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Socialist Organiser

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Right to Work marchers set out to take their protest to the Tories

KICK THE TORIES

OUT!

BLACKPOOL this week will be no place for a holiday. The air is already blue with the screeches of the assembled wealthy racialists, union-bashers, warmongers, the petty and larger-scale parasites, exploiters and bankers that make up the Tory rank and file.

They want not only to oppose any retreat from the policies that have put three million on the dole and slashed working class living standards: they want more attacks on the labour movement — new anti-union laws, more racist legislation, more missiles aimed at the Soviet Union, more army violence against the Catholic minority in Northern Ireland, more cop violence on the streets of Brixton.

On Friday, this seething body of 'grass roots' Tory reactionaries will be confronted by thousands of angry workers and unemployed in a mass lobby.

The fighting spirit of the Right to Work and Trans-Pennine marches is a vital component of the struggle against the Tories. Their hatred of the Tories is the hatred felt by every class conscious worker and thinking person.

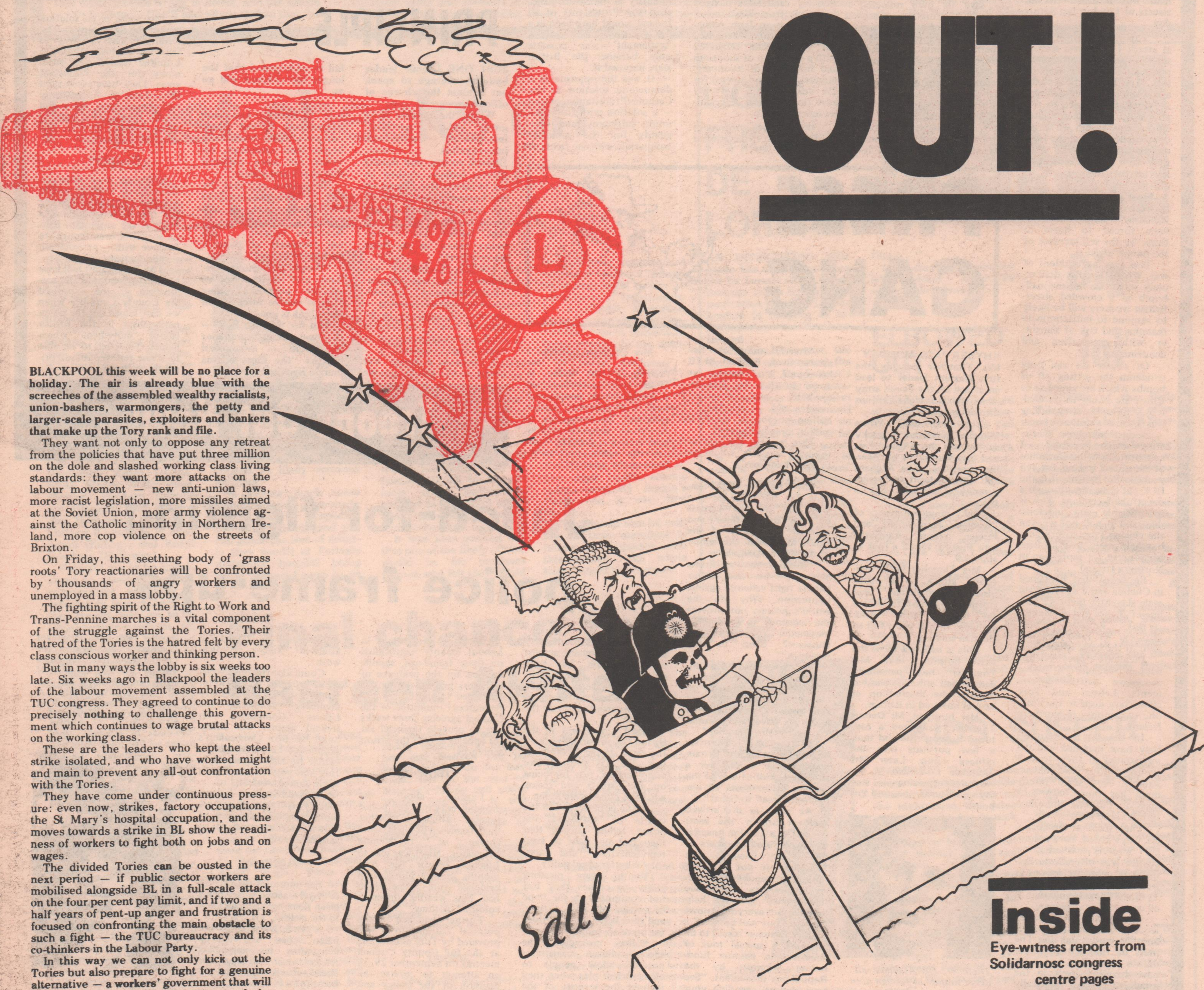
But in many ways the lobby is six weeks too late. Six weeks ago in Blackpool the leaders of the labour movement assembled at the TUC congress. They agreed to continue to do precisely nothing to challenge this government which continues to wage brutal attacks on the working class.

These are the leaders who kept the steel strike isolated, and who have worked might and main to prevent any all-out confrontation with the Tories.

They have come under continuous pressure: even now, strikes, factory occupations, the St Mary's hospital occupation, and the moves towards a strike in BL show the readiness of workers to fight both on jobs and on wages.

The divided Tories can be ousted in the next period — if public sector workers are mobilised alongside BL in a full-scale attack on the four per cent pay limit, and if two and a half years of pent-up anger and frustration is focused on confronting the main obstacle to such a fight — the TUC bureaucracy and its co-thinkers in the Labour Party.

In this way we can not only kick out the Tories but also prepare to fight for a genuine alternative — a workers' government that will carry out policies in the interests of the working class.



Inside

Eye-witness report from
Solidarnosc congress
centre pages

British casualties of the war in Ireland

JOHN O'MAHONY argues that our attitude to the conflict in Ireland cannot and should not be determined by the 'politics of the last atrocity'

THE TARGET was a coach-load of soldiers. But the major casualties were a 60 year old widow who died with a six inch nail through her heart and a youth who died three days later.

22 of 23 soldiers on the coach were injured; so were 18 others, civilians walking in a Chelsea street. Some are seriously injured.

The bomb, a vanload of nails and bolts, was exploded in the crowded street by remote control by someone watching from 100 yards away, who was concerned only to get the passing soldiers, and (at best) didn't give a damn about the people in the street.

Thus Mrs Thatcher's gory victory over the prisoners in Long Kesh boomeranged against innocent British civilians, and the Northern Ireland war returned to the streets of London last Saturday.

"This was the most brutal attack I have ever seen. I shall never, never give them political status - never", said Mrs Thatcher. Smugly and somewhat gloatingly, she took the chance to tell people whose pricked consciences had begun to prise open their minds on the Irish question - "I told you what they were like. I was right to let ten of them starve to death".

Most British workers will be likely to agree with her - including many who had been forced to begin to think by the self-sacrifice of the hunger strikers.

This was no accident of war. When the IRA deliberately sets off a massive nail-bomb in a crowded street, British workers will be likely to respond to indiscriminate maiming and risk of slaughter with nationalism and chauvinism.

Of course we can only condemn the setting off of bombs which are aimed at or which are likely to hit civilians. Saturday's bombing was against a military target - against members of the army which has repressed and brutalised the Catholics of Northern Ireland for ten years - but to get at it the IRA cut a swathe through a streetful of civilians. This is unjustifiable and indefensible, and it will not weaken the vicious Tory government but help them to rally British support for repression in Northern Ireland.

Between what happened in Chelsea and a Birmingham scale slaughter there is a thin line of chance and accident.

But socialists must not lose sight of the basic issues.

Incidents like Chelsea happen because of what successive British governments, Labour and Tory alike, have done to the Catholic community in Northern Ireland.

In the last six months they have marched and demonstrated in their tens of thousands for the hunger strikers. Not since internment has there been such massive Catholic mobilisation, or such unity.

They used all the channels. They voted 'for the hunger strikers' where the chance was offered, in Belfast city council elections as well as in Fermanagh/South Tyrone. They found that it all counted for nothing.

The British government let one hunger strike after another waste and die. The mass of the British people didn't care. This fact must have branded itself in the mind of every politically conscious Catholic in Northern Ireland.

It is now scarcely to be denied that the big majority of the half-million Six County Catholics actively or passively support the IRA and recognise the guerillas as theirs. It was the entire Catholic population, not the supposedly unrepresentative 'men of violence', who counted for nothing with the British government on the thing that mattered most to the Catholics.

The British government dared not concede the five demands. It balances between the protestant community (of one million) and the Catholics to maintain the Six County status quo; and therefore pursues a basic policy of beating down the Catholic community.

The helplessness of the entire Catholic community to save its own reflected their basic situation: a section of the Catholic majority of the Irish people, but also a permanent minority locked inside the artificial Orange majority state of Northern Ireland, created by the British in 1920 against the wishes of the majority of the Irish people.

Within that state, the two communities are locked in a chronic antagonism. No de-

mocratic processes are available to the Catholics to achieve their liberation from it. It was carved out by British and Orange violence that overpowered them and kept them down for 50 years, so that there was a built-in Orange majority, backed up by a British government guarantee that the Orange community would have its way and no change could be allowed that it did not approve.

Partition

That is what the experience of the hunger strike spelled out again for the Six County Catholics.

Let us look briefly at how this situation came to exist.

In 1918 75 per cent of Ireland's constituencies were won by candidates pledged to secede from Westminster and set up an Irish parliament in Dublin. When they did this, Britain retaliated with a campaign of shootings and burnings of 'economic targets' and some towns for 2½ years, before a Treaty gave the southern 26 counties independence.

In 1920 the Government of Ireland Act partitioned Ireland.

Various partition schemes had already been debated.

Ulster (9 counties) would have been the Protestants were in a minority. The four county area in which would be a massive Protestant majority and a 'manageable' Catholic minority was considered too small to be viable.

The six counties were settled on as the maximum area within which there was a 'safe' Protestant majority (two-thirds). It included Fermanagh and Tyrone, two whole counties with Catholic majorities.

Even with a four county/28 county partition there could have been no clean Catholic/Protestant break - the communities were too interlaced for that. The six county/26 county partition imprisoned a bigger Catholic minority in the Six Counties than the Protestants of all Ireland would have been in a 32 County state: such a 'settlement' was possible only because the British state imposed it.

It was the opposite of a democratic solution to the Catholic/Protestant conflict - a solution with the maximum autonomy and safeguards for the minority compatible with the rights of

the majority.

Two sectarian states emerged in Ireland, each repelling the majority in the other. They differed, however, fundamentally.

The Catholic minority in the Six Counties were largely working-class and small farmers, people who were ground down and suppressed, deprived of civil rights, kept down under a permanent Special Powers Act and under the guns and clubs of the Orange police, the B-Specials and the RUC.

The working class was permanently split.

In economically deprived Northern Ireland, Protestants had privileged access to

jobs. Job selection (amid permanent high unemployment) was on the basis of religion, and the sectarian division in society gutted the unions - unity was possible only if the situation of the Catholics was not raised.

The civil rights movement in the late '60s - for equality in voting and an end to sectarian discrimination - brought the Catholics onto the streets - and, in backlash, the Protestants too.

It was a movement with an inescapable nationalist logic. The basic civil right they lacked was self-determination, the right not to be an artificial minority.

When sectarian fighting

broke out, the British Army was sent in to 'keep the peace' - within the framework of the Six County state.

Within eleven months of going in to stop anti-Catholic pogroms, the British Army was imposing a curfew on the Falls Road and fighting gun battles with the Catholic militia.

The Catholics who had been roused for civil rights turned to an attempt to break out of the Six County state.

In a matter of months the IRA became a mass movement.

For the ten years since then, every attempt to find a solution within the Six Counties has failed completely. Britain has held the ring, normally by beating down the insurgent Catholics.

But there is no solution within the Six Counties. The Catholics have a right to fight for the only solution - a united Ireland with autonomy for the Protestant areas. They have every right to strike at the British army which oppresses them and whose fundamental role in Northern Ireland is to preserve the status quo.

Support

Socialists must insist on raising these issues, however. An oppressed people fighting our own government has a right to the support of British socialists, even though we disagree with - or condemn - their tactics.

The British Left will have a right to denounce the nationalism of the oppressed Six County Catholics when we have wiped out the reflex nationalism in the British labour movement which helped Thatcher to be able to starve ten Republican prisoners to death.

LONE VOICE OF PRINCIPLE

JUST ONE Labour leader had the courage to speak out against the chorus of official hypocrisy.

While the people who gave Ireland partition, internment, Castlereagh interrogation centre, Diplock courts, and deadly plastic bullets, rushed to try to justify their stand on the hunger strikes with all the moral indignation they could summon up, Labour GLC leader Ken Livingstone asked us to think more soberly.

"While I deplore the violence that has happened this weekend", he said, "as I deplore all violence - people will continue to let off nail bombs in London while a British presence is maintained in Ireland. "There is a major war going on and the longer we

fail to understand that the longer the violence will go on.

If Thatcher had made concessions to the Maze hunger strikers when they began their campaign, we would not have suffered this attack and others".

He pointed out that the IRA - and the mass of their supporters in the Catholic community in Northern Ireland - are not criminals or psychopaths.

"People in Northern Ireland see themselves as subject peoples... they have a motive force which they think is good".

And for this the Sun - the most odious newspaper in Britain - denounced him as "the most odious man in Britain".



KHYBER PASS, MONDAY Mrs Thatcher became the first Western leader to lead an attack on the Soviet army when she led Afghan troops into action yesterday.

The British Prime Minister stood on a rocky spur above the Khyber Pass and told thousands of cheering guerrillas "The Afghans will never submit to foreign tyranny. They will fight to the end."

Her condemnation of "Godless communists and foreign tyrants" translated into Pushtu, raised a roar of approval.

Mrs Thatcher led a helicopter attack on a village inside Afghanistan and stormed the hospital where she bravely hurled hand-grenades into a ward full of Russian soldiers.

This is believed to be the first hospital that Mrs Thatcher has personally demolished although she has ordered the destruction of several hundred in Britain.

Her husband, Mr Dennis Thatcher, examined a captured Russian rifle and took a few potshots into the refugee camp. Later Mrs Thatcher visited the wounded, passing a sign saying "No men beyond this point".



Thatcher: The Afghans will never submit to foreign domination, but the Irish better lie down

After returning from her attack in a Russian M-18 helicopter, Mrs Thatcher sat down to dine on Russian eye-balls, and promised massive aid - another £2 million on top of the £5.8 million already donated.

This money, she said to roars of laughter, would go to buy "bandages".

Mrs Thatcher, and President Zia, her host, sat at a table set on red carpets on the desert floor and listened while one of the elders described the agony of the Afghan people.

"Respectable Prime Minister," he said, "Our people fight valiantly against oppression. Why do the world's powers not provide the weapons to enable the Mojahedin to defeat the Russians? Send us the weapons."

Tribesmen danced wildly and fired their Lee Enfield rifles as they lunched on chicken, mutton, rice and flat bread. Crowds of men and boys waved and shouted "Long live Mrs Thatcher".

Later Mrs Thatcher boarded a jet back to Britain clutching as a souvenir a shrunken skull of one of the Godless communists she has pledged herself to fight.

As soon as she arrived back in Britain, she went straight to a London hospital to visit injured members of the Irish Guards. Mrs Thatcher hit out at fund-raising for republican families in America. "They say this money goes to help families, but everyone knows it goes to buy nail bombs."

Mrs Thatcher is said to be planning a special tour of America, to counter fund-raising attempts by the Republican movement. "See how they're spending your money," she said.

Mrs Thatcher ridiculed a statement issued by the Provisional IRA today, in which they laughably said that the "Irish people will never submit to foreign tyranny". In a message to American supporters they said "Our people fight valiantly against oppression. Send us the weapons".

NIGEL LEE, a Labour Party member and housing activist in Nottingham, has been jailed for four months. His crime - to have exposed the police and judicial frame-ups of youths arrested during the July riots.

Nigel is a tenant in the Hyson Green complex where the riots started in Nottingham. He was arrested, like many others, just for being on the streets and seeing what the police were doing.

In the police cells and the courts he witnessed the police telling people that they had no right to legal representation and that they'd better plead guilty.

Youths were pleading guilty to crimes they had not committed in the hope of getting off with a fine, and then being sent to prison for up to six months.

Police instructed the specially-chosen magistrates not to allow people to change their plea when they realised the severity of the charges.

Troops Out Now!

Jailed-for fighting police frame-ups

Nigel's evidence to Labour county councillors on these frame-ups, supplemented by the evidence of solicitors present during the trials, led to the Policy and Resources Committee of the Council agreeing three weeks ago to provide financial aid for appeals against the prison sentences.

Frame-up

Furious about the growing criticism, the police finally stitched together their frame-up of Nigel. On a charge of "threatening behaviour", Nigel was sent to Lincoln Prison for four months despite prosecution evidence from police which had him wearing different coloured clothing.

Further evidence of the political frame-up was provided by Tory councillors at the full County Council meeting on September 29. In an attempt to reverse the decision of the Policy and Resources Committee, Tory

councillors repeatedly attacked Nigel's political work.

Councillor Howard Noble even brought up a letter signed by 30 Labour Party members, defending the Labour Committee on Ireland against the witch-hunt by Don Concannon's supporters before the LCI's march through Mansfield in July and pointed out Nigel's name amongst the 30.

It is difficult to believe that Tory councillors are monitoring the activities of individual labour activists as carefully as that.

Agencies

Far more likely, details of Nigel's activities are being given them by 'agencies close to the police'.

A 'Free Nigel Lee Campaign' has started up demanding his immediate release - a call that has already been supported by Beeston CLP.

Nigel is a prominent cam-

paigner in the party for democracy and against the cuts, and the campaign already has the support of many individuals in and out of the Labour Party. A protest meeting is being held in Hyson Green on Thursday 15 October.



**Socialist
Organiser
EDITORIAL**

Callaghan looks to Heath

AS TORY politicians tried to scratch each others' eyes out last week, James Callaghan proposed that Labour leader Michael Foot should start talks with dissident Tories, Liberals, and the SDP.

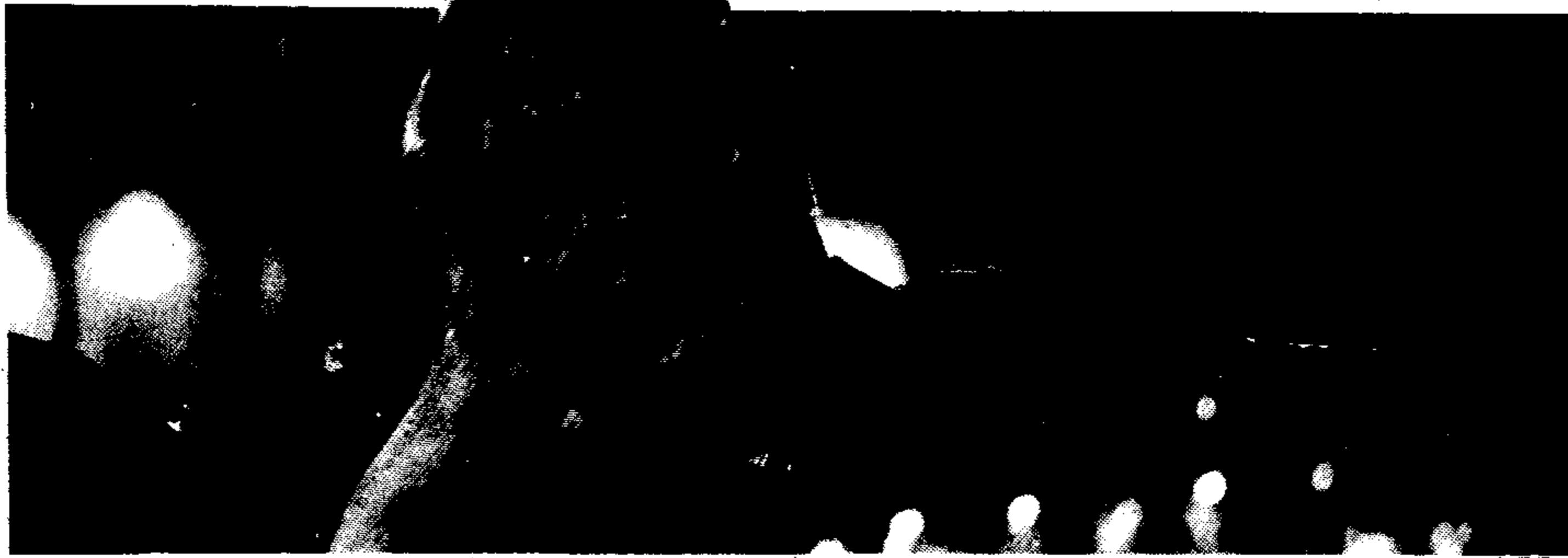
An alliance, he suggested, could oust Thatcher. So Edward Heath, author of the Industrial Relations Act, becomes Callaghan's hope of salvation! — at a time when the Tories' disarray and the increasing militancy in the factories makes defeating the Tories head-on a more and more realistic prospect.

What are the dissident Tories calling for? They differ among themselves. Some just call for a softer line — more consensus, less confrontation. Most want lower interest rates, and they have various schemes for achieving that.

And many of the most influential want increased public investment in capital projects, usually at the cost of greater cuts in current spending on wages and services.

Some of the Tory discontent is the knee-jerk reaction of businessmen hit by high interest rates and reduced Government contracts. Some represents the strategic thinking of Tories who draw a different lesson from the 1970-4 government.

(Thatcher reckons that the confrontationist line of 1970-2 — the 'Selsdon' policy — was fundamentally right, though wrong in detail, and the lesson is 'No U-turns!'. Heath and others reckon that the



'U-turn' of 1972 was inevitable and the initial policy was unworkable).

Some of the Tory discontent represents a vague yearning for the bland consensus politics of Conservatism in more prosperous times, by MPs who can't tell monetarism from mormonism. We should not forget that the Tory Party, just like the Labour Party, attracts its own type of careerists, worried now that Thatcher's policies will drive voters into the arms of the SDP as the next election looms into sight.

All these splits and splinters are generated by the grinding pressure of capitalist crisis, and the

intractable problems of the profit-system in Britain. But that pressure and those problems also generate a fundamental unity among these Tories.

In all their battles and back-biting, not one has criticised Thatcher's four per cent pay limit for the public sector. None of them disagrees seriously with the cuts in public services, and some even want more cuts.

At best, they want Thatcher's attacks to be slower and subtler.

Callaghan's recommended dissident-Tory/SDP/Liberal/Labour alliance is extremely unlikely

for now. But if it did come into existence, one fundamental plank would be incomes policy.

The common aim of all the Tories and camouflaged Tories is to restore British capitalist profits at the expense of the working class. And, whatever their detailed tactical differences or even their illusions about doing the job gently, this common aim cannot be realised without heavy attacks on working-class jobs and wages.

In the midst of a raging economic crisis, it would be disastrous for the labour movement to tie itself to some slightly modified scheme for achieving this aim. The labour movement needs to direct all its strength against the tyranny of profit, and the first precondition for this is that the movement remains independent from the avowed parties of profit.

The splits among the Tories are not only created by the economic crisis and the rise of the SDP, but also by their fear of the growing resistance of the working class. The chaos of capitalism has left the ruling class no longer able to rule in their accustomed way. The working class is no longer willing to go on in the accustomed way.

What's needed now is positive leadership for the working class to seek a new way — in the first place, to turn the fight against the four per cent limit into a general class movement and to force the Tories out of office.

Racist checks on NHS patients

HEALTH Minister Gerard Vaughan has issued secret instructions to twelve hospitals to question every patient admitted about their nationality.

This includes accident victims, pregnant women, and psychiatric patients. It is part of a scheme to be introduced next year to charge overseas patients for any non-urgent medical treatment.

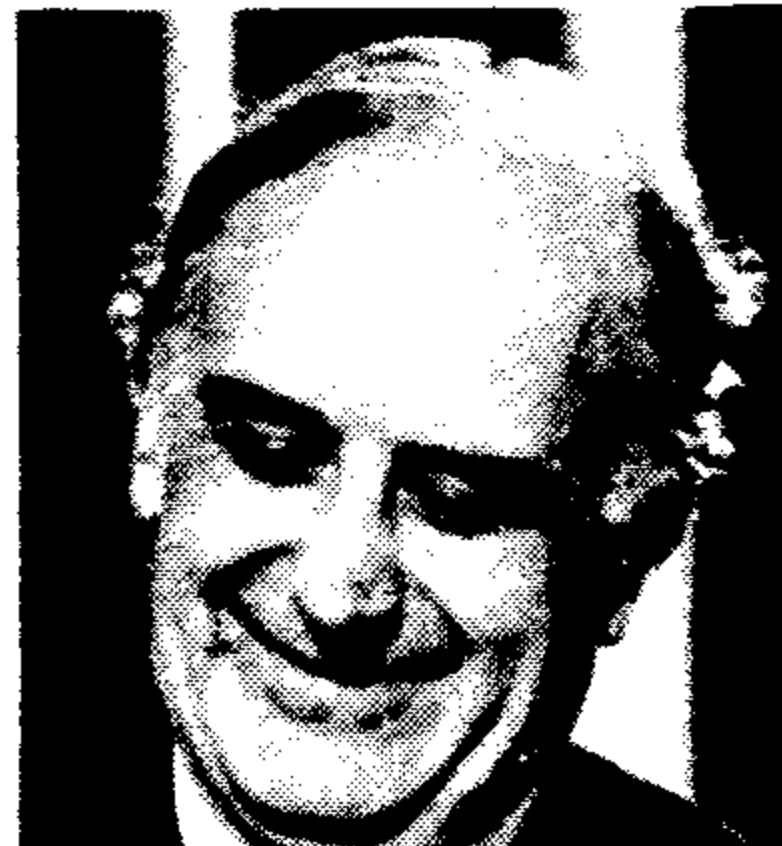
The hospitals involved are: Addenbrooks, Cambridge; Royal Leamington Spa; West Suffolk, Bury St Edmunds; Royal Gwent, South Wales; North Manchester; Western Infirmary, Glasgow; and, in London, Hillingdon, University College (Camden), St Bernards (Ealing), and Royal Northern (Holloway).

Patients are to be questioned on whether they are permanently resident or working in this country. If they are not, they are to be asked further questions. All this, before they are given outpatient appointments or admitted to casualty.

Staff will be asked to comment and a consultant to decide whether their treatment is considered urgent. In other words, a huge amount of patients' and staff time will be taken up in non-urgent, non-medical inquiries, before they can be treated for whatever they have come to the hospital for.

Revealed

It has now been revealed that this survey was ordered after another inquiry in four area health authorities about how staff handled overseas patients and those from ethnic minorities. Staff in Oxford, Southampton, West Birmingham, and Ealing (West London) were questioned. In three of the authorities, Oxford, Birmingham, and Southampton, no formal procedures existed: people with "a foreign-sounding name, foreign appearance, hotel address



Vaughan: passport checks first, care second

or address abroad' were treated as likely overseas patients.

In Ealing much more rigorous checks were made which led to suspected overseas patients (and you can guess the sort of criteria they used!) at Perivale maternity hospital being made to wait for up to an

hour.

The conclusion of this exercise, that checks were 'irregular and infrequent', and that staff didn't know the regulations, is what led to the policy of blanket questioning of everyone at the 12 chosen hospitals.

When Patrick Jenkin introduced his plan for charging overseas visitors, there was strong opposition both from health service unions and ethnic minority groups.

They pointed out that it would inevitably lead to harassment of black patients quite legitimately entitled to free NHS treatment even on the Tories' racist criteria.

It was also pointed out that one of the likely effects would be for pregnant women who felt they would

be likely to be harassed and questioned just not turning up to ante-natal clinics — when there is supposed to be a Health Education Council campaign to encourage women (especially Asian women) to use ante-natal facilities.

Staff at two hospitals, Bradford and Newcastle, refused to cooperate with the survey, so it is only going ahead at the 10 others.

NUPE has called for staff to boycott the survey, and NALGO has condemned it. The other health service unions opposed Jenkin's plan when it was first unveiled.

They should also be calling on their members to refuse to cooperate with this survey. The whole thing should be scrapped.

Final chance to save Nasreen Akhtar

Nasreen Akhtar's final appeal has been postponed from October 19 to October 23 at 11 am at Thanet House in London. This is Nasreen's last chance of appeal against her threatened deportation from the Home Office.

Nasreen has been in this country for three years, since she came from Pakistan to live with her husband Abdul Majid. When she arrived her marriage had to be registered in English law. This process took almost a year, by which time her husband had thrown her out of the house. So the marriage was never registered. She was 7 months pregnant by him then and she went to stay near her sister. After six months Nasreen applied for an extension to her visa, her daughter having been born by then. The Home Office refused, on the grounds that

the marriage had not been finally registered in English law and Nasreen was no longer living with her husband. But in the eyes of Nasreen's family and under Muslim law she is still married. And Abdul Majid has made no attempt to divorce her.

Nasreen has already appealed against her deportation in March of this year. In May the adjudicator, a Mr P.P. Simpson, dismissed her appeal declaring that Nasreen had "to a great extent brought her troubles upon herself".

Threat

The appeal in London to the Immigration Tribunal is her last chance to fight the Home Office's threat of deportation, so it's important that there is a large picket of the hearing at

11 am at Thanet House. The Friends of Nasreen Akhtar are appealing for a mass picket to show our support for Nasreen and her three daughters (the other two from a previous marriage) in their wish to stay in Rochdale.

Discriminates

Nasreen's case is one of many under the 1971 Immigration Act where the Asian or black woman, on being deserted by her husband loses her right to stay in the country. The law discriminates against black women and their children whether they were born here or not. Nasira Begum, Cynthia Gordon and Jaswinder Kaur are only three of the better known cases affected by this racist and sexist legislation. Messages of support and

LIGHT FROM DE LOREAN

AN INTERESTING little quote has slipped out over the De Lorean affair, which perhaps sheds light on the motivation of the Labour leaders in clinging to bipartisanship on Northern Ireland.

Nicholas Winterton, the Tory MP who started the inquiry into De Lorean's financial dealings by passing documents to Margaret Thatcher's office, has said that even if there is no criminal case to answer he will be pursuing the question of the millions of pounds of taxpayers' money poured into the firm and misused.

In his statement, he let this little cat out of the bag: "If there is the slightest whiff of a government whitewash because of the bipartisan policies on

Ulster... It makes you wonder what other bipartisan whitewashes there are.

ELBOWED OUT

WHILE the extreme right of the Tory party, the Monday Club, renews its call for 'voluntary' repatriation of up to 100,000 black people, the official racists are offering their little bit to 'encourage' black people to feel unwelcome.

A social security appeals tribunal has just upheld a decision to withhold benefit from an Indian widow because she doesn't speak English.

Mrs Fatima Varachia had her benefit stopped eight months ago, and the tribunal has ruled that her failure to learn English is hindering her chances of finding a job.

With 'encouragement' like that, who needs fascists?



Dig in!

READERS of the Daily Telegraph are being offered a new line in 'Do It Yourself' magazines.

Under the bold heading, 'Nuclear War?' comes an advert for a handy publication entitled 'Protect and Survive Monthly'.

It promises its readers 'No politics — just simple, straightforward nuclear war survival advice'.

This month's topics include 'A survival shelter for less than £2,000', and 'Biological Warfare — A Review'.

But there is endless scope. How about, 'Reconstructing Society with three people — a Beginner's Guide'. Perhaps our readers could suggest further topics?

KIDS SUFFER

MARGARET Thatcher has been weeping crocodile tears to Women's Own on the nightmares she faces every time she has to sack someone.

Putting on her 'firm but loving mother' hat, she explains:

"The people who give everything to children because they don't like to exercise family discipline, don't get right. It's the same in politics. You've got to do the things you believe to be right, and try to explain them. Some of them will hurt. But you can't just retreat".

Perhaps she would like to ponder on some more ghastly statistic to add to the three million and un-

employed who stand as monuments to her firmness.

The National Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children report a dramatic increase in baby battering. In London, over the past 11 months, cases of non-accidental injuries to children rose by 37%. In West London, there was a 60% increase.

The NSPCC say, "We fear this figure will escalate even further as Government cuts begin to bite into local authority services". Poor housing, unemployment, and lack of facilities, especially nurseries, all aggravate the problem — they say.



Nasreen Akhtar

donations to the campaign should be sent to Friends of Nasreen Akhtar, c/o 59, Ashworth Street, Rochdale, Lancashire.

World news

Greek workers' chance to kick out the right-wing

Alexis Carras looks at the coming elections in Greece, which could give a majority to the Pan-Hellenic Socialist Movement, PASOK.

SEVEN YEARS ago, in July 1974, the military junta ruling Greece fell, victim of its disastrous military intervention in Cyprus which had almost provoked a war with Turkey.

Veteran bourgeois politician Constantine Karamanlis was called back to assume the reins of government for the potentially explosive transition period.

A few months previous, the Caetano dictatorship had been overthrown in Portugal. The anti-Franco struggle in Spain was also moving towards a peak.

Yet Karamanlis managed to diffuse a dangerous situation for the bourgeoisie.

With soothing leftist gestures and promises — like legalising the two Communist Parties, pulling Greece out of the military wing of NATO, and holding a referendum to abolish the monarchy, Karamanlis received the enthusiastic support of most sections of the left.

The most common rationale for this support was expressed in the slogan 'Either Karamanlis or the tanks'.

Karamanlis won a crushing 54% of the votes in the November 1974

elections. The opposition was effectively marginalised. The Stalinist electoral alliance between the pro-Moscow and Eurocommunist CPs got barely 10%. The old Centre Union liberal bourgeois party led by George Mavros which was the largest political party in the sixties, was cut down to just 20%.

And the new Panhellenic Socialist Movement (PASOK), led by Andreas Papandreou got 13%.

Dissolved

In the 1976 elections the New Democracy Party got a reduced majority. PASOK became the main opposition and bourgeois liberalism dissolved into small cabals.

The two Stalinist CPs, both of them tainted with three major betrayals of the working class since the 1930s, were most concerned to vilify each other so as to claim the mantle of Greek Stalinism. (The victor in this rather inglorious contest being in the end the pro-Moscow CP).

PASOK was able to present itself as the new party, making a clean sweep of all past corruption and defeats.



Greek workers see PASOK and Papandreou as a left alternative to Karamanlis; but PASOK's policies have always been more nationalist than socialist, and now Papandreou is backing down on his radical promises

It originated in all sorts of actions against the military, including bombings, etc. After his triumphant return from exile in 1979, Papandreou proclaimed himself a Marxist, talked of workers' self-management, the destruction of the capitalist oligarchy, and complete withdrawal from NATO.

He argued that Greece's place was in the camp of anti-imperialist 'non-aligned' countries, and opposed to the EEC on the grounds that it would mean the Greek economy becoming even more a 'periphery' in relation to the 'metropolis' of West European capital.

Despite the political jumble of PASOK's programme (the only consistent feature is quite virulent nationalism), it got over 25% of the vote in the last elections in 1976. It could well win the coming elections on October 18.

It has gained from the collapse of bourgeois liberalism as an organised political force, and also captured traditional Stalinist bases of support.

As it scents victory, the leadership of the party has been quick to present itself as a moderate and responsible alternative.

Mavros, the old Centre Union leader, has gone over to Papandreou, and PASOK is now significantly toning down its anti-NATO and anti-EEC stance.

Vague

Its commitments to nationalisation and economic and social reform are also fairly vague.

The pro-Moscow Stalinists are aiming to get at least 17% of the vote (the minimum figure to get significant representation in Greece's 'reinforced PR' system) in order to become the third largest party in the country, and be in a position to apply pressure on any PASOK government. But Papandreou has openly stated that he will not depend on the Communists for support in Parliament.

Denied any chance of being junior partner in a socialist government, the Stalinists need to make a respectable showing in the elections and consolidate their trade union grouping ESAK (a tendency within the GSEE — the Greek TUC) if they are to be able to influence Papandreou in the future.

PASOK will be confronted on the right by Karamanlis who, after his resignation as head of the New Democracy party, has now elevated himself to the de Gaulle-like heights of President of the Republic, with incredibly wide ranging powers up to and including the dissolution of Parliament and of all civil liberties.

Obscure

He will be an effective constitutional safeguard for the ruling class if ever some serious measure against its interests is threatened by the incoming Parliament.

There will undoubtedly be great pressure on the Greek revolutionary left to concentrate simply on the 'let's kick out the Right' side of the equation, thus tending to obscure the real nature of PASOK's politics and its future sell-outs.

But it would be a sectarian mistake for them to ignore PASOK and simply call for a vote for the CP on the grounds that PASOK does not fit into any of the schemas of a classical social democratic party.

PRICE RISES PROMPT NEW CRISIS IN POLAND

by Tony Richardson

THROUGHOUT the second stage of the Solidarity Congress, debating and voting was on co-operation with the bureaucracy versus the struggle for workers control. Several resolutions straddled those positions.

This was the case in the leadership elections, reported in SO last week, where the 'moderate' Walesa won, but with only 55% of the vote.

The government is consciously using carrot and stick policies in order to push support for this wing and to isolate those driving towards destroying the bureaucracy and for establishing the independent power of the working class.

The 'self-management' law that the Sejm (parliament) recently passed — which was no real form of workers' control but had the agreement of Walesa — was voted down.

Cigarette and fish prices were raised during the Congress and pushed price rises right into the centre of debate.

The delegates correctly didn't respond to the cigarette price increases in isolation which were shown to be a diversion from the fact that immediately after the Congress the government announced increases in the price of meat and other basic food stuffs.

What was passed was a resolution against all price rises which threatened a token general strike (mentioned as 15 minutes) to force consultation with the union about further price increases.

This was seized on by the government and they announced a commission which would include representatives of the government, Solidarity and the official unions to deal with the problems of supplies, price increases and rationing.

In this way the govern-

ment hopes to draw in the Solidarity leadership. They should have nothing to do with such a body, but should demand that they elect controlling bodies that are able to look at all the workings of the economy, and that are independent of the government.

The response to price increases must be strikes and workers' control demands to establish the independence of the working class separate from the bureaucracy.

In a similar vein the Solidarity leadership has elected a kind of counter-cabinet to the government.

The intention is that each person on this body should negotiate directly with their opposite number in the government.

But this will only divert away from the bodies formed in action against the bureaucracy.

Among resolutions passed at the Congress was one demanding legal action against those responsible for the shootings in 1956, 1968, 1970 and 1976 and for those responsible for the economic crisis to be brought to justice.

Solidarity says if the government does not do this, they will form a tribunal and have their own trial.

This is a very serious challenge to the bureaucrats' judiciary and is a very strong step towards workers' courts.

So the differences at the Congress show that even the 'moderate' wing or the often confused opposition are fully formed and even the leadership is still capable of leading struggles.

What is required is a clear line on the struggle for the independence of the working class and the preparation of a political revolution to overthrow the bureaucracy. This will only take place in the struggle for genuine workers' control.

Khomeini slaughters left

THE Khomeini regime is continuing its campaign of terror against the opposition in Iran, and particularly against the left. Another 82 Mujahedin members were shot at the weekend. According to the Mujahedin leadership in Paris, about 100 schoolchildren who had been wounded taking part in street demonstrations were taken from hospital beds to one of Teheran's prisons, shot and then buried in a mass grave.

Amnesty International has recently published a report which conservatively calculates that over 1600 people have been executed since the fall of Bani-Sadr, earlier this year.

The Islamic fundamentalists have also launched a campaign against Mehdi Bazargan (the first Iranian Prime Minister after the fall of the Shah), who last week attacked the government for 'turning Iran into an

ocean of blood". Khomeini is trying to purge Bazargan and his liberal supporters from the Parliament.

At the same time the farce of a new presidential election is going ahead with only one candidate and a huge intimidation of people to vote.

Despite all Khomeini's measures, the Iranian regime remains highly unstable. The military are just waiting in the wings to take over to take over.

Where we stand

- * Organise the left to beat back the Tories' attacks! No to attacks on union rights; defend the picket-line; no state interference in our unions! No to any wage curbs. Labour must support all struggles for better living standards and conditions.
- * Wage rises should at the very least keep up with price increases. For a price index calculated by working class organisations, as the basis for clauses in all wage agreements to provide automatic monthly rises in line with the true cost of living for the working class. The same inflation-proofing should apply to state benefits, grants and pensions.
- * Fight for improvements in the social services, and against cuts. Protection for those services against inflation by automatic inflation-proofing of expenditure. For occupations and supporting strike action to defend jobs and services.
- * End unemployment. Cut hours, not jobs. Fight for a 35 hour week and an end to overtime. Demand work-sharing without loss of pay. Organise the unemployed — campaign for a programme of useful public works to create new jobs for the unemployed.

- * Defend all jobs! Open the books of those firms that threaten closure or redundancies, along with those of their suppliers and bankers, to elected trade union committees. For occupation and blocking action to halt the closures. For nationalisation without compensation under workers' management.
- * Make the bosses pay, not the working class. Millions for hospitals, not a penny for 'defence'! Nationalise the banks and financial institutions, without compensation. End the interest burden on council housing and other public services.
- * Freeze rents and rates.
- * Scrap all immigration controls. Race is not a problem: racism is. The labour movement must mobilise to drive the fascists off the streets. Purge racists from positions in the

labour movement. Organise full support for black self-defence. Build workers' defence squads.

* The capitalist police are an enemy for the working class. Support all demands to weaken them as bosses' striking forces: dissolution of special squads (SPG, Special Branch, MIF, etc.), public accountability, etc.

* Free abortion on demand. Women's equal right to work and full equality for women. Defend and extend free state nursery and childcare provision.

* Against attacks on gays by the state: abolish all laws which discriminate against lesbians and gay men; for the right of the gay community to organise and affirm their stand publicly.

* The Irish people — as a whole — should have the right to determine their own future. Get the British troops out now! Repeal the Prevention of Terrorism Act. Political status for Irish Republican prisoners as a matter of urgency.

* The black working people of South Africa should get full support from the British labour movement for their strikes, struggles and armed combat against the white supremacist regime. South African goods and services should be blacked.

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

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

World news

Germany: 250,000 march against missiles

by Bruce Robinson

MORE than 250,000 demonstrators — the vast majority under 35 — marched in the West German capital Bonn last weekend to protest against nuclear weapons. The march was particularly aimed at the Social Democratic/Liberal coalition's support for stationing Cruise and Pershing missiles in West Germany and its offer to accept the neutron bomb if other NATO governments in Europe did the same.

The march was the biggest demonstration in West Germany since the state was founded in 1949, and included a number of Dutch and West German soldiers in uniform.

For weeks beforehand the press had tried to whip up hysteria by warning that the march was bound to end in violence; in the event, it passed off completely peacefully.

Reliable

The SPD-FDP coalition under Helmut Schmidt is still determined to prove that it is a reliable ally of the USA and member of NATO. Schmidt supports stationing Cruise and Pershing in West Germany. But he faces pressure which threaten to pull the coalition apart.

On the one hand, there is growing support for the peace movement within both coalition parties. In particular, the SPD left —



The NATO plans to station Cruise and Pershing missiles have sparked the biggest demonstration in Germany since 1949

one of whose leaders Erhard Eppler made the keynote speech to the Bonn March — hopes to inflict a defeat on Schmidt at the Party Congress next Spring. Some of them

no doubt see this as a way of defusing the 'dangers' of an extra-parliamentary mass movement, though it remains to be seen to what extent they are successful in this.

While a few years ago Schmidt could simply denounce pacifists in the SPD with Cold War rhetoric and throw them out of the party, he now has to contend with people such

as Party Chairman and former Chancellor Willy Brandt, who, for his own reasons, has chosen to put himself at the head of the anti-Schmidt forces.

Schmidt faces pressures in the other direction from the Conservative opposition (the CDU/CSU) and from the USA. While Schmidt trounced the CDU/CSU under extreme rightist Franz Josef Strauss in last year's elections, it is now not so easy for him to compete with the CDU/CSU in pro-NATO sentiments, as he would only encourage the left in the SPD and the peace movement.

CDU leader Kohl — whose name aptly means 'cabbage' — is trying to break up the coalition and mounting an outright attack on the peace movement.

The Reagan government is doing nothing to ease Schmidt's predicament. They would be very happy if the CDU/CSU came to power, as they are committed to introduce the missiles and probably would be more reliable than the Schmidt government could be in delivering the goods.

Thus Reagan announced the decision to produce the neutron bomb at a time when it would be very embarrassing for Schmidt and only later sent Secretary of State Haig to discuss it with him after the fact. Although the peace

ALICE PFISTER reports from Germany:

"It was huge, tremendous — the anti-nuclear movement is much bigger than the press make out.

"Politically, it's still very vague, but there are huge numbers of youth involved, which is a good sign. There weren't very many trade union banners on the march, but that's because there has not been much work done in the unions — that's something the movement will have to concentrate on.

"The SPD, cleverly adapting to what they see as important votes in elections, managed to get a speaker on the platform and tried to tone down the militancy of the youth. I don't think they will succeed, though.

"It was the biggest demonstration I've ever seen in Germany, and has given a huge boost to ordinary working-class people, for many of whom this was the first demonstration they'd ever been on".

movement has succeeded in drawing many people into activity for the first time, there is a danger that this will be frittered away unless revolutionaries are able to overcome the political and organisational weaknesses of that movement.

The leadership of the march on Saturday was shared between church groups, leaders of the opposition in the SPD and FDP, the ecologists — some of whom are very reactionary — and various prominent writers such as Heinrich Böll.

There was only one union speaker, a member of the executive of the huge engineering union IG Metall, who was speaking despite a directive from the union federation, the DGB.

The organisers of the march were clearly not willing to differentiate them-

selves clearly from the anti-communist premises underlying Schmidt's own position. The strongly pro-Moscow CP was not allowed a speaker, while a member of the right-wing CSU was given the platform.

Unlike CND, the movement, insofar as it is possible to speak of it as a whole, is not clearly unilateralist and includes many different views about the extent of disarmament needed.

Revolutionaries must seek to build on the present size of the movement in two ways: by turning the movement into the trade unions and giving it a more specifically working class character, and also by taking on head-on the assumptions behind both Schmidt's arguments and the cautious pacifism of the movement's present leaders.

No peace movement in can be successful while W. Germany remains in NATO and W. Germany will probably stay in NATO while Germany is divided.

Revolutionaries must put forward the perspective of a united Socialist Germany, with real workers' democracy, as an alternative to both Stalinism and the W. German anti-communist consensus if the peace movement is to really fight the dangers of war in Europe.

Britain's 'civil defence': stay put - or get shot!

Get vaporised, get fried by radiation, or get shot — that's what Britain's 'civil defence' against nuclear war offers all but an elite few, reports JO THWAITES.

'Civil Defence' sounds like it is some sort of scheme whereby the civilian population will be defended if there's a nuclear attack. The idea is to make you feel a little safer — "It's OK. There are plans to deal with the situation if it ever arises, at least we won't all be forgotten about. The authorities will have the situation under control."

The end result of that reasoning being that a nuclear attack wouldn't be so bad after all.

Yes a few thousand people will get killed but the rest of us will be alright, so there's not a lot to worry about and the government can go on spending billions on defence and having the Cruise missiles based in Britain.

Well, we won't be alright. For everyone except for about 30,000 top civil servants, generals and selected members of public service and private industry, civil defence means stay where

you are, keep out of the way till the system of Regional Commissioners — safely stashed away underground during the attack — reckon it's safe enough for them to come out again. Above ground, if they're still alive, there should be a network of more civil servants stationed in remote 'safe' areas who will link up with the lucky bunker people to form a dozen regional governments.

At least that's the plan. The New Statesman (25 September) revealed what the plans are to keep everybody from moving about. There is to be a network of Essential Service Routes (ESRs) up and down the country. These routes consist of most of the main roads in Britain, including the M1, M4, the A1, A3 and the vast majority of main roads out of the major cities in Britain. These roads would be 'controlled', all petrol, diesel and other fuel would be impounded, and local authorities would be ordered not to feed refugees who 'chose to ignore the government's advice to stay in their own homes'.

(A detailed map of the ESRs can be obtained from New Statesman, 10 Great Turnstile Lane, London WC1, £2.50, with SAE). It

would be extremely difficult to get out of London for instance, as 18 routes out of the city are ESRs.

This all seems to have very little to do with civil defence, but quite a lot to do with maintaining the existing system of law and order, and making sure that the population sticks to the government's instructions outlined in the tragic pamphlet 'Protect and Survive' offering practically zero protection and little chance of survival.

Classified

In 1975 the Home Office sent out a circular entitled 'Briefing Material for War-time Controllers'. It was classified and only sent to top civil servants and police chiefs.

The first section dealt with 'Law and Order'. It outlines a system of emergency courts coming under the jurisdiction of regional commissioners where there would be "provision for appropriate penalties not normally available to courts," i.e. reduction of rations or execution. There would be no appeals.

That is the most detailed section of the circular. The rest deals with use of surviv-

ing industrial resources, and reaches the stunning conclusion that there might not be much left and that 'A large nuclear attack would disrupt the production and distribution of power supplies, and hence most industrial and commercial activities'.

There is a section dealing with 'Manpower'. 'In spite of heavy casualties among the able-bodied population, there should be no general shortage of manpower, since industry, as it existed, before the attack would be virtually at a standstill! It goes on to point out that if there was a lack of food, people might not want to do 'heavy or unpleasant' work. If this arose Regional Commissioners would have the power to direct who did what but of course this depends on "the community's acceptance of the need and their voluntary co-operation". 'Short of summary execution' that is.

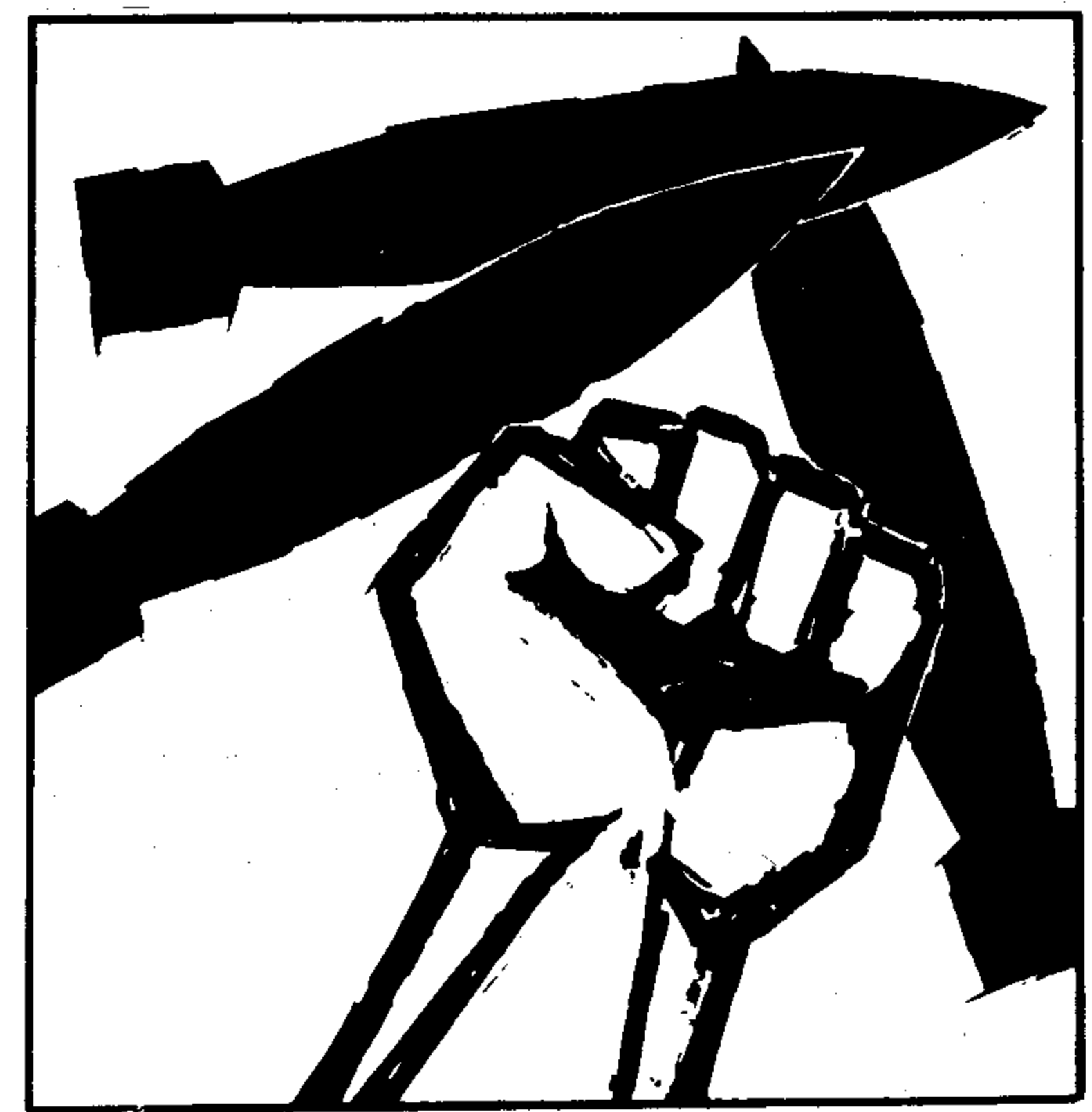
Telling

A strange, or perhaps telling, final paragraph points out that 'A large scale nuclear attack on this country would completely disrupt the banking system. Even a small-scale attack on London and the location of

the major facilities of big clearing banks would have a similar effect'. This bizarre observation is followed by the rather shocking sentence, 'It may therefore be assumed that, for a period at least, the widespread use of money, as a means of purchasing goods or rewarding services, would cease'. However, happily the circular ends with the prediction that this state of affairs would only take a year or so to correct. But there's one word of warning. 'The creation of a new monetary system would be a national matter and not one in which Regional Commissioners could devise their own policies'.

Echelons

So there we have it. The government has not a clue about protection and survival of the population. Only a lucky few, from the higher echelons of society along with a few art treasures (which, by the way, have a whole bunker to themselves in a mountain in Wales) and military generals will get into the bunkers. The rest of us can just stay put and do what we're told or get shot.



SCRAP THE BOMB!
Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament demonstration.
Saturday October 24; assemble 11.30am at Victoria Embankment, London.



—Labour Party

Looking back on Brighton

LEFT MUST ORGANISE

by REG RACE, MP for Wood Green

The Labour Left's debate on strategy after the Brighton conference continues.

In Socialist Organiser of September 10, we printed an appeal to Tony Benn — 'Time to Organise the Left!' An article by Nigel Williamson in Socialist Organiser of September 24 sketched a possible form for a new movement of the Labour Left.

Last week's Socialist Organiser (October 8) printed a call by Reg Race MP for a united movement of the Left in the constituencies, the unions, and the Parliamentary Labour Party. Bob Cryer MP has also argued (Socialist Organiser, October 1) that a new left group of Labour MPs is needed, now that several Tribune MPs have abstained or voted for Healey.

But many on the Labour Left disagree. An editorial in Tribune of October 9 argued that left-wingers should turn away from internal struggles in the Labour Party and towards convincing the electorate. The same issue of Tribune carried an article by David Winnick MP and a statement by 12 other MPs who voted for Benn on the first or second rounds, opposing the idea of a new left group of MPs.

This week, Reg Race MP reasserts his view, and Vladimir Derer of the CLPD argues that 'aggressive tactics' would be dangerous now.

We welcome more contributions to the debate.

THE RESULT of the Labour Party conference at Brighton must be seen as a substantial reverse for the left forces within the Party.

Even though we managed to win broad and increasing support for important policy issues, such as unilateral nuclear disarmament, the alternative economic strategy, and withdrawal from the EEC without a referendum, nevertheless we clearly lost support in many key areas.

The close result of the Deputy Leadership election was a credit to all those who had fought for Tony

Benn's policy position, but that close result should not blind us to the clear truth — namely, that the left lost support over the democratic issues and suffered a major reverse in the elections to the National Executive Committee.

The five right-wing gains on the NEC reflect the growing organisational sophistication and expertise of the right, particularly that of the right wing trade unions.

It is not sufficient to say that Terry Duffy has learnt to put the voting card in the right box. The right wing

general secretaries, based around the St Ermin's group with Roy Grantham (APEX), Dennis Howell MP and Bryan Stanley (POEU), are now employing paid researchers and organisers to put together a coalition of trade union block votes to oust the Left from key positions.

There is also a developing mood of paranoia in certain 'moderate' unions like the GMWU, where an executive council member has recently been suspended for left-wing activities.

What, therefore, should be our response? In my

view we clearly need an organisation which will first unite the Left in Parliament with the Left in the constituencies and the trade unions — on the principle that such an organisation will campaign actively and publicly for the policies agreed by the Party conference.

Secondly, the organisation must seek to bring together the broadest possible group of supporters to win back control of the NEC and to fight for other agreed objectives.

The Tribune Group cannot carry out this ob-

jective, as it has largely set its face against campaigning in the broader labour movement, and now contains such a disparate group of MPs that it is difficult to see how one could have meaningful discussions with some members of the Group — those, for example, who voted for Dennis Healey in the Deputy Leadership election.

What we need now is clear discussion of the objectives of the proposed new grouping and of the way in which it can best go about its work.

'Aggressive tactics would only isolate the left'

Campaign for



Democracy

THE Campaign for Labour Party Democracy is at present in the process of trying to evaluate the new situation arising mainly out of the Brighton conference. This week's CLPD column is a contribution by Vladimir Derer to this discussion, to be published in the CLPD Bulletin.

THE MOST important immediate task of CLPD (and of other organisations belonging to the Rank and File Mobilising Committee) is to assess correctly the significance of what happened this year in Brighton.

One possible error arises from the tendency now exhibited by some comrades to judge Brighton almost exclusively in the terms of the narrowness of the result in the Deputy Leadership contest. Such a perspective may be emotionally comforting, but is highly misleading.

The Deputy Leadership campaign was an offshoot of the process of democratisation of the Party which has been going on for years. In the form in which the Deputy Leader campaign occurred, it is likely to remain a once-and-for-all event. It cannot be artificially separated from the context in which it occurred, and its significance and potential effects must be judged accordingly.

Undoubtedly Brighton showed that, for the time being at least, the democratic advance was successfully checked. At all levels of the Party the support for further constitutional changes was seen to be ebbing.

Soft

On the NEC — as a result of the unreliability of the 'soft centre' (Hart, Hoyle, Kinnock, Lestor, Short) — majority support for democratic reforms had disappeared before four of our supporters (Atkinson, Beckett, Dix, Kelly) were knocked off in this year's elections.

Among the trade unions

a halt to democratic reforms was called already last year when there was an overwhelming support for the reimposition of the three year rule for constitutional issues. This year's rejection of even a qualified version of the rule means that the majority among the unions had no second thoughts on this subject.

Converts

The defeat on the Manifesto the second year running — by a slightly wider margin this time — means that there were no new converts.

Of course, the fact that the retiring — and allegedly wildly Left-wing — NEC had recommended opposition to the Manifesto reform (thanks to Hart, Kinnock, Lestor and Short, with Hart, who chaired the meeting, using both her votes), did not help. The easy defeat of the referendum-back move on the 'shortlist of one' illustrates that concern about the circumventing of the constitutional requirement of mandatory re-selection is not widespread, particularly when we bear in mind that, quite unprecedentedly, this year's three other referendum-back motions were carried.

No doubt support for democratic reforms is still strongest among the constituencies. However, even here it has been falling off.

For the last two years, CLPD model resolutions have received only modest support. CLPD's chosen subjects had increasingly to wait until the amendments stage to qualify for inclusion on the Agenda.

(Normally a minimum

support of seven CLPs or other affiliated organisations is required to achieve inclusion).

CLPs opted for 'issues' in preference to constitutional subjects. This, despite the fact that the wide support for mandatory re-selection seemed to indicate the acceptance of the argument that without increased accountability (and hence further constitutional reforms), the policies of the PLP and future Labour governments will not be significantly affected, no matter how many conference resolutions on 'issues' are passed.

Pull out

But the weakening of the struggle for greater accountability is by no means limited to the NEC, the unions and the CLPs. Organisations which aspire to the role of 'opinion leaders', e.g. LCC, NOLS and 'Clause Four', have chosen to pull out of the Rank and File Mobilising Committee at the very moment when even the limited democratic gains of the last few years are under threat: when prominent Party leaders and trade unionists are now openly discussing the possibility of doing away with annual elections and recorded voting in the electoral college; when proposals for increasing the MPs' share in that college are already on the Agenda for next year's Conference; and when the Party's relatively liberal internal regime is being threatened by the suggested reintroduction of the list of proscribed organisations, or at the very least, by some form of inquisition.

(It is clear that some



Did Healey's victory halt democratic advance?

alleged defenders of parliamentary democracy and representative government are dead set to start a new membership drive by expelling people from the Party).

It is true, of course, that Tony Benn came near to winning the Deputy Leadership contest. His campaign was widely publicised in the media. It aroused considerable interest in the wide Labour movement, and, above all, among trade unions, and had an enthusiastic following among the committed.

All this manifested itself in well-attended meetings, especially during trade union conferences.

At the same time it must be faced that the narrowness of the result was partly due to factors related more to the way in which various

union delegations reached their final decision as to whom to support, rather than to the wishes of the membership.

What is significant is that wherever wider membership was consulted, the majority seemed to support Dennis Healey (NUM here seems to have been one exception).

This by itself does not invalidate the narrowness of the result, as the political choices of the unions and affiliated organisations (CLPs) are seldom, if ever, based on decisions taken at branch level, let alone the result of a one person one vote election.

Nevertheless, the margin, sometimes a very wide margin, by which union members expressed their preference for Healey does indicate that the argument

for democratic reforms and Party policies — the platform on which Tony fought his Deputy Leader campaign — is not won so far as the mass of the members of the Labour movement are concerned.

More importantly, the reluctance among the Party activists to press for democratic reforms, and the hesitations among the trade union delegations to support reforms already on the Agenda (e.g. Manifesto), as well as Tony Benn's candidature, clearly indicate a change of mood.

Concern over Labour's chances to win the next general election, which are threatened by the present divisions, has made the need for Party unity an urgent priority, even at the cost of entering into a compromise with that wing of the Party which is led by the majority of MPs and trade union leaders.

There can be little doubt that the 'presidential' style in which the Deputy Leadership campaign was fought, and the fear of even greater divisions, has contributed to the willingness to compromise.

To adopt aggressive tactics at this stage, to set up, for example, yet another 'Left-wing' group which would organise meetings all over the country with speakers denouncing the present parliamentary leadership, would only result in further isolation of the 'Left' and be an even greater threat to democratic reforms already achieved.

Spectrum

The democratic reforms were gained because they were supported by a very wide spectrum of opinion within the Party. They cannot be successfully defended without that support. But this support will be lost if those who carried the brunt of the struggle — or are credited with having carried it — come to be seen by the majority of Party members as a divisive force.

Comrades who advocate 'aggressive tactics' in the present situation are still clearly carried away by the euphoria generated by the Deputy Leadership campaign. They are simply refusing to face the fact that this campaign ended with the declaration of the final result.

All this does not mean that the conditions of unity now presented by those who won the main battles at the 1981 Conference should be accepted. The gains of the last few years, however, can only be successfully defended in the name of Party unity.

This means primarily that it is those who are setting out to destroy them who must be seen as the ones threatening Party unity.

So far as the issues on which we have lost are concerned, it is necessary patiently to explain the need for them. Reforms that are coming up next year must be argued for as essential for the sake of Party unity.

This is, of course, not just a skilful manoeuvre. Democratic reforms are a necessary precondition for a more unifying Party structure, on which will do away with the present divisions. But at this stage we can only press for such reforms and policies that can still be realistically achieved.

Above all, for reforms which will enable the Labour Party to widen its appeal by the practice of positive discrimination in favour of groups subjected to special types of oppression such as women and ethnic minorities, or by increasing the voting strength of CLPs at Conference in order to increase their potential membership.

Last but not least, it is necessary to mobilise support for the commitment by the Party leadership to a significant extension of public ownership. Without such a commitment the alternative economic strategy amounts to little more than an alternative way of running a capitalist economy.

Women in struggle Fightback's programme for action against Tories

I WANT to stress that this isn't some far-fetched ultra left list of demands — it is based on action that women in the community, in the trade unions and in the Labour Party are already taking and have taken.

"Women with the most odds against them. Women from places like Longworth Hospital, where grandmothers and women with five or six children were involved in a hospital occupation.

"Women like Mrs Brar at the Chix factory, who couldn't speak a word of English, Elsie Broad at Royal Pride, Anwar Ditta and Jaswinder Kaur and many more.

That was how Anne-Marie Sweeney introduced this action programme for fighting the Tories at the Women's Fightback AGM in August.

In NUPE, her own union, she is fed up with hearing the union leaders say, "Don't blame us for not fighting the Tories — it's our women members who let us down". It's not true that women aren't ready to fight. There are many examples to show that we are — it's the union leaders who don't give us the support.

The Lee Jeans women had to organise their own blacking; and near the end the union leadership decided the occupation had no hope and withdrew their official backing.

The union leadership at Grunwick also left their members adrift at the very point the struggle reached national proportions.

Women's Fightback has to show that we're in the business of fighting and fighting to win. That's the way we'll win working-class women to our politics, and that's what this action programme aims to do.

THE TORY government is on the offensive, attacking the most basic rights of women. The leaders of the labour movement are meeting this onslaught by little or no organised resistance.

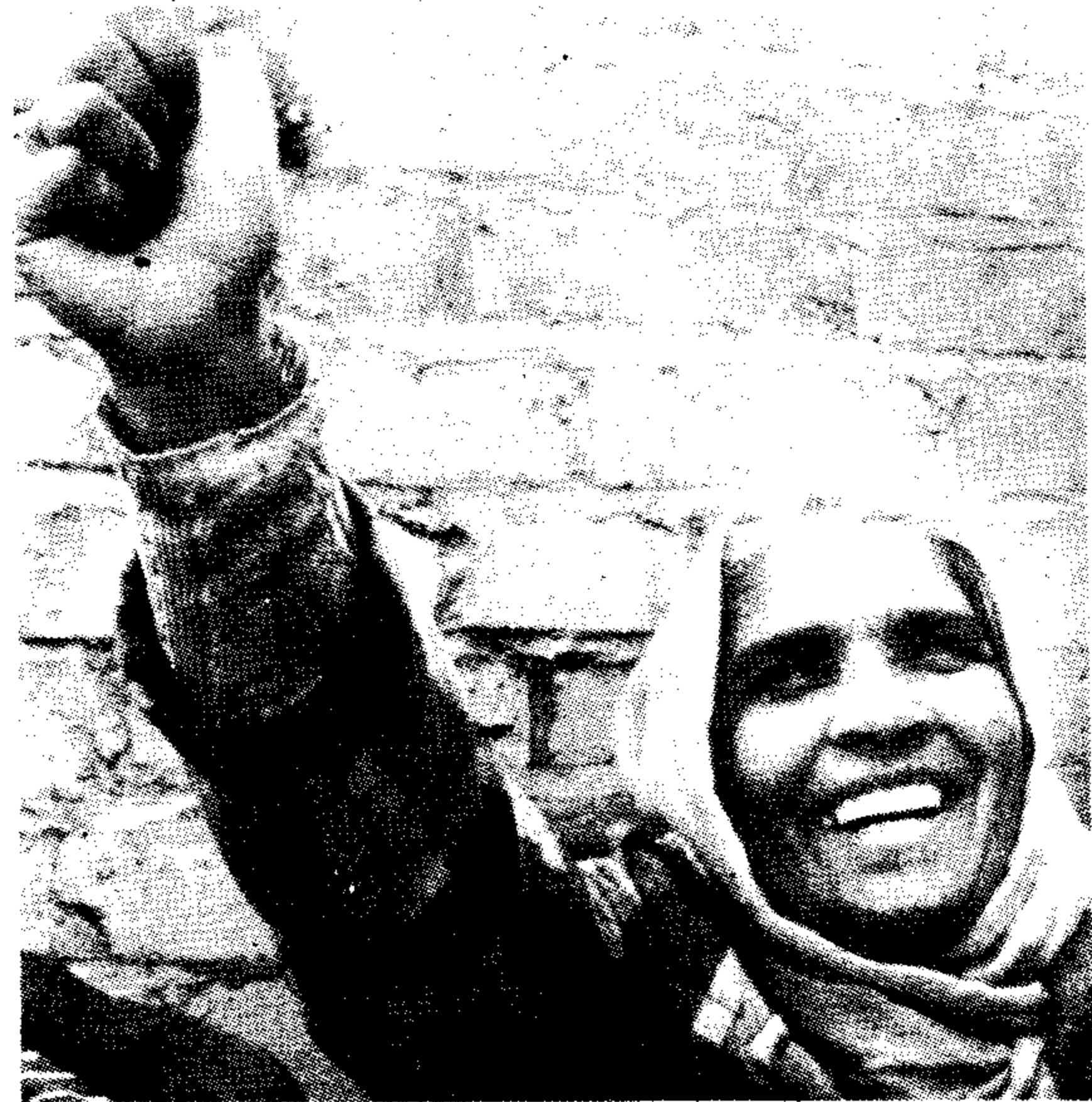
Since the Tories took office, however, working class women have been struggling on the front line to defeat Thatcher.

In Women's Fightback we must not only lend support to such struggles that break out but offer a lead and guidance on the kind of action women can take to stand up for their rights, drawing on the experience of women who have made a fightback against the Tories.

*A woman's right to work. In a period of runaway capitalist crisis women's (especially black women's) jobs are the first to go. We must encourage unemployed women to organise in the unions of the unemployed workers, by establishing women's sub-committees in these organisations to focus on the special problems of women's unemployment.

We should build for the women's right to work demonstration by organising at the local level as well as nationally — turning the attention of the labour movement to the scale of women's unemployment and demanding what is going to be done about it.

*Action on jobs. The beacon to all women workers has been the occupa-



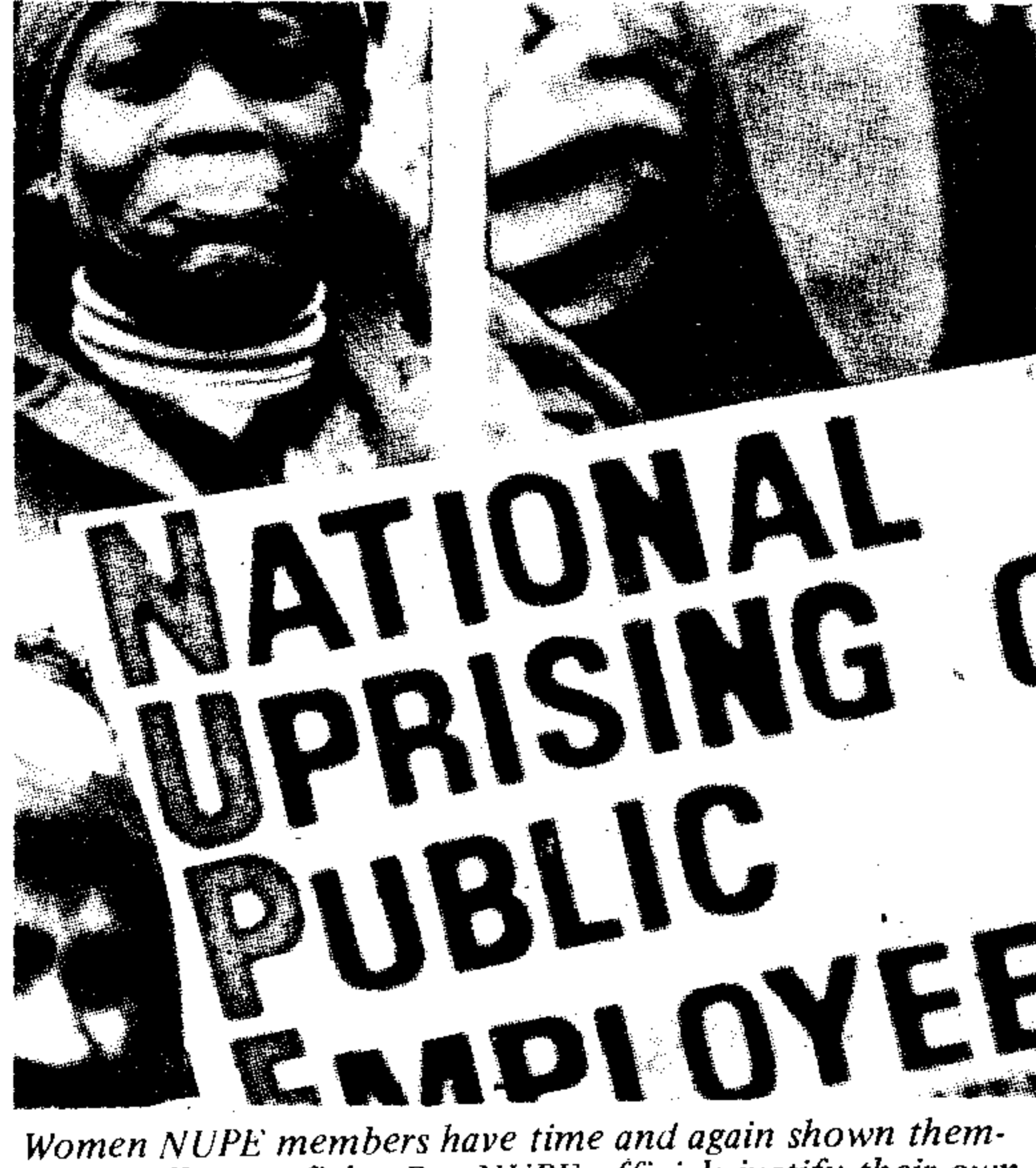
Chix: Asian women took the lead despite double oppression

ation of Lee Jeans. We must organise for such occupations to prevent closures from taking place, and demand throughout the labour movement the necessary levies, blacking and strike action to support the occupation.

Every redundancy should be fought, by giving women confidence to refuse to take an extra workload and face direct confrontation with the employer, demanding work sharing on full pay. We



St. Mary's: women domestics in the lead in the first occupation of a general hospital to stop closure



Women NUPE members have time and again shown themselves willing to fight. But NUPE officials justify their own inactivity by claiming that the members are apathetic.

demand and against any forced sterilisation — for an NHS run for and by its workers and users under their control.

*Local authority cuts. School meals and other staff have organised local campaigns in many areas to defend services against the cuts. Their actions have been left isolated by union leaders and kept to sporadic, selective action. Fight for the full necessary direct action to protect jobs and services.

*Health cuts. The women at Longworth Hospital, and the workers at St. Benedicts and St. Mary's, W9, showed the need for occupations to defend hospitals. We must demand supporting strike action to stop occupations being threatened and brutally ended. Women's jobs and vitally needed health care is being eroded as clinics, wards and beds are lost. We should build campaigns involving women in the community, to join with health workers to fight the cuts, to black private medicine and to demand of the unions that they organise no cover of unfilled vacancies.

*Abortion rights. Thousands of women backed the campaign that halted Corrie's anti-abortion bill. Now action is needed in many areas to extend and defend NHS abortion facilities, fight for free abortion, contraception on



*Child care cuts. In Oxford, London, Coventry, Leicester and Glasgow women have occupied threatened nurseries in the fight to prevent closures. Beale Street in Leicester was a great victory in the fight

linked to the struggle for democracy and accountability for women to be represented on every union body. Fight sexism in union procedures and publications.

*Wages. Women don't work for pin money. Women workers in the Civil Service have been on strike against Tory wage policies. Only all-out strike action can win. We need wages that keep pace with inflation — at a rate correctly assessed by labour movement committees, not distorted by government figures. We should demand a national minimum wage for workers, especially including YOPs schemes, for all benefits to be based on a national minimum wage and index-linked. Full opposition to the 'family wage' concept — for women's financial independence.

*Black women. Anwar Ditta, Jaswinder Kaur and others have been in the forefront of thousands of black women fighting racist and sexist immigration laws brought in by both Labour and Tory governments. Defeat the Nationality Bill! Repeal all racist legislation! The labour movement must join with the black community in defence against racist and fascist attacks.

*Violence against women. Thousands of women have mobilised in protest against brutal attacks which are encouraged by the sexist media's sensationalist reporting. Women must organise defence against attacks. Women in unions in the media must combat sexist reporting. Women's refuges must be defended from cuts and full comprehensive systems of refuges, emergency housing, social security support and childcare must be provided for battered women.

*Unionisation. More and more women are joining unions, many like the Chix women fighting tough battles for union recognition. All these struggles must be supported. Many women feel excluded from union decisions. Demand meetings be held in working hours or that adequate childcare/creche arrangements be laid on for every meeting. Fight for positive discrimination



Nursery fight goes on!

by Susan Carlyle

THE LATEST news on the nursery closures in Tower Hamlets, following a meeting with the staff of one threatened nursery, Queen Mary, is that the nurseries are safe until next March, when a complete review will take place.

However, Queen Mary have been told by management that they must stop campaigning!

This is blackmail: while cuts may be made in any case, the nurseries threatened with closure are being told to lie low and accept their fate.

The nursery campaign has answered with letters to parents saying that Queen Mary can only be defended by fighting back, and that their case must continue to be publicised in order to win wider labour movement and community support, and save the Building.

The nursery workers have just received another offer which does not alter the basic low pay — merely offering a career time structure with senior nursery nurse posts.

This is obviously another way of trying to buy off a section of the workforce.

In fact, the demand for recognition of a third person in charge of a nursery is not new among NALGO nursery workers, but the timing of this offer is seen as a divisive move by their employers.

Two nurseries coping with handicapped children are still not being offered the necessary extra money in recognition of the special care they offer, and until that is sorted out the other pay grades cannot be properly negotiated.

As nursery workers' steward Jackie Rowledge told Socialist Organiser:

"To say that the nursery workers of Tower Hamlets are disgusted and angry about the non-payment of their national pay award would be the understatement of the century.

"It is now 20 months since the award was given, and all we have had is one offer which made a mockery of the national agreement — it was the lowest of all Inner London boroughs, and this at a time when problems in the East End are getting worse due to increasing unemployment and government cutbacks"

The nursery workers plan to escalate their work-to-rule if their mass meeting next week rejects the latest offer.

The nursery campaign is holding a major fund-raising event to continue the fight against closures, and on behalf of the nursery workers.

We won't be intimidated!

WOMEN'S FIGHTBACK 10p

IT'S A WOMAN'S RIGHT TO HAVE A JOB

Labour Women Make Politics Not

Young Women in the Marriage

The new Women's Fightback 10p plus postage from 41 Ellington St. London N7.



From left: Anna Walentynowicz and Andrzej Gwiazda; delegates at congress; workers making a 'parking space' for official TV who were banned from congress for refusing workers time on TV.

EYE WITNESS REPORT ON

■ ■ What did you learn from visiting the Solidarnosc congress?

We saw how much the movement is more than just a trade union: it is a sort of framework for all parts of society with the exception of the bureaucracy.

You could see that at the Congress from several examples. For instance, there has been a strike among the militia — not the police, but the militia who were the one that shot down workers in 1970.

The strikers demanded that the militia become incorporated into the police force, and no longer be linked to the secret service — and that they should not be called to act against the working class.

The strike took place in certain layers of the militia — and 50 people who were at the core of this movement were sacked.

At the Congress delegates were asked if they wanted speakers from this movement, and with loud applause they agreed.

Another example of the scope of Solidarnosc as a social movement was the agreement that has been reached between Solidarnosc and the new unions for journalists and writers on how they should work together and support each other.

In fact nobody has any confidence in the official information from the Party and the State. The Congress itself set up loudspeakers outside so that its proceedings could be heard in the street — and thousands of people stood listening and clapping outside right through the weekend.

Delegates from different areas brought with them local Solidarnosc papers; and people queued in their hundreds in the front of the hall to buy copies and read about struggles in other parts of the country.

These are just some indications of how broad Solidarnosc is as a movement.

JETTE JORGENSON from the Danish Trotskyist Workers' League (TAF) attended a part of the second session of the Solidarnosc Congress in Gdansk.

The TAF delegation announced themselves at the door as representing their paper, 'Trotskyist Viewpoint' — and to their surprise were immediately welcomed into the hall,

issued with credentials, and offered interpreting facilities. As they left the Congress two days later, they were told that if they had wished they could have organised a fringe meeting to explain their politics to interested delegates.

The TAF comrades — together with a lone wandering reporter for the American magazine

Intercontinental Press — were the only Trotskyist journalists present at the second part of the congress.

They came to Britain last week to attend the Rally of the Workers' Socialist League, which, like the TAF, is affiliated to the Trotskyist International Liaison Committee.

Before the Rally, Jette spoke to Socialist Organiser.

on one key industry or factory in each area, forming a closed circle of 18 workplaces in mining, shipbuilding, steel, transport, and so on.

Maybe I should say something about these technicians: they are different from the same layer in the capitalist countries. They have no possibility of having influence or control over their own work, or changing production techniques — because of the bureaucratic stranglehold on industrial management.

Rigid

The rigid Stalinist control offers technicians no possibility of power or control inside or outside the factories. In addition to this,

by the technicians and engineers.

The 'network' was based

■ ■ What did you learn from the debates on workers' control?

I think it's only over the last three or four months that the movement has been orientated towards ways of dealing with the economic chaos.

Control

At first, as a spontaneous movement, they moved only from their own experience.

But the issue of workers' control has a long history: it goes back to 1956 when they formed workers' councils. When the movement failed to go forward then, these councils became organs for control over the workers by the Stalinist party.

Isolated

Mainly because of this experience, Solidarnosc didn't want anything to do with workers' councils or workers' control. There were some isolated instances, but they didn't get off the ground until three or four months ago, when Solidarnosc had become consolidated with ten million members, while the economic chaos became more obvious and deep.

There arose a growing interest in self-manage-

ment, with a movement arising from the so-called 'network' — a grouping led



Centre: Jurczyk, runner up to Walesa for president of Solidarnosc

the education system in Poland as distinct from that in the capitalist countries means that quite a large proportion of technicians come from the industrial working class.

Consultants

The network leaders began to act as consultants to the Solidarnosc leadership on the question of self-management, and circles of self-management were formed in towns around the country, with the perspective of a national organisation.

The growth of this movement has made the government prepare some legislation on the issue. To put Solidarnosc's line clearly before this legislation was carried, there was a resolution at the first part of the Congress on workers' management.

Then came a dramatic development. For the first time in 35 years the Polish government was in a minority on a question in Parliament.

Rumours

This crisis came in the two weeks between the two parts of the Solidarnosc congress. From the Presidium of Solidarnosc — which is composed of 11 people — a minority of four went and started negotiations with Parliamentary leaders on this Bill. They made a compromise with the majority in Parliament, and two laws were passed before the second part of the Congress.

That meant that the Congress met without at first

knowing what was going on. Rumours were floating around, and there was confusion and anger among the delegates.

Of the two new laws, one is to keep absolute power in the hands of the Stalinist party with regard to any industry of social and economic significance. The idea was to ensure that the Party remains in complete control of the system.

It also seeks to perpetuate the 'nomenklatura' system, offering a ladder of advancement to those well in with the bureaucracy through a list of key posts. This is the symbol of Party control of industry.

Appointed

The second laws says something about workers' councils for the rest of industry. But these would participate in bodies composed mostly of Party-dominated institutions: only through such bodies would managers be appointed.

When this arose on the agenda, there were immediately 49 speakers — most of them wanting to criticise what had happened. The debate was postponed until tapes and documents of the meetings were available to establish how the compromise agreement had been arrived at.

Most speakers were angry at the lack of democracy in the process, and wanted an explanation from each of the 11 Presidium members.

But one of those who had been in the negotiations — Rulewski from Bydgoszcz — came out hard against the whole thing.

SOLIDARNOSĆ

SOLIDARNOSĆ



HISTORIC CONGRESS

He said that he was opposed to the compromise not because of the formal errors but because he thought it was misleading the movement. The question had been made a priority for Solidarnosc.

Rulewski also attacked the negotiators for changing tactics by introducing the call for a referendum on self-management — and offering to organise one if the government refused.

In some of the factories of the 'network', workers were already voting on whether or not to have self-management.

Another Bydgoszcz delegate argued that the 'compromise' was completely in line with the policy of the Stalinist party's ninth plenum. It offered the workers' councils no independent power — just as the Party had wanted.

After we had left the congress, a vote was taken to reject the 'compromise'.

But we should say that that limitation of the call for workers' control is that it is a spontaneous reaction to the economic chaos. It is not part of a programme for taking political power into the hands of the working class.

Endorsing

You could see this limitation from the fact that later on there was discussion on the problem of big loans to Poland from the imperialist governments and bankers.

The radical supporters of workers' control turned out to be the most favourable to accepting still more IMF loans, and even endorsing the IMF. They had no per-

spective for workers' control over these links between the bureaucracy and the imperialist leaders.

■ ■ What did you see of the role of the Church?

We were told several times that it is only in the Gdansk area that there is a direct influence from the Church on the leadership of Solidarnosc.

This was shown by Walasa, who all the time had a priest by his side — a priest from the church closest to the Lenin shipyard.

But when a vote was taken at the beginning of the Congress on whether or not to make morning mass obligatory to delegates, it was voted down — and only some 20 or 25 per cent of delegates were present for mass each day.

Attempts

The role of the Church is somewhat different in Poland. It has no influence on such things as family planning or the practical side of life. Its attempts to reinforce the values of the family have not stopped most women working outside the home.

And while it is a force for moderation and for nationalism, all its appeals for moderation in the class struggle have been ignored by the movement.

The Church's influence has weakened as Solidarnosc has grown in strength and the fight for workers' control has strengthened workers politically.

■ ■ How do you assess the nationalist tendencies with-

in Solidarnosc?

At the Congress there was a retired General from the Polish army. He boasted that he had fought three wars against Russia: World War 1; 1921, when he helped beat back Bolshevik armies that came to the assistance of Polish strikers; and World War 2.

He was allowed to address the Congress, and drew loud applause and a standing ovation.

But the nationalism also has another dimension. Of course nationalism in a capitalist country, even in a backward capitalist country, will be — if it is limited to a nationalist view — linked up with an alliance to

parts of the capitalist class, or led by the petty bourgeoisie.

But the fact is that there is no national bourgeoisie for Polish nationalists to link up with. They are not tied to capitalism in that way.

Within Poland there is no serious element seeking a restoration of capitalism.

But nationalism does have dangerous political consequences for the movement.

There you can see the differences between the two wings of Solidarnosc. Both are nationalist, but that is scarcely surprising. The Stalinist bureaucracy has held dictatorial power for 35 years — and crushed any traditions of proletarian internationalism, just as it has crushed any genuine Marxist understanding of imperialism or the degenerated workers' state, the Soviet Union.

We should also remember that Poland has been dominated throughout its history by different outside forces which have combined to create a spirit of nationalism.

The two wings of Solidarnosc, while they are both nationalist, have different attitudes to the Soviet Union and imperialism.

The radical wing tends to be more anti-Russian — not seeing any danger from the imperialists or recognising the need for socialist revolution in the capitalist countries.

Adapts

But the moderate wing tends more to start off from the 'reality' of Soviet dominance over Poland, and adapts to this by seeking compromise with the Stalinist bureaucracy in Poland.

This is what again points to the necessity of building a Trotskyist revolutionary party in Poland.

Each of the two wings of Solidarnosc has its strong sides and its weaknesses:

now there is a tendency towards a confrontation between these two wings within the movement.

The problem can only be resolved by developing a revolutionary programme and party to tear these issues open and link up the strengths of the movement.

A party is needed which sees the developments in Poland as part of an international struggle of the working class and not simply a national issue.

Trotskyism is the only current which has fought both Stalinism and imperialism from the standpoint of the working class.

Now only Trotskyists can resolve the problems of leadership in Poland.

■ ■ Did you see any signs of receptiveness to Trotskyism in Poland?

It was interesting to note that some of those most open to Trotskyism are not in independent formations, but students attached to the Stalinist party.

We saw that they had translated some material by Mandel and were working on a Polish edition of Trotsky's *Revolution Betrayed*.

In contradiction to this, other currents of radical students were printing pictures of the reactionary Polish General Pilsudski.

The fact is that there is a ferment of ideas and discussion in the new Polish workers' movement. Trotskyists must intervene in that struggle and seize the opportunity to take the movement forward to political revolution.



SOLIDARNOSĆ

SOLIDARNOSĆ



JOHN HARRIS



JOHN HARRIS

RALLY CELEBRATES WORKERS SOCIALIST LEAGUE MAJOR FUSION

"WE'VE BEEN on strike for 28 weeks, and we've shown the working class can fight back", were the opening words from the opening speaker at the Workers Socialist League's rally in Birmingham last Saturday, 10th — Steve Longshaw from Laurence Scotts, Manchester.

The rally followed a day of workshops, films, exhibitions, and discussions, covering a whole range of fronts of working class struggle and forms of the fightback. In the final session itself, Steve Longshaw was followed by Barbara Brown from the National H-Block/Armagh Committee in Ireland, a speaker from the Mumtaz Kiani defence committee in Bradford, Dogan Tarkan, Wictor Moszczynski (representing Solidarnosc), Jette Jorgensen of the Danish Trotskyist Workers' League, Mick Liggins of the National Left Wing Youth Movement, and Rachel Lever from Women's Fightback.

Crowded

Socialist Organiser did a crowded workshop on 'Organising the Labour Left', and we had a platform speaker, too — except that time was so tight at the end that John O'Mahony of Socialist Organiser waived his speaking time.

Alan Thornett of the WSL Executive was the concluding speaker, giving a clear presentation of how the WSL sees the many different threads of struggle being drawn together in a socialist strategy. Time

forced him to abbreviate the speech, but Alan Thornett has provided Socialist Organiser with the full text for publication (see facing page).

Talking to people from the 400-odd attendance afterwards, they were all enthusiastic. "Next time the WSL organises an event like this, we'll be able to get a lot more along". If they had a complaint, it was that the event was not long enough: there were so many things to see and

hear and take part in, in such rapid succession or simultaneously, that you were bound to miss a lot.

Work with

But it was impressive indeed in showing the WSL's willingness and ability to work with other campaigns and movements while still arguing its own Trotskyist ideas. Graham Bash of London Labour Briefing led off the workshop of Labour Councils

and the cuts, which produced a lively discussion on the tactic of 'majority opposition' (majority Labour groups going into opposition and systematically voting down all Tory budgets).

There were stalls from Provisional Sinn Fein, the El Salvador Solidarity Campaign, and Palestine solidarity; exhibitions from hospital occupations at St Mary's and Longworth; and workshops organised by Women's Fightback and

the National Left Wing Youth Movement, as well as displays from the International-Communist League and the old Workers' Socialist League, the two Trotskyist organisations which fused this July to form the new WSL.

High points

High points, perhaps, were the showing of Ken Loach's film on the steel strike, 'A Question of Leadership', followed by a discussion with Ken Loach and Alan Thornett and Ray Davies, two of the workers who took part in the film; and the workshop session where Jette Jorgensen reported on the time she recently spent at the Solidarnosc congress.

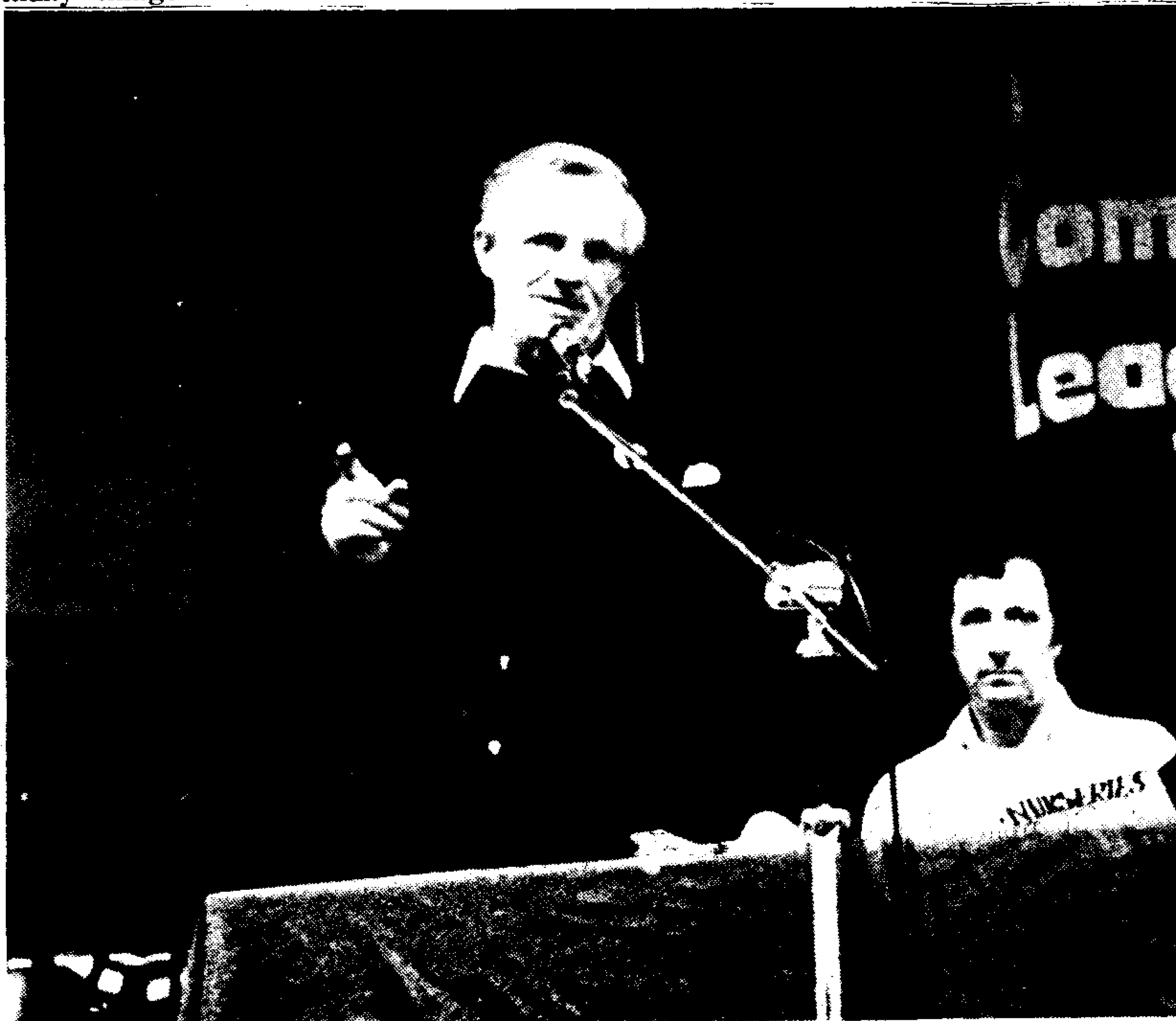
Going places

A collection was taken for the WSL's special fund for a new press and premises. £2,600 was announced as the total, but the WSL Treasurer tells us that large amounts were counted twice, and the true total was £1870! So, even when that's added to the £2,000 already collected, the WSL has a good way to go towards its £10,000 target. But it was a good response from an attendance which clearly included a lot of unemployed and low-paid workers.

From Saturday's evidence, the WSL and I-CL have not only fused themselves together, but are rapidly going places.

MARTIN THOMAS

JOHN HARRIS



Steve Longshaw spoke from the Laurence Scott occupation



JOHN HARRIS

Turkish socialist Dogan Tarkan told the rally about his fight against deportation. After the military coup in Turkey, Dogan made his way to Britain via Syria and Lebanon, and asked for political asylum. The Home Office is threatening to refuse asylum, using all sorts of technicalities, but Dogan told the rally that the campaign to save him can win. More resolutions and messages of support are still needed from trade union branches and Labour Parties: write to Friends of Dogan Tarkan, BM Box 5965, London WC1N 3XX.

'We need a party that will go ALL the way'



Alan Thornett: 'Not a party outside the working class, or at best on its periphery, but a party built and established within the working class'

"BUILD the revolutionary party" is the catch-cry that the Socialist Workers' Party presents as its answer to the Left in the labour movement.

Concluding the Rally last Saturday, Alan Thornett of the Workers' Socialist League outlined a different version: a party fighting for leadership 'within the working class itself', 'weaving together' campaigns and areas of work rather than counterposing itself to them.

We publish his speech as an important contribution to the debate on the Left, and invite discussion.

Marxists have a basic starting point to all of their struggles and ideas - that the working class is a revolutionary class, and as such is capable of overthrowing the capitalist system and establishing the socialist order.

It is a fundamental truth from which we draw the strength to face the daily struggle. It allows us to see our victories and defeats within the class struggle within the context of an entirely achievable strategic objective.

It is an outlook which gives Marxists something unique amongst all political tendencies in the workers' movement - an unshakable confidence in the working class as a revolutionary force.

It is something we have to defend every day against those who tell us that the working class are so imbued with the ideas of capitalism that they can always be diverted at the crucial point. They are usually the same people who say the working class won't fight in order to cover up their own refusal to lead.

We have to explain that our confidence springs not from romanticism but from Marxism as a scientific theory. That we see the working class as an exploited class society into conflict with their exploiters - not just at the point of production but at the level of government.

Objectively

This does not mean that workers are consciously seeking revolution - it means that the working class are objectively revolutionary.

It means that at moments of history when all the conditions are present, the overwhelming power of the working class, as the producers of all wealth, can be harnessed to make a revolution.

October 1917 changed the world because it showed it could be done.

But, as everyone knows, that revolution took place when all the conditions for the seizure of power were present. Not just the disintegration of capitalism. Not just a rise in the consciousness of the working class. But also the leadership in the form of Lenin's Bolshevik Party - the most developed leadership the working class has ever produced.

It points to our task today. To produce a leadership on Bolshevik lines. A party built in that tradition

which can lead a successful socialist revolution when the revolutionary moment comes.

But that as everyone knows is easy to say but very difficult to accomplish in practice.

The revolution of 1917 has undergone a deep bureaucratic degeneration. To build a revolutionary party today means building a Trotskyist party which addresses itself not only to leading the social revolution in the capitalist countries but also the political revolution in the deformed and degenerated workers' states - something which the events in Poland today have shown to be entirely possible.

It means building parties which are not nationally based parties, but parties built as part of a revolutionary international, with a perspective of world revolution.

It means building parties of a particular type. Not parties which remain isolated from the working class, or at best exist on its periphery, but parties established and developed within the working class itself - rejecting a sectarian approach to the mass movement as Lenin did in 'Left Wing Communism'.

Power

It means building parties based on a programme which is not only adequate to the needs of the working class today but raises the consciousness of the workers and takes them in the direction of power.

It was our joint conviction on this approach which made the fusion between the old WSL and the ICL possible.

Both movements were convinced that in Britain any serious development towards a revolutionary party would have to be built with a fight inside the unions and would have to have a correct attitude towards the

Labour Party.

This is something which has not been achieved in any adequate way by any previous Trotskyist grouping in Britain.

The fusion therefore creates a unique opportunity in Britain - to build a party which has an open and non-sectarian approach to the working class but at the same time fights on firm programme and principles.

Unique

It is also self-evident that unique conditions exist in the present period for such a development.

You don't need me this afternoon to tell you about the Thatcher government; monetarism; the 4% wage norm; de-industrialisation of the economy; three million unemployed; the destruction of the social services; legislation against the unions and plunging living standards.

We have Reaganism in the USA and the drive towards the Third World War, with the biggest rearmament in history, talk of tactical nuclear wars and aid to every dictatorship in the world.

We have economic crisis gripping the entire capitalist world. Falling living standards in the major capitalist countries and grinding poverty in the underdeveloped countries.



But even these unique conditions do not of themselves resolve the problem of how the working class can fight back. The question of leadership comes up at every stage.

A number of conditions have to be present. It is necessary to grasp very clearly the intimate connection between the programme and demands you advance in today's struggles and the strategic goal of social revolution.

Practice

That means a very clear grasp not only of the demands of the transitional programme but more importantly how they are used in practice in the day to day struggles of the working class.

It means for example having a very clear understanding of the power and relevance of a transitional demand like open the books.

Take the state owned industries, since we are heading for a BL strike.

Workers are confronted with a picture of bankrupt industries unable to meet even a fraction of the claims made by the trade unions. But what is the reality?

The Observer commissioned a very interesting study of the financing of the state industries - which is worth referring to.

Paradise

The overall assessment made by the team was that the state industries are "a money lender's paradise".

The returns from the 23 industries they covered ranged from a total joint profit of £800 million - to a joint loss of £1½ billion, depending on how the figures were calculated.

But even if we take the highest loss figure we then find that the same 23 industries paid £3 billion to the

banks in interest charges over the same period.

And that is without opening the books. The £100 million interest charges BL pay to the banks for example, would more than meet the current claim which management calculate as £80 million.

The open the books demand means that workers reject the management's figures and propaganda and take an important step in the direction of workers' control.

Contained

The working class emerge to confront the class enemy - as the steelworkers did last year - only to be split and divided and contained by their own so-called leaders.

Workers occupy to defend their jobs like St Benedicts, Longworth, St Mary's, Lee Jeans and Laurence Scott, only to enter into immediate struggle with the officials who want to call the action off or leave them isolated and open to being smashed by the state.

The TUC has disappeared from sight since the Tories were elected. The TUC conference refused to lift a finger against Thatcher. They have talks with Thatcher and come out saying "there is light at the end of the tunnel."

In local government, left Labour councils - even the best of them - refuse to act as working class leaders and confront the government. Instead they rely on a policy of rate increases.

The deepening economic crisis makes the reformists even more reluctant to fight. Their politics paralyse them when they are faced with the viability problems of the capitalist system or of the individual employer.

So what effect has this had on the working class? It has caused anger and frustration and it has allowed the Tories to rampage almost with impunity - the only major defence of jobs was the stopping of pit closures by the threat of a miners' strike.

But it has also created explosive pressures inside the working class which are reaching breaking point. The most advanced example of this is BL where militancy has reached unprecedented levels and workers are simply spoiling to get outside the gate.

The youth riots were a reflection of the same pressures and produced a gut reaction to the degradation imposed on them by capitalism.

But again whilst these developments create favourable conditions, they do not resolve the question of



revolutionary leadership.

Because the hard fact is that the problem of working class leadership cannot be resolved without the development of a Trotskyist party, extensively rooted in the working class.

So what kind of party do we need and how do we achieve it?

Firstly we have tried to present at the Rally today some of the areas of work the WSL is involved in:

Work in the unions; in rank and file groupings; support for the anti-imperialist struggle in Ireland; the struggle in Poland; our work on women's oppression; solidarity work with the oppressed; work amongst youth; gay rights; work amongst the unemployed.

We have tried to show that these major and very diverse areas of work are brought together by the unifying factor of the party. All these areas of work are woven into the party's strategic objective - the mobilisation of the working class for the seizure of power.

But they have to be woven into a party of a particular type - a vanguard party - the party Lenin fought for.

But even that presents a problem, because every group, calling themselves Trotskyists would regard themselves as a vanguard - but clearly most of them are not. So what is a vanguard party?

First of all it is not a matter of being out in front of the working class. Many groups are out in front of the working class - some so far that the working class would need a radio telescope to make contact with them - and we could all put names to those.

To be a vanguard party it is a matter of being in the leadership of the working class and that is something quite different.

But developing a party that can actually lead workers is a difficult question. It means establishing a record. It means winning the confidence of sections of workers on the leadership you give and the programme you advance.

Such demands, like cost of living clauses, or occupations, if carefully presented and correctly fought for can both challenge capitalism and the existing consciousness of the working class.

That kind of struggle, alongside a struggle at every level in the unions, particularly on trade union democracy which has now been opened right up by the struggle inside the Labour Party, could soon establish Trotskyists in positions of leadership.

Leadership

We want to build a party with its roots in the working class and its sights set on social revolution.

To do this it has to be a disciplined party, not authoritarian. But a party in which maximum discussion takes place on policy and programme and is then capable of the disciplined implementation of that programme.

Workers in struggle are not looking for a discussion shop - they are looking for

a serious leadership organisation.

We have to take the question of government and the struggle inside the Labour Party very seriously.

If Thatcher is removed in the course of the wages struggle this winter or even if she is removed at the next election and a Labour government elected, what kind of Labour government is it going to be?

That is the issue which lies behind Tony Benn's challenge for the deputy leadership and all the recent struggles on democracy.

Will the policies decided by the Labour Party conference be the ones contained in the party manifesto and carried out by a Labour government - or will the right wing leadership go their own way as they have in the past.

Rocked

We have supported the democratic reforms and the Benn campaign all the way and will continue to do so. The democracy movement that he has come to represent has rocked the labour movement to its foundations, not just the Labour Party, but the trade unions as well.

It means we can now fight for the kind of policies we want to see a future Labour government adopt.

But Tony Benn is not a Marxist. We strongly disagree with the programme he advocates for a future Labour government.

As everyone knows he stands on the alternative economic strategy which does not challenge capitalism and contains reactionary nationalistic demands like import controls. Tony Benn makes the nationalistic call for a national liberation struggle in Britain.

Whilst supporting Tony Benn as the best of the lefts and recognising his contribution to democracy, we fight relentlessly against such positions. They are not just inadequate, they are wrong. They lead right back into the capitalist blind alley of reformism.

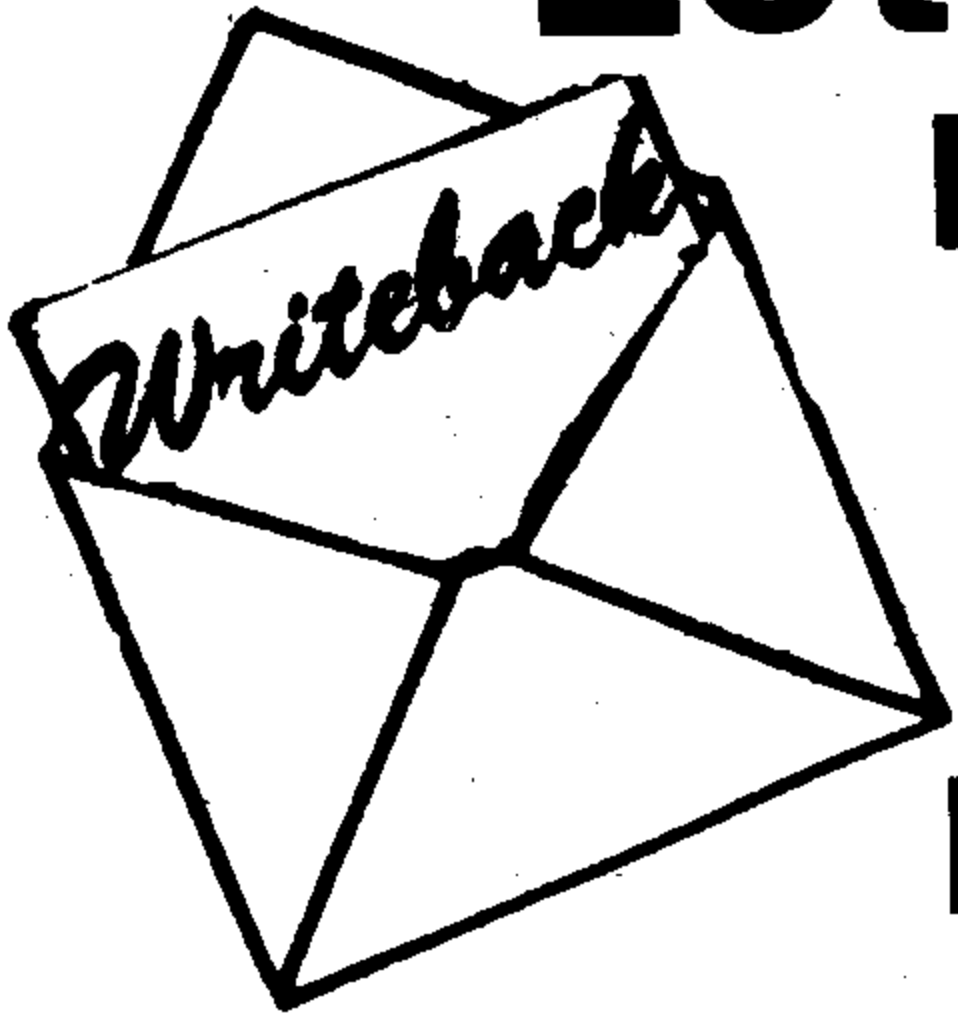
Goal

We have to fight not for a Labour government of the old type - or a left Labour government to implement the Alternative Economic Strategy - but for a workers' commitment - a government committed to the working class, responsive to the labour movement and controlled by it.

To the left in the Labour Party we say the same as we say to the left in the unions - we will fight with you all the way on democracy. We will fight with you against racism and fascism. If you will stand with us we will stand with you in solidarity with all workers in struggle.

But there is a difference between us - and we make no bones about it. We are Marxists. We are revolutionaries. Our strategic goal is workers power. We will not go just a part of the way - or even half of the way - we are going all the way and we are going to build the party to do it.

Letters



Writeback to
Socialist Organiser
28 Middle Lane
London N8

Critical support to Bani-Sadr?

I WOULD like to comment on two letters in Socialist Organiser no.54.

First, Carol Hobbs' letter concerning the Laurence Scott strike. She writes: "Workers like those at LSE slow off the mark as they might be..."

Presumably comrade Hobbs does not intend to imply that the LSE workers were "slow off the mark", but that is what she says. Such a claim is ludicrous and the workers at LSE who saw the letter were rightly offended by it.

One of them said to me, "tell Carol Hobbs not to show her face here again"

Break

Second the letter from the 'Unity of Communist Militants' of Iran. They describe the Mojahedeen as "petty-bourgeois", intending to organise a coup rather than an uprising, and denounce them for going into an alliance with Bani Sadr rather than themselves and organisations such as Peykar and Komala.

If we were in Iran, perhaps we would have sharp differences with the Mojahedeen over practical day-to-day politics. It may be that given differences we have over the strategy for socialist revolution in Iran, that at some stage a serious break would be necessary between ourselves and the Mojahedeen.

Certainly there is already

a huge gulf between us concerning religion.

But it is false to claim that the Mojahedeen are interested only in a coup to install themselves and Bani-Sadr. Were that the case, they could possibly achieve it tomorrow. They are a genuine mass revolutionary organisation, who at this point in time - whatever future disagreements we may have, whatever the differences there might be between us, were we actually fighting together - are leading, with great heroism, the struggle against Khomeini.

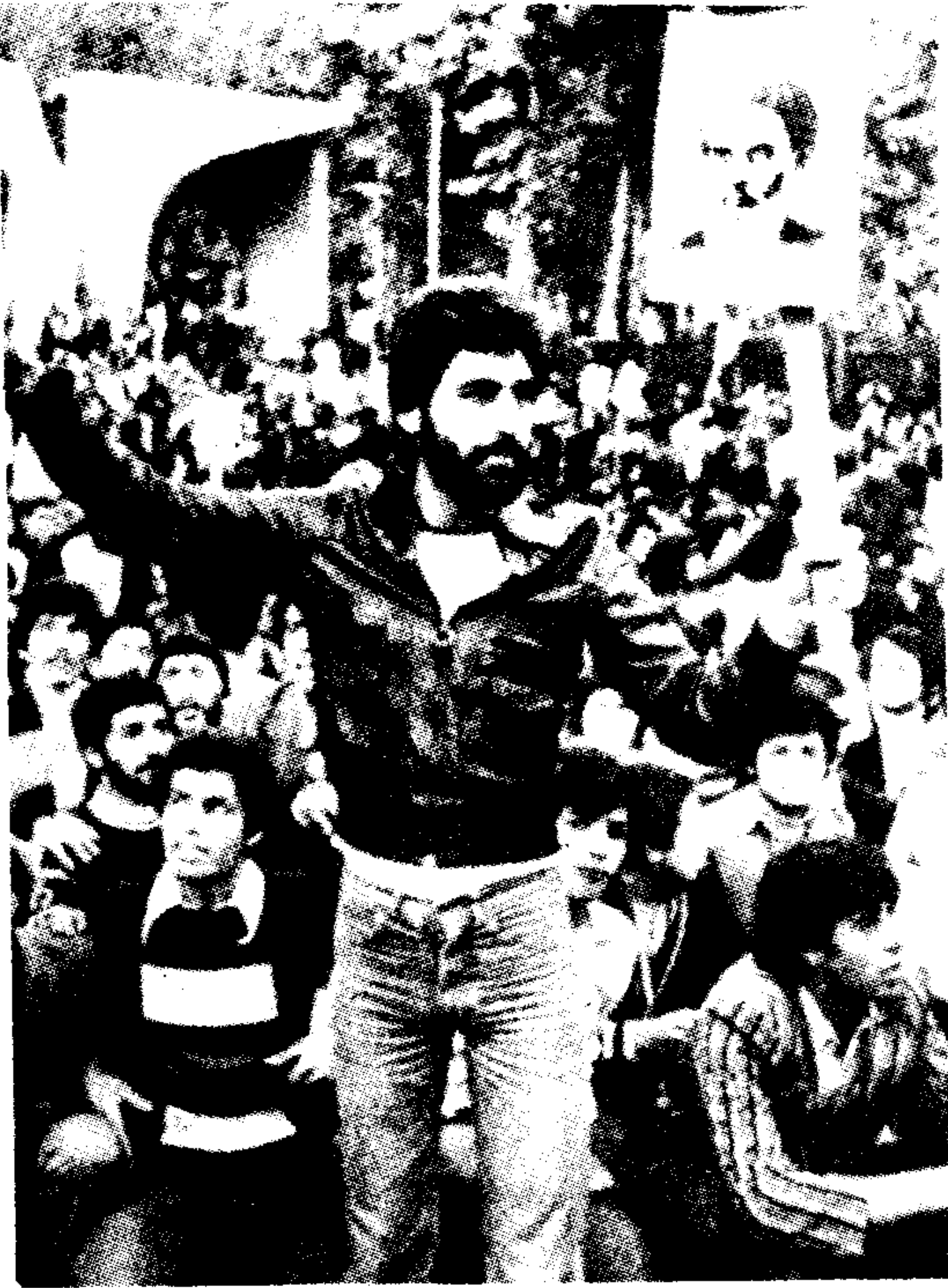
If Bani-Sadr wants to support a programme of democratic demands now, why not use him to unite broad opposition forces?

The Mojahedeen recognise that a break with Bani-Sadr will be necessary sooner or later. We think sooner rather than later. But the National Council of Resistance - or more particularly the local councils in Iran are of major significance.

Different

Revolutionaries, I think, should seek to build them, and would collaborate with the Mojahedeen in doing so. Perhaps we would discover that we have a different strategic notion of the role of the councils after Khomeini's overthrow.

We almost certainly would place more emphasis on criticising Bani-Sadr and



combating his politics. But to say that the Mojahedeen are just 'liberals' or that they should go into an alliance with the UCM, Peykar or Komala is ludicrous.

All those organisations are small and denounce the Mojahedeen, more often than not, as counter-revolutionaries. It is not up to the Mojahedeen to seek a united front with them, but rather up to them to seek a united front with the Mojahedeen.

That they refuse to do so is an indication of their own sectarianism.

At this distance I am not convinced that the Mojahedeen has not compromised itself - but nor am I convinced that it has.

CLIVE BRADLEY

Not so far out?

IN REPLY to David Herincx's letter in Socialist Organiser (October 1) I would like to put across my own view.

First, as a Class Fighter supporter, I did not vote for the letter to be written as published. The only thing I voted for was that a letter should be written to say that Alexis Carras should not have written the article without finding out all the correct facts.

As the letter implies, I

was not "merely" told I could not sell SO alongside Militant supporters, but received a very confused phone call which said I could not sell papers under the YS name. After a few hours this was taken back by another YS member.

Dave's letter says Welwyn and Hatfield YS does not have any Militant speakers as Class Fighter are in the majority. Our YS does not have any Class Fighter speakers as Militant are in

(Majority), CP, WRP, IMG and RCG about their taking sides with either bourgeoisie or petty-bourgeoisie, and have emphasised the need for independent organisation of the working class, they have also made some critical mistakes.

Firstly, the analysis has equated armed struggle with terrorism, and then contrasted it to popular resistance or mass uprising. This is wrong. Armed struggle is only part of the resistance movement and its aim is to break the atmosphere of terror and repression organised by the government.

So it is not the main and only tactic adopted by the

revolutionary organisations, and everybody, even the bourgeoisie Bani-Sadr, knows that it cannot replace the popular uprising. (Read his letter to Khomeini).

Secondly, a mass uprising does not necessarily mean a progressive movement. It is the nature of the movement that we should be concerned with. So it is mere populism to quote: "But the point is that the Mojahedeen do not want a mass uprising..."

Thirdly, on what grounds do you assume that they do not want a mass uprising?

They do want it, but under their own leadership, and this is where the communists should put their own proletarian alternative to that of the Mojahedeen.

Lurch

This they can do by distinguishing and showing differences between Bani-Sadr and the Mojahedeen both in terms of social and international relations as well as exposing the Mojahedeen leaders' lurch to the right in order to attract and bring those existing revolutionary elements inside the Mojahedeen under a communist platform.

Fourthly, it is very easy, even for a Marxist beginner, to quote: "Indeed the vacillating social forces, i.e. the petty-bourgeoisie, must make a choice one day, between the working class and the bourgeoisie, and then go on to say 'Mojahedeen have made their choice'."

Comrades! Communists are not narrators of the events. Your duty is to interpret and analyse the situation in order to change it.

What have Komala, Peykar and Unity of Communist Militants done in order to change this unholy alliance except labelling and branding the Mojahedeen organisation - as a whole and not just their leadership - as 'petty bourgeois', 'bourgeois democrat', etc?

Why should they seek an alliance with you when with such positions you repel them towards Bani-Sadr?

What attempts have you made to unite the left and make a proletarian alternative, let alone attract the Mojahedeen towards you?

Democratic

Fifthly, we are astonished that you call yourselves supporters of the Unity of Communist Militants as we believed that they were more democratic and if those comrades had written such a letter, after the sentence "the existing revolutionary Marxist forces like Komala, Peykar and the Unity of Communist Militants", they would have at least put an "etc." or would have mentioned others such as OIPFG (Minority), Organisation of Communist Unity, Rahe Kargar, Left Unity, Razmandegan, Independent Working Class Movement, Nabard Communist Group, etc., etc.

Finally, as anxious Iranian students in Britain about the happenings in Iran, we are always happy to help comrades in the publication of their translated Iranian communist literature so long as it further fortifies the class struggle in Iran and elsewhere.

Long live international solidarity!

Long live proletarian democracy!

Long live socialism!

SOCIETY OF IRANIAN STUDENTS IN LONDON (LEFT PLATFORM)

Over-optimism

IT IS worth pointing out the moral of the Labour Party Conference and that your analysis of the prospects for socialists within the Bennite Left of the Labour Party were over-optimistic.

Your analysis - and that of others who saw opportunity within Bennism - rested on the inactivity of the bulk of the Labour Party membership and that, therefore, only a small minority need to be socialist to get a majority of activists.

What you failed to realise was that though the Labour



Right will never act to fight the Tories, they will always act and act most vigorously to counter any "threat" from socialists.

LAURENS OTTER
Wellington

Marxism and armed struggle

John Kelly (Writeback, last week) exposes the paralytic Parliament-centred politics of the Militant with a neat comparison of a quote from Militant and a quote from Trotsky.

But he also adds a quote rejecting the ballot-box 'road to socialism' from Provisional Sinn Fein - implying that though Militant are not really Marxist, the Provisionals are.

I think that another couple of quotes would be in order to balance the picture.

"Here then is the immense difference between the socialist republican and our friends the physical force men.

"The latter, by stifling all discussions of principle, earn the passive and fleeting commendation of the unthinking multitude; the former by insisting upon a thorough understanding of their basic principles, do not so readily attract the multitude, but do attract and hold the more thoughtful amongst them.

"It is the difference between a mob in revolt and an army in preparation. The mob who cheer a speaker

referring to the hopes of a physical force movement would, in the very hour of apparent success, be utterly disorganised and divided by the passage through the British legislature of any trumpery home rule bill.

"The army of class-conscious workers... strong in their knowledge of economic truth and firmly grounded in their revolutionary principles, would remain unaffected by any such manoeuvre and, knowing it would not change their position as a subject class, would still press forward resolute and undivided, with their faces set towards their only hope of emancipation..."

(Connolly)

"Marxism is quite far from the thought that armed conflict is the only revolutionary method, or a panacea good under all conditions. Marxism in general knows no fetishes, neither parliamentary nor insurrectional."

(Trotsky)

COLIN FOSTER
London

Cracking the problem!

SOMETIMES I can scarcely resist gloating over the problems of the US Nuclear Power Industry (USNPI). It's a self-satisfied "We told you so!" syndrome that those on the left and in the environmental movement have a tendency to exhibit, being rarely involved in making decisions about industrial or environmental policy.

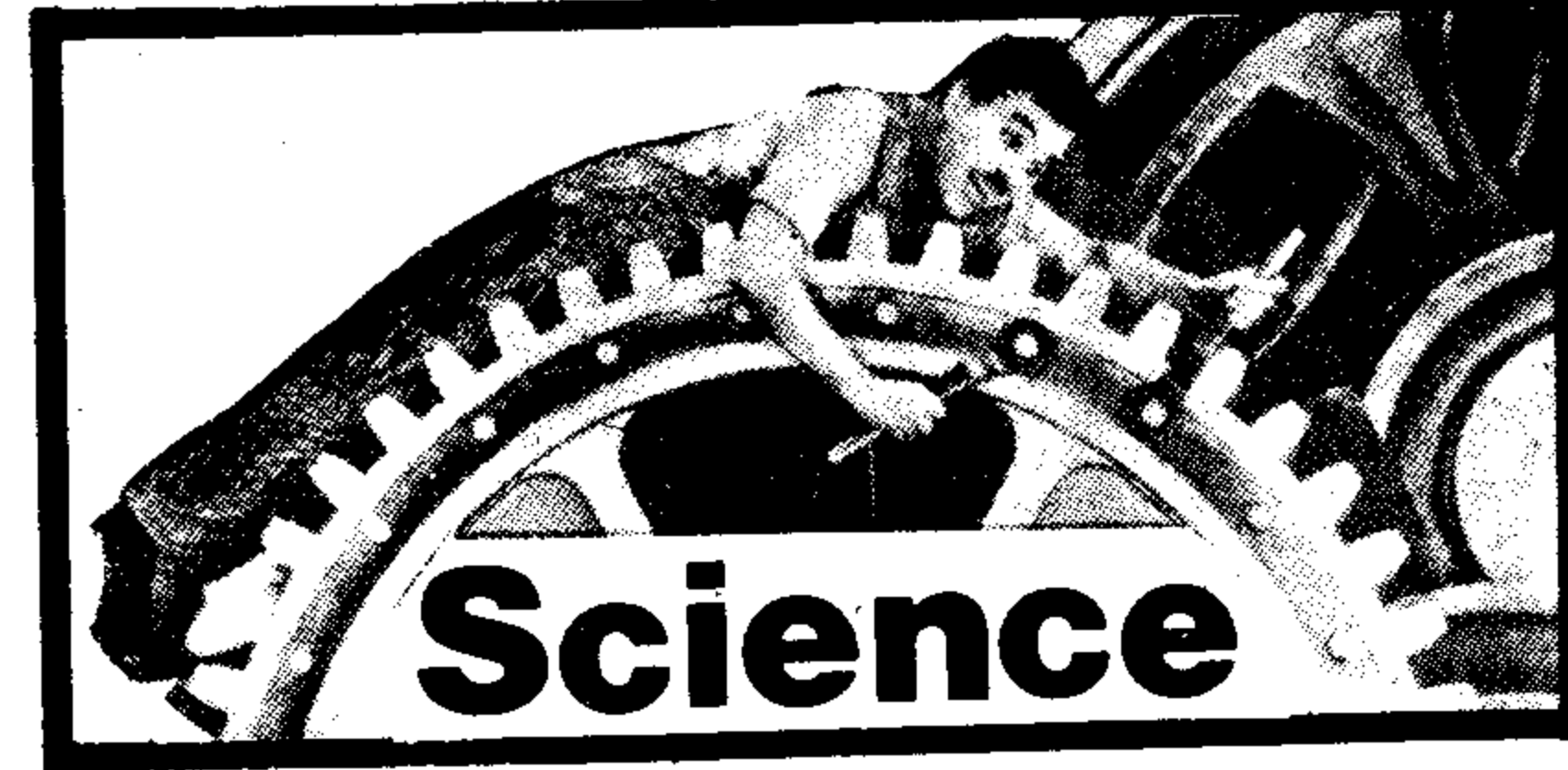
Anyway, they (the USNPI) are in more trouble. The Director of Safety Technology for the US Nuclear Regulatory Commission, Dr. Thomas Murley, says that radiation is fast making reactor steel brittle and liable to crack under stress.

Dr Murley would go so far as to say "we'd get very nervous after another year or so." Now, you would imagine that, since radioactive

fuel tends to produce radiation and since the steel containment vessels tend to be subjected to rather a lot of radiation, containing as they do, the radioactive fuel, nuclear plant constructors would check thoroughly the long term effect of this radiation on this steel. Well, apparently not so.

The 8-inch thick steel shells were designed to withstand operating temperatures of 550 degrees Fahrenheit and about 150 times normal atmospheric pressure and to last the lifetime of the reactor - about 40 years.

Sometimes the reactor shell is rapidly cooled (when the emergency core cooling system comes into action, for example) and it is then that the steel is likely to burst if it has become brittle.



This new problem may affect about 46 of the 74 pressurised water reactors (PWRs) in the US. I don't know if this includes the 17 PWRs at risk from rusting mentioned last week, but in any case it could well be a death blow to the USNPI.

News

To cap that comes the news that just as the last of the protestors against the Diablo Canyon Nuclear Power Station in California has been evicted from the plant, serious errors in the construction of the plant have been uncovered.

While police were arresting 1850 demonstrators, engineers were checking the earthquake safety supports for pipes in the reactor's

back-up cooling systems. These would be crucial to provide emergency cooling for the core if an earthquake knocked out the primary cooling system. This might not be so serious were Diablo Canyon not a mere 2 1/2 miles from an active earthquake faultline.

The braces for the cooling pipes appear to have been attached the wrong way round so that some pipes are stronger than necessary while others are weaker. Engineers constructing the system appear to have used plans for the second reactor on the cooling system for the first reactor. Whose side are they on?

by Les Hearn

THE TRANSITIONAL PROGRAM FOR SOCIALIST REVOLUTION
LEON TROTSKY

30p from Socialist Organiser,
28 Middle Lane, London N8



Gay Rights A Manifesto that leaves out sexual oppression

Stand against the monarchy

WHEN reading "Where We Stand" in last week's paper, I was reminded of Engels' critique of the Erfurt programme of the German Social Democratic Party (at the time the leading vanguard party of Marxism), specifically on the question of the monarchy.

Engels considered it vital that the party should be clearly seen as republican, saying "After all it is inconceivable that our best people should serve as ministers under a Kaiser."

The SPD only declared a republic in 1918 because they were scared that if they didn't Karl Liebknecht and the Spartacusbund would.

The British monarchy is serving the capitalist system well as an opium for the masses as shown by the Silver Jubilee and the Royal Wedding.

And, of course, with the monarchy is the House of Lords, that Tory watchdog of the system. The abolition of both must be included in our platform.

Socialist Organiser has itself recognised the absence of republicanism from the Labour Party. We must fight against it, and the illusions that cause it.

Comradely greetings
CHARLIE SARRELL



JOHN SHIERS contributes the Labour Campaign for Gay Rights column this week.

THERE WILL be much argument on the left about whether the recently published book, "Manifesto. A Radical Strategy for Britain's Future" does, or does not, constitute the beginnings of a transitional, socialist strategy and the basis for the policies of a left-wing Labour government.

One issue which will hardly be discussed is the exclusion of any strategy in the short or long term, for ending discrimination against lesbians and gay men and establishing the preconditions for gay liberation.

In the book, the words "lesbian", "gay", even "sexuality" do not figure at all in the index. Homosexuality is mentioned in passing once, with reference to the liberal reforms implemented by the Wilson government.

This presumably means the private members bill, introduced in 1967 by Leo Abse, which the Labour Government generously 'found time' for. It legalised male homosexual relationships provided they were in private, over the age of 21 in England and Wales but not at all in Scotland and Northern Ireland and not in the armed forces or the merchant navy.

The whole purpose of the legislation was to tolerate those men who, by 21, had become "helpless cases" so long as they "did it" in private and didn't "flaunt themselves" in public or encourage others in their "perverted ways".

It rigidly upheld the superiority and normality of heterosexuality and continued to perpetuate the conspiracy of silence

surrounding lesbian sexuality which was the reason why lesbian relationships were not criminalised in the first place. Homosexual equality was the furthest thing from the minds of our enlightened liberal reformers at this time.

Considerable effort is made in Manifesto to recognise that the labour movement, traditionally, has been predominantly white and male dominated. It recognises that there must be positive action to redress discrimination against ethnic minorities and women.

Encouraging greater involvement in the Labour Party and the trade unions is also seen as a priority, as the following passage shows.

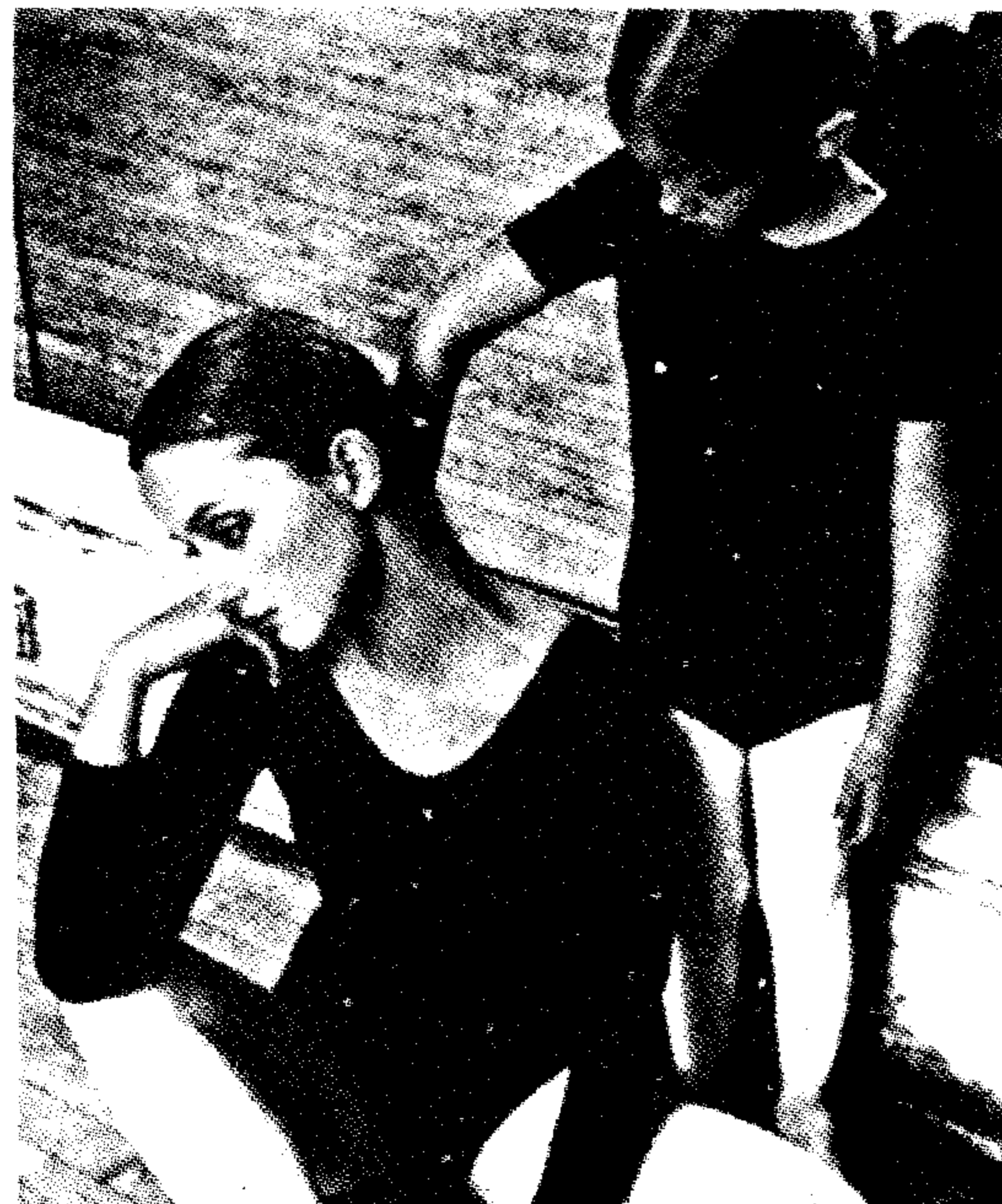
"The Labour Party of the future must adopt again a class strategy and accord a full place to the groups of people who most feel themselves oppressed by the shape of the post-war society - especially women, ethnic minorities and the elderly."

"These are just as important as the male manual workers and dissident middle class who have hitherto composed the main strength of the party."

(Manifesto, pp.118/9) Disregarding whether "the shape of post-war society" can be regarded as the primary element in these oppressions, it is clear that the authors do not consider it affects lesbians and gay men significantly enough for us to be included as one of the groups accorded a full place in the newly invigorated Labour Party.

The central problems of all this is that the left, as a whole, with a very few notable exceptions such as Ken Livingstone, simply does not understand what sexual politics is all about.

Civil rights for sexual minorities, which is what



Gay Liberation was always about a lot more than gay rights and links

gay rights implies, just does not seem important when compared with major structural inequalities like those between classes, races and the sexes.

Yet "gay liberation" was the first political expression of the current wave of gay self-organisation in Western Europe, and the USA, and remains the goal of lesbian feminists and the radical wing of the gay male movement, even if the means by which this is seen as being achieved have changed.

very directly into the socialist feminist current of the women's liberation movement.

It is the failure of Manifesto to develop a socialist feminist analysis in relation to the oppression of women which is not only closely connected, but actually accounts for its silence on the question of gay oppression.

There is no account in the book of sexism, beyond a statement of the persistence of massive discrimination against women, reinforced by the State throughout society.

Providing equal opportunities for women, if necessary by positive discrimination, and removing all discriminatory laws and practices are seen as the actions a left Labour government must take to advance women's rights.

Important as taking these actions quite clearly is, they are only the beginning, not the end. Without a strategy to attack sexism and the processes through which gender roles are created and reinforced through the family, education, the media and culture, male dominance will not be removed from society.

This is the insight of the feminist movement that the left ignores at its peril.

It is also the key to understanding what gay liberation is all about. We are working towards a society in which heterosexuality, as an exclusive sexual orientation is no longer coerced onto girls and boys by a socialisation process which at the same time as it creates "masculine" and "feminine" personalities through gender roles, makes human sexuality procreation-centred by teaching us only to eroticise the opposite sex unless something goes "wrong".

To live together as equal human beings we need to be able to love one another regardless of our gender and part of this includes the capacity to eroticise our own sex.

Gay liberation, then, is ultimately about a society where heterosexuality is no longer compulsory, where gender no longer shapes our capacity to relate emotionally and sexually to other people and where, therefore, the labels this society uses to define and channel sexual and emotional capacities - "homosexual", "heterosexual", "bisexual" wither away because they are no longer

needed. Achieving "gay rights" for the "gay minority" is, therefore, just the beginning of a long process, just like achieving "women's rights" through the means outlined in Manifesto is just the start for women's liberation.

Manifesto's model of transition to socialism and, it seems, socialism itself, is uncritically heterosexual - family oriented as the concluding chapters of the book make clear time and time again.

Women, having got their rights, are presumably now happy to build democratic socialism in partnership with their husbands. Lesbians and gay men are consigned to their ghettos somewhere else, well away from the children.

Perhaps we may even have been benevolently given our legal rights in the later phases of the transition when there's time between all the other priority issues.

If I sound angry, it's not because Manifesto is a particularly bad book. I probably agree with far more of its general economic and political strategy than the average reader of Socialist Organiser does.

Integrate

It's because we in the gay movement are tired of always having to literally be present in a room for you on the left to ever take our needs and concerns seriously.

"Soft left"; "hard left"; Bennites, Trotskyists, libertarians: it's the same old story. The body of theory and action which has emerged from the socialist feminist current of the women's movement and the gay liberationist current of the gay movement continues to be largely unread and ignored by the mainstream left.

Tacking us on at the bottom of a long statement about all the groups who will be liberated by socialist revolution isn't enough. We want you to integrate an awareness of our oppression into your theory and political practice.

Will there be a strategy for the achievement of feminism and gay liberation in your next manifesto?

(Manifesto: A Radical Strategy for Britain's Future by Francis Cripps, John Griffith, Frances Morrell, Jimmy Reid, Peter Townsend and Stuart Weir, Pan paperback, £1.95.



RED ROCK

...searing analysis...
Hi-Fi Today

THE reactionaries who are in favour of racism and nuclear bombs have hardly a toehold in rock culture.

The reason is obvious enough. Rock music is largely the concern of youth so to a great extent it reflects the present consciousness of youth.

When it comes to racism and nuclear war - which the overwhelming majority of young people are definitely against - these views are expressed in rock music.

Television's so-called discussion programmes are notorious for having as their 'members of the public' participants a bunch of middle class white idiots.

So I was amazed watching 'Devil's Advocate' (ITV, Sunday 4 October) to see as

the participating audience a genuine, lively multi-racial audience of unemployed youth who were (to an extent) able to speak freely their own minds. At the end of the programme a series of votes was taken and a massive 90% majority voted in favour of stopping all racist organisations and their literature.

And on the nuclear war front the Tories have deemed fit to launch what they describe as a "propaganda war" against, presumably, people who want to avoid nuclear holocaust.

According to the Tory rag, the Daily Express, such views are even "beginning to find favour with the public."

This campaign, following on from the disastrous

flop known as the Spring Offensive, is to be known as Nott's (he's the Defence Secretary) Autumn Offensive.

It is to be primarily aimed at young people who no doubt will still march in their hundreds of thousands on the CND march on October 24 despite the media being filled with Soviet threat scares.

Even so, the Tories may well have the mass media at their finger tips but one thing they can't do is organise rock concerts which catch the imagination and creativity of youth. This is left to campaigns like Rock Against Racism and No Nukes Music. Both have planned impressive autumn concerts.

Rock Against Racism is now putting on the 'Anger on the Road' tour which is coinciding with this year's Right to Work march on the Tory Party conference in Blackpool. The concerts are free to people on the dole and only a couple of quid to the rest of us.

Reggae

The excellent reggae group Aswad headlined the first gig at Manchester Poly on 10 October, and along the route there were many other concerts featuring local groups and the better-known Mo-dettes.

In fact you might still be in time to go to the eve-of-the-rally-show at Blackpool's Squires Club on

Friday October 15 with Coup de Grace, Column and Zero Sounds before the lobby itself starts.

Elsewhere, No Nukes Music is gathering a reputation via local gigs, badges and a newly launched (and very good, too) fanzine called 'Rebel with a Brain'.

Also, two concerts to help raise money for the CND march are being held. Birthday Party and Maximum Joy are playing the Brixton Town Hall on Saturday October 16 and the day before the march itself, in London, the Gang of Four and Theatre of Hate play the Rainbow.

P.S. More detailed information on RAR and NNM coming up shortly!





WHAT'S ON

"BUILD A FIGHTING LEFT!"
 Socialist Organiser Public Meeting
 Tuesday October 20 at 7.30 pm
 Speakers
 Alan Thornett (TGWU Deputy Convenor BL Cowley Assembly Plant in a personal capacity)
 Rachel Lever (Secretary, Women's Fight-back Campaign)
 Dr Johnson House Colmore Circus, BIRMINGHAM

LABOUR AND THE FIGHT FOR JOBS
 Thursday 22 October 7.30 pm North Islington Library, Manor Gardens, off Holloway Road
 Speakers include Laurence Scotts (invited) Alan Thornett Mick Woods (St Mary's Hospital Occupation Committee) Maureen Leigh, Islington North CLP
 Sponsored by Socialist Organiser and local labour movement bodies

NATIONAL UNEMPLOYED WORKERS MOVEMENT
 National Conference 31 October-1 November Goldsmith College Student Union
 New Cross, London
 Full details available from Leicester UWU, c/o 52, Wyville Row, Leicester
 Tel: 0533-898324

Anti-Apartheid Movement
 Conference: Sunday November 1, 10 to 5.30 at Westminster Cathedral Conference Centre, Morpeth Terrace, SW1.
 Open to all AAM members: details, AAM, 89 Charlotte St, W1.

DEMONSTRATION
 "Stop the deportation of Nasreen Akhtar"
 Saturday 17 October Assemble 2 pm at Church Stile, behind Town Hall
 Rochdale

Highgate/Archway Anti-Apartheid Group Workshop on Southern Africa for beginners:
 Monday 19 October, at Archway Development Education Centre, 173 Archway Road.
 Film programme at Jacksons Lane Community Centre, Archway Rd, N6: Tuesdays at 8pm, tel. 340 5226.

LAMBETH SOCIALIST ORGANISER
 Educational Programme
 October 25: Labour Theory of Value
 November 29: State and Revolution.
 December 20: The Russian Revolution
 January 31: Stalinism.
 February 28: The Origins of the Labour Party.
 All meetings start at 7.00 pm. For further details phone 609 3071.

JOHN HARRIS



UNION BLACKING in support of the Liverpool typists' strike has now resulted in 50 suspensions from the Treasury Department of Liverpool City Council.
 As management moved in last Friday to suspend the 50 from various departments, 500 other Treasury workers struck for the day. They have now returned to work, but the 50 are still out and receiving full pay from the union.
 The typists themselves received a big boost when they

started getting full pay from the union this week. But a hoped-for link-up with workers from the Parks and Gardens Department failed to materialise when they settled their claim without taking strike action.
 Pressure on Liverpool City Council to settle the dispute is now mounting and it may be only a matter of time before they are forced to make concessions.
 CHRIS ERSWELL

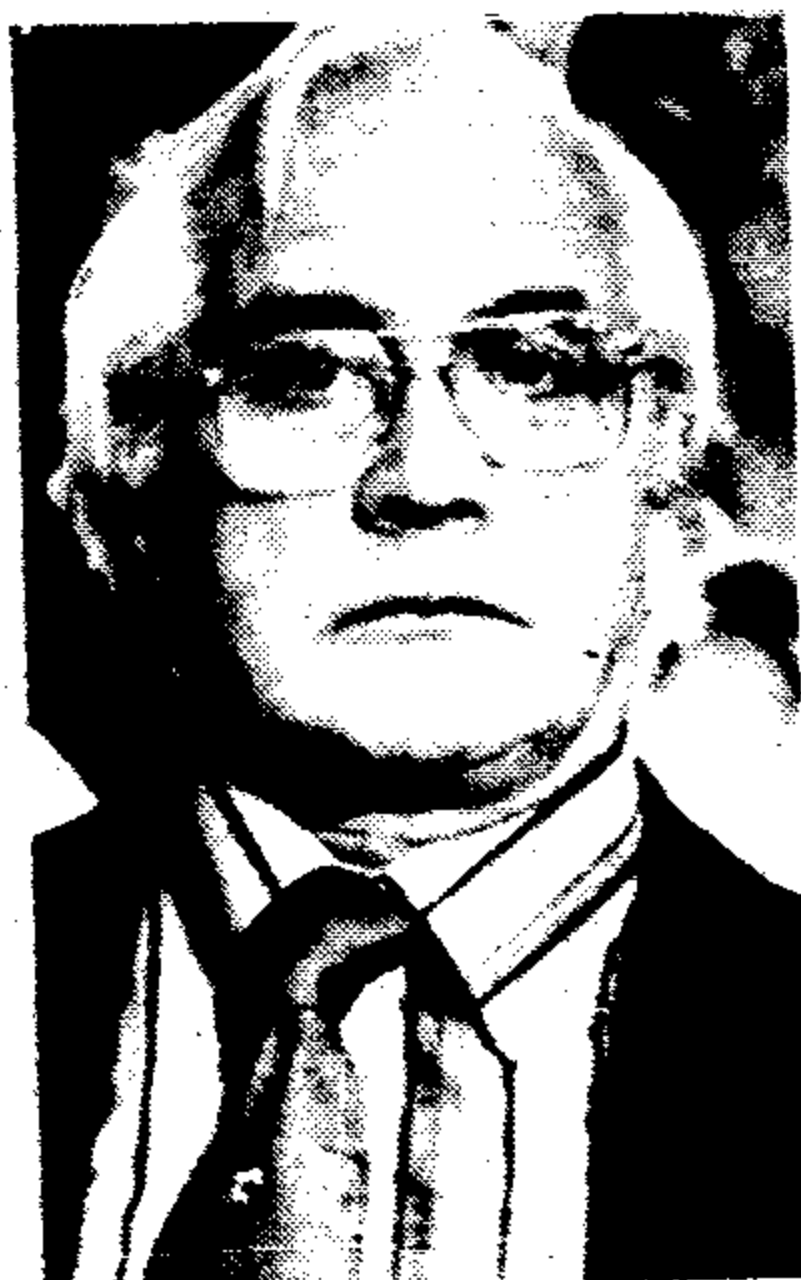
Times: war on jobs stepped up

If anyone at Times Newspapers had illusions that the defeat of the Sunday Times machine minders was over pay differentials, they were rudely disabused within minutes of a return to work.

Almost simultaneously with announcements that the dispute had been settled on terms which gave Rupert Murdoch complete victory, Murdoch announced that he wanted wholesale job-cutting throughout the production departments including 50% reduction in some areas.

The dispute has shown in miniature the problems that workers fighting to preserve jobs and living standards have in combatting their own officials. The settlement - in reality a complete and utter defeat - was drawn up by the NGA leadership and delivered by Len Murray, the TUC general secretary who has never been on a day's strike in his life.

It was served up to a chorus of anti NGA ranting from Owen O'Brien,



NATSOPA leader Owen O'Brien gave hardly-concealed encouragement to the Times bosses

NATSOPA general secretary.

The machine minders had gone into dispute over pay differentials over the NATSOPA machine operators. But what was really at stake was manning levels. NATSOPA members had been given a pay rise as part of a deal involving job cuts, and the NGA chapel had refused to accept cuts among its own number.

Chapel

To win back the differential might have been the aim of the chapel, but its significance was that it would have meant a pay rise without selling jobs. It was for that reason - and not because of any fears of leap-frogging - that motivated the Times' management stand.

The machine minders never threatened a strike - but merely threatened to work to contract, a step that would have lost the Sunday Times a large number of copies. It proved a dangerous hesitation.

The chapel seemed taken aback by the suddenness of the management decision to suspend all staff; a move relying on the divisions between the chapels and between the unions at national level.

Rabbits

But if the chapel was taken aback, their officials were popping up on TV screens like frightened rabbits. The deal that was struck between NGA leaders and Murdoch allowed only for tripartite talks between Murdoch, the NGA and NATSOPA. Not only would NATSOPA have had an objective interest in siding with Murdoch in these talks, but it was reported that

Murdoch had already secured the agreement of the NGA leadership that the talks would not lead to any more money being paid.

Even as the chapel rejected the deal the members made it tragically clear that they were about to be defeated. They were prepared to accept the deal but not to allow their FoC, Vic Dunn, to sign it.

When the settlement was finally agreed, Len Murray was an extra signatory and Dunn was forced to write to Murdoch saying he had authorised NGA officials to sign on the chapel's behalf.

He said "We have an acceptance that the chapel will be going back with some sort of dignity." That was not true.

As a symbolic gesture, rubbing in the defeat, the Times published a facsimile of Dunn's signature to illustrate the story of the chapel's defeat.

The dispute is significant not just for opening the way for several hundred redundancies. A clause

threatening to suspend all staff if any section went into dispute had been one of the main aims of Murdoch during his first talks with the Times and Sunday Times chapels.

He had dropped it in theory only to implement it in practice. Now he says he will immediately sack the next section which challenges his edict and ask the rest of the workforce to scab.

What have the unions to say in reply? Len Murray was anxious to deny that he had discussed withdrawing the NGA members' cards but it makes little difference whether he did or didn't. Either way he was Murdoch's most effective negotiating weapon.

The NGA officials, including close CP sympathisers proved themselves completely incapable of standing up to Murdoch.

If it was Murdoch threatening the sack, it was the union officials who became the guardians to police the deal.

Cowley strikers return

by Bill Peters

THE NINE-day old strike by workers from the Acclaim and Princess tracks at the BL Cowley Assembly plant ended last Friday after dismissal notices had been sent out to the 750 workers in dispute.

The strike, over the loss of a day's pay in breach of lay-off agreements, was very militant, with a large picket maintained on the gates throughout.

Despite the militancy, however, the strikers were split at a mass meeting last Thursday, when the AUEW Executive issued an order instructing their members - about one third of the strikers - back to work.

Although the mood of the meeting was strongly for

continuing the action, continuous pressure from the platform for a return to work eventually split the meeting, which voted by a majority of only three to continue the strike.

The split vote, and the AUEW instruction, was more than enough to give Edwardes the cue to send out sacking notices. An emergency meeting was called on Friday afternoon to make a collective response to the sackings.

There clearly had to be either a good majority for a continued strike, or a return to work on Monday morning. The convenors urged a return to work, and the meeting eventually voted to go back by a majority of two to one.

MAKE SCOTT STRIKE OFFICIAL!

by Clive Bradley

THE CAMPAIGN is building up to make the Laurence Scotts dispute official again.

Both the Manchester area Confed and the Manchester North District AUEW are behind the strikers. As we go to press, it seems likely that the Final Appeal Court on Thursday 13th will make the workers' action official.

If this occurs, the strike will gain new life. Strike pay will be resumed, and the resources to carry out essential actions such as picketing at the Doncaster plant will be made available again. The crime is that the dispute should ever have been made unofficial.

The role of certain union leaderships is still bad. At the last ASTMS NC to discuss the question, Jenkins argued that the LSE workers had ignored the advice of their own union and were influenced by "outsiders". ASTMS have used the smallness of their own numbers in the dispute to argue that they have no influence.

A conference has been organised to build support for the LSE workers within the labour movement. This will be on November 14 at UMIST and will be open to all LSE supporters. This is important and should be used to build Manchester-wide action against redundancies.



Chapple strikes again!

"THE Executive Council's policy of closing lodges and branches has not been in the best interests of the membership and should be reversed."

This resolution, from the North London Lodge of the EETPU, was carried at the union's conference this May, but a little thing like that doesn't stop Frank Chapple.

The North London Lodge has now been singled out as one of the first to be closed down in a new round of attacks on left wing branches.

The lodge, run by lay

officials, will be split up and many of its members placed in an 'industrial lodge' run by a full-time official.

Many glaziers in North London will be shoved into the Catford lodge on the southern outskirts of London.

Chapple's aim is simply to stop the members being able to have any say in their union - especially if they are left wingers. North London's secretary Tom Painter explained "It is progressive lodges such as us which are closed while so-called moderate ones like the

plumbers lodge in South London are left alone."

Another victim of Chapple's axe is to be the Central London (electricians) branch, already suspended for refusing an EC diktat to pack out Labour Party bodies with his hand-picked right wingers. It is set to be merged into a 16,000 member super-branch, again run by a full-time official.

But Central London has already shown that Chapple can be fought. Its campaign against suspension has already won growing support

from the EETPU's membership, fed up at being deprived of their rights.

The job that militants in the union have now is to bring together all the lodges and branches faced with the axe into a campaign that can stop Chapple destroying our union.

Our Lodge was told "It will all be over by Christmas" - they said that in 1914 about the First World War!

by a member of EETPU North London Lodge

Industrial News

ALL OUT TO DEFEND SHIPYARD

Staffa workforce sit-in to save jobs

by Lol Duffy

JOBS!

THE third in a series of one-day strikes took place last Monday throughout British Shipbuilders. The strikes are being supported by all the BS yards apart from a majority of workers in certain unions in the Vickers shipyard, Barrow.

The unions involved include the Boilermakers, the Joiners and the GMWU.

Despite appeals at mass meetings in Vickers last week by the Shipbuilding Negotiating Committee and the stewards, the majority still decided to turn in even though a picket has been mounted by stewards in the affected unions and other unions in the yard.

Vickers have been told that 400 jobs will be lost in the yard by the end of this year.

The national overtime ban is 100% solid. On the Tyne mass meetings were held when it was heard that BS plan to get rid of more jobs in ship repairing if the action continues.

The mass meeting decided to keep on supporting action. At a time when workers are suffering massive cuts in living standards by the Tories, the one-day-a-week tactic was seen to be

SPEKE AXED

BL announced today that they intend to close the Speke Number 2 plant with the loss of 900 jobs.

As yet there has been no reaction from the unions apart from proposals to discuss.

Speke No. 1 plant closed two years ago.

affecting the workers as much if not more than BS.

Obviously strikes will affect the workers but they should be fought to win and not be used as excuses by national officials who can see no way out for Robb Caledon in Dundee.

The way things are, the one day strikes can go on for a long time without much result except for growing antagonism from the shop floor, especially near Christmas.

Atkinson, chairperson of BS, has said that he expects the action to peter out by Christmas and he could be right unless the action is stepped up to all-out strike. In fact it could be sooner.

Some people who want the action, or at least say they want the action to succeed, say that it would not be possible to get the support from the shop floor.

If this is true then the present action is doomed to failure because no-one can go on losing one day a week and overtime indefinitely and they would be in a much more demoralised position if the call for all out action came after any lengthy period.

Robb Caledon workers have occupied their yard to stop them being forced on the dole.

If they don't win then all yards faced enforced redundancies.

The strike must become all-out action until BS withdraw the enforced redundancies.

Support needs to be sought from other industries to put pressure on BS and the government to stop their vicious attack on our jobs.

by Stephen Corbishley

"OUR STRENGTH is that we have the factory, the machines, and a warehouse full of Staffa motors". That sums up the feeling of the 220 engineering workers now in control of the Leyton factory. The American owners had planned to shut it down over the next year and a half.

Since September 29th the 400 staff and engineering workers at Staffa Ltd, manufacturers of hydraulic motors for the mines, docks, and building industry, have been fighting for their jobs.

The owners, Brown and Sharpe, took over Staffa in 1979. Within a year they had sacked the convenor, the deputy convenor, and four other stewards, and persuaded another 40 workers to take voluntary redundancy.

DOCK STRIKE

LIVERPOOL dockers began an indefinite strike on Monday over a staffing dispute.

While unloading a ship the cargo collapsed and the stewards requested four more men to help out in the unloading.

Management said they would allow two more men on the job but not four.

The unions and management have an agreement that jobs can be stacked up in cases of cargo collapse but management refused to budge on two men even though seven had been sent home unpaid on the night the ship was being unloaded.

This is in line with management policy of massively reducing the workforce and getting more work from the numbers they have left.

Everything seemed set for a bosses' victory.

In order to take advantage of a £4 million Government handout, promises of rate relief, and a £5,000 employee subsidy, the American owners also wanted to get rid of the union and move to a 'green field' site in Plymouth.

Suspicious

The company refused to discuss with the Greater London Council an exactly similar package of cash handouts that Plymouth was offering; and the stewards' suspicions grew that the company was not serious about negotiating over anything but redundancy money.

The occupation started when a mass meeting of the engineers voted five-to-one to reject a redundancy package offering twice the legal minimum plus £1,000 per man. On Friday October 1st, management were kicked out of the factory.

Since then the company has been making every effort to get a repossession order from the Courts. The staff accepted the advice of their ASTMS official and moved out of the factory; but the AUEW members, after listening to their district officials, made their own minds up, and stayed in.

The court will decide on Friday 16th whether to instruct the occupiers to move out, or to postpone the decision.

On October 13th the Staffa workers lobbied the AUEW Executive at Peckham demanding their action be made official. They have already had long talks with Laurence Scotts workers, and are in no mood to trust the AUEW leadership.

They aim to build up support from the well-organised sectors of the trade unions who work with Staffa products.

Staffa motors are essential equipment in all mines, and the NUM should immediately black all Staffa replacement motors, spares, etc., and ensure that the Coal Board buys no more Staffa motors until the workers win their demands.

Over 70 per cent of output is exported, and dockers could give vital support, too.

One feature of the occupation is the discovery of documents from Hay Communications Ltd, Grosvenor Gdns, London SW1, which have been used to train management and pro-

vide them with all the answers they need — including to questions that the shop stewards never considered asking.

Deception

The sophisticated package of deception was designed to enable the managers to push through the transfer to Plymouth.

Messages money to Chris Newson, AUEW Strike Committee, 39 Somers Rd, Walthamstow, E17. And Socialist Organiser readers in the AUEW, NUM and T&GWU should be raising the question of blacking Staffa products.

Swindon victory

A militant sit-in strike by 87 AUEW members at a small plant in Swindon has won reinstatement after two days.

They had walked out on strike in defence of their convenor, John Hackett, who was suspended by management at Kembrey Wiring.

Management immediately sacked the whole workforce. But in the face of the occupation of the plant they climbed down. Hackett, however, remains suspended on full pay pending talks between AUEW officials and the company.

GLENCROFT: NEED FOR NEW MOVE

by Stan Crooke

THE September edition of the National Union of Hosiery and Knitwear Workers Journal contained the text of a speech made by Jim Mortimer, former chairperson of ACAS, to the union's annual conference.

Mortimer, on the basis of his own experience, criticised the inability of ACAS to force employers to recognise unions in their workplace. At Grunwick, George Ward, the firm's owner, simply refused to co-operate and then completely ignored the ACAS decision in favour of the workers.

Yet at Glencroft Knitwear in Glasgow (where 15 women were sacked over two months ago for joining a union), the union leaders are still pinning their hopes on ACAS.

There is a real danger that the whole momentum of the dispute will be lost before ACAS even meets.

Already the scabs are becoming much more aggressive towards the pickets. They have been running to the police with fairy tales about pickets attacking them at the bus stop etc., with the result that police visited one of the pickets at home about this alleged incident.

And the scab lorry drivers are taking less notice of the picket lines than ever. Previously they usually made their deliveries round the back of the building to try and avoid the pickets. But now they go straight across the picket lines. The most frequent breakers of the picket lines are the Knoll Spinning Company and Salford Van Hire.

Yarn

Knoll provides the yarn to keep the firm in operation. It is a subsidiary

of Parkland Textiles (based in Albion Mills, Greengate, Bradford), a conglomerate which includes computer services, pension trusts and other textile and clothing firms amongst its other subsidiaries. The container loads of yarn from Knoll are delivered by Salford Van Hire, which operates from Sherborne Street, Manchester.

Levy

This makes new initiatives (a NUHKW weekly levy to finance the dispute, immediate blacking at the airports, "secondary picketing" of Knoll and Salford Van Hire, mass mobilisations for the picket lines, etc) more urgent than ever.

Donations to Glencroft Knitwear Dispute, c/o NUHKW, 44 Kelvingrove St., Glasgow G3 7RZ.

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BL CONVENORS

BACK STRIKE CALL

Socialist Organiser



£20 NOW!

Preparing for action

THE LEYLAND Action Committee - a group of BL workers, mainly in Cowley and Longbridge, fighting for a militant alternative to the bureaucratic official trade-union leadership - played an important role in getting the £20 claim adopted.

An LAC bulletin, outlining the issues and explaining why BL workers should steer clear from any claim relying on the bonus payments, got a good response in the factories.

Now the LAC will have crucial work to do in preparing for a strike. An LAC meeting has been called for next

Wednesday, 21st, and a new LAC bulletin is being discussed.

Contact the Leyland Action Committee c/o 194 Dawlish Road, Selly Oak, Birmingham 29.

Leyland ACTION No. 1 August 1981



Available from 194, Dawlish Road, Birmingham, 29 (send s.a.e.)

THE threatened strike by 58,000 workers in BL Cars looks likely to be on for November 1.

Last Friday, a convenors conference voted unanimously to back the strike call which has been made by the Joint Negotiating Committee, following Edwardes 3.8% offer.

On Friday of this week mass meetings in every plant will be asked to support the recommendation. A vote for strike action appears to be certain.

There has been a startling and quite unique display of militancy from the top. At the Friday meeting Grenville Hawley, the TGWU right wing national officer for the car industry, shot down a suggestion from the EETPU for a secret ballot.

He told those who were worried that bonus payments being made in some of the plants would undermine militancy that the bonus would "melt like snow in the midday sun once the review is over."

It is a very accurate statement but causes some confusion when it comes from someone with Grenville



Hawley's track record.

It certainly produced a militant response at Saturday's combine committee meeting.

Delegates known in the past for their moderation were talking about "burning down the factories if we don't win" and "fight to the

last drop of our blood".

Edwardes, meanwhile, is making his moves to try to contain the situation.

He has announced the closure of the Speke No. 1 plant which mainly makes body sub-assemblies and panels for the Mini, the Coventry Engines No. 1

plant and the Alford and Alder heavy axle plant.

Together these closures lose 2,500 jobs.

The management hand-out on the closures arrogantly points to the record of the plants concerned which, like MG Abingdon, have almost strike-free records.

They say that despite this "The harsh economic facts of high fixed costs have led to the conclusion after a very careful examination of all other possibilities, that there is no alternative to their closure."

Closures

The closures are not connected to the wage review in terms of management planning. As far as BL are concerned, the closures would take place whether the 3.8% offer is accepted or not.

They have been tactically introduced now in an attempt to undermine the strength of feeling for the strike.

As far as BL workers are concerned, stopping the closures is tied right in with the review. If Edwardes successfully imposes the 3.8% it will be very difficult to fight the closures.

But if Edwardes is beaten then those strikes could be used to stop the closures.

Edwardes is also considering a company-run postal ballot, but it is unlikely that

he will go ahead, since he would be likely to lose.

Once the strike goes ahead its problem will be one of political leadership.

Isolated

Like the steelworkers last year, the official leadership will want to keep it isolated and contained, in order to avoid a mass movement developing against the government.

The reality is that BL is the key to the public sector

pay round. If the 3.8% is imposed on BL it will be used by other leaders in the public sector to duck the issue.

BL workers, therefore, must win and they must get the backing. Ford and Vauxhall workers should join BL once the strike begins, making a strike of the bulk of the car industry.

Public service workers should not sit back and wait for their review dates to come up. They should join the BL strike once it starts.

FUND

£812 so far this month doesn't look too bad for the Fund. But it points towards a shortfall of nearly £400 on our £2,000 target for the month and to avoid real financial trouble we need to be making up for the shortfalls of previous months, not adding to them.

Socialist Organiser's efforts at the Labour Party conference - with a daily briefing and a fringe meeting - got a warm response from delegates and visitors, who put £43 into a collection on the last day of Conference. But that £43 didn't go very far towards the full cost of accommodation, paper, ink, fares, meeting rooms some £300 in all.

With the BL strike approaching, we'll have to make another major effort sending comrades round the country, extending our print run, building up big phone bills.

If you think what we do in industry and in the Labour Party is worthwhile, then help us to be able to do it! Send what you can - £50, £5, or 50p. Take a collection at your local Socialist Organiser meeting. Ask people who buy the paper regularly from you to put in a pound or two.

Send donations to: Socialist Organiser, 28 Middle Lane, London N8.

St Mary's - ALL OUT

October 19th

by Dettie Clinton

October 19 marks a new stage in the fight to maintain services at St Mary's Hospital, Harrow Road, Paddington.

The workers in the London Ambulance Service are defying their management's instruction to halt the bringing of patients into the hospital from that date.

The Area Health Authority and the Minister of Health plan to use the closure of casualty to ambulances from the 19th to get rid of over 100 beds, shift workers out of the wards and continue the vicious path towards eventual closure.

The ambulance drivers' convenors in the North West District have sent out a letter to all ambulance stations, making it clear that the only conditions in which they will refuse to bring patients in are if the power is cut off: if there is no medical cover in casualty or nursing care, or if there are no theatres.

Other grounds will not be accepted by them as reasons for not bringing patients in.

And the St Mary's workers are calling for a

mass picket at the hospital gates from 7 am onwards on the 19th.

The ambulance drivers' stand is the vital action necessary in support of the steps already being taken inside W9.

Section after section of workers have refused to be intimidated or to go along with job loss and speed up.

Determination

Domestics, auxiliaries, nurses and sisters have shown their determination to carry on the fight to save this acute hospital which serves mainly the deprived inner-city areas of Paddington and North Kensington.

Junior doctors at their mass meeting last week also pledged that they would continue treating the patients that will be brought in, and local GPs are organising to see what support

they can give.

A mass turn-out on the 19th is vital to develop the fight. If W9 is isolated it will have little chance of success.

In the way that Grunwicks represented a general fight for unionisation that captured the imagination of the trade union and labour movement, so St. Mary's can be the successful focus of the overall fight against the cuts.

A victory now is within our grasp to defeat the Tory plans to mutilate the welfare state.

A conference is being planned which can discuss and put into action the policies needed to save St. Mary's as the first step in defending health care in London and nationally. Get your union and Labour Party branches to sponsor this conference and let's turn the tide now against the Tories.

SUPPORT THE MASS PICKET

From 7 am on Monday 19 October Outside the Main Gate Harrow Road, London W9

