

THE 'WOMEN'S RALLY Against Pit Closures', called for Saturday 11 August is a tremendous chance for the entire labour movement to hit back against the torrent of lies pouring from the Tory government and the Tory press.

Over the last 10 days Thatcher and her cabinet have dropped all pretence of staying aloof from the strike. Their attacks on 'the enemy within', and their crude denunciations of Arthur Scargill, are aimed at lining up majority opinion against the NUM.

The women's army is marching!

The Tories know that to defeat the miners they must either break the solidarity of the railworkers or shift the coal stocks at the pit heads. To carry out both these policies means they have to shift public opinion behind their attempt to defeat the NUM.

If the government succeed the blow to the trade union movement and the Labour Party will be devastating. If Thatcher is seen as capable of bringing the strongest industrial union to heel, and the Tories appear all-conquering, then Labour's four per cent lead over the Tories in the polls will melt away just as quickly as its' lead did last time when the 'Falkland factor' entered British politics.

Unfortunately, but all too predictably, the TUC and right wing Labour Party leaders, either through political cowardice or stupidity, refuse to say what is at stake.

They have failed to rally behind the miners — and Sirs, Murray, Kinnock and Hammond have stabbed the NUM in the back.

But what an alternative has been shown by the women in this strike! Right from the beginning the women of the mining communities have shaken Thatcher's plans to their foundations. The women are the secret weapon of this strike.

If the leadership of the Labour Party and the unions had shown even half the courage and determination the mining women have, this strike would already have been won.

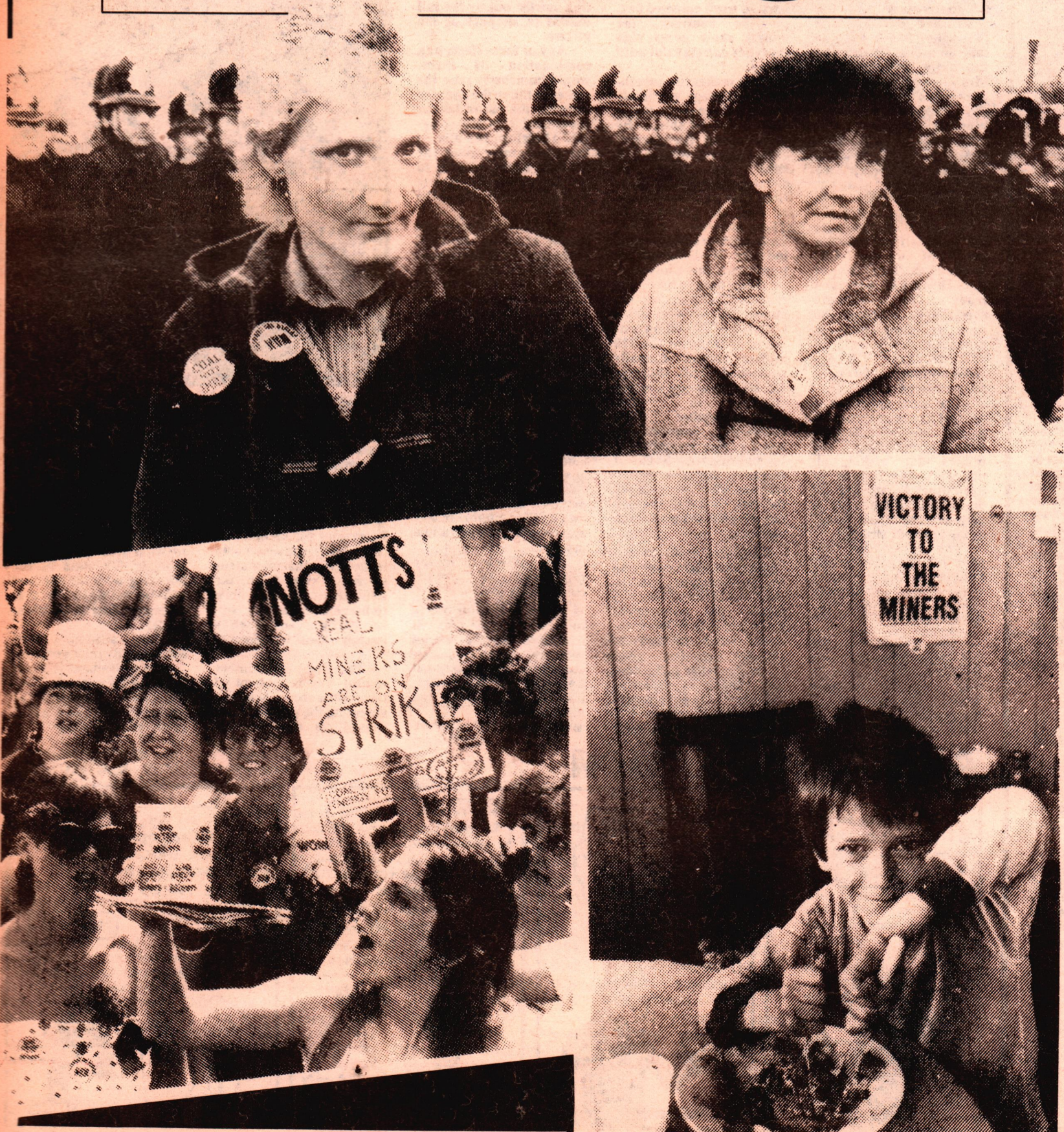
But instead of following the example of Women Against Pit Closures, Neil Kinnock and Len Murray have stuck their heads in the sand. They refuse to recognise even what the ordinary person in the street does.

Three out of four people questioned in a recent opinion poll recognised the miners' strike was political. But it is Thatcher who is acting on that, and drawing the lessons while the top of the Labour Party is treating the dispute as an embarrassing side show.

If the unions and the Labour Party are to resist the Tory onslaught they can only do so by giving open and unstinting support for the miners. That is the way to build on Labour's four per cent lead and for the unions to shake off the past defeats inflicted by the Tories.

The 11 August demonstration is the time to turn things round. On that Saturday the trade union leaders and the full national executive of the Labour Party should be marching behind the banners of the mining women and the NUM. Every trade union branch and every local Labour Party must be there.

Women Against Pit Closures are showing the way. Now is the time for Neil Kinnock, the TUC, and the entire labour movement to follow their example.



ASSEMBLE

12 noon, Temple Tube,
London WC2

GALA

3pm, Burgess Park,
Camberwell Rd, London SE5
with stalls, refreshments,
children's entertainment

Socialist ACTION

Go to Sellafield Sir Douglas!

SIR Douglas Black who headed the Sellafield Enquiry has a message of good cheer. Don't worry that living in Seascale means your children have 10 times more chance of getting leukaemia.

He and his 'scientific' colleagues admit it's possible, but claim it's by 'no means proven that an increased level of radioactivity has caused an above average experience of leukaemia'. That's the kind of reasoning which doubts whether the atomic bomb really did kill all those people in Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

Mind you, Sir Douglas believes in hedging his bets and says given the choice of living in two towns he would not choose Seascale. We have a suggestion for Sir Douglas, and Dr John Cunningham, Labour's environment spokesperson — who welcomes the report.

They should both pack their bags and go and live on the Sellafield site and demonstrate the courage of their convictions!

Non-nuclear?

WEAPONS IN the hands of, and at the disposal of the British military establishment have but one purpose. They are there to serve the needs of our ruling class.

In the famous words of von Clausewitz 'War is the continuation of politics by other means' and when you allow a non-accountable, non-elected military cabal to arm itself — be the weapons nuclear or 'conventional' — there can only be one outcome. They will use them in the interests of their own class. It is with this knowledge and understanding that we should look at the proposals debated at the Labour Party national executive this Wednesday.

Neil Kinnock is now prepared to cancel Trident. Polaris is going to be decommissioned by a future Labour government and US cruise will be sent back. In their place we are promised bigger and better 'conventional' weapons. As the report to the NEC says a reduction in the relative level of Britain's defence spending 'could not be achieved in the lifetime of a single parliament without major cuts in our conventional forces which we do not recommend.' When you get away from the rhetoric, this means that Britain would not only maintain, but it would actually build up its conventional weapons so it could play its role in NATO.

Such a policy rests on the logic that western Europe faces a threat from the USSR and that to meet this threat it must make an alliance with its EEC partners and the USA which is assumed to be the custodian of liberty. In reality this has the stench of *realpolitik* about it. Even the old die hard right-wingers like Healey have reached the conclusion that Polaris is now obsolescent and that Trident is too expensive.

They also know that the opposition to cruise stretches across the Labour Party and beyond. Neil Kinnock is suggesting that we turn back to the alliance of the fifties when Britain based its policy on a European alliance against the 'Soviet threat'. It was under this banner that Attlee and Morrison forced support for German rearmament down the throats of a reluctant Labour Party Conference at Scarborough in 1954.

It is also a policy which guarantees that the Russian people, albeit reluctantly, will support their leaders' defence policies. If the western states are armed to the teeth — be it nuclear or conventional — then they will see no reason to oppose the policies of the Kremlin bureaucrats.

Labour must recognise that the fight for peace involves opposing your own ruling class and Kinnock's proposals come nowhere near to recognising that, in fact they give support to the arguments of Reagan and Thatcher.

Thank you Sarah Tisdall

Sarah Tisdall was released from jail on Monday. She asked for no special actions or demonstrations and she had the right to do that. After all she served four months in prison for putting the future of humanity above the squalid conspiracies of this government.

But it would be wrong if we did not say in *Socialist Action* thanks to Sarah Tisdall. Her action was courageous and unselfish. It showed that there are people who know that you are only free in our society if you stand up against the lies and exploitation of our present government.

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Thatcher goes for broke

THE GOVERNMENT marked the end of the dockers' strike with a long string of speeches by ministers attacking Arthur Scargill. For newspapers like the *Sunday Times* the events of last week show, 'the government is back in control of events.' REDMOND O'NEILL examines this claim in the light of the real choices facing the government.

With the settlement of the docks strike the government has succeeded in preventing a rapid disintegration of its position. The relief in ruling class circles is understandable. The last weeks have given a glimpse of just how catastrophic for British capitalism would be the consequences of a defeat for the government by the miners.

But the claim by the *Sunday Times* and others that the government has 'regained control' of developments does not measure up to the basic facts. These clarify the real development of the dispute.

What has been clarified beyond all doubt is that the government must win this strike. The government cannot afford to compromise. As the Economist put it: 'She (Thatcher) has a duty to take this dispute through the compromise barrier ... Mrs Thatcher must not let the miners' leader, Mr Arthur Scargill, even appear to win his present dispute with the coal board over pit closures. This at least must remain a fixed point after what has been a bad month.'

This also dictates the government line taken in the negotiations between the NUM and the NCB. As the *Financial Times* put it, 'The NCB appeared ready to concede everything ... except the right to close pits on economic grounds.' In other words the NCB concedes nothing on the essential question!

The same approach is applied by the government to the class struggle as a whole. Defeating the miners, and making all necessary concessions to keep other groups like the dockers out of the battle, is precisely the 'fixed point' of government strategy.

The tremendous problem for the government, however, is that it remains as yet without any winning strategy to defeat the NUM itself.

The government did not anticipate that the miners would be able to stay out for nineteen weeks. The strategy of pressurising miners to 'drift back to work' has

been a complete failure.

Even in North Derbyshire, where the coal board's efforts have been most concentrated, the numbers returning to work are so tiny that it would take two years for full production to be resumed. Nationally out of 120,000 miners on strike, the sum total of 387 have so far returned to work!

Not only has no drift back to work emerged but, on the contrary, the miners show every sign that they can stay out until Xmas.

This makes the government's strategy of simply sitting out the strike essentially unworkable. By those means the government cannot win and it risks the kind of disintegration of its positions that we have witnessed over the past month. These however risk being on a much grander scale if industry is disrupted by power cuts this winter.

According to the *Financial Times*, for example, there will be a shortfall of 30 million tonnes of coal out of the 110 million tonnes annually consumed. This shortage will start to create a major crisis in October/November when electricity consumption starts to rise dramatically. In addition the levels of stocks at different power stations vary — creating the risk of some running out of coal supplies even earlier.

The fact is the miners can sit out the winter and the government cannot. And that is one of the chief lessons the government itself has drawn from the crisis it has just passed through.

If Thatcher is to have any chance of defeating the miners the government at some point will have to escalate the struggle

tremendously — with all of the risks this will involve to the government's own position. The purpose of the slander campaign against Scargill, launched by government ministers, is to create the best political conditions for this kind of escalation.

The main options available to the government are that:

- It can try to move coal to equalise supplies at the different power stations;
- It can attempt to move the 22 million tonnes of coal stockpiled at the pitheads, possibly involving troops in the huge operation that would be necessary.
- It can try to increase enormously the level of coal imports;
- It can give a green light to the use of the law against the secondary action carried out by the rail unions in support of the miners.

Any of these steps, or a combination of them, would immensely raise the stakes in the strike and risk drawing the entire labour movement into the struggle. Therefore the aim of the government over the next six weeks or so is to try to politically isolate Scargill's leadership of the NUM.

In this the Tories are greatly aided by the TUC leadership's failure to support the NUM, and the refusal of Kinnock to come off the fence and unconditionally support the miners.

The task of the left-wing of the labour movement in preparing for the winter's confrontations with the government is therefore to do everything possible to overcome this blockage at the head of the labour movement. The government has started its campaign to prepare for make or break confrontations. The labour movement must respond in like manner.

- The objectives in the run-up to the TUC and LP conferences must be:
- For the Labour Party to respond to the political campaign of the Tories with its own campaign centering on a national Labour Party demonstration in support of the miners.
 - For the TUC to break



Photo: JOHN HARRIS

with the treachery of Murray and company and issue the call from the TUC congress for a national day of industrial action in support of the miners to follow the successful regional days of action.

For the TUC, Labour Party and all sections of the labour movement to make clear that any steps to move coal from the pitheads or to use the law to break up solidarity, will be met by a general strike in support of the miners.

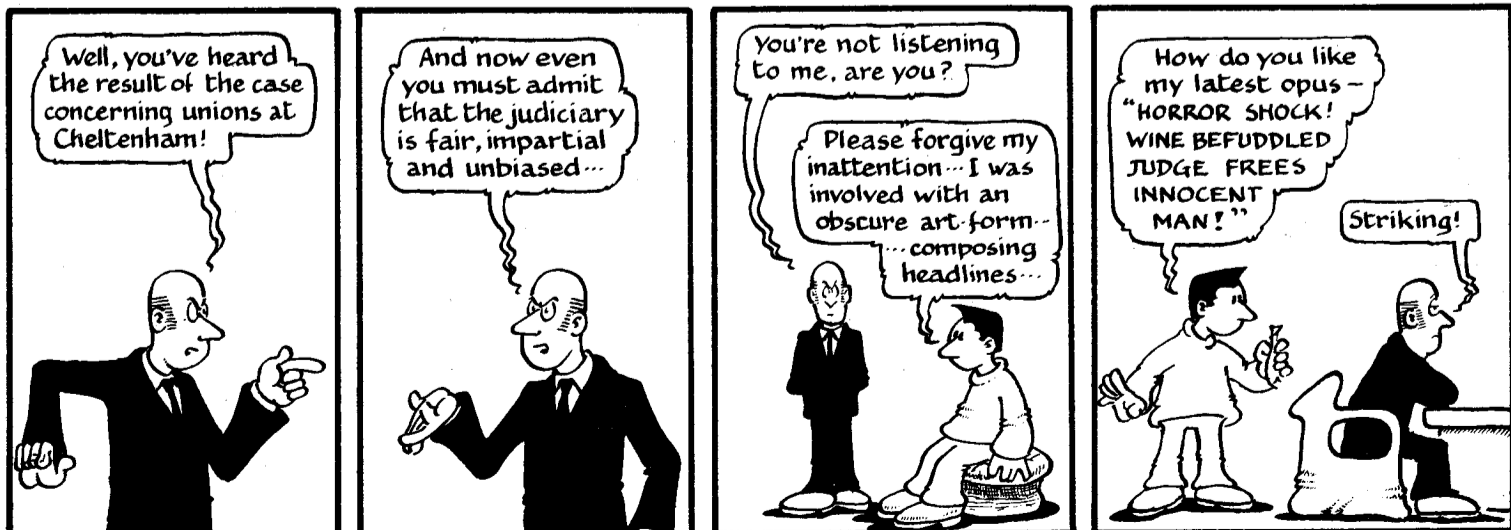
The Tory government cannot 'regain control of the situation' without defeating the miners. They cannot do that without

stepping up the struggle enormously this winter. The government are acting on that basis — no compromise is possible, one side or the other will suffer a crushing defeat.

It is time the labour movement's leadership got off its knees and woke up to what's at stake in this struggle. The task of the left-wing over the summer will be to fight for that understanding of what's at stake.

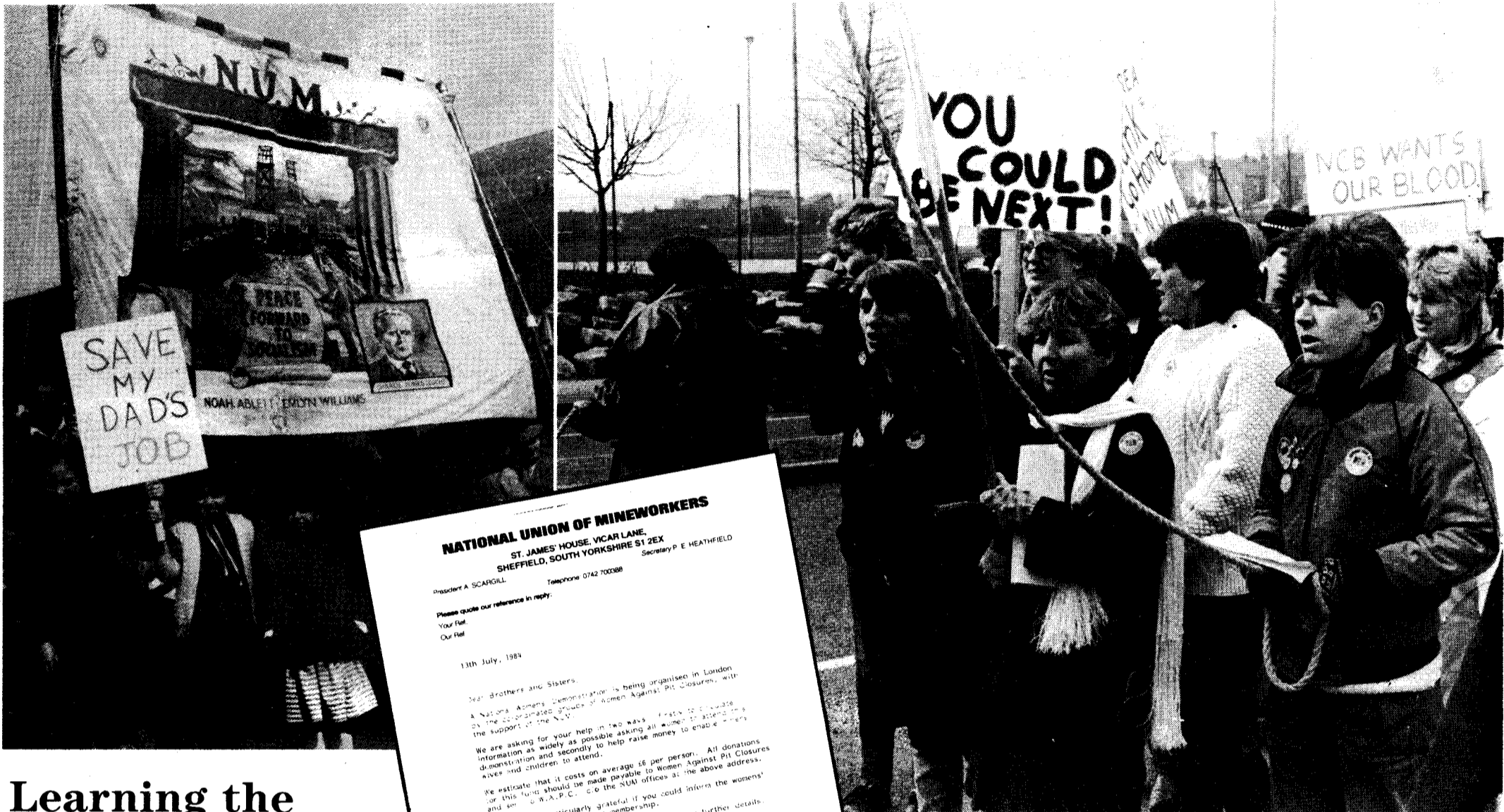
This autumn, even more openly than now, the labour movement is going to face its greatest confrontation since the general strike. The stakes really are that high.

A PIECE of the ACTION



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ALL OUT ON 11 AUGUST



Learning the lessons ...

OVER 150 WOMEN descended on Transport House in Cardiff last week for the first area meeting of women's support committees in the South Wales coalfield. Representatives from 12 groups from the South Wales valleys, as well as some from as far away as Reading, met with Greenham women to share their experiences and coordinate activities.

All agreed that the role of women in the strike extended beyond the provision of food and funds, though the extent of NUM support for the women's activities varied from area to area.

Some lodges have recognised the central role of women in the strike and have supported autonomous mobilisations of women on picket lines. Others have not.

By Petra Hughes, Cardiff women's support group

An area committee of delegates has been set up to coordinate action and put pressure on the NUM to support women's actions. The first mass women's picket will take place soon in South Wales; and there is a women's rally at Abertillery on 27 July.

Earlier links between women in the mining communities and Greenham women have been strengthened. And the suggestion of a march from one of the valley pits to a nuclear power station has received unanimous support.

Women for Life on Earth in Cardiff will organise the three or four day event, including child care and transport. The march will accentuate the Tories' wasteful and

dangerous energy policy which provides plutonium for Thatcher's nuclear war drive and threatens to destroy the mining communities.

After marching down the valleys to Cardiff, some members of the seamen's union will ferry women across the River Seven from Barry. Such a march will gain widespread support in South Wales, showing the miners' determination to win this fight to the benefit of the whole labour movement.

The lessons of Greenham are being put to good use in South Wales as elsewhere.

Organising women's pickets raised the question of police brutality. Women have no illusions about the extent to which they will try to crush our actions. And we have no illusions that by combined effort, we will ensure they don't succeed.

One support group has already accepted the offer of the Greenham women to hold non-violent direct action workshops in their community.

Women left the area meeting of support groups with more strength and determination to secure their role at the front of the miners strike and to win victory for us all with a call for support from all women, inside and outside the mining communities.

NATIONAL UNION OF MINeworkERS ST. JAMES HOUSE VICAR LANE, SHEFFIELD, SOUTH YORKSHIRE S1 2EX Secretary P. E. HEATHFIELD

President A. SCARGILL Telephone 0742 700288

Please quote our reference in reply.

Your File
Our File

13th July, 1984

Dear brothers and Sisters,
A National Women's demonstration is being organised in London by the organised groups of Women Against Pit Closures, with the support of the NUM.

We are asking for your help in two ways - firstly to circulate information as widely as possible asking all women to attend the demonstration and secondly to help raise money to enable wives and children to attend.

We estimate that it costs on average 16 per person. All donations for this fund should be made payable to Women Against Pit Closures and sent to W.A.P.C., c/o the NUM offices at the above address.

We would be particularly grateful if you could inform the women's committees throughout your membership.

A leaflet is enclosed. For more copies and any further details, please phone Sheffield 700384 ext. 722 or 01 522 0596.

Yours fraternally,

A. Scargill
Anne Scargill

Betty Heathfield
Betty Heathfield

P. E. Heathfield
P. E. Heathfield

SINCE DAY ONE of the miners' strike women from the mining communities have stood solidly with the men — not behind, not at the side of, but right out front with them. Women have picketed, demonstrated, spoken at public meetings, and provided the material and moral support that has held whole communities steady throughout the strike.

By Carol Turner

They have robbed the Tories of the invaluable propaganda of the 'women demand their husbands return to work' type we've seen in other strikes. No one is in the slightest doubt that women support the strike and are up front fighting for it.

By their actions they have advanced the cause of women's liberation by a giant

stride. During the dispute they have learned the lessons of how to organise and how to win. As the weeks go by their activities become more and more effective.

Women in the mining communities have made valuable links with other struggles — the fight of the Greenham women to refuse the nuclear missiles in Britain, and the fight of women in the Labour Party to make their voices heard and their opinions count.

These lessons will remain long after the dispute is over.

On 11 August Women Against Pit Closures are organising a national demonstration in London. On 11 August women will lead the way — by linking all parts of the working class movement in a tremendous show of solidarity with the miners.

... Making the links

LORRAINE JOHNSON is the wife of a miner at Bold colliery in Lancashire. Her involvement in the Bold miners wives support committee is her first involvement in political activity. She told CATH POTTER what the group is doing and why it's important for women to organise.

THE MAIN reason I became involved in the miners wives support committee was my concern about getting the families fed. But I also wanted to back the men on strike. If the men hadn't had that backing they would have been driven back to work, which a few were beginning to do.

We started a mother and toddler group to help to break the isolation. Women were sitting at home worrying about the bills piling up and how to make the money go further. We made jokes about these things — it relieved the tension.

Since then we've been out leafletting door to door and collecting food. Women also go out to speak at meetings which they have never done before. Some of the women in the support group work in the kitchen feeding the flying pickets who have stayed at Bold and Sutton Manor pits. Some women have been picketing — only once so far, but we intend to do so again.

We have been in touch with women from other support groups locally, and now we have regular meetings with other local groups. We have had a lot of support from CND members and from Greenham support groups. And we've been supported by women from

that's great. It's the first time that most wives have ever been involved in anything of this sort.

Before I just voted Labour and left it to others to get on with things. We voted Labour because our parents before us had. The strike has opened up a lot of wives' eyes. Now I'm joining the Labour Party, and so are some of the other women.

Maybe some of the wives will just drift back to the kitchen when the strike is over. But a lot of us have had our eyes opened to what's going on in the world today, and we want to be involved in changing things.

WHAT YOU CAN DO:

- **Publicity** — spread the word to trade union and Labour Party branches, local workplaces, women's organisations, peace groups and other groups in your area. Get them to join support the march and publicise it.

- **Support** — get your MPs and local councillors, especially women, to publicly support the demonstration. Ask any well known figures if they will support the demonstration by joining it and by sending messages of support.

- **Money** — the publicity surrounding the demonstration will help raise more money for the miners, but to get things off the ground, especially to organise transport from the pit villages, money is needed now. Can your organisation sponsor coach seats? £6 brings someone to the demonstration.

Leaflets, posters and more information from: Kate Bennet, Trade Union Support Unit, Braganza Street, SE17; or phone 01-582 0987. Donations to: 'Women Against Pit Closures', NUM, St James House, Vicar Lane, Sheffield, South Yorks S1 2EX.

Tories prepare to move coal stocks

THE POLITICAL attacks on Arthur Scargill and the NUM after the ending of the docks strike are deliberate policy by the Tories. They have brought up this business of the Falklands and the enemy within.

The Falklands cost 250 British and 1000 Argentinian lives. The war was an electoral gimmick to relieve the pressure on Thatcher. Before that she was the most disliked person in Britain.

This just goes to show that there is no limit to the extent to which this government will go. This is another gimmick to try to gain support.

To the Labour Party I say you have got to give us support. There are four million unemployed in Britain. The miners strike is about defending jobs for

ourselves and our children. If they don't support us in this, what will they support?

By Jim Robinson, South Notts strike coordinator

The Tories are preparing to move coal stocks. They have contingency plans already laid. We have heard reports that various forms of army transport have been moved into Territorial Army depots in Notts.

They are already moving some stocks, for example, at Cotgrave there used to be over 3500 tonnes. Now there are none.

They are using lorries non-stop. They are even building new roads, without planning permission, so the lorries can drive in one side and out the others.

They will have to use lorries to get around the rail workers — most of them are refusing to move coal.

The government are setting up scab firms in conjunction with private companies.

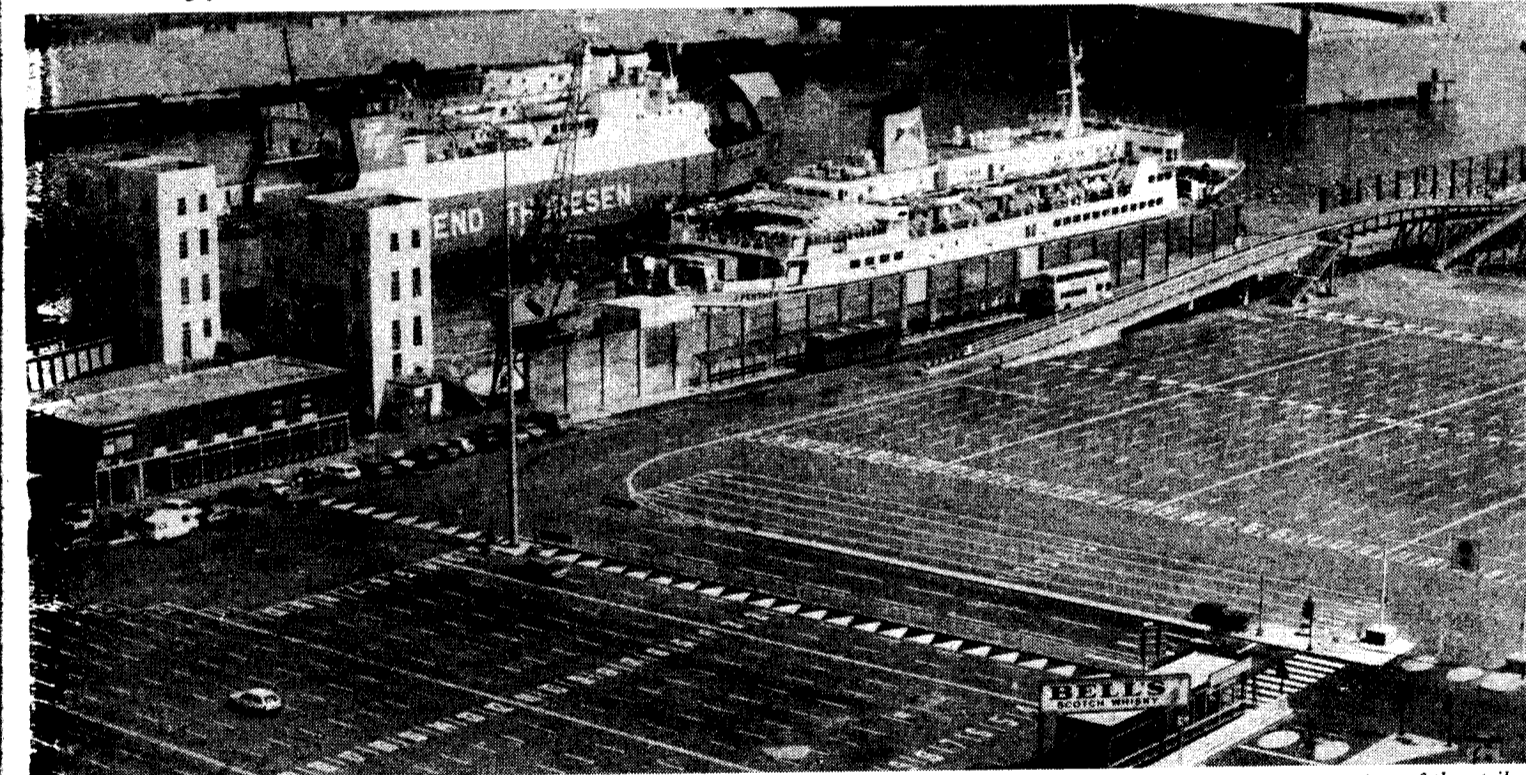
The army has the equipment to load the coal, but not the manpower to move it. They will use a civilian army of highly paid scabs, and do it county by county, even in areas where the strike is solid.

They will use the police to get the scab army in and out, breaking the myth that the police are there to protect the miners who want to work.

It is a strike-breaking police force. They are hoping to break the resolve of the miners by this. The whole labour movement must support us now.



Dover dock at the beginning of the strike



Free holidays for miners

DUMBARTON district council, returned with a massive Labour majority in the elections, is to provide free holiday accommodation for striking miners and their families.

Groups from Cardowan, Ayrshire and Dalkeith — 200 people in all — will be guests of honour in the district over the coming three weeks. They will be given access to all of the council's recreation facilities and, with the sponsorship of local unions, taken on free outings in the local country-side.

By Ian Cameron, Dumbarton LPYS

Dumbarton LPYS are organising regular discos and gigs for the many young people from the mining communities who will be visiting the area over the holiday period, as well as continuing daily street collections for the NUM strike fund.

This kind of practical solidarity by the Labour Party is a vital boost to strikers' morale as well as helping others to understand the real issues in the dispute — not what is churned out by the media.

Just to emphasise the point, the council voted to display a 20-foot banner outside the council chamber proclaiming: 'Dumbarton District Council Supports the Miners'.

Other Labour controlled Scottish councils should follow suit, and publicly identify themselves as supporters of the miners struggle.

Docks — half a victory

THE SETTLEMENT of the docks strike has been greeted with a huge sigh of relief by the ruling class. Now they can get back to the main task of defeating the miners.

If they succeed in that they will return for the dockers another day. The dockers have had a limited victory. This is in itself good news. But it is far less than could have been achieved.

The settlement means that the employers will stop for now their attempts to undermine the Dock Labour Scheme. They have given an undertaking that they will use non-registered labour only after applying to the local dock labour board — on which employers and unions are equally represented.

This is however only what they are supposed to do under the existing agreement. They have given no new agreement of a kind which would prevent the breaches of the scheme which led to the dispute. In other words,

they will behave themselves — for now.

By Pat Hickey

More importantly, neither they nor the government have given any guarantees about the maintenance of the Dock Labour Scheme, and they have made no secret of the fact that they want to get rid of it.

The TGWU had a golden opportunity to secure guarantees for the scheme but failed to take advantage of it. Even looking at it from a purely sectoral angle, it is clear

that the government would have given a great deal more to avoid fighting on two fronts.

Any major concession would have made it much more difficult for the Tories to hold the line against the miners. Instead not only has the TGWU failed to make gains it has stored up a real problem for the future.

The unity achieved at the start of the dispute was impressive. Ports such as Felixstowe and Dover, which did not support the last national strike in 1972, came out.

The addition of the major non-scheme ports to the 78 scheme ports (which handle 70 per cent of non-fuel traffic) meant that the roll-on roll-off traffic was at a standstill. It showed the enormous potential strength of the dock workers. But, as the miners have demonstrated

unity has to be fought for.

Dover came out after a hotly disputed show of hands. At Felixstowe the workers were ordered out. Knowing this the national leadership should have prepared for mass pickets to ensure that the strike held solid. Instead, the initiative passed to those who wanted to return to work backed up by the lorry drivers.

Changes

At Dover they were allowed off the motorway into the town by the police. Once there, they blockaded passenger traffic, adding that 'women and children might get hurt'. The thick blue line was nowhere to be seen.

The Dover shop stewards' decision to give way before this reactionary pressure was a huge

mistake. It was even worse for the national leadership to continue talks under such conditions. Instead, they should have called for dockers nationally — and the miners — to join them in fighting this blackmail.

The lorry drivers across Europe are emerging as a major right wing force. Many of them are owner-drivers mortgaged to the hilt and on the knife-edge of bankruptcy. They are a growing threat to the labour movement and must be smashed.

It was well within the power of the dockers to do so. Instead they gave these scabs an easy victory.

When the Tories and the Port Employers return to settle accounts with the dockers, they will remember the 'Dover Factor'. So will the lorry drivers. The labour movement had better learn the lesson also.

Miners' Support Committee

Leicester
56 St Stephens Rd.
Tel: Leics 552386

Coventry
Donations to: D Jones, 11 De Compton Close, Keresley, Coventry.

Bristol
c/o TGWU, Transport House, Room 1, Victoria St, Bristol BS1

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

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

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

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

Southall
c/o 14 Featherstone Rd, Southall, Middx.

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

Ealing
c/o West London Trade Union Club, 33 Action High St, London W3

Southampton
c/o NUPE District Office, 93 Leigh Rd, Eastleigh, Hants

Cardiff
Room 219, Transport House, 1 Cathedral Rd, Cardiff. Tel: 0222 31176

Hounslow
c/o Ian MacDonald, 220 Wellington Road South, Hounslow, Middx. Tel: 01-577 3429

Medway
c/o Vince Droggin, Medway Towns Trades Union Council, 19 Randall Rd, Chatham, Kent.

Bury
c/o Brian Marden, 061-764 9648

Oxford
c/o Claimants Union, Princes St, Oxford

Leeds
c/o District Labour Party, 9 Queens Sq, Leeds 2

Lewisham
c/o Labour and Trade Union Club, Limes Grove, Lewisham, London

Haringey
c/o Unemployed Workers' Centre, 28 High Rd, Tottenham, London N17. Tel: 801 5629

York
c/o Terry, 3 Scaife St, York. Tel: 0904 25223.

Brent
375 Willesden High Road, London NW10

Birkenhead
Trade Union & Unemployed Resources Centre, Argyle St South (next to Central Stn), Birkenhead. Tel: 051-647 3904.

Leamington
Meets Sunday 7.30pm, Stoneleigh Arms, Clement St.

IRELAND UNFREE



Photo: AN PHOBLAIGHT

Demonstration against informer trials in Belfast

The Bernie Tohill frame-up

LAST WEEK Bernie Tohill visited Birmingham. Her son, Bobby, is a victim of the informer system of justice in the North of Ireland. Bernie met Birmingham city and county councillors, trades council representatives, as well as speaking at public meetings. She was particularly well received at the miners support committee, where she outlined her son's story.

Bobby Tohill was arrested in March 1982, accused of conspiracy to murder. Despite constant intimidation, he maintained his innocence. He refused bribery to become another informer, the next tactic of the Royal Ulster Constabulary.

He was refused bail pointblank, despite his wife having a nervous breakdown and his son suffering a terminal illness.

The third tactic of the RUC was to have him framed by an informer called Goodman. Bobby went on hunger strike for eight days in protest at this. Then Goodman retracted his evidence and Bobby went free.

But the RUC promised to get him out of the way somehow, and they kept their promise. He was rearrested and charged with different offences by a different informer, Harry Kirkpatrick.

So, along with 33 other men, Bobby is on remand awaiting his trial which won't take place till next year.

The preliminary hearing was abandoned after the judge walked out, saying justice could not be done. This was because Kirkpatrick could only identify the 34 men with a special branch man whispering to him!

When he finally comes to trial, Bobby Tohill's only chance is to break the credibility of informer Kirkpatrick, and force a retraction. If this happens he will go free. If not, he faces a very long sentence from a non-jury court solely on the word of a paid informer.

Bobby's case highlights several points. First, Loyalist prisoners usually get bail, but not Republicans.

Second, informers are well trained: Gilmor from Derry was tutored for six hours a day to make him sound convincing when giving evidence.

Thirdly, when all else fails, the 'suspect' is rearrested on the word of another informer. There is one case of a Republican charged under five different informers!

This whole process is justified by Prior as 'the only way to put terrorists away'. Quite apart from the increasingly wide definition of who is a 'terrorist' these days, the show trials beg the question of what kind of society needs this kind of 'justice' to survive.

At the coming Kirkpatrick show trial, observers will be allowed. Delegates from the British labour movement are essential to put the spotlight on the proceedings and report back.

Birmingham Trades Council is sending delegates; MPs Clare Short and Rob Clay have promised support; and the case has been publicised throughout Ireland and America.

Even Peter Archer, the Labour spokesperson on Ireland, has expressed concern on humanitarian grounds at Bobby Tohill's case.

The whole system of show trials needs to be taken up and publicised throughout the British labour movement. This corrupt system of justice, and the corrupt society it supports, must be ended.

Mitterrand heads right

THE COMMUNIST Party's exit from Francois Mitterrand's government marks a sharp turn in French politics. The last fifteen years have seen a major shift in the relation of forces in the French workers' movement away from the Communist Party and towards the Socialist Party. ALAN JONES looks at the long term aims of Francois Mitterrand's 'Eurosocialism'.

In order to appreciate just how fundamental is the shift in French working class politics that has taken place in the last fifteen years it is necessary to put it in an historical context.

From 1945 until the mid-1970s the French Communist Party (PCF) was the party of the French working class. It had behind it the tremendous prestige of the PCF's role in the resistance movement to the Nazi occupation and of the Popular Front government of 1936. The PCF's post-war vote reached a peak of 25 per cent. It controlled easily the most powerful trade union federation in France — the CGT.

In contrast the vote of the French Socialist Party had declined to the point where in 1969 it scored a pathetic five per cent. The French Socialists controlled or dominated no major trade union federation. From 1958 onwards, when de Gaulle came to power, the Socialists appeared almost an irrelevance as French politics seemed polarised between the Gaullists and the PCF.

French

Fifteen years later however the situation of the French working class movement is radically changed. The Socialist Party has the presidency and an absolute majority in Parliament. The PCF's vote at the Euro-elections fell to a fifty year low of 11 per cent. The Socialist Party vote, at 22 per cent, was well down on its level at the time of the 1981 elections but still double that of the PCF. The Socialist Party has gained a solid base of support in the CFDT union federation.

In short the fifteen years since 1969 has seen a major shift in the relation of forces in the French working class away from the PCF and towards the Socialist Party. Although in terms of militants, and degree of union 'muscle', the PCF is still stronger than the Socialist Party in every other sphere it has been drastically weakened — and even in the trade unions the CFDT is much stronger vis a vis the CGT than it was fifteen years ago. The period of Mitterrand's leadership has therefore seen a dramatic restructuring of the whole of French working class politics.

Dramatic as these changes are, however, they are neither illogical nor are they going to be fundamentally reversed by the withdrawal of the PCF from the government. The shifts correspond to profound driving forces in French and European politics.

This historical strength of the French Communist Party was neither 'accidental' nor determined by purely internal French factors. The PCF gained its

strength in two enormous surges of support — from 1934-36 in the period of the Popular Front and in 1941-45 in the period of resistance to Nazi Germany.

Each of these years of growth corresponded to a period of international alliance of major sections of French capitalism with the Soviet Union. The years 1934-36 were those of the Franco-Soviet military pact. Those of 1941-45 the 'allied' war against Germany.

National

In short the 'popular front' in each case had not simply a national but an international dimension — the alliance of France with 'Russia' against Germany. Indeed French foreign policy, with only short exceptions, had been based on an 'eastern alliance' with Russia against Germany ever since France lost the war for the unification of Germany in 1870.

Under conditions where French capitalism sought an international alliance with the USSR the French bourgeoisie was forced to 'permit' the growth of the PCF in France itself.

Tactical

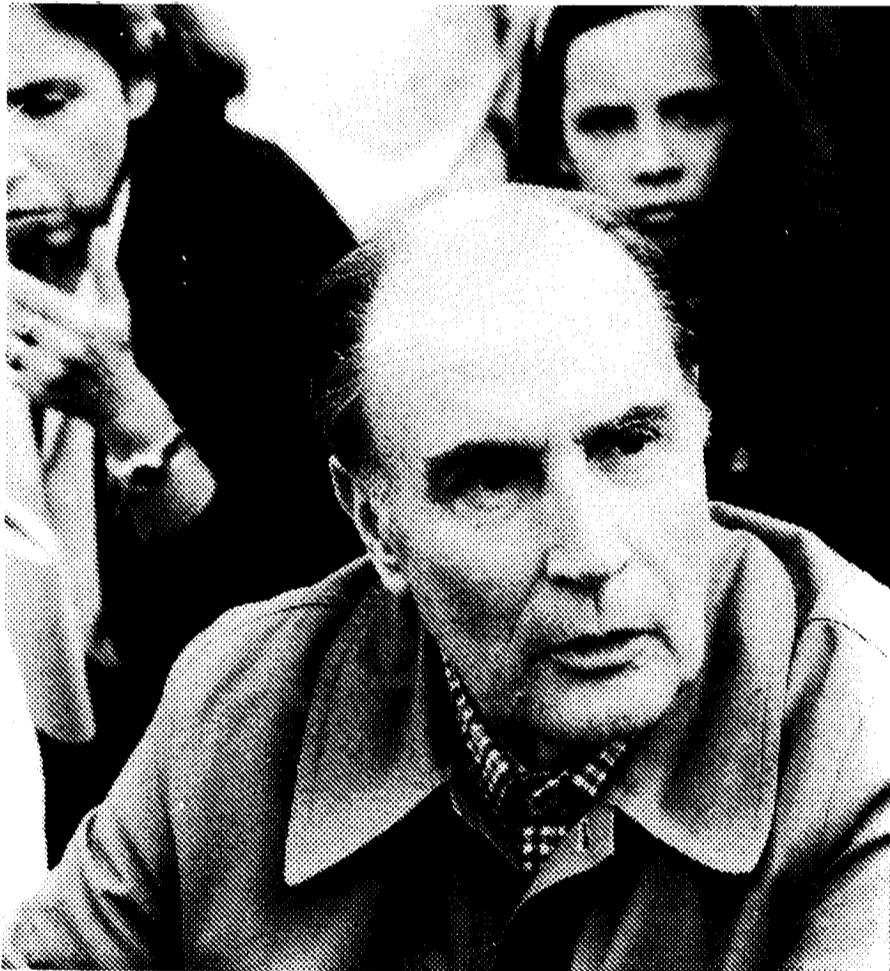
Despite appearances to the contrary a similar policy was followed by de Gaulle after 1958. To gain international room for manoeuvre de Gaulle was prepared to make tactical alliances with Moscow. Under these circumstances the opposition of the PCF to de Gaulle was far more verbal than real. In turn de Gaulle, despite his virulent anti-communism, made no real drive to eliminate the base of support of the PCF inside France.

The late 1960s and 1970s however saw very different conditions for French capitalism. De Gaulle had considerable success in restrengthening French capitalism — by the late 1960s France was the second most important industrial power of capitalist Europe after West Germany. The EEC, launched the year de Gaulle came to power, consolidated itself and became the framework of French international and economic policy. Capitalist Germany was transformed from France's greatest enemy to its closest ally in Europe.

Under these conditions a 'revolution' in French internal and external politics was required. From an alliance with Russia against Germany French policy now needed an



Communist Party leader Marchais



Mitterrand

alliance with West Germany against the Soviet Union.

Within this scheme of politics there was no place either for a 'special' relation between France and the USSR, nor for the weight of the PCF. The shift in international alliances required a shift in the internal structure of French politics itself. The axis required was to break the power of the PCF.

The person who performed this necessary role for French capitalism was Francois Mitterrand and his Socialist Party.

The French capitalist parties could never have fundamentally cut into the working class support of the PCF. But the Socialist Party could and did.

Throughout his long tactical alliance with the PCF in the 1970s Mitterrand never had any doubts that it was the com-

munists, not capitalism, that were the real enemy he had to attack. The reformism of the PCF, its slavish adherence to Moscow, in turn made it easy prey for Mitterrand's revamped Socialist Party.

Today Mitterrand has largely achieved the objectives he set himself. Only the tidying up operations remain — the most important being introducing a system of proportional representation at the next elections. This will free the Socialist Party from the need to make any electoral pact with the PCF. With that goal achieved Mitterrand can prepare the way for alliances with the directly capitalist parties in France.

The nature of Francois Mitterrand's government has always been totally misunderstood on the left in Europe — and by much of the French left. It was seen as a 'left' govern-

ment, as some sort of repeat, on a lesser scale, of the Popular Front of the 1930s. In fact Mitterrand from the very beginning was in the most literal sense a direct agent of French capitalism — in his effect on the workers' movement the most successful president French capitalism has had since de Gaulle.

Indeed even de Gaulle never succeeded in demoralising the workers' movement, weakening the PCF, and creating an 11 per cent fascist/ racist vote in the way Mitterrand has. The lessons of Mitterrand's operation for the French working class are bitter indeed.

And the lessons for Britain? Neil Kinnock's entire style and strategy for the Labour Party is based on Mitterrand's Socialist Party.

Don't say you haven't been warned.

For a mass, campaigning LPYS

An open letter

ONE ONLY has to look at the massively successful GLC events like 'Jobs for a Change' and the carnival against racism to see the potential to interest young people in the biggest battle against the Tories since the health workers strike in 1982 — the miners strike. A national LPYS 'Youth for the miners' demonstration and festival with Youth CND would not only boost support for the strike but would win many youth to the Labour Party and the LPYS.

Wishful thinking is not enough however. Activists in the Labour Party must organise now with YS members to make good ideas a reality and build the LPYS. Drastic measures are needed.

There is an urgent need for a discussion on the left about youth. The Labour Party Young Socialists is presently very weak. The real membership of the YS remains at the feeble level of about 3000. If Labour is going to have a hope in hell of defeating the Tories and the Alliance, support among youth will have to be built up.

The pathetically low vote for Labour at the last election must be reversed. Part and parcel of this is clearly building a strong, campaigning and democratic youth section, with its own lively and interesting youth paper.

But the response of the Labour Party leadership is at best total lack of interest and at worst proposing to cut our budget and trying to dictate what can and cannot be sold or distributed at YS events. This must stop.

Socialists in the Labour Party must discuss and take part in actions that can and will build the LPYS, we must defend the right of the YS to make its own decisions, to be democratic and independent.

Two sets of attitudes in the party must be overcome. Firstly that youth are useful door-knockers but of course, if the LPYS wing or too 'political' its budget will be sliced to stop it from saying anything. Secondly the attitude of many on the left of being to ignore the YS and leave the present leadership of the party with it!

Why are these attitudes a problem? The main thing is the witch hunt, whether it be a cut in the YS budget, dictats on particularly expulsions can be tolerated. It is vital that in a organisation we have the right to make our policy decisions our way forward for youth. On the other hand, ignoring the LPYS is nothing.

The conditions exist for the creation of an LPYS that tens of thousands and it is to this task that the left must a YS will not and cannot be built on the basis of a narrow programme.

It will be built only by involving itself in, and giving direction to, the struggles that young people are involved in such as CND, women's liberation, campaigns against racism and industrial struggles such as the miners strike.

Such a campaigning YS would strengthen no end to the labour movement as a whole and would be capable of overcoming the apathy and hostility among a large section of politics.

It will only be built, however, if the left as a whole building the YS and taking it out of the hands of the party by political rather than bureaucratic or organisational means.

There is a growing minority in the Young Socialists to just such a campaigning approach. Its ranks are made up of campaigns such as CND, and groups such as Lesbians and Gays Support the Labour Party. These are alongside support for the Labour Party.

The left of the Labour Party has traditionally been indifferent to the LPYS. Two members of LPYS regional committees, BERNIE WILDE and DAVE SHEPHERD, writing in a personal capacity, have issued an open letter appealing for the left to break with this attitude and build a mass campaigning LPYS using the methods and policies which have built CND and YCND, the women's liberation movement and the campaigns of the GLC.

TRACY DOYLE, GERRY KIRK and DAVE REES look at some of the campaigns and steps that are being taken to build this type of Labour Party Young Socialists.



Photo: JOHN HARRIS

Jobs not Bombs

By Dave Rees, YCND national committee member and Selly Oak LPYS

DURING September, as more youth are thrown on to the dole, West Midlands Youth CND and Labour Party Young Socialists will be organising a joint 'Anti-Trident, Jobs not Bombs' campaign drawing the link between the much neglected issue of Trident — Britain's very own nuclear weapons system — and the worsening unemployment situation.

The campaign will culminate in a mass youth demo and rally where there will be speakers from both the labour movement and the anti-missiles movement. We will be aiming our campaign

WEST MIDLANDS YOUTH CND
NO CRUISES
NO TRIDENT
NO TO NAT

YCND's summer march

By Tracy Doyle, Youth CND national committee member and Brighton LPYS

SUPPORT FOR the Youth CND 'Bases Tour of '84' is growing fast. National trade unions like the TGWU and FBU, have taken publicity material. The NUM keeps writing to ask for more, and we hope to have lots of young miners on the march.

The slogans of the march — 'No US Bases — Jobs not Bombs' — clearly links the fight of the miners and the fight against nukes. We've proved that by doing so we can build support for Youth CND as well.

Meetings en route of the march will have guest speakers and cover many of the issues facing us today. We are planning an International Rally with representatives from the Sandinista Youth movement, women from the peace camp in Comiso, European youth from peace organisations and, of course, the miners. Other meetings planned will be about women and the peace movement, support for the miners, and the fight against racism.

LPYS members on the Youth CND national committee are hoping the YS leadership will decide to back the march fully. Youth CND is organising a stall at YS summer camp with posters,

badges, and march publicity and will be supplying a speaker for the official meeting on joint YS and Youth CND activities.

In the Southern Region the LPYS has agreed to distribute march publicity in their regional mailing. The LPYS is to have a speaker at the carnival on 19 August. We hope that from now on the LPYS will play a full role in building Youth CND instead of abstaining and maintaining the abstract position 'we will only achieve disarmament through socialism' — which like it or not has cut the YS off from thousands of youth in the past few years.

If we are to win CND across to a labour movement orientation and away from its present 'new realist' line we'll need the active support of the left in the Labour Party and the unions. The first step is to prove that the Youth CND march concentrating on US bases and Jobs not Bombs, can be a success. We need to prove there is an alternative, a way forward for CND that will take it into the most oppressed sectors of our society.

The LPYS has a role to play in this. If it takes up the struggles of youth it can become a mass campaigning organisation. From all points of view the 'Bases Tour of '84' and the carnival that will welcome it, are vital and deserve the support of the whole labour movement — YS included!



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ists which is committed drawn from the mass in and Gay Young ur Committee on

Ireland, the campaign against Reagan's war drive in Central America and other international issues which have received increasing support from youth in the LPYS.

This current is beginning to organise through regional 'minority' bulletins and caucuses at national Young Socialists events around such things as defense of the political levy, support for the demands of the Women's Action Committee.

A discussion has begun about launching a national journal to organise these activists and deepen our links with the rest of the left. The aim of this open letter has been to open the debate about the way forward for Labour's youth organisation and to begin to build up the links that will be necessary if Labour is to have the kind of campaigning youth wing it needs.

The left wing of the party has been throwing itself into activities such as solidarity with the miners, defending the cities, defending the political levy, winning the demands of the Women's Action Committee and building black sections. But the important task of building up Labour's youth organisation has all too often been ignored.

Instead narrow and sectarian politics have been pursued by the LPYS leadership cutting it off from tapping the huge potential which exists among young people. The left must break with this and win the LPYS over to its own campaigning politics.

We appeal to the left at all levels of the party to join with us in building a mass campaigning Labour Party Young Socialists.

Bernie Wilde, West Midlands Regional Committee Member
Dave Sheperd, Southern Regional Committee Member
both in a personal capacity)



Jim Thakoordin, Paul Sharma, Mark Wadsworth and Billy Poh at a black section press conference.

Black sections take off!

MIKE WONGSAM, black section national steering committee member, in a personal capacity, assesses the progress of black sections in the Labour Party to date, and what still remains to be done.

In fact building black sections is one very important way of turning Labour into a mass campaigning party which champions the interests of all the oppressed and exploited sections of society. It should be recognised as such by all activists in the party.

FOUR BLACK section resolutions to Labour Party conference last year, 20 this. That's just one measure of the success the fight for black sections is having inside the party. But the fight to ensure a real hearing at this year's annual conference still goes on.

An argument frequently used against black sections is that we are 'racially segregationalist'. In reality, our definition of black is primarily political, embracing the racially and culturally oppressed minorities in Britain. Diversionary arguments shouldn't be allowed to deflect from the importance of our new and growing movement.

Amendments to the constituency party resolutions are urgently needed to strengthen our hand. Local parties who have supported the black section, but haven't prioritised a resolution on the subject, are especially encouraged to think about sending in an amendment to conference.

The radicalisation of black people, especially black youth, over the last few years is a significant development inside the British labour movement. The party as a whole must turn towards this radicalisation, and show it really does support the interests of the black communities in Britain.

It only needs a word or two changing in the original. One suggestion is pressing for black community groups sympathetic to the Labour Party being allowed to affiliate.

And there is a special part for the Labour Party Young Socialists to play too. By making the youth section of the Labour Party habitable to young black people — by taking up their campaigns and espousing their rights — the LPYS can grow in strength as well as in size, and make sure that it is helping to build the sort of Labour Party of the future that all socialists are committed to fighting for.

The black section steering committee is asking that the Norwood CLP resolution — calling on the leadership to submit a rule-change amendment to 1985 party conference to allow black sections to be set up — be amended to include opposition to disciplinary action against constituencies which have already established black sections.

All amendments must be in by 17 August. And constituencies should give priority to choosing a black conference delegate.

Black sections already exist or are being set up in 22 constituencies. These are: London — Battersea, Westminster North, Vauxhall, Deptford, Peckham, Lewisham East, Holborn and St Pancras, Leyton, Hampstead and Highgate, Tottenham, Hornsey and Wood Green, Putney, Southall, Streatham, Greenwich, Brent South, and Norwood; Birmingham — Ladywood and Perry Barr; Manchester — Central and Gorton; Bedfordshire — North. And at least 42 constituencies were represented at the recent black section conference in Birmingham.

The initial response from the Labour leadership — Kinnock, Kaufman, Hattersley, et al — has been much publicised. Neil Kinnock is quoted as saying he was 'still open to persuasion' on the issue. But subsequent comments leave little room to doubt whether the Labour leadership will willingly accept black sections.

So far the Labour Party leadership has been less than comradely (to put it mildly!) towards the black activists in the party who are committed to building black sections as a way of drawing more and more black people into the party — and ensuring the Labour Party really does begin to represent the interests of black people in this country.

Norwood Labour Party resolution:
This conference welcomes the initiatives taken by some constituency Labour Parties to tackle racism and to encourage members of ethnic minorities to join the Labour Party. In particular it welcomes the establishment of sections of individual Afro-Caribbean and Asian members and acknowledges that it is the wish of these members that such sections be formed and called black sections.

It instructs the national executive committee: 1. to submit to the 1985 conference amendments to the rules for constituency Labour parties which will allow black sections to be formed, where members so desire, with the right to send delegates to general management committees and executive committees in the same way as women's sections and YS branches;

2. following consultation throughout the party, to submit to the 1985 conference draft regulations on the organisation of black sections;
3. to allow existing black sections to continue, recognising that they have a valuable contribution to make in the formulation of the party's policy in relation to anti-racism and the wishes of black people.

bombs

at this year's school leavers either on the dole or YTSs, producing leaflets explaining why we think that all youth should oppose nuclear weapons.

There will be a series of stunts to publicise our campaign; with pickets outside some of the larger YTS schemes throughout the region. This event marks an important step for both the YS and Youth CND in the West Midlands, hopefully now we can start to unite all youth opposed to Thatcher and Reagan's war drive in one mass campaign.

● Look out for 'Youth Fightback' the West Midlands YS Bulletin for more details.



SCOTTISH LPYS Bulletin

By Gerry Kirk, Dumbarton LPYS
DUMBARTON LABOUR Party Young Socialists has been producing its own local bulletin for nearly two years now. In a recent issue we put out an invitation to other Scottish YS branches to support and participate in a Scottish-wide bulletin. This provoked a very good response — representatives from 10 YSs attended an organising meeting and decided to go ahead and put out the *Bulletin*.

The first copy of this will be available at the coming national LPYS Summer Camp. Hopefully this *Bulletin* can become monthly, and we are confident that the number of sponsoring branches will increase as the *Bulletin* becomes more widely known and read.

The YS sorely lacks an open campaigning journal which represents the views of all tendencies in the organisation and reflects the debates which go on in the branches. The YS newspaper, *Socialist Youth*, does none of these things, representing only the views of the current leadership and, as such, remains an irrelevant, sectarian rag, more likely to bore than to win potential recruits.

We continue to fight to turn *Socialist Youth* into a lively, campaigning newspaper which all members of the YS can contribute to — being realistic though, we fear that this is, unfortunately, not an immediate prospect.

It's our belief that the *Bulletin* can play a large part in helping build the LPYS, and can establish itself as a forum for debate among Young Socialists, as well as of course winning new recruits to the LPYS.

Our *Bulletin* has the official sponsorship of the following YS branches: Dumbarton, Maryhill, Coatsbridge, Blantyre, Aberdeen South, Gordon, Edinburgh Central, Motherwell North, Dundee East. We think the YS can be forced out of its rut and towards youth in the mass campaigns — writing for and organising around such bulletins can help do this and build the YS.

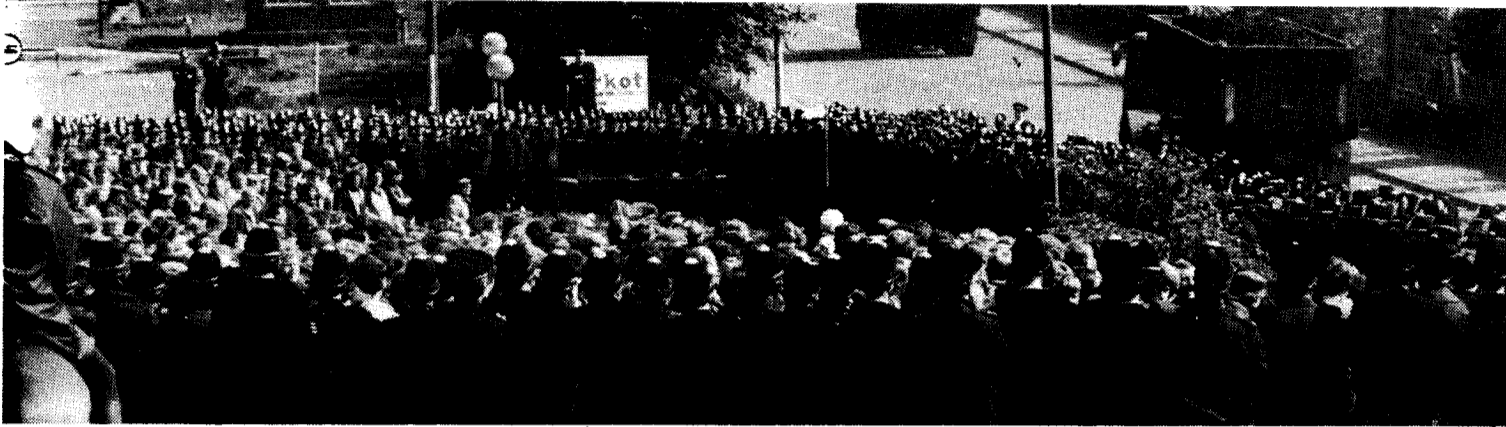
● If you want more information or advice about how to set up a bulletin in your area, write to: Gerry and Ian, c/o 7 Hardie Street, Alexandria, Scotland.

THE BASES TOUR OF '84

YOUTH CND

JOBS NOT BOMBS!
NO U.S. BASES!

Something new in British politics?



Now funnily enough none of this lot were at Dover to stop the lorry drivers' threatened rampage

Photo: JOHN HARRIS

FOR THREE CENTURIES the British State mainly exported its violence. Its ships plundered Africa for slaves whilst its armies pillaged their bloody way over five continents. Its violence abroad paid the bill for having a less violent regime at home — but even here when people stepped out of line the state cracked down on them as at Peterloo and Tolpuddle to name but two of many instances.

Now things are changing at a rapid rate. There is no empire to finance reforms at home. So the violence is now coming to Britain itself. It's ugliest face has been seen on the streets of the six counties of the North of Ireland and those who warned that Belfast and Derry were dress rehearsals for the streets of the mainland have been proved prophets in their own time.

In the biggest police operation ever mounted in this country the state has done all it can to beat the miners back to work.

Those who have counselled respect for the law like some of the TUC and Labour leaders have been proved not only wrong but dangerously wrong, for their advice has led to nothing but defeat and disaster. Now with the events at Dover last week the ruling class and their

state have not only shown their willingness to use 'legal' violence through their police force but they have been seen to acquiesce to, and give encouragement to the illegal violence of the lorry drivers.

In this article BOB PENNINGTON looks at what happened at Dover and places it in the context of the growing polarisation that is taking place in Britain's class society.

LAST WEEK, supervised by police escorts, strike-breaking lorry drivers were allowed to enter Dover. As the convoy converged on the port the drivers were openly threatening to smash through a police motorway blockade, so the police obligingly let them through and into the Dover car park.

The situation was obvious to the local dockers. On one side you had over 1000 incensed lorry drivers breathing mayhem against the fairly small dock labour force and alongside the lorry drivers stood a police force whose sympathies lay with the strike-breakers.

The lorry drivers knew they had got the go-ahead when a police spokesperson told them: 'We rely on the commonsense of the lorry drivers...' It makes it more understandable that at that point, the dockers began to decide to call off their embargo. Once again the police and the scabs had joined together, but

this time the police had a force to do their head bashing for them if the need arose.

The labour movement has said little or nothing in protest at what happened at Dover. Nor strangely enough have many of the people and organisations normally noted for their defence of civil rights. Perhaps the significance of this new sinister right wing violence has escaped them.

Lorry driver D Rowley spokesperson said: 'There's been no violence so far, but after 10pm I don't know what will happen. If the drivers can't leave, they will burn the place down. It won't just be blockades, they will go on the rampage. And it won't stop at the port. If there are women and children around I can't guarantee their safety.'

But it has been noted in some quarters. Mr Peregrine Worsthorne who scratches out a living writing lead articles for the *Sunday Telegraph* which invariably espouses very right wing causes is very pleased about Dover. He described it as 'Something new...stirring in British politics', saying it was not 'Mrs Thatcher's police who kept the ports open. It was the furious lorry drivers....'

Firm

Mr Worsthorne is a firm believer in the rule of the upper classes and he reckons they have a new ally who could bring 'violent trouble'. These new and violent trouble makers are he says 'the unorganised self-employed, from one-man businesses...'

This 'new army' has an added attraction for Worsthorne and his like. He says 'they are just as fond of a bit of aggro as the toughest miners and not all that more impressed by the sanctity of parliamentary democracy either.' Now I don't doubt

that all those 'sensible' and 'moderate' labour movement leaders will dismiss Worsthorne's article as the ranting of an eccentric right-wing columnist. But that won't wash.

Worsthorne is right. The lorry drivers kept Dover open — with the help of the police of course! Nor will this be the last time a right-wing rabble colludes with the police. In a Britain torn by economic and social crisis a polarisation is taking place. Those whose interests lie with the ruling class see the unions as a menace that must be destroyed.

They back the anti-trade union legislation. They like to see the police baton the miners' pickets. They welcome the law courts' decisions against strikers and the women of Greenham. They are the natural allies of the employers and their state.

In the Wiemar republic their like wore brown uniforms and helped the police to beat up socialists and communists. In Chile the lorry drivers joined with the army against Allende and Popular Front government. What happened at Dover is not a deviation from 'normal peaceful British life.'

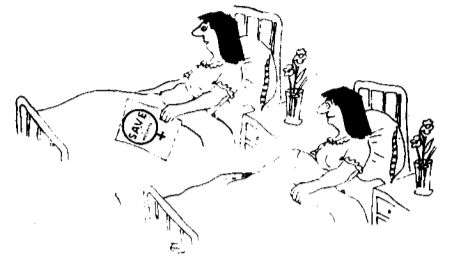
More

It will happen more and more if the labour movement does not treat it seriously. And treating it seriously means cracking down on these strike breakers. The unions should have told them 'Lift one hand against any docker and we will take your registration number and you and your firm will never be allowed to drive a lorry out of any British port again.'

That is the way to keep them in line and the trade union movement must make sure that's what's done if this happens again. The intimidation against the Dover dockers shows they like any other striking worker can expect no help from the police. That means they have to organise in future their own defence against the police and the scabs.

It's a lesson that Britain's black community have learned and the trade union movement should take good note of that lesson — it will serve them well in future disputes.

South London Women's Hospital lie-in



'THIS ISN'T the end, it's just the beginning. We intend to stay in the hospital for as long as it takes to ensure we get a guarantee that it will re-open.'

So said one of the South London Hospital occupation committee members, bearing witness to the anger felt at the Tories' plans to close the hospital.

At the end of this week, hundreds of women will join those already in occupation for a two-day lie-in at the hospital. Wandsworth Health Authority plans to close it down on Friday.

The action is the climax of an 18-month campaign to keep the women's hospital open, and the occupation committee is appealing for hundreds of women to join the lie-in.

A petition of thousands of local signatures will be presented to Michael Meacher, Labour's spokesperson on social services, and Valerie Wise, chair of the GLC's women's committee.

● Women can join the lie-in at the South London Women's Hospital, Clapham Common South Side, London SW4 from 6pm onwards, on Thursday 26 July. More information: Sue or Julie on 01-674 1924, or Rachel on 01-403 0300 ext 288.

No cruise, no NATO

MORE THAN 1000 delegates attended the third European Nuclear Disarmament Convention in Perugia, Italy. DICK WITHECOMBE, Labour CND delegate to the convention, reports.

ALL OF the major Western European peace movements and the official peace movements of Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union were represented at the convention. The dominant issue was relations with the Eastern European unofficial peace movements.

There were a series of protests, led by the German Greens, against the refusal of the Soviet and East European governments to grant visas to representatives of the unofficial peace movements wishing to attend the convention. Both the organisers of the convention and the representatives of European social democratic parties disassociated themselves from the protests, and apologised to the Soviet delegation.

In the workshop discussions on strategy two main currents emerged. The first, represented in particular by the social democratic parties, argued for pressure on governments to adopt a non-nuclear defence strategy within NATO.

The second represented most forcefully by the German Greens, argued for opposition to NATO, for opposition to the West European Defence Union (described as the 'Third Reich') and for continuing mass action against the deployment of cruise. It was these same forces that were most vocal in arguing for defence of the unofficial movements in Eastern Europe.

A meeting of women, called to protest against the male domination of the convention platform, issued a call for an international women's peace conference. Significantly the meeting chose as one of its speakers to the convention's final session a representative of the East German unofficial peace movement.

She received a tremendous standing ovation when she concluded her speech with a call for support for the peace campaigners in the East and campaigning against NATO in the West.

MOLES EYE VIEW



Get a suit — get a job

YOU THOUGHT people couldn't get a job because the bosses didn't want to employ them. Not really. It's because most of those four million unemployed layabouts will not be nice to their interviewer and wear their best suits.

Our heir to the throne, Charlie told 350 jobless youth: 'Try to concentrate on coming across well in an interview... the way you dress makes a difference... That's a bit funny from a guy who got his job because his ancestors were never nice to anyone.'

In fact they stole and murdered their way in to

their jobs. Then again from someone who owns half of Cornwall and has his dirty little paws in all sorts of inherited financial fiddles he never had any difficulty buying a suit. For some funny reason the DHSS won't give unemployed people a cheque to go and get fitted out in Saville Row.

Never mind. Next week on the lawn at Buckingham Palace Charlie is addressing a 'right-to-work meeting' and then him and his mam and dad are dishing out free interview gear to all the attenders.

Spies galore

DOES IT never end? Every day another top person joins the Russian spy list. Even the former head of MI5 Sir Hollis is

said to have been doing his bit for the reds.

According to Peter Wright a former MI5 officer, Hollis and twenty more of the British spy outfit were all working for the other side. At one time some fool in MI5 thought former Labour prime minister Harold Wilson was a soviet spy. This is a slander. Every self-respecting spy watcher knows Harold Wilson did all his spying for his real masters British imperialism and his loyalty never deviated.

The other lot, well maybe, maybe not. Personally I hope they were. What's more I hope they infiltrated lots and lots more of their mates. Anything that undermines that gang of reactionary hoodlums is great.

So if Mr Wright gets a few names wrong who cares? Confusion and destabilisation of Britain's security forces can only be for the good of the human race.

Moles' Eye View is compiled by BOB PENNINGTON. Contributions should be sent to arrive not later than Thursday afternoon

MILITANT'S POLITICS often appear as a bewildering combination of left wing rhetoric and right wing practice — of leading struggles such as Liverpool and lining up with the extreme right wing of the party on issues such as Ireland and black sections.

But behind *Militant's* rhetoric lies a fundamental unity of its politics, one which Lenin termed 'imperialist economism'. JOHN ROSS looks at the fundamental character of the *Militant* current.

THE MILITANT newspaper is well known on the left for its extreme sectarianism, its support for struggles such as the miners and Liverpool, and its extreme opposition to the women's liberation movement, black sections in the Labour Party, gay liberation, or the dialogue of the left of the Labour Party with Sinn Fein.

For those more familiar with *Militant's* politics it is also marked by its sectarian positions towards CND, its opposition to demanding British withdrawal from NATO, and its disgraceful capitulation to British imperialism over the Malvinas (Falklands) war — *Militant* refusing to oppose even the sending of the British fleet to the South Atlantic.

All these positions are accompanied by continual rhetoric presenting socialism as the 'nationalisation of the top 250 monopolies'.

Militant appears by turns, and sometimes at the same instant, extremely sectarian and extremely right wing — simultaneously to lead Liverpool, and support the miners, while openly lining up with the right wing of the party on Ireland, the Malvinas war, black sections, NATO and the demand of women for control of their own organisations in the labour movement.

Position

Despite the apparent inconsistency of its positions however the coherence of *Militant's* politics can easily be demonstrated by considering them in terms of the fundamental categories of Marxism.

Lenin, in his famous book *What is to be done*, stressed that by itself even the most militant economic struggle remains consistent with bourgeois politics and bourgeois domination of the working class. Lenin stressed 'trade unionist politics of the working class is precisely bourgeois politics of the working class',¹ and 'working class trade unionist politics is precisely working class bourgeois politics'.²

These formulas of Lenin are not polemical excesses. The struggle for economic demands, for example for wage increases or against cuts, is in itself in no way incompatible with bourgeois politics or capitalist class rule.

In the United States extremely militant trade unionism has been associated with support for straight-forwardly bourgeois parties. In continental Europe trade unions were formed by the Christian churches. In Britain the entire history of the working class movement since the mid-19th century is a combination of militant economic struggles with political dominance by reformism and therefore by capitalism.

Lenin

In Lenin's sharp but precise formulation, 'The economic struggle of the workers is very often connected....with bourgeois politics',³ and even, in certain circumstances, 'trade unionism means the ideological enslavement of the workers by the bourgeoisie'.⁴

The fact that it supports or pursues militant economic struggles would not in itself rule out *Militant* being even a bourgeois reformist political current — although for other reasons *Militant* is obviously not a capitalist current within the working class.

In order for a political current to represent a really revolutionary working class force within the labour movement it must defend the interests

Militant economism



TED GRANT

of all the exploited and oppressed, on all issues, national and international, of the class struggle.

In Lenin's words Marxism, 'represents the working class....in its relation to all classes of modern society and to the state as an organised political force. Hence, it follows that not only must Social Democrats (the name used for Marxists at the time — JR) not confine themselves exclusively to the economic struggle, but that they must not allow the organisation of economic exposures to become the predominant part of their activities'.⁵

Class

Again in Lenin's words, 'Working class political consciousness cannot be genuine political consciousness unless the workers are trained to respond to all cases of tyranny, oppression, violence, and abuse no matter what class is affected....The consciousness of the working masses cannot be genuine class consciousness, unless the workers learn....to observe every other social class in all the manifestations of its intellectual, ethical, and political life, unless they learn to apply in practice the materialist analysis and the materialist estimate of all aspects of the life and activity of all classes, strata, and groups of the population'.⁶

It also means, again in Lenin's phrase, that revolutionaries will, 'never be able to develop the political consciousness of the workers (to the level of Social Democratic (i.e. Marx-

ist) political consciousness) by keeping within the framework of the economic struggle, for that framework is too narrow'.⁷

The tendency to reduce the struggle of the working class to the economic struggle was termed by Lenin, 'Economism or "strikeism"'.⁸ Instead of the supremacy of the economic, Marxism asserts, in Lenin's words, the primacy of politics. 'Politics must take precedence over economics. To argue otherwise is to forget the ABC of Marxism'.⁹

To give a classic, if terrible, illustration of the truth that even the most militant economic struggle by itself does not mean a break with bourgeois domination we may take the outbreak of the First World War.

Miners

In the decade leading to August 1914, no section of the British working class waged a more militant and bitter struggle than the miners — a movement culminating in the general miners strike of 1912. Violence, deaths, and military occupation of towns were habitual in these confrontations — which far exceeded the present miners strike in their violence.

Yet rapidly following the outbreak of war in 1914, over 100,000 miners volunteered to fight 'for Britain' in the imperialist slaughter. The militant economic consciousness of even the most advanced sections of the working class had still left it under the political domination of imperialism, chauvinism and other reactionary capitalist ideologies and

politics.

Today political domination by capital continues to be shown in combinations of militant economic struggle with support for the Malvinas war, racism, sexism, chauvinism on Ireland and other reactionary positions. Only when the working class breaks from all these positions, and takes up 'all cases of tyranny, oppression, violence and abuse no matter what class is affected' does it attain real political consciousness and break with bourgeois domination.

Deep

In the epoch of imperialism however economism takes on a specific and virulent form — that of imperialist economism¹⁰, a current with longer and deeper roots in Britain than any other society in the world. Imperialist economism consists not simply of reducing class struggles primarily to an emphasis on economic struggle but in particular refusing to fight against imperialism and the effect of imperialism in the working class movement. Imperialist economism is, as Lenin put it, 'persistently "sliding" from recognition of imperialism to apology for imperialism (just as the Economists of blessed memory slid from recognition of capitalism to apology for capitalism)'.¹¹

Imperialist economism, and adaptation to imperialism, furthermore, takes the form not simply of direct apologies for imperialism but also of ultra-left rhetoric used to cover up a de facto refusal to fight against the imperialist system — and in particular

against the imperialism of one's own state.

Imperialist economism, in Lenin's phrase, continually engages in rhetoric of the type 'socialism alone is the "way" out'.¹² It uses this language, for example, to refuse to support non-imperialist states in their conflicts with imperialism.

Taking a later case when fascist Italy attacked Ethiopia in the 1930s the leadership of the then Independent Labour Party, displaying typical 'imperialist economism', declared that it refused to support Ethiopia because it was ruled by the slave owning Emperor Haile Selassie. It justified its refusal to take sides against imperialism on the grounds that 'the Italo-Ethiopian war is "a conflict between two dictators"'.¹³

Attack

Anyone familiar with *Militant's* refusal to support Argentina during the attack on it by the British imperialist state during the Malvinas war will recognise that mode of argument!

The second consequence of adaptation to imperialism is a refusal to take up the demands of the most oppressed sections of society. As Trotsky put it, 'Opportunist organisations by their very nature concentrate their attention on the top layers of the working class'.¹⁴ The hostility of *Militant* towards black self-organisation, the women's liberation movement, gay liberation is all of a piece with its adaptation to imperialism on international politics.

Finally sectarianism is not the fundamental feature of *Militant*. *Militant* is sectarian because it is opportunist, because it reflects the pressure of imperialism within the workers movement. *Militant* hates and loathes all that is most politically progressive in the new developments within the workers movement precisely because *Militant* represents an adaptation to the rotten, imperialist past of British society.

Political

Militant's sectarianism is a secondary feature arising because, in Marx's words, 'The development of socialist sectarianism and that of the real working class movement always stand in inverse ratio to each other'.¹⁵ In other words the more advanced a political current, the less sectarian it is, the more backward a political force the more sectarian it is.

Britain

Militant's sectarianism is a product of its political backwardness — its capitulation to British imperialism. *Militant* is the most backward current of any significance falsely claiming to be Marxist in the whole of Europe, outside the Communist Parties. It is the most adaptationist to imperialism, the most open in its rejection of the demands of the oppressed. It is a fitting comment on the historical backwardness of the workers movement in Britain that only in this country could such an aberrant caricature of everything that Marxism stands for exist.

From that nature flows also the future. *Militant* represents the past of 'Marxism' in Britain — a past of systematic adaptation to British imperialism. *Militant* represents precisely the politics Marxism in Britain has to break from if it is to go forward.

Notes:

1. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol 5, p 426;
2. Lenin, *CW*, 5:400; 3. Lenin, *CW*, 5:387; 4. Lenin, *CW*, 5:400;
5. Lenin, *CW*, 5:400; 6. Lenin, *CW*, 5:412; 7. Lenin, *CW*, 4:421; 8. Lenin, *CW*, 23:28; 9. Lenin, *CW*, 32:83; 10. See 'The nascent trend of imperialist economism', Lenin, *CW*, 23:13, and 'A caricature of Marxism and imperialist economism', Lenin, *CW*, 23:28;
11. Lenin, *CW*, 23:26; 12. Lenin, *CW*, 23:29; 13. Trotsky, *Writings 1935-36*, p 41; 14. Trotsky, *The Transitional Programme of the Fourth International*;
15. Marx to Boite, 23 November 1871.

Poster: MILITANT



Peter Taafe, Steve Sullivan, Tony Mulhearn, Derek Hutton and Terry Fields MP speaking in Liverpool

Defend reselection!

'I AM ABSOLUTELY OPPOSED to the suggested change in the procedure for reselecting MPs. Nobody can be against the principle of one member one vote, but that isn't what we're arguing about. This is an attempt to get rid of reselection.'

That's what Eric Heffer, Labour Party chairperson had to say when Socialist Action asked for his views on the move to introduce one member one vote as a new option for choosing MPs. It is a clear attempt by Labour's right and centre to protect the seats of right wing MPs. According to the right wing grouping Solidarity, 25 sitting MPs are at risk — including Peter Shore, who has distinguished himself by attacking the miners, and Frank Field of Rainbow Circle fame.

The proposal going to Wednesday's meeting of the Labour Party national executive, and whole-

heartedly backed by Neil Kinnock, is an attempt to claw back the gains of four years ago, by reopening the whole reselection debate.

By Carol Turner

Then the right wing fought reselection on the grounds of parliament's sanctity, just as they later fought the electoral college on the grounds that only MPs were capable of deciding the party's leader. At that time they introduced the idea of one member one vote too late to gain any headway.

Now they are coming back for another nibble at

the debate. They must be defeated today as they were in 1980.

Fleet Street's lie machine is already geared up to aid the right wing — the media are championing the new option at the same time as they are denouncing the Target Labour Government's campaign as a 'Livingstone plot'.

Just like Labour's right wing, they are posing as the defenders of democracy. But what they want is an individual vote without any discussion. They believe such a vote would be a vote more influenced by the rantings of the bosses press than by reasoned debate within the party.

One member one vote is not an extension of democracy inside the Labour Party. Selecting

MPs by an individual, private ballot makes them less accountable to their local parties.

By severing the link with the general management committee — the local party's policy making body — the relationship between an MP and her/his local party is greatly weakened. And the role of the wards, which send delegates to the GMC are undermined as well.

Political

Ultimately, it makes belonging to the Labour Party less relevant by eroding the collective structures of the local party, structures by which ordinary members make their presence felt.

The direct relationship between an MP and each

individual party member is a democracy con. It does away with the means of controlling the party's public representatives. This system lays the ground-work for robbing annual conference of its right to determine party policy and to ensure its representatives publicly support and implement that policy.

Not only would this new option tend to reduce ordinary members' involvement in the affairs of the party, but it would also disenfranchise a whole section of the membership: the hundreds of thousands of trade unionists affiliated through their unions.

At a time when the Tory anti-union legislation is attacking the links between the party and the unions by threatening their political funds, the



Photo: GM COOKSON

Eric Heffer: 'an attack on reselection'

one member one vote option for choosing MPs would further weaken-

those links. Participation in the party at a local level by trade union branches is a vital component of drawing the two parts of the labour movement closer together.

The Labour left must take up the argument that the party's future rests on the greater involvement of members in the collective structures and activities of the party. In particular women, black people and manual workers must be won to the party and be given a real say in its direction and its policies.

This means positive discrimination in the selection of candidates and a continuing fight for accountability at all levels in the Labour Party. Only an active and informed membership can achieve this. The challenge to reselection must be tackled head on.

Target Labour government under attack

TARGET LABOUR Government has been the subject of a media attack since its launch at the end of June. Why?

The campaign was established to fight for a socialist manifesto for the next general election and to promote the selection of Labour candidates committed to implementing party policy.

It particularly highlights the need to choose women and black candidates in proportion to their weight in the population as a whole — London has been targetted for 52 per cent women and 15 per cent black Labour candidates, to match the sexual and racial composition of the capital.

The media have used the opportunity to smear the Labour left with accusations of plots and conspiracies. Their campaign

is designed to support those right wing MPs who do have something to fear from being accountable to their local Labour Parties.

By Pat Hickey

Target Labour Government is not about conspiracies. It is about winning governmental power.

To achieve that, it is necessary to encourage all those sections of society traditionally excluded from power — black people, women, manual workers and socialists — to realise that they are exactly the kind of potential Labour MPs most urgently required.

They are the kind of people needed to replace the white, male, middle class, and pro-capitalist MPs who still control the Parliamentary Labour Party.

The editorial statement in the August issue of *Labour Briefing* national supplement puts the point very nicely: 'The present PLP must be broken open, cleaned out, and revolutionised from top to bottom — so that it becomes an instrument of our movement instead of the opposite and becomes habitable for ordinary people who have no stake in the present sexist, racist and capitalist structures of power'.

Labour Briefing National Supplement August issue now available! Price 40p. from 31 Cranwich Road, London N16.



Campaign for Labour Party Democracy: the argument for reselection was won in 1980

Photo: JOHN HARRIS

Local government conference: A fighting mood

A MESSAGE OF defiance to the Tory government attacks on local councils was issued by the Labour Party local government conference on 7 July. Representatives of Labour councils and their controlling parties were meeting in Sheffield in the face of a fierce onslaught on local councils.

The defence of the GLC and metropolitan councils, the fight against rate capping, and the battle by Liverpool council were all at the centre of the fightback declared many delegates. And illegal action by councils is necessary.

There was obvious pleasure at the government's decision to cancel plans to take over the GLC and metropolitan counties from May 1985. Conference was determined to continue fighting to defend these councils and to force elections.

The main issue now was the need for non-compliance with the Tory plans by Labour councils and local government unions.

Support for the fight by Liverpool council was a strong feature of the conference. Liverpool deputy leader, Derek Hatton, got the loudest applause, when he explained how

enable councils to unite in a common fight to confront the government.

Both supporters and critics recognised there were problems with this strategy — the fact that some 'uppity' authorities (including the GLC) had a statutory obligation to raise a rate by a certain time, and that council house rents would still be paid, creating divisions between tenants and non-tenants.

By Mike Picken, delegate from Oxford Labour Party

The Labour leadership, in particular shadow environment spokesperson John Cunningham and Neil Kinnock, came in for strong criticism for their failure to lead the campaign and for their attacks on Liverpool.

The plight of rate-capped councils was discussed at length, including secret sessions for those councils believed to be on the hit-list.

The proposal by Ted Knight and other London council leaders for a strategy of not setting a rate next May was welcomed by many delegates. This, it was argued, would

delegates felt that those councils due to be rate-capped face no choice other than to unite and refuse to set a rate. The illegal budget strategy also had support at conference, particularly from the Liverpool delegation.

Although no single strategy commanded overall support, it was recognised that confrontation and illegality are necessary.

The old-style right-wing municipal politics of

the Labour Party, represented by Birmingham leader Dick Knowles was clearly marginal. The final conference statement read by party chair Eric Heffer emphasised non-compliance and illegality. (no votes were allowed).

The need to take the battle into October's party conference and to win support from the trade unions was the highpoint on which the conference ended.



Photo: courtesy LABOUR BRIEFING

Target Labour Government Labour Briefing Fringe Meeting at 1984 party conference

speakers:

Tony Benn

Ken Livingstone

Women's Action Committee

Black Sections Steering Committee

Labour Movement Lesbians

Sunday 30 September, 7.30pm
Claremont Hotel, North Promenade, Blackpool



Stop sweetheart deals

THE EETPU executive has launched a major campaign to sell its 'no-strike agreement' policy. In October, a delegation led by national officer Roy Sanderson will be visiting Japan to try to get agreements with companies investing in Britain. The deal will be that, in return for sole recognition, the union will give agreements which rule out the use of strikes.

In a further step along the business-union road, the union has produced a brochure which will be sent to about 500 companies in Britain, outlining the benefits to employers of such agreements with the union.

Tory employment secretary Tom King who is currently engaged in pushing through another round of anti-union legislation on the closed shop and political funds, has 'warmly welcomed' the EETPU move.

Chairperson of the Central Electricity Generating Board, Sir Walter Marshall, is quoted in the brochure as saying 'Your union is a haven of common sense and rational thought.'

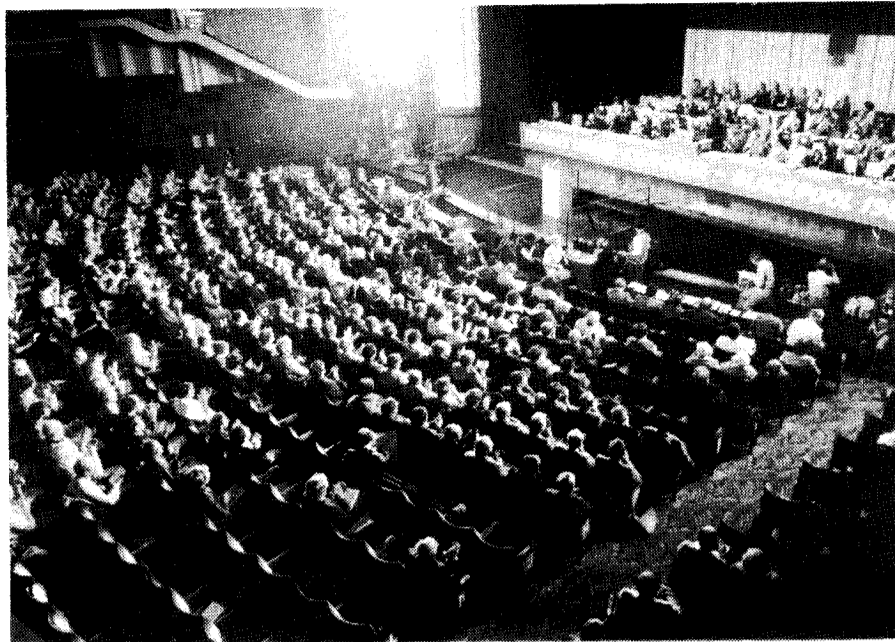
The union has already reached such agreements with firms like Toshiba, Sanyo, and Optical Fibres. At Hitachi in Hirwaun,

South Wales, the EETPU has colluded with management against other unions to secure a no-strike deal in return for sole recognition.

This question is being taken through the TUC disputes procedure. The TUC however, is reluctant to take on the EETPU on this issue.

By Tony Pertil, EETPU

Their new Strategy Document goes a long way to condoning such deals. Clause 79 states: 'The most practicable way to increase union organisation might be to develop relations with employers, particularly those opening new plants, and to conclude on the best possible terms. Even though such terms might not be satisfactory they would, nevertheless, lead to unionisation among employees



and provide a basis for future claims for improved terms and conditions.'

In other words, the key question is getting in the subscriptions, performing the role of trade unions comes second. This is the whole point of these 'sweetheart' deals.

As union membership declines due to unemployment, some sections of the union bureaucracy are seeking to boost their membership in any way possible.

The AUEW has also been engaging in the competition for members through no-strike agreements. At the moment,

this development is affecting mainly new plants, but there is every reason to believe that it will extend to established plants in the future.

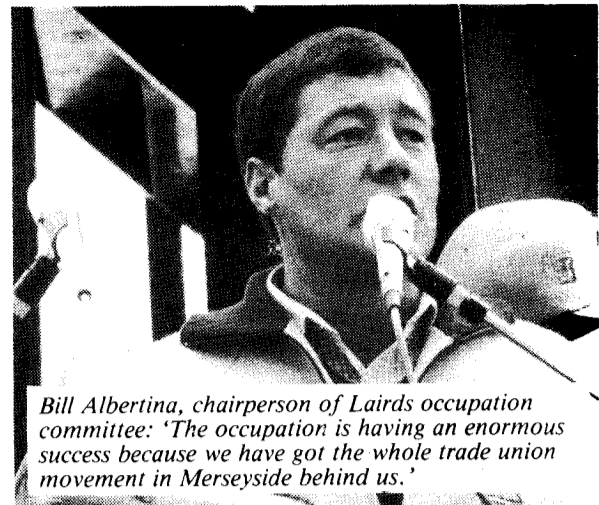
The weak position of the TUC on these agreements threatens to open a Pandora's box of sweetheart deals. The general council is trying to avoid a discussion on the issue at the September congress while the EETPU says that it will split from the TUC on the issue if necessary.

The left in the unions must confront this issue. It should be forced onto the agenda in September, and all such deals banned.

Unions agreeing to them should be excluded from the provisions of the Bridlington Agreement.

In the EETPU Hammond does not speak for all EETPU members. The left in that union deserves the support of every trade unionist in fighting the right wing. If the TUC were to oppose the EETPU leaders it would be an enormous boost to the opposition to Hammond et al.

In the meantime *Flashlight*, the broad left paper in the union should put this issue to the top of its agenda.



Bill Albertina, chairperson of Lairds occupation committee: 'The occupation is having an enormous success because we have got the whole trade union movement in Merseyside behind us.'

Photo: TIM RICH

Lairds occupation — 3rd week

CAMMEL LAIRDS shipyards, Birkenhead, is now entering its third week of occupation by 150 workers fighting the 800-plus redundancies threatened at the end of this month.

Three hundred and sixty jobs have already been lost this year, and 450 more are in the pipeline after July. These follow more than 400 jobs lost through voluntary redundancy since August last year.

By Carol Turner

If the British Shipbuilders get their way on the 'productivity deal', only 1700 jobs will be left by December 1984 — and these too are threatened if shipbuilding orders fail to materialise.

Since the beginning of this year the craft unions have been picked off one by one, yard by yard. The occupation by non-craft workers represents an attempt to reverse the situation.

Management are tightening up on the occupation. With an oil rig on the slipway needing three days work to get it into the water, and a destroyer stranded in the wet dock, their next move must be to clear the way for scab labour needed to shift the stranded vessels.

Support from the

Merseyside labour movement is growing, and the occupations was joined last week by a contingent of striking miners from Bolsover, Derbyshire. Wirral Trades Council is building support, starting with a public meeting planned for next week.

Both the trades council and the occupation committee have condemned local MP, Frank 'Rainbow Circle' Field, who has publicly condemned the strikers as 'hotheads' and called on them to accept privatisation and voluntary redundancy to 'keep the yard open'.

If the precious few remaining jobs on Merseyside are to be protected, broad support for the occupation against redundancies must be built throughout the labour movement.

• Donations, messages of support and offers of help should be sent to: Cammell Lairds Occupation Support Group, c/o Wirral Trades Council, Trade Union and Unemployed Resources Centre, Argyle Street South, Birkenhead, Merseyside; or phone Mick Cashman on 051-647 6122.

NOTICE OF closure has just been posted on Marylebone Station — in the same week as the sale of Sealink to a private ship-owner. The Marylebone site, worth millions to capitalist property developers, is yet another national asset to be sold for a song.

The recent closure of the British Rail workshop in Shildon is another horror story. It means thousands more people will be thrown out of work in the north east.

These attacks are all part of the government's productivity drive, which includes slashing the workforce and imposing poorer wages and conditions. In the rail industry, an estimated 20,000 jobs are for the chop over the next five years.

So how do we stop the rot? The miners and their families are showing the way. Now is the time to prepare for battle.

We need action against the Shildon closure, against the Marylebone closure, and against every attack on rail jobs whatever form this takes. We need a campaign for national strikes in defence of any section, grade, line or depot under threat.

The Save Marylebone Campaign, led by the local federation of NUR and ASLEF has built wide support over the last 12 months. Next week there is a public meeting on Marylebone called by the district federation committee. All London-based rail workers should attend and help launch the fight for the future.

• Public meeting: Wednesday 1 August 6.30 pm., Friends House, Euston Rd. Speakers: Jimmy Knapp, Ray Buckton, Ken Livingstone, Frank Dobson MP, plus a Marylebone speaker

Save Marylebone Save rail

By Jane Austin, Marylebone NUR (pers. cap)



By Bob Findlay, Kewal support committee

THE WEST Midlands small textile industry is notorious for low pay and poor working conditions. The majority of the workers are black women and few belong to trade unions.

On 16 May, 15 Asians — 12 of whom are women — came out on strike at Kewal Brothers, Birmingham. After a year of trying to persuade management to sign a union agreement three of the main TGWU activists were made redundant. This was seen by the workers as a clear attempt to divide and rule.

Despite the management employing scab labour and inviting police harassment, the strikers are holding firm. Recently the picket line has seen visiting miners adding their support, and local trade unionists have established a support committee.

Increasing pressure has come from the fact that management are respected members of the Sikh community which has made it difficult to take the dispute into the local temples.

A significant factor in this strike is the activity of the Asian women working alongside the local Black Sisters Group. These women have ensured that their opinions on how the strike should develop have been heard.

This important strike in Birmingham deserves the support of all trade unionists.

• For more information, donations, and messages of support, write to: The Asian Resources Centre, 101 Villa Road, Lozells, Birmingham; or phone Sarinder on 021-523 0580.

Photo: CHRIS DAVIES (Report)

Kewal Bros — fight for unions

FBU victory on jobs

THE FIRE Brigades Union has beaten back an attack on jobs by the Labour controlled Strathclyde regional council.

by Roy Wilkes, secretary Blackley FBU

Redundancy notices were served on 18 fire control staff following the recent move to a computerised control system. Strathclyde FBU control section responded with a one day strike on Sunday 22 July, to be followed by all-out strike action from 1 August (when the notices were due to come into effect).

Mass meetings were organised throughout the country in preparation for a national recall conference. And general secretary Ken Cameron warned the council that any redundancies would be met with national strike action.

Last Wednesday, the notices were withdrawn.

Militants in the unions are in no doubt that the example of the miners



Photo: JOHN SMITH (FBU)

strike has contributed to the renewed willingness to fight and to this particular victory.

This should warn the government that its plans

to savage the fire service through rate capping and the abolition of the GLC and metropolitan counties will be met by strong resistance.

Socialist ACTION

DAILY Mirror
Monday, July 23, 1984 FORWARD WITH BRITAIN

Mirror CAMPAIGN

FIGHT FOR THE LABOUR PARTY

THE Labour Party was born to end the privilege and inequality which inflicted misery, poverty and mass unemployment upon Britain. It was its noble purpose. Its mission is still not over. Many thought the post-war Labour Government had ended unemployment for good. Now it is more vicious than ever.

LABOUR invented the National Health Service and made it the flagship of the Welfare State.

Now it is sinking through neglect.

LABOUR attacked the slum houses in which people lived and the slum schools in which their children were taught.

Now education is falling apart.

UNDER a Labour Government—for the first time in modern history—more than a year passed without a British soldier being killed in action.

Under a Labour Government, for the first time ever, Britain spent more on education than defence. That's changed, too.

Despite terrifying economic problems, Labour built more homes in one year than the present Government builds in three.

Labour gave dignity and liberty to colonies ahead and a freedom from fear to our own people at home.

Labour legislated for women's rights. It outlawed racial discrimination.

Labour attacked the selfish to help the needy.

Labour tried to help the poor.

Labour attacked those who were rich.

Of course, Labour made mistakes. But if its decisions were to be reversed, it would be a disaster.

TURN TO PAGE TWO

STOP RESELECTION! Defend the right wing! Smash the lunatic left! This is the aim of the campaign for one member one vote opened up by Neil Kinnock and the right wing.

The proposed change in the rules on reselection is the opening shot in a battle to try to wipe out most of the democratic gains made in the Labour Party over the last five years. The dream ticket mask has slipped to reveal the old nightmare — a Parliamentary Labour Party dominated by right wing careerists who ride rough-shod over party policy. The people who were responsible for the debacle of the Wilson-Callaghan years are fighting to win back their monopoly of power.

The left should be under no illusion about the seriousness of this attack. The right are on the march again. Mr Robert Maxwell, who recently acquired a slice of the free press, through the votes of millions of pounds, made this clear in Monday's *Daily Mirror*.

The changes in reselection proposed by Kinnock, the *Mirror* assures us, 'would be a small step towards sanity'. It goes on to say '...it would be a dramatic beginning'. Precisely. A beginning.

The Labour Party that

the *Mirror* and the right wing are fighting for is not the party of the poor, the disadvantaged, and the exploited. It is the party of incomes policy, immigration laws, and the status quo.

By Donald Johnson

Kinnock's statement on one member one vote was hailed as 'the most challenging of his 10 month leadership'. Certainly it stands in stark contrast to his luke-warm support for the miners.

The *Mirror* entirely agrees with that policy. According to Maxwell, the Labour Party 'must be a party which believes in the supremacy of parliament, not violent and intimidating pickets. A Labour Party whose decisions are taken by a cabinet not a conspiracy.'

Loyalty

This is why the *Mirror* supports Shore, whose attacks on Arthur Scargill have put him below the level of the lowest scab.

It is also why the *Mirror* supports Frank Field who would deliver Labour into a coalition with the anti-trade union, pro-EEC, anti-unilateralist SDP.

Such a Labour Party cannot tolerate accountability. It needs cabinet secrecy and the 'sanctity' of parliament.

Kinnock's decision to line up with these forces shows clearly where he intends to take the party.

The aim of the Kinnock wing is to defeat and smash up the Bennite left. To that end, they will oppose the establishment of black sections, real power for women — in short, anything that moves Labour towards being an active, campaigning party with real mass involvement.

This attack on democracy in the party must be fought to the finish. Behind Kinnock's new found courage stand the bully-boys of the right, whose favourite weapon is the witch hunt and whose policies are those that led to the catastrophes of the Wilson and Callaghan governments.

Our holiday

THE NEXT issue of *Socialist Action* will be out on 29 August.

We will be bringing out a special four page issue for the demonstration on 11 August. This will be out on 8 August.

No change in Israel after election



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EARLIER PRESS predictions of sweeping gains for Israel's Labour Party in the general election held on Monday have not borne fruit. If the Labour Party is able to form a new government it will be in alliance with several right wing religious parties.

The chief result of the election, whether Labour returns to power or the Likud government under Shamir is able to continue, is that there will be no change in the fundamental Israeli policy towards the Palestinians.

Labour sought popularity during the campaign by pledging to withdraw Israeli troops from Lebanon within six months — a promise which undoubtedly gained it support among Israeli troops. But Israel's Lebanese occupation has become a financial and military nightmare in any case. Withdrawal from Lebanon will not alter the fundamental foreign policy of the Israeli state.

On the crucial question of the Israeli occupation of the West Bank the Labour Party has already made it clear it will not abandon any of the settlements established by the Likud government.

By John Marshall

Labour favours negotiations with the Hussein government of Jordan to try to reach an agree-

ment behind the backs of the Palestinians.

Even here however, what Labour has to offer amounts to almost nothing. The most it would agree to is some form of joint control with Jordan — a control which would completely exclude all the Israeli settlements and military bases in the area.

Labour totally rejects any Palestinian state on the West Bank or any negotiations with the recognised leadership of the Palestinians — the Palestine Liberation Organisation.

During the election campaign the press, the British Labour Party leadership, and the Jordanian government all attempted to present Israeli Labour as the 'peace' par-

ty — a spokesperson for Hussein declaring 'We somehow feel the road to peace is shorter if the Labour Party wins'.

Deep-rooted

The 'Labour' Party is in fact the party of the Israeli establishment. The trade union federation, the Histadrut, is linked to it is the second largest employer in the country. The chronic economic crisis in Israel, with 400 per cent inflation, is created by the enormous military build up supported equally by Labour and the Likud.

It was Labour which waged Israel's full-scale wars of 1949, 1956, 1967, and 1973. Whoever forms the government in the next weeks, nothing fundamental is going to change in Israeli policy.