goes in directions he doesn't want, this is his contradiction, not ours.

Finally, we should note that the Pope's manoeuvring has demonstrated that the Catholic hierarchy — in Warsaw and Rome — is political from beginning to end. When the Pope attacks left wing priests in Latin America it's because he disagrees with their politics, not because they're political.

Resistance under martial law



SOLIDARITY activists have utilised the Pope's visit to show their strength. The open-air masses were a much-needed opportunity for the underground resistance to mobilise support, and to hearten the millions of followers whose contact with the movement has been lessened by the repression.

He gave the activists the chance to hasten the rebuilding of the movement.

The first phase of the resistance consisted of the strikes against the December 1981 coup. The most notable areas of resistance were Gdansk, where the strike at the Lenin shipyard was crushed after four days, and demonstrations in the streets were put down with tanks. Thousands of workers went on strike throughout the country, but resistance was crushed by the military. In Silesia 20 workers including 12 miners were killed.

After the initial struggles, the next sign of resistance was the publication of Solidarity journals. By April the publication in the Lenin shipyard in Gdansk — *Solidarnosc* — could claim a circulation

of 60,000, and many other journals had a circulation of 20-30,000. The Solidarity journals were an invaluable source of information and co-ordination.

In April 1982 the Interim Coordinating Committee (TKK) of Solidarnosc was formed, with leaders from four of the regions of Solidarnosc, including Bogdan Lis and Zbigniew Bujak. The TKK became the effective leadership of the underground.

On 28 April 1982 workers in the Lenin shipyard in Gdansk staged a fifteen minute strike calling for the release of all detainees. The first mass demonstrations against martial law took place on 1 May. 60,000 people

demonstrated in Gdansk, and large demonstrations occurred in many other towns. Further demonstrations took place on 3 May.

At the appeal of the TKK, more demonstrations took place on 13 May. Over 2,000 people were arrested in this wave of demonstrations, and many more were sacked after the 13 May strike.

Solidarity began to suffer from the effects of the repression. Moreover, the repeated demonstrations and the repression which followed them threw up a debate about the perspective of the movement. Could Solidarity bring down the government through a general strike?

Would a period of organising a 'counter-society' be necessary? Could Solidarity force some sort of accord on the government?

These problems of perspective became concentrated in the TKK ap-



Solidarnosc activists take to the streets

peal for a strike on 10 November 1982 — the second anniversary of the registration of Solidarity.

The strike was not a success, and demonstrations were small. Workers knew that they would face sacking and perhaps worse if they came out on strike. Without doubt, the failure of the TKK strike call caused widespread demoralisation.

The day after the failure of the strike, Jaruzelski announced the release of Walesa who was 'a private citizen and no longer a threat to public order'. What role would Walesa play? At first he said little.

Rumours abounded that his release had been part of a deal between the Church and the government. Had Walesa sold

out? And who was now the leadership of Solidarity — Walesa or the TKK?

The answer to this speculation was given by Walesa's secret meeting with the TKK leadership, which resulted in the call for demonstrations on May Day.

Lech Walesa himself said he would celebrate May Day as 'workers celebrate May Day' — a transparent call for demonstrations against the regime.

The lull and demoralisation following the failure of the 10 November strike was being overcome. Tens of thousands turned out on May Day. The Pope's visit gave Solidarity militants the cover to deepen the rebuilding of their movement.

Czech police break up demonstrations

THE CZECHOSLOVAK government is playing host to a lavish 'peace congress' in Prague, to which hundreds of supporters of Western European peace movements have gone. But the European Nuclear Disarmament Campaign (END) has boycotted the congress because all independent peace movements in Eastern Europe have been refused permission to attend. CND has sent two observers.

Last week police broke up demonstrations by Czech youths who marched through Prague chanting 'we want freedom'. It was the first known demonstration of its kind since the Russian invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968.

Later the CND observers, including Jon Bloomfield of the Communist Party, held a meeting with leaders of the Czech dissident movement Charter '77. This meeting, held in a park, was also ended by police intervention.

Every June at Bodenstown in Ireland the Republican Movement holds a commemoration at the graveside of Wolfe Tone. Tone and the United Irishmen were influenced by and part of the international convulsions inspired by the revolutions in America and France at the end of the eighteenth century.

Tone wanted a democratic Ireland with a secular state that was free from British rule. And he saw the struggle for this based on 'the men of no property'. The United Irishmen led a rising that was brutally put down, resulting in the formal colonisation of the island by Britain.

Sinn Fein — who won 42 per cent of the nationalist vote at the general election — see themselves as the inheritors of the Wolfe Tone tradition.

The annual commemoration — an important event in the Republican calendar — centres on a policy speech by one of the movement's leaders. This has always been the signpost to the political direction and strategy advocated by Sinn Fein and the IRA. This year's commemoration was held on 19 June and the speech was by Gerry Adams, newly elected MP for West Belfast. We reprint his speech below:

IN MAY 1795, Wolfe Tone and his Belfast friends of the United Irishmen met at Mac Art's Fort on the summit of Cave Hill. Most of the inner circle of that revolutionary movement were present and they pledged themselves never to desist in their efforts until they had subverted the authority of England over our country and asserted their independence.

Today 188 years later, we are gathered here at Tone's grave, to renew ourselves in our republican faith and to pledge ourselves, like those on Cave Hill, 'Never to desist in our efforts until we have subverted the authority of England over our country and asserted our independence'. That is the message which goes from Bodenstown graveyard to the British government today.

We unapologetically and without reservation deny the right of the British parliament to make law for Ireland. We assert that the British government has no rights to Ireland or rights in Ireland. We declare that our independence must be had at all hazards and we defend the right of all Irish people to engage in armed struggle in pursuance of that independence and in resistance to the British presence in our country.

First

Wolfe Tone was the first to preach revolution in Ireland. He was not and will not be the last. He articulated the necessity of breaking the British connection, the right of our people to be free, the need for unity of Catholic, Protestant and Dissenter — the gospel of anti-sectarianism and Irish separatism. He was a radical and a revolutionary. His work remains unfinished and his theories have yet to be implemented and thus it is important, and customary, for us to examine how far along the road we have travelled since we last assembled here at Bodenstown.

Tone's philosophy and the evolution of republicanism since his time, and this cannot be stressed enough, is only relevant to Ireland today insofar as we can make it so. Unless we make

"in the socialist republican tradition of Connolly and Pearse"

Gerry Adams' Bodenstown speech

republicanism a living viable philosophy capable of meeting the needs of our people, our struggle and our country, republicanism and the legacy of Wolfe Tone are no more than the academic high-minded visions of yesterday or yesteryear.

While the fundamental tenets of republicanism will always remain valid, we have a duty to interpret and to develop our republicanism so that it meets today's political conditions and so that it becomes a coherent social and political philosophy. There is no such thing as republican theology. We need a living political ideology, based firmly on republican principles and always open to refinement, re-appraisal and self-criticism. We make our politics the politics of ordinary people.



Wolfe Tone

We are faced with many obstacles in our endeavours to do this. The vastly different conditions which exist in both partitioned parts of this island — the direct effects of partition itself — and the uneven development and politicisation of our own movement. All these elements, and many more, are hurdles which we have to surmount.

Let us, as in Tone's day, take our example from the people of the North — and I suggest this not from any sense of parochial prejudice but because that is where our successes have been most marked.

Sinn Fein now commands 42 per cent electoral support amongst nationalist voters and the gains we made last October have been increased dramatically by a massive 60 per cent in the recent elections. We fought both these election campaigns under the worst possible conditions.

Our workers and candidates were harassed on a daily basis by the RUC and the British army, a number of us were arrested, our stand in the election was condemned by the British and Irish establishments, by sections of the Catholic hierarchy, by all Protestant churches and by the Social Democratic and Labour Party. The Unionist parties organised electoral pacts against us, the Alliance party decided not to contest certain seats in order to maximise the anti-Sinn Fein vote, our policies were misrepresented and the electorate was subject to moral pressures and condemnations unprecedented since the Civil War. It was Sinn Fein versus everyone else.

Despite this we set as our primary tactical objective the winning of 90,000 votes. On 9 June we secured 102,701 votes. I would like on your behalf to congratulate all our election workers on their victory and I would like to

thank and congratulate each and every one of those 102,701 voters.

Rinne siad obair maith leis is votai. Go raibh mile maith agaibh.

As soon as the election results became clear, everything else became obscure. Before 9 June we were told that a vote for Sinn Fein would be a vote for the IRA. After 9 June we were told, well ahem, the Sinn Fein vote can't really be interpreted as a vote for the IRA and our opponents tried vainly to explain away our success. We also had the ridiculous spectacle of establishment figures lining up to tell us that they won't talk to me.

Peter Barry played it really safe. He ensured that I, or any other member of Sinn Fein, couldn't talk back to him using RTE with its atrocious Section 31 as his medium. Nobody thought of asking us whether we were interested in talking to Garret FitzGerald, James Prior or Peter Barry. I am sure you people would have a lot to say on that subject.

Focus

All these contradictions, and others besides, have come clearly into focus because Sinn Fein have won the leadership of the anti-imperialist people in the occupied six counties, because we have established a republican veto and because we have restricted the ability of the SDLP leadership to sell out those they purported to represent in the past. We have started on the road to building a strong, dynamic political movement throughout the six counties and we will continue to make gains and to increase our vote as this development, the broadening of our struggle and the consolidation of our gains proceeds.

We stood on a radical platform, in the socialist republican tradition of Connolly and Pearse. We gave people an alternative and they responded to us. Our vote will not go away and it cannot be explained away. We are winning and we will be victorious in driving the British out of Ireland and achieving what all those others lack courage to do.

There is of course another front to the struggle in the six counties, and this is conducted by the men and women Volunteers of the IRA. Sinn Fein defends, not through any sense of bravado or fixation with physical force but through necessity the right of the IRA to engage in armed resistance to the British presence.

We are unapologetic in this defence. Irish people have the right to engage in armed resistance to the British presence. The IRA need no electoral mandate for its armed struggle. It derives its mandate from the presence of a foreign government on Irish soil and stands on the same right as the United Irishmen, the signatories of the 1916 proclamation and all those other Irishmen and women who took the painful but correct position that the British government, scornful of the force of argument will listen only to the argument of force.

There are those who tell us that the British government will not be moved by armed struggle. The history of Ireland and of British colonial involvement throughout the world tell us that they will not be moved by anything else.

It is fitting, and I am glad of the opportunity therefore to pay tribute

to the freedom fighters of the IRA. By their determination and courage the men and women Volunteers of Oglagh na hEireann have won the admiration of progressive nationalists throughout Ireland and of freedom loving people throughout the world.

They have assured us, by their tenacity and resilience that they, and thus we, can never be defeated and that for as long as the British government maintains its presence in our country, they will be faced by armed resistance. The IRA is the assertion and the guarantee that our will as a people to be free is stronger than the will of any British government to enslave us.

The question of the IRA and the armed struggle is one used especially



in the 26-counties by the establishment here to obscure the Dublin government's collaborationist role. All of the Dublin parties paint a horrific picture of the IRA people scrambling into the Freestate to create mayhem here. The people of the 26 counties need no reminding that the Leinster House politicians are creating more mayhem than the IRA ever could, and the politicians themselves know full well, as does any IRA watcher, that armed action against Freestate forces and institutions is forbidden by the IRA.

Armed struggle is a necessary and morally correct form of resistance in the six counties against a government whose present is rejected by the vast majority of Irish people and has no part to play in the development of the republican struggle within the 26 counties.

The 26 counties and the development of consciousness among our people here is of colossal importance in the task of building a strong 32-county wide political movement — capable of linking the local struggles of the socially deprived, alienated young people, unemployed, small farmers, women and *gaelgoeri* with the national struggle.

The advances made in the six counties need to be matched by a parallel development in the 26 counties. Republicans know the British government cannot exist in Ireland without Dublin collaboration and that the Dublin government has never been found lacking in this regard, but we have also to realise that ordinary people, understandably enough, accept Freestate institutions as legitimate.

To ignore this reality is to blinker republican politics, to undermine the development of our struggle and is to

have a basic flaw in our analysis. It has to be stressed that the people of the six counties cannot secure Irish independence and the conditions of an Irish Republic, on their own. A firm foothold and a living, versatile and relevant organisation in Southern politics is vital. We must apply ourselves to that objective.

We know, as Tone declared, that 'We have no national government: we are ruled by Englishmen and the servants of Englishmen, whose object is the interest of another country, whose instrument is corruption and whose strength is the weakness of Ireland.'

Leinster House, with its patronage, double standards and corruption has become the Tammany Hall of what passes for Irish politics. As unemployment figures increase and the dole queues lengthen, as small farmers and consumers, the old and socially deprived bear the brunt of Thatcherite monetarist policies, the Dublin parties by way of temporary diversion from the effects of their misgovernment, are engaged in the farcical Dublin Forum.

Forum

They are not fooling anyone — their forum was of little assistance to the SDLP during the election — and as the disenchantment felt by alienated sections of our people towards the three main parties in the 26 counties increases we must structure our organisation, our struggle and our policies in order to give proper leadership.

With all this in mind, the drawing up of a political strategy for the 26 counties must become the primary short term objective facing republicans. In keeping with what we have stated earlier, we have a duty to interpret and to develop our republicanism so that it meets today's political conditions, and we need a firm foothold and a strong organisational drive to achieve this.

The West Briton, Shoneen and pro-British ethos which has been developed by the Dublin establishment must be reversed and the organisation capable of doing this. It applies itself, is our organisation.

We can be assured if Wolfe Tone were alive today that he would stand firmly with us — and leader writers of the Irish Times and other revisionists will be horrified by this prospect — but we can be assured also that he would stay with us only for as long as we applied ourselves intelligently to the task before us.

Wolfe Tone, if he was alive today would be vilified as he was in his own time, as an upstart, a subversive and 1798 equivalent of a gunman. He would even, if he was alive today, be banned from RTE. But he would also, and this is his message to us, be formulating policies and strategies and revolutionary tactics to combat the national, social and economic evils which beset our people.

The IRA has told us, by their actions and their statements, that the war against British occupation will go on.

Let us declare, by our actions and by our application to the work before us, that the political struggle going on well in the six counties will spread to the 26 counties in a way which transcends partition and unites us in one peaceful, united political thrust forward. By developing realistic policies and strategies, by hard work because there are no shortcuts, and by principled leadership at all levels we will prove ourselves worthy of the legacy of Theobald Wolfe Tone. To do anything less is to shirk our duty and our responsibility.

Let us go forward therefore from here today mindful of the sacrifices of our political prisoners and their families, especially the prisoners in England, mindful of the sacrifices of generations, mindful of the ongoing sacrifices made on a daily basis by our activists and supporters and mindful also and most importantly of the opportunities available to us. Let us go from here rededicated to our republican faith. There is work to be done. Let us do it.

Le sin, beidh an bua againn. L sin, mor a duirt na fir pluid agus na mna Ard Mhaca, Tiochfaidh ar la.

Chilean workers rise again

TEN YEARS after the military coup which crushed the workers' movement, the people of Chile are rising again. The Pinochet regime is in deep, deep trouble.

As we go to press, the strike of the independent truck owners — who ironically played a significant part in the downfall of Allende — continues to paralyse the north of the country.

The present wave of struggles reflects the rebuilding of the workers movement, after years of repression and terror.

The unrest surfaced with the day of action on 11 May. Thousands of people demonstrated in Santiago, Valparaiso and Concepcion, chanting 'Pinochet murderer' and 'jobs, bread, justice and freedom'.

After the 11 May action, hundreds of men and youths were rounded up by the police. Four leaders of the copper workers union were arrested, and two of them held in custody. A further day of action was held on 14 June, with an even bigger mass protest.

The opposition to the regime has been spearheaded by the copper workers, especially at the giant El Tienente mine, and by the truck drivers. Despite the fact that the truck drivers are self-employed, they have seen their standard of living driven down by the chronic economic crisis in Pinochet's Chile. The sections of the middle class who helped to bring down Allende have now turned against the military regime.

The call for a general strike against the regime was launched by the National Workers Command which includes the truckers and miners. The immediate reasons for calling the strike were the sacking of 900 copper workers, and the continued imprisonment and ill treatment of union leaders. Leaders of the union of hotel and restaurant staff have

started a hunger strike against the repression.

The response to the general strike call was patchy. Many workers were afraid to go on strike, for fear of being arrested or worse, and for fear of losing their jobs in a country where unemployment is 20 per cent. Moreover, union leaders had problems in making the strike call known — the media were instructed by the regime not to report the strike call or its consequences. But whether or not this particular strike call is heeded, the days of Pinochet's regime is numbered.

The whole of Chilean society is in turmoil. During the 14 June day of action, students for the first time in years took to the streets, barricading themselves in the Marcul Campus and shouting anti-government slogans, and also significantly the rallying cry of the workers under Allende — 'The people united will never be defeated'.

Women surrounded the presidential palace banging empty pots in protest against shortages and economic hardship — ironically just as the middle class women had done under Allende. Children even boycotted school.

The attempt to stabilise capitalism in Chile through massive deflation of the economy and repression of the workers movement has not worked. The defeat suffered by the Chilean workers in 1973 was very different to the victories of fascism during the 1930s. Despite all the stalemates and setbacks, the working class internationally is not going through a period of crushing defeats.

Considering the 30,000 killed in the coup, considering the dreadful regime of assassination and torture which the workers have faced — and considering the fact that tens of thousands of left wing Chileans fled into exile, the speed of the recovery has been remarkable. Ten years after the military coup in Chile and seven years after the coup in Argentina, the whole of Latin America is witnessing the rebirth of working class struggle.

From the revolutionary epicentre in Central America to Mexico, from Peru to Bolivia, from Argentina to Chile, the workers are on the march.

CHILE: 29 JUN



Tanks from the Second Armoured Regiment surrounded the Moneda palace

As the Chilean workers raise their voice once more, 1983 is the tenth anniversary of the coup which overthrew the Popular Unity government of Salvador Allende.

But ten years ago this week, the first attempted coup, the 'tancazo', took place in Santiago. COLIN STEVENS was there, and describes the events of that day.



Allende

IT IS the morning of 29 June 1973 in Chile. The economic crisis is getting deeper. Inflation is rampant. Queues get longer and longer. Terrorist acts have been on the increase for some months. The two-month old violent strike by the copper miners for better wages and against the government dominates the whole scene.

The leaders of the government Popular Unity parties, in particular the Communist Party, have been talking for some months about the threat of civil war that must be stopped 'by not creating problems for the government by being calm, producing more and by collecting signatures against civil war'!!

To be sure, a revolutionary process cannot be expected to unfold smoothly. Yet when that morning tanks from the Second Armoured Regiment surrounded the Presidential palace and started indiscriminate shooting in an attempted coup against the Popular Unity Government of Salvador Allende, the country's atmosphere became electric.

Gunfire

The cracking of gunfire could be heard throughout the entire centre of town, while the civilian population fled the area. 23 people were murdered and several more wounded by the nervous rebels. At first there is panic. Is this the army coup we have been expecting?

Allende was at his private residence of Tomas Moro. Some minutes later we would hear him on the radio say to the people: 'Come, come to defend your government

with everything you can get hold of ... I call on the people to take over the factories ... to be alert ... if the time comes, the people will have arms ...'

There was no sign of support from either the navy, the air force or the rest of the army for the attempted coup. The Christian Democrats through their spokesperson Claudio Huepe in the Chamber of Deputies broadcast a call for support 'to the constitutional government' and urged his party's followers 'Stay in your homes'. After a few hours, radio reports told us that the attempted coup was being put down.

General Prats, the commander in Chief of the Armed Forces, holding a sub-machine gun in his hand, accompanied by the Defence Minister Jose Toha — and backed by some army units demands and obtains the unconditional surrender of the rebels.

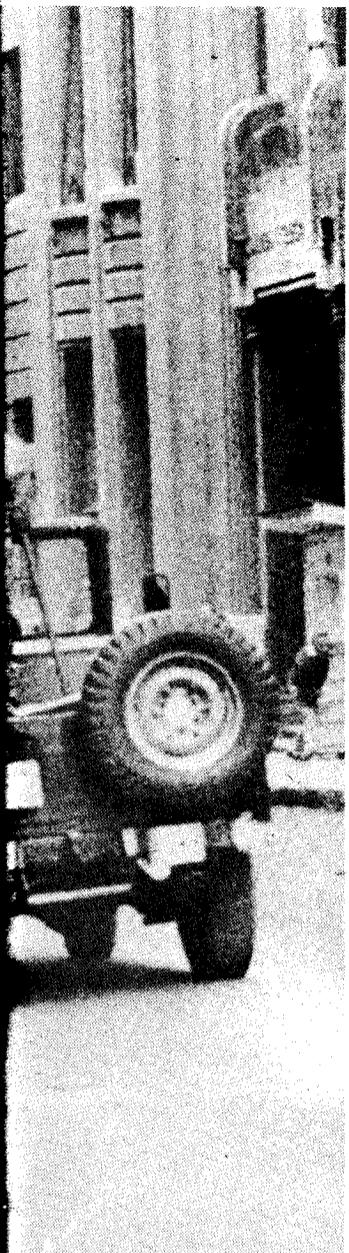
NATIONAL DEMONSTRATION

No more Chiles — hands off Central America!

Defend the workers of El Salvador and Chile!

Sunday 11 September in London

Organised by Chile Solidarity, El Salvador Solidarity, and others



Workers demonstrate against the plotters and demand a 'firm hand' against the government

Shortly after noon Allende arrives at the Presidential palace and by 1.00pm he announces that the revolt has been put down. The government will use 'all means to reach the real culprits and as always they will try to disguise their responsibility'.

Fewer than 150 of the 900 troops in the regiment took part in the coup which was headed by Colonel Roberto Souper. Later it was reported that the tanks had to stop at a petrol station and the soldiers forced the attendants to provide petrol.

Later on it would be learned that this was to be one of a number of risings throughout the country, animated and supported by the parties of the Right. Immediately after it was known that the attempted coup had failed five leaders of the fascist *Fatherland and Freedom* took refuge in the Ecuador embassy and asked for political asylum. They bitterly denounced other sections of the armed forces which, they claimed, had agreed to support the coup, only to withdraw at the last moment. The president of the National Party, Senator Onofre Jarpa, was at the airport to see them off.

Militia

Shortly after the revolt had been quelled, one million supporters of the left marched through the streets to the Presidential palace in solidarity with the government. A heavy cordon of royal troops surrounded the area. A united left will never be defeated', 'Allende the people are defending you', 'Create, create popular power', 'Create,

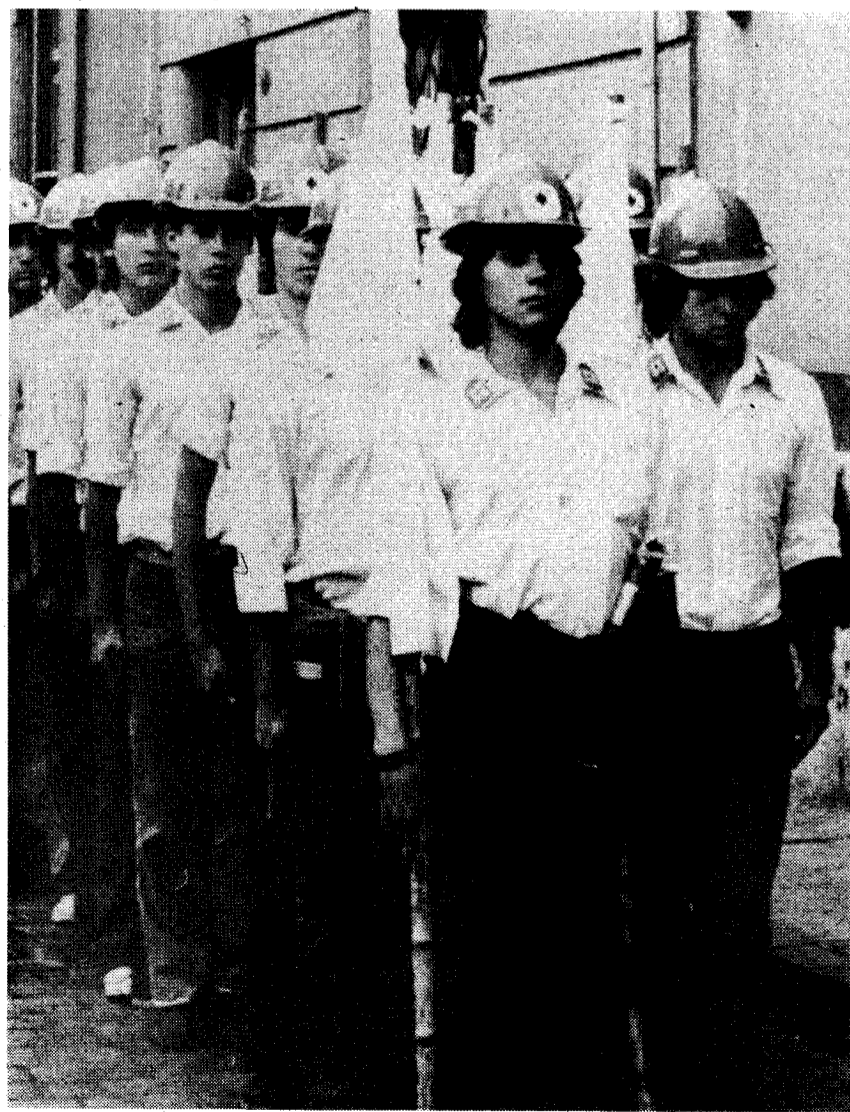
create a popular militia', the demonstrators chanted.

Instinctively the workers understood the vital necessity to fraternise with the soldiers. When groups of demonstrators came in close contact with groups of soldiers they chanted 'soldier, friend the people are with you', 'the soldiers have only one choice: to be with the people or be their murderers'. Some soldiers waved their arms to the demonstrators as a friendly way of salute but most had an external appearance of 'strict professionalism'.

Spotlight

Later in the evening more and more people were gathering around the bullet-scarred Presidential Palace waiting for Allende to come to the balcony to speak to the workers. When he came out at around 8.00pm people roared in enthusiasm. They felt victorious, the plotters in the armed forces and in the right wing parties had been weakened and put on the defensive. They thought that now that the right had openly broken 'the rules' — now was the time to use a strong hand against them.

At this stage the demonstrators were demanding the closing of Parliament, the holding of elections for a Popular Assembly, the dismissal of all plotters from the armed forces, and above all they demanded a firm hand, a firm hand! To the peasants and workers of the whole country the golden opportunity was there. At last Popular Unity would have the upper hand after having gone through the messy and convoluted



Fascists of the Fatherland and Freedom movement supported the coup

legal system. In their own way they were saying: 'Dear compañero Presidente give us the lead and we'll storm Heaven'.

It was terribly demoralising for them to see Allende appear at the

balcony accompanied by the three Chiefs of Staff of the army, navy and air force. He spoke to them in a business-as-usual manner. He praised the loyalty of the armed forces and turned in a conciliatory

mood towards the Christian Democrats seeking a compromise. In the same vein he relied heavily on the armed forces to restore 'law and order' and thus he declared a state of emergency in more than 20 provinces, during which the armed forces of every province would be in total control. This would be the beginning of the end.

Heaven

Most Popular Unity supporters could not understand such conciliatory moves. To them it was inexplicable, after all their response to stop the *tancazo* as the 29 June coup came to be called, had been determined and speedy. More than five hundred factories were occupied, different forms of workers' control had spread through all industries, the workers co-ordinations in the factories and shanty towns had been greatly strengthened numerically and politically, embryonic forms of arming were taking place, the working class was on the offensive and was more united and highly mobilised in the aftermath of the coup ... just waiting for the revolutionary lead that would never come.

With the *tancazo* there would be no turning back. The attempted coup showed the certainty of, and brought forward the final confrontation. It put a spotlight on the political terms of the total victory or defeat of the Chilean revolution. Everyone understood it except of course, the utopian reformist Popular Unity leadership who stubbornly clung to the disastrous 'peaceful road'. Reformism once again proved to be merely a violent path to historic defeat.

Socialist ACTION

The Great Heffer-Meacher Mystery

SOME PECULIAR things are happening in Labour's leadership election. Some are readily explicable.

Peter Shore's posturing as a champion of rank and file democracy in the unions is an example of what a right wing candidate will turn to as an alibi for being defeated.

The left should deal with his objections by declaring itself in favour of elections taking place at the rank and file levels in every union and constituency party. Only those trade unionists paying the political levy should be eligible for vote. The influence of the media should be counteracted by full circulation of the candidates' political platform and as many public hustings as possible.

But other things are less transparent: the left's reluctance to back Heffer for example. Michael Meacher set the trend by declaring himself willing to stand as Kinnock's deputy.

Some will argue that this was an unfortunate slip since Heffer had not announced his candidacy. Others was that it was designed to keep Heffer out. Whatever the case it was wrong.

We have wide differences with Eric Heffer on strategy. He believes in parliamentary reform. We believe that only a socialist revolution can achieve the transition from capitalism to socialism.

On individual policy questions we have differences too. We think that Heffer should not have put Shadow Cabinet collective responsibility before the necessity of calling for the fleet to withdraw from its Falklands mission.

Neither do we think that Heffer's lack of enthusiasm for the demands of the women's liberation movement fitting for a leader of the left — particularly given the male-dominated character of the leadership election.

But he is the best candidate of the left available and should be supported fully, including by *Morning Star* and *Tribune* which have been decidedly coy about their preferences.

This won't do. The biggest possible vote for Heffer will be a vote for the conference policies which he has defended and Kinnock attacked. It will be a slap in the face for the right and will expose Neil Kinnock's opportunist claims to be the unitarian left candidate.

Michael Meacher ought to form a pact with Heffer and join him on platforms up and down the country. Such a slate can be part of the process of unifying the union rank and file, Labour Party activists, the women's movement and the black movement, the mass campaigns and the youth to begin the process of rebuilding Labour to fight the Tories.

Smaller paper next week

FOR THE summer period until the issue dated 14 September our paper will have 12 pages. The price of the paper will stay the same because, as we point out on page 12, the unit cost of the production is now around 85p.

We believe 30p represents good value compared with other papers like *Tribune* who charge 40p for 12 pages.

We remind our readers that the paper will not be published on the 3 and 10 of August.

Editor: ALAN FREEMAN

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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.

Labour's future — this isn't the answer

THE DEBATE on Labour's future is taking place around motions for the Labour Party conference.

In contrast to the ambivalence of the Labour manifesto, socialists need to put forward an unambiguous alternative that engages directly with the attacks against the left that the right will launch.

It is therefore particularly unfortunate that the Socialist Action model resolution is so ill thought out. It should have:

- spelled out the demands for no incomes policy and withdrawal from the EEC, instead of taking them for granted as 'Labour's socialist policies'
- put forward the demand for unilateral nuclear disarmament and the removal of all existing weapons and avoided like the plague



formulations like 'prevent all further deployment of nuclear weapons', which will be

read as calling for a freeze not abolition ● included the key question of opposition

to a renewed witch hunt ● placed the specific call for industrial action at the centre of

Labour's fightback.

RICHARD HATCHER, Birmingham.



Free Access weekend

RED ROPE, the socialist mountaineering and rambling club, and SCAM, the Sheffield Campaign for Access to Moorland, are organising a Free Access weekend on Saturday and Sunday, 9 and 10 July.

The main events of the weekend will include the Strategy for Free Access Conference on Saturday 9 July and a Mass Trespass on Sunday 10 July.

The Free Access will continue and extend the mass access campaign that re-emerged last year as a result of the Kinder Trespass Anniversary celebrations.

The Conference will be attended and addressed by some of the leading radical campaigners in the outdoor movement, including Chris Hall of the Ramblers Association and the climber Jim Perrin, who is concerned about the wider threats to the environment.

The Conference, which will bring together representatives of local access campaigns, labour and trade union

organisations, rambling and other outdoor clubs, will be discussing ways of linking different access battles at a time when the newly elected Tory government poses a massive threat to working people's enjoyment of the countryside and their rural heritage.

It will also make plans for linking the access campaign with other, wider struggles over the rural economy and the ownership and use of land.

The Mass Trespass will be the latest in SCAM's programme of trespasses in the Eastern Peak District — a programme which has already brought pressure to bear on landowners, the Peak Park Board and the local authorities to recognise the growing demand for access to open moorland.

The trespass on 10th July will be on Midhope Moor.

JULIAN BATSLEER (National Secretary — Red Rope), 52 Ogard Road, Hoddesdon, Herts EN11 0NU (0992-441705)

Which side of the net?

NOT BEING in the habit of turning to the left press for guidance on my leisure activities, I had not paid much attention to your TV column.

In any case, I thought it strange you should be suggesting that militants spend their time watching TV rather than conducting the class struggle.

But having cast my eye over the telly column in SA 10 June I felt that I had no choice but to suspend revolutionary activity and put pen to paper.

Support McEnroe against Connors!

I had to read it twice to make sure I'd seen right. Surely both

McEnroe and Connors are overpaid, overexposed and over-endowed (except up top) representatives of US arrogance and world domination trying to lord it over the British sporting establishment in the same way that Reagan holds our would-be president in willing thrall.

Hastening back to study the classics of Marxism, I can only conclude that the correct position for Socialist Action would be to call for both of the two intolerable mega-brats to break a leg (or both legs) while playing each other.

Come on Socialist Action, be consistent. PETER PURTON, Southall.

Pubs on the left



I HOPE that your readers may be able to help me in some research I am doing for a book called *The Pub on the Left*. It is a history of the pub (as a meeting place) and the socialist movement.

The earliest pub meeting places I have been able to trace — and that are still standing — date from the Peasants Revolt in 1381.

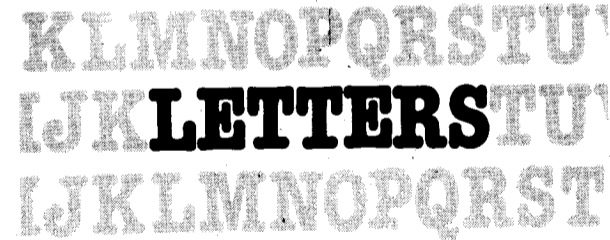
From then on it is a mad dash through Leveller pubs, Chartist Society pubs, anarchist pubs, SDF and SL pubs, CP pubs (from the '30s), trade union pubs and the pubs associated with radical individuals like Marx, Engels, Lenin, Tom Paine and radical intellectuals from time immemorial!

Bringing the study up to relatively recent times, I have included the gay and women's movement, early CND and the revolutionary left.

I would dearly like to include some pubs where both Isaac Deutscher and Bernadette Devlin (as she then was) addressed meetings, along with their names, streets and locations.

I also wonder if readers know of any pubs where CLR James addressed meetings or that were long time IMG meeting places during the seventies.

PAUL FURNESS, 21 Lulworth House, Dorset Road, London SW8 1DR.



Congratulations but ...

CONGRATULATIONS in maintaining a good quality socialist weekly; but surely it would be better to build a revolutionary alternative independent of the Labour Party in a united front with other left groups (SWP etc) and the Labour Party left activists?

I'm afraid while you are trying to reform the fortunes of the Labour Party election machine the Tories and their friends will be putting

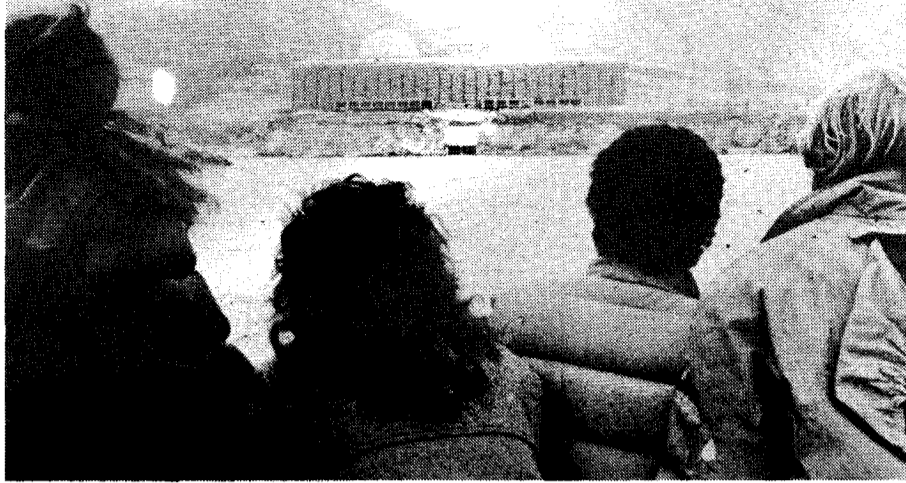
the boot in on the streets, work-places and communities.

The Labour Party will not lead an extra-parliamentary movement for fear of losing votes!

A socialist unity campaign organised independent of the Labour Party uniting the left in action would be more productive than electing another 'left' Labour leadership! CHRIS GURLAND, East Yorkshire.

Write to us!

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



Dark Circle

DARK CIRCLE is a compelling documentary about nuclear power and nuclear war. Shot in the United States and Japan, it tells how the nuclear industry has affected all our lives, whether we are aware of it or not.

It documents the lives of both the victims of radiation and those campaigning against the atomic threat.

It takes us on a tour of Rocky Flats, where the plutonium triggers for nuclear weapons are put together. We see how the health and the lives of local people have been destroyed.

The chilling pictures of deformed cattle and crippled human beings brings home the message. Did you know that one sixth of a millionth of a gramme of plutonium will kill you? The United States government denies all responsibility for the effects of its research programmes.

The dreadful deformities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki victims are catalogued. The thousands of American military personnel who dies as a direct consequence of atomic weapons testing are remembered. We see the callous and in-

humane animal experiments that went with the tests. Pigs forced to endure burns over 80 per cent of their body surface in the name of 'science'.

Reviewed by Chris Bertram

In Diablo, California, the Government built a nuclear reactor on a fault in the earth's crust. It still got a license to operate. Only when they found that the cooling system was put on back to front did they close the plant!

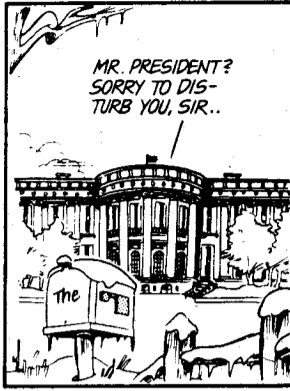
The film takes us to a 'fair', where large multinational companies compete to sell the means of destruction. The company which makes your washing machine probably manufactures biological weapons to match its detergents. Publicity films

show Soviet tank formations and tell us that only Rockwell International can halt the Red Menace.

The weakest part of the film deals with ways of organising against the bomb. Two thousand people were arrested during a blockade of the Diablo plant. The leading organiser shook the hand of Jerry Brown, Governor of California. But the protests were ineffective. In part this reflects American tradition and the weakness of the US labour movement.

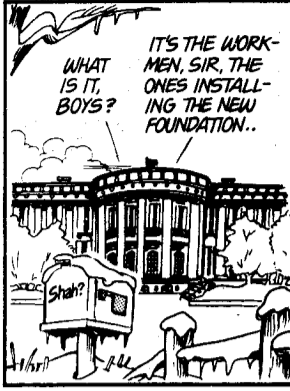
Non-violent direct action has a vital role to play in any anti-nuclear strategy, but it can't be the whole story.

The film is showing as part of the GLC Peace Year and has the backing of the GLC Peace Committee. It will be available both on film and video together with another film: *The King of Prussia*. So if you or your branch of CND want to use the film to get across the anti-nuke message, contact the *Other Cinema*, 79 Wardour Street, London W1.

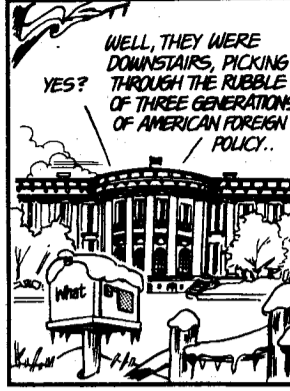


The People's Doonesbury

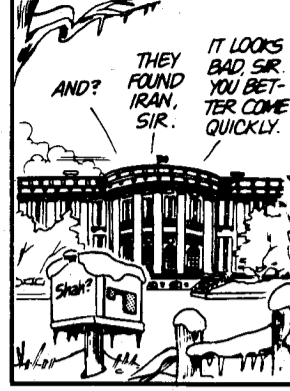
DOONESBURY is an American cartoon strip which until recently appeared in the *Guardian*. Drawn and written by GB Trudeau, like



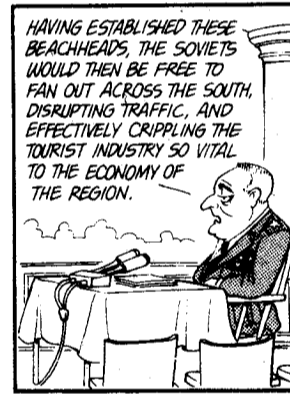
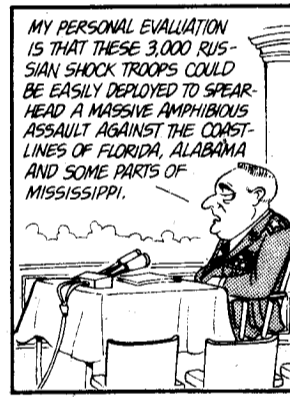
many American strips — *Doonesbury* is strong on political satire and has destroyed the PR image of many an aspiring and incum-



bent American politician. Reviewed by Hilary Driver



Kissinger years and much more. About a quarter of the book is in colour, and it's a great light read for anyone who finds it a strain to concentrate the brain too much after 9 June's misery. It's also guaranteed to cheer you up! *The People's Doonesbury* By GB Trudeau Wildwood House, £3.95.



TV CHOICE

Union World
Sunday 3 July, 5.00,
Channel 4

IRELAND is the subject that probably gets the least attention from the trade union movement, so this edition of *Union World* is a step in the right direction.

But whether it flounders on the rocks by concentrating on the 'Northern Ireland unions' (ie mainly Loyalist ones) remains to be seen. Most of the Nationalist workers belong to Dublin-based unions.

The Best of CLR James
Monday 4 July, 11.30,
Channel 4

AMONGST the dreary summer schedules, this series of four programmes has got to be the highlight.

The great West Indian Marxist starts off with an incisive look at America. The following programmes have him examining cricket, the great love of his life, followed by developments in the Caribbean,



and in the final programme he looks at Poland and asserts that Solidarity is the part of the tradition of Lenin. Definitely not to be missed, but it's a pity C4 have shunted it off into the graveyard slot.

Tuesday Documentary: After the Massacre
Tuesday 5 July, 9.25,
BBC1

IT'S PERHAPS typical that a documentary about Lebanon revolves around the 97 British soldiers there. The population of Beirut might see things a bit differently. However

the stresses on the troops does reveal something of the tension and atmosphere of the city. Worth a look.

So you want to stop smoking
Thursday 7 July, BBC1

THIS COLUMN is all in favour of drinking, but, at the risk of sounding moralistic, suggests that the smokers among you consider watching the repeat of this series.

There's nothing like being fit for the struggle against the Tories, and for suggestions as to what to do with the money you save, see the fund drive column on the diary page.

Britain in the Thirties: Foreign Correspondent
Thursday 7 July, BBC2

DURING the thirties, the British media's attitude to the rise of fascism in Europe was bordering on open encouragement.

In this programme, Sheila Grant Duff describes how she tried to alert people in Britain to what was happening in Europe whilst she was a foreign correspondent.

Due South

THIS NEW book by Jeremy Hill and Hilary Scannell, subtitled 'Socialists and World Development', is a welcome addition to Pluto's 'Arguments for Socialism' series.

It starts out by de-mystifying the relationship between the so-called 'North' (the advanced capitalist countries) and the 'South' (the colonial and semi-colonial countries).

The authors start with the approach adopted by Reagan at the Cancun conference in 1981, in which the US president, with the approval of Margaret Thatcher, explained that the main way the rich capitalist countries could help the poor was by foreign investment.

Hill and Scannell show that this approach has done nothing to change the 'structure of inequality' between the poor and rich countries. They show how the world recession has made the poor countries poorer, and how the flow of loans from the IMF and the banks has gone to the most developed of the semi-colonial countries.

Taking up the well-known thesis about the exploitative nature of much of the aid to the third world, they show that 60 per cent of Britain's (paltry) aid budget is aid provided for the purchase

left government in Britain contains suggestions for aid to liberation movements and a stepped up aid development programme — all well and good, but stopping short at an all-out assault on the power and wealth of the British multinationals.

The problem which Hill and Scannell skirt around but not confront is how the whole 'structure of inequality' can be broken. The vicious circle — that of needing massive aid to start industrialisation of a kind the richer nation will not provide — is not cut through. Maybe some of the solutions we would suggest are not there because of a desire to avoid socialist sloganeering and appear 'practical'. However the only practical answers are revolutionary ones.

'Under-development' as a world problem will not be overcome without massive assistance which only genuinely socialist governments in the advanced countries will give. There is no prospect at all for the industrialisation of a country like Bangladesh or the authors' own example, Tanzania, without that.

But that does not mean that the revolutionary answer is 'wait for socialism in the West'. Practical measures to end the cycle of poverty can be taken in the less-developed countries — but only if

they break with imperialism (a term which is missing from the book).

The authors themselves show national planning and the break with imperialist domination have led to immense progress in China. Of course China has great natural resources, unlike for example Cuba. But this poses another problem which the authors duck, or take an implicitly wrong position on. Any country which carries through a socialist revolution will have to link up economically with the Eastern bloc, with those countries which are non-capitalist, however much socialists disagree with their policies and economic structure.

Best

The example of Cuba in its best period politically — the mid 1960s — showed that it was possible to develop an independent policy in such a situation. The 'structure of inequality' is the world imperialist system. Only socialist revolution, North and South, can break it. The struggle in Central America today shows that this is not utopian, but a practical option.

Due South: Socialists and World Development. Jeremy Hill and Hilary Scannell. Pluto Press. £2.50.

Problem

The real problem with the book is the authors' suggestion that socialist governments should work for a wide section devoted to suggestions about the way in which governments of countries in the 'South' could work together to build their own cartels and transnational enterprises.

This is utopian through and through, as the authors at one point even seem to admit. The section on the possible policy of a

DIARY

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

- **National Abortion Campaign** conference is now postponed until September. Next National Planning Meeting of NAC is Sat 2 July in Leeds. For details please contact NAC at 374 Grays Inn Road, London WC1. Tel. 01-278 0153.
- **Release Nelson Mandela!** Victory to the ANC! Weekly picket of South Africa House, Trafalgar Square 5.30-7.30, Fridays. Called by City Anti-Apartheid Group.
- **Labour Movement Conference on Ireland** 16 July, Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, London WC1. Starts 10.45am. Delegates £3, observers £2. Further details: LMCI, Box 189, 32 Ivor Place, London NW1.
- **Trafalgar 9 Defence Campaign** (for those arrested at the picket of South Africa House on 9 June). Picket Bow Magistrate Court Thu 30 June, 10am. Public meeting Wed 13 July, 7.30, Conway Hall, Red Lion Sq, WC1.
- **Who Killed Colin Roach?** Video film of the campaign available for meetings, youth clubs, schools etc from Roach Family Support Committee, 50 Rectory Road, London N16 7PP, 01-254 7480.
- **Youth CND Conference**, 2 July, Manchester. For details contact YCND, 11 Goodwin St, London N4.
- **SWAPO Women's Solidarity** sponsored cycle ride. London to Greenham Common Sat 2 July. Further details from 96 Gillespie Rd, London N5 01-359 9116.
- **The Politics of Health in Zimbabwe** Hour long video available for meetings or functions. £10 (payable in advance). Send to Books for South Africa Fund, PO Box 50, London N1.
- **Scottish Socialist Society** day conference 2 July at the Mitchell Theatre to discuss strategies for the left in Scotland after the election.

- **Women for Life on Earth, 1983 Star** marches converging at Greenham on Hiroshima day, 8 August. Leaving County Hall, London on 29 July. Mixed. Contact 01-699 6712 for details.
- **Troops Out Movement** is organising a mass delegation to Northern Ireland on 6 & 7 August. Interested? Ring Gail 01-250 1293 for details.
- **Troops Out Movement** benefit 1 July with Carol Grimes and supporting women's band. Chat's Palace, 42/44 Brooksbys Walk, Homerton, London E9. £2.50/£1.50 unwaged.

- **Prevent and Survive Symposium** 2 July, 9.30-4.30 Central Hall Westminster. Entrance (incl lunch) £9 or £5 for students/nurses/UB40. Tickets from Medical Campaign Against Nuclear Weapons, 31 Stavordale Rd, London N5 (or at door).
- **Nicaragua, Guatemala and El Salvador Briefings** are produced by the Central America Information Service, 14 Brixton Rd, London SW9. If you would like to receive them regularly, please write enclosing your name and address.

- **SE England Trade Union Conference on Namibia** Sun 17 July, Oxford Hse, Derbyshire St, London E2. Further details from Namibia Support Committee 01-267 1941.
- **Liberation network** — for people with disabilities. Meeting to organise a steering group to set up a London wide resource centre for people with disabilities. All interested people welcome Sat 16 July, 2-5 pm, Morley College, 61 Westminster Bridge Rd, London SE1. Further info from Micheline Mason 01-673 4310.

NEW RELEASE
How to Avoid Holocaust 2 by Peter Wardlaw
'It is our duty to fight to prevent the end, rather than meekly meet our end without putting up a fight!' (PW)
Only £1.35 + 35p from Survival Press, Box 47, 164-166, Corn Exchange, Hanging Ditch, Manchester M3 4BN.

- **Acid Rain** — Britain's invisible export. Public meeting with speakers from Scandinavian organisations, Labour Party and scientific community. 13 July, 7pm, Grand Committee Rooms, House of Commons, London SW1. Details from Socialist Environment and Resources Association (SERA) Public Health Group, 9 Poland St, London W1 (01-439 3749).

AFRICA UNDER ATTACK

"SOUTH AFRICA'S UNDECLARED WAR" briefing/workshop

date: SATURDAY 9 JULY, 10am-1.30pm

venue: College Hall (opposite U.L.U.), Malet St., London, WC1

films: on South African aggression against Angola & Mozambique

speakers at the briefing: Marga Holness (Angola Information Office) Alan Brooks (Mozambique Information Office) recently returned from Mozambique & Angola Representatives from ANC and AAM, MAC, NSC

workshop: discussion on ways of countering media disinformation about events in the region & on measures to ensure the implementation of the UN arms embargo against South Africa

registration: 50p on the door

- **SE England Trade Union Conference on Namibia** Sun 17 July, Oxford Hse, Derbyshire St, London E2. Further details from Namibia Support Committee 01-267 1941.
- **Coventry Socialist Film Club and West Midlands Arts** present a film and video viewing session including: *Bullets and Bullets, Writing on the Wall, It ain't Half Racist, Mum!, True Romance etc ... and No Regrets and Risky Business.* Fri 1 July, 7.30pm, Howard Hall, Priory Walk, Coventry. Admission £1/50p unwaged.
- **May 3rd Defence Campaign** Fund raising social Fri 8 July, 8-12pm, Brabant Rd Community Centre, London N22. Demonstration Sat 9 July, 2pm, Ducketts Common (Turnpike Lane tube).

An evening for Chile with latinamerican, caribbean and african rhythms from

STEEL & SKIN JAZIRA ANTAWARA

presented by Chile Cultural Centre Friends House

Friday 29th July, 7pm: opposite Euston Station, Euston Rd., London NW1

Tickets £3 at the door or from Carila 359 2270 29 Islington Pk St, London N1

Socialist Action National Tour

Socialist Action supporters are organising a national series of meetings to discuss *What Next after the election? Come to the meeting in your town!*

CAMDEN Wed 29 June, 8pm, Camden Labour Club, Carol St NW1. Speaker Valerie Coultas (contact 387 1361)

MANSFIELD Tue 5 July, speaker Redmond O'Neill (contact 0623 653216)

LEAMINGTON — Wed 6 July (contact 0926 313408)

- SE LONDON Wed 29 June (contact 01-858-6865)
- GLASGOW** Thu 30 June, 7.30pm, McLellan Galleries. Speakers Ron Brown MP, Helen John and John Ross (contact 041-339 0333)
- LEEDS** Thu 7 July speaker Alan Freeman, Leeds Trades Club, 7.30pm
- HUDDERSFIELD** Thu 30 June, 8pm, Friendly & Trades Club, Northumberland St (opp Railway Stn) Speakers Steve Potter (SA), Mick Foley (People's Marcher)

Socialist Action Forums

EDINBURGH Socialist Action readers forum is on the last Thursday of every month. Phone 031-667 9630 for further information and details of venue.

HOUNSLOW Socialist Action forum. Thu 7 July. 'Rebuilding the left after the election'. Speakers (all in personal capacity): Ken Jones (NUT exec), Colin Talbot (POEU), Andy Lilley (Sec Ealing TUC). 7.30pm, Town Hall, Treaty Road.

The Other BOOKSHOP

For Marxist books, posters, postcards, badges Feminist literature

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Birmingham 137 Digbeth Birmingham B5 telephone (021) 643-5904
Open — Mon-Sat 10-6 Closed Wed.
Mail Order Service — Add 20% for P&P

- **Preparing for Power** Conference organised by the Revolutionary Communist Party. 16-22 July, Polytechnic of Central London. Over 80 workshops including Marxism after Marx, racism, women's oppression, Ireland etc. Phone 01 274 3951 for further details.
- **July 5 Day of Action on Central America & Caribbean.** Protest against US backed aggression in the region: 12.30-2pm picket of Honduran Embassy, 47 Manchester St, London W1. 4.30-7.30pm picket of US Embassy, Grosvenor Sq, W1, Hands off El Salvador & Nicaragua!
- **International blockade of Greenham 4-8 July.** Send see for details to July 4 action, Greenham Office, 5 Leonard St, London EC2.
- **Trade Unions and Revolution in Nicaragua.** New bulletin produced by Nicaragua Solidarity. 75p from NSC, 20 Compton Terrace, London N1.

Become a supporter!

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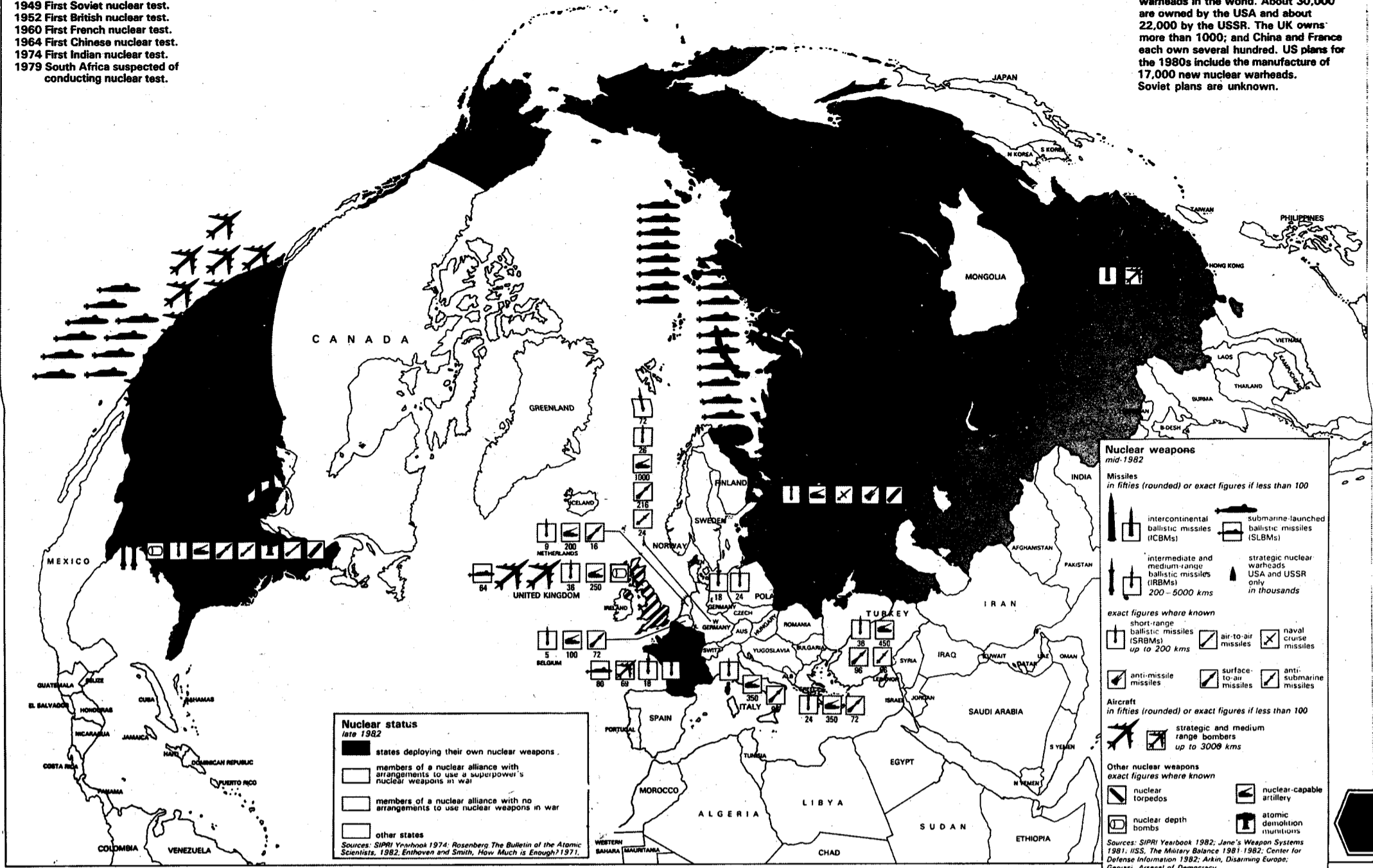
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1945 First US nuclear test.
 1949 First Soviet nuclear test.
 1952 First British nuclear test.
 1960 First French nuclear test.
 1964 First Chinese nuclear test.
 1974 First Indian nuclear test.
 1979 South Africa suspected of conducting nuclear test.

There are over 50,000 nuclear warheads in the world. About 30,000 are owned by the USA and about 22,000 by the USSR. The UK owns more than 1000; and China and France each own several hundred. US plans for the 1980s include the manufacture of 17,000 new nuclear warheads. Soviet plans are unknown.



Nuclear Freeze — no solution for CND

Continuing our discussion of the results of the general election and its lessons for the future we turn to the peace movement. Redmond O'Neill argues that the switch by prominent CND leaders away from unilateral nuclear disarmament to a policy of freeze marks a shift that will have to be fought by the ranks of CND.

E.P. THOMPSON, writing in last week's *New Statesman*, has the unique distinction of being the only prominent peace campaigner to praise Dennis Healey's contribution to the cause of nuclear disarmament during the election campaign.

By Redmond O'Neill

How could Thompson put himself in the ridiculous position of defending the Labour leader who, along with James Callaghan, did most to destroy both Labour's campaign and the credibility of its nuclear disarmament policy?

The reason is straightforward. Thompson argues that unilateralism was a vote-loser and irrelevant to the peace movement: 'Only a few fundamentalists of the Labour left wished to fight on an abstract "unilateralist-versus-multilateralist" platform...'

So for E.P. Thompson Labour's unilateralist policy was a sectarian diversion from the real issues in the election.

'Across the whole country, and most of all in Scotland and Wales, if one collects into one lump the votes

for parties opposing Trident and supporting a "freeze" — Labour, Liberal, SDP, SNP, Plaid Cymru, Ecologists, etc — then there was a clear peace majority.'

Thompson believes the failure of the election campaign was that 'a popular front of peace and anti-Thatcher forces' was divided by the leftist, unilateralist 'fundamentalism' of Labour and the 'factionalism' of the SDP and the *Guardian* newspaper.

If the election is approached in this way then of course:

'He (Dennis Healey) was not committing premeditated treason but simply making the point that there is no original virtue in unilateralism for unilateralism's pure sake,' Thompson says.

Thompson's views have to be taken seriously within the peace movement because he undoubtedly speaks for an important part of the leadership of CND. His essential point is that in the election CND should have tried to unite all parties who supported a 'freeze' and opposed Trident against the Tories.

This strategy was rejected by the CND National Council prior to the election. Instead the Council decided to concentrate on cruise and Trident and, at the same time, use the election as an opportunity to explain CND's full unilateralist position. The reason for this is that it is impossible to consistently oppose cruise and Trident without explaining that nuclear weapons, as such, should be opposed.

Following the election, it is quite clear that Thompson and those who support him will be seeking to change the entire policy and direction of CND.

Already he is prepared to pass over the Alliance's firm support for cruise missiles. He is prepared to accept cruise in order to get on speaking terms with Owen and Steel. This is the most abject betrayal of the work of CND and of Thompson himself over the past three years. It is a betrayal of

the women at Greenham Common and of the entire European peace movement.

In exchange Thompson accepts the feeble commitment of the Alliance manifesto to 'explore the opportunities for a verifiable, mutual freeze on the production and deployment of nuclear weapons.'

Given that the SDP split from the Labour Party because of the 'gang of four's' support for cruise and opposition to unilateralism, we can imagine the effectiveness of the kind of 'freeze' Steel and Owen have in mind! But, leaving aside for the moment Thompson's 'popular front' strategy as he calls it, is there a case for the CND making the campaign for a 'freeze' its priority in the years to come?

The demand for a nuclear freeze was brought to the fore by the massive development of the peace movement in the United States. On 12 June last year one million Americans marched in New York demanding a nuclear freeze.

This mass movement, in Reagan's frontyard, was recognised by socialists and peace campaigners everywhere as an enormously progressive development, and a demonstration of the truly international character of the peace movement.

Understandably its demands were considerably less advanced than those of the European peace movements which are predominantly unilateralist and united around the call for 'a nuclear free Europe from Poland to Portugal.'

But this movement was a first step in the development of a mass nuclear disarmament movement in the heart of the USA itself.

Its demand for a 'mutual freeze on the testing, production, and deployment of nuclear weapons and missiles and new aircraft designed primarily to deliver nuclear weapons' is a major barrier to the Reagan administration's plans to deploy 'first strike' MX missiles, cruise and Trident.

However the politicians who have

taken the leadership of this huge mass movement are not at all committed to nuclear disarmament. For example the Democratic Party verbally supports the freeze, while in reality was the Democratic administration of Jimmy Carter which initiated the spiral of nuclear rearmament which Reagan is now putting into effect.

The campaign is organised and financed (to the tune of 20 million dollars so far) by such people as the Rockefeller children.

The 'freeze' resolution to the U.S. Congress this year was carefully worded so as to avoid any timescale being proposed. And the 'freeze' campaign is opposed to any unilateral steps by the USA towards achieving such a freeze, for example suspending MX or Pershing II production. In the future it will be around issues such as these that the leadership of Democratic Party pseudo-peace-mongers will be challenged within the American freeze movement.

In Britain the 'freeze' demand has been adopted by the CND National Council and a major campaign around it is being launched by the World Disarmament Campaign and the United Nations Association. Andropov has recently called for a five-power nuclear freeze.

But what is being proposed by Thompson and others is that CND in Britain adopts 'freeze' as its main campaign. They don't mean a unilateralist freeze by Britain let alone unilateral nuclear disarmament. They mean the international campaign for a 'mutual freeze'.

It would be a disastrous error for CND to adopt this slogan as its main priority. It would be a retreat from its unilateralist policy which at present gives coherence to its opposition to cruise, Trident, American bases and Polaris.

At the same time it would move the initiative away from the mass movement of millions in Europe into the hands of Soviet, American, British and French negotiators for their governments. Because, in reality, there will be no freeze. David Owen,

Edward Kennedy and David Steel will simply talk about freeze whilst Reagan and Thatcher continue to build up nuclear weapons.

The Soviet proposal for a five-nation freeze is part of their policy of accepting European nuclear weapons but rejecting American weapons in Europe.

Whilst not opposing any step to put a brake on American nuclear rearmament, the European peace movement must stand on its own demands for no nuclear weapons in Western Europe, whoever they belong to.

Thompson's move to the right is to be explained by his consistent refusal to identify the responsibility of the United States and NATO governments for the current round of nuclear rearmament.

He claims in his *New Statesman* article that one of CND's main errors was that: 'The slogans of 1981 — no cruise, no SS20s — disappeared in the aftermath of Reagan's "zero option", and little was found to replace them.'

Well Mr. Thompson, the reason why CND dropped that slogan was because it turned out to be exactly the same as Reagan's zero option.

In Britain and Europe Thompson refuses to recognise that only the labour movement has the power to stop the arms race. Instead he proposes that the freeze movement be broadened to include people like the Alliance whose entire existence is dedicated to two objectives — defending NATO and defending the EEC.

The peace movement would gain nothing from this retreat except its own destruction. In 1983 the peace movement must be broadened, not to forces like David Owen, but to the millions of trade unionists who have supported its aims through their union conferences. And in the labour movement the obstacle to trade union action to stop cruise is not 'fundamentalist Labour lefts', but the fundamentalist Labour rightists for whom Thompson displays such sympathy.

Miners meet under jobs axe

THE ANNUAL conference of the National Union of Mineworkers meets in Perth on 4 July under the shadow of the jobs axe wielded by new NCB boss, Ian MacGregor.

This threat will tend to eclipse conference business on other issues including the annual wage claim.

Miners are always being told that the only way to keep their jobs is by working harder. Last year coal face productivity rose by 5.6 per cent. The miners reward? Sixteen thousand jobs lost.

This is just an appetiser for the plans for the NCB and the Tories. The government evidence offered to the Sizewell 'B' nuclear enquiry projected that coal capacity would be cut to less than two thirds of present output.

The report produced by the Monopolies and Mergers Commission called for sixty thousand jobs to be slashed in the coal industry with only 'profitable' pits being left open.

For the NCB and the Tories profitability equals 'ripe for privatisation'.

In an interview in the Times Thatcher refused to say whether she had planned

to use public money to create profitable pits to sell for a song to her big business supporters.

A resolution to conference from the Cokemen's Area amended by Kent reaffirms NUM policy that exhaustion, not profitability, should be the only grounds for closing a pit.

By Bill Alder

This resolution should be passed and the message must be taken from Perth to every corner of every coalfield.

As MacGregor swings his axe miners will be bombarded with anti-union propaganda from newspapers and the television.

The answer to this is for the NUM to begin its campaign for jobs now. Conference will be discussing a number of resolutions altering NUM rules.

Midlands area, South Derbyshire, Group No. 1 and Power Group all have resolutions requiring the NEC to hold a ballot before calling for industrial action. (At present the ballot is only required for an all-out strike).

This is not as democratic as it sounds. It would put any decision in the hands of the Sun, the Mirror and the rest of the media.

The NEC is putting forward rule changes to institutionalise five-yearly re-election of all full-time national and area officials.

This is a step in the right direction. The best guarantee of a strong union is to combine right of recall with fullest possible involvement of all members through branch and canteen meetings.

The threat of job losses and privatisation is the Tory treatment for workers in the Post Office and the NHS too.

By linking up with these other workers the NUM can play an important role in the resistance that will develop to the plans of the Tories and the ruling rich.



On the march against Serpell in London

Railworkers in conference

RAILWORKERS are in the front line of the Tory assault on the nationalised industries.

Seventy seven delegates from the National Union of Railwaymen are meeting over the next two weeks for their annual general meeting in Bridlington, Yorkshire.

They will debate how to deal with the Tories' chosen instrument for taking British rail apart — the Serpell report.

An important resolution calls for the federation of rail unions and the Triple Alliance, with mine and steel unions, to be built locally and nationally.

There are resolutions calling for flat rate pay increases, a 35 hour week, complete opposition to further productivity and for new technology to be tied to guaranteed and increased jobs in the industry.

In the nuclear disarmament debate, the union is expected to continue the left shift with Jimmy Knapp's landslide victory to replace Sid Weighell as general secretary. All the resolutions on peace and disarmament call for support for existing Labour

Party conference policy or affiliation to CND.

This left shift is expected to be confirmed when the conference decides who to back in the elections for Labour Party leader and deputy leader. It is pretty certain that Kinnock will walk away with the union's 160,000 block vote in the electoral college.

By Patrick Sikorski (NUR)

Under Weighell these votes probably would have gone to Hattersley or Shore. But there could be a right wing counter attack. Right-winger Gwyneth Dunwoody, can didate for the deputy leadership, is an NUR-

sponsored MP.

The AGM will be called on to resist the right in a resolution opposing the witch hunt in the Labour Party.

The Communist Party-led Broad Left has failed to organise a fringe meeting in liaison with the local Labour Party, to campaign for left candidates for the Labour Party leadership contests — Heffer and Meacher. This is a contrast to previous leadership battles.

The tactic of the CP and its allies seems to be to minimise the left-right fight in the AGM. This follows their failure to raise opposition to the helter-skelter settlement of the mainline and London underground pay claims.

As a result thousands of jobs have been lost through the agreement on full implementation of the open station concept on British Rail and driver-only operation on the tube.

This feeble response will make it more difficult to build for industrial ac-

tion to save the workshops at Horwich, Shildon and Temple Mills. These closures are the thin end of the Serpell wedge.

The AGM has so far had no proposals for a national campaign of industrial action to defend jobs and services. On the eve of conference a head office circular on Serpell calls for more leafletting of the public and a fresh round of letter writing to newly elected MP's.

Contrast

What a contrast this is to the moves of the new Broad Left leadership of the Post Office Engineering Union who have called a special delegate conference in August to discuss a fightback against privatisation and job loss, are boycotting the private Project Mercury and are organising selective strikes and a compulsory levy to fund their campaign.

If action like this is not taken by the NUR, the left shift will rapidly run out of steam.



Pits in South Wales starved of development capital

Fight pit closures

THE NCB want to close Brynlliw Colliery near Gorseinan in South Wales, despite a report which involved its own experts that the pit which employs 638 workers has a life of at least another 18 years. Our correspondent, Don Hawkins got the reaction of ERIC DAVIES, the Brynlliw NUM Lodge Secretary.

coal reserves at Brynlliw?

After the 1981 strike and the assurances from the government about investment what development has taken place at the pit?

Our losses were supposed to be offset and there was supposed to be new investment. This hasn't happened. We have been starved of development capital. The 1981 'climdown' by the government was in fact a sidestep.

They evaded the issue to get themselves in a more powerful position to take us on. The closure of Brynlliw is part of a long-term strategy to run down the South Wales coalfield.

What are the doubts about the quality and amount of

How do you see the fight to save Brynlliw. Is this pit a special case?

We mustn't stay isolated. The closure of our pit is part of a national run-down. If the NCB gets its way 65,000 jobs and 70 pits would go.

The matter of closures will be discussed at the next month's NUM Conference. This time there must be a national fight. We cannot fight alone. In 1972 and 1974 when we were on strike we needed the support of other workers.

The closure of a pit means that other workers suffer. For every job lost in mining three jobs are lost elsewhere. This is why our fight must be the fight of all trade unionists.

We must involve the Labour Party — it is committed to the coal industry but it is weak in parliament. We must link parliamentary with extra-parliamentary action.

The power to fight back does not lie in parliament. If pits like Brynlliw close then no pit, not even a profitable one is safe.



Pay fight brewing at Smiths Food

WORKERS in the Smiths Food Company, which makes crisps and snacks, have just received details of the firm's pay offer.

The union negotiating committee has asked for substantial rises, improvements in sick pay and holidays and for a review of the grading system and overtime arrangements.

The management offer of 4 per cent on basic pay and shift allowances was rejected in every factory and depot and the workers were ready to ban overtime.

For the lowest grade of workers on double days the offer would have meant less than £3 on basic and a generous 39 pence on the shift allowance.

Before the overtime ban came into effect, the firm recalled the negotiating committee for more talks. All they came up with was the promise of an additional £2 rise in January 1984 and a possible review of overtime payments.

This new offer has been turned down by workers at every factory, except Lincoln. They are cynical about management's pleadings of financial losses, an excuse they have used before to push through low pay offers.

YOPS fight for union rights

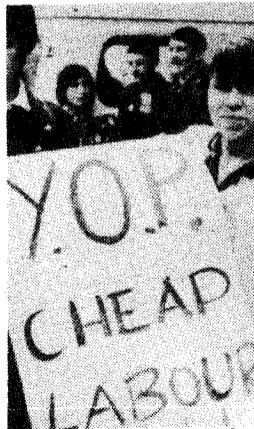
A YOUTH Opportunity Programme scheme which has been running for four years has been closed because its members joined the General and Municipal union.

Rosemary Earnshaw, the sacked scheme supervisor says, 'The picket line had been out for two weeks and we've got steady support from local trade unionists.'

'Four young women joined the GMBATU in December last year in preference to the ineffective Staff Association — a Mickey Mouse union — and for this they have been deprived of placements, the supervisor has been sacked and the scheme has been scrapped.'

Pamela Fisher, one of the young workers on the scheme says, 'YOPS workers do have rights and trade unionists must fight for them.'

Support has come from academic staff at Liverpool University —



Yopsters on the march the sponsor of the scheme.

Liverpool's newly elected City council has threatened to transfer two hundred students on day release schemes to the Polytechnic unless the university negotiates.

The picket line has been suspended pending the university's reply.

Messages of support and donations to: GMBATU, 99 Edge Lane, Liverpool L7 2PE.



PHOTO: John Harris

Cowley assembly plant workers walked out to save washing up time in April

BL union leaders cave in on productivity fight

By a Pressed Steel Fisher body plant worker

THE END of the four and a half week strike at the BL Cowley assembly plant, to defend washing up time, was a reluctant acceptance of the union leadership's procedure.

That procedure, which shifted the action from the picket line to the negotiating room is now over.

The joint inquiry, with two representatives from BL management and two union bureaucrats, accepted BL's framework of higher productivity and efficiency, while making concessions on shop floor working conditions.

The inquiry and its results have done nothing to change the continuing battle between workers defending their conditions and management who attack in the name of efficiency. After 30 hours of talks the second part of the national negotiating procedure has broken down with no agreement.

At the end of the strike, national union officials Duffy and Evans promised support. But they have stood aside while BL have increased

their campaign of intimidation and bullying at a local level, with foremen regularly interviewing and taking the names of workers who refuse to accept the productivity scheme-audited plant status.

BL, recognising the strength of feeling in the assembly plant against APS, shifted the centre of their attack to the Pressed Steel Fisher body plant.

Just before the assembly plant strike, PSF workers had been persuaded by the local union leadership, including full-time official David Buckle, not to strike over the introduction of APS but to fight it within, by clocking off early.

This practice has continued in two thirds of the

body plant for the last month and a half, with workers getting more angry about the union leadership's refusal to take the struggle further.

Action

The working party — the union plant level committee — offered to sell the five minutes per shift to BL but management refused, wanting a clear defeat of the union in the body plant to allow them to move in on the assembly plant.

At a body plant mass meeting on Wednesday 22 June, Pressed Steel Fisher workers were given a fifteen minute speech by a member of the working party who told us it was futile to take action against APS and outlined how much bonus we could earn if we would give up resistance.

Bill Roche and David Buckle, local TGWU leaders, refused to attend

the meeting.

After an initial vote of two to one against accepting BL's offer, the chair declared that it was 50-50, and asked those who rejected the offer to move to one side of the field. This left on the other side all those in favour of the offer, those who abstained and those who were by the gate waiting to go.

Ballot

He again declared a split vote and proposed a secret ballot. That night, the night shift stewards took their own ballot and decided to work the five minutes, against the mass meeting decision not to do so until the result of the official ballot was known.

The ballot result on Friday 24 June was 1199 against APS, 1568 for acceptance and 1000 abstaining.

From this vote — nearly two months since the dispute started, with national leadership giving no

encouragement or support and with the local union leadership openly betraying the membership — it is clear that a fight could have been waged.

Despite the manoeuvres betrayals and deceptions, 1200 Pressed Steel Fisher workers remained solid, with many of the 1000 abstentions wanting to oppose APS but having no faith in the union fighting it.

The result makes it clear that the fight must continue to replace the PSF union leadership with one that is prepared to defend and support its members and fight management.

Assembly plant workers face the same fight this week. PSF workers lost because of their leadership. The assembly plant has the strength to win.

The ballot at PSF was a blow but with a fighting leadership the assembly plant can give BL a bigger blow back.

Defend and build the unions

THE MINERS UNION has shown that Tory pit closures and job loss make little economic or social sense. They are aimed as a Tory blow to smash up the union.

High unemployment is aimed against all unions. Figures just published by the Trade Union Congress show a decrease in union membership of 496,527 over the last year.

But the proportion of workers in unions has barely been dented, the loss in membership is almost entirely explained by unemployment.

Union membership of 10,509,457 is still just over 50 per cent of workers, with the total number of employees shrinking by 637,000 from 21,398,000 to 20,761,000 in the last year.

This proportion of workers unionised is only slightly less than the all time high of 1977 to 1981, and is still higher than any time before that.



	Affiliated membership	
	Dec 1981	Dec 1982
Unions with 5 seats on TUC General Council*		
TGWU	1,695,818	1,502,991
4 seats on General Council		
AUEW (Engineering)	1,024,205	1,001,000
3 seats on General Council		
GMBATU	865,814	825,385
NALGO	796,145	784,297
2 seats on General Council		
NUPE	703,998	702,159
1 seat on General Council		
BIFU	147,995	151,985
CPSA	209,894	198,935
UCW	202,160	198,374
UCATT	275,251	261,489
EETPU	395,000	380,000
AUEW-TASS	185,690	172,256
GMBATU (Boilermakers)	119,585	114,927
SOGAT '82	236,660	225,155
NGA	136,326	131,690
COHSE	230,709	231,504
NUM	249,711	245,000
POEU	132,828	136,551
APEX	122,639	109,155
NUR	160,000	150,214
NAS-UWT	119,545	120,241
ASTMS	427,500	410,000
USDWA	437,864	417,241
NUT	224,090	221,511
Miscellaneous others		
FBU	30,000	42,517
SCPS	100,504	95,804
ISTC	100,175	95,493
ASLEF	26,241	24,707
NUSeamen	34,938	25,000

* From the Trade Union Congress meeting in September 1983, unions with over 100,000 members are automatically represented on the General Council.

The figures printed above, and number of seats shown, come into operation in September.

The remaining 83 unions put forward nominations for ballot for the remaining 11 seats.

We have printed membership figures for only a selection of these other unions.

Full names of unions listed (in order)

- Transport and General Workers Union
- Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers
- General, Municipal, Boilermakers and Allied Trades Union
- National Association of Local Government Officers
- National Union of Public Employees
- The Banking Insurance and Finance Union
- The Civil and Public Services Association
- The Union of Communication Workers
- The Union of Construction, Allied Trades and Technicians
- Electrical, Electronic, Telecommunications and Plumbing Union
- Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers — Technical, Administrative and Supervisory Section
- General, Municipal, Boilermakers and Allied Trades Union (Boilermakers Section)
- Society of Graphical and Allied Trades '82
- National Graphical Association
- Confederation of Health Service Employees
- National Union of Mineworkers
- Post Office Engineering Union
- Association of Professional, Executive, Clerical and Computer Staff
- National Union of Railwaymen
- National Association of Schoolmasters and Union of Women Teachers
- Association of Scientific, Technical and Managerial Staffs
- Union of Shop, Distributive and Allied Workers
- National Union of Teachers
- Fire Brigades Union
- Society of Civil and Public Servants
- Iron and Steel Trades Confederation
- Associated Society of Locomotive Engineers and Firemen
- National Union of Seamen

WORM'S EYE VIEW



Cut the court cases

JAMES Horsfall, the governor of Oxford's most elite college — Her Majesty's 'nick' — appears to be worried about having too many under-grads in his academy.

So he has come up with a novel scheme to cut down on court cases and hence reduce over-crowding in the prisons.

Mr Horsfall has urged the police to roll up their sleeves and get on with the job of 'duffing up' offenders — with no

court cases to follow.

This presumably would be a change from present practice where the coppers 'duff up' people and still send them to jail.

This type of policing, he reckons, needs coppers who are '16 stone and 6ft 4in tall'.

I think Mr Horsfall is being too demanding here. Lack of height and weight does not stop our lads in blue kicking the hell out of people or using their sticks to beat their heads in. These problems are overcome by preponderance of numbers.

Of course Mr Horsfall hastened to add that he 'did not advocate violence' saying 'he had always striven against it'. It's just that he believes in good old fashioned Christian values like actual bodily harm, despite the fact that he keeps people locked up in his cells who have allegedly committed it.

But like all responsible prison governors he recognises a threat to civilisation when he sees one. He says that when he was a boy he 'was brought up to fight clean' — never kick an opponent until he is down?

Now he says: 'With the introduction of all these orientals and people who are accustomed to using knives' he is 'appalled at the number of stabbing incidents ...'

Now don't get the idea that the governor is being racist when he says that. It's just that he thinks they haven't been brought up in a civilised society where they got 'duffed up' by their friendly neighbourhood copper.

Rhinoceros Postcards 22c Ferrdale Rd, London SW4.



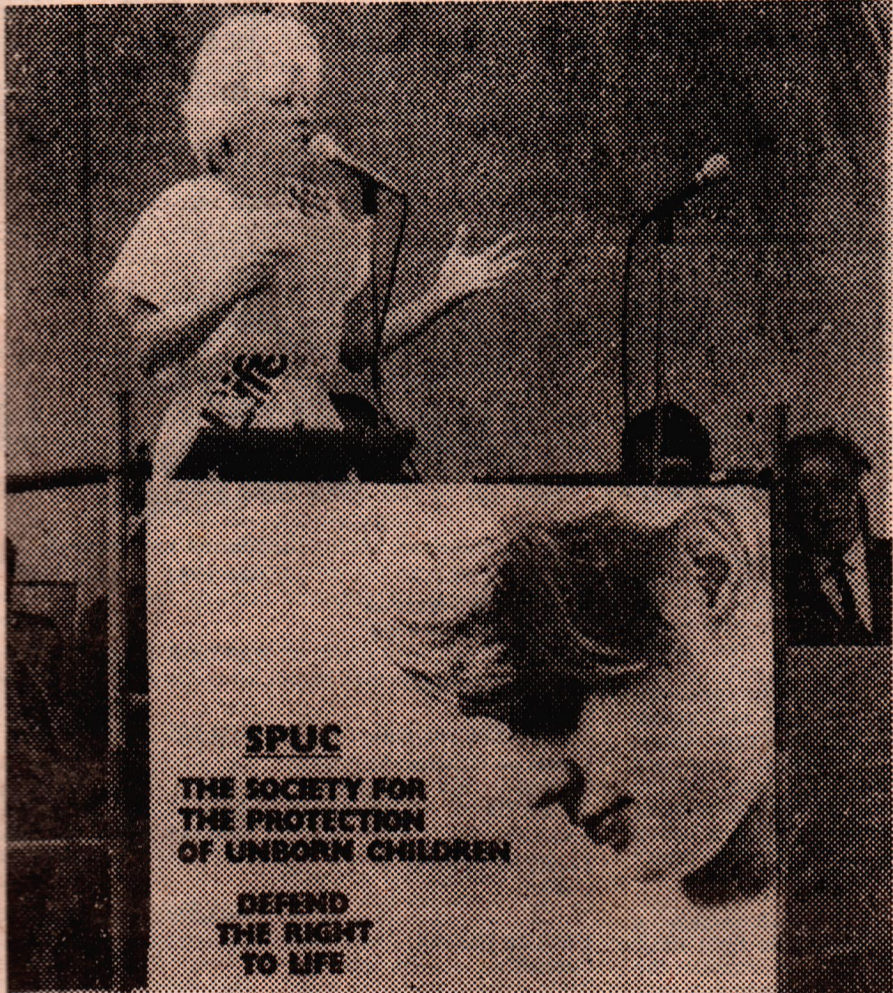
Police stop violence on the streets

So if you see two or three 6ft 4in sixteen stone coppers beating up some Asian youth don't get all worried — it's all for his own good and might even save him going to jail.

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

Socialist ACTION

Anti-abortionists step up their campaign



SPUC on the march.

TWENTY thousand anti-choice demonstrators attended a rally calling for restriction on abortion rights in London's Hyde Park last Saturday.

A counter rally organised by the National Abortion Campaign chanted slogans for a woman's right to choose.

The Hyde Park rally was the culmination of a campaign waged by the Society for the Protection of the Unborn Child and LIFE.

Timed to coincide with the general election, the campaign started with two million leaflets

distributed to homes at Easter, a lavish press publicity campaign (see page 5) and local meetings throughout the country.

Last weekend's rally was, horrifically enough, called to commemorate the supposed two million 'unborn' since the 1967 Abortion Act. Speakers at the rally included arch-right wing Tory MP Bernard Braine and recent Catholic convert Malcolm Muggeridge.

Their audience were predominantly young, middle class men and women, markedly different from the droves of convent school children driven on by nuns that characterised previous rallies.

The counter-demonstration was alternately spat at and sprinkled with holy water. Police kept them pinned up in a side street.

But the pro-choice movement has won some notable success in recent weeks for its case. The main health service union, COHSE, affiliated to NAC at their conference last month, while NALGO conference heard NAC's case at an extremely well-attended fringe meeting.

NAC is holding its conference on 1-2 October this year to discuss how to combat the rising tide of the anti-abortion movement and to discuss the way forward for the campaign.

LESBIAN & GAY PRIDE

LESBIANS and gay men have much to protest about and not a lot to celebrate during this year's Gay Pride Week.

The re-election of a government dedicated to Victorian family values and strengthening police powers promises a rough future for the millions of people in Britain who do not fit in with Thatcher's plans for how we should live.

The depth and ferocity of establishment hysteria at the gains made by gay people over the last decade was made obvious to everyone by the media coverage of the Bermondsey by-election.

But this was just the tip of an iceberg of popular prejudice and police persecution.

During the last few weeks alone, 77 people have been arrested in police raids on gay saunas in Merseyside and South Wales. Coventry Council, which is Labour controlled, refused to allow a gay festival to be held at Lanchester polytechnic.

But all is not gloom. There have been major breakthroughs for gay rights activists.

The Labour Campaign for Gay Rights has been re-established and its campaign inside the labour movement has won the active support of wide sections of the Labour left.

Many Labour councils, led by the GLC, now

have anti-discrimination policies.

The Labour Party as a whole now has a commitment to full equality for gay women and men for the first time ever. Its actual policy is contradictory, discriminatory and grossly inadequate, to be sure. For example, it calls for a reduction in the age of consent for gay males to 18, rather than the 16 for everyone else.

By Peter Purton

But the door has now been opened, and it will not be easy for the right wing to close it again.

The same struggle has been taken up in the trade unions. There was a massive gay intervention

at the NUT conference this Spring. A few weeks ago, NALGO voted to boycott anti-gay conference venues, and published a national pamphlet on gay rights.

In a few weeks time,

the TGWU's decision to hold its conference on the Isle of Man, where homosexuality is still totally illegal, will not go unchallenged.

Such events are vital for the future of the gay rights struggle. But no less cause for optimism comes from the way young people have come forward to lead the battle.

The Gay Youth Movement (GYM) recently held a highly successful national festival, and has registered a spectacular growth. The GYM contingent is bound to be one of the most militant on the Gay Pride March.

And the 'old' leadership of the Labour Party Young Socialists, which has for long regarded the gay issue as at best irrelevant, or else as some 'petty bourgeois deviation', was rocked by the dramatic impact of the Gay YS at its Easter conference.

The Gay YS has grown from nothing in a couple of months and looks set to play a big part in pushing the LPYS towards confronting and fighting around all the problems of youth.

The Gay Pride march on Saturday 2 July commemorates the famous day fourteen years ago when gay people in New York for the first time turned on their police attackers and drove them off.

Even more reason, this year, then to show that gay people are proud, defiant and unbowed.

● See page 5 for report on gay movement in Mexico

Labour Campaign for Gay Rights: 61, Bloom St, Manchester
Gay Young Socialists: 13, Buxton Rd, Elthorne Est, London N19

Gay Pride March

Sat 2 July, 1.30, Speakers Corner

LCGR rally at Malet St at 3.30, speakers include Ken Livingstone



Lesbian march 1981

PHOTO: JOANNE O'BRIAN

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