

A Socialist ACTION

STOP REAGAN'S MISSILES REAGAN'S WARS

THE FIRST cruise missiles have arrived in Britain. Appropriately enough they arrive at the same time as a huge military buildup of US forces is taking place in the Middle East for the American's 'retaliatory' strike against Syrian forces.

They arrive just after the US invasion of Grenada, and as the United States is preparing a military strike against Nicaragua.

The argument about cruise missiles has been won. They are not here to 'defend' anybody. They are here as part of the United States world-wide military build-up against the forces of progress everywhere.

An overwhelming majority of people in this country don't trust Reagan over the missiles. A clear majority don't want the missiles at all.

The events in recent weeks have proven what socialists have said all along. Responsibility for the new arms race lies with the United States and its NATO allies. Reagan and Thatcher want overwhelming military superiority over the Soviet Union. They want the military capacity to strike at progressive forces anywhere in the world. Their insanity threatens social progress everywhere.

All those who have been alerted to the evil of the missiles and the US arms race ought now to look long and hard at what is happening. To fight consistently against US and British militarism

means not just to fight against the missiles, but to fight intervention in Central America and the Middle East.

Of course the fight against the missiles must go on. Of course we must continue to build CND. But the fight against Reagan's wars must also be redoubled. If you want peace — fight imperialism!

MODERN TIMES



Mrs Thatcher may be right. We could send the cruise missiles back to Reagan ... under their own steam, of course!

New crisis in Le

Labour right organises

LAST WEEK Denis Healey carried out a neat coup in the Parliamentary Labour Party. With the respect for reasoned argument for which he is famous, Healey didn't even bother to get his supporters to attend the discussion of Labour's parliamentary defence group.

They just walked in seconds before the vote was taken and packed the elections which then took place.

As a result, Pat Duffy, Dick Douglas and Bob Brown were elected as officers. All three are opponents of unilateral nuclear disarmament.

The Labour Party is now in the ridiculous position of having unilateralism as its official policy and a defence committee in the House of Commons headed by people who are totally opposed to unilateralism. The right wing also won the leadership of the Labour parliamentary foreign affairs group.

The parliamentary Party is not the only area in which the right wing is organising for its aims. The organisation committee of the NEC has got a new 'appeals and mediation' committee to handle questions of discipline in the Party. This committee will report directly to the executive.

The new committee has a four to one majority for the right — the right wingers are Neville Hough, Kenneth Cure, Roy Evans and Michael Hadden. Proposals by the NEC left to add Jo Richardson, David Blunkett or Joan Maynard were voted down. The only member not obviously on the right is Alex Kitson. But he himself voted for the expulsion of the *Militant* editorial board.

This committee has all the sinister appearance of a Party 'purge' committee. The tactics of the right wing for the witch hunt and Party policy are obvious. Healey, Hattersley and co. are concentrating on taking over the 'commanding heights' of the Party apparatus. From that position localised witch hunts of the type seen in Wythenshawe, or individual expulsions such as that of Tariq Ali, can be organised. Meanwhile the vice will be slowly, inexorably tightened on the Party as a whole.

Over Party policy it is the same. Healey is sewing up the right wing positions in the PLP. The next aim of the right wing will be to get a change of policies on issues such as unilateralism at next summer's trade union conferences. Meanwhile Roy Hattersley is carrying on his campaign for incomes policy.

The right wing is well organised and knows what it is doing. Isn't it about time the left took a leaf out of their book and got its act together?



Yasser Arafat: under pressure from Syrian-backed PLO rebels

AS THE attacks on Arafat's forces in Tripoli continue and with the future of the Palestine Liberation Organisation in question, the United States is increasing its intervention in the Middle East, no longer hiding behind the facade of a 'peace keeping' force to prevent bloodshed in the different communities in Lebanon.

The main target of US aggression is Syria. In the past few days US F14 fighters and Israeli planes have made sorties over Syrian and Lebanese territory. The US and Israel have been openly contemplating reprisals against Syria for the bomb attacks which killed 230 US and French troops in Beirut and Israeli troops at their military headquarters in Tyre. This week Israel called out its reserve army, supposedly for a 'practice' exercise and in response to a Syrian call up of its forces on Monday. (The Israelis have since claimed

that the majority of reserve troops have returned home).

By Mags Shaw and Ros Young

The situation is extremely dangerous and becoming more complex by the minute. Despite US and Israeli claims to the contrary, the massive build up of military hardware and troops in the region continues, and on the surface it looks as though they are preparing

for major military intervention in Lebanon and full scale attack on Syrian forces.

300 US planes and 30 ships are stationed in the East Mediterranean, some reportedly having cruise missiles on board. The US and Britain are building up a joint base on Cyprus. The Americans have stated that they will start to stockpile equipment for their Rapid Deployment Force in Israel (a move away from their past concentration in the Gulf area).

What is the US objective in this? According to Zbigniew Brezezinski, former US national security advisor, Washington was now acting 'militarily as an auxiliary to the Lebanese army and politically as a proxy of Israeli foreign policy'. Ob-



Left wing militia men in Beirut

viously America no longer feels that its main allies in the region, Israel, and the puppet government of Gemayel, can carry out the task of controlling the Lebanon and removing Syria.

Obstacle

This is part of America's overall cold war policy. Syria is seen as the most serious obstacle to US-Israeli domination in the Middle East, as the last country with any significant Soviet Union presence.

Most of the Syrian military hardware is from the Soviet Union, including the missile system. Military confrontation with Syria is an ideal testing ground to assess Soviet strengths and

weaknesses.

Would the US risk a possible global confrontation over this region? Would they actually launch an attack against Syria? The US invasion of Grenada should not make us complacent about this possibility. The Americans are embarking on a policy of direct intervention in other countries, no longer solely relying on stooge puppet governments to do the job. It also appears that the US is keen to teach any country a lesson for any connections it may have with the 'communist threat'.

The Soviet Union is not looking kindly on the Syrian-backed attacks against the pro-Arafat Palestinian fighters. Arafat and the PLO are also allies of the Soviet Union. Is this Russia's way of edging out of any direct



The destruction in Lebanon after the Israeli invasion



banon



US F-16 Falcon fighter-bomber attacks in Lebanon



Victims of the Sabra/Chatilla massacre (Photo: Chris Steele-Perkins)

involvement if Syria is attacked?

Syria is dragging itself into a more complex mess by the minute. She wants to be seen as the main force in Lebanon, capable of participating in any future peace settlement for Lebanon. At the same time their control of the PLO is vital to this. They need to present themselves as the guarantor of the PLO's behaviour against Israel and the main nationalist government in the Middle East. But they can't afford the potential destabilising effect the Palestinians will have on the internal politics of Syria.

ment's attempts to defeat Arafat or will this provoke future internal strife inside the country? Palestinians are still seen as the vanguard of the fight against Israel in the Middle East.

Future

Syria also wants in on the negotiating over the future of the West Bank Palestinians, who face annexation by Israel, or any future Palestinian state. And a defeat of Arafat would make this move much easier. However a Palestinian state under the virtual control of Syria would never be considered by Israel. Jordan is also keen to play the role of Palestinian minder.

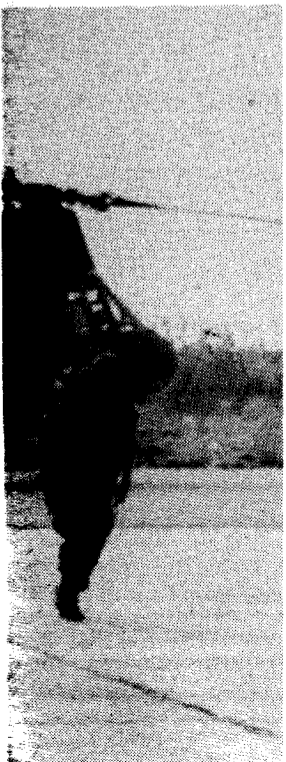
Events are changing rapidly and it becomes im-

possible to predict what will change in the next week. Certain things remain clear however. If the US and Israel attack Syria, we must come out firmly against this and any other US intervention in the area, including campaigning for British troops out of Lebanon.

At the same time we must defend the PLO, which is still the representative of the Palestinian people, against Syrian attempts to control it. The bourgeois press is preparing for the ousting of Arafat. Make no mistake, the end of Arafat is the temporary end of the Palestinians' ability to negotiate for a withdrawal of Israel from the West Bank — it will mean Israeli annexation of these areas, giving a mandate to Israel for future territorial expansion.

People

What is happening inside Syria? Are the Syrian people behind the govern-



Israel The hidden graveyard

SINCE the middle of 1983 disturbing reports have been coming out of Israel of a hidden graveyard in the Galilee, near the Jordan river on one of the main roads to the Golan Heights. Tamara Kohns, a researcher working for the American magazine *The Nation* was taken to the graveyard by local people.

Villagers told Kohns that in July and August 1982 truckloads of bodies were brought to the graveyard in white plastic bags. A sign at the graveyard indicates that it is a cemetery 'for the fallen of the enemy'.

The villagers also told Kohns that after the first shipment of bodies the ground at the cemetery was periodically disturbed as new bodies were added. Recent burials were confirmed by Kohns, who personally found part of a body sticking out of the ground.

Most startlingly, the villagers nearby claimed that people had been buried alive at the spot, and that they had heard people begging for mercy before being buried — handcuffed and blindfolded.

When Tamara Kohns visited the graveyard on 25 March she saw a new section which had recently been dug, and she claims there was 'an unbelievable

stench' — indicating recent burials. Again on 31 March and 5 June this year, there were yet new sections of the graveyard. Kohns also found a stretcher, blanket and shovel clearly marked with the Israeli Defense Forces (IDF) imprint and that of the Health Ministry.

By Brian Evans

Who are the people buried at the graveyard? In response to a press conference on the issue held at Tel Aviv, official sources claimed that the graveyard was for foreign soldiers killed in battle with the Israelis — particularly Syrians.

But according to the paper *Haaretz* of 20 July 1983, a Palestinian with Syrian nationality who was shot trying to escape from the Al Ansar concentration camp in Lebanon was taken and buried at this spot.

What is the relationship between this graveyard and the thousands of prisoners which Israel has taken in Lebanon?

Centres

In addition to the Al Ansar camp, there are numerous interrogation centres in Israel. The number of missing persons arrested by Israeli forces and their Maronite Christian allies in Lebanon in 1982 is thought to total 15,000 — in addition to the 9,000 at the Al Ansar camp.

Free exchange of prisoners between the murderous Maronite militias and the Israelis is known to take place.

The Israeli interrogation centres have a sordid record of brutality.

The burial of fallen enemy soldiers outside a country in which a war takes place is forbidden by the Geneva convention. Moreover, there has been very little direct fighting between Israel and Syria in the recent past.

Many questions therefore need to be answered. Why was this graveyard set up in Israel? If it is true that Syrian soldiers are buried there, why are they taken to Israel? Is the testimony of people being murdered at the site of the graveyard true? Are the people buried at this graveyard Lebanese or Palestinians who have been dealt with in the usual summary way of the Israeli Defence Forces?

And finally, what is to become of these thousands of prisoners which Israel has kept in concentration camps since its invasion of Lebanon?

● A long interview with Tamara Kohns appears in *Israel and Palestine Political Report (Paris) September 1983.*

IRELAND UNFREE

Hunger strike for jobs

Martin Collins reports from Clondalkin
THE CLONDALKIN Community centre north of Dublin was packed to capacity on Friday as more than 400 workers from the small town met to fight for the lives of two hunger strikers and the reopening of the paper mill — their main industry.

Leaders of four of the biggest industrial unions were called to account for the lack of effective national action which has allowed the struggle for the mill to reopen to drag on for two years.

Action committee leader Paul Billings described the broken promises and political wheel-dealing that has forced two of the strikers to put their lives on the line for the town's future. Right from the start, Clondalkin workers refused to discuss selling their jobs. Redundancy payments, however large, would still mean the death of the town.

Their militant action in occupying the mill forced the governing Fianna Fail party to purchase it, but despite promises to local people made before elections, the commitments to resume production were hedged around and broken by the incoming coalition government. The complicity of Labour coalition partners in the betrayal of Clondalkin workers is straining the already tense relationship between the unions and the party to breaking point.

Willie Atlee, general secretary of the Federated Workers' Union of Ireland said his first loyalty was to his class. What the Labour leaders did now, he said, would define how long he would remain a member of the Labour Party. It had been proved that once Labour is in coalition, it is trapped by the Fine Gael's monetarism. It can do nothing for working people.

But the fiery talk of union leaders under pressure from the ranks does not make up for months of inactivity. One after the other, workers took the floor to contrast these words with the lack of action. Not one union leader gave the commitment to fight for half day strike called by Dublin Trades Councils to be extended to national strike action to bring the government down and win the reopening of Clondalkin.

As local leaders of political parties writhed under pressure the two hunger strikers, Myley Spate and Brian Nolan, kept their lonely vigil in the sleeping mill. The action committee said 'a fuse has been lit. The fuse goes to a bomb. That bomb will explode throughout Ireland if these men are allowed to die'. As the fuse burns, a furious rush to find a private buyer in Canada or Britain goes on.

● Phone messages of support to the Action Committee: 0001-570-773.

Sinn Fein Ard Fheis

● At Sinn Fein's 78th Ard Fheis (conference), policies and leaders continued to move leftwards. Full report from Dublin next week.

Campaign against the Police Bill

THE NEW Police and Criminal Evidence Bill was recently introduced by the government. It contains massive extensions of police powers of search, arrest and detention.

JANET LOVELESS spoke to **CECIL GUTZ-MORE**, secretary of the National Campaign against the Police Bill, about the aims and objectives of the campaign.

What is the importance of the Police Bill?

I think the key thing is that it must be seen alongside a number of other things.

It has been introduced along with the Trade Union and Labour Relations Bill, with the Prevention of Terrorism Act, with the report of the Law Commission on Race Relations law and with major developments and proposals to do with multi-agency policing (ie drawing a range of social services into the whole process of policing).

When one takes those developments along with massive unemployment and the massive increase in police militarisation and police retraining for riot control, then it becomes possible to see that the Police Bill is itself part of a broader and extremely disturbing picture.

Its importance resides both in the provisions it contains as well as in the context of which it is a part.

What are the aims of the campaign?

To mobilise all those totally opposed to the Bill with a view to defeating it. What we can say is that the Labour Party has opposed the Bill in a very strong motion passed at the recent conference.

The Liberal Party and the Alliance has come out against the Bill and so parties already representing a majority of the people in the UK are opposed to it.

In addition we know that the black community are opposed to it, as are the gay and women's community, and what we need is to convert those elements of formal opposition into actual concrete unstoppable opposition. We don't feel that this is a piece of legislation that should be condoned in the UK.

How is the campaign being built?

It's being built at two levels. One is focussed on mobilising the labour movement, the political parties, the professionals against the Bill and also any of them who are only interested in opposing its most outrageous provisions, such as the churches.

We are getting national trades unions to issue instructions, to distribute propaganda and take up discussion in the branches, regions, trades councils and so on.

The campaign is also concerned at local and regional level to make links with existing groups to build local campaigns against the Police Bill so they can go out to tenants associations, churches, trades unions, streets, estates and give people information about why this Bill is a danger, and why it represents a threat to their own civil liberties, and why they should combat it.

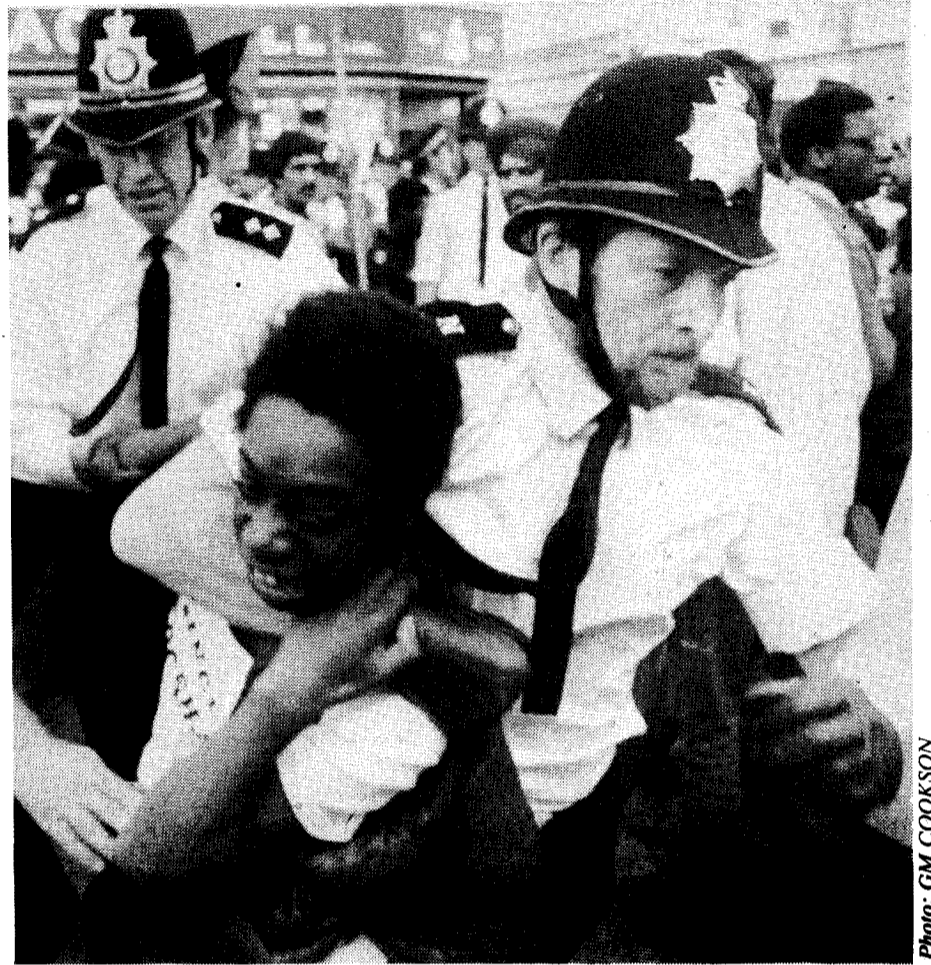
What support is there for the campaign amongst the Labour Party and trades unions?

At the moment we are still working towards building up our support in those quarters.

We have a number of honorary presidents including Michael Meacher, Harriet Harman, Lord Gifford and Tony Benn. We are also hoping to recruit the Home Affairs spokesman from the Alliance in the Commons, Mr Carlisle.

We already have sponsorship from the NCCL, Alan Sapper from the ACTT, Ray Buckton from ASLEF and Bill Keys from SOGAT. Work is going on now to get sponsorship from other trade unions and leaders.

We are seeking spon-



Police violence against black people will be legitimised by the Bill

Photo: GM COOKSON

sorship from the TUC for a national march that is being called on 21 January, 1984. We also have sponsorship from at least 20 Labour MPs — and that list is growing daily.

What future national events are being planned?

The two key events on the agenda are firstly the national conference on Saturday in London.

The focus of the conference is the background to policing in Britain in recent years and the way the Police Bill fits into that framework — the development of hard and repressive policing both here on the mainland and in the six counties of the North of Ireland over the past 20 or so years.

The second big event is the march and rally in January where national and international figures as well as local campaigns will speak.

If the Bill is not defeated what will that mean for the campaign?

The campaign is posited on the basis that the Bill will and must be defeated. If we fail to defeat it the work must go on. Opposition in the community, on the street, to the powers of the state as increased by this Bill will have to go on. There is no alternative.

The Labour Party is, of course, committed to repeal the Bill. Their promises have not in the past, particularly in relation to immigration and race relations, been wholly reliable, but they have promised to repeal the Bill and that is important.

The key for the future is to recognise that if the Bill becomes law then the duty to take opposition onto the streets, to make sure that the police are unable to enforce these powers, would be a very

important objective indeed.

What can people do to support the campaign if there isn't a campaign in their area?

Start one! There does need to be local campaign in every area. Unless there are, then what we will have is a top heavy campaign.

What we will have is a campaign with activists up and down the country but which doesn't touch ordinary people. If we don't touch such people then we will have failed.

The duty of everybody interested is that if there is a local campaign, they are in it and active, and that if there is not that they get in touch with the National Campaign to seek assistance, contacts and help with calling a meeting and setting up a campaign.

● National Campaign Against the Police Bill: 50 Rectory Road, London N16 0J-249 8334.

A PIECE OF THE ACTION

BY GORMAC #33 '83



Campaign Against the Police Bill

National Conference
 Sat 19 Nov, Sir William Collins School,
 Charrington St, London NW1



National march and rally
 Sat 21 Jan, Brockwell Park, London



Photo: JOHN HARRIS

Youth CND lobby 1983 TUC

Youth action against cruise

YOUNG people all over Europe are taking action against cruise. In West Germany, a schools' strike took place on 20 October just before the massive demonstrations all over Europe. This shows the way forward for youth.

Youth CND will be organising all over the country on 26 November. They plan colourful direct actions to bring attention to cruise missile deployment.

Events range from pickets and sit-ins of Tory HQs and army recruitment centres to die-ins and blockades in town centres.

In Birmingham the YCND group are dressing up as Santa Claus and handing out presents with leaflets inside. They want to protest against Thatcher's Christmas present, which could bring the new year in with a bang. They are raising money to take a coachload of young women down to Greenham Common on 11 December.

New Youth CND groups have just sprung up as public opinion turns against cruise. Although

Heseltine has given the American troops at Greenham a 'licence to kill', the peace movement grows. Any group no matter how big or small can take part in our day of action.

By Jon Green (YCND National Committee)

In Leeds a YCND group just set up have managed to get a thirty minute interview on local radio. They are using this propaganda slot to interest young people, telling them about the day of action, a gig they are organising and future plans to hit Leeds with protests against cruise.

Youth CND is now organising a recall conference on 18/19 February. The conference

will have workshops on action and events in the new year, peace camps, international issues, non-violent direct action and publications.

Although YCND has faced many problems since the YCND National Committee was closed down in July, the conference can be used to give YCND groups a boost with a better organised and more active campaign.

January will see our paper *Protest* launched through CND's newsletter *Campaign*. Right now YCND groups should step up actions against cruise and build the 11 December demonstration at Greenham Common.

● **Deadline for conference resolutions 8 December. Reports for the Protest pull-out in Campaign must be in by 15 December. Leaflets for the 26 November Day of Action from: YCND, 11 Goodwin Street, London N4 3HQ 01-272 0101.**

11 December

Come to Greenham!

IT LOOKS as if this December's action at Greenham could be bigger than the huge human chain around the base last year. Women from all round the country are preparing, with all sorts of instruments, pots and pans to 'sound round Greenham' in a huge protest against the installation of the first 12 cruise missiles — which by then will be in place and ready to kill.

But will CND put its full weight behind the event, or will they leave it to the peace women to push ahead on their own?

The peace women have shown in the past few weeks their ability to carry the campaign forward. On 29 October they took down four miles of the fencing. On 9 November peace camps were set up outside 100 US military bases. As part of that action, Lambeth Women for Peace organised a highly successful 24-hour peace camp and protest outside the US embassy.

In the United States the peace women's court case against the US government opened on 9 November. Helen John pointed out that the women had achieved a major victory in getting the Federal Court to hear their case on 21 November.

'This opens the way for every European peace movement to take similar

actions around cruise and Pershing. We will ask people to come onto the streets and shopping centres again on 21 November as well as building the big action on 11 December.'

By Valerie Coultas

Much debate is taking place in CND about whether or not the action should be mixed on 11 December. Fran D'Eath from Bristol has written a letter to the camp asking women to make the action open to men. But this has been rejected by the women after a discussion at the camp.

Julie Bullen from Southwark Greenham Women's Support Group gave her reasons for this

decision. 'I support integrated actions away from the camp. Men who support our point of view should be supported and be allowed to be supportive. But I see the women's movement within the peace movement as a very important factor.'

'It's attempting to make people think about the link between the polarisation of male and female characteristics. As this link is an important one, and women have sacrificed so much and worked so hard for peace I believe the camp and actions around the camp should stay women only.'

This view is the dominant one in the women's peace movement and it looks likely that CND can be persuaded to support it. But many thought needs to be put into the CND overall plan for the month of December.

The most successful event the European peace movement has had this autumn was in West Germany. A whole week of action took place, 30,000 women demonstrated on 17 October, one and a half million trade unionists went on strike for five

minutes on 5 October and 1 million people were involved in actions over the weekend of 22 October.

This is the kind of action CND should be building for in December. Rather than simply asking trade unionists to give money in the Trade Union CND 'Hour for Peace' campaign, CND should be arguing for British trade unionists to take demonstrative actions as part of a more general protest against the siting of these missiles.

CND has a chance in December to back up the women's actions with the women's actions which could really send the Tories reeling.

If men want to support the women at Greenham Common the best thing they can do is to get their CND groups, their trade union and Labour Party branches and above all their CND workplace branches to get out on the streets and say 'No to Cruise'.

● **For further information about the 11 December action ring: 061-225-7852; 061-235-3112; 01-257-3133; 01-226-6285.**



OVER 100 women camped outside the US embassy in London on Tuesday 8 November as part of a 24 hour nationwide protest against cruise missiles.

Cindy and Mandy joined them from Streatham. Cindy explained:

'We weren't allowed to unroll our sleeping bags at first because the chief superintendent said that we could be arrested for

vagrancy.

'Then we had to sit up in our sleeping bags when they came by because they said it was illegal to lie down. We had the Fall Out Nuclear Marchers playing for us.'

'When the people were coming into work this morning we said "Have a nice day" but they just stuck their fingers up at us. One of them wanted to shoot us all.'

'We've had a lot of support here, from women and men. The press had

been around a lot.'

Mandy added: 'The four camps at Greenham have got bigger and bigger over the last two weeks. The size doubles at weekends. Lots of women are coming down from CND groups to support us.'

'The meeting in Newbury decided that it should be women only on 11 December. I don't know what the big wigs in CND are doing but CND groups seem to be doing a fair bit.'

'The action on Monday 23 October was really successful when London region CND called their action in Whitehall. It got more publicity than what happened at Greenham that day.'

'This shows what mixed groups can do if they go ahead with action. We've heard at the camp that three soldiers inside the base were trying to form some sort of pro-CND group and they were busted by their officers.'

Danger — women at work

TWO new broadsheets have just been published by the Woman and Work Hazards Group.

Women's Health: Work and Stress takes a look at the causes and results of stress — one of the most common causes of ill-health from work — in predominantly women's occupations. *Danger — Women at Work* is an introduction to health and safety for women at work.

They are available from Women and Work Hazards Group, c/o British Society for Social Responsibility in Science, 9 Poland Street, London W1.



MALE ORDER

Confessions of a Labour leader

BLUE-EYED Neil Kinnock, 42, family man and Pin-up for a Labour Victory, is in trouble again. Already he

● **ADMITS** he never reads books written by women

● **DECLARES** that his sole contribution to housework is to 'clean the fridge out, maybe, in the holidays'

The latest salvo fired by Kinnock in his campaign to win the feminist vote is revealed in *The Times*:

'Asked by Andreas Papandreu, the Greek Prime Minister, if, were he to come to power, he would return the Elgin Marbles, Kinnock said

'We might, provided you give us Melina Mercouri''.

Good news

IT'S NOT often that Male Order is able to report success stories these grey days, but here's something to cheer you all up.

You may remember the Reclaim the Night demonstration in Soho where police attacked some of the women by beating them up with their truncheons.

Last week three of the women were awarded damages totalling £4,000.



Turkish troops in the streets: still a military dictatorship

The Turkish Generals' election

TURKEY'S GENERALS said they didn't want Turgut Ozal to win the election in Turkey last week. But he did.

NIGEL JOHNSON of the Turkey Solidarity Campaign explains that while the results of the election were more of a non-event than some observers have realised, trouble is brewing for the Turkish military.

Any resemblance between elections held in Turkey last week and parliamentary democracy is purely accidental. While the elections were aimed at impressing those of Turkey's allies who balked at the dictatorship in NATO's ranks, only the blind and the shameless could mistake this charade for the junta's much-vaunted 'return to democracy'.

Turkey including the leading members and militants of the working class and socialist movement.

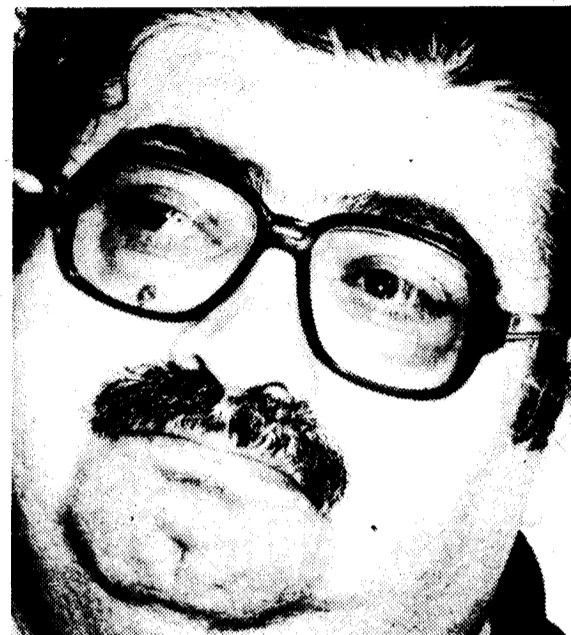
Campaign

Although Ozal's Motherland Party was not directly established by the military (unlike both other contestants) and Evren went so far as to urge people to vote against it, there is no doubt that Ozal was favoured by many in the armed forces above the direct junta nominee, retired General Orhan Sunalp, a lacklustre and incompetent figure who came in third. The other horses permitted by the Generals to enter this race, Necdet Calp, a nonentity like Sunalp, appears to have picked up many of the votes of the banned social democratic Republican People's Party, Turkey's affiliate to the socialist international.

Junta

Following the election the junta met for twenty four hours before the results were declared 'to discuss an amnesty for illegal builders' (!). In the event Evren emerged not to arrest Ozal but to kiss him, thus sealing an alliance which will no doubt be helped by the inclusion of junta nominees from outside Ozal's party to some of the key cabinet positions.

The Motherland Party is a party of the extreme right. It appealed for votes from supporters of the four major parties existing before the coup (including the neo-fascist National



New Turkish prime minister Turgut Ozal

Action Party) and no doubt received them. Ozal, as advisor to the last civilian government, was the architect of the IMF's austerity programme for debt-ridden Turkey in 1980. When implementing it became incompatible with parliamentary rule, NATO's second largest army stepped in to enforce it, appointing Ozal deputy premier. He was sacked last year following a banking collapse. Now he will continue with the fiercely repressive austerity programme and the junta has seen to it, constitutionally, that he won't be hampered by any renewal of democracy in Turkey.

Vote

Although the organisations of the Turkish working class have been defeated, the vote for Ozal expressed the contradiction at the heart of the junta's strategy: their desire to create a politics without politicians. Although measly, these elections have opened a tiny space for democratic activity in

Turkey. The vote for Ozal was a vote for detente but any and every concession he makes in the direction of liberalisation will be opposed by the military.

Civil

That inflation is still running at 30 per cent and unemployment at 25 per cent while Turkey's biggest holding, Transturk, a conglomerate of over 30 companies is bankrupt are signs that the Turkish economy is still, chronically, 'the sick man of Europe'. The junta still holds all the cards in its hands, but as these contradictions accumulate the opportunities for working class resistance will increase, perhaps dramatically.

It is our job to assist that resistance. In this country that means refusing to recognise the election results and to demand of the Tory government (which is the junta's biggest fan in Europe) that it ceases aid and trade with the dictatorship.

Stand

Of fifteen parties set up to contest the election (ranging from the moderate bourgeois to extreme right wing bourgeois) only three were permitted to stand candidates. Even after this, the junta found it necessary to veto 672 of the 1683 election hopefuls. These included every single independent candidate in the Kurdish areas.

The draconian constitution affirmed by plebiscite one year ago enshrines among the President's dictatorial powers that of vetoing candidates up to and, uniquely, following their election! This constitution has guaranteed that the 'elected government' will be nothing but a puppet of the military with junta-chief President Kenan Evren retaining absolute powers.

Discussion of politics is still forbidden by military decree and former politicians are excluded from public life. At the same time there are between 40,000 and 100,000 political prisoners in

Argentina Peronism in crisis

THE RESULTS of the recent elections in Argentina, won by the bourgeois Radical Party, shows that the Peronist movement, which has dominated the working class for nearly half a century, is undergoing a deep crisis. This was the first time ever that the Justicialist Party, as the Peronists are called, have failed to win an election.

The result points to an exhaustion of the political project which has been at the heart of the disorientation of the Argentinian workers movement for decades.

But the working class can gain no comfort from the election of the Radicals, who represent the safest option for the IMF, the World Bank and the United States. Radical leader Raul Alfonsin will as a first priority negotiate

resulted in 30,000 'disappeared'. As the economy has moved further and further into crisis, a new round of worker struggles has challenged the regime.

The last straw of military incompetence was the handling of the

based on Argentina's powerful farming sector. His project was simple but brilliant. Peron used the massive surpluses gained through the export of wheat and beef and other agricultural products to build up industry and institute social welfare schemes and wages increases for the workers.

He and his wife Evita built up a huge following inside the working class. The UGT union federation became 'Peronist'. But his alienation of powerful forces in the oligarchy and the army made him many enemies.

So long as Argentina benefitted from massive exports his project could be sustained. But when the world economy revived after the war and the structure of the Argentinian economy began to change, the surplus was no longer there to share with the workers. Peron was brought down in 1955.

Myth

But the myth of Peronism survived. In 1973 Peron was brought back from exile. But the meaning of Peronism was bitterly contested. In the early 1970s a wing of the Peronists formed a radical guerrilla group which waged armed struggle against the regime — the Montoneros. Peron himself, and after his death his second wife Isabella, did not go along with the radicals. As the country descended into chaos, the military moved in to carry out the 1976 coup.

In the 1980s Peronism cannot reconstitute itself as a multi-class force because the economic basis for satisfying the interests of the workers and those of the bourgeoisie

Malvinas war. The response of the bourgeoisie has been to attempt to put in place a stable bourgeois civilian regime. The first obstacle to that project — the existence of the Peronists as the strongest political party — has been removed.

Juan Peron came to power in a military coup in 1943. Argentina at that time was dominated by the section of the bourgeoisie



Isabella Peron: president after Juan Peron's death

simultaneously does not exist. Peronism is irrevocably split between radicals and conservatives.

The Argentinian workers will undoubtedly fight back against Alfonsin's austerity measures. To carry that struggle through the Argentinian workers need an explicitly workers party which breaks with

the class collaborationism which is at the core of the Justicialist Party.



Juan Peron with Evita a rescheduling of Argentina's huge 39 billion dollar external debt — and the price will be harsh austerity measures which the Argentinian workers will have to pay for.

The last Peronist regime was overthrown in 1976 when the military took power. Since that time successive military regimes have carried out a ruthless war against 'subversion' which

Grenada: How many died?

A MYSTERY surrounds the number of Grenadians, Cubans and American soldiers killed since the invasion of the island on 25 October.

Fennis Augustine, the Grenadian High Commissioner, when he spoke at the end of the 5 November solidarity march claimed that around 1,500 Grenadians had been killed in the fighting.

The British Grenada Friendship Society put the figure at around 1,200 killed or wounded caused by the US bombing civilian targets including hospitals and high density working class housing areas around the capital.

By Valerie Coultas

Two per cent of the total population are believed to have been killed or injured. Tony Benn wrote in the *Guardian* on 7 November, pointing out that the BBC seemed to be deliberately ignoring any reports of those killed or

wounded in the fighting. Apparently their on-the-spot reporters were not sending this information.

The *Daily Telegraph* on 10 November said that the Pentagon figure of 18 American dead was also in doubt.

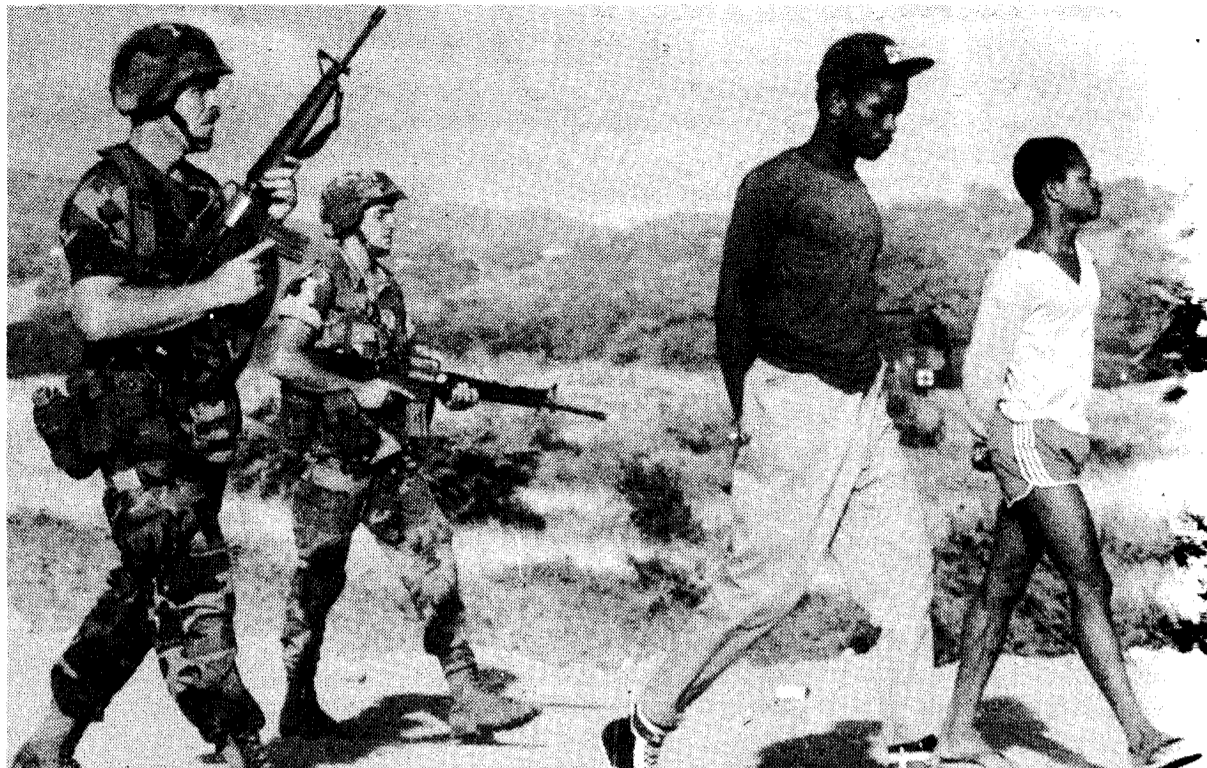
'The US is deliberately disguising its military losses in Grenada' they reported. At least 42 US soldiers had died and the final toll could 'rise past 70 as more of the severely wounded die. Several incidents in which Americans have died have gone unreported, including a multiple

helicopter crash at the Cuban-built airport of Point Salines'.

Several dozen Cubans were killed defending Point Salines airport bombed by American forces. But these workers were not part of some 1,000 strong Cuban military 'battalion'. As Noll Scott wrote in the *Guardian*, the workers when they filed down the steps of the plane that took them back to Havana 'in their stained working clothes, many of them in their 40s and 50s, it would be hard to imagine any group of people who looked less like soldiers or more like building workers'.

Here surely were the real heroes of the invasion of this tiny island by the American bully.

And now Governor General Sir Paul Scoon



Invading troops round up supporters of the revolution

has really come out and shown us how his interim government attempts to impose democracy. On 10 November he banned public meetings, authorised arrests without warrants and promised censorship of the press. The Americans want

another Papa Doc type regime installed in this region — a right wing regime that will back up their attacks on El Salvador, Nicaragua and Cuba.

New Jewel Movement leaders are being arrested and questioned. 'Advisory

tribunals' are to be set up to deal with anyone accused of creating 'disturbances' or interfering with American and Caribbean troops on the island.

This is necessary because the Grenadian people do not want Paul Scoon or any American or

other imperialist imposed government to rule over them.

Their support for Maurice Bishop, and the plans for taking over the popular revolution, lives on. Only fear and repression can crush them into submission.

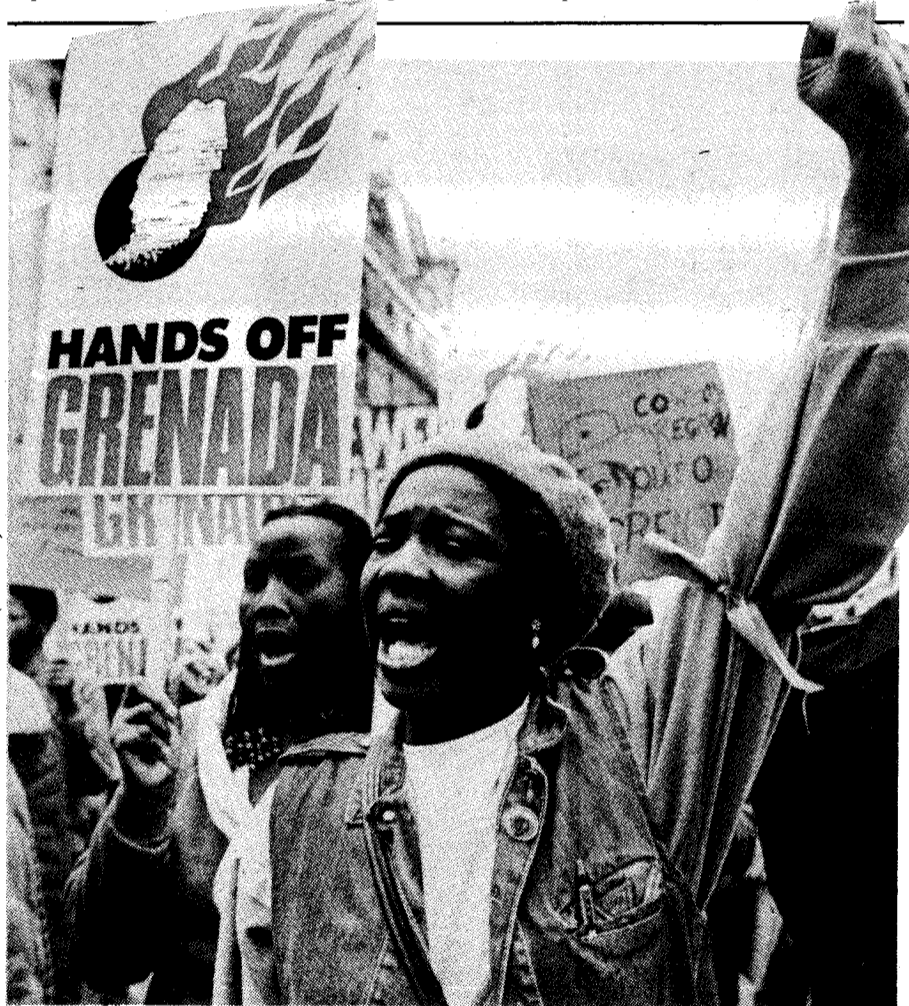


Photo: CARLOS AUGUSTO GUARITA (Photom)

The national 5 November demonstration was only the beginning of solidarity action

Hands off Grenada solidarity action

SOLIDARITY ACTION with the Grenadian people is building up after the 8000 strong national demonstration on 5 November.

The Transport and General Workers Union last week agreed to condemn the 'totally unwarranted military intervention' and called on the governments involved to withdraw their forces.

A similar resolution was put to the Telecom union conference and delegates collected signatures on a petition demanding the withdrawal of all invasion forces.

The executive of the biggest building workers'

union UCATT will send a delegation to a ceremony organised by the London Co-op to commemorate the Cuban and Grenadian building workers killed by the invaders.

By Celia Pugh

Such union solidarity will be vital in the months to come as the solidarity campaign launched by the New Jewel Movement Support Group moves into action.

It is launching an appeal for medical and other aid to assist the Grenadian people. Labour movement action will also be needed to spotlight the denial of human rights as the US forces complete their 'mopping up' opera-

tion and to oppose Tory government backing for the puppet 'government' in Grenada.

An excellent example of such solidarity is the recently completed post-invasion visit to Grenada by Labour MP's Nigel Spearing and Ioan Evans, organised by the Reverend David Haslam from War on Want.

Plans are being laid for a major day of action and a national convention.

● **INFORMATION** about Grenada solidarity actions contact: 4 Windus Walk, London N15.

● **PICKETS.** Pickets will continue outside the United States and Caribbean Embassies on Tuesday and Thursday evenings, 5pm-7pm. US Em-

bassy, Grosvenor Square, London WC1.

● **PETITION.** Petitions will be presented to the Foreign Office and the United States Embassies.

Completion date: 28 November. Copies from NICAC, 29 Islington Park St and NJM Support Group UK, 4 Windus Walk, London N16

● **MEETINGS AND RALLIES.** These are taking place around the country. Send information to Socialist Action, Wed. 30 November 7.30 Acton Town Hall. Speakers include Fennis Augustine, Grenadian High Commissioner.

Sunday 20 Nov. 4pm Simba Youth Club, 239 Uxbridge Rd. Shepherds Bush W12. NJM speaker, film, refreshments.

El Salvador: urgent communique

THE GENERAL COMMAND of the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front of El Salvador issued an urgent communique on 5 November warning of the imminent invasion of their country. We publish extracts here.

'We want to inform the Salvadorean and Central American peoples and the international community of some serious developments.

'Weakened by the serious blows which the FMLN has inflicted on the puppet government, especially during the last two months, and complying with suggestions from the US government a few days ago, the Salvadorean Minister of Defence, General Eugenio Vides Casanova, asked the Honduran and Guatemalan armies to invade our country.

'As a result 4000

Guatemalan soldiers have been situated in Jutiapa, Valle Nuevo, San Cristobal and Ciudad Pedro de Alvarado, near the Salvadorean frontier and troops of the Honduran army have been sent to Jicaró Galán, where the road to El Salvador and Nicaragua meet.

'At the same time the number of US soldiers and logistical support in Honduras has continued to increase and a new fleet of warships, including aircraft carriers, has been sent to join the already enormous naval presence off Central American coasts.

'A battalion of US military engineers has been sent to Costa Rica, under the guise of humanitarian aid. The number of US army personnel already threatening frontiers and coasts of El Salvador and Nicaragua now exceed 25,000 and more than 5000 of them are in Honduran territory...

'The order of the Pentagon Southern Command to reactivate the Council for Central American Defence — CONDECA — which comprises the armies of Guatemala, El Salvador and Honduras, has been obeyed with great speed.

'These steps are similar to those that preceded the US invasion of Grenada... The invasion by Honduras and Guatemalan

troops will undoubtedly be followed by US planes and troops...

'This time Reagan has made a mistake — we will make the invaders taste the bitterness of defeat. The Nicaraguan and El Salvadorean peoples will never surrender...

'We are ready, accompanied by our whole people, to face, resist and overcome all attacks...

'The FMLN General Command calls on all peoples of the world to show the greatest possible solidarity with the peoples of El Salvador and Nicaragua.

● Copies of the full statement and background information can be obtained from the FDR Representation, 29 Islington Park Street, London N1.

US military base in Grenada

REAGAN'S disinformation machine has been working overtime with stories about Cuban military bases in Grenada.

Events last week at the new airport on the southwest tip of Grenada reveal his real intent.

A steady stream of trucks carrying heavy roadbuilding and construction equipment has been rolling off a US freighter in St George's harbour. This has been moved by road to the airport in Point

Salines.

The airport is sealed off with a ring of troops and military roadblocks and all but military traffic has been diverted.

Civilian contractors involved in the airport construction have now been barred from the site.

Some months ago, Reagan went to great lengths to 'prove' that the airport was a jumping off point for Cuban military manoeuvres in the region.

The Grenadian people and the Cuban construction workers proved otherwise, as did the British contractor Plessey who

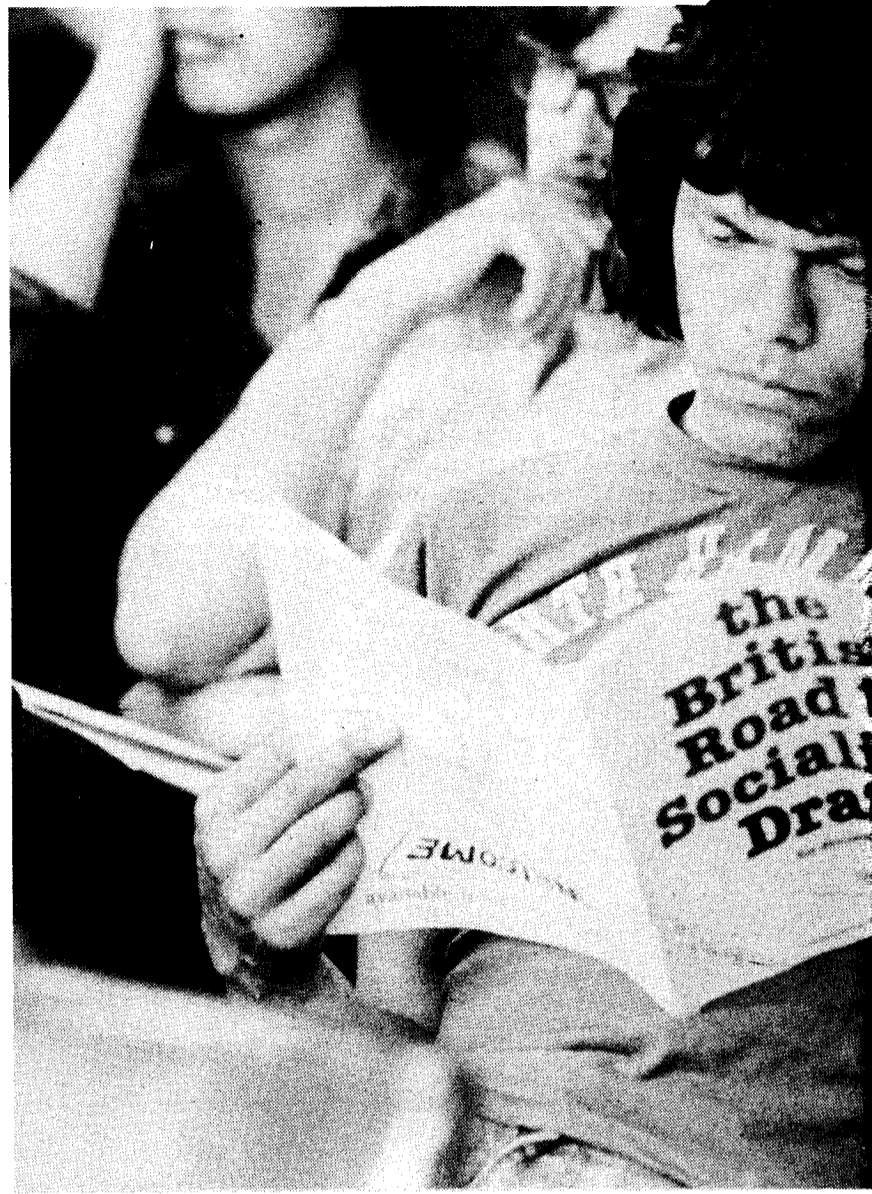
confirmed that they were working on a civilian airport. Now it is Reagan who is preparing to annex the Port Salines airport as a military base for his Central American operations.

An airport contractor has confirmed that 'The decision has been taken to complete it (the airport) by the military, for the military'.

This confirms suspicions that, although some of the invading US troops will be withdrawn in the new year, Grenada will become a permanent military base for the US.



Gordon McLennan, a Pyrrhic victory this year



Yes

LAST WEEKEND the British Communist Party met in Congress — a sad caricature of the party that was formed in 1920 and '21 whose declared aim was to make the British revolution.

Its revolutionary ideals have long been discarded, its membership and influence are in decline and its Stalinist wing and its Eurocommunist wing are fighting each other.

This week PHIL HEARSE looks at the tendencies at the Congress, explains their meaning and charts their futures.

BOB PENNINGTON explains how the Communist Party evolved from a party of hope and idealism into a party of class collaboration, whose past lies buried under the debris of cynicism.

THE FALL AND FALL OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY

AT THE END of the second world war the Communist Party, revelling in the popularity of the Soviet Union's war effort, had 50,000 members. Today it has only fifteen and a half thousand, many of them inactive. The *Morning Star* has just announced a price rise to 30p, and its ability to survive its acute financial problems is in doubt — and this is despite the hidden subsidy of thousands of copies distributed in Eastern Europe. The Young Communist League has all but ceased to exist.

In this atmosphere of crisis the Party met this weekend. Its decline has given rise to the most open and vicious factional struggle since 1956.

The contending groups at the conference boil down to four identifiable tendencies. First, the Eurocommunists grouped around *Marxism Today*, edited by Martin Jacques. This journal gives a platform to ideologues like Eric Hobsbawm and Bob Rowthorn who argue for a Labour-SDP coalition, and denounce the Labour left as 'fundamentalist' and 'ultra-left'.

On the extreme pro-Soviet wing is a group of unregenerate Stalinists around the journal *Straight Left*. Their views are virtually indistinguishable from the pro-Soviet New Communist

Party.

The central leadership group around Gordon McLennan have tended in the past period to give the Eurocommunists their head. Opposing them, and this is by far the most significant development, is the grouping around *Morning Star* editor Tony Chater and one of his staffers, former CP industrial organiser Mick Costello.

By Phil Hearse

Chater and Costello argue that the Party has, in following the Eurocommunists, failed to place sufficient emphasis on industrial work, the centrality of the working class, and failed to say enough 'positive' things about the Soviet Union. This grouping has powerful backing from TASS general secretary Ken Gill.

None of these groups offers any way forward. In searching for a solution to the problems of the Communist Party none of them break from the 'popular frontist' strategy which has led to the CP's impasse. The Party has been outflanked by the rise of 'Bennism' in the Labour Party. *Marxism Today's* rightism is incapable of building a party independent of the Labour Party and the SDP; a move back towards Moscow will isolate the Party still further.

There was nothing basically new in

the CP's Eurocommunist turn in the mid-1970s. Ever since 1951, when the CP adopted *The British Road to Socialism* — and in reality ever since it adopted popular frontism in the mid-1930s — the Communist Party has disavowed socialism as the strategic objective of the working class struggle. Its new programme adopted in 1977 replaced the 'anti-monopoly alliance' (a very broad category, that) with the even more nebulous 'broad democratic alliance'.

The Eurocommunists saw 'progressive' forces everywhere, not just in the growing women's, peace and anti-racist movements, but even as far right as the SDP. The problem was that just at the moment the CP turned even further right and loosened its links with Moscow, a real mass left wing arose in the Labour Party in the form of Bennism.

Undeterred, the Eurocommunists took the Italian CP's 'historic compromise' to heart, and tried to apply it in a British context. The results have been spectacular. We have had the extraordinary spectacle of Eric Hobsbawm lecturing the Labour Party that it lost the election because its programme was 'too left wing', openly blaming the Bennites for the Tory victory. A symptom of this development was the recent *Marxism Today* review by John Bloomfield of Peter Hain's new book *The Democratic Alternative*.

Hain represents the most right wing current to have emerged from Bennism. But for Bloomfield Hain's book still had unfortunate traces of 'left fundamentalism' — ie an undue concern with socialism and working class struggle.

Union

Historically the CP has been based on a network of trade union militants organised since the late 1950s in the broad lefts. This industrial network, itself heavily in decline, has been the least associated with Eurocommunism. It is no surprise therefore that people at the forefront of the CP's industrial work should come forward to oppose the drift of the leadership. But if people like Mick Costello and Ken Gill associate the decline of the CP's influence in industry with Eurocommunist policies then they are wrong. The old CP-led broad lefts, especially in the AUEW were essentially election machines for left bureaucrats, which went into bankruptcy when the Scanlon-Jones wing of the bureaucracy capitulated to the 1974 Labour government's 'social contract'.

New broad lefts have arisen generally led by the Labour left. The Communist Party has never had an industrial policy which prioritised rank and file struggle above the election of



Mick Costello eyes turned towards Moscow — just like the 'good old days'

upper and middle bureaucrats. And when, in 1970 and 1971 the CP did lead a rank and file movement which could mobilise thousands, the LCDTU, it put the bureaucratic lid on it in double quick time.

The Eurocommunist policy since the mid-1970s did have the merit of making some sort of critical appraisal of the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, albeit a mealy-mouthed one. But it could never build an independent party. Why join the Communist Party if the strategic objective is a Labour-



Photo: ANDREW WIARD (Report)



A rather sordid history

Molotov then Soviet Foreign Minister with Nazi High Command at time of Stalin/Hitler Pact

IN JULY 1921 159 delegates met in Cannon Street, London and unanimously passed a resolution to form the Communist Party of Great Britain (CPGB). These people represented the most dedicated socialist and militants in the British labour movement.

The founders of British communism came from syndicalist currents, from centrist groupings and from organisations which were really left reformist. There was no 'Leninist' current inside the new party nor was there even any one particular leader who had really grasped how the Bolsheviks had built their party.

They had come to learn 'Leninism' so that they could build a similar party in Britain. In the early days they did learn some valuable and comradely lessons. Such ideas like the united front were taught by the executive of the Communist International. The sectarian attitude many had towards the Labour Party was overcome — in no small measure by Lenin's pamphlet: *Left-wing Communism an infantile disorder*. As a result of these discussions the CPGB was later able to launch its two most successful initiatives around the Minority Movement and the National Left-Wing Movement.

Unfortunately this period was not to last long. After Lenin's death in January 1924, factional war, which had been brewing for some time inside the Russian Party, broke out. After a fierce and bitter struggle the rising new bureaucracy led by Stalin defeated the Leninist-wing of the party led by Trotsky. From now on 'socialism in one country' and its logical outcome 'peaceful co-existence' were the official dogmas.

Task

The main task of Communist parties was no longer to make their own revolutions but to defend the Soviet fatherland. As Trotsky put it they were turned into 'border patrols' for the USSR. The British party still raw and inexperienced and with a low level of political culture tamely followed the majority in the 3rd International. The promise of 1921 had been strangled almost at birth. By its unquestioning obedience to Stalin the CPGB set course along a road that could only lead to disaster.

The 1926 general strike put the theory of socialism in one country to its first test. As the 'left' leaders of the TUC rolled over before the offensive of the ruling class the CP gave them its support. After all, these were the people who supported the Anglo-Russian Trade Union Committee which was an alliance between the Russian unions and the reformist bureaucratic leaders

of the TUC.

Then in 1928 Moscow made a new discovery. Molotov declared the main enemy to be social democracy which was dubbed 'social fascism'. A few short months before the Nazis took power Kuusinen was writing: 'The main blow (emphasis in the original)...must in the present period of preparing for the revolution be directed against social fascism and the reformist trade union bureaucracy'. A grateful Hitler used this stupidity to divide the German workers' movement to seize power.

By Bob Pennington

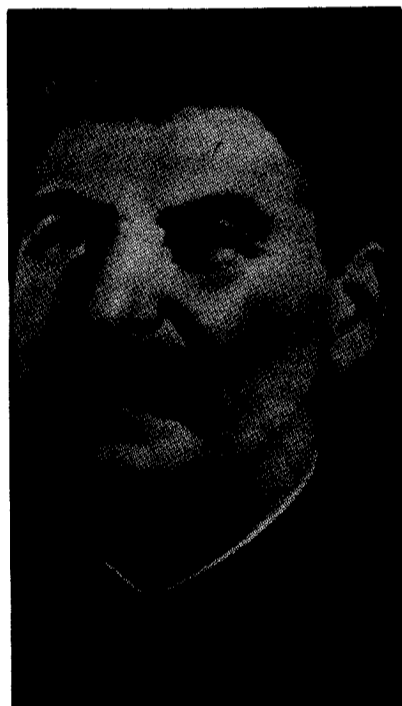
In Britain the CP repeated these ultra-left inanities and embarked on a mad policy of building 'red' unions. This when the Labour Party had split and the unions were losing members! Then Stalin did a *volte face*. Nazi Germany and fascist Italy became the main threat to the Soviet Union. The 'western democracies' had to be won to an alliance with the USSR against facism.

Every 'progressive' had to be roped in and people like the 'Red' Dean of Canterbury and the Duchess of Atholl adorned the platforms of the Popular Front. Oh how *Marxism Today* would have loved it all!

The YCL was recommended to 'make a commencement of work in the Territorials' and members of the



Kruschev — blew the gaff on Stalin's crimes



Stalin played the tune to which British CP obediently danced

Young Communist League visited the Rover Scouts and were 'agreeably surprised to find we had so much in common with them...' Yesterday's enemy now became today's best friend. Nothing had to be done that would upset the alliance between the 'progressive' bourgeoisie and the Russian bureaucracy.

That is why Émile Burns, a theoretician of the CP, could argue that the Soviet government had to agree to neutrality in the Spanish civil war because 'a refusal would...set the French Socialist Party leaders and of course the British Labour leaders into a new frenzy of anti-Soviet propaganda'.

Alliance

The interests of the Spanish revolution had to be subordinated to the needs of the Stalinist bureaucrats to get an alliance with British and French imperialism. Then it all changed again. Germany invaded Poland and war broke out between Germany and the 'western democracies'.

Stalin and Hitler signed a pact and the line of uniting the USSR with Britain and France fell out of the window. Pravda explained: 'The war was declared by Britain and France. The peace proposals were not rejected by Germany but by Britain and France, who insist not only in continuing the war but spreading it.'

Along with all the other Communist

parties the British CP got in line with Moscow and denounced the war its general secretary Harry Pollit had supported only days before. So he was ditched. But Mr Pollit made a comeback in 1941 when the ungrateful Hitler invaded Russia. Then the war became the 'people's war'.

The CP denounced strikes — Lord Beaverbrook the Minister for Aircraft Production told later how grateful he was to Willie Gallagher, then Communist MP for West Fife, for getting workers to cease striking when he could not hope to get them to do it.

Class collaboration and basking in the popularity of Russia's war effort turned the heads of the CP leaders. In a pamphlet entitled 'How to Win the Peace' Harry Pollit called not for a Labour or Communist government but for a government that included the most progressive elements in all parties. Included in this bunch was Churchill and Eden.

Dock

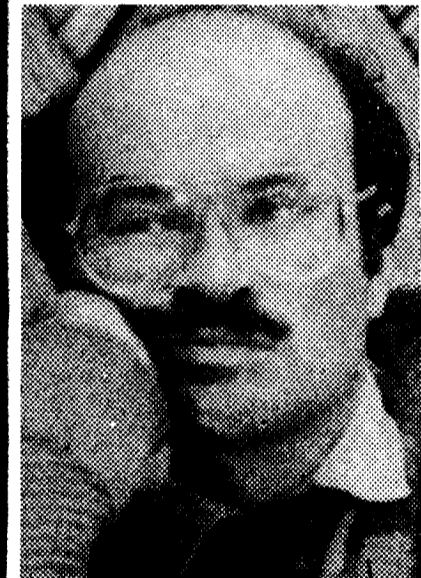
In the first post-war dock strike the CP called on the workers to go back to work as it pursued its policies of uniting with those same 'progressive forces'. By 1951 the party had produced its masterpiece *The British Road to Socialism*, which said 'The enemies of Communism declare that the CP, by underhand means is aiming at the destruction of Britain and the British Empire. But it is a lie.' Socialism it stated could be obtained by parliamentary means. Up to the publication of the *British Road to Socialism* the CPGB had had a history of flipping over from ultra-leftism to reformism, then at the dictate of Moscow flipping back again.

Now the seal was set on outright reformism a policy from which it has never deviated since. In 1956 Khrushchev blew the gaff on Stalin's reign of terror, and an 'apologetic' general secretary Harry Pollit admitted that in 54 visits to Moscow he had never noticed anything wrong! The revelations shook the party to its foundations, thousands of members left and the iron links that had bound the CP to Moscow began to weaken.

Because it had been educated in the politics of bureaucratic reformism the consequences of getting 'free' of the USSR's instructions simply meant an acceleration in the drift to the right and made it impossible for it to return to its original founding objectives.

Denied its original role as a revolutionary marxist party, unable to replace the more widely based reformist Labour Party, the CP is like a rudderless ship with no political port of call. It is a creature of its own sordid history and it can't escape the consequences of that.

is a load of reformist rubbish, isn't it?



Martin Jacques can still have God and reformism in Marxism Today.

SDP government? Why not join the Labour Party when your views can easily be accommodated and when thousands of serious socialists inside it need to be rescued from ultra-leftism?

Marxism Today did build up a serious intellectual reputation and a big readership. But whether it ever won anyone to move their politics leftwards is open to doubt.

The Chater-Costello faction represents a return to the Stalinist bunker. A closer identification with the 'socialist' countries can of course give the Party a more definite political profile. *The Morning Star's* recent one page articles on such things as the huge advances in socialist Bulgaria will of course give the Party a definite identity. But whether this will prove a policy of attracting leftward moving socialist militants must be open to question.

The Eurocommunists should take their own politics seriously. They should join the Labour Party, and if that is too 'fundamentalist' then the SDP awaits them. Then the rest of the CP can quietly reunite with the NCP and live out its remaining years in the reflected glory of Moscow. Serious socialist militants will look elsewhere.

Stop press: first reports indicate that the Eurocommunist-leadership bloc has a majority in the congress of around 143 votes to the Chater-Costello faction's 100.

Farrell Dobbs

THE LABOUR movement in the United States in particular and the world socialist movement in general has every reason to mourn the death of Farrell Dobbs, who died on 31 October at the age of 76.

Dobbs became active in socialist politics as a result of the strikes for union recognition in the coal yards in Minneapolis in 1934.

By Bob Pennington

Writing later of that strike another American Trotskyist, James P Cannon, said: 'The "dispatcher" in the May strike was a young man called Farrell Dobbs. He came out of a coal yard in Minneapolis into the union and the strike, and then into the party.' That strike won union recognition in a city previously notorious for being a non-union town.

Dobbs not only built up the Teamsters union in Min-

neapolis but later worked full-time for the union, leading it in a big organising campaign to organise truck drivers. But Farrell Dobbs did not take the course that so many other 'lefts' have taken once they had a smell of the secure wage and a liberal expense account. He was first and foremost a socialist who, like all political workers who take up the class struggle in a serious way, refused to be bullied and bribed by the bureaucracy.

He knew the workers needed a Marxist party and that such a party needed experienced militants who could learn from intellectuals like Marx and Engels, and their two greatest pupils Lenin and Trotsky.

He later worked for the Socialist Workers Party and served 13 months in federal prison during the war for opposing his government's imperialist war. During the terrible days of McCarthy and his witch hunt tribunals Dobbs worked for the SWP, later

becoming its national secretary. They were really tough days when even to express a liberal opinion could lose you your job and Dobbs and the small bands of socialists who held their party together during those times deserve every credit.

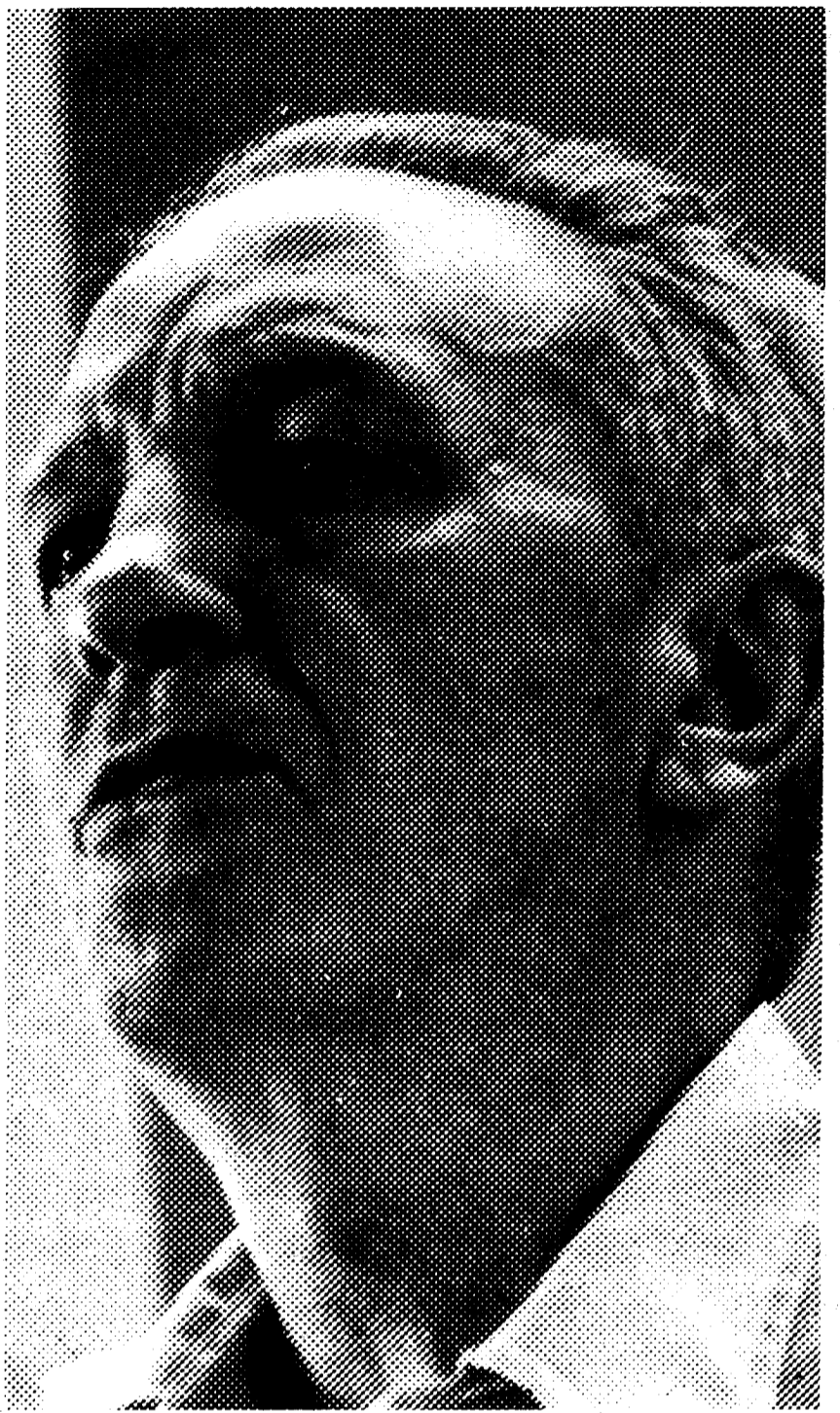
When the class struggle took an upturn in the early sixties Dobbs was active in defending the Cuban and Vietnamese revolutions and gave his unstinting support to the civil rights movement.

Farrel wrote five books, three of them on the Teamster's struggles in Minneapolis and two others dealing with Revolutionary Continuity 1918-22.

I was very lucky that when Dobbs visited Britain in 1956 he stayed with me in Liverpool for a few days. At that time the Communist Party was in a deep crisis as a result of the Krushchev revelations and I was discussing with a group of young worker militants who were in the Young Communist League. Dobbs spent hours discussing with these young people, explaining Marxist ideas and above all else explaining internationalism. Essentially a modest and gentle person, they had to literally drag out of him some of the stories about his own role in those Minneapolis strikes that had brought him to the movement.

Dobbs represented all that was best in the US workers movement. If you get a bit sick when you hear some US workers on TV sounding off about how Reagan taught the 'commies' in Grenada, remember that the American working class also produced Farrell Dobbs, and that he is just one forerunner of the hundreds of thousands that will follow him and take up his struggle.

* A 'dispatcher' was a person in charge of flying pickets.



Farrell Dobbs 1907 to 1983

Veteran American Trotskyist

With the death of Farrell Dobbs, the world Trotskyist movement loses one of its veteran leaders, a symbol of the unity of a worker militant and a builder of the revolutionary party. Farrell embodied for us all the leadership of the 1934 Minneapolis teamsters strike, with which, after the Charleroi miners strike of 1932, the young movement for the Fourth International demonstrated its initial capacity to successfully conduct important working class struggles. His conscious decision to abandon his position as a trade-union leader to become one of the key leaders of the Socialist Workers Party reflected for us the central understanding which lies at the basis of our Transitional Programme, the cornerstone of the Fourth International since its founding conference in 1938. The dramatic problems with which humankind is confronted in the 20th century — the very problem of the physical survival of the human race — cannot be solved but through the building of revolutionary parties and a revolutionary mass International, through the fusion of the real struggles of the proletariat in the three sectors of the world revolution with revolutionary vanguard cadre.

To remain faithful to the meaning of Farrell's life taken in its totality, more than ever means today to build the Socialist Workers Party and the Fourth International in the continuity of Marx and Lenin, of Trotsky and of James P. Cannon.

Pierre Frank, Livio Maitan, Ernest Mandel, Hugo Gonzales Moscoso.
3 November 1983

LMNOPQRSTU
LETTERS
LMNOPQRST

Wythenshawe

The article on Manchester Wythenshawe CLP which appeared under my name (SA 11 Nov No33) contained a major factual error. The introduction to the article claimed that David Hughes, the Labour Party National Agent, closed the 4 November re-call AGM because 'there was a clear majority for the suspended officers'.

This is not the case. The meeting was closed at 10.10pm because of the large numbers of challenges to the new delegates to the GMC. These came up for two reasons. Firstly the National Agent had not called for a card check at the meeting, and it turned out that some delegates were not members of the constituency party — and in one case not even a member of the Labour Party.

Then the National Agent claimed that there were problems in the

method of determining trade union delegations now used by the Manchester parties. He insisted that on this matter that no recall GMC could take place until it had been sorted out. Those who supported the suspended officers were pleased David Hughes closed the meeting. To have let it go on with all these irregularities would have flouted the NEC's promise of a 'fair AGM'.

However, they reject the allegation that this is because of the way that trade union delegates are selected in Manchester. In Manchester trade unions and other affiliated organisations can send delegates direct to the district party which means they are involved in the body that makes policy for the City Council. The NEC organisation sub-committee has been engaged in a continuous attempt to reduce the influence of the Manchester district party and



Jude Woodward

they want to break up its links with the unions.

What happened at the Wythenshawe AGM on 4 November is being used as an excuse to step up the witchhunt against the Manchester district party. The blame that lies with David Hughes is that he did not organise a card check and thus stop the attempts by the right to pack the meeting by getting 60 new trade union delegates to attend the meeting.

David Hughes is to blame for the failure of the 4 November AGM to sort out the problems. But, if it had gone ahead there would definitely have been a majority against the suspended officers.

As it happened the best

thing happened — the meeting was called off. JUDE WOODWARD Wythenshawe

We apologise for the mistake. The article was taken over the phone at a late stage in the production of the paper and the journalist misunderstood what had been said. Apologies to both David Hughes and Jude Woodward.

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)

Your support is needed

YOUR newspaper has pledged support for the liberation struggle in South Africa and we are calling upon you urgently to attend the 24-hour picket beginning 5.30pm on Friday 2 December at South Africa House in Trafalgar Square.

We ask you to bring your delegation to the picket so that each of your members can hold a placard for one of the political prisoners in South Africa — there are over 500 long-term political prisoners in jail at the moment — so you can see how many people are needed if they are all to be represented as present. And of course, we want you banner prominently displayed on the picket.

Your support is urgently needed. Since July 1983 hundreds of Black South Africans in



the Ciskei bantustan have been detained, tortured and murdered in an attempt to force them to end their 3-month-long bus boycott.

The South African Allied Workers Union (SAAWU) has been banned by the Ciskei puppet government and its leadership is now detained.

The racist regime has detained leaders of the newly formed mass political movement, the United Democratic Front (UDF), including Cde Albertina Sisulu. The UDF was launched nationally in August 1983, comprising 580 organisations representing one and a half million people, to fight for a free and democratic South Africa.

The Peoples Republics of Angola and Mozambique have repeatedly warned of the danger of a full-scale South African invasion. On 17 October the SAAF bombed an ANC base in Matola, Mozambique.

Undoubtedly South Africa will have increased confidence since the US invasion of Grenada.

Following the hangings of the Moroka 3 another ANC member, Malesela Moloise, has been given the death sentence.

There are many ways in which you can show your support and we are asking you to make your presence felt on this 24 hour demonstration.

CAROL BRICKLEY, City of London Anti-Apartheid Group

IF...

LOOK NO further for a Christmas present for that awkward comrade who already has the collected works of Trotsky, Castro, The Jam and Le Carré. *The IF... Chronicles* by Steve Bell has just hit the bookshops.

Non-readers of the *Guardian* (do you really exist?) will have missed the

By Hilary Driver

daily cartoon strip *IF...*, a beacon of light amidst the gloom of news on the counter-offensive of im-

perialism and the offensiveness of Thatcherism.

But maybe I should heed the introductory words of Chief Constable 'Badger' Courage: 'don't try anything funny' and keep this review short so there's more room for cartoons from the book.

Perhaps the best recommendation is just to

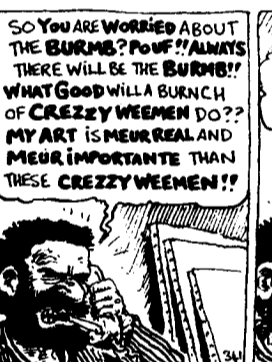
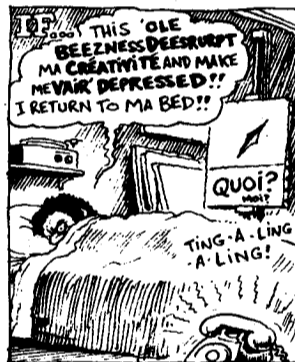
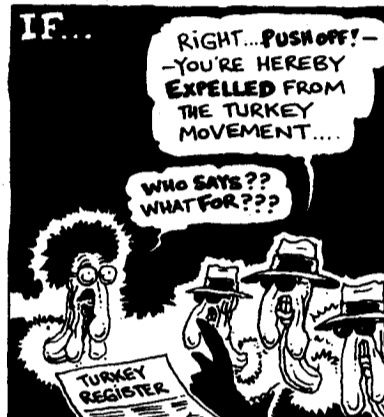
explain that it took hours of heated debate in the Socialist Action offices to choose the strips for this page because most of them get a Grade A+.

And if you 'namby-pamby lesbian Trotskyist social-working woolly-hatted ethnic pacifist nursery school teaching dupes of the Kremlin' (as

Badger would say) don't like it, try boiling your heads in some new improved Persil.

* *The IF... Chronicles* by Steve Bell, Methuen, £2.50.

• Win a FREE copy of Steve Bell's book — see page 15.



A sequel to 1984

GEORGE ORWELL'S 1984 has come and gone. This is the sequel — 1985. It is 1985 and Oceania has suffered a severe military defeat at the hands of Eurasia. At the same time Big Brother has died, leaving the question of the succession.

Reviewed by A Lenton

The inner party has split into two factions, the Aluminists led by Big Sister (Big Brother's widow), and the Paper Faction. Into the gap that is opened up steps Winston Smith and the Actualists, who are set up by the Thought Police to produce a paper called the *Times Literary Supplement*!

Georgy Dalos has written a story of the year and struggle that follows. Actually it's four different stories, three of which are about 1985. Winston Smith, Julia Miller and O'Brien of the Thought Police each tell their own story, while the narrator uses the footnotes to tell the story of his own imprisonment for independent thinking.

The book is a nice idea, but I'm not sure if it should have been left as an

idea. The original 1984 has a certain unrelieved grimness which is essential to its effect. Some of the ideas in 1985, while being very amusing, have the effect of cutting across 1984. Politically, the book continues the pessimistic vein of the original. Both the intellectuals and the proles make their own bits of the revolution, and being unable to communicate with one another are rolled up separately.

Georgy Dalos is a

Hungarian poet, something which tends to show up in the writing. Humour is one of the ways in which the masses in Eastern Europe get back at the bureaucracy, and that sort of humour lurks at the corners of this book.

But it is sometimes a little difficult for Westerners to understand. And that may well be where this book will flounder.

* 1985 by Georgy Dalos, Pluto Press £2.95



TV CHOICE

Flashback

Saturday 19 November, 6.30, Channel 4

THE ARCHIVE film series looks at the early days of CNL in this week's episode, *To Aldermaston and back 1958-60*. Included in the programme are clips from the documentary *A march to Aldermaston* made in 1958 by sympathetic film makers and this is compared to the TV news coverage of the time.

Kennedy

Sunday 20, Monday 21, Tuesday 22 November, ITV

IT'S KENNEDY week as we reach the tenth anniversary of his assassination. Following *The Kennedy Legacy* on BBC2, Saturday, comes the blockbuster mini-series. Martin Sheen, who manages to look absolutely nothing like JFK, plays the dynamic hero of modern America.

Kennedy you might prefer to remember for the Bay of Pigs, the escalation of the war in Vietnam and the Cuban missiles crisis, however. Believe it or not, the series is being shown simultaneously in the Lebanon. What's happening there is the real Kennedy legacy.



Picture of Health

Friday 25 November, 10.30, Channel 4
BRITAIN NOW has the highest rate of lung cancer in the world. But while the number of men smoking has dropped by a third, women actually smoke more cigarettes. The programme looks at how the anti-smoking campaign has been largely directed at men, while the tobacco companies have concentrated their efforts on women.

Meanwhile the health services have shown little interest in the special problems of women in giving up. A good expose of how women get a raw deal with their health.

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.)

International

The Politics of Health in Zimbabwe Hour long video available for meetings or functions. £10 (payable in advance). Send to Books for South Africa Fund, PO Box 50, London N1.

Sri Lankan Research & Information Group will provide speakers on the current situation there for meetings. Write to 9 Grays Buildings, London EC1.

Yolocamba I-Ta (direct from El Salvador) and **High Life International: Central America and Africa** meet in concert at Friends House, Euston Rd, London NW1 on Fri 25 November, 7pm. Tickets £3/£2 unwaged from ELSSOC, 29 Islington Park St, London N1, 01-359 3976. Benefit for El Salvador and Chile Solidarity Campaigns.

An Evening for El Salvador Sun 4 Dec, Queen Elizabeth Hall, South Bank, 7.30pm. A cabaret with Julie Christie, The Flying Pickets, The Joeys, Leon Rosselson, Peggy Seeger & Ewan MacColl, Emma Thompson, Yolocamba I-Ta, Andy de la Cour. Tickets £4 or £6 from ELSSOC (see above).

Advertisement

For a Reagan-free Caribbean



Reagan Free Caribbean badges in yellow, black and red. 25p each (plus postage); bulk orders 20p each. Money with orders to PO Box 36, 136 Kingsland High St, London E8. Cheques/POs payable to Hackney Book Club.

No Intervention in Central America and the Caribbean (NICAC) is a broad based coalition of solidarity groups, human rights orgs, aid agencies and political parties. More details from NICAC 20/21 Compton Terrace, London N1 2J-226 6747.

Hounslow Socialist Forum series of three meetings on the internationalisation of the world economy and of conflict: 27 Nov The crisis in Israel and its effects on the

Middle East introduced by Moshe Machover (member of *Khamsin* editorial board); **11 Dec The orchestration of violence and repression** with speakers from Southern Africa, Latin America & Palestine. All meetings Sundays, 7.15pm, George IV pub, 185 Chiswick High Rd, W4 (Turnham Green tube).

● **Nobody's Backyard** — week of action on Central America, 27 Nov to 3 Dec. For details write to Nobody's Backyard, 4 Replingham Rd, London SW18.

● **Central America: Nobody's Backyard.** Programme of meetings organised by North London Central America Group, Tuesdays at 7.30pm, Hampden Community Centre, 150 Ossulston St, NW1. £5 for full course or £1 per meeting (£2/50p unwaged).

● **From War in the Third World to the Third World War** — new pamphlet published by El Salvador Solidarity Campaign, 59 Islington Park St, London N1 01-359 3976. ELSSOC have also produced a 1984 calendar showing scenes from life in the liberated zones, £3 from same address.

Town Hall. Speakers: Fennis Augustine (Grenadan High Commissioner) and from Nicaragua Solidarity Campaign plus film 'El Salvador — Another Vietnam?'. Organised by Ealing-Acton Labour Party.

Ireland

● **Exhibition on plastic bullets** at Islington libraries: Manor Gdns 14-26 Nov; Finsbury 28 Nov-10 Dec. Organised by Islington TOM with Islington Council.

● **Labour Movement Conference on Ireland** — Peace through Democracy. Sat 26 Nov. Speakers include Tony Benn, Ken Livingstone, and Clive Soley.

Lesbian & Gay Liberation

● **London Lesbian & Gay Young Socialists** meet every four weeks on Sundays at 6pm, Marchmont Community Centre, Marchmont St, WC1. Next meeting 20 Nov showing 'Revenge of the teenage perverts' and other videos. Further details from Martin 01-263 9484.

women & women workers at Centres for the Unemployed in the south east. Sat 3 Dec, 9.30am-5pm, Congress Hse, Gt Russel St, London W1. With Jo Richardson MP, theatre, and workshops. Full details from Celia Minoughan, Guildford Unemployed Peoples Centre, The Old Police Station, 3a Leapale Rd, Guildford, Surrey 0483-33942.

Civil Rights

● **Campaign against the Police Bill national conference**, Sat 19 Nov, Sir William Collins School, Charrington St, London NW1. **National march and rally** Sat 21 Jan, Brockwell Park, London. Details of these and other events from NCAPB, 50 Rectory Rd, London N16 01-249 8334.

● **Southall Campaign against the Police Bill** public meeting. Speakers: Paul Boateng (Chair GLC Police Cttee); Jim McAllister (Sinn Fein); Baldev Gill (Southall Campaign against the Police Bill). Sat 26 Nov, 7pm, Mangat Hall, Villiers Rd, Southall. Contact the campaign at 01-843 0343.

Disarmament

● **Dumfries & Galloway Youth CND** events: Sat 19 Nov phone protest at the production of tritium at Chapelcross. For information contact Alan Conchar (sec), 13 Cotton St, Castle Douglas, Kirkcubrightshire, DG7 1AJ 0556 2030.

Publications

● **Race and Class special issue out now: 'British racism — the road to 1984'**. Includes articles by A. Sivanandan; Cecil Gutzmore; Lee Bridges and others. £2 from Institute of Race Relations, 247 Pentonville Rd, London N1 9NG. Cash with order.

● **Anti-Privatisation Newsletter** produced by Public Service Action. Fourth issue out now includes material on council house sales, failures by private contractors, and on privatisation of the NHS, British Rail, British Gas etc. 30p each from SCAT Publications, 27 Clerkenwell Close, London EC1, 01-253 3627.

Miscellaneous

● **The Isaac Deutscher Memorial Lecture** given by GEM de Ste Croix 'Karl Marx and the Interpretation of Greek and Roman History'. 28 Nov, 7.30pm, LSE New Theatre, Houghton St, London WC2. Admission free.

● **Films at work** — a series of films at Jacksons Lane Community Centre, 271 Archway Rd, London N6. 13 Nov Salt of the Earth; 20 Nov Finally got the News; 27 Nov The Filleting Machine; 4 Dec Borinage; 11 Dec WR — Mysteries of the Organism; 19 Dec Days of Hope. All start at 7.30pm, £1.50/80p UB40.

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● **Labour Group for Human Rights in Sri Lanka** public meeting with Tony Benn, Jeremy Corbyn MP, Rajes Balasubramaniam (Labour Group/Tamil Women's League) John Chowcatt (ASTMS) & speaker from EELAM Solidarity Campaign. Thur 1 Dec, 7pm, Hampstead Town Hall, Haverstock Hill, NW3 (opp Belsize Pk tube).

● **Socialist Action Pie and Pea supper** to celebrate the anniversary of the Russian revolution. Sat 19 Nov, 7.30pm, Vale Rd Community Centre, Mansfield Woodhouse. Food, music, drinks, speakers and raffle. For tickets phone Mansfield 653216, £1.20/80p unwaged.

● **Labour Committee on Palestine annual national conference** Sat 26 Nov, Lambeth Town Hall. Speakers from PLO and Lebanese National Movement. For details contact Penny 01-274 8775

● **Grenada and Central America** public meeting Wed 30 Nov, 7.30pm, Acton

● **London Labour Campaign for Gay Rights** Further details from Mike 01-659 2983 or Bob 01-341 0666.

● **Gay NUR group** just forming. For details of inaugural meeting write to Gay NUR c/o 119 Southwyck, Coldharbour Lane, London SW9.

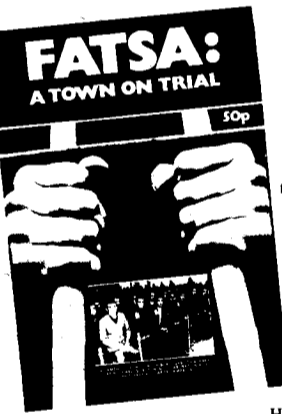
● **Lesbians in the Labour Party and trade unions** next national meeting Sat 26 Nov, 2pm, A Woman's Place, Victoria Embankment, London WC1 (Embankment tube). Creche available. Further details from Sarah Roelofs c/o Gays the Word bookshop, Marchmont St, London WC1.

● **Nottingham Labour Campaign for Gay Rights** meets monthly. Next meeting 21 Dec, 8pm, Salutation Inn, Maid Marion Way. Details: Chris Richardson, 21 Devonshire Promenade, Lenton 0602 780124.

Women's Liberation

● **Women and Unemployment** — a conference for unemployed

FATSA: A TOWN ON TRIAL 50p



New pamphlet on Turkey

Fatsa: a town on trial

This pamphlet gives the background to the mass trial of the townspeople of Fatsa, Turkey and the international campaign in their defence.

Produced by Islington, Hackney and Haringey Councils in collaboration with the Turkey Solidarity Campaign. 50p + 20p p&p from TSC, BM Box 5965, London WC1 3XX

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● Please put me in touch with local readers

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IRELAND PEACE THROUGH DEMOCRACY CONFERENCE

Sat 26 November, Edrich Hall, South Bank Poly, Borough Road, London SE1



Speakers include Tony Benn, Clive Soley, Ken Livingstone, Richard Balfe, Jeremy Corbyn, Janice Turner (Young Liberals). Plus speakers from CPGB, LCI, TOM, Connolly Association and Socialist Organiser.

Credentials from PO Box 189, 32 Ivor Place, London NW1

Hands off Grenada!

The New Jewel Movement and the Grenada Solidarity Campaign appeal for support on pickets every Tuesday and Thursday, 5-7pm. These will take place at:

US Embassy, Grosvenor Square, London W1
Eastern Caribbean Embassy, 10 Kensington Ct, London W8
Barbados Embassy, 6 Upper Belgrave St, London SW1

24 hour picket

FRIDAY 2 DECEMBER 5.30pm -
SATURDAY 3 DECEMBER 5.30pm

Outside South Africa House, Trafalgar Square

RELEASE NELSON MANDELA!

Release all Political Prisoners in South African Jails!

I'M HERE FOR WINNIE FOR NELSON MANDELA

This Picket marks the anniversary of the 86-day Picket and we would like all those who took part to come along and join those who have since participated in our activities.


ALL WELCOME!

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SPEAKERS - SINGERS - DANCERS

come and join us!

NATIONAL CAMPAIGN AGAINST THE POLICE BILL
65, 50 RECTORY ROAD, LONDON N16

THE POLICE BILL & POLICING STRATEGIES IN THE '80s



CONFERENCE

9-30-5pm
SAT. 19th NOVEMBER
Sir William Collins Sch, Charrington St. London NW1
Near Euston Station
(Social 7.30-10.30)

WITCH HUNTING destroys the democracy of any society or organisation that practises it.

This is one of the hard lessons the left learned in the period of McCarthyism and the cold war. Now it has to be learned by the left today.

CINDY JAQUITH, editor of the American socialist paper, *The Militant*, looks at the most infamous of all the cold war frame ups, which led to the judicial murder by the US government of Ethel and Julius Rosenberg.

The Rosenbergs were indicted in 1950 on charges of stealing the 'secret' of the atom bomb. Indicted with them was Morton Sobell. All three maintained they were completely innocent.

At their trial in 1951, the government's main 'evidence' was a crude drawing said to be a sketch of a bomb lens mould. David Greenglass testified that he

That drive was in full swing in Korea at the time of the Rosenberg's trial. The FBI, judge, and prosecution made full use of the courtroom to whip up pro-war sentiment in favour of Washington's invasion of Korea. In his closing statement sending the Rosenbergs to the electric chair, Judge Irving Kaufman said:

'Your conduct ... has already caused the Communist aggression in Korea, with the resultant casualties exceeding 50,000 and who knows but that millions more of innocent people may pay the price of your treason ...'

Charged

Although the Rosenbergs were formally charged with being spies, their real crime in the eyes of the US government was that they were supporters of the Communist Party. They were also Jewish. The object was to portray all CP members as 'spies', agents of a 'foreign power', and 'traitors'. This smear would then be applied more widely, to others who defended the Soviet Union from imperialist attack, favoured socialism over capitalist exploita-



Ethel and Julius Rosenberg, murdered for their beliefs

Martyrs of the cold war

had obtained the sketch at the request of Julius Rosenberg, his brother-in-law, to pass on to the Soviet Union.

Greenglass was one of several star witnesses for the FBI who said they were disillusioned with communism. Also testifying against the Rosenbergs was professional witch-hunt trial witness, Elizabeth Bentley, notorious for helping convict numerous Communist Party supporters in the 1940s and 1950s.

The Rosenbergs were sentenced to death and electrocuted in 1953, despite worldwide protests demanding clemency. Sobell got a 30 year jail term and was not released until he had served over 18 years.

Pretext

The case really had nothing to do with 'atom spies'. This was the pretext the government used in order to launch a massive campaign to terrorize members of the Communist Party and others in the workers' movement. The trial also played an important role in trying to justify US aggression in the Korean War, which had just begun, and at the same time, helping witch-hunt radicals in the labour movement.

The prosecution knew full well the Rosenbergs had not stolen the atom bomb 'secret'. Prominent atomic physicists have since discredited the lens mould sketch and the notion this could have led to the Soviet Union developing the bomb.

But the atom spy charge was important to Washington. It needed to portray the Soviet Union as the real threat to peace in the world. This was a smokescreen to cover the fact that it was Washington that dropped the bomb in 1945 and planned to do so again as part of its counter-revolutionary war drive against the spread of socialist revolution.

tion, or simply opposed the anti-labour, racist policies of the US government.

Washington had high hopes that the Rosenbergs would finally 'confess' and name other 'spies' the FBI could go out and persecute. As the couple became international heroes for their refusal to do so, the US secret police stepped up the pressure,



President Dwight Eisenhower refused to stop the executions.

trying to break them.

Appealing

One plot conceived by the CIA called for appealing to the Rosenbergs as Jews and trying to convince the couple that the root of anti-semitism lay in communism, not capitalism.

CIA director Allen Dulles distributed a memo on this plan in

January 1953. It explained that the Rosenbergs would be offered a chance to live if they agreed to 'appeal to all Jews in all countries to get out of the communist movement and seek to destroy it ... The Communist Parties throughout the world have built up the Rosenbergs as heroes and martyrs to "American anti-semitism". Their recantation would entail

backfiring of this entire Soviet propaganda effort.'

Hangmen

The Rosenbergs were not about to give that pleasure to the anti-semitic hangmen in the CIA and the White House. It is a tribute to their role throughout the case that they spurned all forms of blackmail and psychological torture inflicted on

them to force a 'confession'.

'We will never lend ourselves to be tools to implicate innocent people, to confess crimes we never did and help fan the flames of hysteria and help the growing witch hunt,' Julius declared six months before his death.

They maintained this stand to the end.

Barbarity

The barbarity of their murders is only the most heinous aspect of the crimes committed against the Rosenbergs. The entire case was used to carry out a sweeping assault on democratic rights and set a precedent that those accused of being 'spies' or 'subversives' have no constitutional rights before the law:

- The Rosenbergs were imprisoned for over three years, from the time of their arrest, and never given bail.

- Codefendant Morton Sobell was kidnapped by agents of the FBI in Mexico, dragged to the border, and arrested there.

- All three were lynched in the capitalist press, with the help of lurid FBI press releases, before they even came to trial.

- Jews were excluded from the jury, as were several potential jurors who said they opposed the death penalty.

- The FBI placed an informer in Julius's section of prison and later had the informer infiltrate the defense team.

- The Rosenbergs received the death penalty based on evidence that proved nothing about the crime they supposedly had conspired to commit. They were convicted in part on 'classified evidence' that was

deleted from the trial transcript and thus unavailable to the defendants on appeal.

- All the defendants' appeals were denied, right up to the US Supreme Court and the White House, despite the steady surfacing of contradictions in the government's case as the executions drew near.

- FBI files recently released documents that Judge Kaufman connived with the prosecution and the Justice Department on how to conduct the trial and what sentence to impose.

- President Dwight Eisenhower, Attorney General Herbert Brownell, and other top government officials held secret meetings to decide how to handle the growing protest for the Rosenbergs' lives. Eisenhower flatly refused to stop the executions, declaring that the couple had 'exposed to greater danger of death literally millions of our citizens.'

This was a legal lynching if there ever was one and a devastating blow to the workers' movement.

- In June 1982 Cuba became the first country in the world to erect a monument to the Rosenbergs. Designed by sculptor José Delarra, the monument is inscribed with words taken from the Rosenbergs' letters: 'For peace, bread, and roses, we go to meet our executioner.'

Fight the industrial witch hunts:

BL management conspiracy revealed

ROUND TWO of British Leyland's industrial witch hunt began last week, when two more workers were sacked from the Pressed Steel Fisher and Longbridge plants. This time BL have tried to avoid any publicity.

Despite management's reluctance to advertise their latest vendetta against socialists and trade union activists, the story was leaked in the Birmingham local press, when 100 workers downed tools in protest against Grant Keir's sacking.

By Joan Grady

The workers from the hot-test section walked out for four hours on each of the three shifts in protest against what they clearly believed to be a witch hunt. Socialist Action agrees with those workers. The best way to prevent further victimisations of this sort is to fight for the reinstatement of the two sacked workers.

This was followed on Thursday by a London press conference called by Alex Lyon on behalf of the Campaign Against Political Vetting and Victimisation — started in response to the media witch hunt in

the summer. The two workers, both Socialist Action supporters, were present to put their case.

This time the press took a more 'responsible' attitude towards reporting the case, with headlines like 'BL sackings as anti-veiling fight starts' (*Guardian*) and 'Sacked BL worker "victimised"' (*Oxford Mail*).

They were forced to do this because BL management refused to give any information to the press. They were afraid that their original claim of an organised conspiracy by socialist 'moles' would rebound on them if it became too obvious that the only conspiracy going on at BL was that organised by management. This was in stark contrast to the summer when management deliberately set up 'Red Steph' for press wolves.

Secondly, the rabid media coverage during the summer has alerted civil

libertarians of all political shades that a climate of McCarthyism is beginning in Britain. If this tendency is left unchecked, it will threaten the right to free expression not just of Marxists, but of *all people* whose political views do not accord with those of Britain's ruling establishment.

The Lyon campaign will research the activities of organisations like Aims of Industry and the Economic League, as well as collecting information on specific cases of victimisation. And it will campaign for justice for the victims of such discriminations by publicly taking up their cases.

All Socialist Action supporters should start preparing support now for this campaign in their own areas:

- by contacting labour movement and civil liberties organisations
- by publicising cases of victimisations and the activities of the Economic League locally and drawing them to the attention of the campaign
- by holding public meetings in support of the campaign.

Support the campaign against victimisation

THE CAMPAIGN Against Political Vetting and Victimisation was set up in the summer after hysterical press coverage of 13 workers dismissed at British Leyland's Cowley plant in Oxford. It held its first public event at the end of last week — a press conference in defence of two more workers recently sacked by British Leyland.

Alex Lyon, chairing the press conference, explained why he'd been moved to set up the campaign.

By Carol Turner

'It got started because I was watching the "Cowley moles" coverage on the telly. I thought to myself, somebody is going to protest about this. But nobody did.'

The campaign's aims are broader than protecting those sacked at British Leyland. We want to begin to change the climate of

opinion in this country which makes it increasingly easy for employers to openly attack the political rights of their workers.

To do this, we will collect and collate information on organisations like the Economic League, and on cases of victimisation and discrimination at work. In the immediate future, the intention is to launch a Charter of Political Rights at Work, with a view to changing British law to protect employees' rights.

The campaign is holding its first meeting on Tuesday 29 November, at 7.30pm at the House of Commons. Sponsors of the launch statement and organisations supporting the campaign are welcome to attend. If you have examples of victimisation at work, please send them to us.

● More information is available from Alex Lyon, 23 Larkhall Rise, London SW4. 01-720 1525.

MILITANT SELLER SUSPENDED

MOVES to expel a Militant supporter from Gillingham Labour Party have ended inconclusively. The local Party Management Committee decided both to suspend the member for three months and, simultaneously, not to take any disciplinary action!

The motions were con-

cerned with the ruling of last year's Labour Party NEC that sales of the *Militant* on Labour Party premises should be forbidden.

By Les Hartop

Two moderate wards tabled motions which watered down proposed disciplinary action. One of their motions calling simply for a reprimand was nar-



BL personnel managers at the time of the 'washing up' strike earlier this year. Their conspiracy against militants is now being revealed.

'Stop the slide to McCarthyism'

THE TWO LATEST victims of British Leyland's witch hunt against socialists — both Socialist Action supporters — appeared at a House of Commons press conference last Thursday called by Alex Lyon on behalf of the Campaign Against Political Vetting and Victimisation.

We reprint below extracts from their statements and others speaking there.

Bernard Kavanagh, Pressed Steel Fisher plant, Cowley

BRITISH Leyland claim I was sacked for falsifying my references. There is no doubt among my workmates that I was sacked for trade union activity.

As an activist in Transport and General Workers Union 5/60 branch, I had been involved in a number of shopfloor incidents with management. After one such incident — a complaint about unsafe working conditions — I was told by a management

representative that unless my attitude changed, there was no place for me in the company.

This spells out BL's approach to trade union activists and socialists. BL are attempting to cloud their factories in a climate of fear, where no worker can speak out for fear of discipline.

Grant Keir, Longbridge plant, Birmingham

I WAS a T&GWU shop steward, and a delegate from the union to Ladywood Labour Party and Birmingham Trades Council. The only charge against me was that I had given inaccurate information on an application form when I joined BL a full three years ago.

This is a thin and flimsy excuse. Indeed, management seemed so satisfied with my conduct that they had even offered me a job as foreman.

This is not a case of industrial misconduct, it's part of a systematic witch hunt against trade unionists and political activists. But the workers on my section realised this was a witch hunt and took action to defend me. My union has supported me all the way.

Imagine what an outcry there'd be if Labour-controlled councils sacked people for being Conservatives, Liberals or Social Democrats. Yet, when socialists and trade unionists are sacked, hardly any opposition is heard. It's necessary to call for a halt to this slide towards McCarthyism.

Ernie Roberts MP

EMPLOYERS have always dismissed people for their trade union activity and their political opinions. I am a case in point.

I was blacklisted in the '40s in Coventry, when I was a leading shop steward for the engineering union. I was sacked by the Alvis Motor Co. for obtaining employment under false pretences. The union fought, but the company got away with it, as employers have been doing every since.

Later the same thing happened to me at Rover. I took it to court and won the case, but the company still wouldn't have me back. Instead, they paid me my wages to stay at home!

We're beginning to adopt a practice in this country which is already prevalent in West Germany — *berufsverbot*. But it's never the National Front employers discriminate against. It's usually socialists and active members of the Labour Party.

We shall continue to raise this in the House.



Alan Thornett — another victim of BL's witch hunt

Robin Allen, barrister specialising in employment law

UNDER the law, workers can't be dismissed for trade union activity. But this is only half the problem.

Employers discriminate against workers who are union activists or hold political views at the stage of employment, and there are no remedies for this.

The Campaign Against Political Vetting and Victimisation will be looking at the position under international law.

Articles 9 and 10 of the European Convention of Human Rights guarantee the right of freedom of thought, conscience and expression. These Articles may well mean that British law falls short of international standards.

Photo: JOHN HARRIS

Photo: JOHN STURROCK (Report)

**MOLES
EYE
VIEW**



Think of a caption

CAPTIONS are invited to illustrate the above picture, taken by Socialist Action's photographer who sneaked up to the breakfast room window in the White House one morning last week. The best caption will be

published and the winner gets a free copy of Steven Bell's latest book *The IF... Chronicles* (reviewed on page 11). Entries close Thursday 24 November. Send to Moles Eye View, Socialist Action, 328 Upper St, London N1.

Kick 'em hard



KEITH BURKENSHAW, Spur's manager gets very worried about crowd violence. After delivering his sermons about the supporters he had this to say about Glen Hoddle, the most skilful player on the club's books: 'He (Hoddle) nearly had a fight on Wednesday and he kicked somebody today which can't be bad. I am not looking for that of course but Glenn's got to get a bit of this into his play.' Maybe Burkenshaw should recruit a few of the fans from the terraces then they could legally fight and kick the other lot.

Loyal gaffer

THERE IS nothing like working for a loyal gaffer and members of the West Midlands police force certainly have that in Sir Philip Knight. Officers from his special branch visited Madeline Haigh who had written to a newspaper about nuclear weapons and lied through their teeth to her.

OK, admits Sir Philip, they were a little 'un-professional' but then writing to newspapers about nuclear weapons means she might get involved in public protests likely to become violent.

The top copper says the popular view that special branch officers are only involved with subversion is wrong adding 'there are many criminal offences likely to be committed in the field of public order (as

in the Mrs Haigh case)... So really he means his 'fuzz' need congratulating because they were engaged in crime prevention even though Mrs Haigh had not thought about committing agro on the demo — she just might do.

You can expect such loyalty from a man who announced he was recommending gallantry awards to the two detectives whose shots killed Gail Kinchin when she was being held hostage in a seige. The lads missed their target, the kidnapper, but they did kill someone, even if it was the victim.

Moles Eye View is compiled by BOB PENNINGTON. Contributions should be sent to arrive by Thursday am.

What's at stake in Telecoms

THE DECISION OF the Post Office Engineering Union conference to back its NEC recommendation to call off the blacking of the Mercury private telecoms company is a major setback in both the union's campaign against privatisation and of the trade union movement's fight against the government's employment legislation.

Despite this the campaign of industrial action against the privatisation of BT goes on. Conference unanimously decided this week to continue its campaign of selective industrial action against government installations and financial institutions. This compares with the 2-1 margin at the September Special conference starting the action. At the same time the right-wing Standing Orders Committee ruled out of order the propositions from the City and West End branches calling for all out national action against the Telecom Bill now in the House of Commons.

By Peter Cooper

Of the 2400 members withdrawn by the union or suspended by management, 1400 are locked out of the International Exchanges. Colin Walsh, secretary of the International Services branch, reported to conference that as many as 50 per cent of international lines are out of action. Other actions include not maintaining data switching and direct lines between businesses and telex links.

Privatisation of virtually any part of the public sector which can be made to pay is a central plank in Thatcher's plans to restructure British capitalism. This is because British capitalism, whose average return from manufacturing industry has been zero or negative in recent years, faces a lack of domestic investment opportunities. In contrast the profitable nationalised industries such as gas, and electricity supply and BT look mouth watering prospects to the pirates.

Strategy

In this strategy the telecommunications sector, in which BT still has a near monopoly in providing services, is central.

Telecommunications is the fastest growing sector of the fastest growing growth area in the world. 'This industry is the outcome from the convergence of the technologies and products of the computer, telecommunications, broadcasting and office equipment industries. Some idea of its scale can be glimpsed from the fact that between 1978-9 the size of the total UK market for IT alone increased by over 20 per cent from £2,188m to £2,678m a year. Some sectors are increasing faster than others. For example the UK market for computer services grew in 1980 by 28 per cent. The Telecoms market on the other hand, increased by nearly 40 per cent (Quoted in Hunt on Cable TC CSE Communications group Nov

1982). BT alone invests £2000m per year, amounting to some 20 per cent of total domestic investment. Along with British Gas, then, BT is the jewel of the privatisation programme. A defeat for the government over the privatisation of British Telecom would be a defeat of strategic proportions in its efforts to rescue British capitalism. Victory for the union would in all probability lead to a loss of confidence in the government by the ruling class and possibly to its rapid demise — much in the way that the miners' victories in 1972 and 1974 led to the fall of the Heath government.

There are divisions within the ruling class over what to do with British Telecom. The *Economist*, for example, wants it broken up and sold off in bits in order to promote 'fair' competition. In addition the sheer size of the share flotation will cause major disruption of the stock exchange, and the sale may be postponed from October 1984 until 1985. But one thing that unites these people is the need to defeat the union's campaign. Their discussion is about when and how the spoils are to be divided, not about the principle of privatisation. Our action may have strengthened the hands of those who wish to delay the scale, that that is all so far.

Sternier

This Tory government, which is made of sterner stuff than Heath's, won't back down unless or until its very existence is threatened. It certainly will not bow to simple economic pressures without an accompanying political challenge.

The miners, who were on all-out strike won, not

because of their economic strength, but because at Saltley Gates, they were able to mobilise other workers to come to their support thus threatening a general strike.

It is almost self evident that selective strike action will not and cannot defeat privatisation. This tactic was successfully developed by the POEU in its struggle for the 35-hour week in 1978. Pressure on the City financial institutions where millions of pounds can be made and lost by a single 'phone call or telex message, by withdrawal of key personnel from strategic, and, if possible fault-prone and specialised equipment such as at the stock exchange caused delegations of City gents to march on Downing Street, demanding an early settlement to the dispute.

Shorter

But 1983 is not 1978 and the shorter working week in a nationalised industry is not the same as the issue of £4,000m worth of shares. Nor is Thatcher Callaghan. This time the whole of the City has a direct financial interest in the POEU's defeat. A British Bankers Association circular quoted at conference last week advises all its members not to reveal to the public any impact that the action is having on the banks' telecommunications. They are standing foursquare behind the government. Any losses even large scale losses will simply be discounted against future profits to be made on this and other privatisations.

We reported in last week's Socialist Action that Colin Talbot, a prominent Broad Left supporter, argued that all out actions would be economically and politically ineffective.

This argument of course falls if selective action can't win anyway. But what it ignores is the demobilising effect on the membership. In this week's vote over the Mercury injunction it was mainly those branches, including Colin's West-



minster Branch at the centre of the action which voted to defy Tebbit's law. Their branch memberships have developed the confidence to go out and take on the government, which those not directly involved have not. This is in no way to defend the capitulation of those four Broad Left supporters on the NEC before the threat of the law.

An all-out strike would be a launch pad to the creation of a genuine public sector alliance to fight privatisation. It's much easier to enlist and focus support of other trade unionists when every town has a picket line.

Prepared

But it is true that the membership will not take such action without a consistent and thorough programme of mobilisation countrywide.

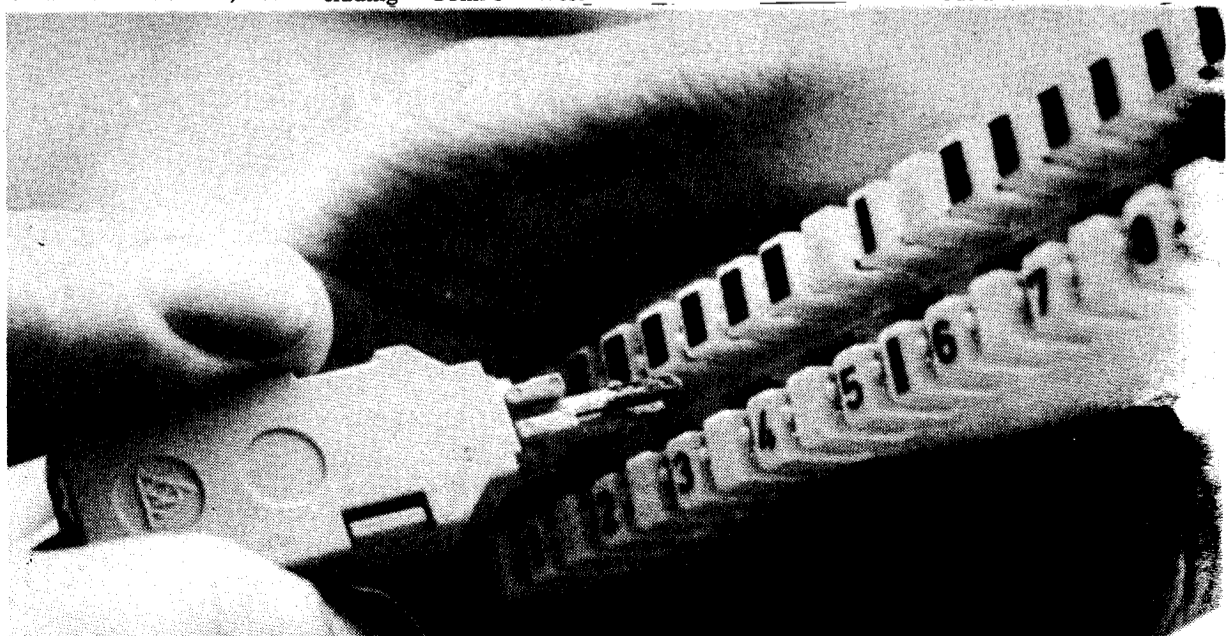
Thirty nine of our members are under threat of dismissal for refusing to carry out striking members' jobs. In addition, following the Appeal Court decision on Mercury, the POEU could be taken to court on exactly the same grounds as on the privatisation issue.

This time our response must be to call all-out action in defence of our union. This must be prepared for now by the union calling meetings addressed by strikers and locked out members, so that we are ready to respond. Time is not on our side, with the present haemorrhage of our finances and dismissals imminent.

The day before the Mercury decision was announced the TUC issued a statement saying that it would not support a union breaking the law. This nasty stab in the back undoubtedly influenced the Blackpool delegates. A public sector alliance against privatisation and in support of our stand is urgently required. A start is being made by the POEU with a London conference open to all trade union branches. This should be generalised and a national conference convened to coordinate action.

Neil Kinnock has talked a lot about the need for the Labour Party to campaign, but we haven't yet seen him in the City supporting the picket lines. A joint POEU/Labour Party Committee should be launched now at national level for the defence of this nationalised industry.

Parliamentary opposition is not enough. This would make our cause a national political issue and give our members the increased confidence to get out and win.



The Mercury Connector: a 237 connector which members refused to link to the BT network. Unless that is done against the government and pirates will win

A Socialist ACTION



No retreat

says POEU militant

LAST WEEK the POEU conference pulled back from the brink of confrontation by voting to comply with the court's injunction stopping the embargo on Mercury.

The next day they voted unanimously to keep up their campaign against privatisation. After the vote Colin Walsh, secretary of the International Service whose members are in the sixth week of action, pledged full support.

He told of the military-style take over of international services which involved the use of police and security agents. They had chucked out the members and barred and locked the

exchanges to stop them occupying. He himself had been treated like a common criminal, even being watched when he went to the toilet. The branch now has a 24-hour picket outside Mondial House, Upper Thames St, London to which all trade union members should turn up to support.

Solidarity

Labour MPs — Terry Fields, Jeremy Corbyn and David Nellist have already been there to show their solidarity.

Solidarity is really vital. This week BT might go ahead with sackings which Brian Stanley the union's general secretary says 'would provoke a

response not just from the whole membership ... but the whole of the trade union movement.' What happened at International must not happen anywhere else.

Occupations are means of taking the fight forward and can inspire national strike action. The action at the satellite earth stations in Goonhilly has knocked out the third station — satellite makes up 50 per cent of the international services, the other half is cable.

The international branches are really determined and have shown the way for other POEU members. Among conference delegates there was a mood that can be built on for all-out action —

their donation of £61,817 showed that.

Although the conference ducked the issue of an all-out strike the Tories and BT will not give the union any choice or way out. The consequences of losing this struggle are enormous.

Privatisation will get the green light everywhere, the Tory anti-union laws will get endorsement, the Tories anti-union bashing will get a boost in the arm and the jobs of many POEU members will be lost.

The POEU must fight back and in that fight they deserve and warrant the support of every other trade unionist and militant.

London Health emergency

THE LATEST round of health service cuts in London has triggered off a wave of resistance. As well as the usual cash cuts, the Tories are dictating to local health authorities how many workers they have to get rid of.

Many District Health Authorities have refused to comply, in spite of the fact that they are usually packed with appointees from the DHSS. Occupations of hospitals are becoming everyday occurrences and militant anti-cuts campaigns are being waged both inside and outside the health service.

Meetings against the cuts have attracted large

numbers of people and several DHA meetings have had to be abandoned in the face of large and angry lobbies.

This reaction to the attack on London's health service is good news. However, the level of resistance is by no means big enough yet to reverse the cuts. It is vitally important that the separate actions and campaigns should not be isolated but draw strength from each other.

Fortunately there are two organisations which can help in this direction. The London Health Service Campaign was set up earlier this year to bring together activists on a London-wide basis.

The GLC is funding London Health Emergen-

cy, whose main function is to resource and service the London Campaign. In addition the GLC has launched propaganda advertising in local papers and elsewhere.

It is vital that the cuts are fought on an all-London basis, and not just area by area. Although extensive action by workers in the health service is indispensable, they cannot possibly win the battle alone, even if public sympathy is behind them.

As was shown by the 1982 wages dispute in the health service, in order to defeat the Tories plans for privatisation and run down of the NHS, sympathy will have to be transformed into action — particularly by fellow trade unionists.



Health workers fight cuts

TWO HUNDRED and fifty angry people marched against the health cuts from Leamington to Warwick on Monday 7 November. Locally the cuts mean 250 jobs lost in the South Warwickshire health authority area along with the closure of a vitally needed maternity hospital.

By Rick Bloomer (COHSE)

The march ended with a petition of over 10,000 signatures against the cuts being given to a meeting of the district health authority.

People queuing up to sign were made aware of the 5500 jobs to be lost in the West Midlands Regional Health area as a whole.

The march was organised by the local health service defence campaign, backed by the health workers unions.

The Leamington and Warwick Labour Party have been very actively involved, setting up its own direct action group. This group has already staged sit-ins and is planning future action. The local trades council have set up a public service alliance to fight privatisation.

The march was also supported by the local Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament group under

their slogan of 'hospitals not bombs'. Several women's groups were also on the march.

Large numbers of health workers took industrial action and joined the march, and gained confidence as a result. Much damage has been done by the sell out of the TUC Health Service Committee during the pay dispute last year. Health workers are aware of the lack of national leadership.

All we've had locally is full time union officials visiting hospitals to try to increase recruitment. Their view is that they aren't going to seriously fight the attacks and so the unions have to replace the

income from members they are about to lose with new members.

A Regional TUC Health Committee member told us not to demonstrate publicly because we would get bad publicity!

The local campaign is now planning action on 28 November when the DHA will finally decide on the cuts. We are making public demands on them to defy the cuts, supported by our petition.

We are also looking to link up with other local defence campaigns nationally to put pressure on the TUC Health Service Committee to mount a real fight for the National Health Service — a fight which we can win.

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