

Unemployed
and strikers
10p

Socialist

ACTION

CND CHAIN RATTLES TORIES

LAST WEEKEND the Tories pulled every dirty trick in the book to try to smear the anti-nuclear demonstrations — to no avail. Michael Heseltine was despatched to the Berlin wall. Thatcher was furious in the Commons.

But still, in demonstrations up and down the country, more than 100,000 people turned out to oppose the Tories' nuclear plans.

Easily

In the Berkshire 'nuclear valley' CND easily achieved its 14-mile human chain.

And in Glasgow 20,000 people turned out for the march following the dramatic 'die in'.

At the same time half a million people took part in anti-nuclear demonstrations in West Germany.

Together the demonstrations in Britain and Germany are a tremendous rebuff to Reagan's missile plans.

Time

But time is running short — the cruise missiles and the Pershings will be in Europe by December at the latest. The time has come to capitalise on the bloody nose which the Tories received over the weekend, by stepping up the campaign.

The next target is the YCND festival to be held on 7 May, when thousands of young people will show they want a future — without cruise and without Thatcher!

• Weekend demonstrations — see page 3

inside:

The Falklands War a warning to the labour movement

Pages 8 and 9

Alain Krivine on the Mitterrand government
Page 7

Zimbabwe the legacy of Lancaster House
Page 13



Photomontage: Peter Kennard



Photo: GM COOKSON

Socialist ACTION

Last weekend's demonstrations were a victory for CND against the crude stage-managed smear campaign of the government.

But there was an obvious and crucial weakness. Both in the Scotland and the 'nuclear valley' protests there were very few labour movement banners, and virtually none from the trade unions.

This absence highlights the question which CND now has to face — what to do from here, with only

eight or nine months to go before the arrival of the missiles? CND leaders explained

at the weekend that their main perspective is for stepping up civil disobedience at the bases and for the mass door-to-door 'peace canvass'.

Neither of these things on their own will maximise the potential for mobilising hundreds of thousands against the missiles.

The last CND conference voted in favour of an increased orientation to the labour movement and to ensure that the projected TUC/Labour Party demonstration later in the year came off.

The CND leaders are bound by these decisions to plan a demonstration actively mobilised by the TUC and the Labour Par-

Where does CND go from here...?

ty. Hiroshima Day on 6 August can be the starting point for such mass action.

The unions should back a campaign to ensure the maximum success of the 24 May women's strike, which should be used as a springboard for further industrial action.

The issue of nuclear disarmament needs to be

forcefully raised on the People's March for Peace and Jobs.

No one should argue that CND should launch a call for a Labour vote in the election. But it is self-defeating to ignore the power of organised labour.

Labour and Trade Union CND have a par-

ticular responsibility in this fight. If Labour Party and trade union branches aren't drawn into the anti-nuclear struggle, if the labour leaders do not keep pledges on unilateralism, then it will be no surprise if the nuclear disarmament movement doubts the value of orientating to the labour movement.

Now we need to redouble our efforts to take the anti-nuclear message into the factories, trade union branches and Labour Parties.

Then civil disobedience at the missile bases and the peace canvass will be part of huge and potentially unstoppable social forces.



Oh, shut up! Somebody has to be Michael Heseltine


Pershing

ETYMOLOGISTS among our readers might be interested to know where the Americans got the name of the Pershing missile from.

General John J Pershing was the leader of an American 'punitive' expedition sent into Mexico in 1916 to deal with Pancho Villa's guerrillas. The expedition numbered 12,000 men plus horses and artillery.

After nearly a year of wandering round northern Mexico, unable to locate Villa's forces, the expedition was withdrawn, having been a total failure! Pershing later went on to be the General in command of the US expeditionary force in Europe in the First World War.

We can but make sure that the Pershing II missile is as little successful as General Pershing's Mexican expedition ...

What a record!

CHARLES PUGH, director of the joint project team for the National Nuclear Corporation, told the Sizewell 'B' public inquiry that lessons learned from the problems of the advanced gas-cooled reactor programme would be implemented in building Sizewell 'B'.

This may be so. But will Bechtel, the American company designing the rest of the plant learn from their past mistakes?

These mistakes include building a plant on an earthquake fault and installing a reactor vessel back to front. Four of Bechtel's plants are among those having the most severe accidents in the last ten years.

They designed the first private reprocessing plant — at West Valley. It was closed after only six years leaving behind 600,000 gallons of high level waste in leaking tanks, and 163 tonnes of irradiated fuel in storage ponds.

★6 April-9 April Kings Norton CND 'Festival for Peace'. Meetings, films, music. Contact Pete Williams (021)-458 7481.

★Wed 6 April Women's Peace Group, at Sheffield Peace Centre, 8pm.

★Wed 6 April Meeting, 'Nuclear Disarmament and the Labour Party'. At the Memorial Hall, Pickering, N. Yorks, 7.30pm. Speaker: Bob Cryer MP.

★Thurs 7 April Film, 'Eight minutes to Midnight'. At the Adam Smith Centre, Kirkcaldy.

★Thur 7 April Aberdeen CND meeting discussing END. Starts 7.30pm at 24 Adelphi (off Union St), Aberdeen.

★8-10 April Campaign Against the Arms Trade National supporters meeting, Friends Meeting House, 16 Newton Terrace, Glasgow G3. Details contact (01)-278 1976.

★8-10 April Nuclear Free North Atlantic Conference Mitchell Theatre, Glasgow.

★Fri 8 April Film: 'Guide to Armageddon', organised by Orpington CND. At 7.30pm, New Village Hall, High Street, Orpington, Kent.

★Fri 8 April Meeting, 'Cruise and Nuclear Weapons'. At Moot Hall, Town Hall, 8.00pm. Speakers, prospective parliamentary candidates for the Colchester constituencies: Ray Allen (Lab), Geoffrey Williams (Alliance), John Stevens (Alliance), plus Francis Barker of Colchester CND.

★Sat 9 April GLC Bunker Party, 7.30pm Riverdale Hall, Lewisham.

★Sat 9 April Rock Against Cruise Missiles Rally. Organised by Nottingham YCND starts 7.30 at Clarendon College, with bands, speakers, refreshments, etc. £1/50p unwaged.

★Sat 9 April Conference for workers in the Electronics industry concerned about peace. County Hall, London SE1. Contact Dave Guinness (01)-272 8896.

★Sat 9 April Meeting, 'Britain and Nuclear Weapons' organised by Hull END. Speakers Bruce Kent and Kevin McNamara MP. Details from Hull END, 372 Beverley Road, Hull.

★Sun 10 April Film 'America — from Hitler to MX'. Phoenix Cinema, 52 High Road, London N2, starts 1.30pm. Organised by London Region CND.

★Mon 11 April Aberdeen CND public meeting with speakers from Greenham Common. 7.30pm at The Music Hall, Union St, Aberdeen.

★Tue 12 April Meeting, 'Civil Defence in Britain'. At the Bluebell pub, Lowgate Hill. Starts 8.00pm. Organised by Hull END.

★Tue 12 April Film 'The War Game'. Organised by Campaign for a Nuclear Free Sutton. Starts 8.00pm at Carshalton Public Hall, High St., Carshalton, Surrey.

★Wed 13 April Meeting organised by Twickenham CND on 'Nuclear Weapons, Nuclear Power and Sizewell 'B'', speaker Chris Church. Starts 9.00pm at the Albany Pub, Station Yard, Twickenham, Middx.

★14-20 April Films 'Atomic Cafe' & 'No Nukes' at Unit 4 Cinema, Brierfield, Lancs. Contact BANANA Mag, Tel: Nelson 695899

★Fri 15 April Film 'The Last Epidemic'. Organised by Camberley CND. Details from Marie Knowles Tel: Camberley 64697.

★Sat 16 April Dayschool on building CND at the workplace organised by Southampton CND. Starts at 10.30 at Transport House, London Rd., Southampton. Details from 4 Onslow Road, Southampton.

★16-17 April Gay CND Event at Caxton House, 129 St. Johns Way, London N19. Details from Gay CND, 18 Lyme Street, London NW1.

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

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

Labour youth unite against witch hunt

NEARLY TWO thousand working class youth attended the Labour Party Young Socialists conference at Bridlington over Easter weekend.

The Labour Party national executive committee was represented at the conference by right winger Dennis Howell. One message he'll be able to take back to London with him is that Labour's youth is united in rejecting the witch hunt which he and his friends have orchestrated within the party.

This was summed up by the conference's invitation to a representative of Hammersmith North Constituency Labour Party to speak from the platform immediately after Dennis Howell. He explained: 'Our party voted overwhelmingly to reject the dictates from the NEC to expel *Militant*. Now we are asking for support for our campaign to reverse the NEC's decision, by winning other CLP's to take the same stand as Hammersmith North and Islington Central.'

By Redmond O'Neill

The LPYS national committee also issued important statements pledging YS support for the Youth CND 7 May Rock the Bomb festival and for the Peoples' March for Jobs.

Nevertheless what was remarkable at this conference was the rejection by the LPYS leadership and the majority of delegates of active participation in the mass campaign against the Tories. For example, the day after 100,000 people, mainly women, had demonstrated at Greenham Common, the YS conference was treated to lectures about how 'pinning nappies on fences won't stop the Bomb' and 'women-only activity divides the working class'.

An emergency resolution arguing for YS support for the Greenham women's call for a women's day of action on 24 May was overwhelmingly rejected on the recommendation of the national committee. So too was the resolution arguing for full YS involvement in Youth CND. Instead a motion was passed demanding that Youth CND fight for the election of a Labour government, and pointing out that only socialism can end the arms race.

This kind of Methodist preaching from the sidelines to the real mass movements, typified the policies of the YS leadership. Worse, however, was the attitude to oppressed sections of society.

Gay

Resolutions on gay rights were kept off the agenda as has become usual at YS conferences. While there were meetings for trade union groups and black workers there were no official meetings for women members of the LPYS. On the platform's recommendation the motion arguing for an annual YS women's conference similar to the Labour Party women's conference was voted down. All this in the interests of 'unity'.

One debate was missing from the conference altogether — Labour's policies for the general election. *Militant* supporters, who constitute the overwhelmingly dominant current of opinion in the

conference and on the platform, agreed with Dennis Howell that the Campaign document formed the basis for uniting Labour's ranks in to the general election: '*Militant* supports this programme and will fight to see it implemented' (*Militant*, 1 April).

How is it that *Militant* and Dennis Howell can agree? Quite simply because both politely ignore the fudging in the document on what are undoubtedly the decisive issues, namely unilateral nuclear disarmament, incomes policy and withdrawal from the EEC!

Sitting through this weekend it is quite obvious why, despite hundreds of thousands of youth involved in actions against the Tory government, the YS membership has grown so painfully slowly. Tub-thumping and rhetoric about the merits of socialism won't convince such youth to join the YS.

Minority

But what was most encouraging about this year's conference was the emergence of a significant minority who want to break the YS out of this sectarian ghetto. For example, Youth CND's fringe meeting was attended by nearly 250 youth. They understood that if you want to win young CNDers and supporters of Greenham Common to socialism, then you have to participate in their struggles and show that there is a wing of the Labour Party committed to championing their demands.

A similar number of youth attended the Gay YS meeting. And 150 attended a Socialists for a Labour Party meeting and 100 the Labour Committee on Ireland meeting.

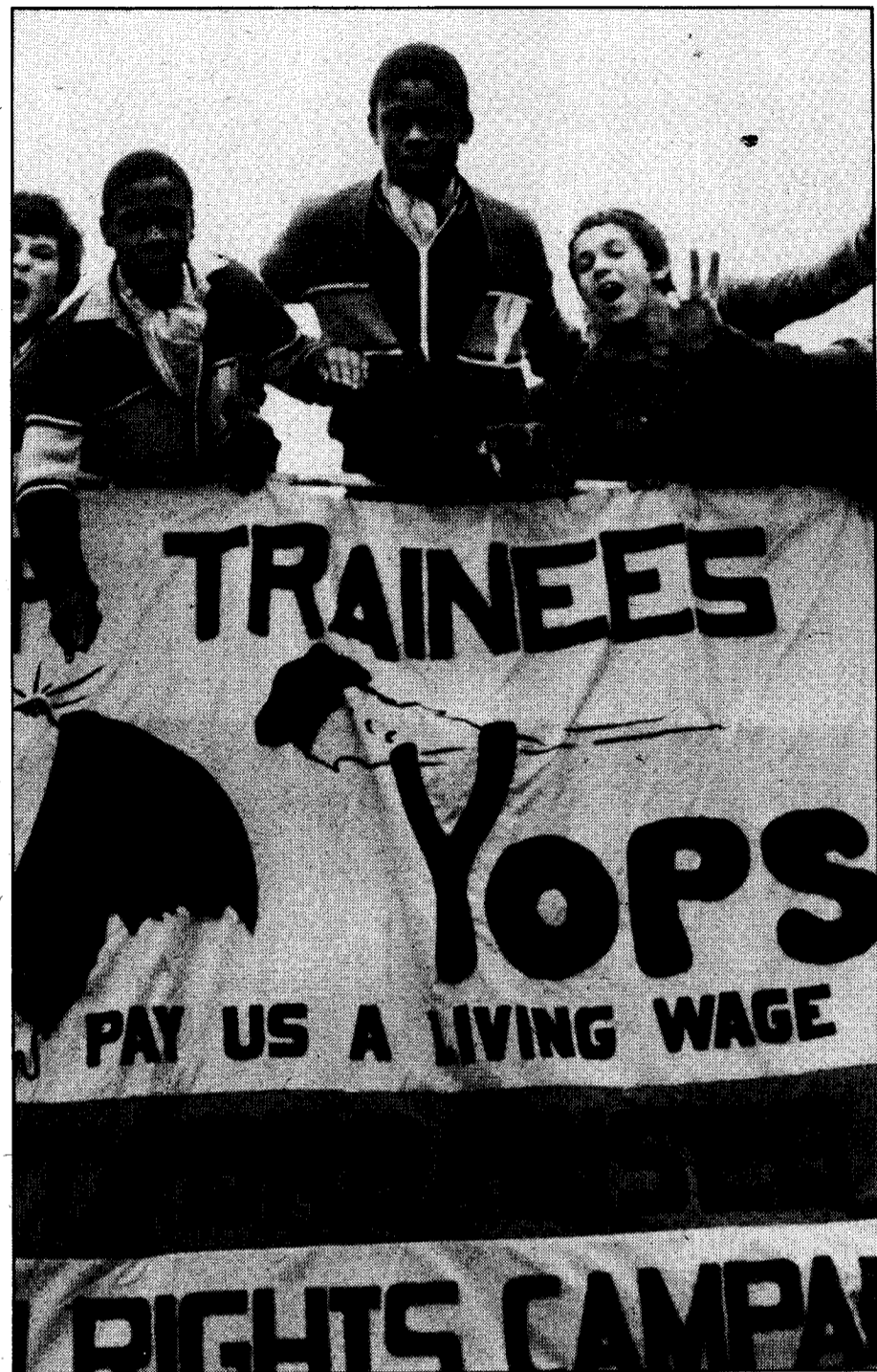
On the conference floor these delegates argued for involvement in Youth CND, for an open debate on gay rights, for a YS national women's conference and for a united campaign against the witch hunt. They argued that the YS should be in the forefront of the fight for clear cut policies within the Labour Party on such questions as nuclear disarmament. They represent the future of the LPYS.

In the election for the LPYS representative on the Labour Party NEC this opposition revealed itself in the combined votes of Steph Grant, 29, and Pete Cashman, 18, — 18 percent of the total vote in the elections.

Alternative

This conference has shown that there is now the beginnings of an alternative leadership within the YS. Over the coming year the task will be to bring this together into a united alternative to *Militant* and the right wing of the Labour Party.

For the first time in



Liverpool demo organised by LPYS — why not support YCND?

years there is a wing of the LPYS able to link up with the left wing of the Labour Party and win thousands of youth to the YS through

participation in campaigns like CND and championing the struggles of all oppressed people, including women and gays.

As Steph Grant, Oxford YS candidate for the NC put it, 'We need a new kind of leadership in the YS.'

Gay YS challenges leadership

FOR THE eighth year in a row, there was no discussion on gay rights at the YS conference even though branches had sent in a string of motions on amendments on this topic.

In an election year the YS leadership seem to think that the issue of gay rights is too hot to handle. But there was a strong feeling even among many *Militant* supporters that gay rights should not only be discussed but campaigned around.

Hundreds of delegates wore the Gay YS stickers — 'Gay 16 OK' — and Gay YS organised a large fringe meeting with Peter Tatchell on the platform.

Tatchell said 'For too long the issue of gay rights has not been debated at YS conferences, even though

the age of consent law specifically discriminates against gay youth.

He said of Labour's campaign document: 'This document makes only weak gestures against discrimination. The manifesto should be pledged to lowering the age of consent to 16 for gay men, extension of legislation to the armed forces and the merchant navy and repeal of legislation on soliciting and importuning.'

'Young lesbians should be protected against custodial care sentences, and lesbian mothers should be protected against removal of their children on the grounds of sexual orientation.'

The success of Gay YS at the YS conference shows that the YS leadership will not be able to retain their backward position on gay rights for very much longer.



THE FLARES went up at 2.20pm on Friday, and with it the balloons and a whoop from the demonstrators. CND had easily achieved its aim of completing a 14 mile chain linking Greenham Common, Aldermaston and the bomb factory at Burghfield.

For well over an hour it had been clear that the 14-mile link up would be a success. Maybe there were a few breaks in the chain, but for miles the demonstrators lined both sides of the road. Everyone knew that the 40,000 police figure coming over the transistor radios was a joke.

The mood was ecstatic — the Tories' elaborate plans to smear the demonstrators had been defeated. Thatcher raved in the Commons, Heseltine went to the

Berlin wall — and they even arranged for a couple of Soviet journalists to be thrown out of the country to coincide with the demonstration. All to no avail.

A plane flew overhead (who paid for it?) trailing the Tory message — 'CND Kremlin's April fools'. But the demonstrators were not taken in. 'It's not the Berlin wall we're worried about — it's you and Reagan' read one poster. At Greenham itself 100 women invaded the base.

On Thursday the women blockaders had closed down Burghfield for the day, while the blockade of Greenham was broken up by the police.

The siege of nuclear valley was an unprecedented success for the peace movement. The fight to stop the Cruise missiles is on in earnest.

CND's 70,000 rock the Tories



Photo: GM COOKSON

20,000 in Scottish demo

By Tony Southall
(Secretary Labour CND)

SCOTTISH CND's city centre demonstration in Glasgow on Easter Saturday assembled around 20,000 in horrific weather, which included a blizzard half way through the proceedings.

The march began with a five minute 'die-in' of 4000 in George Square, which simulated the effects of a nuclear explosion. It continued with a march to Kelvingrove Park for a rally.

The keynote speech was by Joan Ruddock who angrily threw back Heseltine's claims that CND was playing into the hands of supposed 'enemies'.

Prison

'The government is increasingly frightened by CND's support. It is looking at every possible way to discredit the public response we are getting.'

She reiterated CND's determination to go all the way in opposition to the new generation of nuclear missiles.

In an interview before the demonstration she expanded on this speaking of 'a task force of 3-5000 people prepared to carry out uncomfortable and unpleasant tasks and prepared to risk being arrested and going to prison'.

The Glasgow demonstration was widely representative of the peace movement of Scotland and the North of England. Unfortunately however banners from the Labour Party and the trade unions were scarce.

Faslane

If cruise does come to Britain this year it will not be stopped by 3-5000 volunteers, no matter how commendable their actions.

Only the labour movement is capable of mounting the mass direct action which will be needed.

As a first step Labour CND members in Scotland intend to build a big representation on the 23 April demonstration to initiate the People's March for Jobs.

On Easter Sunday 2000 people demonstrated outside the British Polaris base at Faslane. Addressing the demonstration Margaret Morton of Scottish CND set a cautionary tone.

She argued that win or lose in the battle against cruise missiles, CND's struggle would not be over in 1983. CND stood on a programme of complete unilateral nuclear disarmament. It therefore needed to prepare for a sustained and consistent struggle for this end.

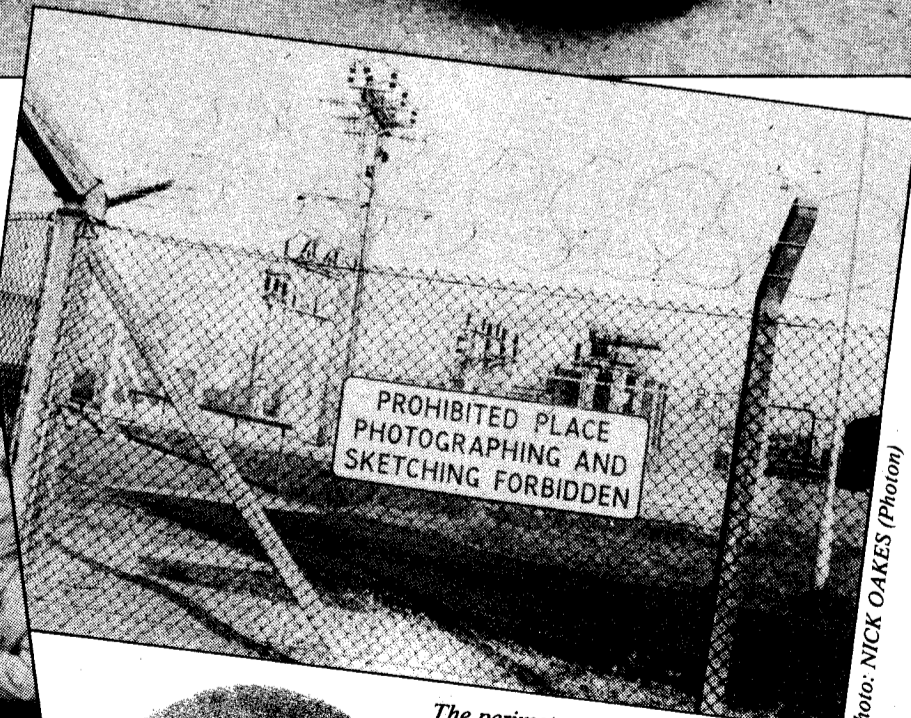


Photo: NICK OAKES (Photon)

The perimeter of Burghfield, the atom bomb factory in 'nuclear valley'



Photo: GM COOKSON



The spy who stayed in the warm

BLUNT'S DEATH has sent the press into a lather about the crime of treason. What has really got up the noses of Fleet Street is that Blunt is a product of the very establishment which runs Britain, and its own press.

'Letting the side down' is the nastiest crime of all in the eyes of our ruling class. But what made Blunt, Burgess, MacLean, Philby — and who knows who else — 'go off the rails'?

When they were Cambridge students Britain was gripped by recession. Fascism had won in Italy and Germany and a significant number of capitalists thought it might be a good way to 'solve Britain's problems'.

Nor did the Labour Party look much of an alternative. The Labour government of 1931 had cut unemployment benefits and its leaders had deserted to join up with the Tories and Liberals to form the National government.

At the same time the

Communist International dropped the disastrous ultra-left line of the 'third period' which had helped to pave the way for Hitler

By Bob Pennington

in Germany. By then it was trying to build alliances with the 'capitalist democracies'.

Stalin's 'realism' appealed to the middle class and students who distrusted the willingness of the British ruling class to oppose fascism.

Bury workers privatisation fight

THE TRADE UNIONS in Bury have launched a massive campaign against the local council's privatisation plans.

The long standing dispute was brought to a head when the council broke an agreement with the unions and an arbitration finding, and invited tenders for the refuse collection services.

The local authority workers responded by bringing the borough to a halt with a one day strike on 2 March. More than

ninety per cent of the NALGO members and a similar proportion of the manual side supported the

By D Greenhalgh, Bury NALGO

strike call.

Union plans now include petitions, leaflets and a demonstration to show the extent of opposition from local people to the council's privatisation plans. The unity of the unions and the support of the local people can yet stop the Tories' plans!



Anthony Blunt

Stalin also had another attraction. He held state power. To these young people who had been brought up to respect and admire the might of empire and its power, the transition from one state power to another was not too difficult.

When Blunt was recruited to MI5 he must have appeared the ideal agent. He came from a 'decent' family, read the right newspapers and had been to the right school.

During that time he gave the USSR information about Britain and its allies. He told them how the allies were plotting to put back the capitalist regimes that Hitler had driven into exile. He confirmed the suspicions of the USSR that the allies were hoping that Hitler's Wehrmacht and the Red Army would bleed each other to death in a war of attrition so that the Anglo-American alliance could take over a debilitated Europe.

Blunt committed the crime of giving the Soviet Union information that

the war-time pact with the Allies guaranteed them, but which the duplicity of Churchill and Roosevelt denied them. As a Marxist I applaud the fact that Blunt and his contemporaries gave away Britain's war secrets. This helped to defend the USSR in the war against fascism. The activities of Blunt, Philby, MacLean, Burgess and George Blake shook the confidence of the ruling class in their sinister spy institutions like MI5 and MI6. Anything that wrecks havoc and chaos in the secret service is good for the working class.

Agents

But Blunt and his fellow agents were children of the British establishment and were formed by that and their class background. Angry and frustrated at the lack of action by the Tories to resist fascism, which they saw as a threat to Britain they looked to another source of power as an alternative.

All their lives they had seen that you got results by influence and by knowing the right people who could manipulate others. The mass struggle and mass action was out of their experience and understanding.

Their hopes thus lay not in the international class struggle but in an alliance between 'democratic capitalism' and the Stalinist bureaucracy. This is why Blunt and the others could serve the 'socialist' USSR whilst remaining silent when its secret police butchered and framed its Marxist left opposition.

It is also why Blunt could be the Queen's art historian, accept his title from his monarch and re-settle in the establishment that had spawned him. He never dipped his feet in the cold waters of working class struggle.

He temporarily swapped the warmth of the British establishment for that of the Stalinist bureaucracy. But like a good homing pigeon he went back to the roost.

Vote against witch hunt

NO EXPULSIONS of socialists from the Labour Party — that was the message from the South West regional conference of the Labour Party. The motion was carried by 250,000 to 150,000 at the annual gathering in Exeter on 26 March.

Tony Benn addressed a packed conference fr-

inge meeting organised by Tribune and local supporters of Labour Against

By James Carroll

the Witch Hunt (LAW) to attack the witch hunt within the party. He was joined on the platform by

Chris Mullin from Tribune and John Gardener, national council of LAW.

The success of the conference resolution and the LAW campaign means that opposition to the witch hunt will remain top priority for West country socialists in the coming months.

IRELAND UNFREE



The case of Nicky Kelly

THE ROBBERY of a mail train at Sallins in County Kildare was used in 1976 to launch a massive attack on the newly formed Irish Republican Socialist Party. After a series of raids holding 40 for questioning, four were charged with organising the hold up.

One of these men was Nicky Kelly. At his trial there was no evidence, no witnesses and no jury. The basis of his conviction was a concocted statement which he had been forced to sign after what was euphemistically described as 'in depth' interrogation.

Nicky says that the reason he signed the statement was to stop his interrogators beating him up. Medical evidence consistent with such beatings was presented to the court by two doctors. This detailed that he was extensively bruised and that there were swellings on his body. One of these doctors was the medical officer in Mountjoy prison.

The Gardia — the Irish police — claim that there was no ill-treatment and that Nicky signed the statement voluntarily. It is rather odd that having volunteered his own guilt the Gardia never found out from him where the money was or ever persuaded him to tell them where the weapons were.

Probably the reason they never got either the cash or the guns was because they were in the possession of the Provisional IRA who made an unprecedented statement to the effect that they had committed the robbery, and that Nicky and his two co-defendants were completely innocent.

The Appeal Court eventually released the other prisoners after protests over the faked evidence. Meanwhile Nicky Kelly had skipped bail and was under-going psychiatric treatment in the United States necessitated by his torture.

As soon as the other two men were cleared by the Appeals Court he returned to Ireland only to lose his appeal on a legal technicality. So Nicky Kelly is still in jail, a victim of a frameup. Friends of Nicky Kelly, supporters of justice and organisations like Amnesty International have protested about the case to both the present and previous governments.

In Dublin a 'Release Nicky Kelly Committee' meets on the first and third Wednesday of each month and is assembling growing support. We ask our readers to get their organisations to send letters of protest to the Irish government demanding Nicky's release. Copies of these letters should be sent to the Committee, c/o 11 Deans Grange Terrace, Blackrock, Dublin.

● The Irish Republican Socialist Party have just announced that Nicky Kelly plans to go on hunger strike from 1 May if justice is not done in his case. This makes solidarity with Nicky even more urgent. Send those letters in now!

A PIECE OF THE ACTION BY CORMAC

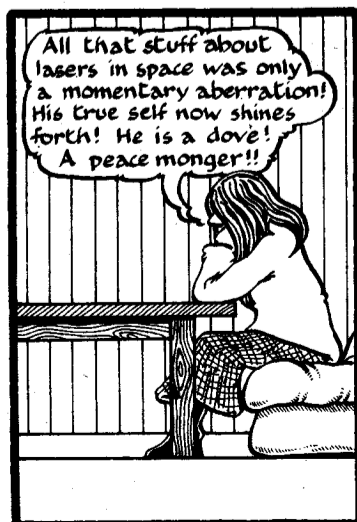


Photo: CHRIS DAVIES (Report)



Trico women went on strike for equal pay

Equal pay for work of equal value

By Jo Morris (National Council for Civil Liberties)

THE EUROPEAN Court of Justice has ruled that the UK government has not fulfilled its EEC Treaty obligations on the right of women and men to claim equal pay for work of equal value. This was the final verdict in legal proceedings that started in 1979.

European law says that all member states should provide for equal pay for work of equal value in their legislation. Our Equal Pay Act says however, that women can claim equal pay where they do the same or broadly similar work as a man or where there has been a job evaluation scheme that has given her job the same value as a man's in the same workplace.

The European Court ruled that this was not satisfactory and that it should be possible to claim equal pay for work of equal value where there is no system of job evaluation.

The government is now obliged to amend the Equal Pay Act — which could have important implications for thousands of women.

But instead of amending the Equal Pay Act and allowing discussion in the House of Commons, the government has introduced a draft order under Section 2(2) of the European Communities Act 1972. Section 2(2) allows a designated Minister to implement a European Community obligation by order. Section 2(4) of the same Act

enables an order to amend an Act of Parliament.

An order, like a statutory instrument cannot be amended, bypasses committees and is only allowed 90 minutes debate.

The Draft Order, which the government published in February, is totally inadequate. In many ways it puts women in a worse position than at present.

The Equal Pay Act has already been criticised for being complex and difficult to operate. The Order will make it more so and presents women with an almost impossible obstacle race if they want to claim equal value with a man.

The biggest problem facing the majority of women is that they work in low paid, low status 'women only' workplaces. They are not covered by the provision of the Equal Pay Act because they cannot compare themselves to a man doing the same or broadly similar work.

The concept of equal pay for work of equal value would enable a woman to compare herself with a man doing different work but of equal value.

This Order must be opposed. It will do nothing to encourage women to claim equal value with men. It will make equal pay claims even more difficult and complicated than at present.

- Women may be faced with huge costs
 - Women will have an added burden of proof in equal value cases
 - Equal value claims can be dismissed before they are even heard
 - 'Experts', untrained in equality legislation, will have a decisive influence on the Industrial Tribunal
 - No guidelines or criteria as to how equal value may be established
 - Successful equal value claims are most unlikely in view of the obstacles the government have placed at every stage of proceedings.
- The labour movement should campaign to get a firm commitment from the Labour Party that a future Labour government would introduce an amendment to the Equal Pay Act on equal pay for work of equal value.

Motions opposing the Order should be put forward to trade unions at national and branch level as soon as possible.

● Further information can be obtained from: Women's Rights Unit, NCCL, 21 Tabard Street, London SE1 4LA

Police on the rampage

THE POLICE BILL is still at the committee stage in Parliament, but the police in Hackney have decided they cannot wait the few months for the bill to become law.

If not the letter, then the spirit of that oppressive legislation guides them in their actions.

On Saturday 26 April Cirus Noor, a young black man, previously arrested at a Colin Roach campaign demonstration, was taken by the police off a bus.

His crime was to break the bail conditions imposed upon him by coming within two miles of Stoke Newington police station.

The bus had originally stopped because a police van was blocking its passage. The police claimed another passenger, Mark Hunte, was making V signs at them.

By Tim Wright

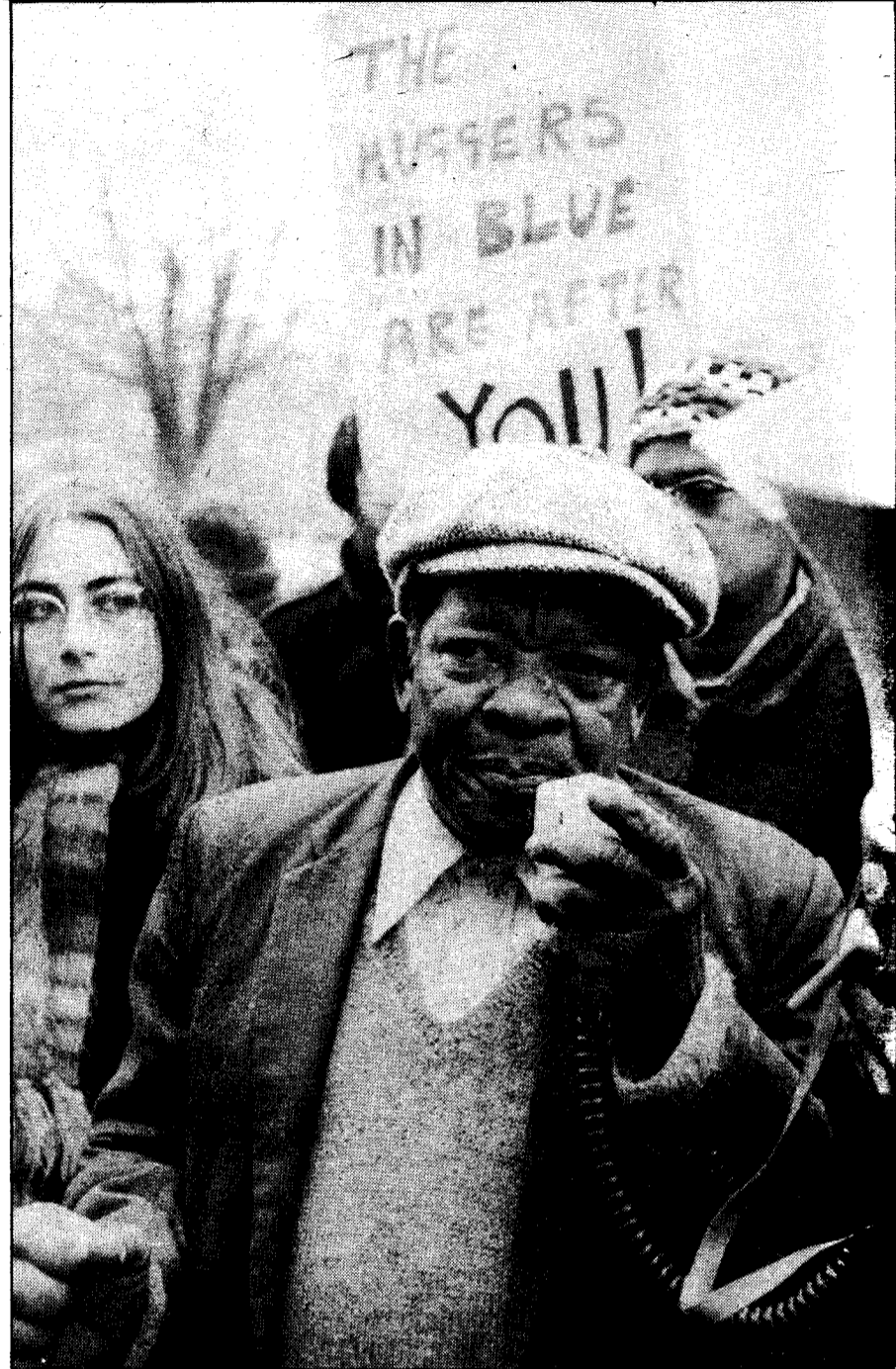
While 'dealing' with Mark the cops noticed Cirus. Forgetting Mark, they took Cirus to Stoke Newington police station where he was held over the weekend.

The Stoke Newington and Hackney Defence Campaign (previously the Roach Family Support Committee — Defence Campaign) contacted MPs Ernie Roberts, Stuart Holland and Jo Richardson who phoned the police station to make sure he was left untouched.

Cirus was up before the magistrates on Monday 28 March. Much to the surprise of the police, he was let free, the magistrate imposing the same bail conditions as before.

The court hearing was not without incident. The picket which had formed that morning to protest about Cirus's arrest was constantly harassed by the police.

The picket dissolved as his case came up and his friends attempted to enter the court. Those inside heard a woman's scream from outside. The door was then locked, and in the lobby six arrests were made.



Country-wide black people fight harassment

When Mark Hunte, waiting to appear as a witness for Cirus, asked to leave the courtroom — as required by law — he was refused.

He was then grabbed by three policemen and dragged through another door from the court. Mark, 16, and less than 5½ feet tall, was then charged with threatening behaviour.

Five of those arrested in the lobby had nothing to

do with the original picket. The sixth, Ace Kelly, was arrested for the third time since the death of Colin Roach.

A meeting called by the Roach Family Support Committee on Thursday 31 March repeated demands for the dropping of all charges against those arrested during the campaign.

Sue Carlisle, a Tower Hamlets Labour coun-

cillor, suggested from the platform that the labour movement of East London should begin its own public inquiry and not wait for the decision of the Home Secretary.

With almost 100 arrested and the arrogance of the Hackney police at an all-time high, a public inquiry could investigate not only Colin's death but all aspects of Hackney policing.

Anti-choice campaign

MALE ORDER reported a few weeks ago that anti-abortion groups were planning to distribute 2 million leaflets over Easter — one for every abortion done under the 1967 Act. A reader sent us a leaflet that had been pushed through their door by the anti-abortion group 'LIFE'.

The picture on the front allegedly shows fingers holding a 10-week old foetus, with just the tiny feet showing. The whole tenor of the leaflet is to appeal to the emotions ... a picture of a bouncing baby (not Prince William) with the caption, 'But for LIFE...'

LIFE are obviously hoping to appeal to ecologists, anti-nuke campaigners, anti-racists and even feminists with their propaganda:

'The double standard: to condemn apartheid, sexism and other kinds of discrimination yet to accept discrimination against the unborn ... to protest at baby seal-culling but to turn a blind eye to mass culling of pre-born human beings ... to demonstrate about a possible future nuclear holocaust but to ignore the silent holocaust of the unborn already happening all around us ...'

● Counter leaflets available from the National Abortion Campaign, 374 Grays Inn Rd, London WC1 (01-278 0153).

Save the Unborn Child



Rape in Marriage

JOHN TILLEY MP has introduced a Private Member's (sic) Bill to make rape in marriage a criminal offence.

This is in response to campaigning by women who are outraged that married women don't have the right to say 'no' to violence, rape and intimidation from their husbands because marital rape is not a crime.

The Rape in Marriage Campaign is a group of women campaigning for the law to be changed and all women are welcome to join.

The campaign can be contacted at 374 Grays Inn Rd or on 01-267 9841/354 2401 or 992 5054.



Women for Defence

A NEW pressure group has sprung up in response to the campaigns waged by women in the peace camps and the disarmament movement. Called 'Women for Defence' — presumably they threw out the obvious 'Women for War' — it has been

formed by Lady Olga Maitland. Lady Olga admits that she doesn't know much about war or nuclear weapons and this ignorance is duly reflected in the campaign's first press release: 'The world however contains some very nasty people' it proclaims. How true! The all-Tory Women for Defence campaign bears no exception.

WORLD IN ACTION

Zia's haven

PAKISTAN dictator Zia-ul-Haq has given his particular form of repression an 'Islamic' twist — which has led to the resurgence of the Islamic clergy.

Searching for the most repressive elements they can find in Islam, Zia and the clergy have had women banned from public sporting events.

The Pakistan Consultative Assembly took another step when the law of evidence was altered to make the evidence of one man equal to that of two women.

Future plans include: denying women the right to vote (the alternative is to make a woman's vote worth only half of that of a man); denying women the right to drive cars; the death penalty for prostitution (customers excluded) and the segregation of higher education.

Last November in Karachi a newly born baby was stoned to death after being abandoned by its parents. It was assumed to be illegitimate.

Calvi saga

THE decision of the High Court to overturn the inquest findings on banker Roberto Calvi, found hanging under Blackfriars bridge, has highlighted a papal scandal which will run and run.

The gist is this. Calvi ran the Banco Ambrosiano in Rome, which went bust last year. Banco Ambrosiano had received millions from the Vatican bank (IOR) run by papal sidekick and financier Archbishop Paul Marcinkus (of US origin).

Ambrosiano then 'laundered the money through subsidiaries in Switzerland, Bahamas, Peru, Nicaragua, Luxembourg and Lichtenstein.

Where was the money going? No one can say for certain. Only don't believe that the Vatican never interferes in politics.

Suspended sentence for Anna

ANNA Walentynowicz, founder member of Solidarnosc whose sacking in Gdansk started the 1980 strike, has been given a 15 month suspended jail sentence at the end of her trial in Grudiaz.

After the 13 December coup in 1981, Anna returned to the Lenin shipyard and was there among the workers when the tanks broke down the gates. She was interned but released in July.

The state prosecutor demanded three years in jail on the charge that

Anna had helped to organise strikes after the Jaruzelski coup.

During the trial a number of witnesses retracted their evidence.

The suspended sentence is seen as a victory for Solidarnosc, who are building up support for the demand for an amnesty on political prisoners still held.

Star '83

GUESS who's coming to Greenham Common? No, not cruise missiles. Pilots and planes from Chile.

They'll be there in July for STAR '83, an international air tattoo concentrating on 'strike attack and reconnaissance' (STAR — get it?).

Who gave the military of the Chilean junta permission to come over? A certain well known Minister of Defence who keeps talking about the 'defence of freedom'.

Further details can be obtained by sending a postcard to the Minister of Defence, MoD, Whitehall.

Applicants must answer the question which is more revolting: a) Cruise missiles b) General Pinochet c) Michael Heseltine?

Poison attack on Palestinians

ANOTHER tale of the struggle for civilised Western values.

300 women school students from the town of Jenin, on the Israeli occupied West Bank of the Jordan, have been poisoned by gas or chemical attacks on their food or water.

Israeli extremists are believed to have made gas attacks on several girls' schools at the beginning of last week.

The gas causes dizziness, vomiting, watering eyes and headaches. It is also believed to cause sterility among women.

Just to show their concern, the Israeli army imposed a strict curfew on the area.

Ecological disaster

AN ALMOST unprecedented ecological disaster is hitting the Arabian Gulf between Iran, Qatar and Kuwait.

Because of Iraqi shelling of an Iranian oil well, its platform has collapsed allowing millions of barrels of crude oil to flow into the sea.

The oil slick is the size of Belgium and getting bigger. Marine life is being devastated. Experts won't cap the well until Iraq promises not to attack them.

Sandinistas drive back invaders

THE LATEST attack on Nicaraguan territory is rightly seen by the Sandinista government as a 'new phase of the aggression against Nicaragua which has never ceased since the triumph of the Revolution'.

Some aspects of this invasion are frighteningly obvious. This is the largest single act of aggression carried out against the Sandinista government.

The government estimate that around 1200 counter revolutionaries have invaded the country. Although it seems the counter revolutionaries carry only small arms and infantry, the Sandinistas are aware that 'the Somocista force which has penetrated Nicaragua requires air support from Honduran territory for its supplies.'

The Sandinistas fear that frequent clashes to put down what they call the 'genocidal forces' could be used by the United States 'to provoke border clashes between our forces, and the Honduran Army which could end in war with the United States and its puppet armies, including Honduras.'

Honduras, according to the *New York Times*, has at least 150 CIA agents for 'the most ambitious paramilitary and political action operation mounted by the agency for more than a decade.'

The details have recently been made public by a former Argentinian military advisor in Honduras, Hector Francés, who was sent to Central America in order to 'evaluate and create conditions for political and military operations by counter revolutionary forces, and to obtain statements by politicians and other sectors favourable to the counter revolutionaries.'

The beginning of the Argentinian strategy was to create what they termed 'ideological frontiers' which would assist the counter revolutionaries to unite and pool their resources.

By Murdo Ritchie

This was carried out in many countries before the 'contras' (counter revolutionaries) came to an agreement in Miami and 'at the beginning of 1982 constituted the Nicaraguan Democratic Forces (FDN)'



However, the FDN seems either unable or unwilling to build itself among important sections of the anti-Sandinista opposition to the south of Nicaragua in Costa Rica, including the group around Edén Pastora, the former Sandinista leader.

Francés is clear that this operation requires 'extraordinary contributions of capital' from the US.

This money was used to 'establish encampments, arms and pay salaries to thousands of

men, provide economic assistance to counter revolutionary leaders, and pay the salaries of Argentinian military advisors — which run from \$2000-\$3000 a month.

Often 'fake companies' were created 'to provide cover for the operations such as stores, lumber industries' and others. Various offices and buildings were equipped with this money including the counter revolutionary radio station, Radio 15 de Septiembre.

Francés pointed out that other assistance was given, and that in 1980 50 Somocistas were sent to Argentina to be trained in guerrilla warfare tactics. This was to prepare them to become instructors for counter revolutionary camps in Central America and Miami.

He added that the Honduran Forces and the 'contras' often carry out clean-up operations and searches together. There is also constant exchange of advice and information between the two forces, and Honduran military installations are used as stores for the contras military equipment.

In late December of last year the head of the CIA, William Casey, visited Honduras for discussion with the US ambassador, John Negroponte, who the US newsweekly *Newsweek* saw as being in overall command of operations.

US military aid to Honduras is officially \$13m, although it is probably much more. It has recently received Hercules transport aircraft, phosphorous bombs, and



the adaptable air to ground fighter bomber, the A-37 'Dragonfly'.

There has also been a massive increase in the number of foreign military advisors in Nicaragua in the last twelve months. Various Latin American governments were heavily involved in the 'Operation Big Pine' manoeuvres in early February of this year.

These manoeuvres were clearly seen by the Nicaraguans as a provocation, and while they took place Nicaragua remained on armed alert.

In Managua 30,000 demonstrated against these manoeuvres. 'Operation Big Pine' was the largest military exercise ever held in Central America and it involved over 7000 participants.

Due to the swiftness, agility and skill of the San-

dinista People's Army, and the incompetence of the Somocistas this incursion has been contained. The latest casualty figures are 300 'contras' of whom 205 are dead, 97 members of the Sandinista forces of whom 57 were killed. So far the 'cells' of 'contras' in the cities have been silent and no attacks have been made. Unconfirmed reports exist that segments of the legal opposition have been arrested or have been placed under house arrest.

In his report Francés also stated that part of the strategy was to introduce a 2000 strong force of Miskitu Indians from Honduras in order to foment a mass uprising among the Miskitu people.

The latest communique from the Sandinista government states that 'Political pluralism remains in force. Production and life continue for the most part as normal, but with international assistance. Nicaragua is not alone, and shall remain sovereign, self-determined and independent.'

● Argentinian aid to 'contras' continues. See pages 8 and 9

Nicaragua: Invasion Emergency public meeting

Speakers invited from the labour and solidarity movements
Friday 8 April, 7.30pm, Main Hall, County Hall SE1.
More information from Nicaragua Solidarity Campaign 01-226 6747.

ETHIOPIA

War and famine

A YOUNG CHILD with stick-like arms and legs and a swollen belly is being fed through a tube in his nose. He weighs only 10 pounds. He's two and a half years old.

Chances of survival? 'Not very good' according to a relief worker.

Many of you will have seen this piece of film and similar reports of the effects of the two-year long drought in Ethiopia.

International relief agencies are appealing for funds. Britain has managed a princely £250,000, while Reagan has refused aid to the 'communist' government of Ethiopia.

By Hilary Driver

The *Sunday Times* bolstered Reagan's argument alleging that food aid sent from the West had been diverted to the Ethiopian army, and was even being used to pay Ethiopia's arms bill to the Soviet Union.

Nearly three million people have been affected by the drought which threatens to repeat the pattern of the disastrous famine of ten years ago.

The famine follows hard on the heels of other problems for the ruling military regime (called the DERG). Last year, in a massive campaign code-named 'Red Star', the military attempted to wipe out guerrillas who are justly fighting for independence for Eritrea.

The press would have us believe that the famine is due to natural causes and the 'natives fighting among themselves'.

But the spectre of starvation is not a God-given retribution. It can be traced directly to the legacy of colonial rule and imperialist domination.

A few facts and figures help us make sense of the causes of starvation and famine in the world today.

About forty million people — half of them children — die every year from hunger. America has so much grain stockpiled to preserve market prices and profits — 140 million tons — that it has decided to take one-third of crop land out of production.

Cost

At present, it costs the US \$12 billion a year to store the grain. The national income of Bangladesh is \$10.4 billion.

Malaria kills one million children a year in the African continent alone. The cost of a world-wide campaign to eradicate the disease would be \$2 billion — the



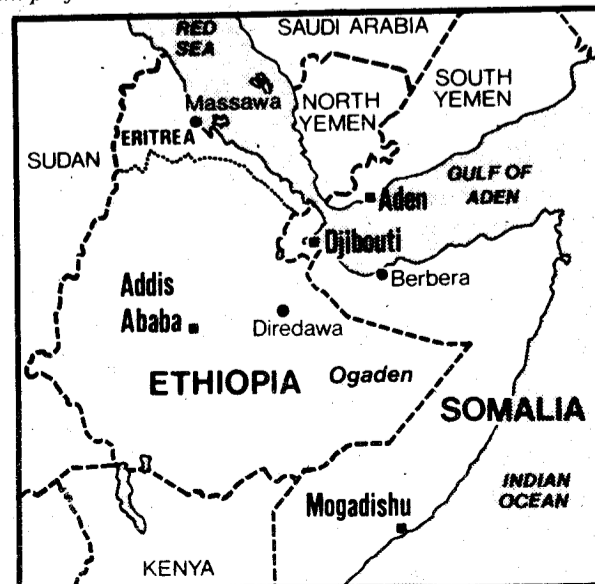
Millions starve while capitalism profits

sum invested in the world in arms and military spending every 36 hours.

Five hundred million people in the Third World alone suffer from malnutrition. If the world was a village of 1000 people, 240 of them would be starving.

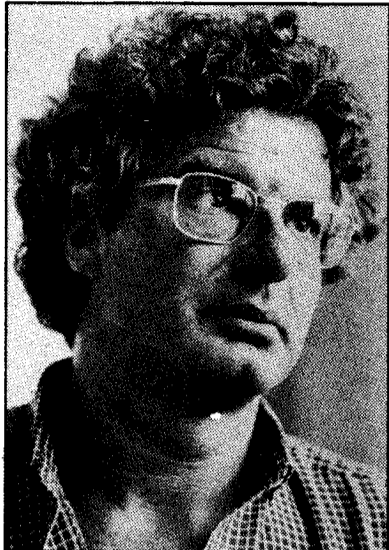
The West builds up stockpiles of nuclear weapons and grain. Milk lakes, butter mountains and the rest keep growing to bolster profits while millions starve all over the world.

The TV and the papers focus on the famine in Ethiopia with no mention of the true cause, or the real effects, of imperialism's wonderful free-market economy.



“THE ACTION INTERVIEW”

Photo: CARLOS AUGUSTO GUARITA (Photon)



Alain Krivine

DURING the two years since the election of the Francois Mitterrand Socialist Party-Communist Party (SP-CP) government there have been many illusions in the British left.

For example, *New Socialist* published an article last year entitled: 'Mitterrand, so far so good'. ALAIN KRIVINE was one of the main leaders of the far left slate ('Voice of the workers against austerity') which stood 4000 candidates in the recent French municipal elections. He told Brian Heron how the left must fight back against the pro-capitalist path of Mitterrand.

How do you explain the poor showing of the Socialist Party and the Communist Party in the first round of the municipal elections?

This election was the first since Mitterrand came to power, and thus a national political test. During these two years, and especially during the last six months the government has implemented a policy of austerity — freezing wages temporarily and increasing social security charges.

The initial gains for the working class are being eroded by this pro-capitalist policy. There was a deep disappointment inside the working class that this government is applying an austerity policy even deeper than the previous right wing government.

At the beginning of '81-82 there were a lot of illusions as far as the government was concerned — with the exception of a small minority of workers linked to the far left. But for the majority of the working class there was a situation of social peace.

The workers were waiting to see what the government would do.

As you know, last June the government changed its policy and imposed an austerity policy with a wage freeze. In the local elections which took place before the municipals was saw the phenomenon of abstention by working class voters — two or three per cent of the voters who usually voted for the SP and the CP decided to stay at home.

The political parties of the bourgeoisie who were in sharp retreat after the Mitterrand victory in 1981 used the austerity policy to take the offensive. For the first time in a very long time the right wing parties have been able to mobilise a lot of people.

For example they have been able to organise big street demonstrations during the last six months in nearly all the major towns — mainly middle class, but still a big mobilisation. During the municipal election campaign the Gaullist leader Chirac, was able to organise a meeting of 80,000 people in Paris. At the same time the CP and SP organised a meeting of less than 4000 people. Even the extreme left got

Alain Krivine

'The Mitterrand government has taken the path of capitalist austerity'



Mitterrand (right) with finance minister Jaques Delors

a rally of 8000 people. And that was repeated in all the major cities of France.

This reflected a total demobilisation of the working class and the official left parties. So the right wing wanted to use this election to show that a new majority had emerged against the left, and this project was only thrown back in the second round of the municipal elections when the working class abstainers rallied to keep out the right wing. But in the first round of the elections the working class abstention in most industrial cities was very big.

During the week between the first and second round of the voting the CP and the SP made a big campaign using rather 'leftist' language towards the working class abstainers, because they understood that it was on the left that they had lost votes.

Will the left leaders respond to the warning of the elections to modify their austerity policy?

On the contrary, as we've seen in the last few days, because the government refuses to take any fundamental anti-

capitalist measures it's caught in a trap. Austerity is going to have to be applied even more sternly as the foreign speculators and the bankers manoeuvre against the franc.

This is the kind of thing which all reformist governments face — we saw it in Britain during the Wilson government when the IMF stepped in and again under Callaghan. They are saying that we have to have 'national unity'.

We will explain precisely the opposite — that if this government continues to capitulate to the bosses then

it will end in debacle, and that 'unity with the bosses' can only be on their terms.

How did the CP fare in the election?

If we look at the towns where the CP has been traditionally the leading force in the left over the SP, we can see the decline has been very marked. In many of the Communist suburbs — especially the 'red belt' of Paris — the CP lost between 5 and 15 per cent of its vote, usually around 10 per cent.

The credibility of the CP is declining rapidly. I think that we can say after three successive electoral disasters for the CP that they have a structural political crisis. I don't see how they can regain their former position.

What about the far left organisations who supported the 'Voice of the workers against austerity'?

There is an all-round loss of confidence of the workers in their traditional organisations, not only the SP and CP, but the trade unions as well which are losing hundreds of thousands of members as a result of their leaders supporting austerity. But the hundreds of thousands who are fed up with the right wing policies of the labour movement leaders are in total disarray and have not in their majority rallied to a left alternative.

Frankly speaking the far left has not been able to sufficiently capitalise on this disappointment. We have been able to organise only a minority. The score we made — about four per cent of the vote — is not so bad in the sense that we made a very political vote.

I want to make one qualification. During our election campaign we had more people than ever before from the CP and SP coming to our meetings, even people who two years ago were following their leaderships. For example at Longwy, where three years ago you had a big struggle over redundancy in the steel industry, all the previous leaders of the CP including ex-full timers came to our meeting to discuss with us. Some have been expelled, others have left the CP. The one alternative today is the extreme left, all the centrist forces have collapsed.

Two things are linked: building an alternative to the CP and the SP and explaining that austerity is not inevitable. The arguments of the CP and the SP that there is no alternative today, and that you have to wait for real social change, these arguments have some credibility because people don't see what a credible alternative would be.

So we have to develop in a concrete way a 'workers solution to the crisis', an anti-capitalist solution to the crisis. The difficult thing, as always, is to make the link between our anti-capitalist propaganda and the concrete struggle, to avoid having just abstract anti-capitalist propaganda.

The second thing is to build an organisational alternative. Many workers who came to our meetings said 'OK, we agree with you, but the revolutionary organisations represented here are too small. When you grow we'll come with you'. That's why we decided to go for a common slate with Lutte Ouvriere (Workers Struggle) and why we are fighting for a more long term unity.

Nearly 40 per cent of our candidates were workers not in revolutionary organisations, but who were prepared to stand up in their factory or union and say 'OK this time we'll go with the revolutionaries in a public way'. That's the potential that we have to build on.

The Falklands war

'When we started out, there were waverers and faint-hearts. The people who thought that Britain could no longer seize the initiative for herself. The people who thought we could no longer do the great things which we once did. Those who thought that our decline was irreversible — that we could never again be what we were.

'There were those who would not admit it — even perhaps here today — people who would have strenuously denied the suggestion but — in their heart of hearts — they too had secret fears that it was true; that Britain was no longer the nation that had built an Empire and ruled a quarter of the world. Well they were wrong.

'The lesson of the Falklands is that Britain has not changed and that this nation still has those sterling qualities which shine through our history.'

That was the central part of the message delivered by Margaret Thatcher to 5,000 ecstatic Tories assembled at Cheltenham race course on 3 July 1982, her first major speech after the Falklands war.

At the same time the Tories were registering over 50 per cent in the opinion polls, enough to give them a landslide victory in an election. Since that time the Falklands has had a lasting effect on British political life.

Positive

As soon as the war was over the Social Services Minister Fowler was decrying 'the lack of Falklands spirit' among the health workers — one of a long list of strikers who had this charge hurled against them.

Most of all the war was a terrible warning to the labour movement, that international political questions can be used to generate a carnival of reaction and that only a determined internationalist response can prevent it.

The invasion of the Falklands came like a bolt out of the blue. The usually

astute *Economist* in its edition of the week leading up to the invasion devoted only a small article to the possibility that British submarines might be in the region.

For the first time in two decades the Commons met on a Saturday, 3 April. Thatcher seemed in deep trouble. The Tories were angry at the delay in announcing the invasion and at the Foreign Office's incompetence in not foreseeing it. Thatcher made a bellicose speech asserting British sovereignty over the islands.

By Paul Lawson

But still there were doubters — would Britain really get involved in a shooting war over faraway islands with a population the size of a village?

The issue was settled in Michael Foot's speech. He argued that the invasion was unbridled aggression comparable to fascist aggression in the '30s and '40s.

Not only the defence of the Falkland Islanders was at stake, but Britain's greater duty to: 'uphold the rights of our country to be the defender of people's freedom throughout the world, particularly those who look to us for special protection, as do the people of the Falklands Islands.'

Foot's speech was the turning point in the debate. Any wavering about the despatch of the Task Force was dispelled. The possibility of building a really national opposition to Thatcher's madness was thrown out of the window.

Edward Du Cann, leading Tory backbencher and representative of City interests, jumped to congratulate Foot whom he said 'spoke for us all'. Du Cann was followed by Enoch Powell who echoed these sentiments. For the SDP, David Owen completed the unanimity.

The naval Task Force arrived in the South Atlantic on 22 April. During the two and a half weeks it took to get there, nearly all serious commentators had regarded its sending as a show of force designed to get serious negotiations.

Once again, the *Economist* talked about an 'inevitable agreement' which would have to be reached with the Argentinians. This was also of course the position of Foot and the SDP. But right from the very beginning Thatcher was making preparations for a successful military engagement.

SAS units were despatched to Argentina via Chile to monitor Argentine aircraft movements. Nuclear

weapons were installed on the British fleet.

But the most significant evidence that Thatcher would not tolerate any serious negotiations was the sinking on 2 May of the *General Belgrano* with the loss of at least 300 lives. The Belgrano incident made future progress in negotiations — which the United States was desperately trying to get going through Secretary of State Haig's shuttle diplomacy — impossible. The Belgrano was sunk outside the exclusion zone on its way back to base.

The decision to sink it was a criminal act, designed by Thatcher to ensure a continuing military conflict which she could win.

Part of the reason for that was Thatcher's determination to score a massive political victory through military victory. But there was more to it than narrow Tory calculation.

The Falklands war challenged Britain's world military and economic position. Despite the decline of the domestic economy, Britain owns £84 billion worth of capital abroad.

Britain thus remains a major imperialist power. To protect what Foot calls 'our position in the world' tens of thousands of British troops are stretched out across the world in dozens of countries. British banks are among the biggest in the world. All this is in marked contrast to Argentina.

Conflict

The small island with a big capitalism decided to use its military might to demonstrate very publicly to the world, that Britain remained an imperialist power not to be challenged. Thatcher's determination to bring down Galtieri was an expression of that. Her military victory may seem on the surface to have been a close run thing. But in fact there could have been only one outcome to the conflict, especially once the Belgrano incident had made it impossible for the American's to stay neutral and maintain their 'mediator' image.

Britain remains immeasurably more powerful than any semi-colonial power militarily and economically.

The full power of the press and television was mobilised to reinforce patriotism and national chauvinism. While many papers adopted this role willingly and with boundless enthusiasm, whipping up an almost racist hysteria against 'Argies', the rest of the press was effectively censored by 'news management'.

The BBC was subject to furious attack because a *Panorama* programme raised some mild questions about the



Lord Carrington

war. The recently revealed Ministry of Defence plans to effectively militarise reporters in the event of the danger or war, by prescribing 'safe' reporters who will be given military uniforms, reflects the news management of the Falklands war.

The Franks Report on the war laughably accepted the government/media line on the war and vindicated everyone involved — Thatcher, Carrington, Nott — the lot!

Thus the war strengthened racism and national chauvinism. It weakened the labour movement. It gave the Tories an easy victory. The responsibility for all that, or at least that there was no significant national force to challenge it, is directly due to the sanction given by Foot to the sending of the Task Force.

During the war itself Michael Foot at various times appealed to Thatcher to hold off and give negotiations a chance. But he was hoisted on his own petard. Once having agreed that it was vital to send the Task Force, he was in an impossible position to demand negotiations once the military conflict had begun.

A section of the labour movement, and its parliamentary leadership, did of course call for the withdrawal of the fleet — notably Tony Benn and Judith Hart. But the demonstrations were too small to have a serious impact. Their importance lies in the preparation of an alternative position on the Falklands for when the question arises again, as it inevitably will.

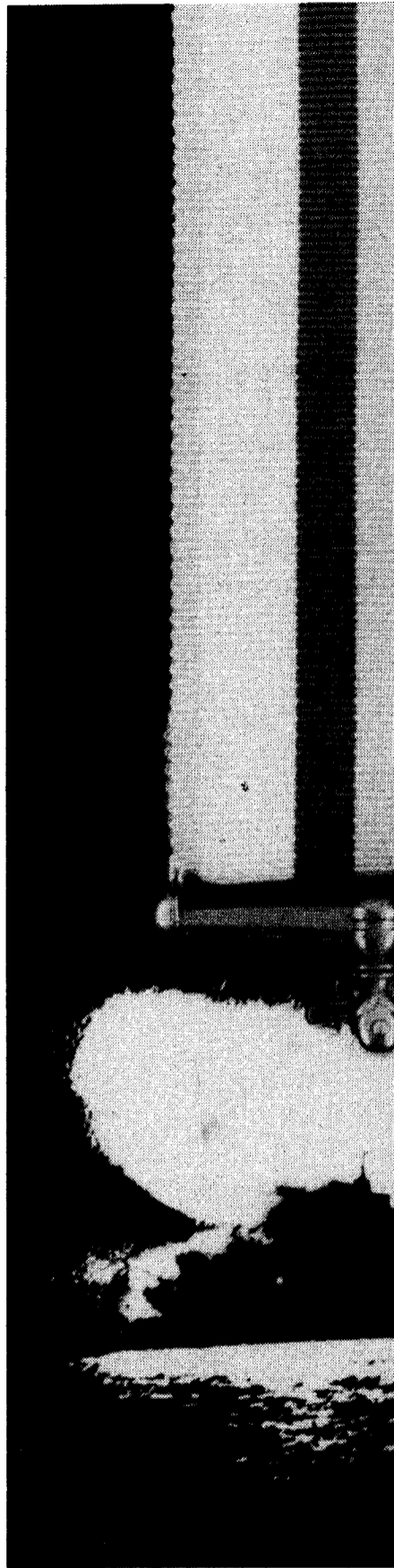
Reaction

On an international level, Britain's victory only served the interests of reaction. No matter how reactionary the government of Argentina — and many people discovered the 'fascist' character of the regime much later than the left who opposed the war — the conflict was seen everywhere as a war between a leading imperialist power and a minor power, which is still a dependent country, dominated by foreign capital.

The support given to Argentina by countries like Cuba and Nicaragua arose not from some sort of 'Latin American chauvinism', but from an understanding that Britain was fighting to shore up its own and ultimately world imperialism. The 'lesson' of the war is 'don't tamper with the big imperialist states or they'll give you a bloody nose'.

The Argentinian workers movement responded to the war with the slogan, 'the Malvinas are Argentinian but so are the 25,000 disappeared'. They supported the fight to get back the Malvinas but not the regime. Because they never abandoned their position to the regime they did not suffer a big defeat through the outcome of the war. But that does not alter the fact that internationally Britain's victory was negative and reactionary.

Britain's victory in the conflict was probably inevitable. The Argentinian regime refused to take drastic measures to hit at British capitalism's interests in the country. But that is not the same thing as saying that 'Fortress Falklands' is a viable strategy. Ending British occupation of the Falklands will remain a



permanent objective of virtually any Argentinian government which comes to power. The consequences are obvious.

There will be repeated attempts to re-capture the Malvinas for Argentina, and in the long term the occupation of the islands is untenable. Eventually the cost of the occupation and the logistical difficulties will tell. At present prices the government intends to spend £600m a year on the garrisoning of the islands — £1½m for each Falkland family.

Sovereignty

The conclusion is that the left must ensure that it is prepared to respond to any renewal of the conflict. The central question is that of sovereignty. Once there is any equivocation on the right of Argentina to sovereignty over the Falklands, then the central ground of the debate is handed over to Thatcher and the Tories.

The new Labour Programme — 'The New Hope for Britain' merely argues that 'normal links with the Latin American mainland' must be restored, without adopting a clear position on sovereignty or British withdrawal.

Unfortunately not even every section of the far left in Britain has passed the test posed by this issue. The *Mili-*



Argentinian soldiers discover British marines at start of the invasion

a warning to the labour movement



Minority of the labour movement stood out against the war

Photo: GM COOKSON

Argentina — a year after Malvinas

ONE YEAR after the attempt to reclaim the Malvinas through invasion, the Argentinian military regime is on its last legs.

Faced with an escalation of workers action the regime has promised elections in October 1983 and a transfer of power in 1984.

But there are few signs that the workers trust these assurances or will wait to see if they are fulfilled.

The workers offensive against the regime reached a new peak on Monday 28 March when a 24 hour national strike, called for better wages and to protest at the government's economic policies, brought the country almost to a halt, despite being declared illegal.

By Steve Roberts

The economy has gone into further precipitate decline since the defeat in the Malvinas. It was to distract attention from the crisis that General Galtieri ordered the invasion of the Malvinas on 2 April 1982.

Then, as now, a succession of political strikes called by the General Confederation of Labour (CGT) threatened to bring down the military regime established in 1976. That regime introduced the 'Chicago' economics of Milton Friedman.

The results were traumatic. According to Andrew Thompson (*Times* 11.3.83) 'Interest rates shot up to record levels attracting speculative capital from overseas which built up the foreign debt. Meanwhile domestic industry felt the pressure, squeezed between falling demand, cheap import and unbearably high interest rates ...

'At home financial empires were built by buying and selling banks and companies. Speculation flourished and millionaires appeared overnight, financing their own companies with their own banks creating massive houses of cards ...'

As banks and companies went bankrupt the government was forced to devalue the peso and in 1981 inflation shot back up to three figures.

Critics within Argentina describe



Mothers of Argentina's 'disappeared' demonstrated in Buenos Aires

the policies as wanting 'to return Argentina to its original role as a primary commodity exporter and "de-industrialising" the country.'

The size of Argentina's foreign debt, already rocketing from its 1975 level of \$8000m, was hoisted by the cost of the war to a stupendous \$40,000m. These clear symptoms of a declining 'dependent industrialisation' have pushed Argentina closer to its third world neighbours in the Non-Aligned Movement, which has supported Argentina's claim to the Malvinas, calling for negotiations between London and Buenos Aires to resolve the dispute.

This new diplomatic alignment by Argentina is reflected in the coolness of relations between the US and Argentina and in the apparently reduced role Argentina is playing in repressive activities in Central America.

But the military junta has by no means changed its spots. Despite official declarations that the only Argentinians serving in Honduras are

mercenaries evidence in the *Observer* (6.2.83) showed that high ranking Argentinian diplomats are playing a central role in the present counter-revolutionary operations in Nicaragua.

The junta is also being militarily rearmed by Western Europe, including Britain. British engineers from Rolls-Royce supervised the installation of gas turbine engines in the four warships currently being built for the junta in West Germany.

The first of these frigates was handed over to the junta in January. The ships are armed with Exocet missiles, for which British Aerospace is listed as the sub-contractor responsible for the radar-homing equipment.

The cosmetic changes in Argentina's foreign policy are paralleled with similarly small changes at home. While those most directly responsible for the Malvinas defeat have been replaced the essential continuity of the regime has been demonstrated in the slowness in returning to civilian rule. The coalition of the two parties

who form the opposition, the *Multipartidaria*, raised the demand that the transfer of power should be no later than 12 October.

The government have decreed that elections should take place on 30 October, but the current joke is that another decree will be made finishing October on the 29th.

The significance of the delay is so that the heads of the armed forces traditionally appointed at the end of each year would be in place before the civilian government took power, able to monitor and if necessary veto its measures.

In the meantime there is still no answer to the question posed every Thursday by the courageous women who demonstrate in the Plaza de Mayo outside President Bignone's palace demanding to know the fate of the 25-30,000 people 'missing' since the military took over.

The workers movement is beginning to recover from the defeat of 1976 through the recomposition of the trade union movement. Both the moderate (Azopardo) and militant (Brasil) factions of the CGT combined in last week's national strike.

But it was the Brasil faction who led last Thursday's demonstration to commemorate the demonstration of 30 March last year when the anti-government demonstrations were heavily repressed, on the eve of the Malvinas invasion.

The anniversary of the invasion has been commemorated by the junta calling for a Malvinas day on 2 April. But no major public events were held to mark the occasion and certainly the embittered veterans of the campaign, now organising campaigns to expose the appalling treatment that rank and file soldiers have received since the Port Stanley defeat, were given no prominence. It was said of these young men who went to fight that they had no political education, unlike the seasoned militants who had participated in the struggles against repression before 1976.

However the bitter fruits of the Malvinas defeat, the accelerating social and economic crisis and the refusal of the regime to grant any significant concessions, mean that an explosion of these two elements when combined can not be far away.

Photomontage: Peter Kennard.

...t tendency disgraced itself, and its pretensions to Marxism, by refusing to call for a withdrawal of the British fleet to support the demonstrations called on this basis. In reality they placed themselves on the right of Tony Benn and Judith Hart.

Bipartisan

Socialist Organiser, after equivocating on the question of Argentinian sovereignty during the war, carried out a late correction.

The lesson of the events for the whole of the left is that if you give an inch on opposing your own imperialism, then you will suffer political defeats. Thatcher rewarded Foot and the Labour leadership for their acquiescence by kicking them in the teeth.

The same principles hold true for the other central problem for British imperialism, where the Labour Party also pursues a bipartisan policy — the continued occupation of the North of Ireland. The Falklands war was a terrible warning to the labour movement. Getting on with the 'bread and butter' issues of domestic politics, while the ruling class is running rampant with war hysteria only prepares the ground for bigger and worse defeats.

Labour's Campaign Document:

What the left press said

Socialist ACTION

★ Morning Star

'IT IS TRUE that the new campaign document contains many of the policies the left has been fighting for. This is a victory.

'But at the heart of the document is a repeat of the disastrous 'social contract' policy of the Wilson/Callaghan governments of 1974-79. Both the TUC and the Labour Party are now committed to try and hold back wages.

'In the coming trade union conferences this new social contract should be rejected. Plans for the general election should be drawn up based on defending those conference policies which start to meet the real needs of the working class. That's the role of Socialists for a Labour Victory.'

'Labour's campaign document is undoubtedly the most radical pre-election statement of policy for many years. This clearly testifies to what has been achieved by the Left.

'The most serious weakness lies in the national economic assessment. This is based on the same misreading of the realities of British capitalist society as the former social contract.

'True, the 'old' form of wage restraint based on government norms is specifically excluded. But the national economic assessment could still be used to pressurise the unions into accepting a so-called voluntary norm.'

Tribune

Socialist Worker

'CERTAINLY there are radical phrases in the document. It promises a "fundamental and irreversible shift in the balance of power and wealth in favour of working people and their families."

'The question is will Labour be any more successful in this pledge than the last time those very words were included in the manifesto in 1974?

'One thing we could rely on a new Labour government to implement is the national economic assessment — incomes policy under another name — it was precisely that kind of talk which preceded the disastrous social contract of 1974 and after.

'No matter how much the Labour left talk of a radical manifesto, all we've been offered is a pale pink damp squib.'

(Audrey Wise writes) LABOUR'S Campaign document is good. It was much better than I expected when it came from the drafting committee, and since then it has been significantly strengthened and improved.

'It includes firm statements on key issues — on the Bomb and the Common Market for example.

'The National Economic Assessment is a concept which has caused some alarm. But the section now says: "We will not however return to the old policy of government-imposed wage restraint".

'This good campaign document is certainly not the creation of Left members of the NEC — Nothing was squeezed in by a narrow majority — because there were no votes. A consensus was achieved.

'The policy victories of last October and other years proved too strong to be brushed aside.'

Livingstone — LCC hits back

KEN LIVINGSTONE'S leadership of the GLC has been an inspiration to the left throughout Britain and his article (*Socialist Action*, 1 April) contains some valuable points. It's therefore more in sorrow than in anger I write to correct his (mis) representation of Labour Co-ordinating Committee strategy.

He alleges that all we're interested in is 'cosying' up to the right wing and that we're rolling over on our tummies hoping that John Golding will tickle them. While these are striking new images to add to left rhetoric, they are far from accurate.

What the LCC has said is that the left has made considerable gains in the party in recent years, both in terms of policy and in the democratic reforms. The campaign document with its clear commitment to unilateralism and all the research into the composition of the next Parliamentary Labour

Party bear witness to this.

However this left advance has taken place because the party centre, and in particular, sections of the trade unions have accepted left leadership at crucial stages. The left must be careful not to overestimate its own strength.

Ken is quite right to point to the intellectual poverty of the right — this is why they have been unable to significantly dilute the conference policies in the campaign document. But he is wrong to say they have no base.

The left has made real advances among activists to be sure, but the real rank and file, trade unionists and Labour voters, have not been immune from the swing to the right of 'common sense' ideas throughout society. This problem, Ken, cannot be reduced to failures of leadership alone. We just have to look at the National Union of Public Employee's vote for



Photo: GM COOKSON

Healey and recent National Union of Mineworkers' ballots to see this.

These events have taken place against a backdrop of an acceleration in the decline of Labour's vote. Part of the reason for this is the electorate's perception that Labour has been more interested in internal disputes than effective opposition to Thatcherism.

Ken and ourselves would agree on the importance of many of these disputes, but that doesn't mean we can ignore the very real demand for unity coming

from the labour movement's base.

The left has to respond in two ways, if we're to continue our advance.

Firstly, we must also be seen to be demanding unity, not at any price but certainly around the policies of the campaign document. This will isolate the expulsion-mad right, who will be seen by the centre to be threatening pre-election unity.

Secondly, the left must be in the forefront of campaigning for Labour's radical policies, rather than prioritising internal campaigns (though of course

we have not remained silent on the expulsions). The more mass support for our policies exists, the more meaningful our well intentioned resolutions become.

Ken says: 'it's time to start campaigning against any plan for coalition and for support for radical socialist policies.' The LCC has been urging a mass campaigning party almost since our inception — it's good to know that Ken is with us on that at least.

NIGEL STANLEY,
Organising Secretary,
Labour Co-ordinating Committee.

GREETINGS

Tyrone O'Sullivan

on behalf of Tower Lodge Committee, NUM

secure future for themselves and their communities.

'The struggle against oppression is an international one, from El Salvador to Solidarnosc in Poland.

'*Socialist Action* will I am sure support the international struggles for a peaceful, democratic socialist society.'



Tyrone O'Sullivan

'ON BEHALF of NUM lodge committee at Tower colliery South Wales, I would like to give greetings and congratulations to the launch of the new paper *Socialist Action*.

Tower lodge welcomes the contribution *Socialist Action* can make in fighting for socialism and in particular the support you give to the struggles of miners.

'Miners fight not only for themselves but for the whole working class and we look forward to your new paper supporting all workers struggling for their jobs and a

Alf Lomas

(MEP London North-East)

'I WAS very interested to hear of the launching of a new labour movement weekly, *Socialist Action*.

'I am in favour of having as many newspapers as possible putting forward a socialist point of view in our movement, particularly if the purpose of the paper is to unite the movement behind the policies of the Labour Party.'

'I find myself in disagreement with the views expressed in a number of socialist newspapers which are already in circulation, but I would campaign for their right to continue to express their point of view.

Every debate on all the issues in our movement is essential.'

Labour and Racism

AS A MEMBER of Battersea CLP GC, I can only agree with S. Patel's disgust (Letters 1.4.83) at the 67-3 (not 57-3) vote to select Alf Dubs as parliamentary candidate over black candidate Russell Proffitt.

Both candidates are on the left of the party, though neither are 'hard' lefts.

Russell ran on a slightly more left platform than Alf opposing import controls, favouring troop

withdrawal from Ireland and pledging support for Labour's conference policies as the basis of the manifesto. He also stressed the need for Labour to adopt black parliamentary candidates.

Most delegates, however, plumped for Dubs on the basis of his known record on anti-racism, abortion rights, civil liberties, his stand against the Malvinas war and of being a popular constituency MP.

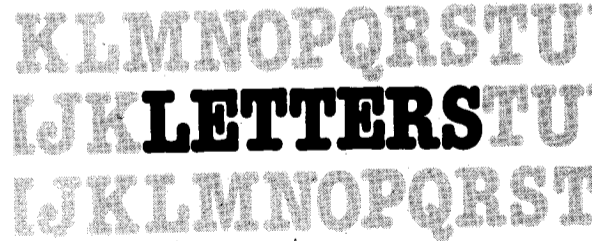
This political decision is understandable but in my view wrong and totally underestimates the importance of and need for

positive action in the Labour Party.

The political consequences will reverberate well beyond the boundaries of Battersea in terms of black people's and anti-racists' perception of the Labour Party's willingness to act on its own policies.

Paul Boateng will now, I understand, be probably the only black candidate put up by Labour in this general election. As Russell said, 'this is a problem that you've got to face up to.'

PETE COOPER,
Battersea CLP.



Postal Points

DID Alan Bleasdale cross a picket line or not?

If so, why is he on page 1, and the strikers on page 14? I'm a steward in the GMBATU and I'm not sure about your priorities. **GARY HAYES,** Acton.

We agree completely with your concern that Boys from the Blackstuff author Alan Bleasdale scabbed on the GMBATU pickets outside the Grosvenor House film award jamboree.

Our point on the front page of *Socialist Action* no. 2 was to comment on his effective use of prime TV time to speak out for the unemployed.

What a boost it would have been for the sacked hotel workers if he had also brought attention to their dispute.

WE WERE annoyed to see the new *Socialist Action* taking up the Solidarnosc logo for your own masthead. Whilst we recognise that your predecessor *Socialist Challenge* has given support to the Polish union, so have many other groups and papers.

We don't think any one group has the right to annex their world-known logo other than groups directly concerned, eg Polish Solidarity Campaign. We'd have thought

other Solidarnosc supporters would be less than impressed by your paper's opportunism.

Mushroom Bookshop
workers, Nottingham

Socialist Action has no intention of appropriating the Solidarnosc script for itself alone. We adopted the script for two reasons.

First, as an act of solidarity with the outlawed union, whose cause we want to continually remind our readers about. Second, because the message of Solidarnosc closely resembles our vision of socialism: the fight for an alternative to capitalism and Stalinism, for genuine workers' democracy.

Editor: ALAN FREEMAN
Published weekly except two weeks in August and the last week of December.
Signed articles by contributors do not necessarily represent Socialist Action's views. These are expressed in editorials.
Send all correspondence regarding subscriptions, sales and receipts to Socialist Action Distribution, 328 Upper Street, London N1 2XP. (Tel: 01-359 8180)
Send all material for publication, including advertising, to Socialist Action Editorial, at the same address.
We regret the use of the right hand of postage we do not return or acknowledge unsolicited copy or photographs unless accompanied by a stamped addressed envelope.

**She is afraid
She is alone
She put 3 million out
of work**

MT

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)



Between friends

A novel by Gillian E Hanscombe

Sheba Feminist Publishers, £3.95.

Reviewed by Hilary Astor

Between Friends is written as a series of letters exchanged among four women.

Frances is a researcher living in Canada. She is married to an egotistical playwright and her attitude to feminism is very negative.

Frances is a friend of Meg, who is the central character of the book. Meg is gay. She is living with a woman, and she has a young son. It is Meg's questionings about the relationship between women and women, and women and men, that lead her to start a correspondence with Amy.

Amy is a feminist who lives with a man, Tim, and she is trying to work out a non-oppressive equal relationship with him. Amy also has a child, John.

Amy introduces Meg to the fourth central character of the book — Jane.

Jane is a radical feminist living communally with a group of women in the north of England. Jane rejects the idea of any sort of relationship with men, so that for instance when she and Meg become lovers she will not tolerate Meg's young son even as a visitor to her commune.

Through their letters the four women examine and discuss events in their lives ranging from the domestic crisis arising when Amy's child gets mumps, to the rape of Meg by Frances's husband.

The women also talk through their political activity.

But centrally the book follows the intense debates of the women about relationships — the ones they are in, the ones they want and the limits of what they feel is possible. The four represent a very wide spectrum of outlooks — almost artificially so.

The cynical feminist reader almost begins to look for the next archetype as the characters are introduced one by one. Yet as they are developed through the book, the women do become real believable people.

Their letters explore and debate a great many of the crucial issues of sexual

politics from their different viewpoints.

One of the real strengths of the book is that it brings sexual politics to life by exposing the sometimes conflicting attitudes of women who have different politics and different experiences to issues of sexuality and the realities of relationships between women, and between women and men.

One of the weaknesses of the book is that it sometimes does this in a very academic and teacher-like way.

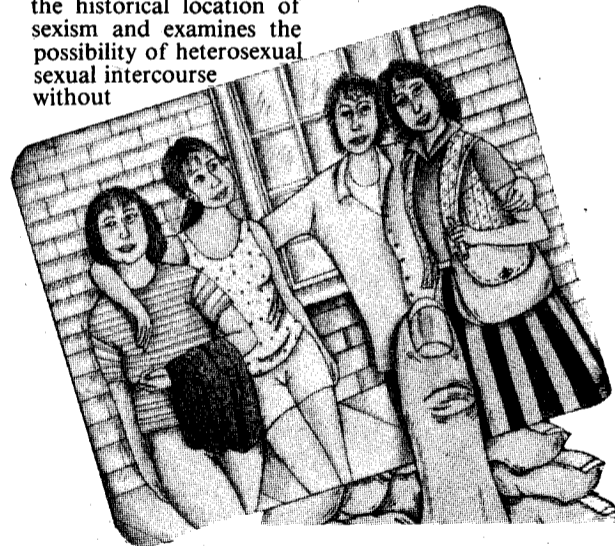
For instance, Amy writes Meg an eight page letter. This letter covers the topic of sex discrimination, compares it to race discrimination, examines a series of possible consciousness raising exercise for men wishing to understand how women experience sexism, looks at the historical location of sexism and examines the possibility of heterosexual sexual intercourse without

penetration by the penis. The letter includes sentences such as '... if we are told about a fight between a white man and a black man, our subliminal response is different from our response to hearing about a fight between two white people or between two black people. Our stereotype of the black person becomes superimposed on the incident.'

Right on sister — but it is a bit difficult for many people to understand this without the help of a dictionary, and it is also a little indigestible on page 18 of a novel.

Whilst it may be convenient for the writer to have her central characters set out their politics in pamphlet form somewhere near the front of the book it can be a little turgid, and it is guaranteed to make anyone who is not already involved in the debates hurl the book from them in frustration.

For anyone who is already involved in, or who has a curiosity about the theory and reality of sexual politics, it is worth struggling with the difficult bits, because in the end it is an interesting book which is worth reading.



Local Hero goes national

LOCAL HERO is a simple, gentle, but very humorous film of how the siting of an oil terminal changes the lives of the inhabitants of Ferness, a Western Highland village, and of the oilman involved in the deal.

It is the Scots director Bill Forsyth's third film and his distinctive style glows from every inch of its footage.

MacIntyre is a successful executive with the US multinational Knox Oil, who has to buy the coastline and land surrounding Furness for an oil terminal.

However he does not reckon on the cunning of the inhabitants who know of the plan in advance through the local accountant and hotelier, Gordon Urquhart. Under Urquhart's leadership they up the price by delaying selling their land.

It is during the period that MacIntyre waits for their final answer that he

begins to fall in love with the village and gradually appears more unshaven in each scene. MacIntyre knows he is successful with an expensive house and car, but a personal life that is as empty as his wall to wall carpeted flat.

By Murdo Ritchie

The close knit community of a small village gives him a greater identity than the multinational he works for. This despite his clear role in the company and the immense power he wields when compared to

the village people who have more than one job yet very little real power.

The film's idealisation of rural life is a sore point with me. It made me think back to the problems caused when the hourly bus didn't arrive or when I missed the last train at 7.10pm out of the village I lived in, or the ridiculous prices I paid for basic essentials which I knew were much cheaper thirty miles away in the city.

Benefits

Fortunately the film realises that in some respects country people are similar to townfolk in their desires for more modern conveniences and cultures with punk rockers and motor-cycle maniacs periodically appearing on the scene.

While the Ferness people want the benefits that their newly found wealth

will bring them the standards of behaviour that accompany such wealth are unknown to them.

This is shown when the men are discussing the advantages and disadvantages between a Rolls-Royce or a Maserati when one points out: 'You can't put four lambing ewes in a Maserati.'

The film is really a 19th century morality tale dressed in 20th century clothing by a skilled tailor. It would be too superficial to say that it is harking back to some agricultural utopia and ignoring the benefits that industrialisation brings.

Rather it points out something that socialists all too often forget which is that simply increasing wealth alone is not sufficient to improve the 'quality of life'. To do that social relations also have to become richer and fuller.

TV CHOICE

World War III

Sunday 10, 8.15, Monday 11 April, 9.00, ITV

A NEW Hollywood armageddon starring Rock Hudson as the US president. The Russians start it (surprise, surprise) by invading Alaska in retaliation for a US grain embargo. There's no more to be said.

Nothing doing

Tuesday 12 April, 10.20, BBC 1

'NOTHING much happens in this film because it's a film about doing nothing' says the producer. It's actually about six unemployed kids trying to fill their out-of-work days and the resulting apathy and anger.

Just what we need — another apathetic film about unemployment that doesn't give any ideas about fighting it.

Vietnam

Monday 11 April, 9.00, Channel 4.

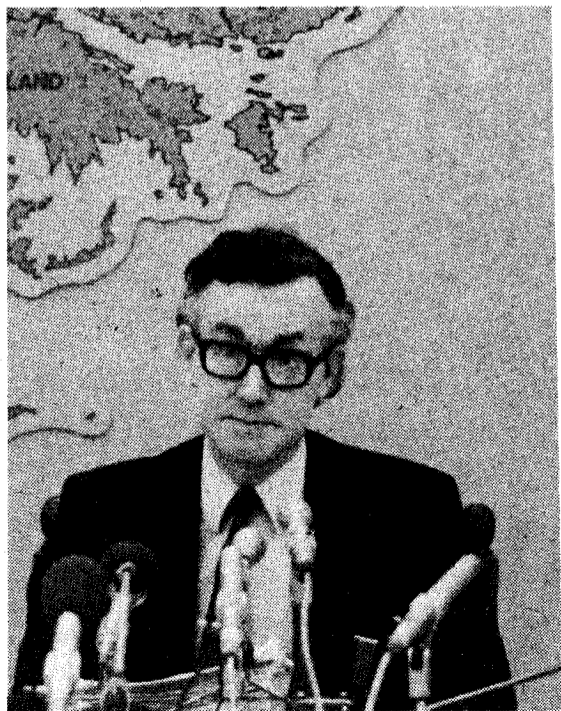
START of a massive 12 part series on (according to the blurb) the most televised war in history. Not really the most significant aspect of it, but it does look like it's going to be a very useful series.

The first episode examines the roots of the war and includes the story of how the British collaborated with the Japanese to install the French back into power in 1945.

Falklands propaganda

Every day, all channels.

AFTER managing to have an item on what seems like every news bulletin in the last year, the TV companies are



now falling over themselves to bring us extra big helpings on the anniversary of the Argentinian invasion. Everything from Port Stanley's first fish and chip van to soldiers

with blown off feet coping with life and not regretting a bit of it.

What's missing, of course, is any reflection on the politics of the war. That could be just too embarrassing.

The left in France

Edited by DS Bell and Eric Shaw

(Published by Spokesman University Paperback price £3.95.)

Reviewed by Chris Bertram

GIVEN THE dearth of books on the French left in English this collection of articles is welcome.

Unfortunately its academic and commentarist approach means that it does not deal thoroughly with the movements and events it covers.

However, it is still a very valuable book for socialists in Britain, who want to learn something about their counterparts across the channel.

The most interesting feature is David Hanley's essay on the CERES. British socialists have some vague notion about the CERES being the left of the French Socialist Party. Whether he meant to or not, Hanley explodes that myth.

The CERES is deeply attached to the French nuclear force and admires De Gaulle's ideas on French 'national independence'.

Hanley tells us that when Finance Minister Delors called for a 'pause' in the government's reforms as early as December 1981, Chevenement, the CERES leader, was the person who lead to his defence.

D.S. Bell's essay on the Communist Party contains nothing new or startling or original. It does have some historical inaccuracies. He blames 'communist instigated strikes' in 1947 for the split in the unions that led to the forming of Force Ouvriere.

There is much contrary evidence to suggest that an unholy alliance of right-wing social democracy, anarcho-sindicalism and the US Central Intelligence Agency was the real force

Much of the book's more up to date material has an ironic ring in view of the recent austerity measures of the Mitterrand government. The article on the Socialist Party tends to show Mitterrand standing out against a harsh capitalist world rather than one who is picking the workers' pockets.

Another weakness of the book is its lack of coverage of the revolutionary left. Whilst the centrist PSU gets an appendix none of the substantial Trotskyist organisations to the left of the Socialist Party and the CP gets a mention.

All in all it is a bit of a disappointment. But it nevertheless is the best book on the French left in English.

DIARY

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

● **'Politics Party'** organised by Southwark Labour Party with theatre, film, stalls, workshops, food and drink. Creche available. Sat 9 April, Camden TA Hall, 9.30-11pm. Details: 01-701 7821/703 9456.

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

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

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

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

● **El Salvador Labour Movement Conference.** 14 May, County Hall, SE1, 10am-5pm. Speakers include Judith Hart MP and Dr Salvador Moncada, senior FDR/FMLN London representative. TU, LP and LPYS branches are invited to send two delegates. Details from El Salvador Solidarity Campaign 29 Islington Park St, London N1. Tel: 01-359 2270.

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

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

● **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.

● **Concert for Chile** presented by Chile Solidarity Campaign with Quilapayun and The Boys of the Lough. Sun 1 May, 7pm, Dominion Theatre, Tottenham Ct Rd, London. Tickets £6, £5, £4, unwaged £2 from CSC, Seven Sisters Rd, London N7. Tel: 01-272 4298.

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

● **'Public Service Action'** — an anti-privatisation newsletter for the labour movement, first issue just out. Send 30p inc post (bulk rates available) to SCAT publications, 27 Clerkenwell Close, London EC1, 01-253 3627.

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

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

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

● **'Labour and the bomb — will unilateralism win?'** Newcastle CND public meeting. Speakers Tom Sawyer (NEC), Pat Arrowsmith, Bob Cryer and Ian Davidson (Anti-Trident Campaign). Fri 22 April, 7.30pm, Rooms 4&5, YMCA.

● **'Ballots and Bullets'** a new and powerful documentary from the Salvadorean Film Institute — available for hire on VHS video cassette for £10 plus carriage. 30 mins, colour. Contact SFI support group,

36 Jackson Rd, London N7, Tel: 01-609 3925.

● **'Why Labour needs to speak to Sinn Fein'** Haringey Labour Committee on Ireland meeting with Steve Bundred (GLC councillor) plus LCI speaker. Thur 14 April, 7.30pm, Brabant Rd TU/Community Centre, N22.

● **Campaign for Press and Broadcasting Freedom** Conference and AGM, 7/8 May at Goldsmiths College SU, Lewisham Way, London

SE14. Details: CPBF, 9 Poland St, London W1.

● **Gay Socialist:** special issue out now. Available from GS c/o 19 Hamilton Rd, Southall, Middx.

● **Nottingham Campaign against Racism & Fascism** Public meeting on 'Racism and the State'. Speakers from Newham 8 Defence Cttee and others. Mon 11 April, 7.30pm, International Community Centre, 67b Mansfield Rd.

Socialist Action Forums

COVENTRY Speaker Steve Potter (SA), other speakers invited. Thurs 7 April, 7.30pm, Sydney Stringer Community School, Cox Street.

SOUTH WEST LONDON 'Nicaragua' Speakers: Nicaragua solidarity and Phil Hearse (SA). Mon 11 April, 7.30pm, Clapham Community Project, Venn Street, SW4.

HOUNSLOW Speakers from Socialist Action and YCND. Thur 7 April, 7.30pm, Hounslow Town Hall, Treaty Rd.

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

SHEFFIELD Speakers*Pat Hickey (SA), other speakers invited. Wed 13 April, 7.30pm, Burn Greave Vestry Hall (top of Spital Hill).

EALING 'Getting rid of the bomb.' Speaker Alan Lenton (London Region CND Exec., personal capacity). Thur 28 April, 7.30pm, Three Horseshoes pub, Southall High St (opp Town Hall).

Labour Movement Conference on El Salvador

County Hall 14 May 1983 10am-5pm
Speakers include: Judith Hart, Alan Sapper, Jenny Pearce, Salvador Moncada (FDR/FMLN representative in Britain).
Trade Union, Labour Party, and LPYS branches are invited to send two delegates each.
Fee £2 per delegates; send to El Salvador conference, 29 Islington Park St., London N1 (359 2270).

Support Socialist Action

AFTER FOUR ISSUES, we reckon readers will have a fair idea about the sort of paper Socialist Action is going to be. Do they like it? That's what we want to know.

So far the response from launch meetings has been favourable.

Platform speakers welcoming the paper included MPs, councillors, shop stewards and militants all involved in fighting for socialist policies in one way or another.

The *Manchester Evening News* reported how:

'Peter Tatchell, an outspoken critic of the popular press, which has labelled him 'Red Pete', would be the star guest at a local launching of a new Marxist newspaper — *Socialist Action*'

They went on to say that the paper would be 'campaigning against the so-called witch-hunt of the Labour left, against nuclear weapons, and for a Labour general election victory based on socialist policies.'

For a newspaper that reported the recent LCI Plastic Bullets Conference with the banner headline 'Hit by Provo Storm!', we think this might mark a breakthrough in factual reporting.

From the hundred plus supporters at Bury where Peter Tatchell

spoke, there was a real feeling that the fight for socialist policies was going to grow in the coming months.

That is certainly our aim. But we are relying on our supporters to make sure that the paper gets sold in the right places and that the vital flow of funds keeps coming in. It is only money from readers that can keep Socialist Action alive and kicking.

It costs a great deal to run a decent socialist newspaper and the cover price alone can never match the bills.

Over the next three months Socialist Action is going to need £19,500 and that will be the target for our Spring Appeal.

Every penny we get will be gratefully received and will get you a mention in this column.

Supporters who fill in the form on this page can send off either a £20 donation or make monthly £5 payments with the standing order form in the knowledge that you've helped the best cause in the world, the fight for socialism. You will get a quarterly bulletin with details of special book offers and supporters schools and events.

Let us know what you think of the paper — we know you are probably broke — who isn't? But think hard about whether you really

EVENING NEWS 5
11 March 1983

Tatchell to launch paper

Controversial Labour Left-winger Peter Tatchell, loser in last month's Bermondsey by-election, is to address a public meeting in Bury on March 19.

Mr Tatchell, an outspoken critic of the popular Press, which has labelled him 'Red Pete', will be the star guest at a local launching of a new Marxist newspaper — *Socialist Action*.

The paper will be distributed nationally, and its local supporters hope that the Bury public meeting will guarantee it good sales in the Manchester area.

Socialist Action will campaign against the so-called witch-hunt of the Labour Left, against nuclear weapons and for a Labour General Election victory based on Socialist policies. The meeting takes place at the Topaz Club in Bury shopping precinct, starting at 12.30 pm.

could afford a bit each month for *Socialist Action*. That is the best compliment we could hope for — much better than saying it with flowers!

Socialist Action Bankers Order Form

Date 19

To:

(Name of your bank in capitals)

of

(Address of your bank in capitals)

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

for the amount of £

Name

Address

Signature

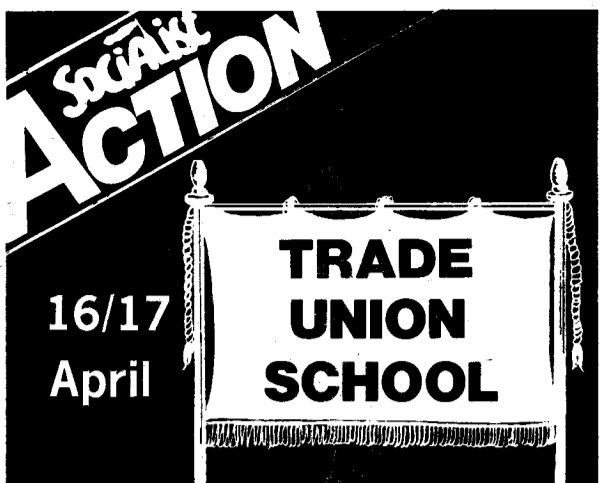
When completed and signed please return to: The Business Manager, Socialist Action, 328 Upper Street, London N1 2XP.

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

I would like to become a Socialist Action supporter.

- Please send me my supporters bulletin
- Please put me in touch with local readers
- I enclose a standing order/donation of £

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



16/17
April

TRADE
UNION
SCHOOL

After Bermondsey and the miners ballot, the Labour leaders attack socialists in the movement and passively watch the Tory onslaught against workers' rights. Yet there is a strong minority of working people that reject these right wing policies. Socialists will play the central role in organising this minority into a left wing that can take on the Tories and fight for a Labour government committed to socialist policies.

The Socialist Action trade union school will examine the history of our movement in order to arm socialists in the unions with the tactics and strategy needed to face this situation. The school will look at the Second Congress of the Comintern, the Minority Movement and the principles underlying the united front. It will finish with an examination of the class struggle in Britain from 1968 to today.

The school will aim to provide some of the programmatic and theoretical weapons for the next steps towards a class struggle left wing. Introductions will be given by speakers from the British and International labour movement.

The school will be held in London and accommodation can be arranged. For more details write to: Socialist Action TU school, 328 Upper St, London N1 2XP, or see your local paper seller.

Advertisement

International VIEWPOINT

A fortnightly journal of world politics

IV is an essential guide to world politics today. Published under the auspices of the Fourth International it contains news analysis, important documents and information on the world workers movement.

Subscription rates: 6 months £9 (95FF); 1 year £16 (175 FF).

Payment in French francs if possible. Personal cheques to PEC and mail to: IV, 2 rue Richard Lenoir, 93108 Montreuil.

Postal orders to PEC, CCP Account no. 2-322-42T Paris. Bank transfers to PEC, BNP Robespierre, 153 rue de Paris, 93108 Montreuil, France.

Advertisement

The
Other
BOOKSHOP

100 Years of Marx

Marx: The First 100 Years David McLellan (ed) £3.95

Marxist Economic Theory Ernest Mandel £4.95

Marx - A Hundred Years On Betty Mathews (ed) £4.95

Introduction to Marxism (newly reprinted) Ernest Mandel £2.95

Marx: The First 100 Years David McLellan (ed) £3.95

The Formation of the Economic Thought of Karl Marx Ernest Mandel £3.95

Karl Marx: The Story of His Life Franz Mehring £7.95

London 328 Upper St. London N1 telephone 01-226 0571
Open — Mon, Tues, Sat, 10-6 Wed 12-7
Thur, Fri, 11-7.

Birmingham 137 Digbeth
Birmingham B5 telephone (021) 643-5904

Open — Mon-Sat 10-6 Closed Wed.

Mail Order Service — Add 20% for P&P

WHEN the Zimbabwe African National Union swept to power in 1980, Africa's struggle for freedom took a big step forward. It was rightly hailed as a great victory and the harbinger for the final liquidation of white minority rule in southern Africa.

But the victory could only be consolidated if the new regime carried out the programme for which thousands of Zimbabweans had fought and died: in particular, a thoroughgoing agrarian policy which would give the land to the peasants who had formed the main force in the liberation armies, and the raising of the living standards of the urban and rural workers.

If he had wished to effect his socialist rhetoric, Robert Mugabe would have had to break with the Lancaster House agreement. This agreement had the specific intention of binding the new Zimbabwe regime firmly in the coils of imperialism. The longest section of the agreement, which was signed by Joshua Nkomo as well as Mugabe, expressly forbids the seizure of lands. It must be transferred on a 'willing seller, willing buyer' basis (Section 16). This legal barrier is reinforced by the British government, which is committed to paying half the cost of resettlement. Should Mugabe defy this clause and seize the land, British funds would be withheld.

When ZANU came to power in April 1980 with a huge majority, it had a clear choice. It could faithfully carry out the neo-colonialist commitments of the Lancaster House agreement or it could mobilise the people to take the revolution forward on the road to socialism. This would entail grave risks. It meant seizing the land of the 4600 wealthy white farmers who own 38 per cent of the country and produce 90 per cent of the country's agricultural goods, earning 47 per cent of its foreign currency.

Exodus

If Mugabe had embarked on such a course, this would almost certainly have resulted in a mass exodus of the whites, taking with them their technical know-how. There would have been a temporary set-back of the Zimbabwean economy. This is what happened in Mozambique and Angola and, as in these countries, South Africa would have embarked on an immediate policy of destabilisation with both economic and military means.

Mugabe made his intentions clear even before the results of the elections were known. In an interview with the *New York Times* (5 March 1980), he said:

'We recognise that the economic structure is based on capitalism and that whatever ideas we have we must build on that. We are not going to interfere with private property whether it be in mining or the industrial sector.'

This is one promise he has faithfully adhered to. What he has not carried out is the land policy for which the militants fought.

Today there are still 700,000 African families cramped into the old Tribal Trust Lands. The change in nomenclature in no way improves the fertility of the land, or the misery of the families living there.

While the rich white farmers have been able to consolidate their positions, the black peasants have had to be content with rhetoric. In the winter of 1981, Mugabe announced that 54,000 families would be resettled in the coming three years. In January 1982, that target was raised to 162,000. In fact, three years after the ZANU victory, only 20,500 families

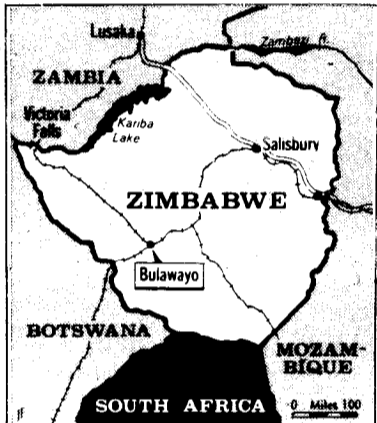
Zimbabwe

the legacy of Lancaster House

By Charlie van Gelderen



Nkomo



Mugabe

have been resettled. By contrast, the government has encouraged the development of a middle layer of black farmers who could act as a buffer between it and the peasantry.

As in agriculture, we find the same contradictions in the urban areas. In commerce and industry, 70 per cent of the assets are owned by multinational companies. The South African based Anglo-American combine owns almost the entire sugar industry, dominates mining and has interests in four commercial banks, six finance houses, three building societies and many other industries. So powerful is the influence of Anglo-American that it has been able to pursue policies which are in its own economic interests, and in no way in the interests of the people.

Thus it was able to persuade the World Bank and the cabinet to finance a new power station which experts maintain is not needed. But Anglo-American now has an outlet for the low grade coal which it mines at Hwang'e and which is almost unsaleable in other parts of the country because of high transport costs.

Bernard Chidzero, the Minister in charge of the National Development



British troops train Zimbabwe army

Photo: LAWRENCE SPARHAM (IFL)

Plan, is quite frank about the direction of government policies:

'Government recognises the need to stimulate private sector investment by creating a favourable investment climate and taking necessary fiscal, monetary and other financial measures' (*Guardian* 24.3.83).

To this he could have added that the government would also create a 'favourable' political climate by retaining the oppressive state apparatus which it took over from the Smith regime, which restricts free trade unions, bans strikes, and ensures a low-wage labour force.

MOTO, a pro-ZANU journal, published in Harare, in what may well be the last issue in which it is still allowed free expression, gives a very clear picture of the actual situation in Zimbabwe:

'Both the right and the left have ideological reasons for disagreeing with the government. There are people on the right both inside and outside Zimbabwe, who would like to reverse the achievements of independence, seeing as they do a threat from the government of Prime Minister

Mugabe. There are also people on the left who are unhappy with the present government's direction because they feel that it does not reflect a clear enough commitment to a socialist transformation — people who are frustrated with the pace and quality of the change.

'There is yet a third group of people who are unhappy with the government for purely sectarian tribal and regional reasons, which they place above the national interests. There would have been such disenchanted people in Zimbabwe, whichever party had won the elections.

'There are also economic reasons for dissident activity which are intrinsically mixed with the political lack of meaningful employment opportunities and unchanging relationships to the means of production. The years of hardship during the struggle gave way during the election campaign to high expectations of a new society. As the months went by after independence and the guerillas still found themselves in the assembly points, frustration built up.

'Chances of education and achieving skills that they sacrificed during the struggle have not materialised.' (*MOTO*, March 1983)

It is very important to distinguish between those whose dissidence springs from the criticisms and frustration of the combatants, who see the aspirations for which they fought and made sacrifices disappear into some distant future, and the avowedly counter-revolutionary forces backed by and based in South Africa. Their hostility is directed against the sovereignty of the people of Zimbabwe. Revolutionary socialists and the whole labour movement must unconditionally defend Zimbabwe against these elements of counter-revolution.

The frustrations of those who fought in the battles for liberation is quite another matter. These frustrations are by no means confined to the Matabele areas although these have been given greater prominence in the press here and because Matabeleland is the political base for Nkomo's Zimbabwe African People's Union. (Although it should be remembered that Nkomo was still a member of the government when the armed forces were sent into Matabeleland to deal with the dissidents.) But the primary responsibility for the diversion of the discontent among the people into tribal lines belongs to the Mugabe government.

Framework

South Africa, of course, is taking full advantage of the situation. Undoubtedly the Pretoria regime has infiltrated people into Matabeleland to stoke up the fires, especially members of the so-called Matabeleland Brigade, which is trained in South Africa. To confuse these two elements — the genuinely frustrated and the South African agents is highly dangerous.

The media in this country has largely concentrated on the Korean-trained Fifth Brigade and its reign of terror in Matabeleland. But the bulk of the Zimbabwean army is being trained by 165 British officers, including the notorious Task Force whose activities, though less publicised, have been equally effective in subduing the people, both in the Ndebele and the Shona areas.

It was illuminating to hear, on the BBC *Panorama* programme on 21 March, a British officer defending the activities of the army in Matabeleland as 'necessary for the maintenance of law and order.' Lord Carrington, who master-minded the Lancaster House agreement is on public record supporting the move towards a one-party state in Zimbabwe.

The British labour movement has an important role to play in defence of the democratic rights of the people of Zimbabwe. Labour's election manifesto must make it clear that it would not regard the restrictive clauses in the Lancaster House treaty as sacrosanct. It must, especially, withdraw Section 16 and give unconditional financial aid to the Zimbabwe government so that it could seize the land of the wealthy white farmers and give it to the people who fought for it.

While it is for the people of Zimbabwe themselves to decide their own destiny, socialists internationally must give every support to those who are striving to establish trade unions free from bureaucratic control or manipulation by any of the political parties (ZANU or ZAPU); it must give aid and encouragement to the growth of co-operatives in manufacture and agriculture and other forms of self-organisation by the workers and peasants.

After the Republic of South Africa, Zimbabwe is the African country with the most politically sophisticated working class, with a history of militant struggle against the multinational oligarchies which control the country's economy. The emergence of a workers' party with a socialist programme, and in alliance with the poor peasants is the road forward for Zimbabwe.

CARS STRIKES

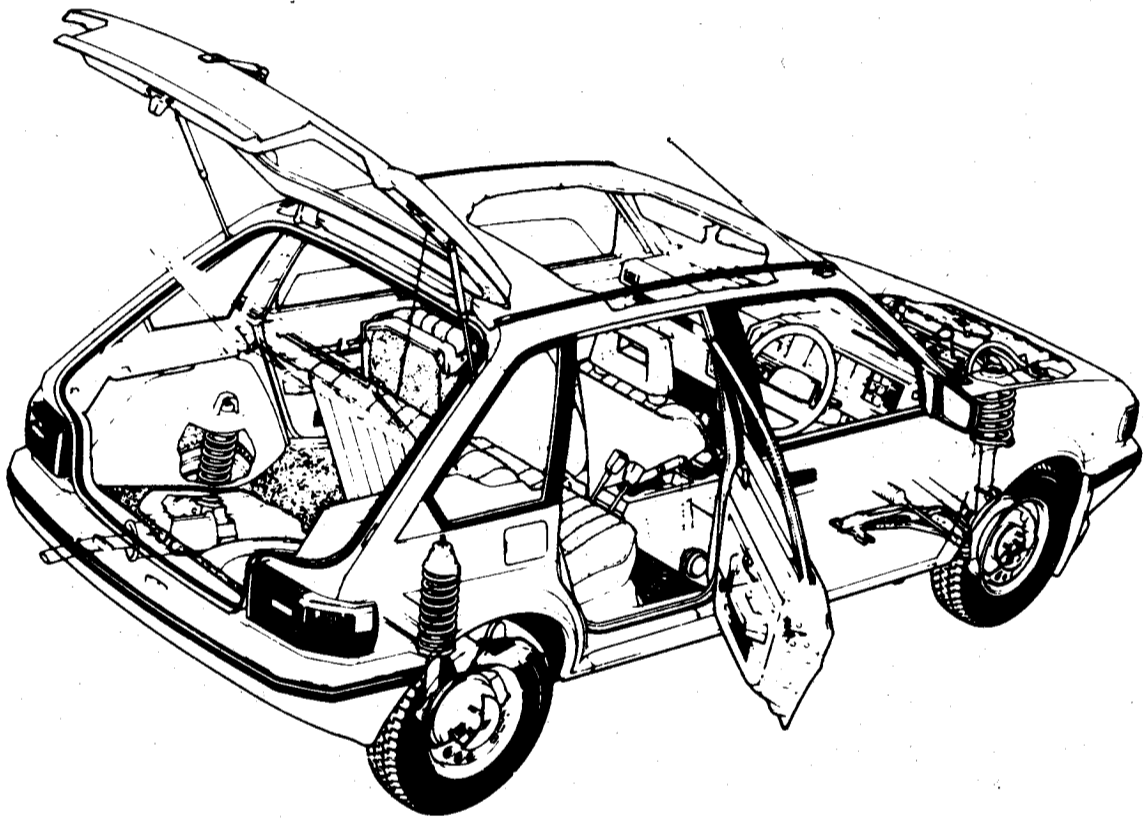
LAST WEEK Thatcher hit out at striking car workers at Ford Halewood and BL Cowley. It is no surprise that she is angry.

The 'three minute' dispute at Cowley and the victimisation strike

at Halewood show that car workers are determined to defend their working conditions and their union organisation.

Cowley BL and Ford workers explain the issues.

Taking a stand at Cowley



TO MANY PEOPLE around the country the Cowley wash up strike may seem a small issue. But not so for the Cowley workers, as Socialist Action reporters found when they went to the plant.

Stuart, a worker in the paint shop, explained 'it's our wash-up time that we work for. We earn it by speed-up the rest of the day.'

'What BL are really after is 66 minutes more production for profit. It's something for nothing. We go to work to earn a living, not as an act of charity.'

Bob, an older worker who used to be a steward, put it more bluntly.

'This is a political attack. The strike costs BL £4½ million a day, they gain £24 million by the extra production. It will take BL months to get back what they have lost in this strike. So it's really about taking on the union.'

Appalling

Last month the Cowley plant launched the new Maestro. Working on the production line, in appalling conditions, are mainly young workers. Thatcher has said there are thousands who would be pleased to have these jobs.

Christine, a supporter of the LPYS, had a firm

reply to this. 'If they want more hours work then they should take on more workers. There's plenty who would take a job if they could.'

Workers at the plant received threatening letters from management before the Easter break.

'We've become quite familiar with these terror tactics' said Dave, another line worker. 'It cuts no ice with me any more.'

Claim

A major part of the company's claim is that the Cowley plant should accept the extra three minutes to be in line with other BL plants.

Pete, a driver, explained the real issue. 'We want to be in line with the other plants but not on the company's terms. The other plants were bulldozed into accepting this. Now that we are taking a stand on this, others should stand up with us.'

'It's about time our national union leaders grasped the nettle and took on BL management too. They've been allowed to

get away with too much for too long.'

Ann, another new worker, thought that if the company was digging in their heels then so should the workforce.

'If you ask me we should stop the Maestro car getting to the show rooms. Stop the Maestro moving is what our answer should be.'

The message Socialist Action received from the Cowley strikers was that

Cowley solidarity

FIVE YEARS of Tory rule have seen a systematic attack on trade union organisation inside BL. But the overwhelming vote for strike action at Cowley shows that although the Tories have won some battles, they still haven't won the war.

A victory for the workers at Cowley would be a victory for all trade unionists, all workers and all those in struggle against the Tories.

That is why the leaders of the labour movement must be as resolute and determined in their

they see the dispute* as more than a fight over three minutes.

It is a signal to BL that workers refuse to stay on their knees to take what management throws at them — inhuman speed up as slaves to new machines, changed work practices and manning, intimidation and frighteners against union organisation.

Cowley workers have had enough. They've taken a stand.

defence of workers as Thatcher is in defence of management.

By a Cowley worker

But so far the attacks on the strikers from Fleet Street and from Thatcher, have met with no response from Labour's leaders. For the Cowley workers it is vital that this wall of silence is broken.

We need Labour MPs to come out publicly on our side. We need the leaders of the Transport union and the Engineers union to make the strike official.

If there was a suc-

Halewood strike: Todd turns and runs

THE FUTURE of the four week strike at Ford Halewood, over the sacking of assembly plant worker Paul Kelly, hangs in the balance as we go to press.

Following 9½ hours of talks at the conciliation service, ACAS, Ford's chief union negotiator Ron Todd is likely to recommend a sell-out formula to assembly plant stewards on Tuesday.

The 'peace' plan does not re-instate Kelly — victimised on the say so of a foreman for allegedly damaging an 85p dashboard bracket.

Instead, a committee of inquiry comprising a management nominee, a trade unionist and an 'independent' chairperson with a legal background will examine the case.

The inquiry's findings are binding on both sides. Although the inquiry will have the power to re-instate Kelly it will not start meeting before 23 April.

Management insist that any inquiry is conditional on an immediate return to work, so removing the pressure of strike action from its consideration.

It is now clear that the decision of the Transport and General Workers Union to make the strike official was as much motivated by the officials' desire to control the strike, as it was from the determined action of the 4,100 assembly plant workers.

Refused

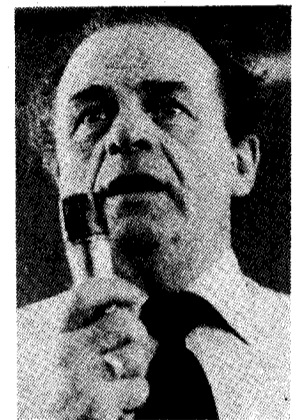
Assembly plant stewards refused to take the case to an industrial tribunal knowing that it would be months before Kelly's case was heard and that less than one per cent of tribunal decisions result in re-instatement.

All that Todd has achieved is a slight speeding up of the process, reflecting the pressure put

on the company by strike action which has cost them 15,000 vehicles with a showroom value of £75 million.

By Mick Drake

ACAS has performed its usual role — most recently demonstrated in the waterworkers dispute — of ensuring there is no clear victory and no clear defeat for either side in the dispute, while getting both bosses and bureaucrats off the horns of industrial action.



Ron Todd

Todd's latest antics will be a particularly bitter pill for Ford workers too swallow. The last time he pulled off a sell-out like this was during the Xmas shutdown of 1981. With 54,000 Ford workers due to strike on their return from holiday, he did a complete about face on five savage efficiency demands and recommended acceptance of the company's annual pay offer.

Now, on the eve of Easter holidays, when striking workers always feel the pinch a little more, he has repeated the dirty trick.

The outcome is particularly serious for the 4,000 Halewood body plant workers, laid off as a result of the present dispute.

On resumption of work they have voted to strike against twelve sweeping changes in manning and work practices. These are being forced through by management without any local agreement or even national discussion with the unions — as laid down in the company's beloved procedure agreement.

Changes

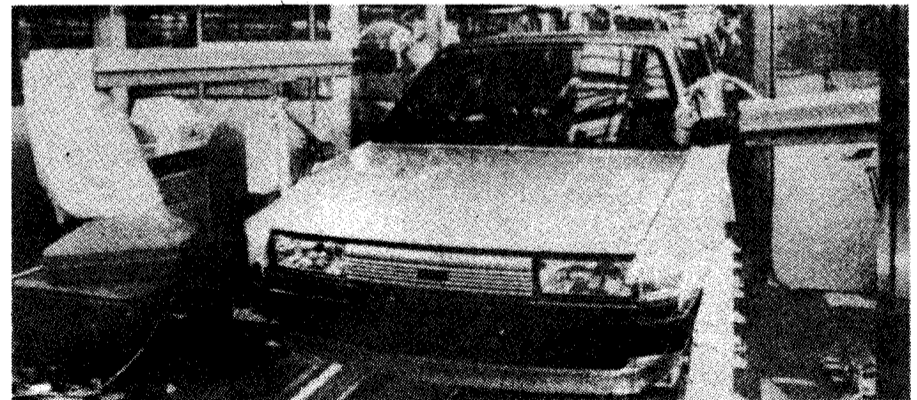
These changes are part of the company's rationalisation and speed up drive which aims to eliminate 3,000 jobs from the Halewood body and assembly plants over the next year or so.

Ford has similar plans for Dagenham where 10,000 body and assembly plant workers were warned in January that 3,000 of their jobs would be cut by the start of 1985.

The company's chosen weapons include robotisation, speed up, elimination of demarcation, getting production workers to repair their own tools and act as their own janitors and inspectors.

This week's events have shown that Ford have an even more important weapon in their armoury — the weakness and vacillation of trade union officials who are more concerned to get strikes called off than head them up.

A tremendous responsibility now lies with the stewards' leadership in all Ford plants in the coming months to ensure the likes of Todd don't block their way in the battle against management.



successful fight to win the labour movement to support us then we would win. It is the Tories who stand to gain if we are left isolated and alone.

In Oxford the LPYS has been at the fore in taking the issue of the Cowley strike into the labour movement. Together with the Oxford trades council they are organising a public rally in support of the car workers.

Labour MPs, local trade union leaders and speakers from Ford, Halewood, BL Longbridge and Cowley will be on the platform.

Oxford LPYS are also organising a social for the

Cowley strikers. At last weekend's LPYS national conference they put forward an emergency resolu-

tion to commit the LPYS to support the strike and took a collection for strikers.

**Oxford LPYS present:
'Miracle Maestro'
Disco for Cowley
strikers, with King
Biscuit Hi-Fi.**

Thursday 7 April, 8pm until late
The Swan, Cowley

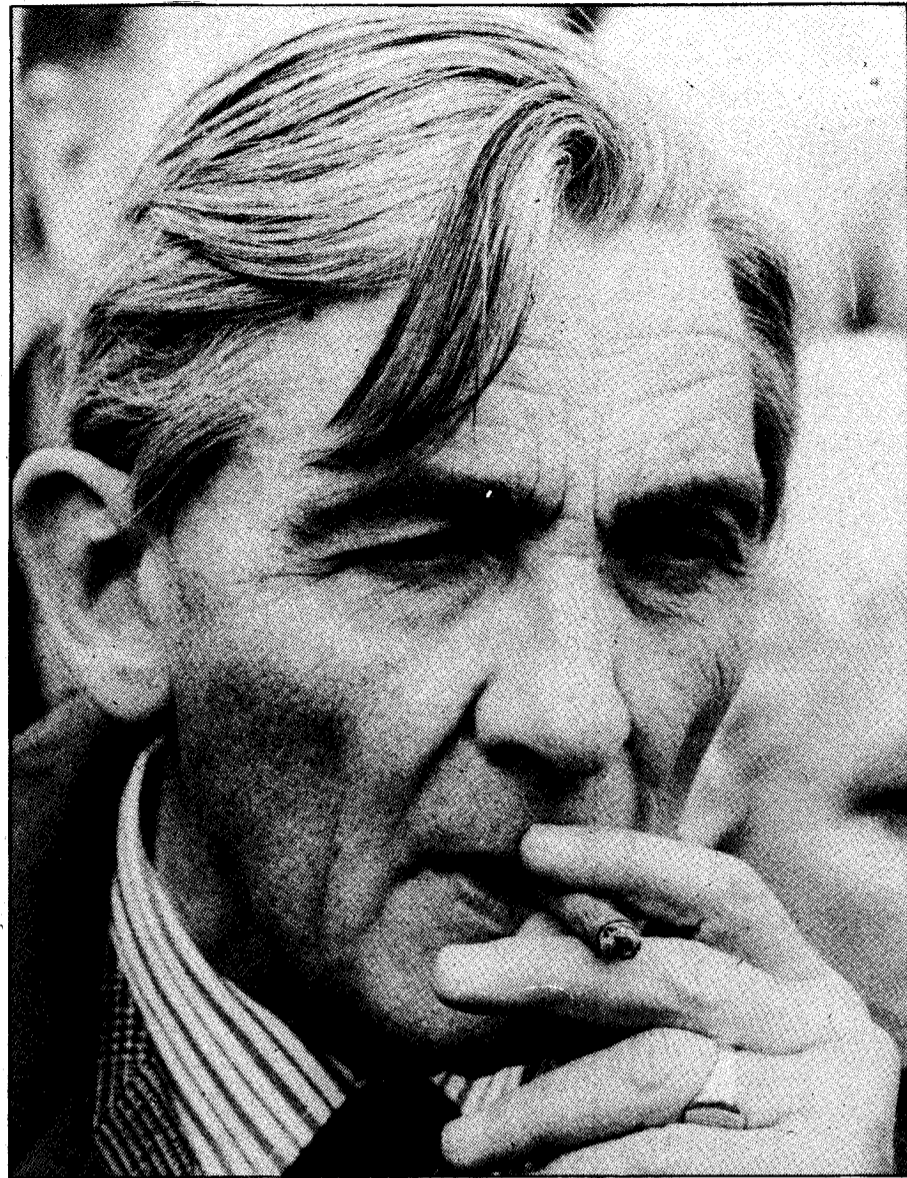


Photo: GM COOKSON

Would you buy a used Social Contract from this man?

Labour's 'new hope': the new Social Contract

LABOUR'S CAMPAIGN document *The New Hope for Britain* contains much that the left will welcome — particularly the pledge on Cruise and Trident and the statement of intent to withdraw from the EEC.

Labour's right wing cannot be happy. But the left have little reason to throw their hats in the air. At the heart of the document is a new Social Contract.

Making campaign pledges a governmental reality will need a battle. The right wing has a long history of defeating left policies. The fight for socialist policies needs to continue up to, during and after the general election.

By Pat Hickey

So, the Labour left's uncritical welcome of the campaign document, and particularly of the National Economic Assessment (NEA) is a dangerous mistake.

The NEA is at the core of *The New Hope for Britain*. This is nothing less than a revamped Social Contract, the discredited policy of Wilson and Callaghan. To accompany this document the TUC and Labour Party produced a joint statement *Partners in Rebuilding Britain*. This explains the NEA more fully.

Any serious reading of this statement leaves no doubt that at the heart of Labour's election campaign is a Trojan horse in which the right wing are hiding.

The *New Hope* resurrects the promise of the 1974 election campaign to 'bring about a fundamental and irreversible shift in the balance of wealth and

power in favour of working people and their families'.

The Social Contract of the last Labour government was launched with similar promises on living standards, public spending and unemployment.

Under the Social Contract working class living standards fell faster than at any time since the second world war. Unemployment rose from 3.4 per cent when 'phase one' was agreed in July 1975, to 6.4 per cent in July 1978 when 'phase four' was announced.

Total public spending fell from an index of 100 to 75.3 in the three years from 1976 to 1979. These attacks paved the way for the Tories. There must be no repeat performance.

The NEA proposes a tripartite National Planning Council between employers, trade unions and government. This will assess the likely growth in the economy and decide on the 'allocation of resources and the distribution of income between profits, earnings from employment, rents, social benefits and other incomes'.

This will lead to an agreed statement 'within which decisions will be made on investment,

prices, employment and pay'.

Underpinning this approach is a belief in an identity of interest between workers and employers. The document explains:

'Both the government and the trade union movement will be anxious to maintain the momentum on jobs and steady progress on living standards, and yet both will be concerned that their policies will not result in destructive inflation or balance of payments crises.'

Crisis

'Employers in turn will know that this will provide a framework for the steady development of profitable and competitive activities'.

This search for identity of interest is like squaring a circle — impossible. With capitalism in deep crisis the demands of workers and bosses are irreconcilable. One has to give way.

Under the last Labour government and Thatcher the working class has paid for the crisis. With the policies of the NEA this will happen again.

Once again the TUC and Labour Party leaders are preparing an incomes policy. They hark back to the Social Contract with the statement that, 'experience has shown that the trade union movement is prepared to weigh priorities and where necessary to make sacrifices...'

The document continues that, 'pay will reflect a range of factors including productivity, the extent of low pay in the industry, the shortage of labour and the weight given to hours of work'.

In an interview in the *Financial Times* (29.3.83) TUC general secretary Len Murray warned against the dangers of 'creating expectations which can't be delivered in the pact between the

government and the TUC'.

Although the document makes much of the need to reduce unemployment, its only reference to reducing hours is that 'working time reductions will help to maximise the jobs created by output growth'.

The NEA cannot be worked without holding back the demands of working people while the employers press their attacks on jobs and living standards.

Statements promising no 'government-imposed incomes policy' are no guarantee against the so-called 'voluntary incomes policy' which the TUC used under the Labour government to oppose the Heathrow engineers, the Leyland toolmakers, the Port Talbot electricians, the firefighters and many others.

Attacks

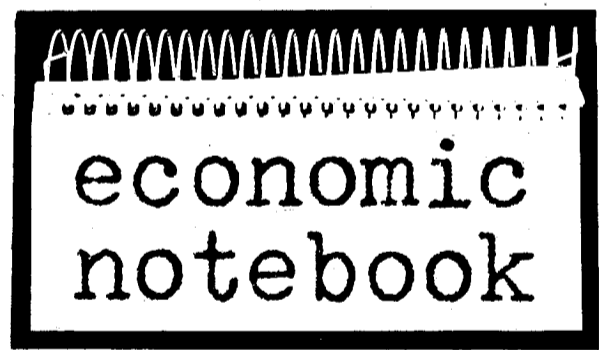
The 'concordat' agreed between the TUC and the Labour government on 14 February 1979 led to attacks on the right to picket — with James Callaghan boasting that he would be happy to cross picket lines.

The new document looks at this issue too, '... the unions with TUC help will have the responsibility with the employers to ensure...that any disputes are conducted with proper regard for the interests of the community and in accordance with TUC guidelines'.

In the next few months union conferences will discuss the NEA. The left should fight against it right up to the TUC Congress. It is the right wing's Trojan horse. We should light a fire under it.

*All starred quotes from *The New Hope for Britain*. All others from *Partners in Rebuilding Britain*, the joint Labour Party-TUC statement on the NEA. Copies of both are available from the Labour Party, 150 Walworth Road, London SE17.

Wage Restraint and Rising unemployment			
Year	Month	Unemployment in UK	Per cent
1975	February	791,000	3.4
	July: Social Contract Phase 1 agreed		
1976	February	1,304,400	5.5
	July: Social Contract Phase 2 agreed		
1977	February	1,421,800	6.0
	July: Social Contract Phase 3 announced		
1978	February	1,508,700	6.3
	July: Social Contract Phase 4 announced		
1979	February	1,452,006	6.1
	February: Concordat agreed		



Olga Maitland admitted: 'We are all Conservatives'

Lady Olga and the Bomb

AT LAST ordinary people, just like you and me have taken up the issue of the Bomb. Women with addresses in SW1, Richmond, Wimbledon and the proletarian heartlands of Surrey got together to launch Women for Defence.

Their leader, Lady Olga Maitland, daughter of Lord Lauderdale, *Sunday Express* columnist and would-be Tory MP knows the campaign has a bit of a problem.

She admitted: 'We are all ... Conservatives.' Lady Maitland wants to get her message across to women. So being non-patronising she said: 'We are going to explain to them in words of one syllable what it is all about.'

Unfortunately she did not explain in words of one syllable that she and her mates are for nukes. Perhaps she is

now looking for suitable monosyllabic words to justify us all getting incinerated.

A policeman's lot

BEING MISUNDERSTOOD is the inevitable lot of the British copper. We all know how hard the West Midlands police force has been trying to get close to the public.

Some cynical lefties might claim they have been getting a little too close to people of late.

Mr James Davey after being very close to them died when his life support machine was turned off.

Then there was the

64-year old man the police spreadeagled on the bed when they called in to see him.

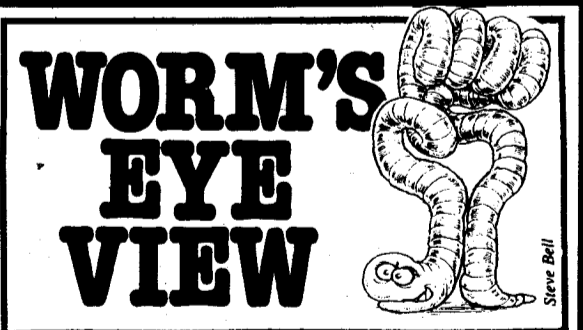
Then 77-year old Mrs Isabel Wilson got a visit from their help-the-aged squad who broke her door down.

Last year armed 'fuzz' held a mother and her children when they were searching for armed robbers.

Rumour has it that police suspicions were aroused when they saw the kids playing with peashooters.

Anyhow, all is well. The region's police committee gave Chief Constable Sir Philip Knights their blessing.

Tory and Labour councillors joined together to defend Sir Philip and his force. Correctly they all blamed the media. After all if the press did not report police brutality then hardly any one would know about it!



Caroline the giraffe

ONCE THERE was a giraffe called Caroline who lived at La Plata Zoo in Argentina.

Unhappily she died. The government taxidermist stuffed her head and gave it to Martinez de Hoz, a follower of Milton Friedman, who was 'Superminister' of the country's economy from 1976 to 1981.

Like all good monetarists de Hoz

believed in thrift and economy so he took the head for nothing.

Then he fell from grace. Now he faces charges of financial irregularities.

One of these is obtaining state property illegally — Caroline the nationalised giraffe.

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

The battle for Labour's manifesto

THE NEW HOPE for Britain, the Labour Party's campaign document, has been violently attacked in the establishment press.

This is predictable. The document contains many of the radical policies passed by Labour Party conference, albeit hedged around by qualifications. What is more interesting is the source of their ammunition.

In particular the *Sun* quoted a Shadow Cabinet minister as saying that the document was 'the longest suicide note ever penned.'

By the Editor

So what is the attitude of the right-wing majority leadership of the Labour Party and the Parliamentary Labour Party to the document? This is a difficult matter to judge because they are silent on the issue.

At last week's press conference launching the document Dennis Healey, the deputy leader of the Party, sat in stolid and unhappy silence as the virtues of the document were extolled. He knows that if the Labour Party does go into the next general election on a manifesto which resembles the campaign document, that the Party will be further discredited in the eyes of the ruling class as a 'natural party of government' — in other words a party that can competently maintain the existing capitalist order.

So what course is open to the right? And how should the left respond? There has been much over-confidence on the part of the left that the issuing of a manifesto in line with the campaign document is a pure formality. Speculation over the past weekend has shown this not to be so.

The right wing, under the cover of insisting that unemployment should be at the centre of Labour's campaign, are in reality insisting that the National Economic Assessment — the new Social Contract — should be the beginning and end of the document.

Fudging

This is why it is wrong for the left to respond by defending this core of the document's approach. The fudging on unambiguous conference commitments like disarmament and the EEC, the embracing of the National Economic Assessment without a cast-iron guarantee that this excluded all forms of incomes policy would leave the left disarmed in the face of such an offensive by the right.

The second string to the right's bow is coalition. It is highly unlikely that Thatcher will retain her current spectacular leads in the opinion polls as the general election approaches. On the other hand

the Labour Party, taking into account the Boundary Commission changes, would have to win a landslide vote on the scale of 1945 to achieve governmental office.

The prospect of coalitions and of reruns of the Lib-Lab pact being at the centre of parliamentary life in the next period is growing more likely. This again will provide the opportunity for the right wing to junk conference policies, on the basis that compromises must be made with partners.

In that context Michael Foot's speech against coalition last week is welcome. But again there must be a clear commitment against coalitionism built into Labour's election campaign and hard questions asked of the right.

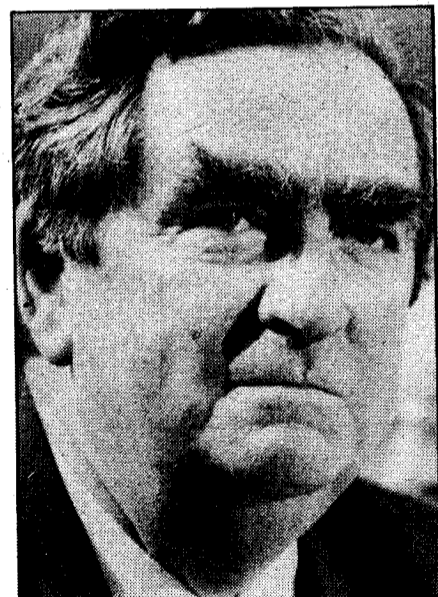
Finally the right wing have been assuring the press that even if neither of these two stratagems work that they would junk manifesto policies once in office.

'After all' they say 'look what happened after the 1974 general election'. Of course they are right. No Labour leadership has ever respected the decisions of the labour movement when in office. This is why the labour movement has to rely on extra-parliamentary struggle to achieve its aims.

Principles

These three principles — for conference policies, against coalitionism and support for extra-parliamentary action — are the way forward for the Labour left. They are also the best way of nipping the right wing's plots in the bud now.

These principles are the ones on which the Socialists for Labour Victory campaign stands. The battle for the manifesto has been thrown open again by the right. The left should settle the argument.



Denis Healey — silent

HANDS OFF TELEPHONES!

No plucking Busby!

By P Cooper
(POEU London West Branch)

THE Tories plans to sell off British Telecom and to set up the rival Mercury business-only network have run into trouble.

The Post Office Engineering Union is organising selective strike action against the Telecommunications Bill and has instructed its members not to connect Mercury to the BT network.

The action is taking place against the Bill in the City and Westminster areas against government targets.

Members of the London North Central Internal branch are expecting to be sent home by BT management for refusing to make the first Mercury connection, believed to be imminent.

BT chairperson Sir George Jefferson has not denied that 100,000 of BT's 245,000 jobs will go under BT management's current plans. Already BT union branches are being faced with management calls for redundancies.

Rental

Telephone rental and local call charges for ordinary subscribers will dramatically increase as cross subsidisation is ended under the privatisation plans.

Unprofitable rural services will be especially hard hit.

The NEC's welcome decision to call for action has followed a consistent campaign by the union's Broad Left for industrial action to Kill the Bill, and for the implementation of union policy to black Mercury.

Howls of outrage will come from Tory ministers and their bootlickers in the press. We will be accused of taking 'extra-parliamentary' political strike action. So we are.

But privatisation of BT was not mentioned in the 1979 Tory manifesto. Furthermore one of the Bill's clauses could have the effect of outlawing all industrial action in BT, according to lawyers.

The defence of a public service, of our jobs, and of our ability to defend them

demand that we take effective action now to stop the Tory privateers.

A representative unofficial meeting of POEU branches last week agreed the following statement.

'The undersigned warmly welcome the decision of the NEC to start a campaign of selective industrial action against the Telecommunications Bill and to refuse the connection of Mercury to the BT network.

'We also welcome the plan to institute a national levy to sustain the action.

'However, we feel that it must be made clear to the membership that this is not merely a protest action but a fight to defend our jobs and defeat the Bill. We feel that it would be especially useful to:

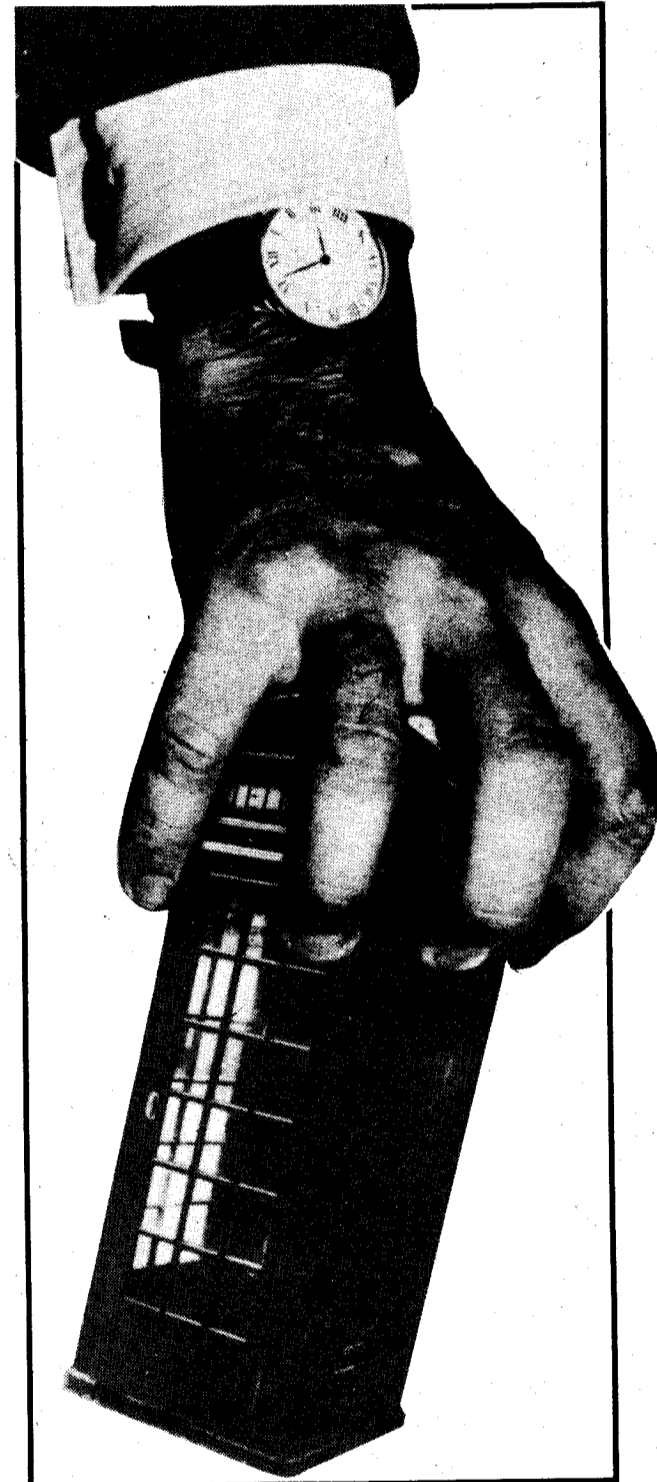
- call token local actions to support the national action e.g. branch meetings in work time.
- support the branches taking action with demonstrations or mass pickets.
- contact the Labour Party and TUC at all levels for maximum support.

Financiers

'We also feel that it is important that the industrial action is aimed at both the government and the speculators and financiers who stand to profit from the sale of BT.

'We support the decision of the NEC to limit action so as not to hit ordinary subscribers who we need to win to our side.

'It is becoming increasingly clear that BT management are already tearing up our existing industrial relations and preparing the way for a wholesale assault on our union.'



'The time for action is now with us. We believe if our union stands united and determined we can win.'

● Messages of support to: Bryan Stanley, Gen. Sec. POEU, Greystoke House, 150 Brunswick Road, London W5.

subscribe SPECIAL OFFER

Subscription rates:

Inland: 6 months £8;
1 year £15.

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

Name:

Address:

For multi-reader institutions double the above rates.

Please send me as special offer

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

For readers who take out a year's inland subscription we are offering a free copy of *Hard Times*, a new book in the 'Arguments for Socialism' series by Bob Sutcliffe. The book normally costs £2.50.

Alternatively we are offering Alan Freeman's book, *The Benn Heresy*. For new readers there is our special introductory offer of 8 issues for £2.

All subscriptions are posted first class on day of publication.

Seafarers storm against kidnapping

UNION BASHER Tebbit must be pleased by the Defence Ministry kidnapping of HMS *Keren* over Easter weekend.

Last month the Ministry of Defence bought this Sealink ferry for £7.5 million for use as a troop carrier between Port Stanley, on the Falklands and Ascension Islands.

The Blue Star shipping company — owned by the tax dodging multi-national Vestey's — won the contract to manage the ship. It offered the best deal — a

drop in pay for existing crew, promises of job loss and refusal to comply with union standards for ocean-going facilities.

Seamen's union members on board rejected the move from their ferry rates to lower deep sea wages. The NUS demanded compensation for work in the conflict area of the South Atlantic, a more daunting prospect than the calmer waters of Harwich to Hook of Holland.

Before negotiations with this ended, Tebbit's pals at Defence stepped in. Fifty five Royal Navy ratings and

officers on board HMS *Keren*, in plain clothes and at dead of night. The crew had been sent home for the Easter holiday.

As junior defence minister Jerry Wiggin exulted 'I didn't want the ship blacked and I did not want industrial action. Did you expect me to send them in wearing naval uniform and have the whole port brought to a halt?'. By Sunday the ship had sailed.

This is another assault on the NUS whose 28,000 members are battered by massive redundancies,

scrapping of ships and union breaking flags of convenience.

The strike call from NUS general secretary Jim Slater has been a long time coming. Leadership to defend seafarers jobs, conditions and union organisation is long overdue. And it should not be bound up with special case arguments for 'our boys in the Falklands'.

Slater's blind loyalty to Thatcher's Falklands adventure only weakens seafarers in the face of the real enemy.

● One year of the Falklands p 8-9.