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Labour
Party

Socialist ORGANISER

Election
Special
10p

Paper of the Socialist Organiser Alliance No. 135 Special Issue June 6 1983 10p

VOTE LABOUR

- and keep on FIGHTING!

For JOBS. Unemployment is not inevitable. It is caused by a system where workers are employed only if it is profitable, and where employers use mass unemployment as a political weapon. Labour promises increased spending on health, education and social services, and increased public investment in housing, rail electrification, etc. So far, so good. But the labour movement also needs to fight directly for jobs instead of just waiting for the effects of increased public spending to trickle through. An immediate 35 hour week, and work-sharing with no loss of pay; opening the books of companies declaring redundancies, and fighting for workers' plans; extending nationalisation into profitable sectors, to acquire the resources to plan production for need - these are the answers.

For PEACE. Trident, Cruise and other nuclear weapons are nothing to do with defending us. Their purpose is to enable the British government to act as a big-power bully on a world scale. In a nuclear war almost everyone except the favoured few in their bunkers would be wiped out. We gain nothing from the fact that Thatcher can press a button to wipe out millions in the USSR and East Europe. Scrap the Bomb! The alternative is not more power for the generals who are strengthening their conventional forces for 'counter-insurgency', but citizen's defence: militias based on universal military training and labour movement/community control.

For PUBLIC SERVICES. The Tories say "we can't afford" better health, education, housing, social services. In truth we can't afford to have the Tories whittling down these services, privatising as much as they can, and directing money to private profits, to tax cuts for the rich, to the arms drive and to 'Fortress Falklands'.

For WAGES. The Tories aim to protect capitalism from workers' wage demands by cash limits and mass unemployment; the Alliance and Labour's right wing, by incomes policies. The answer should be to protect workers' wages from the profit system - by a legal minimum wage, and automatic monthly wage increases in line with a working class price index.

For WOMEN'S RIGHTS. All the work done by women unpaid in the home instead of public services is a free gift to capitalism - and a block to any real equality for women. Women need to fight not only for stronger equality laws but also for more services, more nurseries and the right to a job.

The labour movement isn't just the top leaders. The fight goes on after June 9.

For BLACK RIGHTS. Immigration controls exist only because of racism. Vast categories of white people can enter Britain freely. Black people don't cause unemployment, they suffer from it. Racist divisions poison the working class and weaken it in struggle. Immigration controls should be scrapped, together with the whole system of deportations, passport checks and racist harassment that flows from them.

For IRELAND. The Northern Ireland state, created by the artificial British-imposed partition of Ireland, is sectarian and undemocratic by its very nature. The policy of successive British governments has been simply to try to stabilise the state by repression of the oppressed Catholic minority. This policy can never bring peace. It brings only more repression - including to Britain, through the Prevention of Terrorism Act. Official Labour Party policy calls for a united Ireland, but in immediate practical terms proposes no break from the policy of beating down the Catholics. The Irish people as a whole should have the right to self-determination: British troops should be withdrawn, and Ireland re-united with all legitimate minority rights for the Protestants.

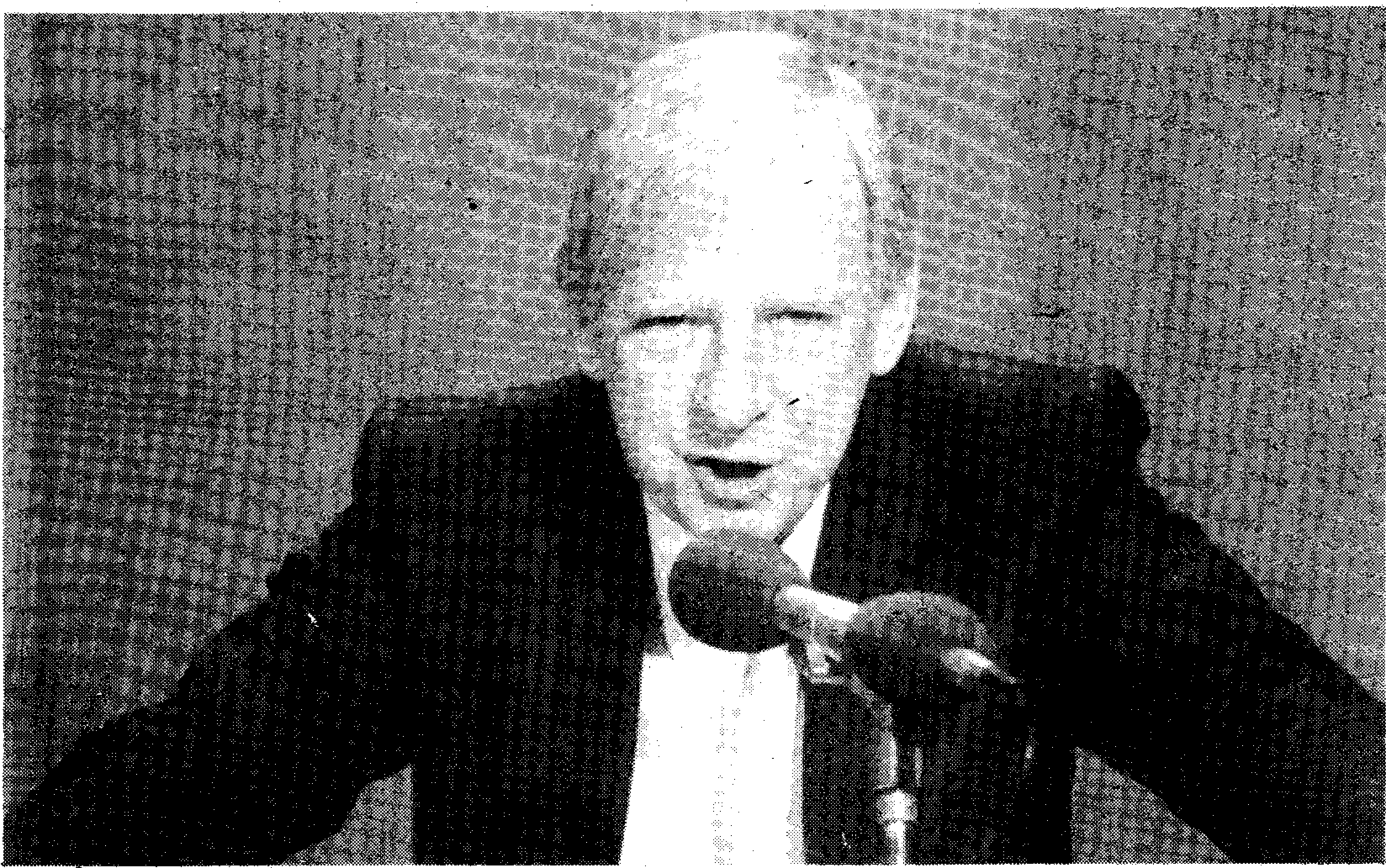
For SOCIALISM. No serious fightback will get very far without a decisive challenge to the power and privilege of the top ten per cent who own 60% of all private wealth and nearly 100% of shares and landed property. That top 10% have a resolute and convinced political leadership - the Tories - while the working class has a leadership that dithers, fudges, and sells out. That's why it's sometimes difficult to convince workers that Labour is a real alternative. But the labour movement isn't just the top leaders. Direct trade union struggle, plus the fight within the labour movement for accountability, for new leaders, and for socialist policies, will have to move into higher gear after June 10 whoever wins.

The first round is June 9. The better we mobilise the Labour vote then, the better we'll be able to organise after June 10.



JOHN HARRIS

INSIDE: Why Tories stand a chance p4 Women and the election p7



JOHN HARRIS

Shore: 'waffling on'

'Disastrous confusion'

by Reg Race

IF THE election in North London is typical of Britain as a whole, then the overwhelming reaction of working class voters at this stage in the campaign is one of confusion and doubt as to the intentions of the leadership.

There is no doubt that Labour's collective leadership needs to be far clearer and sharper in its presentation of socialist policies and in its criticisms of Tory policies. Failure to achieve this clarity — 'waffling on', as many voters put it — is disastrous in the face of a determined and resolute Tory party that knows what it wants and thinks that it has the labour movement on the canvas.

Callaghan's speech on defence last week was deeply damaging to

the interests of the Party, and was absolutely unforgivable in the middle of a critical general election. In my opinion, his actions have cost the party hundreds of thousands of votes which will be difficult to retrieve before June 9: it was all the more damaging because it lent the credibility of an ex Prime Minister and leader of the Labour Party to the very arguments that have been used by Thatcher to criticise unilateralism.

Wondering

After Frank Chapple's endorsement of an SDP candidate and Callaghan's speech supporting Tory defence policy, one could be forgiven for wondering which luminary of the Labour Party will be the next to undermine the campaign.

A further difficulty for Labour is that the Tories have been adept at convincing ordinary people that scapegoats have pro-

duced unemployment and poverty. A variety of such scapegoats are paraded: black people; the world recession; women going out to work instead of staying at home to mind the kids; or the nasty trade unions.

Evidence

The power of these smear tactics is reinforced by the confident reiteration of these themes by the tabloid press: don't forget that 25% of the electorate read the Sun.

What should Labour do? We should be far clearer about what the Tories have already done to the welfare state, and the actions which Thatcher has taken to push up unemployment. We should allow the real anger of the People's Marchers to speak for us — and tell people that the only real chance they may have to change the disastrous policies attacking working people is the chance they have on June 9.

Was NATO gang behind Jim's speech?

THE brutal sabotage of Labour's election campaign by James Callaghan and other right wingers appears to be no individual effort.

If Observer correspondent Adam Raphael is right, the whole move to crush the manifesto's unilateralist position was a calculated intervention orchestrated by the sinister 'Labour Committee for Trans-Atlantic Understanding'.

The LCTU, suggests Raphael, has already prepared a declaration in support of multilateral disarmament ready for distribution as part of a planned right wing offensive after the expected electoral defeat of the Labour Party.

Sponsors of the declaration, he says, will include AUEW President Terry Duffy, EETPU General Secretary Frank Chapple and (a man many thought was dead!) — former Foreign Secretary Lord Stewart.

The LCTU (which produces a little-read newsletter) is financed by NATO and is closely linked to the anti-communist American trade union federation the AFL-CIO, which in turn works hand-in-hand with the CIA on international matters.

Among other leading lights of the LCTU have been David Owen, Tom Bradley and William Rodgers, each of them prominent defectors to the SDP.

Callaghan has now plainly taken up the torch as defender of the same reactionary politics within the Labour Party, while Chapple has supported SDP candidate John Grant, and Duffy has for months been stridently denouncing Labour's policies and the leadership of Michael Foot.

Interestingly, Callaghan has also repeatedly advocated an 'anti-Thatcher' coalition between the Labour Party, Liberals, SDP and 'dissident Tories' such as Ted Heath.

His intervention in the election campaign has thus served a double purpose: helping to minimise Labour's chances of victory (and thus no doubt pleasing the LCTU's American paymasters); and throwing his hat into the ring as a potential coalition broker in the event of a close result.



Callaghan: fronting for the NATO men?



Jenkins/Steel: 'a deal with the Alliance would further shackle the labour movement'

'If Labour had fought hard, we could have won'

Ray Davies, Labour candidate for Cardiff Central.

Altogether we've held about 17 public meetings. We've had meetings in the hospitals, we've met the CPSA branch, we've had four or five meetings with students unions, we've met teachers in schools and we've been to the art college.

We've done a lot of work in the shopping centres with the loudspeaker, explaining the various points of Labour's policy. It's been a very, very active campaign.

Some of the young unemployed are a bit cynical about whether any party can give them a job. We've leafleted the Job Centres, and the only break we're allowing in the campaign is to send two buses to the People's March rally.

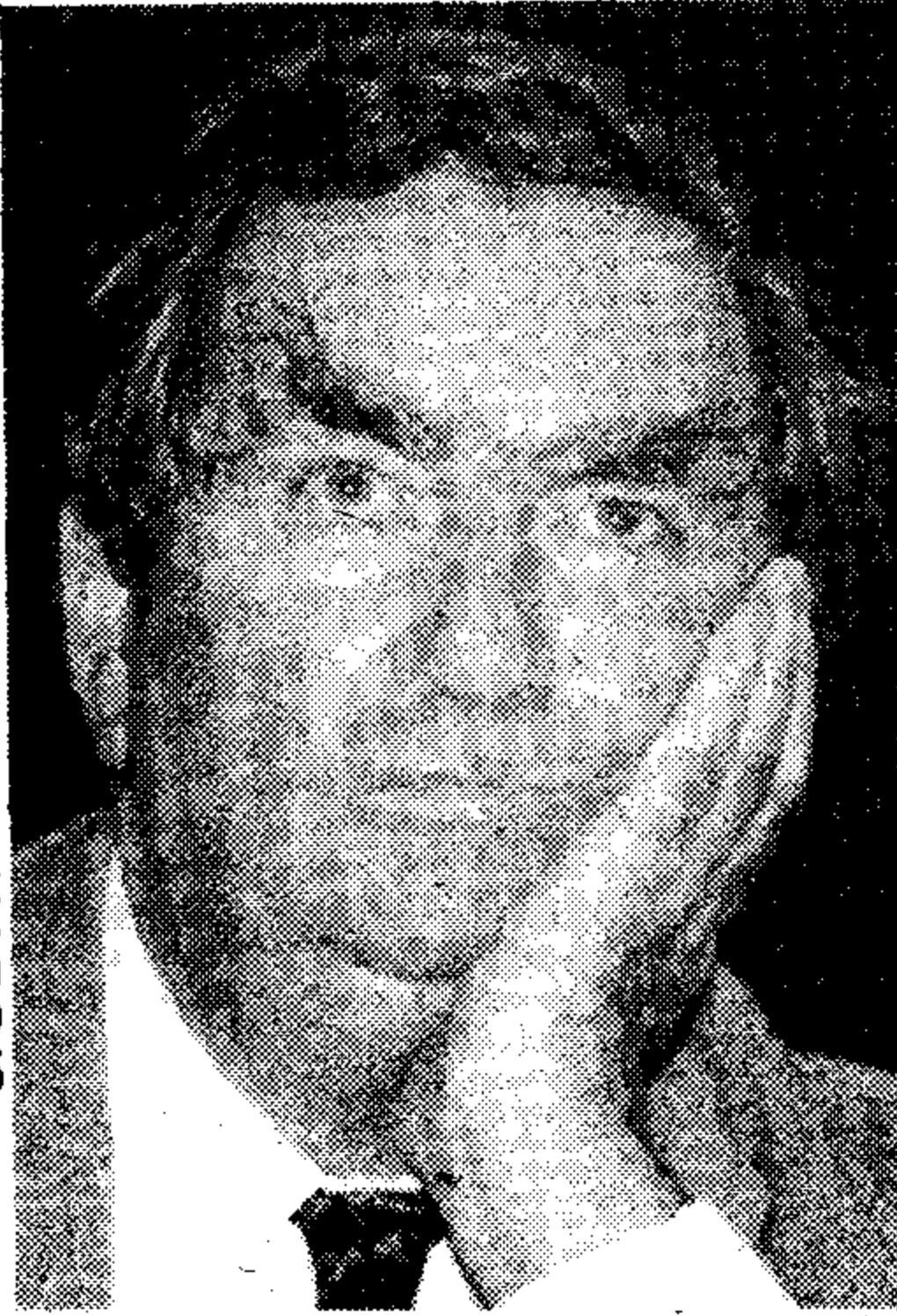
What I've been doing is to concentrate on the three important policies of the campaign — defence and unilateral nuclear disarmament; the Common Market and unemployment.

What I try and impress upon

people when I speak to them is that the Labour Party policy on nuclear disarmament is just one step in the direction of peace. A nuclear free Britain is a step towards a nuclear free Europe which in turn is a step towards a nuclear free world.

If Labour had fought hard on the three policies I refer to then instead of struggling hard for survival as we are at the moment, it would have been a great Labour victory on June 9. In fact we could still win on June 9 if the Labour leaders come off the fence and start campaigning vigorously on the hustings and in interviews for the policies of the party, instead of fudging.

I think that people aren't so much worried about the policies of the Labour Party but that certain leaders of the Party are hedging on the policies — and if they are hedging on the Manifesto what are they going to do if they are elected? That's what it's all about.



JOHN HARRIS

Healey

'A better campaign than '79'

Councillor Neil Taggart, agent Leeds North East Labour Party. It's been a better campaign, even than in 1979 when we reduced Sir Keith Joseph's majority and had the only swing to Labour from a sitting Tory outside Scotland. Although significant boundary changes shifted thousands of Labour supporters into Leeds East and Central and replaced them with solid Tory areas in northern Leeds, we are fighting hard.

In the Chapel Allerton ward the canvass results are the best we have ever had — better even than for the local elections last month, when the West Indian Labour councillor was re-elected, polling more votes than any where else in Leeds, including Dennis Healey's safe East Leeds seat.

Joseph's appearance on a platform with ex-National Front member Finnegan in Stockton and the long-standing anti-fascist record of our own candidate, left-wing Jewish lawyer Ron Sebler, seems to have made many erstwhile Tory voters in the Jewish community switch to Labour.

As one Jewish voter said: "Joseph is a traitor to the Jewish race".

Audrey Wise, Labour candidate for Woolwich.

It's a disgrace that the Labour Party leaflet on disarmament wasn't available until the Friday after May 24. We only found this out at the last minute so we were not able to produce our own leaf-

let locally.

We've put out several special leaflets locally — one on the proposed East London river crossing (a big new road crossing the Thames which would destroy 260 houses and 50 acres of open space in the constituency), one by a local councillor linking what the council has been able to do to national government control on local government, and others on various other local issues.

Last week's article on the BL Cowley Assembly Plant washing-up dispute wrongly referred to negotiations involving the 'JNC': in fact the negotiations have been at the level of Plant Level Committee (PLC).

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The Tories

Yes, they do want to smash the NHS!



Fowler: throwing the tasty bits to the profiteers

'IF IN doubt, brazen it out' has been the Tory motto as labour leaders point to evidence of their plans to dismember the NHS and siphon off public sector resources to line the pockets of private practitioners, clinics and hospitals.

Norman Fowler, Secretary of

How many fascists?

HOW many fascists are there in the Tory Party? Apparently the leadership don't know: they are running an extensive inquiry into the "Young Conservatives" (under 35!) to find out.

It has long been clear that there is an active and influential 'hard right' component of the Federation of Conservative Students: and Stockton South candidate Thomas Finnegan is a recent former parliamentary candidate for the National Front.

Last week, Harvey Proctor, Tory candidate in Billericay and a vicious racist, rushed to deny reports that he had welcomed support from the National Front magazine Bulldog.

Revelations

In the face of these embarrassing revelations, Tory Party Chairman Cecil Parkinson claimed that the small number of expulsions of proven fascists showed that the problem was not a large one.

But Phil Pedley, Chairman of the Young Conservatives, was less inhibited, describing the evidence so far accumulated as 'the tip of the iceberg'.

There is little doubt that Thatcher's overt racist propaganda prior to the 1979 election campaign drew many would-be fascists into the embrace of the Tory Party, where they have been nurtured on rabid chauvinism, racist legislation and the Falklands war. Like so many aspects of the Tory Party and its policies, the true extent of this problem will not emerge until after the election.

Harry Sloan reports on Tory plans to decimate the health service

State for Social Services, hastily published the confidential paper leaked by Labour as if there was nothing to hide: and he made no attempt to disassociate from its proposals.

These include:

*The sale of 'surplus' NHS land and closed hospitals, wards or wings to the private sector.

*Urging NHS authorities to contract with nursing homes to take elderly NHS patients - at a cost of £135-200 per week. This, it is argued, would 'free' NHS beds and 'enable unsatisfactory geriatric accommodation to be closed'.

*'Joint initiatives' between the private sector and the NHS 'with both sharing the profits and the risks'.

*More equipment - 'particularly high technology equipment' - could be made available by the private sector for joint use (where Tory cash limits prevent the NHS acquiring sufficient equipment of



JOHN HARRIS

its own).
*Private companies could provide 'commercial rented accommodation for nurses'.

*NHS equipment and supplies to be made available to the private profiteers 'on such terms as the

authority considers appropriate'.

The proposals clearly do amount, as Roy Hattersley and Gwyneth Dunwoody pointed out, to a plan for asset-stripping the NHS and funnelling NHS resources into private medicine.

This is in line with the vague formulation in the Tory Manifesto, which talks evasively of 'promoting closer partnership between the state and the private sectors'. Health Minister Kenneth Clarke insisted that the document 'Does not contain anything which is inconsistent with the speeches we have been making and the policies we have been putting forward for the past 12 months'.

The Tories have been absolutely consistent in their relentless drive towards privatisation of the NHS, paving the way for intensified exploitation of the sick and the elderly - for profit, and for forcing all families onto private health insurance.

But the unions and Labour Party have been nowhere near as consistent or determined in opposing such moves. The last Labour government reintroduced prescription charges rather than nationalise the drug monopolies, and failed to take any serious action to eliminate pay beds in NHS hospitals. The health unions COHSE and NUPE retreated in January 1980 from their pledge to take action against private beds, while the TUC itself actually owns a private hospital, the Manor House in Hampstead.

We need not only to stop the Tory plans in their tracks, but also to fight within the labour movement for socialist policies and a committed leadership that can put a halt to private medicine, defend and restore the NHS, and - through workers' inquiries into local needs and the fight for expanded health provision - eliminate the waiting lists and shortages of geriatric and other care which at present dog the Health Service.

Royal blue

ONE of Britain's nastiest feudal relics last week added his two pennyworth to the Tory cold war propaganda.

The Duke of Edinburgh has long been known for his sexist, anti-union and warmongering views: his latest suggestion is for degree courses in military science, which would school a new elite officer corps in techniques of domination and repression.

He felt obliged to decorate this with a touch of his Readers' Digest view of Marxism, informing anyone obsequious enough to listen that:

'the massive and continuing build-up of the Soviet military arsenal and the well-known Marxist dedication to the destruction of the so-called capitalist-imperialist nations by any means, suggests that the whole subject of military science is well worth much closer study'.

Prince Philip's intervention in support of Thatcher's campaign - though in stark contrast with the stage-managed populism of 'Bonny Prince Charlie' and 'Randy Andy' - should come as no surprise.

But it serves to highlight another significant weakness in the programmes of both the Labour and Communist Parties - neither calls for the abolition of the monarchy which could yet prove a decisive element in the regroupment of the reactionary forces of the bourgeois state against the workers' movement.

Healey's half-cock Falklands offensive

by Martin Thomas

YES, there should be a public inquiry into the sinking of the Belgrano. Yes, Thatcher did wrap herself in the Union Jack and glory in the Falklands slaughter. Yes, it does show the Tories' hypocrisy that they simultaneously pump millions into 'Fortress Falklands' and into (highly profitable) loans to the Ar-

gentine regime. The troops should be withdrawn from the Falklands.

*For many years before the Falklands war, British governments had been trying to negotiate a transfer of the islands to Argentina. They had failed to agree on terms, not on the principle.

*'Fortress Falklands' is now being developed as a strategic base. New radar being installed there has a range of over 1,000 miles. Garrison costs alone will be £424 million in 1983-4. Millions are also being spent on redeveloping the Ascension Island air base.

Before the war, there was talk of making the Falklands a base for a 'South Atlantic Treaty Organisation' to be set up by agree-

ment between the USA, Britain, South Africa, Argentina and perhaps Brazil. It looks like the war has only provided an opportunity to establish this base sooner - at the expense of the British taxpayer.

*There is strong evidence - based on statements by the former foreign minister of Peru - that a new peace agreement was tabled and being favourably considered by the Argentine government just at the time that the Tories escalated the war into large-scale slaughter, by ordering that the Belgrano should be sunk. What the Tories wanted above all was a military victory, to boost their imperialist power and prestige.

The Tories owed their 'Falklands Factor' gains to the military victory - but also to the Labour leadership's performance, dithering between feeble pacifist ges-

tures and jingoist bluster.

Now Healey has come out and accused Thatcher, and Neil Kinnock has called for an inquiry into the Belgrano. It's a bit late, and at odds with the Shadow Cabinet's support for Thatcher during the war - and the Labour leaders have made a hash of it ever now. Healey has half-withdrawn his accusations, and Foot has refused to promise that a Labour government would establish an inquiry into the Belgrano sinking.

Labour should oppose the Tories over the Falklands - but consistently.

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Not so gloomy

TWO months ago CBI President Sir Campbell Fraser declared at a meeting of the National Economic Development Council that a document on the economy was 'so gloomy that people reading it would want to get the first boat out of the country'.

Readers may have wondered why Sir Campbell Fraser himself was not already at the dockside, ticket in hand for the first available cruise liner.

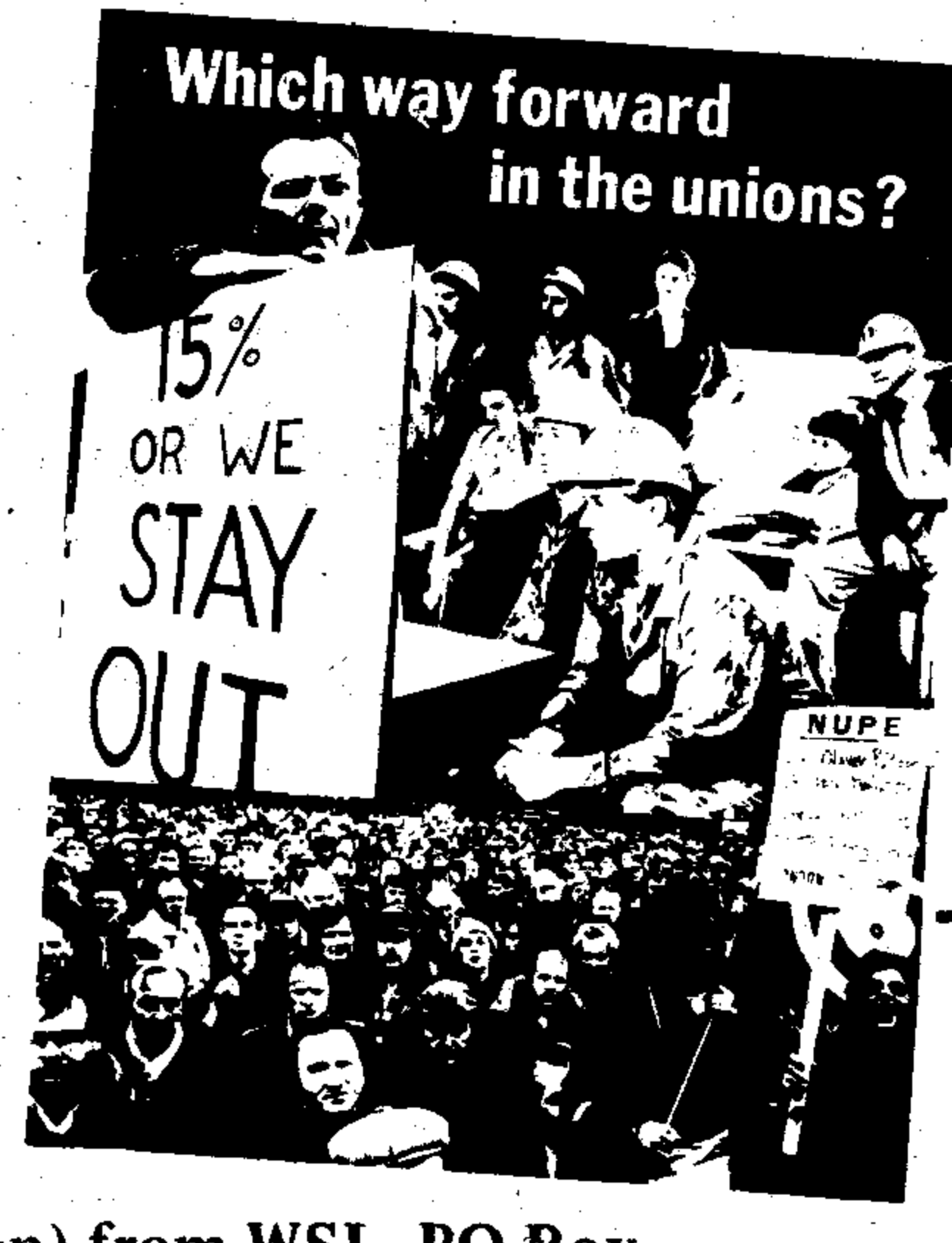
The answer is that while the future looks bleak for most of us, he - like most employers - is doing all right. As chairman of the board of Dunlop Holdings, he insulated himself against the overall gloom by raising his salary no less than 21% to £82,000.

In fact Sir Campbell and his board made their own contribution to the gloom which the NEDC report analysed: Dunlop last year lost £80 million, and made 12,000 workers redundant.

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Upper Heyford

Not-so-friendly blockade

Diana Gash from Stratford reports:

THE full force of Thames Valley Police did not squash the four-day peaceful blockade at Upper Heyford USAF base last week. The base houses 71 F-111s, some of which are on permanent alert, and is due to take part in a NATO exercise within three days of the blockade ending.

The action was seen by its organisers as a public withdrawal of consent for these preparations for nuclear war.

Most demonstrators considered the action a success, and were satisfied with the disruption caused to the base and the amount of news coverage received.

Between police and protestors it was not exactly the 'friendly relations' reported. Both sides worked at ensuring the demo remained non-violent although the police were extra full of themselves on occasions, apparently threatening people with arrest if they refused to stop sitting on MOD fences.

No doubt Thames Valley police have been running their own non-violence training workshops - it would be interesting to see their role play sessions. One of the officers carrying out searches on arrested demonstrators kept up a nauseatingly sugary patter obviously designed to divert attention from what he was doing.

Police conversation centred on the cost to the ratepayers of all this extra work and how exhausted they were with all the overtime they were getting in.

Relations were severely strained when many of those arrested protested angrily about having their photographs taken without permission. Those who didn't realise this was illegal soon did when they were shown a list of their rights.

Many of us had been taken by surprise and were photographed whilst being led into the emergency marquees set up. We managed to shout to warn people following on and those who heard covered their faces before entering.

One woman who kept her face covered with a scarf throughout all the questioning procedures had to suffer a barrage of insulting jokes from amused officers.

We were told that the photos were instant and not up to standards required for record keeping, could not be copied, and were taken only to help them and us get through procedures as quickly as possible.

The direct campaign for unilateral nuclear disarmament continues through the election period. Last week thousands joined a blockade at Upper Heyford, despite hundreds of arrests. Two women who were there report on the action.



Apparently the photos did this by matching an arresting officer to a prisoner - of dubious assistance to a prisoner one might think. It is vital that all those arrested and illegally photographed make formal complaints to Thames Valley Police.

Many of the demonstrators were adamant about not paying fines. They felt that the police, by arresting so many people, had effectively removed the fear of arrest and had turned it into a natural extension of the demonstration. The coming months could see many Heyford demonstrators in prison.

One sad note - a number of women attending a mixed blockade for the first time decided never to do so again. They said they were sick of being ordered about by male demonstrators, and

that the action had lacked the feeling of gaiety and solidarity they experienced on women-only peace actions.

Leone Griggs from Hull writes:

We held a four day blockade in order to publicise the presence of nuclear armed American F-111 bomber planes at the base, which is currently being expanded to accommodate a new generation of planes. The blockaders endured torrential rain to sit down in front of vehicles attempting to enter the base. Over 2,000 people took part in the blockade and over 750 were arrested.

Following this blockade, the successful peace festival on May Day and the women's day of action on May 24, peace campaigners in Hull will start holding silent peace vigils every Friday evening from 5.00 pm to 6.00 pm in various shopping centres in the city. The first one was at the Prospect shopping centre on June 3.

Peace vigils are already being held on Friday's between 5 and 6 pm in many other cities and towns throughout Europe.

Jobs, bombs & profits

BOTH the current massacre by unemployment of human hopes, dignity and living standards and the threatened massacre by nuclear weapons of human life itself, flow from the drive for profit.

The rule of profit shifts investment and trade to and fro across the world, leaving 'reserve armies of labour' everywhere. And the capitalists consciously use mass unemployment as a means to strengthen their control over employed workers.

If production were carried out for human need, not profit, then the very idea of leaving jobless people who are ready and able to work would be absurd.

The big capitalist powers have not armed themselves with nuclear weapons for self-defence. In fact they use even their conventional weapons not for self-defence, but to try to defend and extend the world domination which enables them to draw profits from the exploitation of labour across the globe.

The British army has been at war - officially or unofficially - every year since 1945, and always in the interests of British imperialism overseas.

The arms race is further accelerated by the interests of the substantial section of the capitalist class that draws its richest profits from military contracts.

Class struggle is the way to fight both against bombs and for jobs. The capitalist class will be disarmed only by the working class taking political power from them.

Conversion of arms industries to socially useful production; expansion of public services; work-sharing without loss of pay; nationalisation to permit the establishment of workers' planning of industry - these are the measures to create useful new jobs, and only the labour movement can fight for them.

What they said and what they did

February 1982, Alan Sapper the working class will virtually resisted." Bill Keys (SOGAT) people to break the law." Bu from tribunals is "dangerous" *defiance of compulsory ob "impractical". *even a token

October 1981: Callaghan urges Foot to with dissident Tories, Liberals and the "alliance to oust Thatcher."

BL sell-out: Murray explains he s because "It is premature to take on the gov James Boyd (AUEW): "I will have nothing any fight with the government."

Duffy and Foot differ on who should s for the BL sell-out. Duffy says he and o Secretaries met Edwardes at his home - "One of the good effects of the deal is t have a moderating effect on the wage rou claims he and Stan Orme set up the sel Edwardes at the House of Commons.

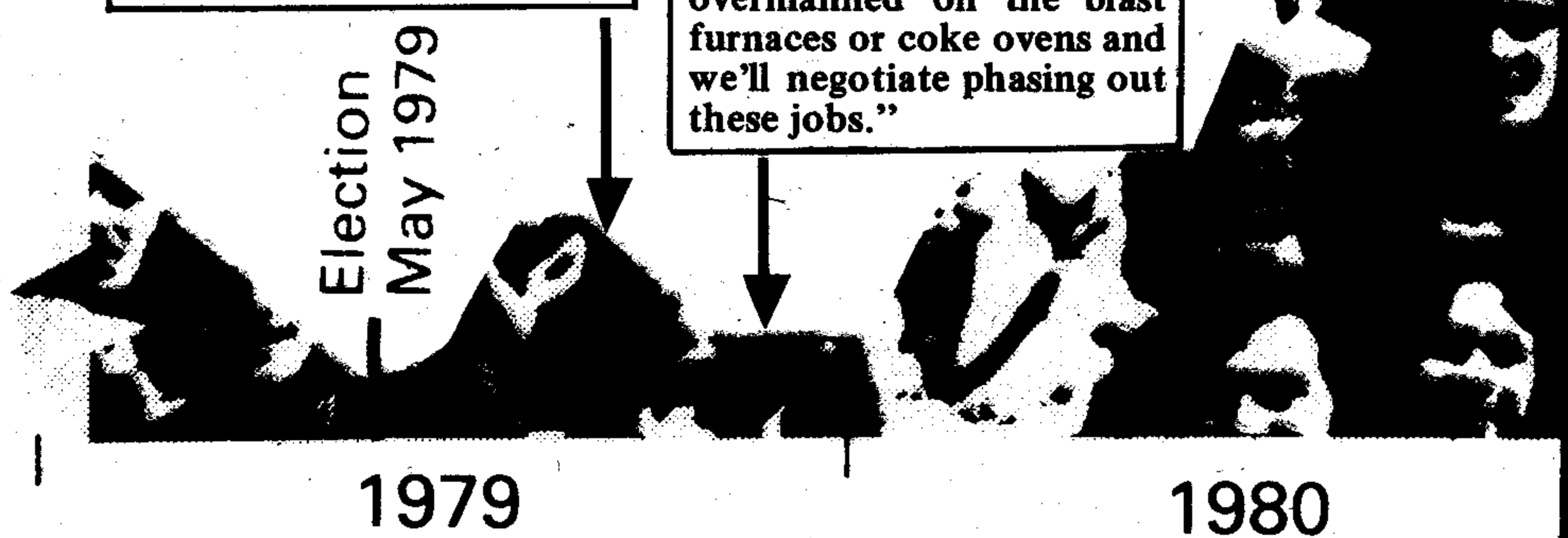
April 1981, Joe Gormley, NUM: "Sometimes better to talk to Tory Ministers than to Tony Ben

September 1980 TUC Congress: Standing ovation for Callaghan's speech, which calls for wage controls - only 40 minutes discussion on Prior Act. Murray calls on CBI to "come out of its political corner and face the consequences for its own members of the government's policies and join us [!] in getting the government to think again."

March 1980, Len Murray (on the Day of Action): "I would never be party to attempts to smash up a democratically elected government. If we did that, we would not know what to do with the power we had got." [!]

September 1979, Moss Evans, TGWU (on advance rumours of Edwardes' Plan): "To cut 50,000 BL jobs would prompt a bloody revolution."

November 1979, Hector Smith (Blastfurnacemen's union): "In BSC we are still demanning. My union now says to BSC 'You show us where we are overmanned on the blast furnaces or coke ovens and we'll negotiate phasing out these jobs.'"



Why do the Tories

WHO ever in their wildest nightmares would have thought Thatcher would have stood a chance?

With three million on the dole and after four years of ruthless pursuit of profit at the expense of the working class, polls show that a majority of voters are convinced that the Tories if re-elected will not reduce unemployment, are out of touch with and do not care about ordinary people or people in need, will further attack the welfare state and will make the rich richer and the poor poorer. A majority also opposes Tory policy on nuclear weapons.

Yet among that majority there must be a substantial number who will turn out to vote Tory. The main reason is the way they perceive the Labour leadership and the labour movement as a whole.

It has been a witch-hunting election. Polls show a sharp increase in the numbers who have been convinced by the Tory, Alliance and media depiction of Labour as 'extreme'. Plainly even many who will vote Labour believe this. The campaign has been sabotaged by the right wing:

more and more see the Labour as the party concerned previous governments mean the out its promises.

It is partly this jaded view impossible - under the impact many middle class voters to s. This has been compounded clearly and consistently even alone for Labour's conference.

But for many workers the pain is only the culmination of the trade unions - yet n leadership is of retreats, conc local and national level.

May 1979, Labour leader Callaghan wishes Thatcher "success", stressing that she will need "a lot of support" and promising that Labour MPs will offer "no factitious opposition." At the May NEC, he stresses that neither he nor the Labour Party would support a union that took strike action for political reasons against the elected government. Callaghan would condone no action which tried to thwart the implementation of the Tory government's policies.

July 1979, Moss Evans, TGWU (opposing fight for cost of living clauses in wage agreements): "Inflation is a trap, a provocation, a bait, a test, to see how our industrial strength is doing."

August 1979 NUPE leaflet: In every hospital and every local council our members will fight every inch of the way to defend their jobs and pay packets and to stop the public services being cut

to shreds by the political vandals in government." Yet Alan Fisher when faced with the occupation to defend St Benedicts Hospital in South London attacked... the pickets! As police and scabs attacked trade unionists on the gates, Fisher condemned what he called "the use of force to prevent patients being moved out of the hospital."

September 1979 TUC Congress voted to *press ahead with talks with Tories, *uphold the "voluntary" restrictions on unions in the Concordat; and throw out plans for even a token campaign of regional demonstrations against Tory policies.

September 1979, John Chalmers, (Boilermakers) appealing for end to Robb Caledon struggle on jobs: "I appeal to Dundee to lift restrictions on the Polish ships or by God we [British Shipbuilders!] are in very serious trouble."

October 1979, Albert Spanswick (COHSE): "When there evidence that any health authority is contemplating the closure of a hospital which is not in the interests of the public and which would adversely affect health care in that area and our members jobs would be at risk, we will consider occupying that hospital (This did not bring COHSE supporting action behind the membership at St Benedicts).

October 1979, leaders of the Confederation of Shipbuilders and Engineering Unions (Confed) accept Michael Edwardes' plan sack 25,000 workers and close plants, and campaign for it over the heads of BL convenors.

Alex Ferry (Confed secretary) "You can't imagine the pressure on 14 men deciding on the job of at least 165,000 in BL and further 500,000 in related industries... the 600 troops of the Light Brigade had good leadership, but they rode into the Valley of Death. We are n prepared to confront- t

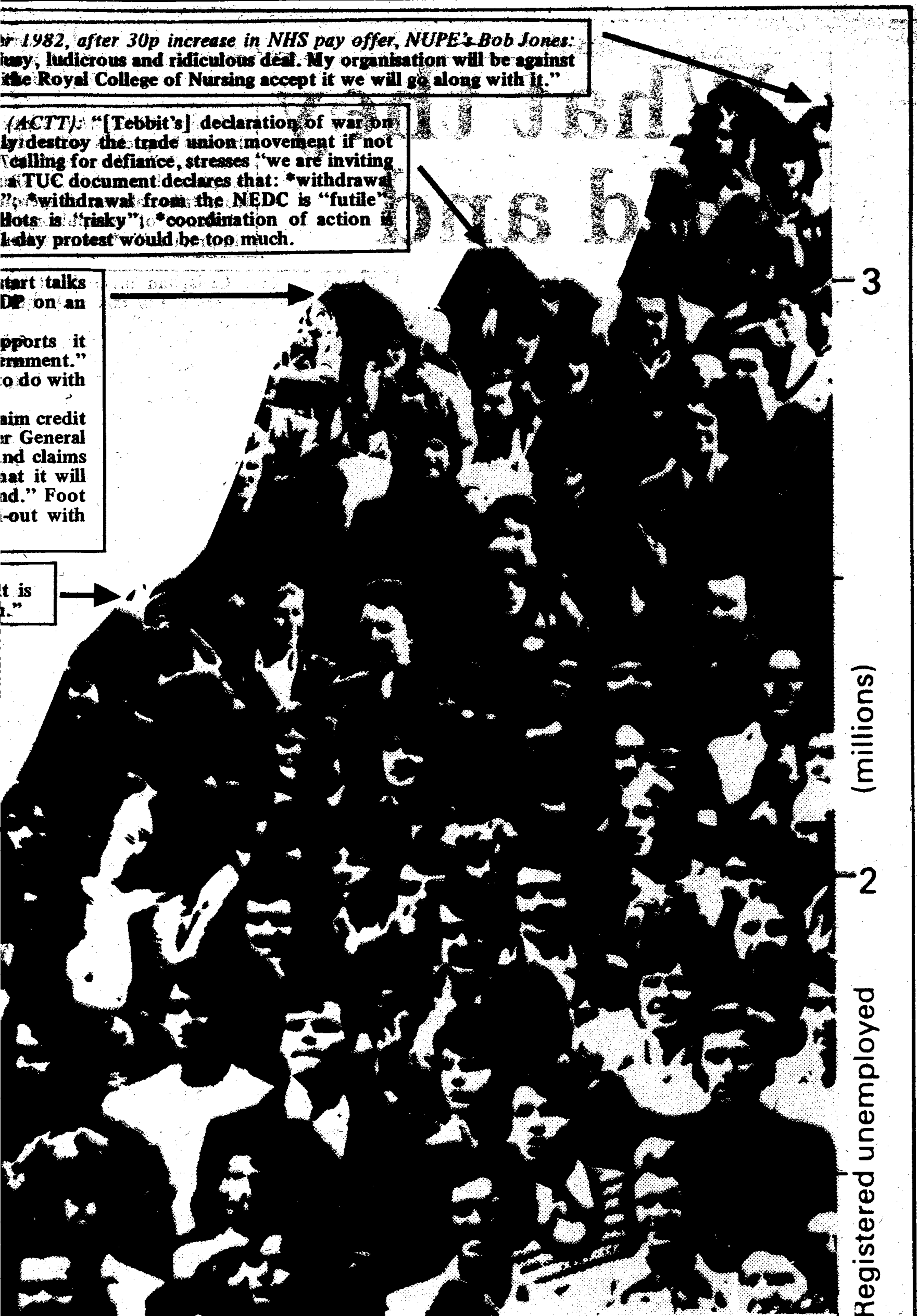
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Where we stand



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The policies we fight for



Can Labour stand a chance?

Party as divided. Though nearly half see about people in need, bitter memories of at only a handful believe Labour will carry

of the Labour leadership which has made it of hostile media coverage - to convince support the party of the labour movement. by the refusal of the leadership to argue for the Manifesto policies they drew up, let policies.

miserable and broken-backed election cam- of the last four years. Labour is the party of workers' recent experience of union sions and betrayals by their officials at

Instead of setting out to *organise* the workers' movement to defend itself, *mobilise* the shop floor membership, *build* on the struggles that have erupted, and *spell* out a perspective of widening struggles to defeat the Thatcher government - and thus give a lead to the forces outside the unions themselves - union officials have for the most part offered empty rhetoric, vacillation and downright sabotage.

This long chain of sell-outs and defeats, *especially* when it is decorated with blustering militant speeches, breeds a cynical detachment from the official leadership and a political demoralisation which weakens the labour movement. The weaker the labour movement, the less it can attract support from the middle class - and the more confused voters rally behind the Tories and the Alliance.

In the graph above and the brief chronology below we look at the four year record of the union leadership that has done so much to lose Labour the election. The record confirms that the fight for a Labour government that really starts to move against capitalism is inseparable from the fight to win democracy and militant policies in the unions.

Edwardes Plan over the dead bodies of our members."

Ron Todd (TGWU) on steel closures. "The TGWU will not accept one redundancy or one closure. We will demand to look at BSC's books. We will challenge their whole notion of profitability."

(Three months later TGWU lorries were routinely crossing steelworkers picket lines as the leadership dodged the issuing of clear instructions to halt supplies).

December 1979, Bill Sirs: "our cooperation in the closure of steelworks has apparently been interpreted as a sign of weakness" (!)

December 1979, TUC announces plans to combat cuts and anti-union laws: a demonstration on March 9, and a 'Day of Action' on May 14! A TUC spokesperson explains that the delay is "to allow the cuts to bite and give union leaders time to assess the feelings of the rank and file" (!)

Jan 1980, steel strike. Bill Sirs. "The steel unions are engaged in a political fight with the Tory government. A general strike would be a very frightening possibility." Sid Weighell (NUR): "Trade union action confined to South Wales would not be enough to stop BSC's plans. It's a 1926 situation."

Welsh general strike already called for January 21 with NUM support. TUC urges calling it off - take out court injunctions against BSC instead!

February 1980, Moss Evans appeals to Edwardes for "more talks" to further delay outstanding BL pay struggle during steel strike.

March 1980, TGWU pledges official support to any struggle against sackings on Merseyside - but Dunlop's Speke workforce is led onto the dole queues by their convenor, TGWU national chair, Stan Pemberton.

May 14 TUC 'Day of Action' - tens of thousands strike despite TUC appeals for only lunchtime meetings. Fleet Street unions defy courts and halt the presses.

June 1980, John Baldwin (AUEW construction section): "It would not be disastrous if all the ladders in construction came out on strike. We would send our members through the picket lines and they would do the ladders' work wherever it became necessary."

August 1980, Len Murray to NW TUC: "The General Council recently consulted affiliated unions and I must tell you there is little or no support for a repeat of the Day of Action in the near future."

October 1980, Terry Duffy, AUEW declares willingness to "live with" the Prior Act, while Frank Chapple (EETPU) urges bosses to "use it properly."

This long chain of sell-outs breeds cynicism

November 1980: BL pay fight sold out through intervention of General Secretaries who declare: "Both parties acknowledge their unique responsibility for the success and competitiveness of the sole major British car manufacturer." Immediately afterwards, Tories announce 6% public sector pay limit.

Spring 1981, Lee Jeans: sit-in against closure. NUTGW take seven weeks to declare it official.

September 1981: British Airways announce wage cuts, TGWU national officer responds: "We are getting very close to the situation where we will have no alternative but to start fighting."

January 1982: Duffy opposes plans for limited action against Tebbit's Bill, calling for joint approach with employers! "We feel that they have a bigger influence in urging the government to change from a course that will undoubtedly lead to confrontation."

April-May 1982, NHS pay fight. Alan Fisher *opposed to strike action by nurses, *opposed to action before agreed by TUC Health Services committee, *in favour of arbitration! TUC Health Services Committee eventually proposes... 2 hour strikes once a week!

Summer 1982, NUR strike: ASLEF instructs members to report for duty and 'make personal decisions' on whether to work with NUR scabs. ASLEF strike: knifed by TUC. Ray Buckton: "Throughout, British Rail's actions have received the full support of the government. Now they have received the support of the Finance and General Purposes Committee of the TUC. The public utterances of the General Secretary of the NUR have been contrary to every principle of trade unionism. He has, by his actions, assisted the British Rail Board at every stage."

September 1982: Sapper and Evans (TUC F&GP members) follow their betrayal of ASLEF by insisting at TUC that they would rather go to prison than pay fines levied under the Tebbit Bill.

October 1982: Tories announce 3 1/2% public sector pay limit. Evans: "The Tories are throwing down the gauntlet and saying to workers 'Take us on'!" October 1982: As Spanswick - opposed to all-out NHS strike - proposes petition campaign and day of action on November 24 NUPE leader Bickerstaffe announces: "We want escalation. We will reaffirm even more strongly (!) on this occasion the NUPE conference policy [of May!] for an all-out strike with accident and emergency cover. Very many people are coming to believe that is the only way forward."

October 1982, Moss Evans: boasts of 3-year pay contract signed with Scottish and Newcastle Breweries. Says he might favour "progressive" incomes policy "but my Executive might kick my backside for saying it."

December 1982: 16 week DHSS jobs strike in Oxford and Birmingham wound up. SFCPS declare this comes after "initiatives by the TUC and the intervention of Opposition spokesmen in discussions that reopened this week."



Anger as March misses chances

THE PEOPLE'S March for Jobs had a tremendous reception in Brent on Thursday 2nd. There was a big labour movement turnout in Battersea Park on June 5 for the final rally. It could have been like that all along the route. But it wasn't.

The organisers always saw the most important thing as winning support from Liberals, SDPers, vicars and Tory wets. Everything else came second to that.

The marshals called the police to keep away labour movement support marchers. The march should have been an opportunity for the voice of the unemployed to be heard. Instead it was mostly a matter of unemployed marchers hearing the voice of the marshals - especially Communist Party members - telling them to shut up.

After five weeks, and with just three days to go, the marshals finally conceded that 'Tories out' could be chanted. But:

- * They didn't reinstate marchers expelled for chanting 'Tories out'. Among them is a TGWU full-time official.
- * Marcher Helen Johnston was attacked by chief security steward John Ellis and had her toe broken, and then faced stonewalling. It took four days to get a hearing from the marshals. Then they kept her attacker as a steward and only removed him from security to other duties. Helen appealed to the National Organising Committee, which met on Friday June 3 and refused to uphold her appeal. Pleading 'conflicting evidence', all they did was remove Ellis from steward duties for one day.
- The marshals' line was: 'Don't make a fuss. Keep it within the March'. But at the weekend, when they alleged that they themselves had been physically attacked, they immediately called in the police.
- * Halifax Trades Council has called for an inquiry into the case of Helen Johnston.
- * Merseyside Trades Councils have called for an inquiry into the case of the four marchers expelled for shouting 'Tories out'.
- * Leicester Trades Council and Hull People's March committee have demanded explanations on the case of the marcher expelled for being nine weeks pregnant.
- * Oxford People's March committee has called for an inquiry into the incidents provoked by the marshals which led to Oxford support marchers being arrested in Towcester.
- At a march meeting on June 5 the marshals forced through a vote of confidence in themselves. But many marchers and activists are angry. They will be:
 - campaigning for an inquiry into the way the march has been run;
 - carrying on the work of organising the unemployed after the March.

TROOPS OUT NOW!

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Party squanders electoral asset

How many Labour spokeswomen have you seen?

Labour is identified as the party of women's rights. Yet the official campaign has been thoroughly in the traditional male-dominated mould. Gerry Byrne reports.

ACTIONS, they say, speak louder than words. And images have a way of lingering in the mind, replacing more sober considerations — especially in periods of heightened suspicion, when you watch eagle-eyed for the tell-tale gesture, the give-away body language that belies the overt message.

One of the more ironic images of this election is of Margaret Thatcher in hard hat and white coat reversing a new high-tech forklift truck, or briskly be-wellied fondling silage. Neither quite squares with her professed return to Victorian values. What nice middle-class Victorian lady would have been seen dead sully her person by being caught inside a factory?

No-one of sound mind can doubt that Margaret Thatcher stands in the same relation to women's rights as the entire Vandal hordes to Roman architecture. Yet she appeared supremely unbothered that her very existence as prime minister stands in direct contradiction to her proclaimed views on women's place.

Compare this to Jill Craigie,

uncharacteristically attired in kittenish bows and fluffy hair-do, prattling on on TV about buying "Michael's suits".

Once upon a time Michael Foot was "Jill Craigie's husband", and she was a person to be reckoned with. Surely she deserves better, as the only woman Labour sees fit to set upon interviewers, than this trivial homeliness.

Was this the first decree of the new Gang of Four at Labour Party HQ after their coup? Do they perhaps figure that the country has had enough of uppity women and the cosy approach will win them hearts and minds?

Something very peculiar comes over the Labour Party at election times. It's not just the predictable, if depressing, retreats on policy. The Party seems to be gripped by those very Thatcherian 'Victorian values' it professes to despise. Women should be seen and not heard, and preferably not seen.

How many Labour spokeswomen have you seen on election broadcasts, TV debates, etc? The Tories have the Blue Peril, the Alliance 'Shirley', but all we get is a succession of pudgy middle-aged men.

Labour is squandering one of its few electoral assets. Unilateral nuclear disarmament has greater support among women, and women are now, according to some estimates, more likely to vote Labour than men. There



JOHN HARRIS

Over the decades women have become a bigger and bigger proportion of Labour voters

has been a steady trend away from women's traditional conservatism for many decades, accompanying greater freedom and independence, the right to waged work, etc. It has now perhaps reached the point where men are statistically the conservatives.

With good reason, for women have, now especially, precious little to gain from the status quo. And, like it or not, Labour is identified with women's rights.

In a survey by 'Honey' magazine, 83% of Labour MPs who replied were in favour of free childcare to enable women to work outside the home. 86% of Tories opposed it. Shouldn't we be making something of this?

If for no other consideration, you would think they'd see votes in it. There are a million single parents in this country, and millions of other women work outside the home. Many are sole breadwinners.

But instead of playing up the positive policies in the manifesto — childcare provision, making nursery education available for all, ending discrimination in taxation, positive action to attack job segregation and low pay — all the language and imagery of Labour's election propaganda tries to conjure up a cosy vision of the family where dad goes out to work and mum stays home minding the kids.

In the same survey, a stagger-

Thatcher's no sister! But why hasn't Labour made any women prominent in its campaign?

ing 95% of Labour replies (and one lone Tory) were in support of the Greenham Common women. Would you have guessed from May 24 when they had the opportunity to put these views into action? At the very least they could have issued a few press statements, if they couldn't think of any more imaginative way of showing their support.

No wonder the Tories have made all the running on 'defence' when Labour is too feeble even to argue a case they're apparently 95% convinced of.

In the survey, Labour came out very creditably, with one of the odd neanderthal lapses. (For example, Andy McMahon on sexual harassment: "It is unfortunate that certain females enjoy this. I can see no action that will prevent the pinching and groping that females of all ages accept and enjoy, even boast about". He's also in favour of castration for rapists!)

Most of the Labour replies are considered, surprisingly radical, and give some hope that the message has got through. But the survey was commissioned well before the actual announcement of an election!

Come election time, it seems the 'pinchers and groppers' make the running. It will be a great historic irony if Attila the Thatcher gets in because Labour has insulted and ignored its potential women voters. "Listen Women For a Change". Huh!

How they measure up on key issues

| | LABOUR | CONSERVATIVE | ALLIANCE |
|-----------------------|--|---|--|
| Jobs | Programme of expansion stimulated by increased public spending. Import controls 'if necessary'. A National Investment Bank and new powers over companies. Nationalisations in electronics, drugs, health equipment and building materials. £25 per week student/trainee grant from age 16. | Continuation of existing policies including: control of public spending, ensuring Wages Councils do not set 'unrealistic rates', more privatisation. | Limited public spending boost. Extension of YTS to all 16 and 17 year olds. £80 per week subsidy for private employers taking on extra long term unemployed. |
| Bombs | Cancel Trident. No Cruise. 'Removal of all all nuclear bases and weapons', 'in the lifetime of the next parliament'. Support NATO. | Deploy Cruise by end of 1983 if USSR does not remove SS20s. Buy Trident. Support NATO. | Cancel Trident. Decision on Cruise depends on progress in arms negotiations which should include Polaris. Support NATO. |
| Unions | Repeal Tory laws. | New anti-union laws to cover strike ballots, restrictions in essential services, political levy, internal union elections. | New anti-union laws to cover strike ballots, compulsory arbitration in essential services, political levy, internal union elections. |
| EEC | Withdrawal from EEC 'to be completed well within the lifetime of the parliament'. | Maintain Britain's membership of EEC and try to shift EEC spending from agriculture. | 'Wholly committed to continuing UK membership of the European Community'. |
| Wages | National economic assessment to 'cover allocation of resources and distribution of income'. No 'return to the old policies of government-imposed wage restraint'. 'Discussions with TUC' on legal minimum wage. | 'Continue to resist unreasonable pay claims in the public sector'. | Statutory incomes policy. |
| Privatisation | Renationalisation at compensation 'no more than when assets were denationalised'. Reverse privatisation of local authority services. 'End enforced council house sales... immediately increase by half the total housing investment programmes'. Freeze council rents for a year. | Aim to privatise British Telecom, Rolls Royce, British Airways, chunks of British Steel, British Shipbuilders, BL, as many airports as possible, and British Gas's offshore oil interests. Encourage private health care and privatisation of services. Further push council house sales. | No renationalisation of British Aerospace, British Telecom and British Airways not to be sold off. Maintain Tory 'right to buy' decrees on council houses. |
| Women's rights | Expand nursery education and childcare provision. 'Remove barriers to right of choice' for women on abortion. Strengthen equality laws. | No mention. 'Basic foundation' of 'property-owning democracy' is 'family home'. | No specific mention. General commitment to 'sex and race equality'. |
| Ireland | United Ireland by consent, no Unionist veto, repeal Prevention of Terrorism Act — but 'in the meantime continue with direct rule'. | 'Highest priority to upholding law and order'. | 'Support the present Northern Ireland Assembly... move towards a return to devolved power in place of direct rule'. |
| Police | Independent complaints procedure, scrap Police Bill, scrap SPGs, elected police authorities including for London. | Reintroduce Police Bill, expand police force and prisons. | Independent investigation of complaints, 'strengthen community element on police authorities'; for London, committee of M. |
| Black rights | Repeal Nationality Act and Immigration Acts. Introduce 'law that does not discriminate'. | 'Maintain effective immigration control'. | 'We believe the Nationality Act to be offensive... Immigration controls will be applied without discrimination on grounds of sex, race and colour'. |

WOMEN'S FIGHTBACK 10p

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INSIDE: Why we're voting Labour...
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 Fighting Racism, Young Workers...
 Fighting Against Tories...

New issue 10p plus postage from 10b Landseer Rd, London N19

FUND

WILL THE fund reach the £1,000 target in June? The answer is still in the balance.

The four days since our last fund column have brought us £26, and news that Islington supporters are planning a jumble sale.

Our total so far is £379.50. With a big effort from all our supporters we can reach £1,000 by June 30!

There's still time to organise an after-the-election social; or organise a raffle, getting people to predict your local result, or the number of Labour MPs there'll be in the next Parliament, or how few votes the RCP will get this time.

And if your Socialist Organiser group is one of the many holding an 'After the election, where next?' meeting, show your support by having a collection for the fund.

Thanks this week to Steve Battlemuch in Nottingham (£10) and to Coventry supporters Matthew Jones, £5; Jean Lane, £5; Nick Lawrence, £1; Julia Redman and Keith White, £5.

Send donations to: The Treasurer, 214 Sickert Court, London N1 2SY.

Socialist ORGANISER

Teachers' leaflet

Tony Gard, Socialist Teachers' Alliance.

The STA has done a national leaflet, 'Why teachers should vote Labour'. We've printed 5,000, and an STA member who is a Labour candidate in a safe Tory seat has put them on his election expenses.

Mostly the leaflets have been

distributed in union branch meetings. Many NUT branches have held meetings on the election: they have to invite all the candidates but usually the Tories don't turn up.

In Hull the leaflets have been distributed throughout the schools.

This election is a watershed. The Tories threaten more nuclear weapons, more unemployment. They will cut or privatise anything that moves in the public sector. They will continue to attack the trade union and democratic rights of those who oppose them.

The Tories intend to create a climate bitterly hostile to the rights and values that have been established through the Labour Movement's influence. We are not just electing a government — we are also deciding the entire pattern of the country's political and social life.

In this situation every trade union and campaigning organisation must throw its weight behind Labour. That goes for the NUT, too. Up until now the NUT has seen itself as 'non-political'. This attitude is no longer a realistic one. If it wants to defend education and protect its aim of equal opportunity then the Union must oppose the Tories.

Here we do what the NUT should have done: set out some reasons why teachers should vote Labour.

Because a Labour victory would shatter the pattern of the last four years. It would mean a government elected by those who want jobs and peace. A Labour victory would encourage those who have been battered into passivity by the Tories to again take action to defend their jobs and rights.

Because Labour will stop the new growth of selection and privilege in education. It will make nursery schooling a right. It will reduce selection within schools. It will withdraw charitable status from the public schools. It will stop subsidising them through the assisted places scheme.

Because Labour will pull out of the new build-up of nuclear weapons. It will move towards getting rid of all existing nuclear bases and weapons.

Because Labour will repeal the measures taken against trade unions and black people. It will get rid of Tebbit's laws against trade union solidarity and repeal the Nationality Act.

Because a Labour victory will halt the work of Mrs Thatcher's 'Family Policy Group'. It will stop the moves to recreate Victorian family 'values' and to push women back into their homes.

A Labour government will not deliver all we want. Labour is not intending to alter fundamentally the present balance of wealth and power. Its unilateralism is not clear cut. It will be reluctant to support those who take action to defend their jobs and living standards. But a Labour victory will restore the spirit of those whom the Tories have attacked. It will be a framework for our fight for a properly funded educational system, responsible to the needs of the majority of students — not to the few who benefit from selection.

Teachers should vote Labour — and be out campaigning for a Labour victory.



Foot campaigns in Coventry

Campaigners' comments

THE MOST important place to campaign for a Labour vote is in the workplaces, where Labour supporters can best be organised not only to vote but to become an active political force.

Some Labour Party workplace branches have already been set up since last year's Labour conference made them constitutional. Last week we reported on the campaigning work done in Cammell Lairds shipyard, Merseyside, and among Haringey council workers.

At the BL Cowley Assembly plant, shop stewards have helped leaflet the factory and organise a factory gate meeting. Labour candidates have spoken at workplace meetings in many hospitals, including the Heath hospital, Cardiff; Middlewood hospital, Sheffield; Basingstoke district hospital; and the Brook hospital, South-East London (where NUPE general secretary Rodney Bickerstaff joined Labour candidate Audrey Wise).

These meetings have given workers an opportunity not just to listen, but to challenge and question candidates on the issues. After June 9 the job must be to put this input on a regular basis, with Labour Party workplace branches.

Doug Mackay, FBU.

One group of workers without fond memories of the last Labour government are the firemen. Some FBU activists reacted to the nine week strike against the Labour government in 1977 by joining the Labour Party, determined to change it so that a

Labour government could not do the same thing again.

Other firemen have reacted with a "plague on both your houses" view and are toying with the SDP. When it is pointed out to them that the leadership of the SDP were the fiercest oppon-

ents of the firemen in the last Labour government, they have to agree.

When Jack Taylor, Labour candidate for Selly Oak, was taken to Bournbrook Fire Station, one Labour supporter complained that the Party was too left wing. But he also praised the previous Labour MP for Selly Oak, the late Tom Litterick, for standing up for the firemen against Callaghan and Merlyn Rees in 1977.

This contradictory sort of view is shared by many in the FBU.

Some firemen are very hostile to Labour's defence policy and the CND supporters within the FBU face a long battle to win the argument on nuclear weapons.

Carla Jamison, Basingstoke Labour Party.

Basingstoke is one of the few constituencies where Labour has actually gained from boundary changes. The immediate effect was that David Mitchell, the sitting Tory MP for 19 years, packed his bags and left for neighbouring Hampshire North

West.

The Tories have two Harrow schoolmasters standing in their Hampshire North constituencies. Basingstoke has a particularly delicate flower who has refused every public debate during the campaign.

However, the local paper — unashamedly Tory — has made up for this by printing, on his behalf, all the things he would have said if he wasn't too busy campaigning.

James McAllister is the best candidate Labour has ever stood in Basingstoke. Support from the Labour Party nationally, though, has done him no favours. We got Merlyn Rees and his three bulging-suited Special Branch minders and Bill Keys of SOGAT 82.

The Special Branch panicked when they lost Rees during a walkabout, and James McAllister had to rescue him from questions he couldn't answer.

The SDP — standing the former MP for Caerphilly, Hudson-Davies — seem content to run a red scare campaign and are touting round a copy of Socialist Worker containing a letter from Alasdair Jamison-CLP chair and a supporter of Socialist Organiser.

This paper has been waved around at every public meeting with the sole effect of producing greater applause for both James McAllister and Alasdair Jamison every time it appears.

Basingstoke, though part of the affluent South, has a big Labour vote on council estates — demonstration that class rather than region dictates people's voting patterns. The black vote — 2% of the population — is solidly Labour.

Stephen Corbishley, CPSA British Library branch.

Our branch has put out a newsletter arguing why union members should vote Labour, and there is a workplace meeting at dinnertime on June 8 sponsored by officials of most of the union branches (CPSA, SCPS and CSU) in the British Library and the British Museum. Reg Race, former MP for Wood Green, and a CPSA National Executive member are billed to speak.

Out of this meeting we hope to be able to launch a Labour Party workplace branch.

LABOUR MOVEMENT CAMPAIGN FOR PALESTINE NEWSLETTER

The Peaceful Road to Annihilation

Labour Movement Campaign for Palestine
FIRST NATIONAL CONFERENCE
County Hall, London SE1
Sunday June 26, 11am
CONFERENCE FEE £2
HULLSHELVES WELCOME

Labour Movement Campaign for Palestine
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Speakers: Avishai Erlich (The Zionist State); Moshe Machover (Labour Zionism); Nira Yuval-Davis (Zionism and Women); Uri Davis, Palestinian and Lebanese speakers; speakers from the Labour Movement Campaign for Palestine, Palestine Solidarity and Women for Palestine.
Sunday: Speakers School.

Contact LMCP, c/o 28 Carlton Mansions, Holmleigh Road, London N16



JOHN HARRIS

CAMPAIGNS in workplaces for a Labour vote can be used to launch Labour Party workplace branches.

That way, workers can be mobilised not just to vote but also to take up a fight within the Labour Party to call their representatives to account and for policies corresponding to their interests.

You need ten members to start a branch in any workplace. The definition of 'workplace' is left open in the rules: separate branches can be established in separate sections of a large factory or office complex.

The Labour Party membership of workplace recruits has to be processed through their ward branches. But the workplace branch can send one delegate to the Labour Party GC in each constituency where it has at least ten members living.