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Concordat: A new con-trick

by ANDREW HORNUNG

THE TUC has decided to back the Government's call for a public sector pay board. According to Len Murray, this will mean "a real breakthrough for low-paid public service workers".

The Labour Party and TUC Conferences voted against wage controls. Result number one: no figure was agreed between the Government and the TUC as a ceiling for wages. Result number two: the two of them got together to do the next worst thing — to draw up a document aimed at maiming and muzzling any powerful trade union action before it can win decent wages. That was the Concordat.

On February 14, the TUC and Government swapped St Valentine's Day cards, expressed undying love, and tried to convince everyone that they could beat the militants more effectively than the Tories. The Concordat's proposals aim to restrict trade union action to the sherry-sipping sessions of negotiations, relativities boards, wages councils and comparability commissions.

But if there is any

'breakthrough for low-paid public service workers' in the present strike, it will come through the organised force of industrial action — the very thing the TUC and Government are out to stifle.

If the workers fail to make that breakthrough, it will not be for lack of committees and procedures. It will be because

union leaders are afraid of the strike going out of their control and eager that the Government should not be seen as taking too big a knock in the run-up to an election.

They have allowed a division between sectors, they have tried to make the £60 claim a 'target' for the misty future rather than now, and they have

opposed an all-out strike.

The way forward does not lie with the TUC inner cabinet and its efforts at keeping up with the Callaghans. It lies with the militancy and independent working class action that the Ford strike, the bakery workers, the haulage strike and now the low-paid strike have demonstrated.



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Iran: Still trying to stop the revolution

by COLIN FOSTER

WHEN THE armed uprising of the people of Tehran, on February 11th, seized the radio station, it came over the air with the message: 'This is the Voice of the Revolution'.

Now the voice of counter-revolution is trying to reassert itself in Iran.

The new prime minister, Mehdi Bazargan, is trying to rebuild the Army — with the most die-hard Shah's loyalists among the generals purged, but with its basic structure unchanged.

In interviews with the Western press, he has been quite cynical. "The problem is, the people hated the army and the police and will react if we send them out into the streets again. That is why we are establishing a National Guard and will re-establish the army and police later

on". His aim, he says, is "to channel the revolution". "The extremists push us to go very fast, and for my part I never stop repeating: patience, patience".

Workers are demanding a say for their own workers' committees, and the right to elect new managers. Soldiers want the right to elect new officers. Bazargan insists on control from the top: "How can the rank and file elect the chief who is then going to command? I have asked the rank and file to make suggestions, but it must be up to the authorities to choose and appoint the leaders".

The revolution was made for freedom. Bazargan and Khomeiny are trying to impose 'Islamic' censorship on the media. Bazargan says that the Tudeh (Moscow line 'Communist') party will remain illegal. And the new government insists there

can be no question of minority nationalities within Iran, like the Kurds, deciding their own future.

Bazargan's government is trying to tie the hands of the promised Constituent Assembly in advance, by first organising a referendum in which the Iranian people will be offered the choice: monarchy or Islamic Republic?

Swallowing its pride, the US government is now trying to pretend that its support for the Shah never existed. Jimmy Carter is doing everything he can to bolster and link up with Bazargan and Khomeiny. He understands that if the Islamic leaders manage to halt the revolution, then that will probably only be a short-lived staging-post to the return of military dictatorship in Iran.

As ever, Britain's Labour Foreign Secretary, David Owen, is toadying to US

policy. In Parliament on February 21st, he was challenged to explain his line of backing whatever seems to be the likeliest conservative force in Iran — the Shah yesterday, Khomeiny today. He could find no better answer than: "I am prepared to be justified by history. It is far too early to say whether or not the decisions taken in September and October will be ones which we will come to regret".

There is little doubt how history will judge Owen: the same way as it has judged other apologists of tyranny. But it is about time socialists gave a push to history, by building up a campaign to drive Owen and his sort out of the leadership of the labour movement. Our most immediate demand must be a ban on all spares supply and servicing for British tanks and other weapons used by the Iranian army.

What we are fighting for

- ★ No more wage curbs! No more strike-breaking by Labour!
 - ★ Wage rises should at the very least keep up with price increases. The same should go for state benefits, grants and pensions. Demand immediate wage increases backdated to make up for the drop in our living standards over the last three years.
 - ★ Start improving the social services rather than cutting them. Stop cutting jobs in the public sector.
 - ★ End unemployment. Cut hours not jobs — share the work with no loss of pay. Start now with a 35-hour week and an end to overtime.
 - ★ All firms threatening closure should be nationalised under workers' control.
 - ★ Make the bosses pay, not the working class! Millions for hospitals, not a penny for 'defence'! Nationalise the banks and financial institutions without compensation. End the interest burden on council housing and other public services.
 - ★ Freeze rents and rates.
 - ★ Scrap all immigration controls. Race is not a problem; racism is. The labour movement must mobilise to drive the fascists off the streets.
 - ★ Purge racists from positions in the labour movement. Organise full support for black self-defence.
- ◆ ◆
- ★ The capitalist police are an enemy of the working class. Support all demands to weaken them as the bosses' striking force: dissolution of special squads (SPG, Special Branch, MIS, etc.), public accountability, etc.

- ★ Free abortion and contraception on demand. Women's equal right to work, and full equality for women.
- ★ The Irish people — as a whole — should have the right to determine their own future. Get the British troops out now! Repeal the Prevention of Terrorism Act. Political status for Irish republican prisoners as a matter of urgency.
- ★ The black working people of South Africa and Zimbabwe should get full support from the British labour movement for their strikes, struggles, and armed combat against the white supremacist regimes. South African goods and services should be blacked.

◆ ◆

★ It is essential to achieve the fullest democracy in the labour movement. Automatic re-selection of MPs during each parliament, and the election by annual conference of party leaders. Annual election of all trade union officials, who should be paid the average for the trade.

◆ ◆

★ The chaos, waste, human suffering and misery of capitalism now — in Britain and throughout the world — show the urgent need to establish rational, democratic, human control over the economy, to make the decisive sectors of industry social property, under workers' control. The strength of the labour movement lies in the rank and file. Our perspective must be working class action to raze the capitalist system down to its foundations, and to put a working class socialist system in its place — rather than having our representatives run the system and waiting for the crumbs from the table of the bankers and bosses.

WE SET UP the Socialist Campaign for a Labour Victory so that the left would not be foot soldiers for Callaghan in the general election campaign.

An election victory for the Tories would be a defeat for the working class. But votes for Labour on the basis of approving Callaghan's record would also represent a defeat.

Too often Labour left wings have put forward their militant (or not-so-militant) policies but shelved them when the call came: all pull together against the Tories. They have contented themselves with vague hopes that the policies they plead for will percolate through somewhere, somehow, some time.

The SCLV aims to fight for its policies, in debate within the labour movement and in action, now. We press for CLPs (four of which have sponsored our Campaign) to throw themselves actively into the class struggle. We organise local groups, meetings, leaflets, posters. We fight for the Party democratically to decide its election manifesto, and for CLPs de-

mocratically to decide their election addresses and leaflets.

This activity provides the only forthright working-class answer to the capitalist principles so aggressively preached by the Tories. And it ensures that the voice of socialism is not drowned out by Callaghanite pro-capitalist 'moderation'.

We ask for support and cooperation from those who agree with our platform — and also from those who, without accepting the full platform, are willing to campaign with us round specific issues.

Support us by selling Socialist Organiser, by joining your local SCLV group or starting a new one, by inviting SCLV speakers to your CLP, LPYS or trade union branch and getting them to sponsor the Campaign.

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Fighting for the single homeless

by MIKE SULLIVAN

OVER THE last few years, Islington's Labour Council has managed to acquire for itself a reputation as having one of the most successful housing administrations in the country.

Its overall record may be good, but there has always been one group left out in the cold — single people.

The Council's own published statistics give an idea of the alarming increase in single homelessness in the borough. Between December 1975 and May 1977, there was an increase of 20% in the proportion of younger single households on the waiting list. They are now nearly a third of the total.

In fact the Council's waiting list shows only a part of the general housing needs of the single homeless, since many of these people never register, in the belief that it would just be a hopeless exercise.

That is why the Islington Campaign for the Single Homeless has been set up.

Public provision for single people has always been inadequate. They have been forced to resort to the private rented market, where housing is often expensive, substandard and insecure. Now, since the 1974 Rent Act gave furnished tenants some security of tenure, private landlords have preferred to sell rather than rent out their property, so

there's even less available to rent than before.

One result is that single people have taken direct action to secure a roof, however temporary and inadequate, by squatting. As a final injustice, they find themselves blamed and attacked by local authorities to cover up shortcomings in the public provision of housing!

The Islington Campaign for the Single Homeless was set up by Islington Community Housing, the Holloway Housing Aid Centre and the Finsbury Park Housing Cooperative (a squatters' group) and others who got together to launch the campaign with a public meeting in March last year.

Our main demands were:

- No-one should leave the Council's Housing Department without the offer of accommodation.
- No evictions without rehousing.
- Abolition of the residence qualification.
- Housing for all in response to people's needs.
- The Council should be responsive and supportive to local initiatives.
- No housing cuts.

The Campaign began to put pressure on the Council to change its policy of ignoring single people. We sent a deputation to a meeting of the Full Council.

That meeting was a strange affair. The councillors most opposed to any idea of single person's housing (the 'Born

and Bred' brigade who won't house anyone unless they've lived in the borough for 30 years) were peculiarly quiet. Obviously they didn't want to challenge anyone, even the single homeless, so near to election time.

So we got a concession: the Council agreed to expand the 'shared singles' scheme, previously limited to people working for 'approved' employers such as polytechnics and voluntary organisations in the borough. On September 7th, despite protests from the right wing, the Housing Committee agreed that the scheme should be available to any single people who lived or worked in Islington and needed housing.

Now the problem is that the new policy has scarcely been implemented. To date, there have been over a thousand applications. There are only 300 units to allocate, and so far nobody has actually been housed by the scheme.

But it's not surprising that promises to the single homeless should be broken. All the things that were in the last Islington Labour Party election manifesto about Islington being able to solve its housing problems have turned out to be sheer fantasy.

Any plans a local authority may make are meaningless if they are subject to severe cuts in expenditure from central government. And Islington, whatever its record, seems more than willing to accept these cuts.

Editorial

HOW TO WIPE THE TORIES' SMIRK OFF THEIR FACES

AFTER THE devolution referendums on March 1st, the Tories will be forcing another vote of confidence. Probably the Government will hang on with the support of the Scottish and Welsh Nationalist MPs. But there's no doubt the Tories and their press believe they're well on the way to scoring a big victory against the Labour Government — and the labour movement.

In the Tory press assault, trade union leaders like Alan Fisher have become new "Führers" (the Sun), and NUPE is "the authentic face of fascism" launching a "blitzkrieg against the sick, the young and the bereaved" (Daily Mail).

The Tories are whooping it up — but they are also rattled. The lorry drivers' successful strike, followed by the low-pay battle, have aroused all the Tories' fears of trade union power, and provoked a real backlash of class hatred.

That trade union power — the power of workers in struggle — is the force that can win victories for the labour movement. So why are the Tories exultant despite their fears? Because the Labour leaders have just echoed the Tories' anti-strike, anti-picket, anti-worker line in different terms. And in a competition about "who's the better Tory?", the real Tories will always win.

CITY

The pro-capitalist policies of Callaghan and Healey — who prefer to listen to the CBI, the IMF and the City bankers rather than the rank and file of the Labour Party and trade unions — have given the Tories their field-day. Callaghan and Healey are hoping to ride out the present 'storm' through the St Valentine's Day Concord-

at with the TUC. Then a few goodies in preparation for a Summer or October election will erase the memory of the current industrial struggles and bring electoral victory.

They are living in cloud cuckoo land. This is the road travelled by the Wilson Government of *In Place of Strife* and *Incomes Policy* infamy. Workers gave their answer in the 1970 election debacle through massive abstention.

It's no good hanging on for an election with the same tattered policies. But Callaghan and his Ministers are deaf to the wishes of the movement which elected their Government.

HOGWASH

Callaghan told a gathering of prospective parliamentary candidates on Sunday 25th February that the election campaign would be a long one "so the Labour Party could get the issues into perspective". Labour's election-winning themes should be:

- Cooperation not confrontation with the unions
- Labour is the only party to manage the economy and bring higher productivity and more jobs
- Broadcasting the achievements of 1977-78 in reducing inflation to single figures and improving living standards
- The need for industrial democracy and industrial change.

This is hogwash. No worker can believe it's worth voting Labour on the strength of the Government's record of managing the capitalist economy. One and a half million remain unemployed, and more closures are coming: Vickers engineering, Falmouth ship repair, Goodyear and Dunlop tyres, steel plants and pits. Most workers have seen their basic wages eroded by suc-

cessive rounds of pay curbs. In 1976 profits were 28.9% up over 1975. In 1977 they were up again, by 43.5%. In the first nine months of 1978 profits increased 21% over the first nine months of 1977.

But British capitalism is still losing out in the world trade battle. So big business demands more austerity and sacrifice. Callaghan dances to the bosses' tune.

Wedgwood Benn and the official Labour Left have remained silent during all the Government's anti-strike tirades, and all David Owen's apologies for the Shah — opening their mouths to make a fuss only on safer issues like the European Monetary System, the Common Market elections, or the jets for China. They share the responsibility for the Government's record.

Cooperation with the unions is fine. But what the Government means by it is that the Government should cooperate with the bosses, and then the union leaders should cooperate with the Government — against the union members.

STRIKE

In recent weeks the Socialist Campaign for a Labour Victory has been doing all it can to "cooperate with the unions" at rank and file level, by building support for the low-pay battle. In Haringey, North London, the SCLV was central in setting up a support committee for the public service strikers.

We will campaign to keep the Tories out on the basis of appealing to workers to join the fight in the labour movement against Callaghan and his pro-capitalist policies. That's the way to build the power, militancy and solidarity shown in the drivers' and low-pay strikers into a movement which can fulfill all the Tories' worst fears.

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EVENTS

Monday 12 March. 'Immigration controls: Labour's answer?' 7.30pm, Small Hall, Conway Hall, Red Lion Sq, WC1. Speakers: Ken Livingstone and a speaker from the JCWI. Organised by Campaign Against the Immigration Laws.

Friday 16 March. 'Repression in the North of Ireland'. South London UTOM meeting with speaker from the Belfast branch of the Trade Union Campaign Against Repression. 7.30pm at Leander Hall, off Tanners Hill, Deptford, London SE8.

Friday-Sunday 23-25 March. Socialist feminist national conference, at City University, London. Registration: 39 Parkholme Rd, E8.

Saturday 31 March. Committee against Repression in Iran conference. 11am at University College, Gower St, London WC1. Credentials for labour movement delegates (£2) and observers (£1) from CARI, Box 4, Rising Free, 182 Upper St, London N1.

Wednesday 7 March. 'Low Pay and Wage controls'. SCLV meeting, 7.30pm at Edinburgh Trades Council, Picardy Place. Speakers: Gordon Brewer and a NUPE shop steward.

Thursday 8 March. Stirling SCLV meeting, 'Socialists in the Labour Party'. 7.30pm, Stirling University.

Saturday 10 March. SCLV social, from 8pm at Caxton House, St Johns Way, London N19. Tickets £1.

Saturday-Sunday 10-11 March. 'Women and Space': Weekend school on feminist anthropology, architecture and community. 10am to 5.30pm each day at Caxton House, St Johns Way, London N19. Enquiries 697 3670, before 6pm.

Monday 12 March. Debate: why vote Labour? Speakers: Keith Veness (SCLV), Les Burt (CP), and Roger Cox (SWP). 7.30, Kent Room, Anson Hall, Anson Rd/Chichele Rd, NW2.

US gives the nod to Chinese attack on Vietnam

by CHEUNG SIU MING

IT IS now clear that the Chinese invasion of Vietnam is a calculated act of war, rather than an accidental escalation of the border friction.

Vietnam was expecting it; the border areas had been heavily mined and planted with bamboo spikes. Despite Peking's rather lame propaganda about Vietnamese border aggression and ill-treatment of the Chinese in Vietnam, no-one is making any bones about the fact that China's action is to curb Vietnam and avenge the overthrow of China's ally, the Pol Pot regime in Cambodia.

The attack came straight after Chinese Vice Premier Deng's visit to the USA. Almost certainly it got the thumbs up in advance from President Carter.

The US has put a resolution to the United Nations,

which is supported by Britain. It appeals for a cease-fire between China and Vietnam, but calls for Chinese withdrawal *only together with the withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Cambodia.*



Since US troops invaded both Vietnam and Cambodia only a few years ago, only to be driven out by determined mass resistance, the US call for Vietnam to get out of Cambodia is just a bit thick. And apart from the gross hypocrisy of it, all the indications are that the Vietnamese may have been welcomed by a majority of Cambodians.

This resolution is all but an open backing for China's invasion.

Britain is cooperating in putting pressure on Vietnam. The Vietnamese Ambassador in London was called to the Foreign Office one day after the Chinese invasion and told

that his government had violated international law and human rights by invading Cambodia and expelling its Chinese minority, and that aid to Vietnam (not much anyway) would cease. (The week before Deng arrived in Washington, pressure from the US State Department had resulted in Australia, Belgium, Denmark, the Netherlands and Japan all cutting off aid or loans to Vietnam.)

Three days after the Chinese invasion, the Chinese ambassador in London held what his embassy described as a 'very friendly' discussion with the Foreign Office on the conflict. The decision to sell China the Harrier jump-jet was confirmed, as a further anti-Vietnam gesture.

The bosses' magazine *The Economist* was quite exultant at what it regarded as Vietnam's long-overdue come-uppance. It pointed out that 'The evidence of China's willingness to fight complicate

ates Russia's military planning, by making it riskier to move troops and weapons from its eastern front to its European front'. This would strengthen NATO's position. It went on, somewhat optimistically, to speculate that the blow to Vietnam meant

America could 'still make its weight felt' and would be a 'powerful comfort to America's friends'.

Socialists must unreservedly oppose and condemn the Chinese invasion. Making deals with US and British imperialism, and

stirring up nationalistic hysteria, in no advances the interests of workers and peasants in either country.

In no way can this invasion be compared with the Vietnamese overthrow of the Cambodian regime. Whatever reservations we may have on the Vietnamese regime's intentions, there has been evidence (not only from Western, but also from Yugoslav journalists) of the brutality of the Pol Pot regime and the existence of opposition forces seeking to liberate the Cambodian people from virtual slave labour.



China's policies are dictated by a strident anti-Soviet stance, one that has led it to support the Shah, NATO and Chile. This narrow nationalism is the reactionary product of their attempt to 'build socialism in one country'.



Did Carter give Deng the thumbs up?

Why Zimbabwe will be free

BY LUKE MALABA, a Zimbabwean exile militant in Coventry

THE BRITISH and American governments have often posed as a neutral third party in the civil war in Zimbabwe. In fact, they have always been identified with Ian Smith and the wealthy white settlers in the maintenance of their economic interests against any revolutionary take-over.

The Western press publishes Smith's propaganda dispatches and handouts as factual news, and keeps virtual silence over the Smith regime's terror tactics against the Zimbabwean people.

These tactics have varied from the wholesale removal of populations from their homelands into concentration camps called 'protected' or 'consolidated' villages, to actual mass killings in cold blood of African villagers.

By December last, about 50 people a week were dying through acts of shooting, torture and hanging by the government forces.

Even missionaries who support or are suspected of supporting the freedom fighters have been killed — witness the death of 13 British missionaries and children at Elim Pentecostal Mission, beaten and hacked to death with an axe, bayonets and pieces of wood on 23rd June 1978.

The regime blames ZANU at the time and this was taken up without question by the British press in a very big way, with full front page treatment in many dailies for several days running.

ORDERS

But evidence collected in Mozambique by a team of lawyers from the International Association of Democratic Lawyers 'convinced them that the massacre had been carried out on the orders of the Smith regime'. The freedom fighters had no reason to kill the missionaries; the Smith regime ben-

efitted twice over: it got rid of a source of help to the guerillas, and in blaming the guerillas for a savage act won a propaganda coup.

Villages have also been raided by air and ground forces, resulting in the destruction of huts and crops and frequently in the poisoning of food to prevent the guerillas having it.

The Law & Order (Maintenance) Act has been used as a cover by the military and the police for numerous shootings, bombings and torture. People have been shot for breaking dusk-to-dawn curfews, for having contact with guerillas, for being suspected of harbouring guerillas, for failure to provide information or for

special courts manned by racist judges trained in South Africa who sit to hear, briefly, cases against Africans accused of killing members of Smith's army (as if they weren't at war!), giving succour to guerillas, etc. Sentences are often life imprisonment, or death by hanging.

POLITICAL

Last July there were at least 1570 people imprisoned on political grounds. They are all treated as criminals.

The regime has also encouraged 'self-defence' among its supporters. In October 1975 the Indemnity and Compensation Act was

to kill. There are the foreign mercenaries, 'guilty of crimes which decent (!) white Rhodesians would never commit. Some of them are criminals capable of mindless violence. A favourite sport is reported to be kaffir hunting, the indiscriminate shooting of blacks'. (*The Times*, 23.4.77).

In 1977 about 7000 foreign mercenaries joined the Rhodesian forces to fight for gain. The British Labour government has failed to prevent the recruitment of these mercenaries in Britain.

Airborne raids into neighbouring Mozambique, Zambia, Botswana and, last week, Angola, have all gone on with barely a murmur from Britain and America, as

oil to Salisbury with the knowledge of the Government. And subsidiaries of big British companies still play a big role in the Rhodesian economy.

Without this, Smith's war effort would have ground to a halt long ago, and the economy with it.

SANCTIONS

The sanctions were never intended to achieve their declared objective, but to provide cover for the protection of imperialist economic interests. At first, when Wilson (1966) and Home (1971) met Smith — the aim was to preserve the settler-dominated system. Since about 1976 the tactic has been to produce a neo-colonial solution. Smith has managed to split off some of the nationalist leaders to join an internal settlement, while Britain has pursued international diplomatic manoeuvres.

The internal settlement fixed up on 3rd March 1978 left the whole structure of the political-economic system intact, bar some constitutional tinkering to give a small black elite the right to join the racists. Far from being a settlement acceptable to any number of Zimbabweans, it has accelerated the war and created a real chance of the Patriotic Front taking power through a military victory.

And that means the imperialists face a dilemma.

Armed struggle has taken an increasing momentum, rooted in the support of the masses in the rural and urban areas, and posing a real threat to imperialist economic interests. When John Davies, the Conservative spokesman on foreign affairs, returned from a fact-finding mission in Southern Africa, he said that Rhodesia was in such 'crisis' as to require much more decisive action than has hitherto been deployed by the British and American Governments.

The question is: what decisive action could be taken at the moment short of military intervention by the Americans and British, either dir-

ectly or by proxy through South African forces.

There has been growing pressure in Britain's Parliament and the American Congress for recognition of the Rhodesian government if the elections scheduled for April under the internal settlement constitution appear 'free and fair'.

But the imperialists may decide their best resort is to wait until military victory for the Patriotic Front is in sight and then try to negotiate the best terms they can with it or the most pro-imperialist section of it.

In Britain we need to counter the distorted reporting of events through the media.

Militants within the Labour Party should pressurise the Labour government to take a firm stand in support of the armed struggle and should lobby the government to put into effect the existing laws to stop the recruitment of mercenaries in this country for Smith's army.

We should also campaign for free entry to Britain of those who have fled Zimbabwe rather than be drafted into Smith's forces.

Socialists and trade unionists should act to discourage emigration to Rhodesia. And they should support the definition of the Smith regime's acts as crimes against humanity, as defined by the Geneva Convention of June 1977, so that the culprits may be prosecuted in due course.

And they should campaign too for full prisoner-of-war status for captured Patriotic Front guerillas. The Patriotic Front has expressed its readiness to observe the Geneva rules in its turn.



Patriotic Front fighters with captured weapons

failure to stop when ordered to.

One case admitted by Minister of Law & Order Hilary Squire was that of a Miss Sesulelo, who was shot in the back. An African MP who raised the case said she had been taken for interrogation to a camp which was 'degenerating into a labour camp where civilians are collected by the security forces and forced to cut grass, chop down tress and perform various other duties for no reward'.

The regime's tactics also take the form of arbitrary arrests, long hours of interrogation, torture and detention without charges or trial.

Another arm of repressive machinery has been the

passed, giving protection to any member of the security forces from legal proceedings against them for acts committed 'in good faith for the purpose of or in connection with the suppression of terrorism or the maintenance of public order'.

LICENCE

In July 1977 Hilary Squires told farmers at their annual congress that they or their employees would not face prosecution if they killed anyone in the course of protecting themselves or their property. This licence to kill was given under the Emergency Powers Act.

Then there are the private armies, also granted licence

thousands are slaughtered in refugee and guerilla army camps totally lacking in air cover.

It is to acts like these that Smith owes his 'miraculous survival'. And to judicious help from his kith and kin in western governments.

On the face of it the British Government has opposed the Smith regime ever since its Unilateral Declaration of Independence in 1965. But in fact Labour as well as Tory governments in that time have gone on regarding the white settlers as precious if misguided.

UN sanctions were imposed against the regime, with British approval. But now we know from the Bingham Report how BP and Shell violated sanctions by supplying



Freedom fighters go on trial

Ireland: more non-solutions, more fightback

by **PETER CHALK**
(Haringey UTOM)

RECENT developments in Ireland have increased resistance to British attempts to pacify the 'province'.

The campaign to restore political status to Republican prisoners is gaining support and forcing prominent politicians on both sides of the Atlantic to speak out against British treatment of Irish prisoners. This opposition's strength can be gauged from the fact that a quarter of a million propaganda broadsheets have been printed by HM Government for distribution, mostly in the US.

The Labour cabinet itself made the decision to prosecute two SAS soldiers for murder, following growing anger at the use of undercover plain-clothes patrols who use what has widely become known as an 'assassination policy'. Both the SDLP and Peace People have been pressurised into calling for the trial of soldiers, who have killed more than ten people in cold blood during the past year.

At Westminster, too, there has been heavy criticism of the government's pandering to the Official Unionists. Over 30 Labour MPs voted against the Bill to increase parliamentary representation for the north of Ireland from 12 to 17 House of Commons seats, and a government whip, Jock Stallard, resigned in protest.

The SDLP has severed all relations with Roy Mason following his attack on them and his description of the Official Unionists as 'moderate'.

One view of the Government's pro-Unionist moves is

that they are part of a deal made by Callaghan to keep Labour in office. But it could also be a reflection of the growing commitment of the Callaghan government to a permanent occupation of the north of Ireland.

The government is building permanent barracks and allocating houses for a garrison of 3,000, stationed in eight places in Northern Ireland. In addition there are facilities for the 'short-tour' battalions. At every level, liaison between the RUC and Army officers has been defined and strengthened.

With no sign of a political initiative or of any, even marginal, improvement in the economic and social status of the Catholic population in the North, is it then surprising that the question 'What is Britain doing in Ireland' is again being raised?

Both major parties in the south of Ireland have lately been calling for negotiations on a federal all-Ireland solution. Sections of the Loyalist community are investigating the idea of independence — a solution that can only mean increased repression and reliance on heavy subsidies. Both the Powellite wing of the Unionists and the 'Campaign for Labour Representation' are arguing for full integration with Britain.

Both this idea and Labour's 'devolution' plans doom the six-county state to continuing warfare. There can be no prospect of a return to 'normalcy' while Britain remains in Ireland.

Despite the growth of opposition and widespread discussion of possible 'solutions', one voice has not been heard: that of the labour movement in Britain.

British trade unionists have been slow to follow the

example of Irish trade unionists who set up the 'Trade Union Campaign Against Repression'; or even to follow the Irish Congress of Trade Unions, who are calling for an independent inquiry into RUC interrogation techniques following the 'suicide' of Brian Maguire in RUC custody.

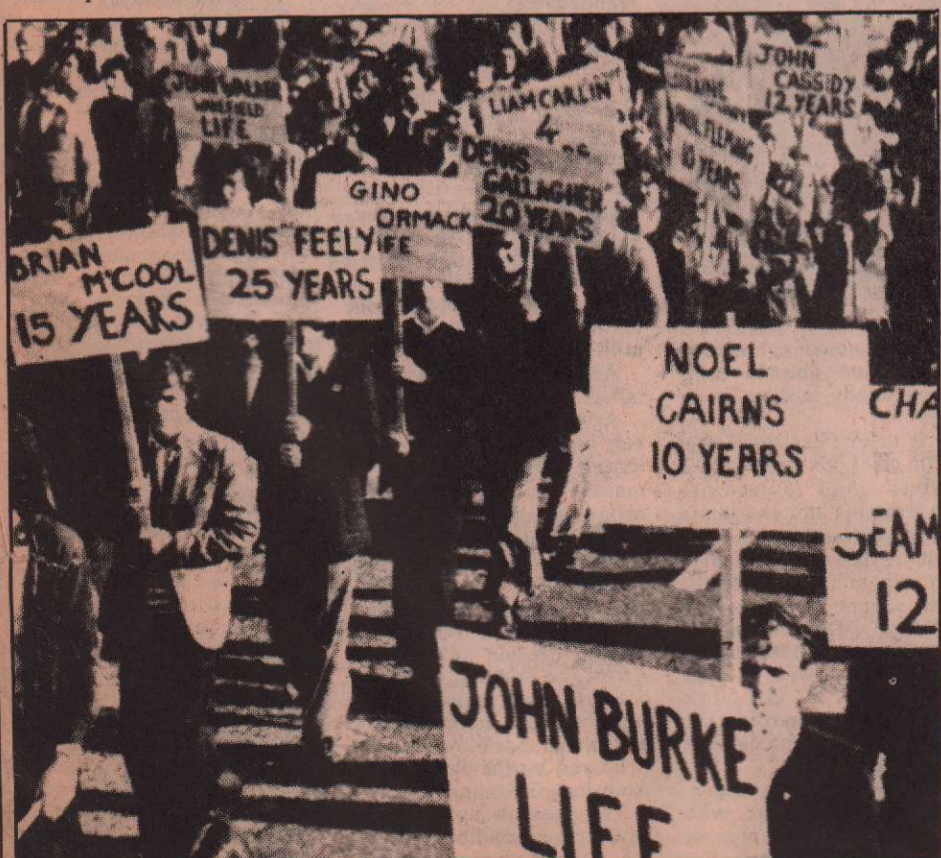
The Labour Party, too, has failed to debate Ireland, not only at national conferences but also at local level in the constituencies.

Discussion about what the Labour Government is doing in Ireland and how the labour movement should respond is imperative. Two ways of raising the question in the Labour Party would be:

■ Make sure that this year's conference resolution is critical of Labour's record on Ireland and demands that immediate British withdrawal and an end to partition must form the basis of Labour Party policy. Public meetings could be held in the constituency to explain this opposition to government policy.

■ Win affiliation of CLPs, trade union organisations, community groups etc to the *United Troops Out Movement* (c/o 2a St. Paul's Road, London N1). Use the film 'Home, Soldier, Home' as the basis for a meeting. Distribute the journal 'Troops Out' and engage in other joint activity with the local UTOM branch.

OUT NOW! Ireland Socialist Review No.4. Includes articles on the media and current British security policies. 30p + 15p p&p [subscriptions £1 for 3 issues]. Available from ISR, 60 Loughborough Road, London SW9



Thousands in the north of Ireland have marched in support of the prisoners. Would they march if Republican prisoners were 'criminals', as Roy Mason claims?

CAMDEN COUNCIL SETTLES

CAMDEN'S breakthrough settlement in the low pay strike meets two thirds of the NUPE claim and will affect about half of the

council's workforce. The granting of the £60 minimum wage will cost Camden £1.1 million, and the 35-hour week a further

£1 million. The 35-hour week should also create 250 extra jobs.

This offer will be financed out of a rate increase which will have to raise a further £2.7 million in revenue. But Camden is fortunate in that three quarters of its rate revenue comes from the commercial sector. As Camden housing chairman Ken Livingstone told us, 'Whatever you might think of any rate rise involved, you must understand that the whole deal does involve a massive redistribution of wealth with the commercial sector bearing the majority of the load, and the highest benefits being felt by the poorest, mainly female, section of the workforce.'



Civil servants join the fight

by **STEPHEN CORBISHLEY**

ON 23rd FEBRUARY over 80% of civil servants in the grades organised by the CPSA and the SCPS came out on the biggest one day national stoppage in the history of the civil service.

As he entered the Foreign Office, Dr David "Shah's friend" Owen told pickets: "I have great pleasure in crossing this picket line". Other Labour Ministers, including Wedgwood Benn, also crossed picket lines, but without gloating quite so loudly.

These picket-busters "great pleasure" will be short-lived.

1350 members of the CPSA and SCPS are on indefinite strike in 19 key computer and telex centres. Revenue collection of £500 million per week at the Southend VAT centre has been stopped, and there is an effective ban, supported by ASLEF, on the movement and export of arms and shells from Royal Ordnance Factories in Lancashire and elsewhere. There is a total shut-down of the Scottish legal system, and payment of bills to Government contractors has been stopped.

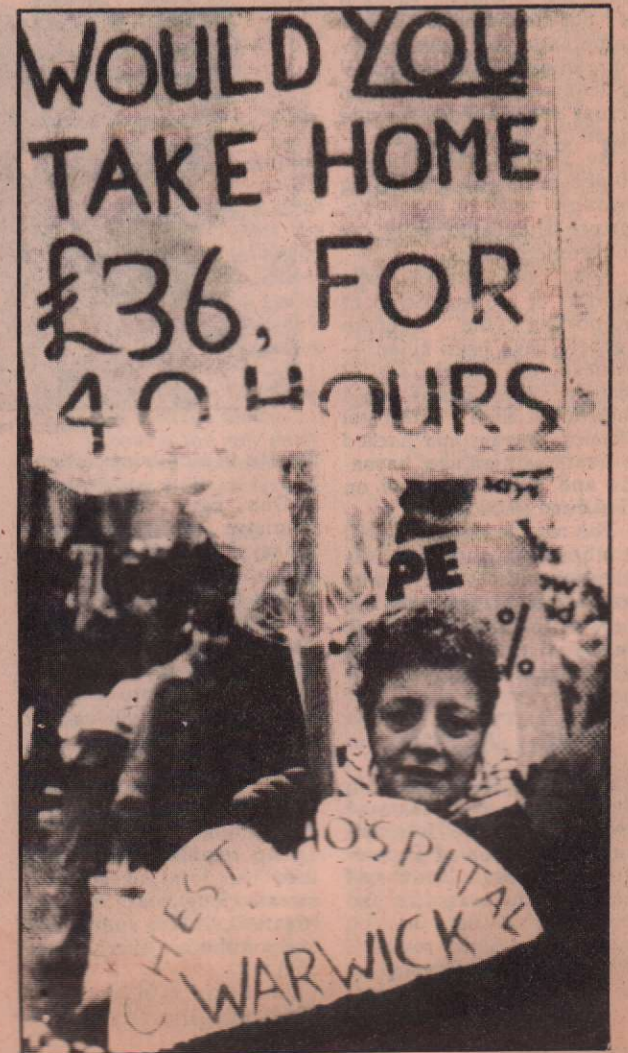
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The top secret SIGINT operations at Cheltenham have also been shut down, as have coding and decoding of secret material for the Foreign Office, although union agreement has sanctioned the use of the strikebreaking American link.

Within two weeks the Government will be well aware of the power of this group of workers. Within four weeks the backlog of work will be such that it will take some departments over six months to clear it. There will be a massive loss in revenue for the Government, and massive financial problems for Government contractors.

The action is to be backed up with the threat of more centres being brought into the fight, involving another 700 workers. But the Government is clearly playing a war of nerves with the civil service unions and their leadership.

The CPSA leaders have already accepted that a



The answer must be: Make the bosses pay!

by ANDREW HORNUNG

THE LOW-PAID public service workers face two kinds of State controls. They face wage limits — which they have bent sufficiently to push up the offer from 5% to 9%. And they face the Government's 'cash limits' on public spending.

The 'cash limits' place an iron grip on council spending. The result: poorer health, housing, transport, educational and social service facilities. Building programmes are slashed and maintenance of

existing property is skimped. The impact of public spending cuts on social services is well known. They also have a big impact on council workers' pay.

Many councils have raised the issue of cash limits... to 'explain' why they won't support the workers' pay claim. They say that if the claim is paid, rates will have to rise or services will have to be cut back even more.

Many areas are already due to face their highest rate rise in memory soon, and the threat of higher rates is being

used to set people against the strikers. It is also used by hypocritical councillors who wouldn't support the pay claim anyway, who say they would agree to pay up if only it didn't mean raising the rates.

The cuts and public sector low pay are two sides of the same coin. Both are attacks on the working class. The council and health workers suffer both ways. They are paid too little and are threatened with redundancies [and increased workloads for those who remain] if there are cut-backs.

In the service of the capitalists, central government shoves the burden of economic crisis onto the backs of the working class. While domestic rates rocket, Ford Motor Company has been let off taxation... as an incentive to investment. And they make £667 million profit!

If council workers go for a local rise, we have to be on their side. But we have to link the struggle with a fight to make the bosses and bankers foot the bill. The answer to low pay is not raising the rates. That just imposes another

burden on working people. We must fight for the bosses — or their state — to pay.

So long as Labour councillors refuse to take up this fight, or take it up only over tea and buns in the Ministers' offices, they are lining up with the bosses in offering the working class only two choices: low pay and poor services, or better pay and even worse services.

We should also demand they take up a fight against the other way that the capitalist class is leeching public services: the interest payments on

loans which can soak up a third of a council's budget.

A government really acting in the interests of the working class would nationalise banks and other money-lending institutions, freeing local councils from the burden of debt.

We say that no-one should be cornered into the heads-they-win, tails-we-lose choice the councils and Government give us. A fight must be organised to improve services, end low pay in the public sector, and make the capitalists meet the cost.

What the SCLV must do

by MICHAEL O'SULLIVAN

A RESOLUTION calling for a Support Committee for the public service strikers was talked out on Manchester Trades Council last week.

True to form, the meeting spent nearly an hour discussing a resolution about 'A Better Way', the TUC right-wingers' document circulated (in UPW envelopes) to Trades Councils and Labour Parties nearly a month ago. Time was running out, so John Douglas, mover of the Support Committee resolution from USDAW CWS Packing Factory proposed the Trades Council should suspend standing orders to continue the meeting. It was voted down narrowly, with the help of Communist Party members present.

As long as the strike continues, building support committees will remain very important. The idea is simple:

- To collect money for the strike — this will be crucial if there is an all-out strike;

- To rally the local working class community to support the strike. To relieve the isolation of the strikers and combat the present barrage of anti-strike propaganda in the media.

- To coordinate support actions like strengthening a picket where that is needed, or picketing local papers and council offices.

Beyond the immediate gains for the strikers, those actions help to make the local labour movement a stronger and more active force.

Trades Councils, if they are active and responsive, are the natural bodies to set up a Support Committee. In many places, however, Trades Councils are dominated by a bloc of Communist Party members and their friends, completely immobilising them for almost everything.

In Haringey, the Support Committee was set up following an appeal from a local Labour MP and two Prospective Parliamentary Candidates. Its real base was the Labour Party, the strike committee (some of whose members were a bit suspicious of it to start with) and a few trade unions. The Trades Council still hasn't done anything.

In other places there are Low Pay Campaigns which could be converted into strike support committees. The variations are endless... but time isn't.

SCLV supporters must take the initiative in setting up these support committees, taking every opportunity to turn the Labour Parties, the trade unions and the Trades Councils outwards.

Nine per cent plus comparability

IT'S A SELL-OUT

by JAMES DAVIES

"IT'S A SELL-OUT". That was the almost unanimous reaction of NUPE workers in Manchester, meeting to discuss the latest offer. A mere 9% and £1 'on account' — until a 'comparability' study is finished — is only about a quarter of the claim.

The reaction wasn't limited to words. 600 ancillaries walked out of hospitals in Salford when they heard what the offer was; 300 walked out in Manchester, and so did cooks in Bolton.

They were not alone in considering the national offer an insult. In London, the Divisional Council of the GMWU, composed of shop stewards representing some 150,000 workers, rejected the deal and called for an all-out strike. It is also trying to get a National Conference to force the auto-crats who run the union to back down.

In Leicester, hospital workers have stepped up their action since the union negotiators announced their recommended deal. NUPE shop steward Charlie Sorell told us: "I'm sure the deal will be rejected in Leicester. The offer is an insult".

In Edinburgh, a NUPE branch made its contempt for the deal clear when it voted to demand that the National Executive extend the strike and that NUPE leader Alan Fisher be slung out and his post advertised in all the national newspapers.

"Sell out!", was the response on the Edinburgh

picket lines, as John Macdonald of Edinburgh South Hospitals NUPE told us. Workers at seven of Edinburgh's hospitals called for union backing for an all-out strike. And hospital catering workers — mostly women — are furious that the union did not back them when they came out, and that only 'stronger' workers have been allowed to take action.

The mood of disgust and anger contrasts sharply with the complacent recommendation of the deal that came from Alan Fisher, appearing on TV shortly after the negotiations. Not long after, he was on TV again looking panicky: the National Committee of the local government section of his union had

tossed the deal out by 17 votes to 0, and it was clear the Executive would follow suit.

But the unbending auto-crats of the GMWU are still firmly set on a sell-out. So in Manchester, for instance, the GMWU binmen have gone back to work, but called for all-out national action if the union's ballot rejects the deal.

In Haringey, North London, a joint NUPE-GMWU strikers' meeting decided on a return to work when the GMWU members were told that the union would no longer support their action. There will be a series of one-day stoppages in the borough — which shows that the workers feel cheated by their union,

not beaten by the employers.

Bill Smith, local GMWU secretary, told *Socialist Organiser* how he felt. "I was disgusted. I felt ashamed of being a member of our union. I was choked. The members all feel they've been sold down the river".

The lessons of this strike are becoming apparent very quickly. There should have been an all-out strike.

The selective strike strategy sounds very clever, particularly since NUPE's strike funds are small. At first strikers thought they would be causing disruption without losing too much money. After five weeks, things look different: the workers who have been on strike have lost money and

are sensing isolation.

There should have been no divisions between the different sectors — water works, hospital workers, local government workers... Taking the water workers out of the struggle at an early stage meant taking the most powerful group out of the fight.

And hundreds of thousands of workers have seen for the first time that Fisher, with all his flashy demagoguery, is as much a sell-out merchant as the open right-wingers. Hundreds of thousands of GMWU workers have seen the urgent need for a GMWU reform movement to oust the Basnett-Donnet crew and create a democratic union.



Hackney hospital workers vote for a 3-day strike

The way to win: All out!

RICHARD SHIELD, a Hackney NUPE shop steward and ILEA district committee member, told Socialist Organiser:

IN LONDON most branches have been rejecting the 9% plus £1 offer. The Inner London Education Authority District Committee of NUPE is calling for all-out strike action in schools and colleges from this half-term, though the NUPE Executive is blocking this action.

The problem is that the strategy of selective strikes is divisive and confusing. For example, some buildings go on strike without pay while others continue to work. This is what nagged the Haringey workers.

When the Westminster dustmen accepted a £200 bribe from the Tories to clear the rubbish backlog, many other London dustmen picketed the Edmonton tip and forced them to go right down to Kent. The NUPE Executive lets such situations arise because they seem to be afraid that an all-out strike would get out of their control.

The other danger is that if the GMWU and TGWU fold, as their Executives are recommending, Fisher will turn round as he did last year and say we can't go it alone. But NUPE is the main public sector or manual workers' union, with ¼ million members, and most of those are part-time women who won't get the extra £1.

We would still have everything to fight for if NUPE escalated action. We could probably get militant GMWU and TGWU members to continue with us as well.



Local government workers march against 9% pay deal. Action like this forced NUPE Executive's rejection of the offer

A SOCIALIST ANSWER TO THE JOBS CRISIS

Falmouth THE JARROW OF 1979?

OVER 1,000 workers from Falmouth's ship repair yard marched through London on Thursday 22nd February to lobby Parliament in protest at the plan by the nationalised British Shipbuilders to close the yard.

The closure would mean the loss of 1,200 jobs in the yard itself, together with 500 or so local jobs connected with it. Falmouth's unemployment rate would rocket to over 30% if the closure goes through. It would become the Jarrow of 1979.

The yard's 200 apprentices may be offered other jobs by British Shipbuilders — but they would probably have to move all the way up to Scotland to get them. It's almost like an internal exile.

The closure decision was made by the Board of British Shipbuilders as long ago as last December, but they didn't plan to announce it to the workers until March. They wanted to get work finished on three ships currently in the yard.

Lesson

They actually made the announcement in late January, and tried to use it as a 'lesson' to the workers. According to a letter sent to local Tory MP David Mudd, they changed the timing of their announcement because of 'the irresponsibility of the trade unions' who had been operating an overtime ban against the management (inherited lock, stock and barrel from the previous owners, P&O) who were pushing through redundancies.

The shock of impending closure was intended to put the workforce on best behaviour.

The Government supports the decision to close the yard. But ministers are now hiding behind the British

by PETER TEBBUTT [PPC, Falmouth]

Shipbuilders Board, claiming they have no power to intervene.

All that the government (in a letter from junior minister Les Huckfield) has said it will do is make Falmouth a 'Special Development Area'. That means they'll axe jobs in Falmouth and then pay big business a handsome rake-off to set some of the jobs up again.

The government's other immediate response was to get into talks with the local Tory MP ... and exclude the local Labour Party, many of whose members work at the yard.

They also went into negotiations with David Bailey of Bristol Channel Ship Repairers, who want to take over the yard. And all that was before they even bothered to talk to anyone from the unions at Falmouth.

Bailey's offer for the yard is obscene. Bristol Channel Shiprepairers is the firm that fought tooth and nail with its Tory friends in the House of Lords to try to stop nationalisation of the industry, and eventually managed to wriggle itself out of being taken over. This firm is now out to make a killing — and no doubt also a propaganda coup for 'private enterprise' too — and the Callaghan government seems to be giving them every help. A member of Falmouth Labour Party who talked to David Owen shortly after the lobby was told 'The closure is 99% certain; we're seriously considering the offer from Bailey'.

It seems the Bristol Channel bid wasn't wholly unexpected in some quarters. A stockbrokers' report produced around Christmas 1977 urged investors to keep an eye on Bristol Channel

shares, as a 'special situation' was likely to arise in the future.

Could it just be a coincidence that Bristol Channel's shares have rocketed up in the last two weeks and that speculators are laughing all the way to the bank?

Though David Owen reckons closure is '99% certain', the government and the BS Board have been trying to fob off the workers with hints that the decision isn't final.

At a meeting on February 21st between the Board and union representatives, the bosses agreed to keep the notice of closure 'on the table' and give the unions a 'breathing space' to come up with a declaration of intent on a plan for viability at the yard. This is bound to mean redundancies, faster work-rates, more flexible working, and undermining of demarcation arrangements.

Reprieve

But good behaviour won't buy a reprieve. All they want is to keep the workers pacified while they get their three ships finished and out of the yard (they're worth a total of £15 million).

That's not a victory, that's a con-trick! They're just trying to get the workers at Falmouth to do overtime and work themselves out of a job all the faster. The last thing they want is for the workers to hold those ships as hostage for British Shipbuilders' good behaviour!

Dennis Skinner, at a meeting between sympathetic Labour MPs and Falmouth workers held before Thursday's lobby, described very aptly the previous day's meeting where closure was

left 'on the table': 'These people met in the knowledge that 1,500 Falmouth workers were coming to London today. They wanted a 'holding operation' ... until the protest was over'.

And indeed by the following Saturday, management was being distinctly uncooperative about even a 'viability plan'.

That meeting with the Labour MPs did show something that could be done by Labour Party activists. Left wing MPs on the NEC are working to get a resolution passed calling on the government to stop the closure and get senior ministers to negotiate.

Back in Falmouth the Labour Party has played a useful role. The Falmouth Docks Action Group, which is fighting to save the yard, was set up at a meeting called by the Falmouth and Camborne GMC. That meeting passed a resolution saying that if the government wouldn't stop the closure, the yard should be turned into a co-operative under the control of the workers themselves.

There is no hiding that the closure is a government decision and there is no way to avoid attacking the government for this closure attempt and the other job cuts it is pushing through in British Shipbuilders and British Steel.

I've been criticised in my Labour Party for taking an anti-government stand, and right-wingers are saying it will spoil the chance of a plan to save the yard.

But the government has no intention of saving the yard unless it is put under pressure.

That's why I'm campaigning on the SCLV's policies. It's simply no use trying to defend this government's record in a fight like this or in the coming election.

THE social-democratic ideology which dominated Labour in the 1950s and '60s was based on the idea that capitalism was no longer capitalism. It had changed into a mixed economy in which poverty and unemployment were dwindling marginal problems.

The picture was never as pretty as it looked from the corridors of power. And now the fact is plain for everyone to see: capitalism breeds mass unemployment as surely as it breeds inequality and exploitation.

Every fall in the rate of profit, every shift in supply and demand, and every change in the place where profit can best be made, leads to workers being thrown on the streets; the system produces for profit, and regards workers as useful

only to the extent that they a profit.

This Labour Government answer. They blame the workers saying that we are pricing ourselves out of a job. It is nonsense. Have real wages since 1974-5 reduced employment? Are the jobs lower in worse-paid Britain, Italy than in better-paid West Germany or Japan?

Apart from that, the Government plays around with a few trivial schemes. The official Labour ideas are equally irrelevant: a manner of bureaucratic school Development Areas and direct investment, plus import controls. The import controls argue

BY BAS HARDY

LAST month, Liverpool City Council played a particularly grisly joke. During the gravediggers' strike they decided to store dead bodies in empty factories in Speke.

This made the description of Merseyside as an industrial graveyard seem even more fitting than usual.

With the latest closure threat at Dunlops factory in Speke, more workers are destined to join the 86,800 on the dole queue here. One in every 17 unemployed workers in Britain lives in Merseyside.

The population of Liverpool has declined by more than half since 1945. The region has the highest teenage suicide rate in the country. Toxteth (Liverpool 8) has an unemployment rate of 26%, the same rate as the war-torn Irish town of Strabane.

The list of factories where redundancies have taken place in 1978 alone straddles a wide range of industries: Leyland, Birds Eye, Lucas, Courtaulds, GEC, FD Clothing, Lairds, Western Ship Repair, Booths Concrete, Tate & Lyle, Plesseys It seems only a matter of time before almost all large factories and works, with the exception of the Ford plant at Halewood, vanish completely from the region.

700 redundancies at Lairds have followed on the heels of the Western Ship Repairers closure. Speke No.1 plant of British Leyland stands out as an exposed and expendable limb on the body of the Leyland combine now that the No.2 plant is closed.

Plesseys large Edge Lane plant workforce has been whittled down to next to nothing — from about 12,000 to 4,000 — over the decade, and a full closure is planned. Birds Eye management in Kirkby have provoked yet another strike last week, which it will no doubt use as an excuse for fresh sackings.

All major cities have so-called inner-city problems. What sets Liverpool apart from the rest is that its new towns, like Skelmersdale and Kirkby, are also on the decline.

In both places the unemployment rate is over 20%. Kirkby's modern jerry-built estates just reproduce the slums they replaced. Skelmersdale has over 4,000 houses to let, but the Development Corporation only offers them to people who have jobs. Consequently there are few takers.

Why has there been such a decline of Merseyside industry? In part it is due to the national economic trend of a shift in industry towards the Midlands and the South-East promoted by greater integration into the European market. Liverpool's prosperity was built on trade with North and South America. The closure of the US Consulate in Liverpool in 1977



DUNLOP SHUTDO MUST ST

was one further index of the decline in that trade. Walking round Liverpool 8, you see crumbling mansions that used to be Latin American consulates.

The traditional militancy of the local labour movement has been one excuse for the flight of capital. Courtaulds bosses complained that 'too many Scousers' made thorough exploitation of the workforce difficult.

But the strikes have mostly been provoked by bosses who are unwilling to stay on Merseyside unless exploitation is strained to the limit, or who want an excuse for sackings. The closure of Speke No.2 BL plant shows it. After a two-month lay-off, a nine-week strike deliberately provoked by the company sapped the workers' will to resist sackings. The strike was the first in the history of the plant.

The Leyland workers did not decide lightly to sell their jobs, for they knew that not many other jobs were available. Between 1960 and 1976 the total labour force in Liverpool was cut by half. Those jobs which are on offer pay only a fraction of the wages for skilled workers in big factories like Leyland.

One Leyland worker put it like this: 'My brother worked at Standards (Speke) and he packed it in a year ago. He went after 80 jobs and never got a start'. Another found that the highest wage he was offered for skilled work was £57 — £15 less than his previous average wage.

Most workers over 45 have no chance of finding full time work again, and regard

themselves as early retirement in their 20s a alternative to the to move from public service their redundancy start a small business.

In my Labour the majority, now self-employed cleaners, tob cream vanmen and the like more numerous.

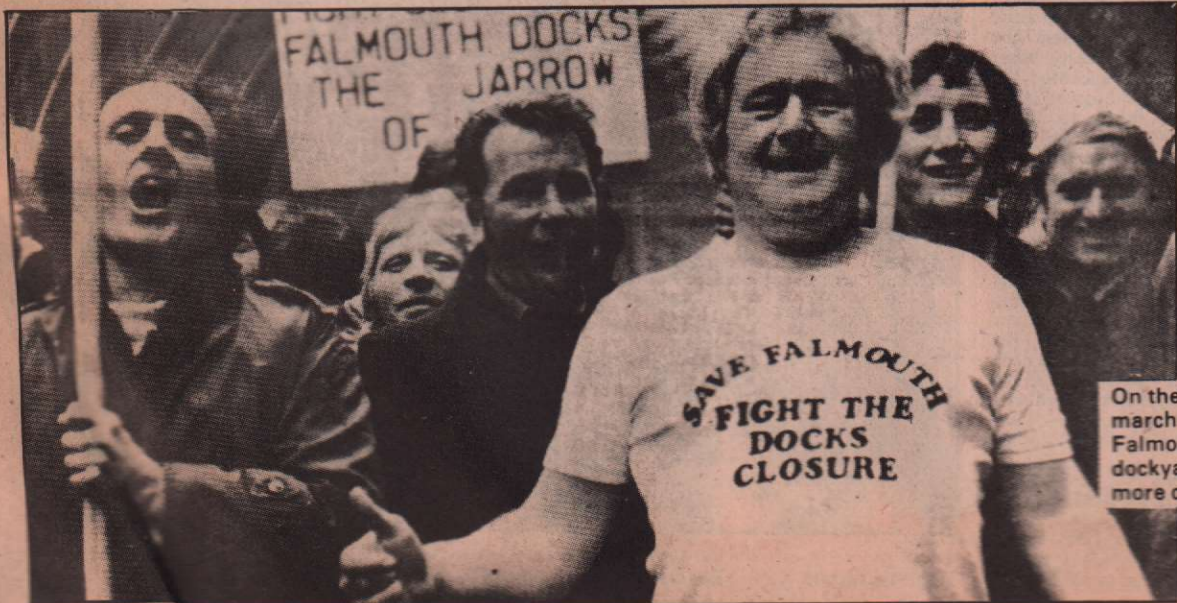
For young and white, the finding work prospect of local as bleak. For running schools against the market. About 5,000 each year are dole on Merseyside.

The few jobs offer for the young in the catering in shops. In security is poor are pitiful.

What has been the cause of the labour to the industry Merseyside?

In many cases have accepted payments because no alternative occupied at Falmouth Plesseys (Kirkby) that they would be by another factory occupied by Bendix (KME) the setting up cooperative. Government.

Now KME



On the march to save Falmouth's dockyard. No more con-tricks!

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shares the right-wing view that the working class is to blame for unemployment. It just blames foreign workers instead of British workers. So European workers are told to blame Japanese workers, French workers to blame German workers, American workers to blame European workers, and the Japanese workers to blame Europeans and Americans: a crazy merry-go-round.

While Labour leaders tinker with irrelevancies, the Tories have a bold and clear programme. Keith Joseph says unemployment is not really very high anyway, and what Britain needs is a strong dose of free-enterprise competition which will cut out lame ducks and so-called 'overmanning'. Only the faint-hearted and feeble-minded, he reckons,

should quail at the idea of another million or so unemployed.

Since unemployment started rising fast at the beginning of the '70s, some of the greatest working class struggles — Upper Clyde Shipbuilders, Fisher Bendix, Triumph Meriden — have been directly against unemployment. Many workers no longer accept unemployment by shrugging despondently and asking about redundancy pay. Despite all its weaknesses and defeats, the fight-back is starting to assert working-class answers to the crisis of capitalism.

The Socialist Campaign for a Labour Victory has to link that industrial fight-back with the battle for a socialist voice in the labour movement, and against the movement's sell-out leaders. Our

demands are:

■ Start improving the public services rather than cutting them. Stop cutting jobs in the public sector.

■ End unemployment. Cut hours, not jobs — share the work with no loss of pay. Start now with a 35-hour week and an end to overtime.

■ All firms threatening closure should be nationalised under workers' control, with not a penny compensation to the old exploiters.

■ Make the bosses pay, not the working class! Millions for hospitals, not a penny for 'defence'! Nationalise the banks and financial institutions without compensation.

NIK BARSTOW



On the road to the dole

LIVERPOOL'S OWN DILEMMA

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closure, because the Government regards it as unviable. It is being forced to accept closure or else takeover by a private firm, Worcester Engineering, and heavy sackings. The KME cooperative was a great Bennite cause celebre. But workers' co-ops offer no real solution today to the capitalist rationalisation that has hit Merseyside.

Other proposals from local MPs are little better. Edmund Dell, Labour MP for Birkenhead who is solving his problems by quitting Parliament to get a plush job as a banker, advised Western Ship Repair workers to go south to look for work. Eric Heffer thinks that a Minister for Merseyside would solve the problems... but how can this Minister compel capital to come to the region when the Labour Gov-

ernment backs such actions as the Leyland Speke closure?

Eddie Loyden, another local MP, has called for import controls on tyres as a way of preventing the Dunlop closure. Import controls have already proved useless in the case of Thorn's of Skelmersdale which closed despite a ban on the import of TV tubes from Taiwan. And they are even more reactionary when you consider the good relations that have existed between Dunlop-Pirelli workers in Britain and their co-workers in Italy and France, as shown by their international strike in 1973. Such international unity is vital in the face of the world-wide crisis of the tyre industry.

The Labour MPs and the Communist Party-dominated

Liverpool Trades Council have provided no real strategy. Instead they ask workers to plaintively lobby Ministers. This lack of leadership was reflected by the poor turnout for last year's Day of Action and one-day strike against redundancies.

Although a representative conference of over 500 labour movement delegates called on the Trades Council and District Labour Party to set up a Council of Action to fight closures last April, both bodies shelved the proposal.

The fight is now on to stop the chop at Dunlops — a factory whose Communist Party and left-Labour trade union leadership is one of the most militant and best-organised in the city. The stewards have mapped out an action plan, which for the present centres round making contacts and stopping all movement of goods, plant and equipment. An occupation is being considered.

The fight can be won if the lessons of previous battles are learned:

■ The occupation must set as its aim nationalisation with no compensation and under workers' control. Asking another capitalist to take over is no answer. Unemployment is the result of the economic laws of capitalism, not of the ill-will of individual bosses.

■ Sharing out the hours of work, under workers' control and with no loss of pay, must be put forward as the general working class answer to unemployment. Competition among groups of workers, each pleading for special treatment for their workplace to be kept open, just helps the bosses.

■ Links must be built. The Leyland Speke fight could have won only with the backing of industrial action from other Leyland plants. Dunlop Speke workers already have links with workers at the Inchinnan (Scotland) and Birmingham plants. In many industries, the links need to be international, because the crisis and the bosses' plans are international.

■ The struggle must be based on the rank and file, not focused on pressuring MPs, councillors and ministers. At Leyland Speke, the workers' militancy died away as, week after week, no information and no definite lead for action came through from the stewards.

Merseyside's jobs crisis will not be solved by battles in individual factories. Capitalism has put a black spot on Merseyside, and the curse can only be lifted by overthrowing the whole system of production for profit. But the battle at Dunlop could start to build a movement which will stem the tide and go onto the offensive.

Fighting industrial death on Tyneside

by JOHN FOSTER

TYNESIDE workers are campaigning to save the 800 jobs under threat from Vickers' plan to close their Scotswood works in Newcastle. A Campaign Committee has been set up by the stewards and it insists: 'The closure of Scotswood is totally unacceptable and will be resisted by all means at our disposal'.

The closure is part of Vickers' move out of its traditional business. Ten years ago engineering accounted for a third of Vickers' sales; now it is a fifth. It seems they reckon to make a big profit — perhaps £1 million — by redeveloping the Scotswood site for warehouses.

The Campaign Committee has argued that Vickers cannot be allowed to move out of heavy engineering just because it is looking for a high return of 30% or more in fields such as the booming office equipment sector. They are also questioning the right of Vickers to receive around £150 million compensation from the government following nationalisation of its shipbuilding and aerospace assets, valued at £68 million before nationalisation.

Invest

Vickers are under no obligation to invest this public money in any of the depressed areas of high unemployment where its shipbuilding interests were mainly located.

The Campaign Committee says: 'The heavy engineering industry in Europe is in a state of crisis. There is overcapacity and profit margins are being cut. Vickers' solution is to get out. That's alright for Vickers shareholders but it is not so good for the workers on Tyneside.'

'Many of us are still socialists. How can you build a socialist society without a heavy engineering industry. It's impossible. Scotswood represents our skills, the machines we work; it is our future and our potential'.

The Scotswood and Elswick plants in Newcastle employed 20,000 workers in the 1940s. Now they have 3,000. Over 3,000 engineering workers have been made redundant on Tyneside over the last 12 months. The Campaign Committee demands that:

■ Vickers open the books to the Committee and the Advisory Team. The advisory team includes two economists, Stuart Holland and



Mary Kaldor, who have worked with the Vickers Combine Committee before, and an accountant. They have been employed to carry out a feasibility study on the profitability of making a variety of new products at Scotswood.

Workers believe that Vickers have been cooking the books, accounting for finances in such a way that the losses at Scotswood seem larger than they are.

■ An investigation into the marketing and planning policies of the Vickers Engineering Group.

The workers believe that management have deliberately let Scotswood run down and turned it into a jobbing-shop producing on the edge of the market and often 'under licence'.

■ There should be tripartite negotiations involving senior Vickers management, government ministers and the elected representatives of the workforce.

■ Any government aid must be backed by guarantees of continued production, built around discussions of

alternative products and the Workers' Plan for Vickers on Tyneside.

The Workers' Plan for alternative products like heat pumps, heavy tractors and new car presses, is currently being prepared. The Scotswood stewards understand that it will run right against the bosses' profit-making rationality, and 'we are in for a tough (and dirty) fight'.

After a massive demonstration and lobby in Newcastle on February 2nd, letters and offers of support have been pouring in to the Campaign Committee from other Vickers plants, and from trade union branches, trades councils and community groups throughout the area.

Levy

Workers in Vickers realise that if they allow Scotswood to be closed, it would be followed by closures elsewhere on Tyneside and in the UK as a whole. Workers in Liverpool have already agreed to have a levy to support the campaign and stewards from all the Tyneside plants have agreed, with the backing of the Confed, to recommend strike action to their members if the situation is not sorted out quickly.

Past lessons have shown that only strong industrial action will force Vickers to alter course.

The strength of the Scotswood Campaign is that the workforce is prepared to fight. They are not willing to sell their jobs for an offer of 'attractive' redundancy payments.

Messages of support and requests for information should be sent to: Vickers Campaign Secretary, 12 St. Albans Terrace, Gateshead NE8 4HA, Tyne & Wear. Tel: 0642-770497.



Scotswood Campaign committee discuss

Court throws out police frame-up

by SUE CROSS

DAVE STEVENS, an anti-racist activist in Wolverhampton, has been found not guilty on assault charges.

On March 11th, 1978, he was arrested on a demonstration called to protest against the increasing racial violence and police harassment in the town. Dave faced four charges of assault, one of breaching the peace, and one of actual bodily harm to a police inspector.

At his trial, which began on February 19th, each of the nine police officers called as witness described, word-perfect in matching testimonies, how Dave had 'hit, kicked out and shouted "Pull me, stop the pigs from arresting me, kick the bastards"'. Dave's defence was simple. He denied the charges completely, he was being victimised, the evidence was false and concocted from beginning to end... and there was no better proof of this than the video film of the march taken by a research assistant from Wolverhampton Poly.

The judge set a legal precedent by allowing a video film of an actual arrest to be submitted as evidence. This film showed an NF supporter, Alan Bold, attacking the demonstration, Dave Stevens pulling him out, and then Dave returning to the march urging



Dave Stevens 'assaults' police

people through his megaphone to calm down.

The jury then saw in the film how the police charged in to arrest Dave, pinning his arms behind his back and dragging him out.

This video threw the police witnesses into total confusion, as it showed there was no opportunity for Dave to grab or assault anyone. Only two of the nine police witnesses could identify themselves on the film, and it was evident that Dave did not kick Bold, as he was charged with doing.

The prosecution tried to make up by a vicious attack on Dave's socialist political views, to the extent that in the summing up the judge had to state that Dave was not on trial for his political beliefs, nor his right to demonstrate.

The five-day trial ended on 23 February, with the jury out for two hours and returning with an unanimous verdict of not guilty on all the charges. There may now be a national campaign for a Home Office inquiry into the Wolverhampton police.

But for previous police victims in Wolverhampton and elsewhere this can only confirm what they already know: the police are out to nail anti-fascist militants. In this case justice was seen to be done only thanks to the luck of the incident being filmed, and the work of a vigorous defence campaign.

ANL: Anti-racism is central

Dear comrades,

Frank Hansen's article in the February Socialist Organiser argues convincingly against Ernie Roberts that the ANL's current conception of 'unity in action' is seriously mistaken. But he is wrong when he goes on to say that 'firstly, the working class must be won to the idea and practice of defending its organisations against fascism' in the ANL, and then the issues of racism and immigration controls can be taken up in the ANL.

In reality there can be no such division of the struggle into stages. Fascism here and now is totally bound up with

The ANL's refusal to take these issues up has been responsible for the gulf that has developed between white anti-racists and black militants.

Right now it is mostly not the organisations of the working class that are directly threatened by the state or by the fascists. Our tasks are dictated by the needs of the present struggle, more than by possible developments in the future — and now that means responding adequately to racism. It cannot be adequately fought now without challenging the Immigration Acts and other legislation such as the 'sus' laws.

to the threats posed to black people.

I also found Bernard Misrahi's article in the same issue inadequate. Misrahi exposed the confusion in Ann Dummett's approach to the Immigration Acts but concluded by apparently making the same mistake of trying to find a more 'reasonable' sounding policy than the scrapping of all immigration controls.

Dummett starts from the idea that racism cannot be seriously challenged in the working class. If you believe that, then any attempt to 'improve' the Immigration Acts is doomed to failure. As socialists, we should understand that, under the influence of

solidarity in struggle, the working class can, perhaps very quickly, come to understand that barring Pakistanis from Britain is as ridiculous as barring Liverpudlians from London, and even more reactionary... provided that anti-racists are always there arguing our case clearly and without compromise.

Yes, we would support amendments to the Immigration Acts such as Dummett proposes, in the unlikely event that they become a serious proposition; but if we are really going to fight racism in the labour movement, we can't let ourselves be diverted into a hunt for lesser evils.

JAMES RYAN

EEC: 'Get out' should be our slogan

Comrades,

The debate on Europe begun in Socialist Organiser is a welcome one, although somewhat belated. The pro-EEC Labour leadership in league with Transport House have used the Labour left's illusions in bourgeois democracy to hustle through the Assembly election procedure on the grounds that the Referendum has settled the issue.

Without any opposition to this — although no Labour conference has ever voted for the EEC — Callaghan now hopes to steamroller the Bennite/Tribunite opposition to the EEC.

The propaganda of the Common Market Safeguards Campaign reeks increasingly of nationalistic concern for the living standards of British people. This propaganda

strengthens the illusion that a British solution to the international crisis of capitalism is possible. In addition such propaganda can only boost the national chauvinism which the National Front plans to inject into the Assembly election campaign.

Yet so far no internationalist opposition to the Tribune nationalism or Callaghan's capitalistic unity has emerged. It is this problem which the SCLV must attack. I believe we must push for a total withdrawal from the EEC whilst calling for a real attempt to build European workers' unity.

One reason the left has been pretty silent to date is the present stability of the Common Market. Few socialists saw the possibility that in the short term the EEC would be able to



survive the national tensions which are revealed on every issue. In addition, the protective trade bloc of the EEC has also proved a political stabilising force — particularly in relation to the Iberian peninsula.

However, the contributions of Mark Douglas and Donald Sassoon in the January Organiser fall into the trap of believing that the only way to put forward internationalist arguments on Europe is through full participation in the EEC. Whilst it is undoubtedly true that much of the opposition to Strasbourg rule in the British working class is due to chauvinist feeling, it remains a difficult but necessary task to change the basis of this opposition to an internationalist one.

The SCLV needs to campaign for a full-blooded withdrawal demand on the EEC — unlike Labour's election manifesto which adds withdrawal as an afterthought if Britain does not get improved terms.

GRAHAM DURHAM

Cops against the community

GEOFF BENDER looks at the fight-back against police racism in Lambeth and in Hackney

IN THE INNER city deserts where high unemployment, rampant racism and bad housing breed street crime, the black community are being made the targets of a highly organised group of men and women who are prepared to use violence, harassment, and intimidation to gain their ends. This gang — armed and highly-trained — is the Metropolitan Police force. The only force in the country not answerable in any way to a local authority-appointed body, the Metropolitan Police have increasingly despaired of solving even the most minor crime, and instead have turned their attention to keeping in check a subject population trapped in the ghettos of the inner city.

The two weapons the Mets use in this policy of community policing are the provisions of Section 4 of the 1824 Vagrancy Act — the 'sus' law — and the massive saturation policing of particular areas by the Special Patrol Groups, with road blocks, stop-and-search operations, and mass arrests.

The 'sus' law was originally introduced as a weapon against the workless rural population moving into the cities. Today it manufactures 'crime', while real crimes, whether burglaries, car thefts, rapes, or domestic violence, go on unchecked. So one section of the popul-

ation feels insecure and under-policed, while another finds its every move watched by suspicious police eyes. Inevitably, these two groups become increasingly defined in racial terms.

While the gutter press whips up the feelings of white working class people with wild tales of muggings, black people find daily that the muggers they have to worry about have blue uniforms on, and the full force of the law on their side.

Harassment

In this issue *Socialist Organiser* looks at the situation in two inner London boroughs where the fight-back against police harassment is taking place on a number of fronts. Black organisations, anti-racist groups, trade unions and trades councils, Labour Parties and even Labour Councils can play a role in the continuing fight against the unchecked power of the 'muggers in blue'.

IT'S POLICE versus the community in LAMBETH, or so it seems. After a massive Special Patrol Group exercise in 'community policing' last November, when road-blocks, indiscriminate street searches, 'sus' arrests and a statutory bomb scare were the order of the day, the local police have now decided to grab their share of the action.

Not satisfied with a situation where (outside of the West End) Lambeth's L Division has the highest number of arrests under 'sus' charges in the police race-code



Police raid on black club (left) and Brixton blacks fight back — a section of the march last December against the SPG's Lambeth operations

category 'IC3' (black-skinned), Brixton police have now embarked on a course of confrontation with the Council for Community Relations in Lambeth.

After the stabbing of a plain clothes policeman at Clapham's 'Two Brewers', police raided the local offices of the CCR looking for a black man with a sheepskin coat. When three of the staff confessed to owning such coats, they were detained. An impromptu picket formed, and the police arrested Lambeth Central CLP chairperson Mary Nevitt.

Though all four were eventually released, the police action led to the CCR breaking off all relations with the police. Local MPs John Tilley and John Fraser have issued statements regretting the suspension of

the police/community liaison committee... but recognising "the understandable anger and frustration that is felt by many members of the community..."

Many local organisations feel that the CCR were right to break off relations with the police. Even a Tory councillor voted for it at their governing body!

A campaign — 'Lambeth Against Police Harassment' — was already under way before the events of last month. Launched by the All-Lambeth Anti-Racist Movement (ALARM) and the Brixton ANL, and with the support of youth and community workers and members of the Black Parents' Campaign against Sus, during the SPG exercise, it now demands:

□ No return of the SPG

□ Scrap sus now
□ A police-community watch committee to monitor police activity.

The local Labour Council has also opposed the use of 'sus' and the SPG operation, and called for an inquiry into police activity.

The Lambeth Central Labour Party GMC meeting on February 22nd passed a resolution calling for a Home Office inquiry into the incident at the CCR and into police action generally, and welcoming the proposal that Lambeth Council initiate a local inquiry.

Already local anti-racist activists and community workers are meeting with members of the council to discuss the terms of reference of any inquiry and its composition.

Meanwhile in HACKNEY, where the SPG turned their attention after Lambeth, black people have organised their own defence organisation in the wake of the murder of Michael Ferreira (a West Indian youth slaughtered by racists) and a series of police attacks on the black community.

A police raid on the home of the Morris family led to the arrest of their three sons and the ransacking of their home. After a 4½-hour interrogation, Neal Morris was released, but his brother Osmond was kicked, punched, threatened with a gun and finally charged with non-payment of a fine which had been paid years before. Philip Morris was held for 36 hours, beaten, had his head pushed down a lavatory bowl, and was punched and slapped and constantly told to stand or sit, he was given no food or drink, and refused access to a phone.

Two fronts

Another raid resulted in the arrest of Dennis and Lee Samuel. They too were beaten, given the toilet-bowl treatment, and harassed until they finally confessed to a number of thefts which they had not committed.

The Hackney and Tower Hamlets area has hitherto faced harassment from the racists organised by the NF and other fascist bodies. Now there is a war on two fronts. The Hackney Labour Parties, which have taken a strong line of support for black self-defence, must come to the aid of the black community in that fight.

Smoothing over the struggle

by JOHN COSBY & GRAHAM BASH

BETWEEN 1970 and 1974 the bosses tried to deal with the working class by direct confrontation, through the Tory Government. The miners' strike of 1974, and the downfall of the Heath government, marked their defeat. A Labour government came to power. Labour had promised a 'fundamental shift in the balance of wealth and power in favour of working people and their families'. Instead we got the Social Contract. The deal was that the gov-

'It shall be lawful for one or more persons in contemplation or furtherance of a trade dispute to attend at or near —

a) A place where another person works or carries on business;

b) Any other place where another person happens to be, not being a place where he resides'.

Conspiracy and Unlawful Assembly charges can still be used against pickets.

The right of picketing still depends much more on the balance of forces than on the law. As the *Labour Research Department* put it, the law gave 'Little more than the

The Labour Government has also positively restricted trade union action by making trespass a criminal (not civil) offence in certain cases. It introduced the law on the pretext that it was needed to prevent squatters occupying homes of people who were (for example) away on holiday. It can be used by the police to arrest workers occupying a factory, and in one case already (Smiths Crisps, Aintree) it has been used to stop an occupation by the threat of legal action.

The Government never intended to help workers with their disputes. What it wanted was to smooth over dis-

the company was given a further two months in which to reply.

The company's reply was, in any case, No. And that was that.

UNFAIR

The Industrial Relations Act had contained some clauses on redress for unfair dismissal. They were incorporated in the new Act with some improvements, and further strengthened by the Employment Protection Act. Unfair dismissal cases have been going to tribunals by the thousand — but most-

So much for Employment Protection.

The same Act has also given some new legal rights to have time off for trade union and public duties, and guaranteed payments for lay-offs — but these guarantees do not apply to workers laid off because of an industrial dispute, or who 'unreasonably refuse' to do alternative work, or who fail to comply with 'reasonable requirements'. The minimum payments are so low anyway that many collective agreements achieve much more.

The Employment Protection Act extended the minimum period of notice that an employer must give under the Contracts of Employment Act of 1972. It improved conditions for maternity leave, job security during pregnancy, and maternity pay for full time workers who had been in the same job for at least two years.

It is also supposed to give the trade unions new rights to be consulted about redundancies and to have information disclosed to them by companies. However, there is no legal compulsion on employers to take any notice of union objections to redundancies or to disclose any information they do not want to disclose!

The Equal Pay Act came into force in 1975, but it is not one of this Government's laws. It was originally introduced by Barbara Castle in 1970, giving the bosses five years to 'make preparations'.

The Act says that a woman is entitled to equal pay if she is employed on the 'same or broadly similar' work as a man, and if her job has been rated equivalent to a man's under a job evaluation scheme. If a woman's job falls into either of these categories and she is not getting equal pay she can apply to an industrial tribunal.

The loopholes of the Act and the pro-boss bias of the tribunals, between them, have ensured that equal pay is a farce.

Many bosses used their five years' grace to get in grading schemes which put their women workers on lower grades than the men. Millions of women workers are stuck anyway in low-paid jobs where women are the vast majority and there are few 'comparable' men.

Even for those women workers who do come under the Act, there were dozens of get-outs.

Part-time women workers have no right to the same hourly rate as full-time male workers doing exactly the same job, so one tribunal said. Women workers doing more demanding or skilled jobs than male fellow-workers can quite legally be paid less than them. At the Trico factory in west London the Tribunal decided that it was all right for men to be paid more than women for identical work because the men used to do a night shift.

Another firm had 'inspectors' (male) and 'viewers' (female) doing the same job. They got over the problem by creating a single grade at the lower, female, rate of pay — and paying the existing male staff a special bonus to 'maintain their old rate of pay'. The Tribunal swallowed that too.



High Court re-wrote Labour's law to say this man had no right to picket

And even if the Tribunal does decide in favour of the woman worker, there is no immediate legal compulsion on the boss to pay up. If he refuses, getting redress is a long and complex legal process.

Women's average weekly pay is still far below that of men's — and the gap is actually getting wider.

The record is no better on the Sex Discrimination Act.

The Labour government's law-making efforts have produced a bonanza for the trade union leaders in terms of boards, committees, tribunals and quangos to get seats on. But for the working class they have meant few gains — and four and a half years during which the trade union leaders spared no effort to achieve by stealth and treachery what the Tories failed to achieve by open class war.



Grunwicks — the law was no use to us

ernment would give trade unions new legal rights in return for 'cooperation', especially in the field of wage restraint.

The deal has turned out to be a very one-sided affair. The new legal rights — generally only marginal improvements — have scarcely been used to effect because of the union leaders' overriding concern with keeping Labour's boat steady. They have at times acted as more effective strikebreakers than the Industrial Relations Act and its National Industrial Relations Court ever were.

The government's first move was the repeal of the Industrial Relations Act by the 1974 Trade Union and Labour Relations Act. This law clearly re-stated the legal right of peaceful picketing:

right for two pickets at the most to stand at each factory gate, holding non-offensive placards and standing on one side and bowing graciously as the blacklegs ride triumphantly by'.

COURT

During the lorry drivers' strike a court ruled that the right to picket as laid down by the Trade Union and Labour Relations Act was meant to be even narrower. The conclusion was that picketing of workplaces not directly involved in the trade dispute is not a legal right, and that such actions are vulnerable to lawsuits for damages, and more vulnerable than other picketing to police charges of obstruction etc.

putes with as little struggle as possible. Another measure along these lines was the setting up in September 1974 of the Advisory, Conciliation and Arbitration Service (ACAS). Its role was to prevent what Harold Wilson called the 'manifestly avoidable stoppages of production'.

Jack Jones commented: 'Under the Labour Government a good independent service is being developed and I believe workers should use it as an alternative to the strike weapon'.

Just how beneficial ACAS has been to trade unionists was shown by the Grunwick strike. It took ACAS over two months to ballot the Grunwick employees, then it finally published its report over four weeks later. When ACAS eventually did come out in favour of union recognition,

ly to little avail.

Even if the industrial tribunal finds the dismissal is unfair, and even if it orders reinstatement (which happens in only 2% of cases) the employer still has the right to choose to pay increased compensation. Bosses can still victimise militants — they just have to pay a bit more for the privilege.

SACKINGS

Moreover, mass sackings are quite safe under the law. A boss can sack workers on 'strike or other industrial action' ... provided they are all treated alike. Only if one worker is picked out from among the strikers can he or she complain to an industrial tribunal!

A safety law with loopholes

IN OCTOBER 1978 the regulations for safety representatives and safety committees — the most important part of the Health and Safety Act 1974 — finally came into force.

They give workers the right to appoint safety reps, have safety committees, to investigate their workplaces and to look into complaints.

But the original proposals of the TUC and the Health and Safety Commission have been very much watered down. For instance, it was originally intended that safety reps would have the power to stop unsafe work. Reasonable enough — if you wait until there is an accident or people are suffering from industrial diseases, then it is too late.

But in the final version workers' safety reps have no such power; only government

inspectors do. Workers' safety reps can call in a Factory Inspector — but that can take time.

The bosses organisation, the CBI, still argues that the powers of Safety reps are too wide and that this will 'make British industry less competitive' internationally — in other words, threaten to extract a few quid of their profits. They will no doubt do what they can to make life hard for safety reps.

For one thing, the safety reps are union appointees; if the employer refuses to recognise a union, then the workers cannot appoint safety reps.

Possible penalties for employers' breaches of safety are pretty limited. With the help of sympathetic magistrates and judges, the bosses will get away with murder for the price of a small fine.

Moreover, the Act obliges employers to pay attention to safety only if the cost is 'reasonable'. Workers are asked to risk their health if the risk is 'insignificant' in relation to the cost of safety measures.

The definition of 'reasonable' and 'insignificant' will be in the last resort up to judges, who can be trusted to turn words like that into gaping loopholes.

The rights granted by the Act should be used to the full — and every trade unionist should get a copy of the Labour Research Guide for Safety Representatives (LRD, 78 Blackfriars Road, SE1). But the law will never be a substitute for militant collective action to force the bosses to respect workers' safety.

AL CRISP



Whatever the danger, the line must keep running

One by one, Labour's London strongholds are falling to the Far Left. Lambeth, led by Marxist Ted Knight, is typical of the new sophisticated approach
FERDINAND MOUNT reports...



TED KNIGHT
—The Peoples Republic
Lambeth
but effective
inwards
UDI...

How the Red Knight gambit is paying off

GEORGE Orwell's 1984, Room 101 is Big Brother's ultimate torture chamber, the place that contains "the worst thing in the world." Room 102, on the other hand, is a pleasant, friendly sort of place, and there you will find Ted Knight hard at work.

Mr Knight is the Labour leader of Lambeth Council. He is a tidy, stocky man with a thin nose and a thin cigar. He may not exactly put you at your ease, but he is courteous, articulate and probably wide-awake. In many ways, he looks like the sort of energetic executive the Labour Party needs to wake up the day we have in their honor-city.

Nationalise everything

LAMBETH GETS THE STANDARD TREATMENT

by GEOFF BENDER

'GET LAMBETH' seems to be the editorial brief to journalists working on London's *Evening Standard*. In two major articles in October last year and February this, Lambeth's Labour Council and its leader, Ted Knight, have come in for the sort of treatment usually reserved for pickets.

Ted Knight is a leading supporter of the SCLV, whose platform the *Evening Standard* describes as a 'remarkable document' which declares that we will not 'remain loyal to any manifesto which does not promise to settle accounts with capitalism, nationalise everything in sight and effectively support the IRA'.

SUBURBS

Though this might send shivers down the spines of the homebound commuters on their way to the suburbs it is an accurate but scarcely comprehensive account of our policies. Their account of Lambeth Council is similarly and luridly selective.

The articles are full of images of Orwellian dictatorships, of arm-twisting and infiltration mingled with accusations of 'spendthrift socialism' — by which they mean the attempt to pit the limited resources at the council's disposal against the array of inner-city problems which they themselves acknowledge to be 'heartbreaking'.

Behind the rampant paranoia of the articles there seems to be a grudging respect for the work which the left wing has put in and is putting in to change the nature of the Labour Party and tackle at least some of the problems of the borough.

The greatest fear of those who run the *Standard* is that the 'Red Knight Gambit' might just pay off.

What is the truth behind the *ES* articles? Is Lambeth really a 'Peoples Republic' which has 'declared UDI from Treasury control'? Do the ratepayers of Tory Streatham meet secretly to exchange samizdat literature and talk in whispers in fear of the Town Hall's secret

police and the hordes of Red Guards camped out in the decaying estates in the north of the borough? Are legions of 'Trots' waiting in the wings to take the places of aging right-wingers who succumb to their secret weapon 'Anno Domini'?

What is true is that council rents in Lambeth have been frozen for as long as pay control lasts.

What is true is that Lambeth Council, the largest employer in the borough, has expanded its labour force by 10% a year and continues to do so in the face of the cuts the Labour government wish to see implemented.

And what is true is that Lambeth intends to expand its direct labour force which is essential to the programmes of estate modernisation and maintenance that the council is committed to.

These are achievements to be proud of, and which should be the elementary duties of any Labour council.

It is true, too, that the left in Lambeth and throughout London has waged a struggle against what the *Standard* calls the 'middle class reformers and moderate working class Labour loyalists' — people in the tradition of Herbert Morrison and Bob Mellish. But as for allegedly controlling the London Labour Party, that fight still goes on.

But how has the left won control in Lambeth?

For the *ES* anyone to the left of the Labour leadership seems to be an 'entryist'. They confuse in a laughable muddle the politics of Knight, John Tilley, Stuart Holland and middle of the road Labour councillor Paul Ormerod.

MODERATE

The view of the left packing defunct wards, of 'putting the frighteners on elderly Labour MPs' and 'conspiring to remove younger moderate MPs' like Prentice and Sandelson is not one which will be recognisable to many Labour Party activists. Nor the idea that all the left has to do is 'just sit quietly, work and wait (and) the ripe fruit will plop into their hands'.

The truth is that harassment and little participation from the ranks has been the stock-in-trade of what the *Standard* likes to call 'moderates': moderates like the right wing who kept Ted Knight and many other activists out of the party for ten years; moderates who would sooner close down a party like Islington North than face a political fight with the left; moderates like Prentice who would sooner change parties than listen to the voice of Labour's rank and file.

Yes, as the *Evening Standard* says, accountability is the doctrine of the left — 'not to one's conscience but to policies mandated by party workers'. And that's right. Far from waiting for ripe fruit to fall, the SCLV intends to fight for the kinds of policies and representatives that will induce yet more paroxysms of paranoia from the *Standard's* writers.

STAGNANT

In Lambeth, the battle has not been between old and young councillors — Ted Knight is ten years older than the previous Leader — nor has it been fought by harassment and intimidation, nor by buying votes. It has been a political fight to transform old Labour Parties: Norwood, the left's base in the borough, is the largest party (with over 1000 members) while right wing Vauxhall remains stagnant with little more than 300.

That political fight has not been won yet. Ted Knight may be 'the first open and proud Marxist to rule a London borough' but there are many in the Labour Group less resolute in their politics, and the problems are intractable.

Labour Party activists in Lambeth including the SCLV supporters on the council and among the party's rank and file will be working to ensure that the fight which brought Knight and Lambeth to the attention of the *Evening Standard* will continue. It has, after all, only just begun.

We look forward to further and even more outraged articles in the *Evening Standard*.

Why we were robbed of Wandsworth

by MICHAEL WARD

EC member of the Greater London Regional Council of the Labour Party, and Secretary of Wandsworth Labour Local Government committee.

ONE Labour London borough after another is announcing record rate increases.

Islington, Brent, Camden and Lambeth are all putting rates up by amounts ranging as high as 40%. In this context the experience of Labour Wandsworth between 1971 and 1978 is of critical importance.

There are not many ways of running a Labour Council in a poor area of London. Rates can be kept low and services inadequate. Or you can campaign for some services to be run on a London-wide basis — equalising London's financial resources. Or you can campaign for increased grant aid from the Government.

Finally, when all else fails, the Labour Left paddles its own canoe, and embarks on a policy of improving borough services by increasing borough rates. It was this last tactic that Wandsworth's Labour Group pursued.

A hundred and fifty years of capitalist development have left London a patchwork of sharply differing communities.

RICHER

Poor areas with a big majority of poor people and poor housing and amenities elect Labour representatives. But the quality of life for people in those areas cannot be improved without access to the resources of the richer areas: their land (Bromley's land, Kingston's land) on which to build houses; or their money, to equalise the costs of providing services across London.

So what has happened over the last few years, in terms of the four strategies outlined above?

First, some boroughs above all the East End — are still in the low rates, low services trap. Second, there has been a collapse of London-wide attempts to meet London's needs. It is in this context that the last Labour GLC's abandonment of the Strategic Housing Plan is most serious: it represent-

ed the moral collapse of the Labour Party's historic commitment to attempting a London-wide solution to the housing crisis.

Subsequent Tory policies seem likely to lead to the end of any London housing strategy whatever.

Third, although the Government has increased Rate Support Grant to London, this has been in a context of public spending cuts, and has not been sufficient to prevent the choice between rate increases or cuts.

CUTS

In Wandsworth, Labour's 1974 Manifesto said 'The Labour Party does not want to stay in power to cut services, simply in order to reduce the rates'. And in 1975, when the Government began to try to enforce public spending cuts, the Labour Group rejected all cuts. It maintained this position right up to the May 1978 elections. Building programmes were maintained, no staff were sacked, no posts frozen, so social service charges increased — in fact many were reduced or abolished, and all means tests went, to...

Wandsworth was short of facilities for the mentally ill and mentally handicapped. It was short of day centres for the elderly, and above all of nurseries. Building of all these was stepped up — when government permission to borrow was refused, building continued, paid for out of the rates. A programme of factory building, and assistance to worker cooperatives, was established, to try to reduce local unemployment.

And in both 1977 and 1978, the rates went up by 25%.

What conclusions should be drawn from the Wandsworth Labour Council's subsequent electoral defeat? The ultra-right 'Campaign for a Labour Victory' were in no doubt: in their newsletter they exulted at the downfall of Wandsworth.

Not that the defeat (by a narrow margin) should be attributed altogether to the rates question — there was much dissatisfaction, most of it justified, with Labour's record on housing management and maintenance.

But two points stand out:

first of all, when a Labour Council goes out on a limb and breaks out of the ordinary range of dignified municipal activities, it is essential to campaign continuously and publicly, inside the party and among the electorate, to explain the political case for what is being done.

Second, rate-raising as a 'means of building socialism' can only go so far: valuable gains can be made, and services improved. But in the end you are relieving poverty by taxing the poor.

In the absence of national or London-wide solutions, the debate can only turn next to the relationship between local government and financial institutions. The demand that Labour Councils should withhold interest repayments has often been misunderstood. It is not that the banks and insurance companies would carry on as if nothing had happened if a Labour Council ended interest payments. It is not intended as a day-to-day solution to the problems of Council finance.

Rather, it is a way in which Labour Councils could use their power, in the interests of the people they represent, to provoke a confrontation with the government and the financial institutions on the matter of who pays for local services — a confrontation which would inevitably have far wider implications.

POPLAR

Every crisis in local government in London — the first rate equalisation scheme in the late nineteenth century, the imprisonment of the Poplar Councillors in 1921, the present spate of high rate increases — has its origins in the contradictions between acute needs in the poorer areas of London, and untouchable resources in the richer areas. In Poplar, said the imprisoned Councillors in their pamphlet 'Guilty and Proud Of It', 'It is well known that the poor are robbed because they are poor, and poor because they are robbed'.

Unless the working class movement of London today strikes that note in its propaganda, and takes on the financial institutions, it may be that we shall be robbed of Lambeth and Camden, just as we were robbed of Wandsworth.

Oxford right restore proscriptions rule

by NIK BARSTOW

A CAMPAIGN has begun in Oxford against the expulsion from the Constituency Labour Party of one of its Executive Committee members, Ted Heslin. Heslin was expelled from the party at its January GMC meeting by a very narrow margin of 37 votes to 35, for the 'crime' of supporting the policies of the Workers' Socialist League and selling the paper Socialist Press.

The union branch from which Heslin was a delegate to the GMC and of which he is chairman, ACTSS 5/833, set up a campaign in the local labour movement against the expulsion, at a meeting on February 7th. It is appealing

for support from wards and affiliated union branches in Oxford. Heslin is also appealing to the NEC.

The moves for the expulsion came from rightwingers who have also succeeded in barring two local trade unionists, Ken Williamson and Peter McIntyre, from membership on the same pretext. Today Labour Party rules contain no 'proscribed organisations', and the WSL has never been proscribed... but for the right wing, even supporting the policies put forward by a revolutionary tendency is a crime.

The right wing have been happy to gang up the local Tory press in Oxford to run a smear campaign. A local free advertising paper, the 'Oxford Journal', described Heslin as the 'Mojo no.2', taking up from where the national press campaign against Alan

Thornett, a leading Cowley car plant militant, left off. The right wing were quoted in this rag as 'spokesmen' (though anonymous ones) for the Labour Party, saying that "Everyone has a right to their own views, but these people are not eligible for membership of the Labour Party."

Every socialist should have the right to put forward their views in the Labour Party. It is the right wing, who are happy to use the Tory press to interfere in the labour movement, and who use any device to avoid having to answer for their politics, who have no place in the Labour Party.

Activists in the CLPs where the MP is on the National Executive Committee should press them to vote against Ted Heslin's expulsion when his appeal comes up.

WHY LABOUR MUST BACK GAY RIGHTS

by IAN DUNN
NEC member of the Scottish Homosexual Right Group, and Vice-Chairperson of Broughton/Inverleith Labour Party
and JOHN MACDONALD

SOME COMRADES IN THE Labour Party who consider themselves left wing argue against 'gay caucuses', and say that the existence of these caucuses divides the labour movement. Some go further: 'there shouldn't be any active support for the gay movement as such because they (gays) are outside the labour movement. They should join the Labour Party'.

We reject this line. Those who hold it fail to see that the only way to unite the movement in those instances is to support the right of gays to organise separately.

DIVISIVE

We believe all socialists should support minority groups who are struggling against their oppression by this divisive capitalist society. Comrades who do not support the autonomous struggles are scabbing on those struggles. You will not get oppressed groups to align themselves with the labour movement if you expect — almost as a precondition of your support — that they first join our wonderful social-democratic Labour Party.

What is the gay struggle about? The Labour Government presides over a mass of reactionary legislation. In 1976 it confirmed the law which outlaws all sex acts between men in Scotland.

The Lord Advocate, Labour MP Ronald King Murray, stated that he would not prosecute in cases where the men were 21 or over and sex was in private.

Thanks for the crumbs, my Lord Advocate. In any case, he cannot bind his successors in office and his policy could easily change, whatever new government takes over later on this year.

Gays live in fear. And they claim, with some justification, that the Labour Party in general has ignored their interests. With scarcely a murmur of protest, the Party has allowed the Government to maintain the anti-homosexual law in Scotland and the Sexual Offences Act of 1967 in England and Wales.

The English law sets the age of consent at 21 (as compared with 16 for heterosexuals) and imposes petty limits to the meaning of privacy as it applies to homosexuals.

Such laws, which can only masquerade as liberal because the pre-'67 law was so outrageously barbaric, are in reality completely reactionary.

Militant gay activists have little to fear. They are out in the open. This is the best way to handle the whole question. But the woman who realises that men are irrelevant to her sexual needs, or the man who is just beginning to admit that he is gay — and these people number hundreds of thou-

sands — are faced by parents and friends saying (or thinking) that they are 'criminal' and 'unnatural'.

The Labour Government showed its full colours when in the run-up to the 1978 Hamilton by-election the Labour Chief Whip tried to persuade Labour MP Robin Cook to withdraw his Bill to reform the Scottish law on homosexuality.

As long as the Labour Party has absolutely no policy in support of Gay Rights, these dismal stories will continue.

Three gay people, two men and one woman, have recently taken the UK Government to the European Court of Human Rights over the medieval Scottish laws. Their action will add to the growing catalogue of cases against the British state which have reached Strasbourg. (Treatment in prison, corporal punishment in schools, discrimination against gays in northern Ireland, torture in northern Ireland, are other issues.) The Labour Government has been in power for eleven out of the past fifteen years ... and their record on human rights speaks for itself.

The Strasbourg court can't solve the problem, though it may highlight it. The way forward is for homosexuals to organise together and with the support of the labour movement.

The Scottish Homosexual Rights Group (SHRG, formerly Scottish Minorities Group) has published the 'Declaration of the Rights of Homosexual Men and Women' (*). SHRG is planning to hold Trades Union Seminars in Edinburgh and Glasgow and will campaign through affiliated trade union branches for local Trades Council backing. The Scottish TUC now supports demands for a reform of the law, and James Milne, STUC General Secretary, is a Vice-President of SHRG in personal capacity.

TEACHERS

Employment issues are central to this work. Teachers are particularly vulnerable. They have been struck off the Register for quite minor homosexual 'offences'. The SHRG is campaigning within the EIS (the Scottish teachers' union) and the Labour Party to get the General Teaching Council for Scotland to state that homosexual teachers will no longer be struck off.

The support of non-gay workers is very necessary if even basic employment rights are to be guaranteed to gay teachers and other workers in the so-called 'sensitive areas'.

The Labour Campaign for Gay Rights has been formed nationally in the Labour Party. So far, the Campaign has been confined to leafletting conferences and holding fringe meetings, or sending speakers to YS groups. This gradual work must be stepped up to have a wider impact.

[*Copies of the Declaration plus supporting pamphlets are free, from SHRG, 60 Broughton Street, Edinburgh EH1 3SA].

How Lambeth are fighting

Lambeth Council leader TED KNIGHT gives his views on local government finance and the fight to maintain public services.

LAMBETH IS an inner city borough with all the problems of social deprivation and physical decay. Bad housing, high density estates, lack of open space and amenity provision have reduced the quality of life for the majority of citizens.

Continuing high unemployment, particularly among black youth, has brought further desperation to an already deprived com-

munity. It is against that background that the newly elected Labour Council has to work.

A bold programme of municipalisation, of physical alteration to existing estates, new recreation facilities, and additional support to the elderly, young and handicapped, has been started. Vigorous action against bad absentee landlords to improve the lot of private sector tenants is also underway.

A race relations unit to monitor institutionalised racism in all areas of Council activity has been set up.

Local community groups, neighbourhood councils and tenants' associations have been brought into the discussion of the Council's programme.

How do we finance such a programme? Our argument is that central government must direct resources into

the inner cities.

Recognition of this need was given when Lambeth and other boroughs were brought into the Partnership schemes. But in reality, this has meant an injection of only £5 million per year of which the Council has itself to finance 25%. At the same time, another source of funding, the locally determined allocation, has been slashed. The area health budget too has been cut.

The Partnership money is being used to offset these and previous cuts. So a much heralded inner city initiative turns into little else than a cosmetic exercise.

The fight with central government continues. It is a fight which the Labour Movement as a whole must wage against Callaghan and his cabinet. It is linked with the struggle on the wages front and the economic policies being pursued ag-

ainst the wishes of the Labour Party conference and the TUC.

To fund our programme we have had to raise the balance of cash required from the ratepayers. An increase of something over £1.00 per week has to be levied from the average family in Lambeth.

Not to do so would have meant not only to stop all growth but also to cut existing services.

We gave advance warning of the projected rate increase, placing full responsibility on the government for its failure to provide the necessary resources.

Lambeth is not alone. Other Labour boroughs face the same choice.

We should not apologise for carrying out the programme on which we were elected. Nor should we hesitate to place the responsibility where it lies.

WOMEN'S LIB, OR WOMEN'S INSTITUTE?

THE London Labour Women's conference (January 27th) showed up this Labour women's section as an empty, outdated and unrepresentative shell. About two-thirds of the delegates were over 60, there was no creche, and the best organised events were lunch, tea and the raffle.

There were only 15 resolutions on the agenda. The main contention, over a 'law and order' resolution and one on child-care facilities, revealed some amazingly backward attitudes.

The law and order resolution might have been sent in by a hard-line JP. It included a 'call on the judiciary to deal with offenders in a more real-

istic way' and declared that 'some sentences are totally inadequate'.

The main body of conference was clearly against the resolution, and many delegates commented that it should have been on a Tory agenda. But the EC insisted it be referred back so it could be rewritten in a 'better form'.

The EC [apparently elected by post] just didn't represent the conference such as it was. Women were addressed as 'dear'.

And when it came to the resolution calling for free day-care facilities for children, the EC intervened to 'stress the importance of mothering'.

This, we were told, was a woman's prime task and responsibility, and apparently only disregarded by the callous middle class. The EC recommended rejection.

There was uproar and the motion was carried — but 25 out of 70 voted against.

The conference was notable for the absence of women activists such as those organised around LARC. As it exists this women's section is no more than the total opposite of what it should be. Feminists and militant working class women will never be attracted to a body which is used to hivel off women from the mainstream of the Labour

Party. But the women's sections can be revitalised by the presence in and around the Party who are fighting women's economic and sexual oppression. Our organised pressure could not only shake up the Party, but also attract women's movement activists to the Labour Party.

We have shown this can be done, with the newly formed Brent East women's section, which has already attracted women party activists and established links with Brent Women's Centre.

ANGELA SHARIFF
Brent East Women's Section

The Greater London Regional Conference of the Labour Party is on 3/4 March. KEN LIVINGSTONE, a member of the Regional Council, a Camden councillor, and prospective parliamentary candidate for Hampstead, calls for the left in the London Labour Party to get organised.



GIVEN all the usual red-baiting in the media, we often overlook some of the fundamental weakness of the left inside the Labour Party and relax in the comfortable illusion that if the press says the left are taking over the party, it must be true.

Unfortunately, nothing could be further from the truth. The left have been split over the issue of a res-

ponse to the NUPE strike and are giving no thought to the impending GLC election.

Already the right have started to organise to revive the discredited old guard who were responsible for the disgusting record of the last Labour GLC between 1973 and 1977. The movement must not forget that that GLC was responsible for

- Massive fare increases which did more to drive people from public transport than the present Tory administration has done.

- £150 million-worth of cuts in the housing programme, which sank the Strategic Housing Plan on which all our efforts to tackle London's housing problems were based.

- Increased rents while maintenance was slashed.

- Increased unemployment by winding up many jobs through 'natural wastage'.

MOTLEY

- Appointing a Tory parliamentary candidate to run the Direct Labour Department.

Yet the people responsible for these 'errors' (and only a sample from the full charge-sheet are listed above) have already been rehabilitated.

Jim Daly, the Transport-cutting chairman, has been selected for a Euro-constituency, and others from the grave such as Balfe and Judge (the housing cuts 'experts') are getting ready to return and finish the demolition job they started on the housing programme.

Those who have a commit-

ment to a socialist GLC need to start organising now if this motley crew are to be prevented from discrediting the Labour Party in the eyes of the electorate for a second time in a decade.

In June, the Greater London Regional Council is setting up working parties to prepare the election manifesto and this will be submitted to a delegate conference in Autumn 1980. All affiliated organisations will be entitled to amend the draft manifesto and unlike previous years, there will be votes taken which will be binding on the executive when it draws up the final manifesto.

Gone are the old days when the conference was told it was being 'consulted' and then it was left to some paid GLC officer to draw up a totally unrelated 'officers' manifesto.

The candidates who are selected must be bound by the manifesto, which must give a clear lead in the direction of a fare-free system for public transport and a massive expansion in the housing programme under an expanded direct labour organisation.

There must be a major effort to get ordinary rank and file party members to stand for the GLC and ensure that it is more representative of the party as a whole than previous Labour GLCs. The panel of candidates will open in the Autumn of this year and comrades must be urged to stand if we are to make any progress in dislodging those who are already starting to engineer their way back.

Each GMC must start on a full re-selection with alternative candidates — that is the policy of the London Labour movement and it must be followed even in the few remaining 'rotten borough' parties where only a handful of councillors and their cronies keep the party dormant.

There is now a desperate need for a London-wide left caucus of those interested in the GLC and local councils so that we can compare and discuss what is happening in each borough.

LOCAL

The recent NUPE strike and the widely different response from socialists in each borough was a great weakness. In the coming months the left must fully debate and discuss the question of how a left council should respond to wage claims and the whole issue of local negotiations. We need to consider if it is enough just to issue statements of support, or should we not be demanding local settlements in order to break the employers' front.

Should Labour councils surrender their rights to negotiate wages to Tory-controlled national bodies?

Comrades have to ask if we are not opening the door for a Tory government's wage restraint. If we have not broken with a Labour government's wage policy locally, how easy will it be to suddenly about-face, or will we be told that even under a Tory government we cannot break ranks and fight for local settlements?

Stop this war

TANKS ON the streets, army patrols on every corner, barbed-wire barricades, house-to-house searches in the middle of the night. No, this is not Vietnam or some distant land. This is the North of Ireland.

Ten years ago British troops were sent in to 'keep the peace' and restore order. Ten years later, there is more conflict and suffering, more hostility to the Northern Ireland set-up (especially from amongst the Catholics), and more anger against the British Army. Britain's last ten years in Ireland, like its previous 800, have brought no peace.

In this country, under a law supposed to deal with terrorists, 3,782 people have been arrested. Very few have been charged, and only 13 have been convicted, under this law. Just on the say-so of the police and the Home Secretary, people can be detained for up to 12 days, and 165 have been deported to Northern Ireland — which is supposed to be part of the same country as Britain.

TV writers, producers, and technicians have protested against censorship imposed on coverage of the Irish war.

We believe the silence on Ireland must be broken in this election.

No Juries, No Justice

In Northern Ireland:

People remanded in custody by the security forces are held without trial for an average of thirteen months. Britain has been convicted in the European Court of Human Rights of using interrogation methods most of us would call torture.

The courts used to try these detainees are special 'Diplock' courts with no juries. The rule in these courts is 'guilty until proved innocent'. The courts can accept hearsay evidence and confessions very possibly beaten out of the accused by the Royal Ulster Constabulary or the Army. And there is no right of cross examination against this evidence.

Not surprisingly, the courts convict 92% of the people who come before them. **Can this be justice?**

Some say this terror is necessary to stop terrorism. The truth is that Irish nationalists are fighting a war against an occupying army.

Sending thousands of British working class youngsters to Ireland to continue a bloody battle serves the interest of neither British nor Irish working people. The British Army has no business being in Ireland.

The Army's presence is merely prolonging the agony before the day when Irish people, north and south, will decide their own future. Britain's presence in Ireland has meant oppression and suffering for hundreds of years. Ireland's problems will not even begin to be solved until the country is united and independent.

The Only Way To Peace

We call for a drastic change in policy. **Stop the repression of the people of Ireland. Recognise their democratic right to determine their own future without interference from Britain.**

We support those who are fighting and campaigning for a united Ireland. Your Labour Party wants the next Labour Government to stop having the same policy on Ireland as the Tories, to have no alliance with the Ulster Unionists (the Northern Ireland Tories), and to return to the Labour Party's policy of 1921: **Self-determination for Ireland.**

For decades the Tory Party has been closely linked with the reactionary big-businessmen and landlords in Northern Ireland who run the Orange Order and keep the present conflict going. **Get the Tories out.**

Vote Labour, and join us in working for:

the immediate withdrawal of the Army from Ireland

the end of the Orange Northern Order, and a United Ireland

Vote Labour for women's rights

THE TORIES say they are the party of the family. But they don't seem to care much for the people who make up those families — especially the women.

■ ■ The Tories want to cut nursery facilities drastically. Women will have to give up their jobs, creating hardship and unhappiness for mother and child.

■ ■ Many Tories want to scrap the 1967 Abortion Act and restrict a woman's right to decide whether to have a child or not.

■ ■ The Tories did away with school milk and raised the price of school dinners.

■ ■ The Tories condemn women when they take action to better their wages and conditions. They stand for the employers' interests and against working women.

A Woman's Place

WHEN THE TORIES talk about strengthening the family, they mean women should be the first to lose their jobs. Home and hearth should be the limits of women's ambition, in the Tory view of the world.

Pressure from women and the trade unions has led to the Labour Government passing laws to stop discrimination against women over pay and job opportunities.

There's still a long way to go. Despite the Equal Pay

Act and the Sex Discrimination Act, the reality for women is:

■ ■ On average they still earn much less than men

■ ■ The employers have made a mockery of the Sex Discrimination Act. Women are still mostly confined to low-paid traditional women's jobs, like teaching, nursing, and clerical work.

■ ■ Many women find themselves pushed out of jobs by new technology, the cuts, rationalisation, and closures.

What Labour Wants

BUT WOMEN are organising in the trade unions and on the estates, and beginning to fight back for their rights.

Successive Labour Party conferences have reflected this. Resolutions have been passed calling for an end to discrimination, for better nursery provision, and for a woman's right to choose on abortion.

Your local Labour Party will be fighting for the next Labour Government to act in line with these resolutions. Vote Labour — and join us in the fight to ensure that the Labour Government acts in our interests and not the interests of the bosses and the bankers.

■ ■ Free abortion and contraception on demand

■ ■ Women's equal right to work

■ ■ Full equality for women

Vote Labour, but make sure Labour backs the fight for women's rights.

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on leaflets to really hit at Tory ideas. Four other drafts
in the last Socialist Organiser. Get your local CLP to use them.