

A Socialist ACTION

INSIDE



Photo: GM COOKSON

Arthur Scargill

“ I call on the British people to resist all attempts to lower living standards and take away our basic rights and freedom. In order to resist this government's policies we will undoubtedly need to take extra-parliamentary action that includes the possibility of political strikes to prevent the massacre of our health, education, housing and social services. ”

Rebuild Labour to fight the Tories

ARTHUR Scargill is right. Responsible parliamentary opposition will not deal with the coming Tory onslaught. As Ken Livingstone put it, 'The Tories' manifesto is to eliminate their enemies: the Labour Party, the unions and the GLC'.

The Tory press already scent blood. With the Alliance finishing only 700,000 votes behind, they want to ensure that Labour never governs alone again.

This is why the leadership struggle opening up in the labour movement is so vital. The issue facing the contenders is how to defend the labour movement and rebuild the Labour Party.

Ran

Hattersley, Shore and Healey ran Labour's general election campaign. They used their position to denounce the Party's policies. Their programme for Labour is simple — regain the middle ground lost to the Alliance by wiping out the left and its policies.

But their strategy won't work. The British ruling class don't want to resurrect governments of the Callaghan and Wilson type. They want to make sure that Labour never governs alone again.

The left has powerful support. The eight million voters who backed Labour's programme despite the unanimous media campaign against it did so because bitter

Next steps for the left — 10 pages of news, comment analysis and perspectives including:

Major articles by Page
Tony Benn 5
Ken Livingstone 7

Points of view from Dennis Skinner, Emlyn Williams, Helen John, Joyce Hurcombe 4

Full election analysis
John Ross 2 & 3

Labour's own goal — what went wrong?
Steve Marks & Alan Freeman 8 & 9

Sinn Fein's victory
Martin Collins 6

International reactions 13

MODERN TIMES



Apparently, the union's backing Neil Kinnock as part of its Be Nice to Rightward Moving Welsh MPs campaign

going with the strongest force.

But their vacillation allows the media to discredit the Labour Party as a whole. The final effect of Foot's leadership was to legitimise the witch hunt by the expulsion of the five *Militant* editors. This opened the door to Hattersley and Healey and the media who ridiculed their timidity and demanded that they go further.

In the election Foot's attempt to marry left and right around a fudged manifesto was progressively shredded on millions of TV screens. The result was a field day for the right wing in alliance with the media to discredit Labour's most radical policies.

Continued on page 10

experience has taught them that SDP-type policies don't work.

Right wing trade union leaders like Frank Chapple and Terry Duffy have already explained that if Labour can't govern alone they would be quite comfortable with a Labour/Alliance coalition.

Meanwhile, the offensive of the Tories threatens the labour movement with serious defeats.

The strategy of the right proposes nothing to stop them. Unless Labour defends working people here and now the labour movement will be prostrate before the Tories for the next decade. The second group of contenders are those around Neil Kinnock, the protege of Michael Foot.

Reveal

Events before and after the election reveal that this centre-left bloc has no independent position — they try to balance between the left and the right, generally

Thatcher has no mandate

THE PRESS say that in June 1983 the Conservative Party won a massive electoral victory. The facts are rather different. Margaret Thatcher has received the lowest real proportion of the vote of any government with a secure parliamentary majority in British history. She has not gained a popular mandate for her policies.

The second decisive result of the general election is Labour's disastrous defeat. This defeat was ably assisted by the wrecking of Callaghan and Healey. But the decisive blow was struck by the SDP/Liberal Alliance. The result is that while the Tories have no mandate to push through their secret agenda, the labour movement must now completely rebuild itself for struggle.

The British working class movement has been educated by its history to be profoundly anti-Tory. The 1983 elections results confirm this. Thatcher showed herself incapable of increasing her vote from the debacle of Labour's campaign.

By John Ross

In fact Thatcher's vote actually fell by almost 700,000 between 1979 and 1983 — a fall from 44 per cent to 42 per cent. That 42 per cent is the lowest real proportion of the vote received by a government with a clear majority in British history.

These election results are part of a decline of the Tory vote which has now been going on for fifty years — as we show elsewhere on this page.

This is why all comparisons with the years of Tory supremacy between the wars miss the point entirely. In the 1930s Conservative governments succeeded in gaining real mass support and mass votes — 55 per cent of the vote in 1931, 53 per cent of the votes in 1935.

The great majority of those who voted for the Alliance, no matter what the goals of their leaders, do not support the demolition of the health service, do not support Thatcher's policies on unemployment, do not support the attacks on democratic rights which this government is going to carry out.

A decisive majority of voters, 58 per cent, did not vote for Thatcher. That is why Ken Livingstone and

debilitating the Labour Party for the employers is removing the most essential of all weapons with which the unions can defend themselves.

The very scale of the Tories' assault on basic rights is a result of Thatcher's lack of authentic mass support.

She proposes to abolish the GLC because she is not sure the Tories could win an election against Labour in London. Police and other powers will be increased because the Tories cannot gain popular support for their policies.

The Alliance attack on the labour movement

Coupled with this organisational offensive against the Labour movement will be a political attack on Labour by the SDP/Liberal Alliance. Confronted with a working class movement which is profoundly anti-Tory but not educated by its leadership to be pro-socialist, then the solution for the capitalist class was obvious.

Sponsor two political parties: one to carry through the attack on working class rights and living standards, the other to pose as 'anti-Thatcher' and 'anti-Tory' alliance which could slice into the Labour vote in a way that the Conservative Party never could.

The result is a major success for the capitalist class. It was the Alliance not the Tories who cut into the Labour vote and imposed a huge defeat. It was the Alliance and not the Tories who were able to pick up the votes driven into their hands by Callaghan and Healey.

Millions of voters reasoned that if the point was to be anti-Tory, but not in support of policies like unilateral disarmament or withdrawal from the Common Market, then why not vote for a liberal anti-Tory capitalist party.

The failure to build up a real socialist Labour Par-

ty plays into the hands of Steel, Owen, and Jenkins. The Alliance do not even pretend to replace the Tories. They aim to replace and smash the Labour Party — they say so openly.

Someone like Owen quivers with hatred every time he even mentions the Labour Party. The triple assault of the brutal club of the Tories, the stiletto in the ribs from the Alliance, and internal sabotage by the Labour right is the assault the Labour Party faced and will face in the future.

The Alternative to Thatcher

There should also be no illusions that the struggle with the Alliance is only just beginning.

The more serious representatives of the capitalist class understand perfectly well that this second Thatcher government is going to become unpopular extremely rapidly. The building societies carefully stage-managed their announcement on increases in mortgage interest rate so it came out only after the election.

There will be another round of public sector spending cuts in the autumn. The time bomb of the deteriorating balance of payments, and the need for austerity to curb it, is constantly eating away at the Tory support. Within a year even Thatcher's low 42 per cent vote will have fallen drastically.

The fraud of 'landslide support' will be increasingly obvious for all to see and the Tories run the risk of being crushed in by-election after by-election.

Every by-election will be turned into a gigantic contest in which the entire press, and every other weapon, will be mobilised to ensure that the Alliance defeats Labour. Above all the Alliance wants to claim, it is the alternative to Thatcher. Grinding down and smashing the Labour Party is the goal of

both capitalist parties today.

As for the politics of the Alliance it will huff and puff about 'opposition to Thatcher' and in practice put the knife into the Labour Party. As someone said of the *Guardian* newspaper it always comes down on the side of repression 'regretfully'. The Alliance will 'regretfully' go along with the policies to try to destroy the power of the labour movement.

Those who call for votes for the Alliance — the Chapples, the Granthams — should be hounded out of their positions of leadership in the labour movement. The Labour conference must declare itself completely and totally against any coalition or pact with the Alliance.

The struggles which lie ahead under this government are going to be extremely hard. But it is not impossible to win. As the economic crisis deepens, as people find out the real intentions of the Thatcher government, anger is going to rise.

It is precisely because Thatcher does not have mass support for attacking the welfare state, or for assaulting democratic rights, or for creating unemployment, that the Labour Party can rebuild its popularity. But that means the organisations of the labour movement must defend their members' jobs, wages, the welfare state and democratic rights.

If the Labour movement does not defend its members are not going to defend it.

The orientation of the Labour right, to make the Labour Party go even further back to its old openly right wing policies and structures, will leave even more space open for the Alliance to try to destroy the Labour Party.

Build the left wing

The labour movement and Labour Party is only

going to be defended if a massive organised left wing is built inside it. Those who believe that this is 'divisive' should look at the election campaign.

It was the fact that Healey and Callaghan were held up as honoured figures of the Labour movement and still had positions in the Labour Party apparatus, that allowed them to sabotage the campaign.

Building up the Broad Lefts in the unions and building the lefts in the constituencies is absolutely central to defending and rebuilding the Labour Party and labour movement. The left wing can win the support of whole new sections of the working class.

It is out of the activists in the anti-nuclear movement, in the fight to defend the welfare state, in fighting for jobs, in the defence of democratic rights that the forces to rebuild the support of the Labour Party are going to come.

Thatcher out

Finally the labour movement should have one clear goal — even if it seems a little remote a few days after an election. Thatcher has won a landslide of seats with a small vote for a government. The Tory Party will rapidly become dramatically unpopular. There is no necessity for the labour movement to wait for another five years to get rid of this government.

As Thatcher's popularity falls, as it becomes clear she has no mandate for the policies she will follow, the aim must be to get this government out and to force a new general election in which the Tories are crushed. No matter how tough the first months of the struggle, that is a goal which can be achieved.

Arthur Scargill are absolutely right to say that the labour movement must now turn to struggling outside Parliament to defend working class rights.

The potential for such a struggle exists. Those Labour Party members who worked for the campaign were more enthusiastic, active and militant than in previous years. Those who voted for a manifesto denounced by the media as left wing did so more consciously than ever before.

The Tory attack on the labour movement

The Tories realise the obstacles facing them in carrying through their secret agenda. They know their popularity will decline even more rapidly in power. That is why they are seeking to strengthen themselves and destroy their opponents.

They have to try to:

- break the finances of the Labour Party by preventing the trade unions having political funds
- abolish the closed shop in order to protect scabs in the workplace
- use Tebbit's laws to intimidate militants, crush struggles and attempt to destroy unions, particularly those in the public sector.

The attack on the Labour Party and that on the unions are tied together. The trade unions created the Labour Party to defend the unions through political struggle. Weakening and



Tory victories	
Year	Tory % of the vote
1931	55.0
1935	53.3
1951	48.0
1955	49.7
1959	49.4
1970	46.4
1979	43.9
Tory defeats	
Year	Tory % of the vote
1945	39.6
1950	43.4
1964	43.4
1966	41.9
1974 (February)	37.9
1974 (October)	35.8

Three Party po

MANY PEOPLE were surprised by the big vote that the SDP/Liberal Alliance got in the election.

The Alliance had been put down as a creation of the media, dismissed as some odd protest vote or described as the 'bubble that would burst'.

By John Ross

Even some of our readers thought we gave too much attention to the Alliance. But the 26 per cent vote notched up by the Alliance has shown that there is a profound change taking place in British politics.

Nor is this some odd thing that happened in one election. The rise of the Liberal vote has been going on for 30 years — our table here makes that clear.

Obviously this is no flash in the pan. Despite odd ups and downs the Liberal vote has been clim-

bing steadily. The trend goes from three per cent in 1955 to six per cent in 1959. By 1964 it had reached 11 per cent. In 1974 it had climbed to 19 per cent. Now it has reached 26 per cent.

General Election	Liberal-SDP percentage of the vote
1951	3
1955	3
1959	6
1964	11
1966	9
1970	8
1974(Feb)	19
1974(Oct)	18
1979	14
1983	26

This is why Labour can't just ignore the threat of the Alliance. The *New Statesman* dismissed the

Photo: JOHN HARRIS

to govern



Photo: JOHN HARRIS

Politics?

SDP as some irrelevancy when it was formed, making 'funny' jokes about 'Woy' and claret. Their political ignorance was shown when they finished up calling for a 'tactical vote' for the Alliance — in some constituencies apparently 'Woy' and 'claret' was better than independent working class politics.

Militant, who thought just having the label of Labour was enough, have been proved 7,776,000 votes wrong. Such complacency is dangerous. Labour can only win the leadership of the working class and its allies if it fights the politics of the SDP and the Liberals. Relying on anti-Toryism is not enough — the Alliance can cash in on that. Only by building an anti-capitalist movement can Labour become a majority.

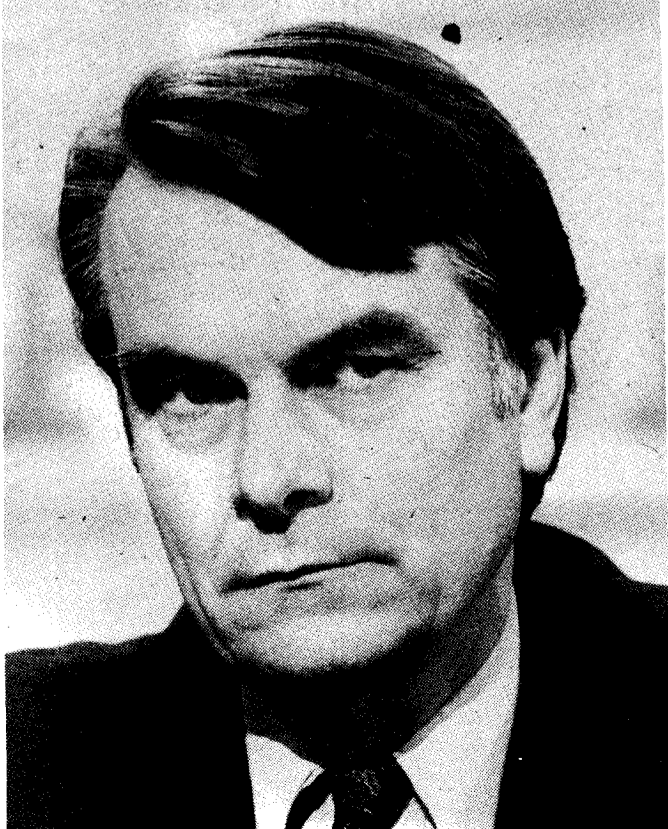


Photo: GM COOKSON

Who should the left back after Foot?



MICHAEL FOOT'S decision to step down as Party leader surprised nobody. Foot was elected as leader by the Parliamentary Labour Party before the introduction of the electoral college, as the best candidate to 'unite' the party and keep out Benn.

His abysmal failure as leader was not due to his personal eccentricities — the endless sentences, hollow rhetoric and general air of being somewhere else — but to his political positions.

Trying to unite left and right he fudged every issue and pleased nobody. The electorate could see that his 'leadership' was a farce of indecision and compromise.

Without Benn in parliament, the left is in a difficult position to put forward a credible candidate.

During the deputy leadership campaign we backed Tony Benn not because we agreed with him

politically, but to advance and embolden the left generally, and to test out in practice the most left wing leadership available.

By Phil Hearse

A victory for Benn would have been a symbol of the political majority for the left in the party, and would have stayed the hand of the right in witch-hunting the left and trying to impose its policies.

The opportunity for the left to put forward a candidate will probably be around the deputy leadership where Michael Meacher has put forward his nomination. This should be firmly backed against the 'centre' candidate, Denzil Williams and the candidate of the right, Gerald Kaufman.

Unfortunately there is at this stage no left candidate for the leadership. At one stage Eric Heffer's name was floated. If he accepted nomination we would support him.

But the major candidates are Hattersley, Shore and Kinnock. Shore and Hattersley are unambiguously on the right of the party. Kinnock is associated with the 'centre-left' around Foot.

As Ken Livingstone points out in his article, Kinnock has a long record of opportunism and betrayal of the left's aspirations.

The accompanying chart of recent voting behaviour on the NEC prepared by CLPD shows that Kinnock has voted with the right on incomes policy, nationalisation of the banks and the witch hunt.

Nevertheless in the absence of a left candidate, the divide between left and right in the ranks of the labour movement will emerge around Kinnock's candidature.

Hattersley or Shore would signal that the majority of the party had swung to the right decisively.

It would be a green light for the witch hunt, for the abandonment of unilateralism, embracing the Common Market and incomes policy and attacking the constitutional advances. Socialist Action has no illusions.

Kinnock is a rotten opportunist, who at a later stage might prepare his own attack on the policy gains of the left. But to refuse to back him against Hattersley or Shore in the final analysis would be an ultra-left stupidity — handing the game to the right wing without a fight.

Voting behaviour in the NEC

KEY TO NUMBERED ISSUES

1. Keep the commitment to nationalise clearing banks in NEC Statement to Conference, July 1982
2. NEC should not oppose Conference amendments calling for removal of NEC's arbitrary powers over pressure groups and calling for impartial conditions for the operation of pressure groups. September 1982
3. Total opposition to incomes policy and support for guaranteed minimum wage. September 1982
4. Keep Benn, not Golding, as Chair of Home Policy Committee. November 1982
5. Carry out 1981 Conference decision to allow CLPs to carry out a full re-selection in the event of boundary changes. February 1982
6. Against expelling the Militant editorial board. February 1983

KEY TO SYMBOLS

F = For; A = Against; O = Abstention; - = Absent or not voting; * = Not on NEC then

NEC VOTES Issue No.	1981-82			1982-83		
	1	2	3	4	5	6
Frank Allaun	O	F	F	F	F	F
Tony Benn	F	F	F	F	F	F
Betty Boothroyd	-	A	A	-	A	A
Eric Clarke	-	F	A	F	*	*
Laurence Coates	F	F	F	F	F	F
Ken Cure	*	*	*	A	A	A
Anne Davis	*	*	*	A	A	A
Gwyneth Dunwoody	A	A	A	A	A	A
John Evans	*	*	*	A	A	A
Roy Evans	-	A	A	A	A	A
Michael Foot	A	A	A	A	A	A
John Golding	A	A	-	A	A	A
Alan Hadden	-	-	A	A	A	A
Judith Hart	-	F	-	F	A	F
Denis Healey	A	A	A	A	A	F
Eric Heffer	F	F	F	F	F	F
Neville Hough	-	-	A	A	A	A
Doug Hoyle	A	-	F	A	*	*
Denis Howell	*	*	*	A	A	A
Les Huckfield	F	F	F	O	-	A
Neil Kinnock	A	A	A	-	A	A
Alex Kitson	-	A	A	-	A	A
Joan Lester	A	A	A	*	*	*
Joan Maynard	F	F	A	-	-	-
Sam McCluskie	-	A	A	F	-	F
Jo Richardson	F	F	F	-	F	F
Gerry Russell	*	*	A	F	F	F
Tom Sawyer	*	*	*	F	F	F
Dennis Skinner	F	F	F	F	F	F
Shirley Summerskill	A	A	A	A	A	A
Syd Tierney	A	A	A	-	A	A
Russell Tuck	A	A	-	A	A	A
Eric Varley	A	A	A	A	A	A
David Williams	-	-	A	A	A	A
Audrey Wise	*	*	*	-	-	-

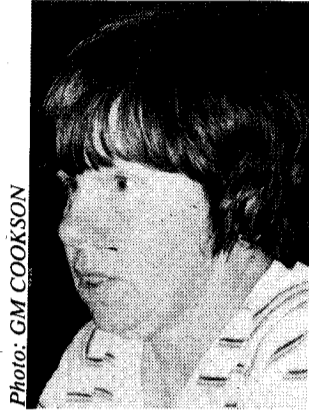
What the left said

Helen John Greenham Common Peace Camp

I'M VERY disappointed at the large swing to the Tories. Part of the reason for this is that people were misled.

They were told that there was going to be an upturn and that the economy was becoming strong again. Unfortunately the people are going to find out the hard way that this isn't true.

Neither were the issues discussed in the campaign. Labour's campaign in particular was not hard enough or positive enough. Con-



Helen John

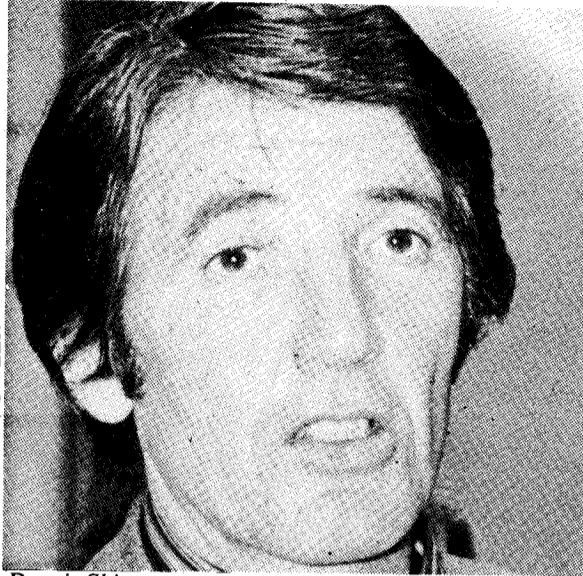
ference decisions were not put forward with any vigour.

If the election had been fought properly on these policies. I still think that Thatcher could have been defeated and Labour could have won.

After the election we will see a great deal more of the sort of action we have seen at Upper Heyford, as those who are aware of the issues take action.

The missiles will be stopped by extra-parliamentary action.

Dennis Skinner, MP



Dennis Skinner

CALLAGHAN lost the 1979 election with his tin pot 5 per cent pay policy — and now he's helped to lose this one as well. But we're not going to be down. We've got to come out fighting from day one.

We need leaders in the labour movement but we've got to make sure that they stay on course, and convey the message from the rank and file into the trade unions and the House of Commons.

Policies

Leadership is not about charisma or personality but about policies. I shall be asking all those who aspire to the leadership of our party what policies they will fight for.

And parliamentarians have to understand this — the battle must start outside parliament, and MPs and trade union executives will have to mirror that battle.

Extra-parliamentary activity will be extremely important in the coming period.

Joyce Hurcombe

Joint Secretary Labour CND

THATCHER'S victory is a disaster for the working class. The next four years will show there's no way forward under capitalism.

Our leadership didn't come back with a straight, simple line, especially on disarmament. I didn't expect we'd be attacked on disarmament during the election by our own leadership, but that's what happened.



There are problems inside the Labour Party. If the right wing now turn on the left — if they accelerate the witch hunt — I

Vladimir Derer, Secretary, Campaign for Labour Party Democracy

THE VICTORY of reaction at the polls was due to a number of factors, only a few of which the Labour Party could control.

One factor Labour can influence is its own credibility as an alternative government. It is here, however, that the Labour Party contributed to its own defeat.

In its propaganda the party tended to treat the question of unemployment in isolation and not as the consequence of the capitalist economic structure. This meant that the Alternative Economic Strategy, which was originally founded on economic planning, on the basis of a significant extension of public ownership, was abandoned.

Outcry

The failure of Labour's remedies to go beyond Keynesian methods of economic management — methods still remembered as not having worked under past Labour governments — meant that Labour's concern about unemployment was seen at best as well meaning but only likely to result in inflation and overmanning.

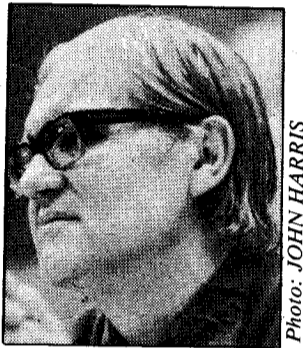
Labour's past records further meant that a socialist incomes policy could not become part of the party's economic strategy, thus depriving that strategy of any credibility.

Instead of making the economy the main plank of its platform, the party was forced to rely on the

calculation (a miscalculation as it turned out) that unilateralism and withdrawal from the Common Market would be electorally popular.

But it was not just its programme that deprived Labour of credibility. The party's internal battle also contributed.

The major reason for their protracted and electorally damaging



Vladimir Derer

character, is, of course, the refusal of most Labour MPs and some trade union leaders to accept the end of the PLP's monopoly of policy-making powers.

Unfortunately many of those on the party's left wing who have helped to achieve Labour's democratic reform completely fail to appreciate the paramount importance of party unity.

For without unity, there can be no electoral credibility, and no chance to implement the party's policies.

The fact, however, is that the party will unite. The real choice is between unity dictated by the right wing and unity involving all shades of opinion in the Labour Party.

In 1970, when Labour lost, many people thought that it was the end of the world. But a spirit of struggle developed which resulted in the downfall of the Heath government, following the second miners strike in 1974.

We've got to get that spirit back after this defeat. The potential for defeating the Tories and the establishment lies in places like this — among the South Wales miners.

We must make sure that if the TUC won't take the government on, then the might of the industrial unions will be brought into play.

Strength

We've got the strength to do it, so let's start the fightback now. Everybody who struggles against the Tories and the bosses should not be left to fight alone, but must be given support.

One almighty struggle against this government and we can repeat what happened in 1974.

Alf Home, Chair, Manchester Wythenshawe CLP

NOW that the General Election is over the fight with the right-wing will start again with new force. We think that they will want to try to completely break up the Wythenshawe Party, suspended just prior to the election.

Despite being suspended there would have been no election campaign in Wythenshawe if we hadn't organised it, so it does seem ridiculous that we are still suspended.

Our solicitor, Jeff Wilner, has written to the NEC's solicitor demanding that Joe Paine — the election agent that we sacked — hands over equipment from the party's offices.

One letter that we

received in reply was addressed to me as chairman of the Constituency. It was from David Hughes, the National Agent. I did answer it, as I couldn't how the Party could be suspended and yet myself still be written to as the chair.

When David Hughes found out why I had not replied he wrote again, saying that he knew I had been elected as chair by over two-thirds of the constituency, so he still considered me as chair. Presumably this is a new rule, you're not really elected unless you get a two-thirds vote!

We have recently written again and asked for a meeting with David Hughes and represen-

tatives of the NEC, on the grounds that they have gone beyond their constitutional rights in closing Wythenshawe down. We have told them that if they do not agree to this meeting within 14 days, then a High Court Writ will be issued against them.

We are appealing to all Labour Party and trade union bodies to pass resolutions in support of Wythenshawe and protesting the NEC's action, these to be sent to the NEC. We will also urgently need finance if we do go to court.

Send copies of resolutions /donations to: Alf Home, Chair Wythenshawe CLP, 39 Mullacre Rd, Wythenshawe, M22.

don't see a lot of future for the party.

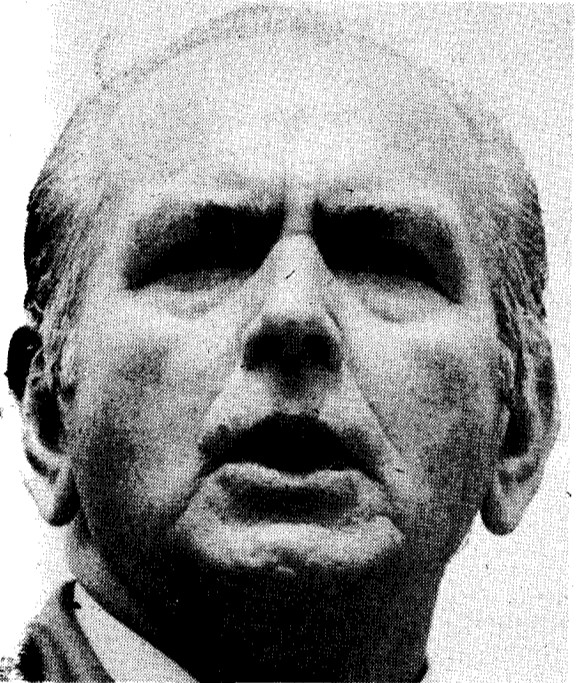
If the right are successful in this, it means there will be no party putting forward a socialist programme. We might as well step down and just let the SDP get on with things.

Fighting back will be hard. We can only do it with clear policies and a real socialist alternative. This is what the left must now fight for. This time, the Labour leadership waited till the election was called to put forward our arguments on the

economy, on a social programme, and on disarmament.

They weren't really very convincing — they weren't able to answer people's real fears and concerns, and so overcome the Tory and Alliance arguments.

Emlyn Williams, President, S.Wales miners



Emlyn Williams

WE'VE lost the election, but don't be despondent because of that.

We face the massacre and destruction of the British mining industry at the hands of the Thatcher government, particularly through the growth of nuclear energy.

If more pits close there won't be jobs at other pits for miners to transfer to. It would mean large scale redundancies; our youngsters will be deprived of jobs in our industry.

But we're not going to sit back and let this happen. We intend to fight closures and redundancies.

Jim Callaghan has done more to damage the image of the Labour Party than any other Labour MP. He is now the only Labour MP left in Cardiff, and he's in good company with Cardiff's three Tory MPs.

Tribune

IT GOES without saying that this election has been a disaster for Labour. The question now arises: what is to be done?...

First, Labour must never again go into an election with leaders most of whom are so manifestly out of sympathy with the programme on which they are supposed to be campaigning ...

Second, there is likely to be a leadership election in the autumn. Nominations are now open and close on 15 July. We need a politician of sufficient stature to stand up to Thatcher and who at the same time commands the

confidence of Labour Party members.

The defeat of Tony Benn in Bristol temporarily removes the only candidate who obviously fits the bill. Every effort should be made to get him back into Parliament as soon as possible ...



Third, we need to prepare ourselves for a new onslaught from the Labour right. They will allege that it was Labour's policies which lost the election ...

What destroyed the credibility of the Labour

Party in the eyes of the electorate was the two year smear campaign conducted by most of the Labour leadership against the Party they were supposed to represent ... Labour is going to be in Opposition for a long time. ...

The job facing its members in the meantime is two fold.

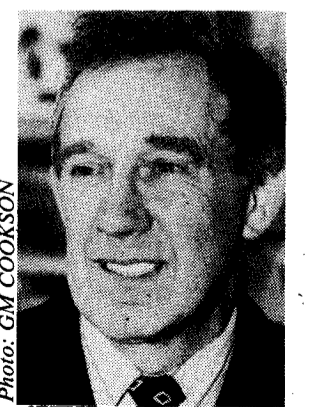
FIRST, they must close once and for all the huge gulf inside the party between the leaders and led.

SECOND, they must go out into the country and close the gap which is growing between the Labour party and the electorate.

Ray Davies, Labour candidate, Cardiff C.

THE LABOUR movement has a great task ahead of it in the next two years following the humiliating defeat at the hands of our right wing Labour leaders.

We must absorb the scars and the pain and flex our muscles for the great fight ahead. There will be the attack on civil liberties with the Tories' Police Bill: there will be the assaults on the unions; there will be the attack on public services; and we must transform our pain into energy and fight back against the Tories at every opportunity.



Ray Davies

This must be done through the rank and file

of the trade union movement and the party. And it must be part of the process of rebuilding our leadership which was the weak link in the whole of the Labour and trade union election campaign.

People will judge us over the next few years not on our rhetoric but on our action in defending working people against the Tory onslaught. The priority of rank and file activists in the vital months ahead is to work within the trade union and Labour Party to uphold and promote the Party's radical policies.

The task is to build a mass, campaigning Party

WE MUST face the fact that the prospects for this country are bleak, and yet, eight and a half million people or more voted for our manifesto. Eight and a half million is a bedrock of support upon which we can build.

That manifesto, worked out by the trade union and labour movement over a decade or more is a minimum programme. I believe that as the months go by, the relevance of what we said will become apparent, like a prophecy against which we can judge our own experience.

We achieved that vote against the most powerful assault upon our party that we have seen probably since 1931. My friends, we have five tasks to perform.

FIRST we must protect our own people, outside as well as inside parliament.

We were set up as a trade union and labour movement to defend, to be the guardians, to protect. And these tasks will still be



upon our shoulders if we did not have a single Labour member in the House of Commons.

That task of protection is a continuing task. We can't say 'we'll wait till the next election when everything will be different'.

We have to do it here and now, to protect the young and the old and the disabled and the sick, and to protect the peace.

By Tony Benn

With a hostile media it is increasingly important we give priority to getting our message across to our people. If you look at the public opinion polls they never published, and I went through them all with great care, you will find that for month after month the British people, when asked for their judgement on the policies of the Labour Party confirmed them time and again.

More should be spent on health, more on pensions, less on arms. We should look after the public services. The press didn't publish because, although it is a mass media, they want to keep us in isolation in our own homes, not allowing us to know how widely shared were the feelings that each of us had about the way society should be run.

THE SECOND task is to build a mass party. I don't know if it was the experience of everyone, but it certainly was in Bristol East. We've never had so

many people coming to help. We've had young people, we've had steel workers and miners from Wales.

I believe that this was the experience in other areas. So now we must build a mass party. Every local party should go back to its Labour promises and make them into members.



We must campaign for socialism in the trade union movement because nobody should take for granted that the trade unionists who read the Sun will see the connection between their trade union work and the work of the Party.

We must campaign with the women's movement. A majority of our people, in the front line, are suffering heavily from what is happening, being driven back to the home. Why? In order to take on the tasks the welfare state

was to perform, and to do it without pay.

We must work with the peace movement, and the ethnic communities.

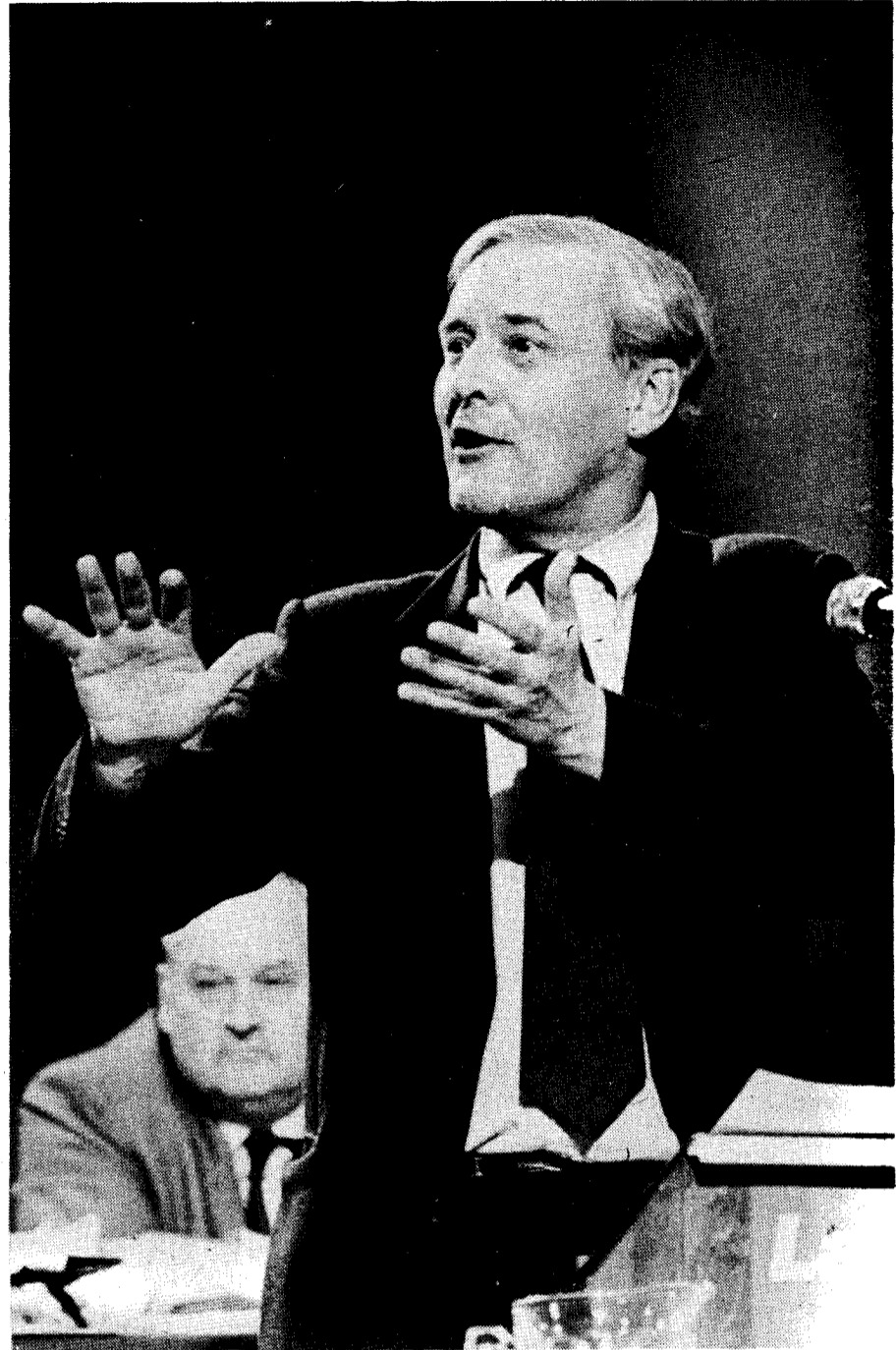
Non-political movements are a dead end. You cannot have a non-political trade unionism, as NALGO has demonstrated with its brilliant campaign 'Put People First'.

You cannot have a non-political peace movement or a non-political women's movement. These movements are all part of an unfair society. Labour is the real alliance and it must be an alliance of all those who are in one section or another of the front line and appreciate how unfair our society is.

THIRD, we must be a campaigning party. We must campaign on the issues that touch people deeply. We must raise expectations. One of the things that amazes me is the apparent success of the Prime Minister and the Cabinet in persuading people that to want full employment makes you an extremist. To want a decent health service makes you an extremist.

We are a very rich country: we are the oldest industrial country. We must raise the expectations of the young. It is not unreasonable, with a thousand years of coal and fifty years of oil, that people should look forward to useful work, a decent home, good health, to dignity in retirement and peace.

In order to do that we must rebuild hopes, and put democracy, civil liberties, socialism, and internationalism back at the top of the agenda of our society.



FOURTH, we must keep our party together, and the movement together. There are very urgent tasks to perform. Of course, we must learn the lessons of the past. We must do that, and see that we do not make the same

mistakes again.

I believe that I speak for a very large number of people, today, in the morrow of a defeat, in saying there is no room for personal bitterness or recrimination, and that the desire for us to be united and strong, to face this challenge is the dominant thought in our minds at this moment.

We want a leadership that reflects and encourages the rich and diverse socialist tradition of our movement.

Comrades, finally, we must not be discouraged by what has happened. We are far stronger than we were in the 1930s. In 1932 we had only fifty-one MPs in the House. In 1935 we had only 150. And that effort put in during the decade of the '30s laid the foundations for the enormous Labour victory of 1945.

We are without doubt entering very troubled times. I cannot even be certain that this government, despite its parliamentary majority, will last a full five year term.

What I fear more than anything else is the hopelessness and the despair which 9 June will have brought into the hearts and minds of so many people.

And we are nothing if we are not a beacon of hope, hope for the unemployed, hope for older people, hope for younger people. And a very, very heavy responsibility rests upon all of us.

I feel absolutely certain that as we go into the next year or two, we shall discharge that responsibility with an awareness that so much, maybe even the peace of the world, hinges upon how true we are to the movement: the movement which has made us each in our own way, a spokesperson for the British people and for working people everywhere.

I wish you success.

Tony Benn was speaking in Mansfield last Saturday, 11 June.

MALE ORDER

Surrender

ON 5 JUNE the *Sunday Times* announced the winners of its annual schools essay competition.

The most frequently chosen topics out of the 15,000 entries were 'the bomb' and unemployment. Around 90 per cent of the essays on the bomb were for unilateral disarmament, and many students were concerned with the dole queues waiting for them when they finish school.

But the judges, three editors and one Oxford professor, awarded first prize to an essay called 'A Woman's Place'.

Ten-year old Suzanna Chambers won in the primary school category for counselling mums to 'buck up', surrender their jobs and stay at home to take care of

their kids. A working mum is 'a disgrace to the female race, as it (being home with their children) is a mother's responsibility'.

The judges said that Suzanna impressed them because 'she seemed to be thinking for herself'.

Presumably those who wrote about unilateralism couldn't possibly have been thinking for themselves — they must have taken dictation straight from their hot-line to the Kremlin! (Pam Singer)

Lads and lassies

ARTHUR Scargill watchers have reported what could possibly be a turning point in his career. Arthur has been

notorious in the past for his defence of page 3 pin-ups in the *Yorkshire Miner* and a debilitating blind spot on women's rights and women's liberation.

Sisters

At an election rally in Hounslow he said that women didn't know anything about politics before they got the vote and perhaps if it had stayed that way we wouldn't have Thatcher now!

But when Arthur spoke at the National Union of Railworkers broad left rally in Liverpool he consistently addressed the workers as 'brothers and sisters' and referred to 'lads and lassies' in the labour movement. Throughout his speech he never once forgot that women were part of the workers movement.

We can only hope that his new found consciousness will be a permanent feature.

Compiled by HILARY DRIVER. Send contributions to 'Male Order' Socialist Action, 328 Upper Street, London N1 2XP to arrive not later than Thursday a week prior to publication.



Halimat to stay

HALIMAT Babamba, who has been fighting for the last 11 months to stay in Britain, has just heard from the Home Office that she and her two children can stay permanently.

Halimat has lived and worked in Leeds since 1980 when she came here with her husband from Nigeria. She was forced to leave her husband because of his violence to her and her children, and he has since returned to Nigeria. Halimat has made her home here and knew that if she was forced to go back to Nigeria, her husband would get custody of the children.

Halimat said 'I feel so happy and relieved. I want to say thanks for everyone who fought for me and supported me'. (Friends of Halimat Babamba, Leeds)



FIFTH, we want a more collective and accountable leadership. Past experiences has shown, through Ramsay MacDonald to George Brown and Roy Jenkins, that a movement as broad and democratic as ours cannot entrust all power to individuals, because many have let us down.

We need a more collective style, we want leadership that is more like a wheel where each spoke gives strength and balance.

Sinn Fein wins 42 per cent

THE 100,000 votes for Sinn Fein candidates exceeded their 90,000 target and represents the biggest thorn in the side of the incoming Tory government.

Two years after the death of hunger striker MP Bobby Sands, this result shows the lasting impact of the H-Block protest movement and the strong anti-imperialist consciousness of the nationalist working class in the North.

The army's campaign of physical harassment supported by the Southern government and Catholic Church failed to reduce the Sinn Fein vote below levels achieved in the Assembly elections.

Acres of free publicity were given to the Social Democratic and Labour Party. Their campaign 'against violence' was publicly backed by church leaders and the Southern government.

The first meeting of the 'All Ireland Forum' was deliberately organised in the middle of the election campaign to suggest that a united Ireland can be achieved through collaboration with the British ruling class and that Loyalist intransigence should be answered by gradual compromise.

By involving the SDLP and excluding Sinn Fein, the capitalist parties of the South tried to restore the nationalist credentials of the SDLP after their collapse during the H-block campaign.

Throughout the election, Sinn Fein workers have been intimidated and harassed by the army and RUC. Head-quarters have been taken from the doorstep and held for questioning, speaker cars have been stopped and Irish flags forcibly removed, the collection of postal votes has been disrupted.

Absentee MP for West Belfast, Gerry Fitt has been profiled in every major newspaper and TV programme.

The house he owns off the Falls Road, heavily guarded against the locals, was unsealed for a series of interviews 'from Fortress Fitt'. Although he proudly claimed to have received half his votes from the strongly Loyalist Shankhill Road area, the media felt able to include all his votes in a totting up exercise to suggest that Gerry Adams did not have the support of a clear majority of nationalists in West Belfast.

Mourn

A dishevelled Michael Foot made his only post-election comment to mourn the passing of Fitt. This massive propping up operation slowed the collapse of the SDLP who still got 137,000 votes.

Neither the SDLP, nor the Workers Party who polled under 22,000 votes, can be further displaced by the simple combination of military activity and electioneering.

Day-to-day involvement of the mass of na-



Posters getting the message across in Derry

tionalists in Ireland as a whole can turn around the situation and give the lie to politicians of the SDLP who claim to be working towards a united Ireland.

In the North, Sinn Fein have established advice centres in the main working class areas and a Women's Centre in West Belfast. These are intended to combine fighting individual grievances over housing and social benefits with centralising opposition to the extension of the powers of the Northern Ireland Assembly — the aim of the Tories in the coming year.

The left in the Labour Party must welcome the

electoral gains of Sinn Fein who now hold the support of 42 per cent of the nationalist vote.

The left must begin to build the kind of withdrawal movement in this country that can fight new repressive measures being planned.

The Labour Committee on Ireland and Ken Livingstone are jointly inviting Gerry Adams to rallies in the major towns in Britain and to Labour and TUC Conferences.

In the coming weeks, this invitation will be backed by constituency parties and organisations of the Labour left.

ELECTION ROUND UP

How the left fared

THE LABOUR LEFT suffered damaging blows in the election — mainly due to the intervention of the Alliance. But there were also important successes which will strengthen the voice of the left in parliament.

Foremost among the left's defeats was that of Tony Benn in Bristol East. Despite a good local campaign, Benn paid the price of the national swing, the big liberal vote (10,000 as compared with 19,000 for the Tories and 18,000 for Labour) — and his ques-

tionable decision to stay in Bristol when a number of safe seats were on offer.

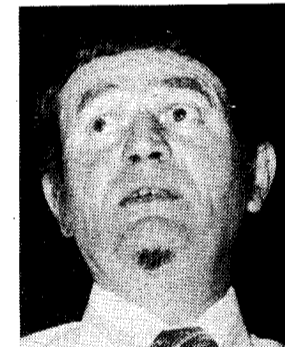
Benn's defeat creates a problem for the left in putting up an effective and credible candidate in the coming election for the new leader of the Labour Party.

The Tories and the Labour right wing were jubilant.

The candidates who support the *Militant* newspaper had mixed results. Two of their candidates were elected — Dave Nellist in Coventry South and Terry Fields in Liverpool Broadgreen. Both with decisive victories.

Impact

Pat Wall in Bradford North went down however by one and a half thousand votes under the impact of the intervention of the Alliance who took 11,000 votes and former Labour MP Ben Ford who took 4,000 votes as an independent Labour candidate. The other *Militant* hopeful was Rod Fitch in Brighton Kemptown, who lost by 9,000 to the Tories.



Pat Wall — defeated in Bradford

Leading London left winger Jeremy Corbyn won a handsome victory in Islington North. Despite backing from Frank Chapple, SDP candidate John Grant was beaten into third place. Corbyn's majority over the Tories was 5607. Ex-Labour, ex-SDP political mafioso O'Halloran got 4,000 votes.

Ken Coates of the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation, IWC and END, was defeated by the Tories in Nottingham South, with a Tory majority of 6000.

Beaten

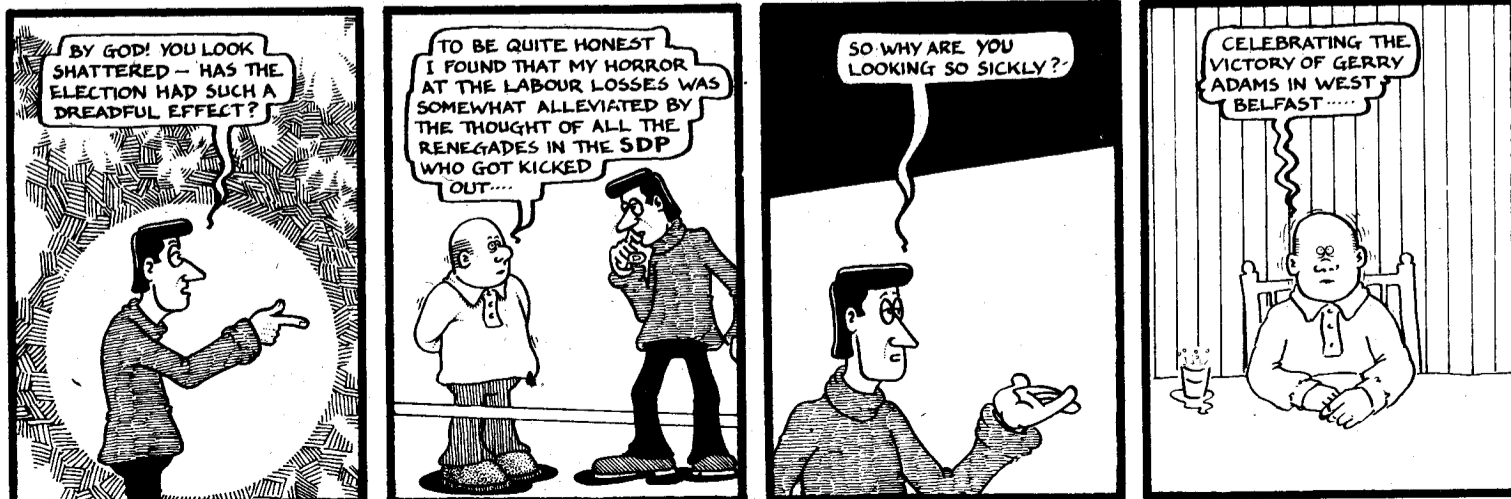
Labour's only likely black MP Paul Boateng suffered a huge defeat in Hertfordshire West, being beaten into third place behind the Tories and SDP.

Other important left wing losses were leading Bennite Bob Cryer in Keighley and anti-imperialist campaigner Stan Newens in Harlow.

In Birmingham Ladywood, where the first re-selection of a sitting Labour MP was carried out when John Sever was removed, left winger Claire Short won a 9000 majority for Labour.

A PIECE OF THE ACTION

BY #14 6/83 GORMAG



Socialist Action model resolution

THE DEBATE on Labour's future is already under way.

Socialist Action urges its readers to promote model resolutions from Labour Against the Witch-hunt, Labour CND, CLPD Women's Action Committee, the Labour Committee on Ireland and the Labour Committee on Gay Rights.

But the labour movement at all levels needs a clear strategy as a framework for such resolutions.

We therefore urge all supporters to put the following resolution endorsed by *London Labour Briefing* to their labour movement bodies as a statement of general position, and to ensure that it goes forward to Labour Party conference from a representative group of CLPs.

'Conference notes that Thatcher has been returned with the lowest popular vote of any Tory Prime Minister this century.'

Conference does not accept this as a popular mandate for her 'hidden manifesto' of dismantling the welfare state and public sector, breaking the unions and their links with our party, and crushing democratic rights and living standards. Rather, her victory is a verdict on our party's failure to defend its socialist policies in the face of a witch-hunting anti-Labour campaign.

Conference pledges the party to all measures, both parliamentary and extra-parliamentary, needed to resist Tory attacks and bring an about early election. Conference rejects:

- a) any alliance with anti-Labour parliamentary parties
- b) any watering down of Labour's socialist policies
- Neither would allow Labour to defend those it represents, nor to come to office in the face of a media and establishment bitterly hostile, not just to Labour's policies but to the Labour Party as such. Conference resolves instead to rebuild the Labour Party as a mass campaigning party among trades unionists, women, youth and black people by supporting and championing all resistance to Tory attacks, and to approach the TUC for joint action to:
- a) defend the public sector and the welfare state
- b) prevent all further deployment of nuclear weapons
- c) defeat Tory attacks on the unions and on living standards
- d) defend the GLC and City Councils and uphold the right to an Assembly in Scotland
- e) defend women's rights to abortion, equal pay and work, and against sexual harassment
- f) defend gay rights
- g) curb police powers and stop racist attacks on black people from any quarter

Conferences asserts that this is the most effective means to unite the party against the Tories.

● *Labour Against the Witch Hunt* is to hold its postponed National Conference on 2 July. This will be the first national forum in which the left can assess its strategy against the witch-hunters and readers should ensure their Party wards and YS send a delegate or observer.

The day after, 3 July, will see a national conference of Briefing groups, called on the initiative of *London Labour Briefing* in consultation with other local groups, to discuss setting up a national Briefing supplement.

For information and affiliation to LAW contact Keith Lichman, 11 Wilderton Road, London N16 0J-802 1709. *London Labour Briefing* can be contacted at 23 Leghorn Road, London NW10.

Photo: AN PHOBLAIGHT

Photo: JOHN HARRIS

I THINK WE should try and challenge some of the myths that are going to grow up about why we lost the election. Because there's a whole series of factors which undoubtedly played a part, but I don't think were key factors.

Undoubtedly a major reason for the creation of the SDP was to keep Labour out of office. That was clearly the objective behind the establishment of the SDP, and it was to a degree effective.

Also, there's the question of the Falklands. It wasn't helpful, even if we did agree with the comments of Denis Healey and Neil Kinnock just for once, it wasn't particularly useful to raise the question of the Falklands given that our record on it was so bloody abysmal!

I would have been quite happy to defend our record on the Falklands on the doorstep if we'd opposed the invasion. But the Labour Party rocked backwards and forwards, first of all sounding more jingoistic than the Tories and actually creating the base from which Thatcher was able to launch the invasion. And then afterwards deciding that, when we supported sending the task force, we didn't think they were going to kill anyone when they got there!

Neither was it crucial that Callaghan and Healey moved in on the issue of defence. It didn't help. But then, if we look at what happened to Thatcher, she had all of her wets sniping away — she just brushed them aside. Had we had a party committed to its policies and were those policies coherent, we could have brushed it aside as well.

It's on this question of economic policy that I think we see the reason why we lost. Because if you look at what's happened throughout this campaign, for all the talk of an alternative economic strategy, in the last nine months in the run up to the election the labour leadership put forward every gimmick going.

We had the idea that if we devalued the pound by 30 per cent, this would be the miracle cure for the British economy. They stopped talking about that when the pound was devalued by 20 per cent and matters got worse.

There were people still rabbiting on about import controls as though they could solve the economic crisis all on their own. I don't think anyone is convinced of that because they know perfectly well it would only unleash a trade war which would rebound on us right away.

'It isn't a question now of going along just defending our policies, we have to argue for the control of capital, we have to argue for the extension of public ownership. In doing that we've got to counter some 30 years of damaging propaganda'

The same I think is true of this nonsense about borrowing. Everytime I saw Peter Shore on television he was talking about borrowing our way out of the crisis. Well, given that we may be on the brink of a collapse of the world banking system... I don't know what that brings to your mind, but Peter Shore rushing to the banks to borrow some money before they collapse so that the British economy can survive...? It's not convincing to ordinary voters, anymore than the National Economic Assessment. It's just a very long way of saying an incomes policy. Voters realise that all those gimmicks were just gimmicks and weren't going to solve the economic problems of our society.

An awful lot of those Labour MPs who've lost their seats actually helped themselves to lose by smearing the Party year by year and calling for witch hunts and purges. I think they're quite naive if they assume — though they're arrogant enough to — that the average Labour voter actually distinguishes between a Labour MP and the Party generally.

The media attack clearly had an impact, but once again I think that if we had had a convincing set of

"We have to get our policies right"

policies, that could've been swept aside.

Although many people came across the problem of the public reflection of Michael Foot's leadership, I think that's also a reflection of the confusion over our policies. Michael Foot's leadership was there because the Party hadn't resolved what its policies were going to be.

And having fudged together a group of policies which we all dutifully accepted as better than what had gone in the past, it was obvious you would see emerge a leader who would represent in leadership terms that same sort of fudging.

I believe the key to our weakness is the Party economic policy. Because if you look at it, what we've been doing with the alternative economic strategy, and the manifesto document that eventually came out, is defending the strategy which was devised in the very late 1960s and the early 1970s.

The programme we went into this election on is a slightly updated and watered down version of Labour's programme in 1973. A programme that was created at the end of a 25 year world economic boom. And we've never really got back to it and revised it.

Questions

I remember being interviewed when I was parliamentary candidate for Hampstead — it must have been five or six years ago — and one of the questions put to me was did I believe that the alternative economic strategy would actually resolve Britain's economic crisis?

My response was something along the lines of No, but it was most probably an inevitable stage that the Party had to go through in government to show what its weaknesses were, before the Party could move on to a more coherent set of socialist policies. And I think my only mistake was to overlook the fact that the weakness of that economic strategy could be exposed in a general election campaign every bit as easily as it was going to be exposed if a Labour government had ever to rely on it as its economic policy in government.

That is precisely what happened. We had ducked right the way through in the Labour Party — I talk about it collectively — this issue of what our economic policies will be. Perhaps because what has gone before has been so awful, we on the left have accepted Labour's programme in 1973 and various updates of it.

Simply because we knew Golding controlled the NEC when this manifesto came out, we were just so amazed that it wasn't committing us to have more nuclear weapons and immediately impose cuts in public spending, that we were perhaps a bit stary eyed about it.

Just because we expected something worse we all slipped into being far too uncritical about the range of policies we went into that election on.

And I think they're exposed for what they are, which is the lowest common denominator acceptable to the Labour Party conference. We can't say that the policies we fought the election on were a betrayal of Party conference, we have to honestly say that the conference has fudged for a decade what sort of economic and other policies we're going to go to the electorate on.

We've made advances, but they've always been advances that have been so compromised, that when we came to the crunch of having to



Photo: GM COOKSON

By Ken Livingstone

defend them, the weaknesses and contradictions were exposed in the fury of the election campaign.

There's no way we're going to see a Labour government elected on this half-way programme, because you aren't going to convince workers that it's going to work. They remember the record of two Labour governments in the last twenty years which promised much the same thing. They remember that we promised to deliver so much and yet we failed to deliver on anything other than an increase in public spending, financed out of taxation out of workers' pockets.

And they know that until we're prepared to tackle the wealth already existing in society, a Labour Party that dodges that issue is going to fall back on cuts in public spending, higher taxes and an incomes policy, because there is no other way of doing the things the Labour Party wishes to do in office if it isn't prepared to tackle the question of the control of capital.

I'm one of those who declined to sign the statements that were drifting around before the election saying sign here to defend the existing policies, the existing leadership, the existing membership. While I was quite happy to defend the existing membership, I wasn't too happy to defend the other two categories.

I believe that we aren't going to be in a position to win at an election until we are saying quite coherently, in terms that workers can understand, that Labour will fund its programme out of the existing wealth, the control of capital.

In no other western industrialised nation does the financial sector have such a dominant influence as it has in our country. There's no way any radical socialist government can do what it wants without tackling the question of the City of London.

We have lost that debate at conference. We haven't persuaded the

conference to go for nationalisation of the banks, we didn't persuade the bank workers union that they'd actually be better off under a nationalised industry than under their present private employers. So we have to reopen Labour's programme, and make it a coherent one which we can win the support of workers for, before we have any chance of winning an election.

We don't want to slip down into some defensive position of saying 'defend the existing policies', because I think they've been exposed as being totally unworkable.

It's not only on economic policy that we've got that ducking of the issue. Because there's no way we can pay for our socialist programme without also talking about extension of public ownership.

Thatcher realises the converse of that. The reason Thatcher is going to try and destroy British Telecoms is it's going to play such a central and key role at the core of the British economy for the rest of this century, and unless you privatise it you're actually not making the shift in power and wealth in favour of capital that Thatcher wants.

We have to win the reverse. Until we're prepared to take into public ownership the productive sectors of the economy, we are going to continue to fall back on the issue of paying for services of the welfare state out of higher taxes.

It isn't a question now of going along just defending our policies, we have to argue for the control of capital, we have to argue for the extension of public ownership. In doing that we've got to counter-balance some 30 years of damaging propaganda, about what public corporations are like when they're under nationalisation. We have got to raise the issue of the workforce having control of that if we're to have any success whatsoever.

Until we've got our economic policies straight, no new combination of policies or leaders or deputy

leaders is going to get things right. There are other contradictions which I can't go into because there isn't time. It was quite illogical for us to go stomping around saying we were going to get rid of nuclear weapons whilst still staying in NATO.

We had John Silkin saying we're going to get rid of nuclear weapons and spend more on conventional ones — and the whole thing is exposed as sham. We are still wedded into a defence strategy which says we are part and parcel of the Pentagon's armed struggle and it's directed at Eastern Europe and Russia.

We have to challenge this, and until we do then we are in a position where we're inevitably dragged back into saying don't worry about getting rid of nuclear weapons, because we have plenty of conventional ones to fight off the red menace.

There's another key question which I don't think is an issue on the doorstep this time, but could escalate into it at any time, and that is the issue of Ireland.

Until we can go into an election committed to withdrawal of troops from Ireland, we are going into an election in which a Labour government is committed to using all the apparatus of repression against Irish workers that has been built up over the last ten or fifteen years, and we can't honestly go into an election defending that.

Those are most probably the three key areas — the economy, defence and northern Ireland — which we have to get straight.

'I notice that the Evening Standard, usually no friend of the left, has decided to back Mr Kinnock. And as I say, it's no friend of the left!'

I notice that the Evening Standard, usually no friend of the left, has decided to back Mr Kinnock for the leadership. And as I said, they're no friend of the left!

Neil Kinnock was opposed to automatic re-election back in the mid-seventies, and got on the bandwagon once it became massively popular in the CLPs. It was his vote which denied the NEC recommendation at conference that the NEC should control the manifesto. We are still aware of the long term implications of his failure to vote for Benn. We're aware of his vote on Tatchell, his vote for every expulsion. And it's quite clear from the campaign he's going to run from his statement in the *Sunday Times* where he said that the question of *Militant* has to speedily and firmly deal with, and that we have to revise our policy on the Common Market.

Part of our failure is how we've organised for so long. Our struggle has far too often been confined to the Labour Party, and that complaint you hear from some organisations on the left that the Labour Party is a resolution machine can come damningly close to the truth.

I believe that our weakness was shown in the basic block of votes that we lost — skilled working class vote. It is these workers that we have to target. We won't get them to our meetings, we've got to start to build Labour Party organisations in the workplace. The Party constitution allows for workplace branches. Unless we get into the workplace and we organise there, and we have political debate there and argue, we are not going to recapture that section of the vote.

It may be that we can mobilise to win socialist policies and a left wing NEC, but that's not enough. We have to turn outwards and start to build a base in the community that is the prerequisite for the election of a Labour government of the sort we want.

Unless we turn out in support of every group of workers in struggle, every group in the community that's going to be fighting the cuts, we aren't going to be able to see these people then turn around and vote for us at a future general election.

(This is an edited version of Ken Livingstone's speech which was heard by over 350 people at a meeting in London on Monday in London called to discuss the next steps for the left after the election. The meeting was organised by Socialist Action)



...y is the one on the leash

Left kept quiet

By Alan Freeman

ON THE first Wednesday of the election campaign, after Healey had torpedoed Labour's unilateralist policies, Tony Benn was speaking to a Labour Party CND rally in Bristol.

The speech he could have made — but didn't — came from Helen John. Denis Healey, she said, does not represent the Party's policies but we do. And, we can make sure a future Labour government carries out its promises because women, if they organise like the Greenham Common campers, will stop Denis Healey from sabotaging unilateralism.

If Tony Benn had made that speech it might not have won the election for Labour, because the damage had already been done. Nor would it have united the leadership. They were then irrevocably split. However it *would* have been a counterblast to Callaghan's speech the same night, which put the final nail in Labour's coffin.

It would have also rallied the ranks of the great majority of Labour supporters who *do* support unilateralism to give them the confidence to try and win over the unconvinced.

Again it would have proved to millions in the peace movement who had not made up their mind for Labour that at least one section of Labour thought unilateralism was more important than Party infighting.



Tony Benn did not make that speech. That did not diminish anyone's respect for his integrity; but it did show the weakness — of the *political line* which he has followed since the Bishops Stortford meeting of party and union leaders after he lost the Deputy Leadership in

1981. This line was endorsed by most of the parliamentary left right up to the election, with the good exception of MPs such as Reg Race and Ernie Roberts who backed Socialists for a Labour Victory. It was fought for by the Campaign for Labour Party

LABOUR's election humiliation was an own-goal defeat, scored by a leadership that did not want to win. And if they were the only ones to suffer by it, we would say they deserved to lose.

The campaign began with Labour well in the running to overtake the Tories. The local elections gave the Tories a lead of only six per cent in the popular vote. The polls showed popular support for a lot of Labour's positions on issues like unemployment and the EEC. There was a record number of undecided voters.

During the campaign, a torrent of leaked documents revealed that another five years of Thatcherism would mean the dismantling of whole sections of the welfare state, and new attacks on the rights of trade unionists and the unemployed.

In spite of this, the gap didn't widen, and the sabotage of Callaghan and Healey finished off the process. But at the base, the tale was different. Record numbers of election volunteers came forward to help, Labour canvassers reached more voters than those of any other party, and 15,000 new members were recruited.

This enthusiasm among the activists was betrayed by a leadership that did not want to win on Labour's radical policies, and preferred a Tory victory which opened the prospect of housebreaking a decimated Labour Party for the role of coalition partner with the Alliance when or if the voters turn against Thatcher.

The right are already saying that the reason was not them but the unpopularity of Labour's left-wing policies. But this ignores the fact that Thatcher's most effective argument was the alleged lack of any alternative on the economy and jobs.

This made sense to many voters because they had already had experience of the 'moderate' policies of Healey and Co under the last Labour government. The Tory argument was that pumping money into the economy would only lead to inflation and a new squeeze, with no lasting and real jobs created.

Labour's manifesto did contain policies relating to planning and industrial democracy, and promised to direct investment in the interests of need rather than profit. Socialist Action's objections to the Alternative Economic Strategy are well known. But the overwhelming bulk of party activists thought it was a means towards socialist aims.

Labour's leaders fear the policies for exactly the same reason. That is why they never spoke about them. The Tories then had a field day arguing that Labour's policies had been tried in the past and had failed.

As a result, many voters agreed

'Mr Tebbit's home truths are not infallible, but even in Bolton, where unemployment and despondency are great, no-one seemed to have anything much better to offer. This is one of the great strengths of Thatcherism and Tebbitism. They have half-convinced people that, somehow, unemployment at its present level is inevitable.'

Rubert Cornwell
Financial Times 28 May

with the unemployed Stevenage railway worker quoted in the *Financial Times* as saying: 'She is a heartless cow, but she is the only one who has not done a U-turn. I'm voting Conservative'.

This meant that, without a clear alternative that could put the Tories on the defensive, the leaks and revelations about Conservative plans had no effect. Because if Labour had no fundamentally different way of running the economy, what guarantee would there be that a Labour government

would not be forced into similar economies by the mounting crisis, as its predecessors were?

Labour's policies on the economy were based on Peter Shore's 'emergency 12-month programme' of old style reflation which as *Tribune* pointed out was smuggled in by the right-wing to enable them to avoid talking about the economic measures in Labour's programme.

This led to the humiliating spectacle of the television chat-show on which Labour's Trade and Industry spokesman, a grey blur called, I believe, Cunningham, baldly denied to millions of viewers that Labour had any plans for na-

as the case for them was never put.

If the economy saw sabotage by default, defence saw direct scabbing. Healey and Callaghan deliberately put the knife into Labour. Confusion on defence was raised on the doorstep as much as fears of unilateralism, and even those not against voting for a clearly unilateralist party were deterred from one which was not only divided, but led by a man who lacked the gumption to defend his own party's policies.

As one disillusioned voter put it to me, 'If old Gumidge won't stand up for unilateralism, will he ever stand up for anything?'

The final humiliation for Labour workers was to see Enoch Powell arguing for Labour's defence policy more effectively and with more conviction and logic than any of Labour's spokesmen.

Powell's position was more radical than Labour's, and rejected not only the British bomb, but any reliance on America's bomb. He described the US as 'dominated by an obsessive sense of mission and a hallucinatory view of the world scene', and referred to powerful US economic interests in the armaments industry as a source of world tension.

Here again, because Labour had a quasi-unilateralist policy, it could be denounced by the Tories, but the case in favour was never put. Peter Riddell, the *Financial Times* political correspondent, reported on 25 May that 'Labour leaders privately recognise that their unilateralist approach is unpopular with traditional working class voters and, in the campaign so far, it has been played down'.

HOW LABOUR

Own

By Steve

Labour voters, traditional and otherwise, however distrust the senile warmonger in the White House. By going on the offensive against Thatcher's foreign policy of subservience to Reagan, Labour could have tapped a real mass cur-



et, Tories won

Democracy's leaders, using Tony Benn's own words to the 1982 Labour Party conference: that the left should unite the party around, 'the existing membership, the existing policies and the existing leadership'.

This is why the parliamentary left did not put up a candidate for the leadership in 1982. They then endorsed a fudged election manifesto whose wording created the space both for Healey's sabotage, and for all the Labour leaders to claim that Labour was in favour of incomes policy.

Then they refused to speak out in defence of Labour's conference policies and against Callaghan and Healey's sabotage.

Their policies proved disastrous. It did not stop the right from sabotaging Labour's campaign. It did not unite Labour, but divided it as never before. It did not win the election. It has put the left into its weakest position since the fight for democracy began.

The left must now rethink and draw the lessons of this experience.

What was wrong with the strategy? The big mistake, lies in CLPD's own rallying cry: 'The existing membership, policies and leadership'. This sounds nice in theory. In practice it is useless. The existing leadership does not want the existing membership or policies, and was prepared to lose an election rather than have to form a government on these policies.

The leadership therefore witch-hunted the membership for six months instead of preparing to fight the Tories, and then attacked Labour's policies in the middle of the election campaign.

The tragedy of the parliamentary left's approach is that when the final sabotage took place, *no-one was able to defend the policies*. Foot didn't defend them because he didn't want to break with Healey. Benn *couldn't* because of his self-imposed silence and naive trust in Bishops Stortford. The leaders of Labour's campaign couldn't defend them because they simply didn't agree with them!

Tony Benn and the parliamentary left signally failed to understand a message which revolutionary socialists have consistently argued — namely that Labour's right wing do not play by the same rules as the party rank and file, because they are beholden to a different class. Healey and his crew are literally traitors.

They decided long ago, as did the bureaucrats who support them, that their influence, prestige and position depends on avoiding a confrontation with the ruling class at all costs. When the IMF told Denis Healey to impose cuts against the working class in 1976, he unhesitatingly did so, and the right wing trade union leaders unhesitatingly helped him.

This was their alternative to a no-holds barred fight with the monetary

establishment, and they were not prepared to have such a fight.

When the Pentagon and the banks now tell Healey that no government will be given a bill of health by them unless it endorses US nuclear policy, keeps Britain in the EEC, and imposes a savage incomes policy, Healey's conclusion is that it is better not to govern at all, rather than face a fight with these people.

To seek unity with Healey was therefore as unpromising and doomed a policy as seeking unity with Thatcher. Both defend the same class. In the event, the left leadership held its tongue while the right cut it into pieces and thereby threw away Labour's only hope of victory.

There are two roads ahead. One, proposed by CLPD, is to *continue* the present attempt to get unity in the leadership. This is doomed to failure. All the signs are that the section of the left previously grouped around Tony Benn understands this and will now — at last — come out fighting.

But it will do so under the disastrously weaker conditions of a terrible Labour defeat, and moreover a defeat of the worst possible kind — a defeat at the hands of the Party's own leadership.

We in Socialist Action will try to ensure that this time a left in the Party and unions will emerge which draws the lessons of this defeat and fights to the bitter end against the true saboteurs of the Labour Party election campaign — its own right wing leadership.

OUR LOST

goal!

Marks

rent of fear of the war danger, reflected in mass opposition to cruise and Trident, and also won over some of the Liberal supporters of unilateralism from the alliance.

On 16 May Jim Mortimer, speaking at the NUPE conference,

blamed the US for the arms race. Apart from that, it was left to Powell to make the running in challenging the Thatcherite argument that the main threat to world peace is in the 'Kremlin drive for world domination'.

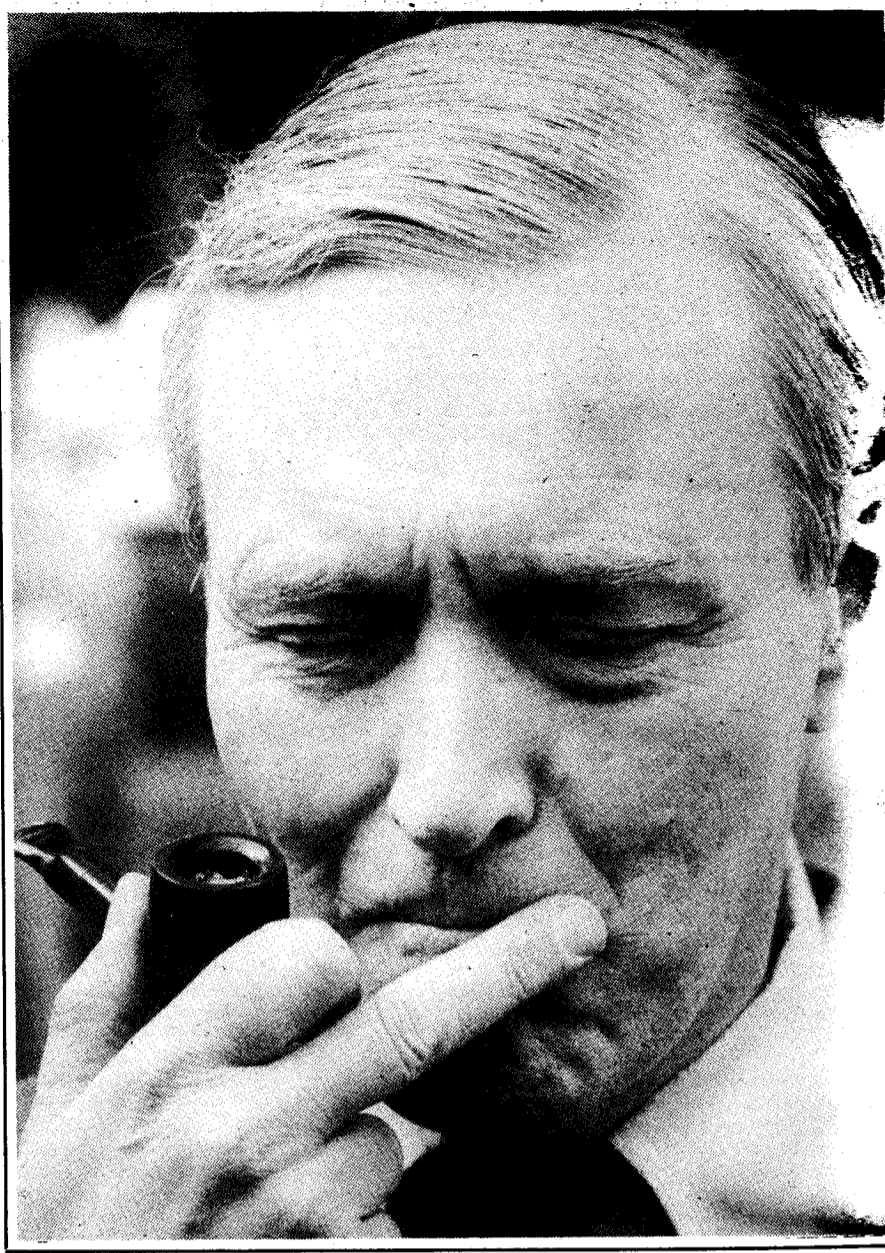
Callaghan, whose contribution to the Labour Party consists of losing it an election every four years, made his infamous speech on the bomb. He attacked Labour's policy before a specially invited media audience, saying that he 'could not fault the tactics of the

Western arms negotiators', thus underwriting Reagan's war drive, and putting himself to the right of

the US Congress, which has called for a freeze in defiance of Reagan's policy.

To leave the field free for Tory scares about Kremlin expansionism reinforces the Tory red-baiting at home, with its claims that Labour's policies would lead to an 'East European' or 'Bulgarian' society.

A confident and imaginative socialist leadership could have replied by defending Solidarnosc, and pointing out how its struggles would have been illegal under Tebitt's anti-union laws. But a leadership wedded to an 'alternative economic assessment' that would end up as an incomes policy, and in



hock to TUC, can't be too keen on encouraging anti-bureaucratic workers' struggles, even as far away as Warsaw.

Then there is the 'Falklands factor'. It is well-known that a roomful of monkeys with typewriters, given all eternity, could well end up typing the works of Shakespeare. Denis Healey is no monkey, and given only a four-week election to play with, he is quite capable, at least once, of coming up with the truth.

Hence the 'glorying in slaughter' speech. Inept, blundering and treacherous thug that he is,

told of the context of Healey's remarks.

Those who phoned in support included a member of the Tory Reform Group, and the mother of an RAF pilot who claimed to speak for others, and offered her support.

All of which shows how strong Labour could be today if it had taken a principled position of opposition to the war at the time. But how much credit can be given to professional politicians who support war during war-time, and only take a peace-loving position when there's peace?

'Tory voters in Labour seats which have good Alliance candidates should vote Alliance to get Labour out. It is important that there should still be a believable and democratic left-of-Tory force in parliament towards which by-elections and a future general election can then swing. It is desirable that it should be a sort that can form an effective parliamentary force with right-of-Foot Labour ...

'The worse Labour does in this election, and the better the Alliance does, the more possible such a desirable coalition of the left (and the dismantling of the Labour party under its present constitution) will become.'

Economist
4 June 1983

Healey found the strain of telling the honest truth too much, and restored Labour's cock-up image by withdrawing his remarks 24 hours later.

But this line in denunciation was far from unpopular with Labour voters. A report to Labour's campaign committee, on the phone calls received at Labour HQ the day after the Healey statement showed supporters and critics level-pegging, with half the hostile calls from Tory supporters, including the predictable retired officers in Tunbridge Wells. The Labour objectors were mostly ex-service pensioners, most of whom withdrew their objections when

The real reason for both Healey and Kinnoch's remarks on the Falklands emerges from the *Times* report of 31 May, that Labour leaders had abandoned any hope of victory, and were concerned simply to jockey for position in the power struggles to come.

Healey had to notch up some credit for attacking the other side, instead of his own, and Kinnoch was keen to rebuild his 'left' image in the hope the ranks in the constituencies will forgive him for landing us in the mess in the first place by getting us Healey as deputy leader — and forget that he joined his patron Michael Foot in supporting the Falklands war. That was when Labour lost the election. A full year before it was called.



Socialist ACTION

Continued from front page

Another period of Footism without Foot cannot restore Labour's fortunes. The only condition where such a candidate of the centre could be supported for leader to stop the right is where there is no candidate of the left. Unfortunately Benn's Bristol defeat means that the plausible candidate of the left is unable to stand.

The lesson of the election campaign is that only the left can rebuild the party. The minority who voted for Labour's policies can be organised to win a majority only if Labour is seen to lead the fight to defend the labour movement and all of those who are the target of the Tories' attacks. Right labourism cannot succeed. The Alliance don't intend to vacate the non-socialist middle ground. Extra-parliamentary action and socialist policies are the only means to defend the working class and the only credible alternative to Thatcherism.

For this reason it is vital that there is a candidate of the left standing for the Labour Party leadership.



But most importantly the left must tear up the peace treaties which have proved such a disaster and set to work organising in the Labour Party, the unions and the mass campaigns.

The Party must be rebuilt as the party of the oppressed, the poor and the workers fighting to defend their organisations and with the objective of forcing the Tories from office.

Home rule for Scotland

IF THATCHER has no mandate to rule in Britain with 58 per cent of voters against her, then her claims in Scotland are thin indeed. Scottish Labour MPs have already organised a meeting this week to discuss the implications of 73 per cent of Scottish voters rejecting the Tories.

Their answer should be unequivocal; the labour movement north and south of the border should relaunch a battle for an Assembly. All nonsense that this would divide the working class should be rejected. The best way to unite the working class is for its anti-Tory section to fight now to weaken the rule of Westminster.

It may be argued that with a 144 seat majority Thatcher will not even cede a referendum, let alone an Assembly.

But the labour movement should fight for it by organising now through a Labour Movement Assembly which begins the struggle against the Tories right away and acts as the basis for the Assembly of the future.

Labour declining too?

I WAS very interested in John Ross's article (SA 3 June) on the 'historical decline' of the Tory Party, as proved by its declining percentage vote in successive general elections.

I sincerely hope that he is right. But couldn't the same thing be said about the Labour Party on the same basis?

I don't have the figures for all the years John Ross quotes, but I do know that the Labour Party percentage of the vote fell from 48.8 in 1951, to 46.4 in 1955, to 43.8 in 1959, and 36.9 in 1979 (I take the figures from the *Sunday Times*).

Isn't there something wrong in socialists basing their hopes on electoral statistics?

FRED HALL, London N16.



Thatcher — historical decline

Tax return correct?

WHILE I thought that the *Socialist Woman* supplement (SA 20 May) on the Tories family policy was generally very good I wanted to question one point that was raised in it.

In the article called 'New hope for the family' the issue of the married man's (sic) tax allowance is mentioned. The Labour manifesto calls for its abolition, and the article calls this a 'correct reform'.

Firstly, the tax allowance is now the married person's tax allowance, and can be claimed by the husband or wife at their discretion. This was a correct reform.

However I question whether it is correct to call for the abolition of this tax allowance. What this would mean to the overwhelming majority of people is simply a cut in income. And this cut in income would affect women just as much as men.

In the context of a statutory minimum wage, increased child benefit, and increased rates of unemployment benefit and supplementary allowance (available to both men and women), this tax allowance would probably become unnecessary.

However outside such other changes I do not think we should endorse the abolition of this allowance, nor give credence for it in any way being a 'feminist' step.



Our approach has to be to extend the allowances and benefits payable to single parents, unmarried couples and other households. Not to cut those that are presently paid out to married people.

JUDITH WOODWARD, Manchester.

Black rights campaign vital

SOCIALIST ACTION with its national support and press is in a perfect position to help build a black rights campaign within the Labour Party as discussed in SA 3 June.

Activists understand that until the Labour Party can be classed as an ally in the fight against racism and not a cause of the bulk of the struggles, the majority of campaigns will continue outside the party.

Campaign organisers should be encouraged to direct the issues into the Labour Party, where the black rights campaign can take up the fights, also take them to Walworth Road, Congress House and the despatch box in parliament.

Alongside this, Labour Party activists must build the campaign to rid the Labour Party of racism, repeal all racist laws, stop racist practises in industry and all other fields.

If any Labour Party activists want to build such a campaign I'll be pleased to hear from them.

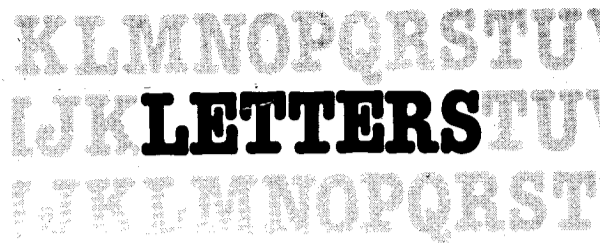
TOM WATTS, GMBATU delegate to Oldham West CLP personal capacity.



Most campaigns against racism have been based outside the Labour Party

Write to us!

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



No to genocide!

WHILE Paul Lawson's analysis of the situation in the Middle East is reasonably correct (SA 27 May), his conclusion to say the least is questionable.

He states: 'For socialists there could be no question of who to support in the event of war. Syria is a capitalist state, ultimately allied with imperialism.'

'But nonetheless it would in a war represent the forces of Arab nationalism, against an imperialist aggressor. Socialists should stand without question for the defeat of Israel and a Syrian victory — however unlikely such an outcome.'

Firstly, socialists should never stand on anything 'without question', especially war.

If war does break out, the socialist response should not be to support the lesser of two evils, or as Paul Lawson would have it, the least imperialist state, in this case Syria.

If neither side is in the right the war must be wholly opposed. Obviously an alternative would then have to be proposed, which would defuse the tensions and provide a long term solution.

Israel is a reality, and only genocide of the type that Israel is practising against Palestinians could change that reality.

Genocide of any race, is not the solution to the Middle East's problems.

Obviously a multi-racial Palestine, with Jews and Palestinians living equally, should be the ultimate aim, and the means of securing that aim lies within Israel.

The peace movement, which was created when mass opposition to Israel's war in Lebanon was organised, shows that there is a progressive movement within Israel itself.

If an effective socialist movement could be built in Israel, the chances of an Arab-Jewish reconciliation would increase as a socialist Israel, by its very nature, would respond to most Palestinian demands.

Definitely an uphill struggle and perhaps somewhat idealistic, but certainly better than genocide or continuous war in which Israel may eventually use her nuclear capacity.

TIM PORTEUS, Edinburgh.

Interviews great!

THE ACTION interviews in SA are great — especially the one you ran with the El Salvadorean woman! Also glad to see your supplement *Socialist Woman*.

Congratulations on the format. LINDA THALMAN, Paris.

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Cartoon: STEPHEN DARLING

Photo: GM COOKSON

The making of the second Cold War

THE NEW COLD war, and the peace movement which opposes it, has produced a massive literature. Unfortunately much of this literature has been of either a technical character outlining the horrors of war, or of protest and moral indignation.

Few works of detailed analysis and explanation have appeared, and the best of them like Mary Kaldor's *Baroque Arsenal* have not been marxist. Indeed EP Thompson in his celebrated essay on *Extermination* (1) rejects the search for the origins of the cold war as divisionary, saying it leads to pointless attempts to apportion blame between the 'super-powers'.

Reviewed by
Phil Hearse

Marxists in the peace movement have argued for the need to understand the cold war in order to combat it and the need to identify our enemies, their projects and alliances, so as to prioritise our activities and slogans.

Fred Halliday's new book starts out with the injunction to combine moral outrage with analysis and is the best analysis of the cold war published. It combines a mass of factual and historical material, with a determination to

avoid pat answers and simple formulae. Halliday has produced an invaluable handbook for those who fight to build a wing of the peace movement with an anti-imperialist and anti-Stalinist understanding.

He identifies five factors which led to the breaking of detente — the new rise of third world revolutions, the decline of US military superiority, the rise of the new right in the United States, the exacerbation of inter-imperialist contradictions, and the crisis of the post-capitalist states.

He takes exceptional pains not to exonerate the Soviet Union from responsibility for fuelling the cold war (2), but his list of factors leads to an inevitable conclusion about where the prime responsibility for the breakdown of detente lies — he says 'it was in the USA, not in the USSR, that the sharp changes of mood and policy characteristic of the late 1970s can be seen. And it is the USA which then sought through the

Cold War to re-assert its dominance — over the USSR, its capitalist allies, and the third world'.

Halliday integrates into his analysis the explanation of the military-political function of nuclear superiority of the United States suggested by Mike Davis (3). This is the way in which the United States uses nuclear superiority to extend its nuclear field of conventional military and political operations, particularly in the third world, and to pressurise economically and politically the non-capitalist world.

Scheme

In this scheme, the quest for nuclear superiority, far from being as some in the peace movement would have it, an irrational or 'lunatic' pre-occupation is in fact a perfectly explicable and rational calculation by US imperialism. One inevitably contrasts Halliday's search for comprehensible policies of imperialism to EP Thompson's half-despairing cry of outrage against an infernal and unfathomable war-machine dominating

the two 'nuclear leviathans'.

The Making of the Second Cold War is anything but despairing. While investing great hopes in the European peace movement, it correctly points to some problems — namely the concentration on the issue of the weapons *per se*, at the expense of attacking the political framework in which these weapons are wielded.

This manifests itself for example in a lack of clarity in the British peace movement on the question of NATO and a lack of concern for the governmental forms which would assure steps towards nuclear disarmament.

Naturally a book with such a wide-ranging review of world politics calls forth some disagreements. The most important is Halliday's review of the different 'monocausal' theories of cold war — for example 'US imperialism theories', 'arms race theories' and 'North-South' theories — indeed, he identifies eight theories of this kind.

He says that each of these theories may contain some truth, but a theory of the new cold war must identify and integrate



all the relevant factors, and Halliday identifies five, listed above. So far so good. But curiously one of the 'partial' theories polemicalised against is 'class conflict theories', which he says may understate the importance of the impact of *states* and the extent to which *nuclear weapons* has altered the nature of post-war politics.

This seems a curious polemic for a Marxist to make, and in contradiction to much of the rest of the book. If we look at each of Halliday's five 'factors' each are crucially determined and limited by class conflict.

For Marxists, it isn't only the epoch of imperialism which is the 'history of class struggles'.

After all, despite Halliday's typically understated tone, and his self-denial of the term 'imperialism', in essence the book is saying that the new cold war is the response of United States imperialism to the challenges mounted against it in the third world and by the post-capitalist states.

It is Halliday's open statement of this (page 204) which draws together the analysis of 'factors' and gives them coherence. The laws of motion which connect up the five factors are those of the joint crisis of imperialism and stalinism — bombs and states notwithstanding.

But this is a minor quibble. If you want to understand the configuration of world politics today, the Making of the Second World War is essential reading.

1. *Extermination and Cold war, in the anthology of the same name. (Verso 1982)*
2. *In particular it attempts to match the USA in each weapons escalation.*
3. *In Extermination and Cold War (ibid).*

The Making of the Second World War
Fred Halliday
Verso £4.95.

Malou

MALOU is, in many ways, a typical contemporary film. It is obsessed with history and the way that history intertwines with, and breaks up people's lives. It is also a very political film, dealing with racism, fascism and the oppression of women.

Reviewed by Chris Bertram

Hannah, married to a successful architect in West Germany, is determined not to lose her own identity to a man, like her mother. To do this she must come to terms with the past and with the image of Malou, her mother.

Crisscrossing both frontiers and time we are taken on a journey from Alsace to Argentina, from Hannah's relationship with Martin to Malou's love for Paul. We see how Malou gives up her identity, her life as a singer, her religion and several na-



Malou directed by Jeanine Meerapfel, distributed by Cinegate.

ionalities to follow Paul, a German Jew, into exile. When Paul leaves her for another woman her world is shattered. She dies, a broken alcoholic, in South America.

The Nazis, who pull down the Jewish homes, are contrasted with the present day bureaucrats who oppose the building of a cultural centre for the Gastarbeiter.

I was struck by the contrasts and images in 'Malou'. It is more accessible than much contemporary German cinema, although I doubt it will get the wide distribution it cer-

tainly deserves.

Go to see it, and tell your friends about it. I found the film ended on a slightly unsatisfactory note, but the getting there was worthwhile.

Vietnam

The fifth of Channel 4's twelve-part documentary on Vietnam opened with an American officer bragging that the United States was determined to save Vietnam from communism, whether they wanted it or not. 'If they were not prepared to fight for their country, we were going to do it for them.'

Both the Soviet Union and China tried to hold Ho Chi Minh back from military involvement in the south. The ruling bureaucracies feared war with the US. In North Vietnam, the laws of uneven and combined development prevailed.

The revolution was liquidating capitalism. Agrarian revolution gave the land to the peasants. Landlords were being tried by people's courts. In 1959 Hanoi decided to back the struggle in the south. The guerrilla forces were regrouped in the National Liberation Front (NLF), called the Vietcong by the Americans and their Vietnamese stooges.

By C. Van Gelderen

The NLF established a shadow government which commanded support from the people. Saigon officials would sit in their offices during the hours of daylight. When night fell, the NLF took over.

The Ho Chi Minh track was established, ensuring supplies to the fighters in the south. This was a web of tracks, which could not have been maintained but for the active support of the people. Women played a decisive role in keeping it alive.

American forces were being reinforced. US air raids on the North destroyed targets but not the morale of the people. America's 'Operation Rolling Thunder' had failed. Then in 1968 came the Tet Offensive. A few weeks before, General Westmoreland had said: 'The war was entering a new phase, the end was beginning to come into view.' President Lyndon

Johnson echoed his words with: 'The enemy was not yet beaten but knew he had met his master'.

Westmoreland spoke more truly than he knew. But the end was not to be that which he thought. Vietnamese forces were now fighting inside Saigon. There were snipers in the US embassy itself. Key targets throughout Vietnam were hit, including Saigon radio station.

TV newsreels of the offensive, and especially the picture of a South Vietnamese colonel shooting a prisoner in the head at point-blank range with Americans standing by, galvanised the opposition to the war in the States. Among new arrivals of troops from the States, anti-war sentiments were rife.

Officers were attacked. Black GI's were asking themselves 'Why are we fighting here in Vietnam when we are not free at home and have a war to win over there?' In their pockets they carried the writings of Malcolm X and Martin Luther King.

South Vietnamese conscripts were deserting to the NLF at the rate of 2000 a day.

The eighth instalment showed the war spreading to Laos and Cambodia and ended with the Khmer Rouge under Pol Pot entering Phnom Penh. They received a rapturous reception and then proceeded systematically to depopulate the capital and institute a regime of terror and genocide. It is one of the most bizarre and inexplicable episodes in the tragic history of Indo-China.

TV CHOICE

Birth Of A Nation

Sunday 19 June, 9.30, ITV

THIS film is the first in a ten-week series of dramas which Central TV promise deal with 'issues of today'.

The first four are written by David Leland and deal with the education system and its impact on youth destined for unemployment.

'Birth of a Nation' is set in a large comprehensive school where the kids and teachers are mainly concerned with

just getting through the day.

Panorama: Life after Debt

Monday 20 June, 8.10, BBC1

PANORAMA this week examines the imminent collapse of the banking system caused by 'developing' countries defaulting on their loans.

The programme looks at the consequences for the people, especially in Latin America, of the massive cuts in public expenditure ordered by the IMF just to pay the interest on the Loans.

State Opening of Parliament

Wednesday 22 June, BBC1

WHERE can you see men walking backwards and idiots dressed in daft clothes banging on doors? Only in the 'Mother of Parliaments'.

This time it would be no surprise to see Her Resoluteness sitting on the throne, especially as large sections of the world must get the impression she's just been made life president.

Broadside: Message from Skinningrove

Wednesday 22 June, 8.30, Channel 4
NEAR Middlesborough

is Skinningrove, a coastal town with 60% unemployment.

The programme revolves around poems written by local people describing life in what is now an industrial wasteland. A group of Skinningrove women organised the whole thing.

Britain in the Thirties

Thursday 23 June, BBC2

CALLED 'A place in the country', this programme in the interesting series on life in the Thirties looks at the growth of country houses.

Labour was cheap at the time and while the rest of Britain was

languishing under the depression, the ruling class were enjoying their weekend parties in the country. Seems like 'life in the eighties' isn't very different.

Wimbledon

Monday 20 June for two weeks, BBC 1 + 2

THE tennis set are back for the annual performance, complete with strawberries and cream, and it's so British, not like that upstart John McEnroe.

Any self-respecting socialist will be supporting McEnroe against super-whimp Jimmy Connors, if only on the grounds that he annoys the Wimbledon establishment.

DIARY

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

- **Soweto: 7th Anniversary of the uprisings** with speakers plus cultural programme. 16 June, 6.30-9.30., St Matthew's Meeting Place, Brixton, London SW2. 'Solidarity with the oppressed people of Azania'.
- **National Abortion Campaign** conference is now postponed until September. Next National Planning Meeting of NAC is Sat 2 July in Leeds. For details please contact NAC at 374 Grays Inn Road, London WC1. Tel. 01-278 0153.

- **Prevent and Survive Symposium** 2 July, 9.30-4.30 Central Hall Westminster. Entrance (incl lunch) £9 or £5 for students/nurses/UB40. Tickets from Medical Campaign Against Nuclear Weapons, 31 Stavordale Rd, London N5 (or at door).
- **SE England Trade Union Conference on Namibia** Sun 17 July, Oxford Hse, Derbyshire St, London E2. Further details from Namibia Support Committee 01-267 1941.
- **Namibia: a Century of Struggle** Public meeting organised by Namibia Support Ctee with Ernie Roberts (MP); speakers from South West Africa People's Organisation (SWAPO) and African National Congress; Hackney Councillors Sam Springer and Anthony Kendall. Sat 16 June, 7.30pm, Assembly Hall, Hackney Town Hall, Mare St, E8.
- **SWAPO Women's Solidarity** sponsored cycle ride. London to Greenham Common Sat 2 July. Further details from 96 Gillespie Rd, London N5 01-359 9116.
- **Labour Movement Campaign for Palestine** weekend school. 18/19 June, 11am, County Hall, London SE1. Further details from 28 Carlton Mns, Homleigh Rd, London N16.
- **Labour Movement Conference on Ireland** 16-17 July, Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, London WC1. Starts 10.45am. Delegates £3, observers £2. Further details: LMCI, Box 189, 32 Ivor Place, London NW1.
- **Release Nelson Mandela!** Victory to the ANC! Weekly picket of South Africa House, Trafalgar Square 5.30-7.30, Fridays. Called by City Anti-Apartheid Group.

- **Preparing for Power** Conference organised by the Revolutionary Communist Party. 16-22 July, Polytechnic of Central London. Over 80 workshops including Marxism after Marx, racism, women's oppression, Ireland etc. Phone 01 274 3951 for further details.
- **Walk for Life** from Faslane nuclear submarine base to Greenham Common, 19 May to 6 August. For more details of events contact the Scottish Campaign to Resist the Atomic Menace (SCRAM), 11 Forth Street, Edinburgh 031-557 4284.

Socialist Action National Tour

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

BIRMINGHAM Wed 15 June, speaker John Ross (contact 021-643 5904)
EALING Thu 16 June, speaker Alan Freeman (contact 01-571 5019)
GILLINGHAM Thu 16 June, speaker Redmond O'Neill
BRISTOL Fri 17 June, speakers Alan Freeman, Helen John (contact 0272 510242)
ISLINGTON Sun 19 June (contact Nick 01-359 8288)
CAMDEN Wed 29 June, 8pm, Camden Labour Club, Carol St NW1. Speaker Valerie Coultas
YORK Thu 16 June, speaker Bob Pennington

DUNDEE Mon 20 June, speaker Alan Freeman
ABERDEEN Tue 21 June, speaker Alan Freeman (contact 0224 896284)

SWANSEA Tue 21 June, (contact 0702 460086)
EXETER Tue 21 June, (contact Exeter 55040)
EDINBURGH Wed 22 June, speaker Alan Freeman (contact 041-667 4116)

HARINGEY Thu 23 June, speaker Redmond O'Neill (contact 01-889 3487)

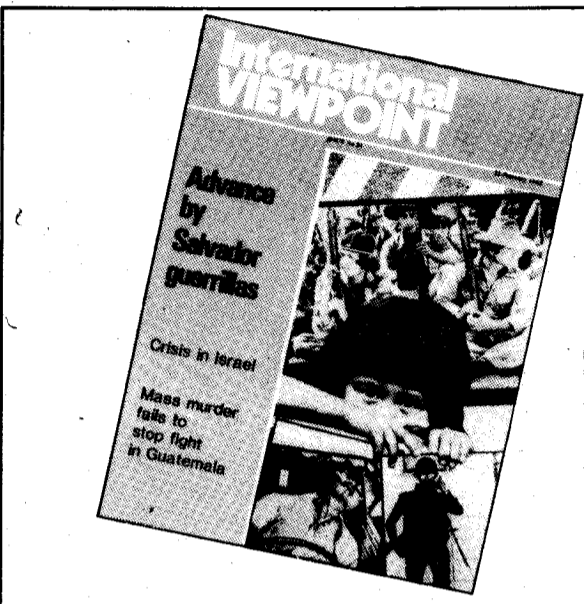
NEWHAM Mon 27 June, speaker Pat Hickey (contact 01-470 4360)

OXFORD Mon 27 June (contact 0865 247624)

SE LONDON Wed 29 June (contact 01-858 6865)

GLASGOW Thu 30 June, speaker John Ross (contact 041-339 0333)

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Fortnightly news review of the Fourth International

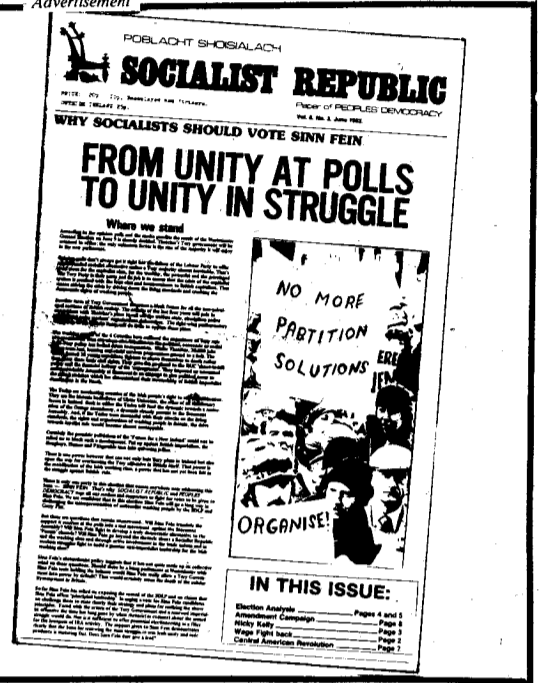
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Postal orders to PEC, CCP Account no. 2-322-42T Paris. Bank transfers to PEC, BNP Robspierre, 153 rue de Paris, 93108 Montreuil, France.

- **No to slave labour!** Mass demonstration and rally in support of Asian Textile Workers strike at Aire Valley Yarns Ltd. Sat 18 June, 3pm, Coal Hill Lane, Farsley, Pudsey, W Yorks. (For details of coaches from London contact Race Today 01-737 2268 or Southall Monitoring Group 01-843 0343).
- **Youth CND Conference**, 2 July, Manchester. For details contact YCND, 11 Goodwin St. London N4.
- **East London Rally for disarmament.** Speakers: Tony Benn, Alf Lomas (MEP), Illyd Harrington (Dep Ldr GLC), Dan Jones (Tower Hamlets TUC). 29 June, 7.30pm. East Ham Town Hall.
- **Free Nelson Mandela and all South African political prisoners** 24-hour picket organised by Bradford Anti-Apartheid. Starts at 5.30pm, Fri 17 June outside Provincial House, Bradford City Centre. Support from all organisations welcome, bring banners.

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Subscribe to the only paper with a revolutionary Marxist analysis of current events in Ireland, North and South. Full coverage on the aftermath of the election and the fight against the anti-abortion amendment and the fight against the Southern government. 12 issues for £6.50. Send to Connolly Bookshop, 6 Avoca Park, Belfast.



Socialist Action Forums
EDINBURGH Socialist Action readers forum is on the last Thursday of every month. Phone 031-667

9630 for further information and details of venue. **HOUNSLOW** Socialist Action forums held every

other week. Celebrate or mourn at our post-election social, music and late bar extension on Sat 18 June. For details phone Ian 01-577 4329.

What we stand for pamphlet

The policies that Socialist Action stands for in this election and beyond. Send 25p plus 16p postage for your copy to Socialist Action, PO Box 50, London N1 2XP.



Every penny is a blow against Thatcher

THE BEST responses of the election result came from Ken Livingstone and Arthur Scargill, who pointed out that the struggle against the Tories now has to move on to the terrain of mass struggle. Over the next few years the left has a massive job to do. But Thatcher's 'landslide' is not a mandate for right wing policies. In fact the Tories got slightly less votes than they did in 1979 — the 'landslide' was entirely the result of the splitting of the anti-Tory vote by the Alliance. This government will rapidly become very unpopular. So now more than ever the active intervention of socialists will be crucial. We have to be there logging it out in mass

campaigns against the Tories — to stop the missiles, in defence of the public services and in defence of working class living standards. In the Labour Party socialists have to ensure that it links up with workers in struggle. We've got to prepare the fight to prevent a right-wing 'roll back' of left wing policies in the party. As the struggle heats up, we have to make sure that the Healey's, Hattersleys and Shores don't have it all their own way. To carry forward and unify this fight socialist papers are absolutely vital. Socialist Action is proud of the role it played before and during this election. We championed every fight by the left wing and the peace movement. We backed the 24 May Women's Day of Action on disarmament like no other paper.

If you agree with what Socialist Action has been saying in the election, send us a donation. Your donations are not 'extra' money we put in the bank, they are what keeps us going. Every penny is another blow for socialism.

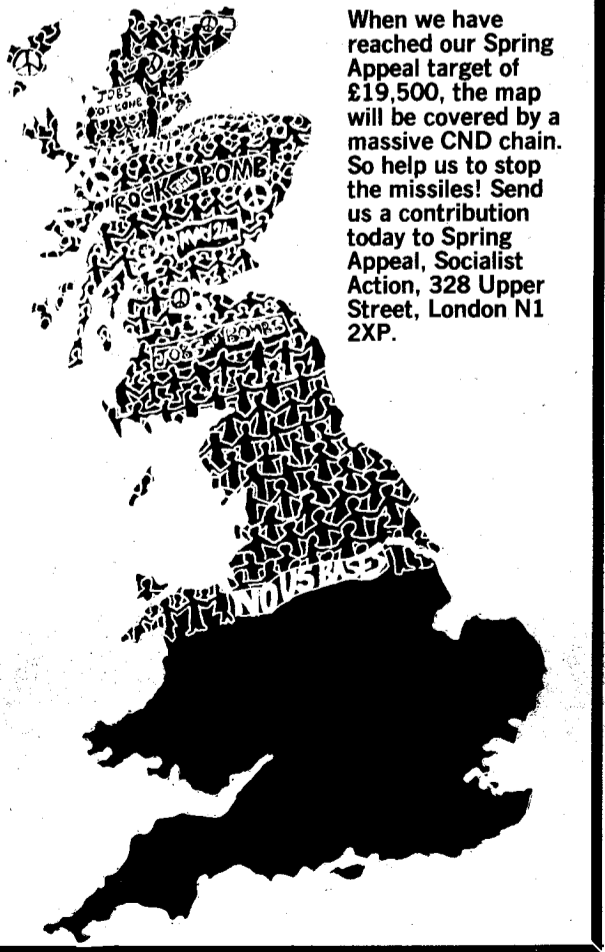
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When we have reached our Spring Appeal target of £19,500, the map will be covered by a massive CND chain. So help us to stop the missiles! Send us a contribution today to Spring Appeal, Socialist Action, 328 Upper Street, London N1 2XP.

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INTERNATIONAL RESPONSE TO TORY VICTORY

“By their friends shall ye know them”

NATO general secretary Dr Joseph Luns summed it up. ‘It cannot be doubted that the continuation of Mrs Thatcher at the head of the British government will mean that the strong support for the alliance in all its phases will continue as before’. With NATO about to deploy its new missiles in Europe, delight from that source could be well expected.

The South African leader PW Botha sent his personal best wishes to Thatcher and looked forward to the ‘continuation of the friendly relations which happily exist between our countries’.

West German Christian Democrat chancellor Helmut Kohl said the result was ‘a massive confirmation for Thatcher and a victory for NATO’.

At an election night party at the British embassy in Washington, there were huge cheers when Tony Benn was defeated in Bristol. British and American voices mingled in the cheering.

The Tories are holding a ‘victory celebration’ on 23-24 June which will be attended by reactionary co-thinkers from around the world. They will be discussing the formation of an international federation of right wing parties

Among

Among those attending was Jacques Chirac of the French Gaullists, US vice-president George Bush, West German chancellor Kohl and the Japanese Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone.

Among the other reactionaries who hailed Thatcher’s victory were head of the Turkish military junta General Evren and the Spanish fascist paper *El Alcazar*.

The reaction inside the European right-dominated Socialist Parties was also typical. In Holland, France, Norway, and Austria the social democratic leaders put down Labour’s defeat to internal quarrels and ‘unrealistic’ policies.

The Argentina to regain the islands.

Virtually alone in placing the blame for Labour’s defeat on the right wing leaders of the Party was the Soviet news agency Tass, which pointed out that less than half the electorate had voted for Thatcher.



Imperialist leaders delighted over Thatcher’s victory

US prepares for war in Central America

‘WHAT happens in Latin America and the Caribbean will not only affect our nation, but will also shape America’s image throughout the world. If we cannot act so decisively so close to home, who will believe us anywhere?’

Thus spoke President Reagan when addressing a rally of Cuban exiles in Miami on 20 May.

Reagan’s speech came at a time of mounting right wing clamour in the United States for stepped up involvement in Central America, and when there is disturbing evidence that the United States is more deeply involved in the fighting than hitherto acknowledged.

On 24 May the *New York Times* revealed details of missions being carried out from the Howard Air Force Base in Panama.

An American pilot who was recently stationed at Howard described four huge C130 cargo planes stationed there, equipped with electronic surveillance equipment and 40 millimeter cannon.

Planes

He said that the four planes took off nearly every night, and returned often with their ammunition spent.

The air crews did not wear uniforms or insignia but were almost certainly American. A mechanic who worked on the planes indicated that the gun barrels had to be replaced almost daily, a sure indication of heavy firing.

The article indicated that the Howard Base was ‘swarming’ with aircraft taking equipment to Honduras and El Salvador. The assumption must be that in the course of

nighttime deliveries the US planes take the opportunity to launch aerial attacks on guerrillas in El Salvador, or on the Nicaraguan border.

Activity

The activity out of Panama is just one arm of the US war effort against Nicaragua and the FLMN in Salvador.

The US military commitment to Honduras has been rapidly escalating.

An electronic surveillance base is being built and 100 more US ‘advisors’ to

train Honduran and Salvadorean troops are being sent. The preparations are being made for US military back-up to a war against Nicaragua by the Honduran army.

The views of the US military establishment on the measures necessary to stop the Central American revolution were frankly explained last week by General Wallace Nutting, outgoing head of the Pentagon’s Southern Command in Panama.

Calling for a ‘commitment without limit’ Nutting said ‘I can’t say whether 150, 200, 500 or

1000 trainers in Salvador is sufficient. I’m pretty sure after a couple of years that 55 is not’.

Salvaged

Arguing that ‘like it or not the United States is engaged in a war’ he stated that ‘if El Salvador is sorted out, I think that Nicaragua can be salvaged without an invasion’.

The regional thinking and determination to go all the way couldn’t be clearer. If necessary, the United States, as a last resort, would be prepared to resort to combat troops.



Helicopter gunship over El Salvador

Stop US intervention in Central America!

End Thatcher’s support for Reagan’s war drive

Picket US embassy 5 July

4.30pm – 7.30pm

Organised by *ELSOC, NSC etc*

Don’t forget! National demonstration ‘No more Chile’s — hands off Central America’ September 11, London

Support Nicky Kelly

IRSP member framed for Sallins mail train hold up in 1976

AFTER A harrowing 38 days, Nicky Kelly has ended his hunger strike.

The announcement came within hours of a statement by the Southern Government which said a successful civil action against the Gardai for ill-treatment whilst in custody would constitute sufficient grounds for reopening Kelly’s case.

Speculation by the press that a deal had been done was denied by the government. The Nicky Kelly defence campaign said they were sceptical of any commitment given by the government, and that stopping the hunger strike marked a new stage in the campaign, not its end.

In the last two weeks pressure on the government has been increased dramatically, both the Transport Workers and the Irish Labour Party

backed Kelly’s case. Support by Amnesty International has led to many humanitarian appeals for Kelly’s release even including the Fianna Fail opposition. Russel Clark the ex US Attorney General has been amongst those trying to get permission to visit him.

Caolite Breatnach the PRO for Kelly’s campaign said Kelly has ‘taken an honourable decision to end the hunger strike so as to create a new atmosphere for fresh moves on his behalf. He decided that he would be a better asset alive than dead, but it was a more difficult decision for him to give up than to carry on’.

Mr Breatnach said that supporters who had expressed concern that the hunger strike should end, now had a moral responsibility to ensure justice was done.

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International Viewpoint Special supplement

INTERNATIONAL VIEWPOINT

Special supplement

In defense of the Permanent Revolution

by Ernest Mandel

This special 20 page supplement to IV is the response by Ernest Mandel to ‘Our Political Continuity with Bolshevism’ by Doug Jeness of the American SWP. Mandel defends the traditional Trotskyist view that Trotsky, as opposed to the pre-1917 Lenin, was correct on the class character of the Russian revolution, and that his theory of ‘permanent revolution’ serves as the strategic guide in the less developed countries today. 50p + 20p post and packing from the Other Bookshop, 328 Upper St, NI

POEU left wins victory for labour movement



Greening strikers battle on

FOUR HUNDRED strikers at the Greening engineering plant in Warrington continue their 12 week strike against compulsory redundancies, cuts in holidays and attacks on union organisation. Management have failed to break their unity with attempts to buy off strikers with redundancy cheques and a threat to sack them. The workers anger and determination grows with each management attack.

• Donations and messages to: Greening JSSC fund, c/o Len Blood, 26 St John Street, Newton-Le-Willows, Merseyside.

Steel bosses up stakes in Swansea

STRIKING workers at British Steel Corporation subsidiary Unit Superheaters in Swansea have been told their factory will shut completely. This follows a bitter seven week battle against compulsory redundancies.

• Donations and messages of support to: Fred Evans, 8 Bishopston Road, Bishopston, Swansea.

Victory in sexual harassment dispute

AUDREY WHITE, the manageress of the Lady at Lord John boutique in Liverpool, has won her job back after a month long struggle.

Management have now caved in. Audrey White has got her old job back with no loss of pay or conditions. (Dave Lee)

She was sacked when she reported the actions of the area manager who sexually harassed members of staff. A Transport and General Workers Union picket outside the shop stopped many shoppers and thousands of signatures

Aire Valley

AIRE Valley Yarns workers are carrying on their strike to reinstate their shop steward and win back their jobs after being sacked for joining a union and taking action in his support.

• Messages and donations to: Aire Valley Yarns Workers Support Committee, 34 Dirkhill Street, Bradford 7.

DANGER CONCENTRATES the mind. And for delegates at Post Office Engineering Union conference, held just before the election, the certainty of a Tory landslide concentrated minds on the leadership of the union.

The Broad Left won the support of conference against the NEC on all the key issues. The outgoing executive's proposals for amalgamation with the supervisory union SPOE was turned down in favour of the Broad Left's proposal for amalgamation with the UCW.



Dave Ward as new Broad Left member of the national executive

By Pat Hickey

The executive wanted to create a civil-service type union which would include management grades. The Broad Left fought for a rank and file union of workers in the communication industry.

The adoption of the Broad Left's approach is a real break with the union's traditional co-responsibility approach to management. Faced with job loss, deskilling, and privatisation the old relationship with BT management has broken down.

Campaign

Privatisation was the main issue facing conference, and it was on this that the left made the greatest gains. The outgoing executive was severely criticised for its ineffective handling of the fight against denationalisation and a motion of no confidence in the Industrial Action Subcommittee was overwhelmingly passed.

This set the tone for the elections to the NEC. The left gained 5 seats to give them an overall majority on the NEC of 14-9. While this vote represents the underlying changes in the union, it is a much more immediate reflection of the re-election of a Tory government and the threat of privatisation.

Armed

It will be a prime target for the Tories now because the opening up of the nationalised sectors to private capital is essential for Britain's hard-pressed capitalists.

The POEU, a union which has real industrial muscle, is capable of inflicting considerable damage on Britain's industrial and commercial operations. It will therefore come under attack from the government.

It will also be in the thick of the battle in the labour movement which will now take place. The POEU, like the NUR under Weighell, has been a staunch supporter of the labour right. Its sponsored MP is John Golding, who is also the paid political officer of the union. The new executive will have to clip



Post Office engineers demonstrate outside the Bank of England as part of their action against privatisation.

the wings of this arch right-winger who with Healey and Callaghan is responsible for Labour's disarray in the election.

Zone

This puts the POEU in the centre of the left right battle in the labour movement. The new executive will be in an excellent position to influence the out-

come of that battle.

This will put enormous pressure on the left. The first priority of the right will be to split the unity of the left. At the same time they will be fighting to divide the new executive from the membership. Dealing with all these pressures will require enormous political flexibility alongside the most determined opposition to the

Tory plans for privatisation.

The Broad Left won the conference because it effectively combined industrial action against privatisation with the political fight against the union leadership. That combination will continue to be necessary. And it provides an object lesson for the left in other unions on how to organise.

Manchester strike for trade union rights

A BITTER strike has started at Barber and Coleman, an engineering factory in Manchester, Trafford Park.

Until recently the factory was not unionised. Then Jon Silberman joined others in a unionisation drive. For this he has been sacked — the management claiming that his job is redundant.

The hundred-strong workforce walked out immediately and have all signed up for the Engineering Union to fight for union recognition, against victimisation and arbitrary sackings.

Here we reprint the statement of the strike committee.

For over 40 years, this American owned multinational corporation has been solidly anti-union. Victorian conditions prevail on the shop floor, wages are very poor and there is no such thing as the rate for the job — two workers on exactly the same job can be on £10 a week difference in their wage packet.

Film

Recently London Weekend Television, who were making a programme called 'Hard Times', came to the factory to film a worker on regular nights. He receives time and a third shift allowance, but his wages are so low that he receives Family Income Supplement.

The company's policy on redundancy is appalling, someone committed to long employment with the firm can be made compulsorily redundant, while someone else doing similar work and who might be kept on.

Communication between the management and the shopfloor is non-existent. A number of attempts to organise a union have been met with threats and intimidation from management.

This time we have refused to be intimidated. A hundred per cent of the workforce are now members of the AUEW. On Tuesday 7 June the union wrote a letter to the com-

pany seeking a meeting to negotiate a union recognition agreement.

The company received this on 8 or 9 June. On Friday 10 June, they sacked Jon Silberman, a prominent trade unionist in the factory who is now secretary of the strike committee. The company claim that Jon was 'made redundant'. To cover themselves, a few other redundancies were made at the same time.

Convinced

We are convinced that Jon has been victimised. If the firm is seeking a reduction of the workforce, then this should be the subject of negotiation and with the possibility of

volunteers — not through sackings at six minutes notice, as was the case in this instance.

We are committed to staying out until all our demands are met — union recognition, reinstatement of Jon Silberman, no compulsory redundancies.

With your support we are confident of victory. Together we can strike a blow for trade union rights.

• Copies of this strike committee statement from: Dick McGrogan, chairperson 17 Bridgewater Street, Winton, Eccles, Manchester. Jon Silberman, 51 Montrose House, Crete Street, Oldham. Send messages and donations to these addresses.

No to slave labour

Mass Demonstration and Rally

in support of Asian Textile Workers strike at Aire Valley Yarns Ltd.

Saturday, 18th June, 1983
Coal Hill Lane, Farsley, Pudsey, W. Yorkshire.
Assemble: 3.00pm.

Railworkers must fight or go under

NOW THE TORIES have the election victory under their belt, they won't hesitate to massacre the railways.

The Serpell report outlined plans for this and Arthur Goldstein in now likely to be appointed chairperson of the British Rail Board when 'moderate' Sir Peter Parker retires in the autumn.

Goldstein wrote a minority section of the Serpell report proposing an even more savage carve-up of the rail network to 1600 track miles.

The BRB will press ahead with plans to close the engineering workshops, wind up 200 branch lines and push through the massive job loss and redundancy programme outlined in last year's McCarthy pay award.

By Patrick Sikorski

The Rail Broad Left met in Liverpool on 4 June and urged its supporters to forward emergency resolutions to the AGM calling for a one day national strike as the first step to all out action against the BRB plans.

Without a national lead for strike action by all sections of the union, workshop members will not want to fight alone and militants could be trampled in the rush for redundancy pay. If these setbacks happen, the responsibility will be that of Knapp and the NEC and their's alone.

It's not just railworkers facing the chop. The coal and steel

industries are hit too with now National Coal Board chairperson Ian MacGregor doing his worst.

Miners' president Arthur Scargill spelt this out at the Broad Left AGM. He called for the formation of one union for coal, rail, steel and metal workers. He explained that he has written to the general secretaries of the Triple Alliance unions, urging this move and calling for the immediate building of local co-ordination of the unions involved.

If national action is taken by NUR members they will need solidarity from these other unions. The nine union strong Triple Alliance should take similar national action. When questioned, Scargill avoided this issue.

Threats

The formation of one union federation for steel, coal, rail and metal workers is a bureaucratic pipedream if it is not linked to a united national and local fight against the immediate threats of BR management and the NCB. A Rail Broad Left, which took a lead in

building resistance, could play a big part in fighting for such action by rail and Triple Alliance unions.

The tremendous gains of the Broad Left in the post office engineers union could be repeated. But for the moment the Rail Broad Left does not match up to the strength and credibility of their sisters and brothers in the POEU. Agitation for action around the workshops can begin to change this.

Show

Recent negotiations for the London Transport pay award show the shape of things to come. Management have offered a 5.2 per cent increase but this is tied to the introduction of one person train operation and productivity 'contributions' from other grades.

Six hundred platform and barrier jobs will go at 100 stations, on top of 2000 lost guard jobs. The national executive of the National Union of Railwaymen has accepted this deal and instructed the national negotiators to get agreement on productivity by the end of June.

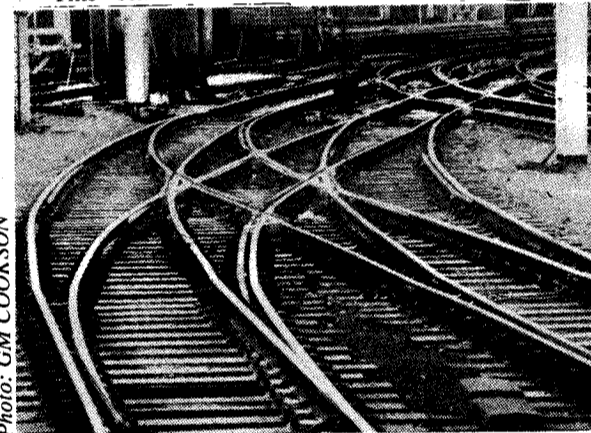
This sell out leaves

railworkers dangerously exposed and directionless as they face the new Thatcher whirlwind. The NUR NEC and general secretary Knapp put all their position eggs in the basket of a Labour victory in the general election.

Now a simple choice faces the union. Fight or go under. National strike action should be built to take on the Board. There are a number of flash-points for this, including this year's pay deal. The most likely battle grounds are the closure of the Horwich engineering workshop scheduled for August and attempts to close or dig up more branch lines.

But Knapp and the NEC are failing to prepare these fights. The bureaucratic machine left by Weighell is still in place and each issue is treated as an individual 'problem'. There has been no call for action against workshop closures to build on the 4000 strong march and lobby called by the NEC on 11 May.

This inaction is being challenged. A resolution from the Brighton branch at this year's annual general meeting calls for the NEC to organise industrial action against closures.



The British Rail Board plan to scrap thousands of miles of track

Photo: GM COOKSON

Divide and rule on London Transport

A THREE YEAR freeze on London Transport tube and bus fares has just hit the headlines.

This follows the popular introduction of 25 per cent fare cuts and timesaving travel cards covering bus and tube rides.

This press fanfare is part of a cleverly orchestrated campaign by London Transport management and the Tories to mask the shady side of LT operations. Behind these popular changes are 6000 job losses for transport workers and big cuts in services.

By Patrick Sikorski, NUR

If the three year freeze is broken this will be blamed on union refusal to accept job cuts and stepped up productivity.

This divide and rule, setting passengers against LT workers, draws attention away from the real enemy — the Tories who refuse central government funds and block Greater London Council subsidies for public transport.

Instead of challenging this government attack, LT are trying to force productivity sacrifices from their workers to balance their books. Underground and bus drivers are told that opposition to driver only operation will threaten their jobs and wage packets.

London Transport

management want to bring in driver only buses and trains everywhere and then fully automatic trains on the Underground. This would pave the way for private money and direct competition to threaten public services. The rail union leaders and other Underground unions have fallen for this deal.

In exchange for a 5.2 per cent pay increase, productivity issues outstanding from three previous pay rounds are to be settled by 30 June. All the other parts of the original union pay claim have been forgotten. These include job saving measures like a 35 hour week and an extra week's holiday.

Sadly the Labour GLC leaders have adopted the same procedures of negotiation and collaboration with management instead of building a fightback in the depots and unions.

Dave Wetzel, chairperson of the GLC transport committee explained to the rank and file monthly paper *Busworker* that the approach in his *Balanced Plan* accepts more driver only operation and cuts in bus mileage.

The GLC now has to face Thatcher's plan to smash it to pieces. Reliance on their courts and arbitration is a recipe for disaster, as the fiasco of the Fares Fair campaign showed.

If Labour wants to save the GLC it must give a lead along with those fighting in the depots against driver only operation and cuts in jobs.



Martial law for Farringdon Road?



Poland's Prime Minister General Jarazelski he could show Peoples Printing Press how to run AGM.

WHEN IS a Peoples Cooperative not a cooperative?

Well, according to the Communist Party when the people start interfering and wanting to run what they had erroneously been told was their's to run.

According to legend *Morning Star* is not own-

ed by the Communist Party but is owned by the Peoples Press Printing Society, whose 30,000 shareholders are supposed to be in charge.

Normally just the odd few turn up at the AGM and dutifully elect the bunch of hand-picked people which the previous management

committee decides the shareholders and readers need.

If this method is good enough for the Soviet Politburo then it's good enough for the party paper.

But trouble has been brewing in Farringdon Road and the paper staff have put three of their own nominees up for election whilst the CP executive explain the party set up the cooperative and its management committee as a front in the first place so it has every right to run the show.

As some 14,000 copies of its 30,500 a day circulation are 'sold' — mainly in Eastern Europe — and they have the connections, they might have a point.

So to try and make sure of a 'democratic' outcome to the elections the executive have been running a campaign to get CP members to take out shares and vote the right team home.

It is all so inconvenient for them. How the executive must envy Jarazelski. He does not have to bother with elections, but just declares martial law.

Some executive members are said to have wanted to invite him over for the AGM.

Soviets now



St Pancras masses build soviet 9 June 1983

A REVOLUTIONARY period opened with the election. The votes which large numbers of workers gave to the Tories and the SDP/Liberal Alliance were their way of telling Labour:

'Drop all this parliamentary nonsense and start building soviets, otherwise we will vote for Thatcher or Jenkins.'

Only the Workers Revolutionary Party understand what is going on. Their Central Committee meeting on 11 June saw the workers and revolutionaries take the lead in building the soviets, otherwise we will vote for Thatcher or Jenkins. ...'

Shrewdly noting the striking similarities between red Petrograd in 1917 and Holborn and St Pancras today, where their candidate in the election polled 155 votes out of a poll of 43,110, they explain Community Councils will be the 'equivalent of the Soviets developed during the Russian revolution ...'

It is not true by the way that all the Central Committee have been certified — only most of them.

Community Councils will be the 'equivalent of the Soviets developed during the Russian revolution ...'

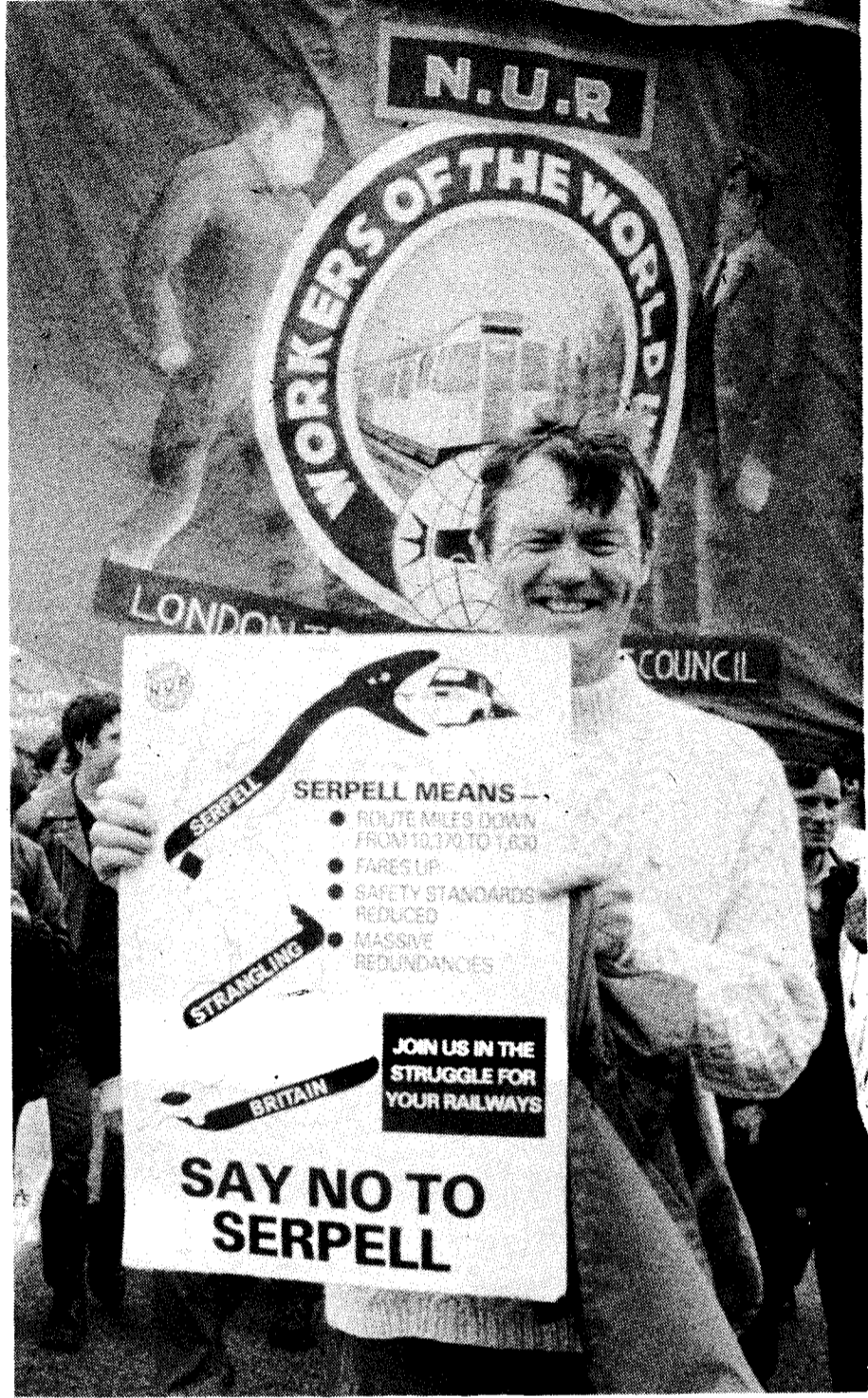


Photo: JOHN HARRIS

A Socialist ACTION

Tories and Alliance prepare for war

THE CABINET changes made by Margaret Thatcher and Roy Jenkin's surrender of the Social Democratic Party leadership to David Owen are signs that both parties are preparing for battle with the labour movement.

The changes in the Tory Cabinet are part of a plan by Thatcher to increase the already enormous powers of the Prime Minister's office. Among other measures she is taking is the abolition of the Cabinet 'Think Tank' and its relocation in the Prime Minister's office.

The sacking of Pym from the Foreign Office amounts to the removal of minor irritations within the Tory leadership and the sanctification of the core of Tory leadership around Thatcher, Lawson and Tebbit.

Tebbit being kept as the Employment minister is not a sign of disfavour: the Tories intend to introduce their trade union legislation in the first session of the new Parliament. Tebbit will take charge of the front line for Thatcher.

Thatcher has now surrounded herself with men who think as she does. As the government's popularity declines she is making sure that divisions and schisms in the Cabinet are kept to a minimum.

The changes in the SDP leadership were inevitable in the light of the election results.

Halfway through its campaign the SDP dropped its strategy of trying to appeal to the electoral base of both parties and Roy Jenkins, the author of the strategy, was demoted.

A full scale attack was launched on the Labour vote with the result that the Alliance moved from 14 per cent in the opinion polls to 25 per cent of the vote.

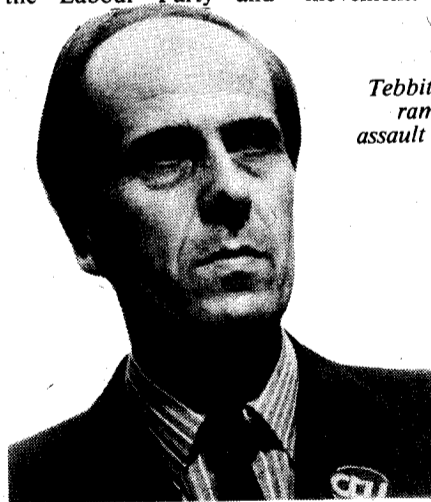
David Owen was the figure most closely associated with this approach in the SDP. His project is to marginalise the Labour Party and

build a new party of the centre left that could replace Labour as a party of government.

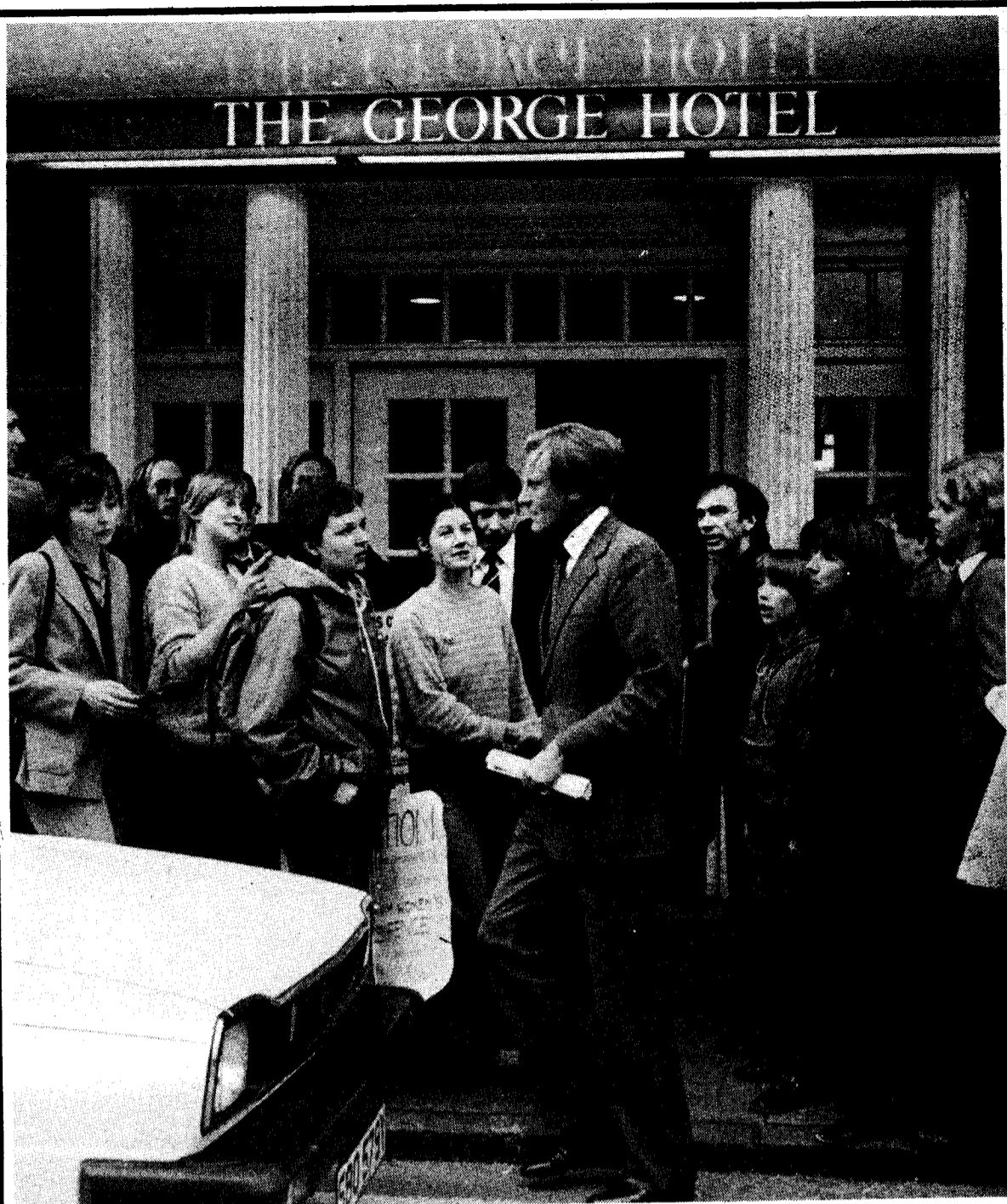
His unchallenged leadership coup now means that, while the Alliance will continue as a mechanism for promoting the idea of electoral reform, the SDP will step up their attacks on the Labour Party and their approaches to the right wing of the trade union bureaucracy.

That's why all those who collaborate with the Alliance like Chapple, Grantham, Sirs et al have to be driven out of the labour movement leadership.

Thatcher's ruthlessness in this respect should be emulated by the rank and file of the labour movement.



Tebbit the battering ram for the Tory assault on the labour movement



CND SAYS 'WE'RE STILL IN BUSINESS'

A MASS rally at Wembley conference centre last weekend defiantly declared opposition to the nuclear policies of the new Thatcher government.

In the same hall where rabid Tories had bayed approval for Kenny Everett's 'Let's bomb Russia' call, 3000 CND activists applauded Joan Ruddock when she said that Thatcher had no mandate for the deployment of cruise and Trident.

Applause came too for fire fighters leader Ken Cameron when he declared:

'We must get the message to the shop floor, because after all it is trade unionists who are putting in the missile silos at Greenham Common.'

Bruce Kent, explaining that the issues of nuclear disarmament had not really been discussed in the general election, said that CND would come behind the thousands of people who were willing to accept fines and jail on the blockades of the missile sites.



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