

Socialist Organiser

Paper of the Socialist Campaign for a Labour Victory

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Whose side are you on?



WORKERS FIGHTING for better wages and conditions in the coming months will find the Labour Government firmly on the side of the bosses. That's what Callaghan and Healey have decided, with their 5% pay limit and their hostility to the 35 hour week.

The trade union leaders have voted for the 35 hour week and against the 5% limit. But the Post Office Engineering Union leaders' sell-out of their members' struggle for the 35 hour week gives the measure of their real intentions.

Every struggle will face attempts to stifle it with cries of "Don't rock the boat, or you'll let the Tories in!" The Socialist Campaign for a Labour Victory says that is no way to fight the

Tories. We fight to keep the Tories out but also to build and prepare a socialist fightback against the present Government's second-string Tory policies and against the next Government, Tory or Labour.



■ ■ ■ **FOUR CONSTITUENCY** Labour Parties already sponsor our Campaign. We need your support to make sure that a socialist alternative is heard in many more constituencies at the coming general election and in the months leading up to it. Sponsor our campaign. Sell this campaign paper (bundles are 10 for £1, post free). Contribute to our campaign fund.

We need £2,000 before the election, to issue leaflets, posters, and pamphlets, and to organise meetings. £5 from each of 400 supporters will get us there. Send it to SCLV, Box 127, Rising Free, 182 Upper St, London N1.

Stop the Nazis' march on Shoreditch!



TIMING IT to coincide with the Anti Nazi League carnival on Sunday 24th, the Nazi National Front have organised a march into Hoxton in London's East End.

Their objectives are two-fold: to celebrate the opening of their new national headquarters in Great Eastern Street, less than half a mile from Brick Lane; and to re-establish their power to terrorise the black community in Brick Lane itself.

Their calculation has been that the Anti Nazi League, and the political organisations associated with it, would prefer to ignore the provocation rather than upset plans for the carnival.

But the position of the Socialist Campaign for a Labour Victory is clear: faced with the choice of drawing some support away from the carnival or leaving the Asians of the East End undefended, we say the National Front must be stopped.

And that can only be

done effectively by mobilising the strength of the labour movement and the Asian community itself. There can be no reliance on the State to do the work for us: experience has proved that police bans on marches hit us harder than they hit the fascists.

There are some, inside and outside the labour movement, who argue that the fascists must be allowed the right of free speech, the right to organise and the right to march. What this ignores is that 'free speech' for fascists means the freedom to incite violence against blacks, socialists, and trade unionists; the 'freedom to organise' means a free rein to plan and carry out murderous assaults; and the 'right to march', this Sunday as always, means allowing the NF to control the streets and to terrorise their victims.

The Asians of the East End know at first hand how the fascists' 'freedom' is used. Three dead this summer. Hundreds of

potentially deadly assaults over the last year. This is the experience which has led the Hackney and Tower Hamlets Defence Committee to call for a counter-demonstration to stop the NF.

It is the duty of every socialist and every anti-fascist to respond to that call. Arguments that a confrontation would lead to violence must not deter us. Let the NF get away with their march this Sunday, and the violence Brick Lane's Bengalis have so far suffered will be nothing compared to fascist violence to come.

The Nazis must be stopped. They must be stopped now.

Defend Brick Lane! Stop the Nazi march!

PATRICK KODIKARA

Assemble 12 noon at the junction of Brick Lane and Bethnal Green Road.

Socialist Campaign for a Labour Victory

Editorial

Why we won't keep quiet till Spring

IN DEFERRING the election until the New Year, James Callaghan and the Labour Cabinet have made their intentions abundantly clear. The barricades for the general election are to be built around defence of the five per cent pay limit and the wretched battery of anti-working class policies from the last four years.

The Socialist Campaign for a Labour Victory says the Tories are much better at winning elections on Tory policies than the Labour Party!

The SCLV aims for a massive Labour vote, but a vote with a difference. We want to keep the Tories out, but to do so campaigning for socialist policies and against the pro-capitalist 'record' of the Labour Government, which has consistently bitten the hands that voted it into office in 1974.

The SCLV was formally launched at a 200-strong conference on July 15th. Already it has gained the support of four Constituency Labour Parties, five prospective parliamentary candidates, and numerous trade union branches. It is sponsored by over 400 labour movement activists.

Debate

We aim to build a coordinated socialist alternative to the 'rally round the flag', 'build on the Government's achievements' line which will come from Transport House and the corridors of Westminster.

In doing this we aim to open up political debate on the left in the Labour Party at a time when the pressure is on to cease discussion and sink into blind vote-catching. We want to make local Labour Parties places where the socialist policies needed to take the labour movement forward can be democratically discussed and argued throughout an election campaign.

Over the last four years the official Parliamentary left's 'struggle' has been an ineffective one to rescue and polish up the remnants of the Alternative Economic Strategy that the Labour Cabinet has either implemented in an emasculated form (import controls, NEB, planning agreements and so on), or forced the left to shelve. On social spending cuts, unemployment, wage limits, strike-breaking, or imperialist policies internationally, the official Left's opposition has been non-existent, purely token, or confined to one or two individual MPs.

When we say vote Labour, we don't ask people to admire Sunny Jim being 'good for Britain' on the hoardings, or the parliamentarians at Westminster. We ask them to join the struggle with and among the thousands of CLP members and trade union affiliates... most of whom have never been into the cosy chambers at the House of Commons.

Thatcher

We must keep Thatcher and her Tory dinosaurs out, not just in order to re-elect a Labour Government, but more importantly to strengthen the conditions for a sharper socialist fight-back. A Tory victory would allow our Labour leaders to put on their left hats and try to steer anti-Tory militancy into harmless channels, as they did from 1970 to 1974.

The SCLV will draw its life blood from the militants involved in the struggles over the past few years, by women, immigrants, youth, and workers fighting the wage curbs. We take inspiration from struggles like the Grunwick workers', the fightback by Asian youth (and white working-class youth, in the Anti Nazi League) against racism and fascism, and the women of Trico who battled for equal pay.

Together with these new militants we can reinvigorate the labour movement, shake it up, and radically re-arm and re-organise it for struggle against capitalism. We will work to win them to the fight for a Labour victory, and to a united struggle with the socialist militants in the Labour Parties.

Some Labour activists tell us that our policies are good — but criticising the Government at election time can only lose votes. We dis-

agree. If the policies are good, they need to be fought for. If they are fought for, they will rally workers' support better than any re-hash of second-string Tory policies can!

When workers clashing with the 5% limit are told they are helping the Tories, we will be on those workers' side. It is Callaghan and the Cabinet who are helping the Tories, by carrying out their policies for them, conceding all their arguments, and spitting in the face of the socialist activists who organise for Labour at grass roots level.

Key to winning the election will be our ability to enthuse and arm politically the thousands of Labour voters and radicals who have been disenchanted by this Labour Government.

Policies

As the original Campaign appeal says: "We believe a socialist appeal could not only bring out the vote, but bring new people into the Labour Party to fight for socialist policies and for the implementation of progressive policies many parties have adopted". Ours will be a campaign in the best traditions of Labour militancy: all out opposition to the big business swindling and ruling class arrogance which the Tories represent and the Labour leaders join hands with.

We appeal not just for votes, but more importantly for activity. Our campaign must make sure that the Tories are combatted, and that the newly-elected Labour Government, from its first days, faces a vocal socialist left wing, vigorously demanding it cuts its slavish ties to the bankers and the bosses, and prepared to struggle against the Government every time it sells us out.



BASINGSTOKE

THE SOCIALIST Campaign for a Labour Victory was well represented at a 35-strong 'Troops Out of Ireland' meeting held on Friday 8th September, and filmed by Irish TV (RTE). But the meeting was originally called as a debate by the Tory Reform Group.

Ken Livingstone (prospective parliamentary candidate for Hampstead) and Rosemary Sales (Hackney North CLP) were billed to speak against two Tories on the issue of British troops in Ireland. Local SCLV supporters, together with SWP and IMG members, lobbied the meeting as four Tories and one Liberal entered, and then came in for the debate.

The Tories, faced with a left-wing audience, were rather shamefaced. Yes, they deplored internment without trial; yes, they thought religious discrimination was all wrong.

They tried to counter-attack by claiming it was 'absurd' to accuse the British Army of atrocities, and demanding a condemnation of the IRA. But Ken Livingstone replied: "It was no mistake that I didn't condemn the IRA. I have no wish to condemn the IRA. We do condemn acts of terrorism by the IRA which are totally counter-productive. But, as Nye Bevan said over Suez, if you want to end the war, you get the troops out, now. I want to see the Irish Republican Army gain the victory which has been denied to them for so long."

Basingstoke SCLV has had another meeting dealing with the question of troops — this one opposing the local Tory council's call for army strike-breaking of a council workers' strike.

After Patrick Kodikara had spoken on the meeting's scheduled topic of 'The Government's Record', two members of the strike committee spoke on their dispute. The collection from the meeting was handed over to strike funds.

The SCLV has approached the strike committee for a joint meeting in the near future on the political lessons of the now victorious strike.

The Basingstoke branch of the Boilermakers' Amalgamation has sponsored the Campaign and sent forward a pro-SCLV motion to the GMC.

NOTTINGHAM

A CAMPAIGN supporters' group is being set up in BSC Stanton Ironworks, scene of a five-week long strike against the 10% pay policy at the end of last year.

CLAY CROSS

WITH THREE of the former Clay Cross councillors who stood out against the Tory 'Fair Rents Act' backing the Campaign, a meeting is being planned in Clay Cross to set up a supporters' group.

BIRMINGHAM

ASIAN WORKERS in the Rover plant at Solihull have begun to fight back against the discrimination that pushes them into lower-paid jobs and against racism in the plant. Incensed at National Front stickers plastered all over the plant, the black workers threatened a strike and forced the shop stewards to commit themselves to action against the NF.

Raghib Ahsan, a TGWU shop steward at Solihull, reported this struggle when he spoke at a Birmingham SCLV meeting on September 15th. His conclusion was that black workers needed to organise themselves independently within the labour movement, and draw the movement in behind their demands.

Patrick Kodikara of the Hackney and Tower Hamlets Defence Committee also spoke on the struggle round Brick Lane.

Chris Roseblade — from the Defence Campaign — called for support for Dave Stevens and three others arrested on an anti-fascist demonstration in Wolverhampton on 11th March. The Defence Campaign already has backing from

the AUEW Broad Left, 18 members of the National Executive of the CPSA, Wolverhampton Trades Council, Arthur Scargill, Bob Wright, and Reg Birch.

UNEMPLOYMENT is another big issue the SCLV is taking up. Campaign supporters distributed leaflets at the Bilston Steelworks Day of Action against the proposed closure of the plant, which would throw 2,400 workers on the dole. A dole queue bulletin has been produced as part of a build-up to a big public meeting. It reports on the fight to save jobs at Bilston and in Leyland, on the closure of Romsley Geriatric Hospital, and on the fight for shorter hours in the Post Office and the fire service.

LIVERPOOL

A SLENDER margin of two votes defeated a call to sponsor the Campaign at Liverpool Edge Hill CLP's September meeting. After Campaign convenor John O'Mahony spoke, an attack was launched by the right wing and supporters of the *Militant* newspaper. "You can't ask people to vote Labour and boot out Callaghan's Tory policies" ... "we fight for socialist policies, but not at election time".

It was *Militant* supporters who swung the decision at the meeting, but other left wing activists, including supporters of *Labour Leader*, are backing the campaign and working in its local activities.

MANCHESTER

SINCE THE by-election in July, the big issue in Moss Side Labour Party has been Hulme Labour Club's ban on a gay disco. SCLV supporters have got GMC backing for the gay activists, and joined a protest picket at the Club.

Central Manchester ASTMS branch and Moss Side ward Labour Party have sponsored the campaign. There has been a public meeting in Manchester and others are being arranged in Stockport and Bury.

EDINBURGH

RIGHT-WINGERS manoeuvred to stop a vote being taken on sponsoring the SCLV at Edinburgh Central CLP's September meeting.

Towards the end of the meeting it was clear that the left wing was likely to get a majority for the Campaign. Then the time came for suspending standing orders to continue the meeting past the scheduled closing time. Usually this is done 'on the nod'.

But the right wing saw their chance. There were only 14 votes to 9 for extending the meeting — and it takes a two-thirds majority to suspend standing orders.

Obviously the right wingers expected that to be the end of the matter — but with the election now likely to be in the Spring, SCLV supporters will be raising the issue again.

COVENTRY

AS WELL AS holding fortnightly public meetings on Ireland, the 5% limit, and the future of the car industry, the SCLV group in Coventry has sent speakers to a number of ward Labour Parties and Young Socialist branches. SCLV supporters on the Trades Council are seeking support there, too.

LEICESTER

KAMLESH GANDHI of the Grunwick strike committee drew out the lessons of that struggle at an SCLV meeting in Leicester on September 11th. At the 40-strong meeting he showed how 'conciliation' by ACAS was used, and the role of the TUC leaders in selling out the strike.

At an SCLV fund-raising social we took a collection for an anti-fascist who was arrested a few weeks ago, and raised £20. Alan Mee, a sheet metal worker and SWP member, was attacked and beaten up by a group of National Front members — and landed up in court charged with 'threatening behaviour'. The money will go towards his court costs.

CARDIFF

ASIAN BAKERY worker Mohammed Sharif was arrested in Cardiff as an illegal immigrant in July, and deported in August. But the fight to defend him, supported by the SCLV group in Cardiff, hasn't ended.

Campaign supporters in Merritts bakery have helped get the local Bakers' Union to support a call for him to be allowed back into the country. On Saturday 23rd September (11.30am), the SCLV and the Anti-Nazi League are sponsoring a picket of Cardiff Jail, where Sharif was held and other immigrants have since been imprisoned.

A joint SCLV-ANL meeting on state racism, the immigration laws, and 'sus', is scheduled for October as a follow-up.

TOGETHER WITH the Anti-Apartheid Movement, the Campaign will be picketing the opening night of *The Wild Geese* at Cardiff Odeon. The cinema manager is planning to have this film — which glorifies the activities of mercenaries in Africa — opened by a group of real-life mercenaries as a publicity stunt.

A CONFERENCE on 'Self-determination for Ireland', scheduled for Saturday September 30th at Cardiff University Students Union, is being supported by the SCLV, too.

NEW SUPPORTERS' groups are being established in Caerphilly and by supporters in the civil service unions CPSA and SCPS. Caerphilly and Weston Super Mare LPYS branches have invited SCLV speakers.

THE CAMPAIGN is also planning debate with Plaid Cymru in a number of areas.

LONDON

MORE THAN 25 Labour councillors, one GLC councillor, three prospective Parliamentary candidates and four constituency Labour Parties are sponsoring the campaign.

In Lambeth, South London, Council Leader Ted Knight and anti-racist activist Patrick Kodikara addressed a 35-strong public meeting. A local supporters' group is meeting regularly to plan future activities, and Norwood CLP has voted to back the campaign.

In Haringey, meetings have been held in Hornsey and Tottenham, and the issue of 'sus' has been taken up.

In Newham, East London, a meeting is planned for the 29th September which will include on the platform a speaker from the campaign to free the Virk brothers — three Asians arrested and jailed for defending themselves against racist attack.

In Islington, North London, meetings have taken up the questions of racism, Ireland, and direct works and the building industry. A social organised by Islington supporters of the Campaign raised £15.

Brent East CLP has voted to back the campaign, and a local supporters' group has been set up for North-West London.

In Hackney, Hackney North CLP is supporting the campaign, and local supporters are organising.

Over in West London, campaign supporters are planning meetings in Hounslow over the issue of cuts and the hospital occupation, in Ealing-Southall where Syd Bidwell is MP there is a possibility of an SCLV meeting on immigration controls, and in Hillingdon where the new Tory council is cutting back and making racist pronouncements, a Labour councillor has sponsored the Campaign and plans are afoot for further activities in the area.

From Labour Party members in St Pancras North, Lewisham, Peckham, Dulwich, Battersea, Putney, Kingston and many other London constituencies have come requests for information and letters of support.

NO MORE HYPOCRISY ON ANTI-RACISM

I WILL BE going to conference as a delegate from Brent East CLP, with a motion on racism and fascism.

The 1976 Conference passed a motion calling for the repeal of the 1968 and 1971 Immigration Acts and for labour movement support for black self-defence; but to date little has been done to implement it. A motion to this year's Conference from Hackney South, condemning this inaction, has already been ruled out of order on the three-year rule.

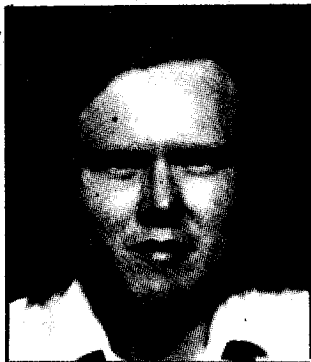
Far from answering the Tory propaganda and abolishing the Immigration Acts, the Labour Government has capitulated, saying there is no need for further controls because the present ones are as tight as can be. Five Labour MPs

signed the Select Committee report calling for a further clampdown.

While black people under attack receive little protection from the police, but only daily harassment, we saw the cops giving Martin Webster an escort through Hyde.

So long as the Immigration Acts are used daily to harass people, and the Vagrancy Act is used to round up young blacks, pious anti-racist speeches from Labour ministers will fall upon deaf ears.

In Brent, our CLP was to the fore in supporting the immigrant workers on strike at Grunwick, and has actively supported pickets and demonstrations against the National Front. We have taken a firm stand against immigration con-



by COLIN ADAMS

trols and for defence of the black communities — and in the local elections last May Labour turned in one of its best results.

We want to see this active policy taken up throughout the Labour Party.

The Labour Party must mobilise the labour movement in an attack on racism and fascism. Words are not enough!

LABOUR'S MANIFESTO: WHO WILL DECIDE?

by MIKE DAVIS
[Secretary, SCLV Steering Cttee.]

WELL, the guessing game is over. At least for the present. Prime Minister Callaghan has rejected the idea of an autumn election.

He is banking on his ability to pressurise the TUC leaders, Len Murray, Basnett, Jackson, Gormley and co., into defying the Autumn Congress decision against the 5% pay limit.

The trade union leaders have been made to look fools. Callaghan set them up. Hold tight, don't rock the boat, one month to an election. Now, of course, the TUC/Government partnership has got to last a lot longer. The Trade Union Committee for a Labour Victory (composed of TUC leaders) will be pressured to keep out the Tories by working with might and main, for at least six months, to hold down wages and conditions claims and ensure 'industrial peace'.

For the trade union rank and file and constituency Labour Party militants the decision against an October election is an anti-climax. Despite this, it gives us opportunities. Instead of being kept in the dark, politically unprepared, financially unsound, and pushed with the excuse of urgency into fighting an election on a Callaghan-inspired Manifesto, Labour Parties now have time to prepare.

The Socialist Campaign for a Labour Victory will be trying to build socialist campaigns in as many constituencies as we can reach.

Central to the perspective of the SCLV is the question of the election manifesto. Who is to decide: the Cabinet and Parliamentary Labour Party, or the Conference and National Executive Committee? What

are the policies to be?

Labour's Home Policy committee has given the go-ahead for work to start on a 'Campaign document'. Labour Weekly assures us 'the Campaign document will be drawn entirely from policies that have already been agreed by Labour conference or national executive'.

But the question remains: what are these policies to be?

■ Will they include Conference policy against racism and fascism, contained in the 1976 composite?

■ Will they be for the 'restoration of full employment' and 'expansion of social services', as promised in the 1974 Manifesto?

■ For free abortion and contraception on demand (passed at successive conferences) and for 'full equality for women' (as pledged in the 1974 Manifesto)?

Will they be the conference policies for nationalising the building industry, land, banks, and finance?

■ For full support to the black liberation movements in Southern Africa, as resolved by the 1977 Conference?

■ For an end to homelessness, a crash house-building and rehabilitation programme, a rent freeze... also conference policy?

■ And, most importantly, against further attacks on the wages and conditions of working class families? No more pay curbs?

Even if the newly-elected NEC should endorse these policies, a bigger fight will open up. First, to prevent Callaghan and other Cabinet members from rewriting or scrapping them. Second, getting them implemented.

That is the heart of the problem. The 1974 Manifesto pledged to execute 'a fundamental and irreversible shift in the balance of power and wealth to working people and their families', but it has turned into the

opposite: bolstering decaying British capitalism at the expense of the working class!

What must be done to prevent this? We must fight for democratic accountability for all elected representatives. This means supporting proposals to the October conference for mandatory re-selection of MPs and Conference election of the Labour Party leader.

Second, the SCLV aims to develop a class struggle, socialist opposition in the Labour Party and trade unions which is capable of making the decisive break with class collaboration, a break with the City, big business, the IMF and NATO. We must develop a movement capable of rolling back any offensive of the capitalist state or its representatives — including many of our own leaders.

In the CLPs, SCLV supporters will be fighting for local election material to be based on working class policies — summed up by the SCLV platform — even if Callaghan's thumb print dominates the official Labour manifesto. And we will fight for those policies to be taken up in action, not just in leaflets.

We believe CLPs, Labour candidates, and trade union branches must actively support all the strikes, pickets, demonstrations and protests by which workers and other oppressed groups fight back against the system and against the Labour government which is running the system. We will back workers in struggle against the 5% limit regardless of all the Government's pleas and blackmail.

The conference provides an excellent opportunity to open the pre-election campaign in earnest. Let it be the signal for building the biggest socialist campaign for Labour's re-election, for defeating the Tories and Tory policies, witnessed since the earliest days of the Labour Party.

How the TUC helps prop up the bosses

THERE ARE dark predictions that this year's Labour Party conference will see the trade union block votes piled up to keep the left off the NEC.

If that happens, the trade unions will have gone back solidly to playing the role in the Labour Party that they played up to ten years ago.

The brief interlude since then started when the union leaders, shoved from below by a rising tide of unofficial action and pushed away from a peace-and-love relationship with the Labour government by *In Place of Strife*, took an increasingly left stance.

These were the days when Joe Gormley was calling for a general strike on May Day (1973), when 'free collective bargaining' was still a sacred cow, and when the whole trade union movement was against wage curbs having the force of law.

Some over-optimistic observers — trusting to Old Moore rather than Karl Marx — thought they saw the dawn of a new situation inside the trade unions and the Labour Party. They thought that the left leaders were no longer serving capitalism and that the unions' block votes would no longer be a source of strength and comfort for the Labour right.

Gradually, however, the trade union bureaucracy was able to strengthen itself against its own rank and file and shift its support back to the Labour right.

The first move in this direct-

ion was the establishment of the TUC-LP Liaison Committee which managed to develop policies to the right of both the TUC and the Labour Party! Set up in late 1971, it developed the infamous 'Social Contract'.

The Labour government-to-be promised to satisfy a number of the TUC's demands in exchange for their support for an as yet undisclosed policy.

It was soon clear that that policy was one of wage curbs, unemployment and cuts in the social services.

Meanwhile the TUC demands which most offended the ruling class — planning agreements, disclosure of information, 'Industrial Democracy', the National Enterprise Board — were dropped in all but name (though none of them was much of a threat to the bosses).

But during 1974 and 1975 the trade union leaders, along with the Labour left, made the Common Market the central issue in the working class movement. Diverting the focus from class struggle — the fight to free the Shrewsbury pickets, the fight to reverse the ruling against the Clay Cross councilors, and so on — they cemented the national chauvinism which propped up the Social Contract.

With each successive 'Phase' the trade union leaders shifted further right. The AUEW held out in 1975 but Scanlon defied his mandate and capitulated in 1977. With the recent election of a right-wing leadership in that union its

block votes will quite likely back right-wingers on the NEC too.

The tune changes, but the essence has always been the same: capitalism comes first, the working class second. The union leaders still see the only future for the working class as eating the left-overs from the table of the profiteers.

Speaking at the 1976 TUC Conference, Jack Jones boasted: 'Never before has there been such a close working relationship between the trade unions and the government'. Damn right! But it didn't 'lay the foundations for real advances by the working class' as he promised.

That 'close working relationship' — between the Labour leaders and the trade union leaders — was not the cooperation between two working class forces. It represented the collaboration of two forces dedicated to the protection of capitalism and charged with the miserable mission of seeing to it that the workers give in without a fight.

Of course, both these forces working for the capitalist system are part of the working class movement, however separate in their incomes or their interests. Our task is to challenge them, to provide revolutionary socialist answers for the working class, to re-arm and reorganise the labour movement, and to organise our class against the power of capital and against the power of the servants of capital in our midst.

....and what's in it for them

Two weeks ago the Sunday Times reported on Joe Gormley's business interests. The NUM leader is a member of the board of directors of William Hudson Canada Ltd. How much he gets for helping the millionaires who run that firm to screw their workers is not known.

That same week Gormley voted to boost his pay as President of the NUM by about £2,000 to over £10,000, as the NUM Executive agreed to up the pay of its officials to 'keep them in line with management'.

Gormley may be wearing a cardigan — a crumpled one, the Sunday Times emphasises — when he is flying to his Canadian company by Concord; but he has obviously come a long way from the usual conditions of working class life.

He isn't the only one. Lots of trade union leaders not only get a salary that is much higher than their members' wages, but also plenty of perks on the side.

Tom Jackson of the UPW has been on the board of BP for an undisclosed fee — while they were shipping oil to Ian Smith. Alan Fisher, who represents the

low-paid Public Employees, gets £1,000 a year from the British Airports Authority and more (we don't know how much) as a member of the board of Harland and Wolff shipbuilders.

The Equal Opportunities Commission, ACAS, the Race Relations Board, the National Freight Corporation and the National Enterprise Board, all pay trade union leaders £1,000 a year. The Monopolies Commission pays £2,250, the Gas Corporation £1,000, the Engineering Industry Training Board pays between £1,320 and £3,300, the Matriculation Board £750.

It would take a lot of space to list all the other agencies that keep the trade union leaders sweet. But David Lea's £1,000 bonus as the TUC's representative on the Royal Commission on the Distribution of Wealth is perhaps the most sickening.

The high salaries, the perks and the jobs and directorships on the side with the bourgeois prestige and power and comfort that come with trade union 'nobility' help to tie them hand and foot to the very system their members are fighting against.



JACK JONES, Transport and General Workers' Union. His jobs have included the ACAS board (£1,000 a year), and deputy chair of the National Ports Council (£1780 a year)



ALAN FISHER



ERNIE ROBERTS, prospective Labour candidate for Hackney North and former assistant secretary of the AUEW, calls on rank and file trade unionists to use their affiliation to the Labour Party in the fight for socialist policies

WHY TRADE UNIONISTS MUST JOIN US IN THE FIGHT FOR SOCIALIST POLICIES

THE BASIC demands of the SCLV are already the policies of the Labour Party Annual Conference or the trade union conferences and the TUC. The problem is not one of competing one-upmanship, that is, seeing who can go 'one better', but rather that of making certain that those socialist policies, decided by the TUC and the Labour Party, are implemented by a Labour Government: such policies as

■ Free collective bargaining, increased living standards for workers.

■ Stopping cuts in social services, and improving them.

■ End unemployment. Cut hours, not jobs. 35 hour week.

■ Extend nationalisation of banks and financial institutions

■ End all racist immigration controls, including the 1968 and 1971 Acts.

■ Free abortion and contraception on demand.

■ Women's equal right to work, equal pay, and equal opportunities.

■ The Irish people's right to real democracy. An end to attempted military solutions. Bring the troops out and give political status to Irish political prisoners.

■ Full support for black working people in South Africa and Zimbabwe in their struggle for freedom and democracy.

■ Automatic re-selection of MPs.

■ Election by annual conference of the Party leader.

■ Democratic election of all trade union officials.

Win these, and we shall be moving towards socialism!

It is wrong to blame only the individual paying members of the Labour Party and the CLPs for the weakness in the struggle to get these progressive policies implemented. In fact the six million affiliated members of the Labour Party have a greater responsibility, both in the making of party policies and the election of party leadership, also in the selection of MPs.

In all these matters the massive Trade Union affiliated membership fail to play their part; in most cases they stand by and allow their voting strength to be used in Annual Conferences of the Labour Party against their desires; and they fail to cast their votes

locally in CLP selection conferences for Parliamentary candidates.

Let this be well understood. The Labour Party is a federal party, the bulk of its membership is composed of trade union contracted-in members. Their block votes are decisive in Annual Conferences of the Labour Party in policy matters and in deciding the leadership of the party. The trade union branches, if they all affiliated and elected delegates to their local CLPs, would dominate the local selection conferences which select their parliamentary candidates.

Therefore we are mainly responsible for the present situation that prevails within the party. It is time that we faced up to our responsibilities

and our rights in our trade union branches, and fought for the changes needed to create a socialist victory.

A struggle is going on in the party for democratic control and selection of Parliamentary candidates, also for a democratic method for the election of the Leader of the Party, and for the implementation of Annual Conference decisions by a Labour Government. Therefore, brothers and sisters who pay the political levy, unite with our comrades who are individual members of the Labour Party in their efforts to make those changes which can lead to a Socialist Victory for our party in the coming General Election and thereafter.

SOFT JOB FOR CALLAGHAN'S LAPDOG

The NEC Organisation Committee set up to look into the selection of candidates has recommended the acceptance of Tom McNally, Callaghan's side-kick (Political Adviser) as candidate for Stockport South.

This is despite proof furnished by the local Party that the pro-McNally faction there had six delegates too many at the selection meeting. And this meeting itself came at the end of a long series of unscrupulous manoeuvres undertaken to foist this pathetic right wing careerist on the luckless party members in Stockport.

Party members had appealed on the basis that at the original selection meeting in June the chairman had been denied the right to use his casting vote on a tied vote of 28-28, on a decision that the meeting should select from a shortlist. McNally's supporters opposed that decision because McNally was not even on the shortlist.

Failure to secure a majority vote took the re-selection process back to square one and gave McNally's supporters more time to manoeuvre.

The anti-McNally members claim that Brinnington Branch had been sending six delegates above their constitutional quota to the meetings, and hence that this branch was out of order. Consequently, the whole process which led to McNally's selection three months later was a breach of the rules.

Members of the party are outraged. They point out that McNally's supporters rarely attend usual party meetings. Brinnington branch has a paper membership of 664, plus an additional 167 pensioners not issued with cards; most of this impressive sounding membership are simply members of the Labour Club who are made automatic party members.

If the candidate had been decided by the party activists, who are overwhelmingly anti-McNally, he would have got no more than half a dozen votes.

The actions of Benn, Heffer and Mikardo in voting for McNally's acceptance are a kick in the teeth to all the activists in Stockport South, and have led to a bitter split in

the local party.

The Constituency chairman has insisted on the official Party rules being applied and demanded that the largest pro-McNally branch reduces its delegation to the correct number. This they refuse to do, citing the NEC sub-committee recommendation as implying acceptance of their validity.

When a recent GMC was cancelled due to their refusal to reduce their delegation, the McNallyites went ahead and held their own.

There are in effect now two Labour Parties in Stockport South.

The vast majority of activists including seven out of nine branch secretaries are in opposition to McNally, and are demanding that the full NEC rejects those political frauds who are trying to use their party to get Callaghan's lapdog a nice soft job.

PETE TOWEY
Secretary, Cale Green Branch
and member of EC,
Stockport South CLP

★★★
A further rumpus blew up in

Stockport on Friday September 15th. The Trade Union Committee for Labour Victory [formed by and largely composed of TUC big-wigs] staged a meeting with speakers David Basnett, Eric Heffer and Andrew Bennett [Tribune MPs] and, surprise, surprise ... Tom McNally. The meeting was organised by the local GMWU [which is not affiliated to the CLP or Stockport Trades Council].

Officers of Stockport South CLP and Stockport Trades Council objected to the meeting on the grounds that they had not been informed or invited, that the GMWU branch that called it has no local connection with the Labour Party, and, primarily, that McNally was being paraded around while his candidature is still being disputed by them.

The meeting was lobbied by Trades Council and CLP members, including SCLV supporters. But only Andrew Bennett seemed at all concerned at the way the meeting had been set up and the presence of McNally on the platform.

Guilty until found innocent

KEITH VENESS was expelled from Islington North Labour Party in 1976 for an interview he gave to a local community paper about his views of the Labour Party. It has taken him two and a half years to be reinstated and he has only just had it confirmed by the NEC that he can now attend his ward meetings.

Thankfully the days are long since gone when mass expulsions and the closing down of constituency parties were the order of the day. The National Executive Committee (NEC) of the party now adopts a more sober and democratic view of debate within the Labour Party.

However, even recently a number of expulsion cases have occurred in individual parties, usually of left wingers, and they have highlighted the serious anomalies in the party constitution on this matter.

One reform that delegates to Conference should push for is the right of the expelled person to retain his or her membership until the matter has been deliberated on by the NEC. At present, any party member could suffer the fate I did — and it is worth re-telling the chronology of the affair so that other party members can know what to avoid.

I was suspended from membership by my constituency in January 1976 for allegedly "bringing the party into disrepute" by giving an interview to a local left-wing paper that was not proscribed or banned in any way by the Labour Party.

I immediately appealed to the NEC against my expulsion, as the rules lay down, but about this time Islington North CLP became the subject of a great deal of adverse national publicity and the NEC decided to deal with my case in conjunction with an inquiry it was instigating into the local party.

This in itself was obviously the correct thing to do, but it considerably slowed the process of my appeal.

Then it was required of the London Labour Party to hear my case, which it duly did. More delay while it reported back...

Then I became involved in a libel action with our MP — more delay while the NEC considered the implications of this. Finally, two years and seven months after all this started, the July NEC meeting voted that I be re-instated, subject to the usual provisos.

In this time, of course, I have been barred from party meetings for an offence that the NEC ruled was not such as should have led to my expulsion. That is, I had been treated as guilty until found innocent.

Such rules do very little for the running of the Labour Party and often engender a bitterness that could be avoided by the simple expedient of altering the rules to allow a member who has been recommended for expulsion by his or her CLP to retain full membership rights until the NEC says otherwise. Such a small change could be a big step towards a more democratic Labour Party.



Keith Veness speaking at the SCLV conference

Forest Four's 'unforgiveable sin'

FOR PEOPLE unable to get a place on Labour's National Executive Committee but still determined to get a position of authority without accountability, we can now reveal the ideal niche. It is amongst the Labour councillors sitting on the Forest of Dean District Council.

The Forest of Dean is part of the West Gloucestershire constituency, the only rural seat in England held by a Labour MP (with a slender majority of only 409). But local Labour councillors have been given a free licence to act as freebooting barons — a licence granted by Constituency Labour Party officials and recently endorsed by the National Executive.

Following an inquiry into the affairs of West Gloucestershire Labour Party headed by John Cartwright MP, the NEC decided to suspend four local Party members. The 'Forest Four' committed the unforgiveable sin of criticising the local councillors.

Prior to the local elections of 1976 Labour held 21 of the 47 seats on the Forest of Dean

council, which was controlled by 'independents'. Despite being in a minority, the Labour councillors revelled in taking positions of power. Before May 1976 Labour held the chairmanships of four out of the five council committees.

In May 1976 the Tories made their first real push for council seats in the area, and captured a number of safe seats, cutting the Labour group down to 13. But this didn't stop Wilfred Morris, Labour councillor for Littledean, becoming chairman of the council, elected by a rag-bag of Tories and 'independents'.

However, it was the housing committee that was the biggest cause of concern. Ten of the 13 Labour councillors decided to go on it and run it as they have for years. The reason behind the rush to get on the committee is the system used to allocate council house tenancies.

The council operates a 'merit' system of allocation, which means that the council-

ors themselves decide who should get a house. The power of patronage given to the Labour councillors is obviously open to abuse.

The local government ombudsman has inquired into this procedure, and his findings indicate that houses are allocated on a basis of gossip and prejudice. In a series of reports he accused the council of causing this injustice, and it is the Labour councillors who are principally involved.

Attempts to get to grips with these activities using the Labour Party's constitutional machinery have been rendered useless. Firstly by the intransigence of the councillors, secondly by the incompetence, apathy and connivance of the constituency party officials, and most recently by the irresponsibility of the National Executive.

The councillors have always refused to establish a Labour group answerable to the Party. In February 1976 five Labour councillors resigned rather than adopt Labour poli-

cies. One of them, Stan Hatton, aged 83, declared, "At this stage of my career, I'm not going to be dictated to". The Labour councillors have never given any report to the District Party, and even refuse to answer questions about their activities at Labour Party meetings.

Instead of the NEC recommending disciplinary action against these councillors, their inquiry convinced them they should silence the councillors' critics!

National Executive Committee members should be ashamed of themselves, or better still they should be shamed by Labour Party members protesting at the state of affairs in the West Gloucestershire CLP — where, in addition to members being suspended, the CLP Chairman has suspended the GMC, and the Labour Group has suspended itself, refusing to meet or act as part of the Labour Party in the area.

GILL IRELAND,
West Glos. CLP.

Reselection or rubber stamp for MPs?

AT THIS year's Labour Party conference, the NEC will present proposals which effectively neuter the struggle waged over recent years to make Labour MPs liable to re-selection by their constituency Parties. Against the NEC Majority Report, two formulas will be proposed: one in the NEC Minority Report, another backed by the Campaign for Labour Party Democracy.

In this article, CLPD Secretary Vladimir Derer explains the CLPDs proposals, and why they differ from the Minority Report.

The SCLV takes no sides in the tactical dispute: but we support every move to extend democratic accountability in the labour movement.



WILL LABOUR MPs be made more accountable to the Labour Party? This is the issue which will dominate this year's Labour Party annual conference. It is also the issue over which the bitterest battle will be fought.

The issue will be over what looks like a marginal change in the way Labour's parliament-

ary candidates are selected. Why is it then so important?

For more than 10 of the last 14 years Labour governments have been in office and had the opportunity — in parliamentary terms — to carry out at least some of the policies on which they were elected. The present massive demand for greater accountability of Labour MPs is a reflection of the fact that they have failed to do so.

It has therefore to be viewed as an attempt to ensure that future Labour governments should stand for the interests of those who elected them and who work to get them elected.

The popularity of mandatory re-selection underlines the dominant political fact that, at present, change is sought through the reform of the existing institutions rather than the creation of entirely new ones. It is in this context that the minor procedural issue has acquired a very different significance.

The defenders of the status quo clearly recognise this. Their opposition to making Labour MPs subject to periodic re-selection has been stubborn, consistent and highly charged with emotion. Since it is diffi-

cult to 'argue' against this simple democratic reform, every procedural obstacle is being used to prevent its realisation.

In both 1975 and 1976 the "three year rule" was invoked to keep re-selection resolutions off the Labour Party conference agenda — despite the fact that in 1976 by far the largest number of resolutions on a single subject demanded re-selection.

Last year a ruling originally devised for minor constitutional proposals from odd CLPs was used against 67 affiliated organisations which passed an identical constitutional amendment on automatic re-selection. This meant that the debate and vote on these proposals was postponed to await the NEC's recommendations in 1978.

Nevertheless the fact that there were also eight re-selection resolutions submitted as ordinary resolutions meant that it was almost impossible to prevent a debate on the subject.

At this stage the NEC declared themselves also to be in favour of re-selection "in

principle". It did not stop them from quickly finding reasons to prevent a vote on the 'composite' of these eight.

The forthcoming Labour Party conference will have three choices before it.

* The NEC's own proposals: These have fallen far short of the pledge given to conference last year. They make only a minor concession to the automatic principle: instead of mandatory automatic re-selection all we get is a mandatory meeting at which a confidence vote in the sitting MP is put, thus heavily weighting the process toward the MP's automatic re-adoption.

The remaining two choices are either the proposal put by 67 affiliated organisations in 1977, or the proposals of the Minority Report of the NEC's working party on re-selection.

* Minority Report: There are serious snags in this. Firstly it contains a provision which would make mandatory re-selection inoperable during short parliaments, a possibility which could result in MPs being exempt from mandatory re-selection for as long as 6 or 7 years.

Secondly it retains the provision for both mandatory and optional re-selection. It was the misinterpretation of this demand which prevented a straight decision on the principle last year.

Its retention this year threatens to confuse the issue once again. Yet the advantages of retaining it are no more than marginal. This is demonstrated by the fact that it has only been used on a handful of occasions.

To risk the principle of mandatory re-selection for the sake of such an illusory advantage is therefore tactical madness.

In the circumstances it is hardly surprising that the proposals of the Minority report are receiving favoured treatment from the opponents of re-selection. The two amendments this year supporting it feature next to the NEC's proposals in the conference agenda. Whereas there is no reference whatsoever to the '67'.

Thus a completely false impression is created that the Minority Report is the sole alternative to the NEC's

proposals. * The '67': In fact the 67 resolutions must, if their movers so demand it, be debated and voted on this year. But unlike the Minority Report the proposals of the 67 are hidden from view.

For some mysterious reason the NEC's report to conference does not mention them, although constitutionally they are obliged to report on them. Whatever the reason for this serious omission — which, unless rectified, will amount to a breach of rules — the prospects of the 67 will have been damaged.

Many delegates will not be mandated to vote for them because their CLPs did not realise that this choice was still open. The fact that some misguided supporters of the Minority Report have chosen to direct their fire on the 67 instead of the NEC will not help either.

Nevertheless there is an excellent chance that the good sense of conference will prevail. You cannot fool all of the people all of the time!

VLADIMIR DERER
Hon. Secretary,
Campaign for Labour Party
Democracy

Keep the Tories out!

by
COLIN FOSTER

IN BRITAIN today, more than one in ten of the population lives in poverty; at or below the official supplementary benefit level. Poverty is on the increase — the number of people living below supplementary benefit levels rose from 1.4 million to 2.3 million between 1974 and 1976.

In this situation, the Tories say the trouble is, too much equality! Margaret Thatcher declares that "the pursuit of equality is a mirage" and the important thing is "the opportunity to be unequal".

More profits and more inequality are the Tories' aims. On detailed ways and means of achieving their aims, they are vague.

The 1970-74 Heath Government set out to shackle the unions through the Industrial Relations Act, and was forced into a series of humiliating climbdowns. The Tories do not want to repeat that humiliation. At their last Conference, Tory right-winger Norman Tebbit declared: "I am a hawk and not a Kamikaze pilot ... We are right to disavow heavy-handed legislation".

The general trend of Tory policy is, however, clear.

Margaret Thatcher says: "Our economy has been pushed into a loss of profit: the situation can only be put to rights if considerable price rises can be made and accepted without any response in the form of wage increases".

The Tories promise to cut taxes, reduce public spending, and halt public borrowing and excessive money supply. This will — they say — stem inflation and allow the laws of the market to purge inefficiency from British capitalism.

This will mean "apparently high levels of unemployment", admits Keith Joseph. But a Tory government must "stick to it, refusing to be stampeded".

Cuts

The Tory policy will also mean severe cuts in the social services. On this, the Tories are even more vague. But they made no denial when the *Evening Standard* said last week that the Tories planned to cut public spending by 10%.

Despite those overall cuts, the Tories promise to increase spending on the armed forces and the police. Meanwhile, the numbers of old people, children and unemployed — all heavy users of the social services — are increasing. The Tory policies must mean drastic cuts in

5% of the population own half the wealth in Britain. The Tories are the party of that 5%.

The Labour Government bows and scrapes to the rich and powerful 5%. But the millionaires and the wealthy themselves almost all vote Tory. They finance the Tory party, from their own pockets or from the funds of the firms they own. And all the main leaders of the Tory party come from that rich 5%.

This upper class is rich because it lives off our labour. In the form of profits, interest and rent it grabs a large part of the wealth produced by the working class.

And the Tory Party is the Party of Profit. For them, "profits and profitability" are "the cornerstones of the whole edifice of industrial enterprise". Margaret Thatcher says: "the prosperity and ultimately the freedom of this country cannot be secured unless the role of profit is recognised and indeed enhanced. ... We will encourage the profit motive."

The leaders of the labour movement are tied up with working the profit system. We will never end the rule of profit and profiteers just by voting Labour. But by voting Labour and organising in the labour movement to fight for socialism we can hit back at the bankers and the bosses.

To say there is no point voting, or that it would be better to have the Tories in so that we would get some fight from the unions, is to give up on the job of organising in the labour movement. Every vote missing against the Tories is a vote for more profits, more exploitation, and more ruling-class arrogance.

social provision.

The Tories cover this over by saying that they want to let individuals spend their own money rather than having it spent for them by the state.

Run down the NHS and have everyone buy their own hospital when they're sick? No, not so crazy: run down the NHS for the workers, and build up private medicine for those who can pay.

On housing, Tory policy is more explicit. Their stated aim is to have 80% of all dwellings owner-occupied by the late 1980s. They want to increase tax relief on mortgages for the well-off, but the chance of the 80% figure being reached is very small — for the Tories want to increase the role of the private landlords, and allow them higher rents.

Their real drive is to cut public house-building and sell off existing council houses. The result would be a down-grading and decline of public sector housing. As the better council houses were sold off, council housing would be reduced more and more to the 'sink' estates. 'Problem' families would find themselves herded into those estates as the Tories would give council house buyers "undertakings that problem families are not housed nearby in homes unsold as this would adversely affect the value of the property".

The approach implicit in many Tory policies and explicit in their general arguments is a 'residual' welfare system — where market capitalism is supposed to provide most people's needs and the welfare system deals with the unfortunate few, singled out by means tests.

Tax cuts sound like a good side of Tory policy. But the cuts they propose would mostly benefit the better-off; and at the same time indirect taxes like VAT, which hit the worse-off harder, would be increased.

Drastic

The Tory programme is backed up by appeals to all the traditional reactionary battle-cries: especially 'law and order' and racism. They promise increased spending on the police, a "firm and drastic" regime in detention centres, and "short, sharp shock sentences under very severe conditions" for "young thugs".

Margaret Thatcher campaigns against black people, saying the country may "be swamped with people of a

different culture". And she proposes what a Liberal MP rightly called "an alliance with the representatives of religious bigotry in Northern Ireland."

Since 1974, the Tories have been trying to re-think their policy. Keith Joseph considers that "it was only in April 1974 that I was converted to Conser-

vatism. I had thought that I was a Conservative but now I see that I was not really one at all". The turn they have made is towards more aggressive preaching of the traditional values of the Right. A Tory victory in the General Election would be a serious defeat for the working class.



The Tories are spending £4½ million, or more, on adverts and campaigning; and pro-Tory groups like the Campaign Against Building Industry Nationalisation (CABIN) are spending millions more.

The money comes from company donations and contributions from the Tories' wealthy supporters.

And the background of the Tories themselves shows just as clearly whose interests they

represent.

Margaret Thatcher's husband is a company director. Keith Joseph is a director of an investment trust and a former director of his family's building firm Bovis. William Whitelaw is a big landowner. Geoffrey Howe is a director of seven companies, including EMI.

Among Tory MPs as a whole, 77.8% of all those elected at the last ten general elections were educated at public schools.



Spokesmen for the cause of profit: Joseph, Whitelaw, Heseltine, Prior.

How Labour sold out council tenants

by Councillor KEN LIVINGSTONE [prospective Labour candidate for Hampstead]

ALL recent opinion polls have shown that the majority of the electorate think that Tory housing policy is better than Labour's. Yet only four years ago, housing was Labour's biggest plus in the 1974 elections.

The promise of a rent freeze for all tenants; subsidies to hold down mortgage payments; an increase in council house building; a new rent act to give furnished tenants security of tenure: all these played their part in returning a Labour government.

Now, four years later, many of those policies lie in ruins, and most have been cynically reversed.

After the 15 months' rent freeze, the late Tony Crosland forced through a new rent sub-

sidy Act which forced councils to increase rents under the threat of withholding housing subsidies if they did not. For three years, Labour councils caved in to this blackmail, until most finally refused this year, when they had to face the local government elections.

When Peter Shore realised that hundreds of Labour councillors faced surcharges of the order of those imposed under the Tories' Housing Finance Act, he rushed to parliament to change the provisions, and paid councils all their entitlement to subsidy irrespective of their plans not to increase rents.

The quickest reverses had come for private tenants. Although Labour pushed through security for private furnished tenants, the government at the same time cut back on councils' municipalisation drives; they were reduced by two thirds as part of the spending cuts. This has left millions of private tenants at the mercy of bad

conditions and Tory stooges like estate agents who dominate the Rent Tribunals and Rent Officer posts.

There has also been a major cutback in council house building, after an initial doubling of the building programme. On councils where the Tories have won control, most of the outgoing Labour administrations' programmes have been stopped. The GLC has slashed building from 6000 homes a year to 2000.

Rents

Added to all this is the sorry record of incompetence of many Labour councils, who have failed to provide a decent service to existing council tenants and made cuts in the service whilst increasing rents.

Given this record it will not be easy to win support for another Labour government on the basis of housing policy. For a fighting programme we need to

turn to the policies of annual conferences, which have constantly condemned the failings of the Cabinet policies.

We must go out to tenants and community groups, the building trades unions and those who still rot on the waiting list while 300,000 building workers draw the dole.

Our programme must be: ■ The immediate nationalisation of the building industry and final abolition of the lump. Decasualisation of the industry, and a massive training and apprenticeship programme.

■ An immediate expansion of the housing programme in all areas of shortage and full backing to Labour councils to go into the areas of adjacent Tory councils and start building council housing.

■ An immediate freeze of all rents and a stop to increases in mortgage payments.

■ The immediate municipalisation of the remainder of the private rented sector except where an owner-occupier is

letting off part of his or her own home.

■ Democratisation of the existing council housing departments by co-opting tenants and trades unionists to the housing committees and setting up genuine cooperatives where tenants request this. An end to petty restrictions imposed on tenants by many councils.

Sink

An expansion of direct labour departments to take over the nationalised building industry within their own areas.

A crash programme to modernise old private and council property and replace 'sink' estates with decent low rise family housing.

■ A public monitoring of allocations policy in each council to protect ethnic minorities from discrimination.

■ The ending of the present crippling debt charges on coun-

cils which in many areas mean that all the money collected in rent goes to pay off the interest owed.

This positive campaign must be linked to an exposure of what Tory policies mean.

The sale of council housing would leave only poor, older estates available to those tenants who cannot afford to buy. The Tory plan for a massive cut in housing subsidies will mean equally massive increases in rent for council tenants.

Their plans to help the private landlord will be at the expense of the present limited security for tenants. The plans to cut back direct labour will mean thousands more building workers on the dole.

All these policies are hidden by their gimmicks like 'home-steading' which has re-housed just 17 families out of the thousands who applied).

Only a mass based campaign can strip away the Tory lies and win support for a genuine socialist housing policy.

■ No more wage curbs! No more strike-breaking by Labour!

Wage rises should at the very least keep up with price increases. The same should go for state benefits, grants and pensions. Demand immediate wage increases backdated to make up for the drop in our living standards over the last two and a half years.

Since 1975 workers' living standards have dropped by about 12%. Three phases of wage controls have been decreed by the Labour government and policed, openly or shamefacedly, by the TUC leaders.

Back in the 1960s some people argued for a 'socialist incomes policy' as a means of ensuring a fair deal for the lower paid. With NUPE having to organise a series of pre-election rallies to try to get the government and the TUC to pay attention to its demand for a £60-a-week minimum wage, that argument is wearing thinner and thinner.

Did the wage controls stop inflation? No: even after their recent slowdown, prices are still rising at a rate of nearly 10% a year, and a further rise in the rate is now forecast.

Did wage controls stop the cuts? Not at all! Did they stop

unemployment? Even less so!

But one sector of the economy did benefit: profits. Trading profits were up 30% in 1977 compared to 1976, and the Financial Times Index rose 37% over the year.

As more and more trade union conferences are recognising, any 'incomes policy' under capitalism is only a way to make the working class pay the cost of the capitalist crisis.

To restore and maintain living standards is the first step in refusing to pay the cost of their crisis: that means wage increases to make up the loss since 1974-5, and clauses guaranteeing that in future wages rise month by month in line with prices.

While putting forward these general demands, the SCLV must also support all workers fighting for improvements in their living standards.

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

■ All firms threatening closure should be nationalised under workers' control.

"Live working or die fighting" was the slogan of one of the first ever distinctively working class uprisings, in the French city of Lyons in 1834.

Nearly 150 years later, capitalism still cannot grant the right to work, the most basic right in capitalist society, without which a worker can be turned into an outcast overnight. More and more now, it is the young who are made outcasts: people under 29 account for nearly half the unemployed total at peak school leaving time.

The Labour government has a direct responsibility. The public sector and nationalised industries like steel and British Leyland have been in the forefront of job-cutting. And in schools, hospitals, town halls and a multitude of local and national public institutions, cuts in services to workers have meant cuts in jobs for workers too.

The bosses' organisation, the

Confederation of British Industry, has put its finger on the answer in its statements opposing the introduction of a 35-hour week. A shorter working week would mean reduced profits, they say.

So it would. Greed for profit is the one obstacle which stands in the way of measures to get rid of unemployment by just cutting the working week to 35, 30 or 25 hours.

The initiative must come from workers facing redundancies who are willing to take control of the organisation of work schedules and impose work-sharing with no loss of pay. The demand for nationalisation without compensation is a necessary response to capitalist threats, lock-outs or shut-downs.

The SCLV backs the fight to force the Labour government to stop toadying to the profiteers and to save jobs by widespread nationalisation and a general cut in the working week.

■ Scrap all immigration controls. Race is not a problem; racism is. The labour movement must mobilise to drive the fascists off the streets.

Purge racists from positions in the labour movement. Organise full support for black self-defence.

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

In Opposition, the Labour Party voted against the 1971 Immigration Act. The 1976 Party conference voted for the repeal of the 1971 and 1968 Acts "and all legislation that discriminates against immigrants"; for labour movement support for black self-defence, and for purging racism and racists from the labour movement.

The Government has not carried out Party policy. On the contrary: it has continued to implement the 1971 Act. Thus many workers and trade unionists are liable to being picked up at any time by the police and deported without a hearing, or they are totally dependent on their employer's favour to extend their work permit — just because of the colour of their skin and where they were born!

When Thatcher started beating the racist drum in preparation for the Tory election campaign, Labour ministers replied

that immigration controls were already as strict as they could be. And five Labour MPs — including Syd Bidwell, who was known as a left-winger — put their names, together with the Tories, to the shameful Powellite Commons Select Committee Report on Immigration.

That report hinted at the introduction of a 'pass card' system. Even today, black people going for jobs often have to produce their passports.

Immigration controls are not a way to create harmony for 'those already here'; they are inseparable from racial discrimination and scapegoating within Britain.

Recent weeks have shown that on the streets of East London, fascism and racism are not just political theories; they mean murder. The labour movement can no more allow free speech to the fascists of the National Front than we would to an avowed Murder Party.

What the is fighting

■ 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.

■ The chaos, waste, human suffering and misery of capitalism now — in Britain and throughout the world — show the urgent need to establish rational, democratic, human control over the economy, to make the decisive sectors of industry social property, under workers' control.

The strength of the labour movement lies in the rank and file. Our perspective must be working class action to raze the capitalist system down to its foundations, and to put a working class socialist system in its place — rather than having our representatives run the system and waiting for the crumbs from the table of the bankers and bosses.

■ The capitalist police are an enemy for the working class. Support all demands to weaken them as the bosses' striking force: dissolution of special squads (SPG, Special Branch, MI5 etc), public accountability, etc.

"Back to work with Labour" was the 1974 election slogan. It sounds hollow now there are one and a half million unemployed. In contrast to the 'confrontationist' Heath with his 3-day week designed to beat the miners, the slogan stressed the Labour leaders' line that all should work together for some common interest.

The record on wages and jobs shows that common interest is a myth. The basic economic questions of wages, jobs and profits are questions of class struggle. The so-called 'common interest' championed by Callaghan and Healey is merely a disguise for the interests of the bosses.

It is often said by the Labour right that the left's demands for nationalisations are calculated to push voters into the Tories' arms. That wouldn't be so if the call for nationalisation were taken up as part of a general fight to make the bosses pay.

That means connecting the

fight, not with the naive idea that any extension of the state's economic role must be socialist, but with a struggle to defeat and break up the present state machine and replace it by a regime based on workers' control at all levels.

The army's strikebreaking against the firemen and their planned strikebreaking against the oil tanker drivers, and the police assaults on the Grunwick picket lines, show how the state is very definitely a bosses' state.

The deportations of Philip Agee and Mark Hosenball, and the prosecution of Crispin Aubrey, John Berry and Duncan Campbell, underline the point: here we have a Labour Home Secretary clearly acting on the dictates of secret police and intelligence agencies — many of which are in no way answerable to the Government, let alone to Parliament or any public forum.

Manchester Chief Constable

James Anderton's repeated aid to the National Front shows the reactionary bias of police chiefs who continue to run the state machine whether the government is Tory or Labour.

The SCLV recognises that the Wilson-Callaghan government policy has been to manage, and be managed by, that capitalist state. The Campaign will fight to break the labour movement from its links to the state, and to instil into it a spirit of class struggle rather than class collaboration.

The bosses fight for low wages, high productivity, and minimum labour costs, so as to ensure high profits; the working class fights for decent wages, the right to work, shorter hours and tolerable work conditions and work speeds, thus cutting into profits.

Conflict is unavoidable. The bosses organise and equip themselves for the fight; so must the working class.

Organising the

□□ Despite its apparent strength the Tribune left in the Labour Party hasn't really put up any real opposition to the government's policies. Why do you think this is so?

■ The opposition mounted by the so-called left in the Labour Party, particularly in parliament, has been really ineffective — primarily because they confine the fight to Parliament.

There's been no move by any of the left MPs to go into the constituency parties, to go into the trade union branches, and to start mobilising, in the way that Nye Bevan led the fight against Gaitskill in the '50s.

He spoke at branches of the trade union movement up and down the country and, I should think, for a period of nearly two years, seldom went into the House of Commons.

The only time any fight appears is in staged circumstances at the party conference, but there's been no move by any of the left MPs to go into the constituency parties and trade union branches and mobilise.

□□ What about Labour councils?

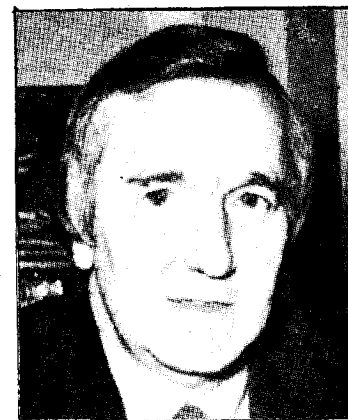
NIK BARSTOW talked to TED KNIGHT [right] about the way forward for the left in the Labour Party and the Socialist Campaign for a Labour Victory. Knight will be Labour's parliamentary candidate for Hornsey

■ Most Labour councils have confined themselves to a fight only in words with the government; many have asked for more resources but accepted the cuts when they came. They have been unwilling or unable to go out to the labour movement and wage a struggle against the government. They've accepted that they shouldn't "rock the boat".

But Lambeth council did conduct a fight at the end of last year. By refusing to accept the government's directive to increase rents, we were able to get six Labour councils in London to support us and force the government to retreat.

That's the sort of fight that should be going on.

□□ Recently the Area Health Authority covering Lambeth refused to implement govern-



ment cuts. Would you agree that such actions can only be successful if the support of the health workers is drawn in directly?

■ You can't oppose the government's financial policies merely by making a protest. Those policies are dictated not by the wickedness of Labour ministers but by the economic requirements of capitalism — so to fight these policies you have to mobilise workers. To a limited extent there has been a mobilisation of workers on this question — not by the AHA but by the trade unions themselves. The result was that Ennals has just granted an 18-month standstill on that budget cut.

ne SCLV ing for



ne Left to fight

☐ How do you think the left in the Labour Party can organise?

☒ There has to be a coming together of left wing forces within the Labour Party and the unions.

In March of this year Lambeth Labour Group decided to circulate every Constituency Labour Party in London and every Labour Group, demanding a recall conference of the London Labour parties, to deal with the question of the Tory-controlled GLC selling off council properties.

There is a need for the left to work out a common platform to which we must attract people in the Labour Party and the unions — a common political platform for a change in direction in government economic policy. We can't fight as individuals, local authorities can't solve their areas' problems themselves, nor can the left solve the problems by fights in individual CLPs. There has to be coordination of that sort of activity, so there has to be agreement on a platform.

☐ In the election period the SCLV will be trying to organise at least a section of the left in the Labour Party, around dem-

ands which provide the basis for a fightback. Is it the kind of thing you have in mind?

☒ I support the campaign, it is a contribution, though a small one, which we have to get maximum support for. It is that sort of platform which has to be taken before the labour movement. Unless we can break the isolation that usually surrounds such campaigns we won't be able to coordinate the forces that are needed. A fight-back must be the basis.

And that holds, whichever way the result goes in October, or whenever.

☐ Before the election NUPE will be running a series of rallies round the country to demand 'a national minimum wage of £60 a week. What is your view on this campaign?

☒ I'm supporting that campaign, and speaking at some of the meetings connected with it, because it is something which does need to be done, regardless of the electoral result for Labour. I don't think we have to base either our attack on the government or our demands for changes in government policy on the possibilities of electoral victory or defeat.

It's a good campaign, but there is a need to extend it by taking it into other unions. And there needs to be a link-up with demands like those of the NUM in a general move to improve the incomes of working class families.

The question is, will the union leaderships hold to those demands and, for NUPE, will the leadership be serious about the fight, so it doesn't just become an exercise for recruiting members.

☐ What way ahead do you see for the left in the Labour Party?

☒ Like most committed socialists in the Labour Party I believe there is a major fight ahead. Irrespective of the next general election, there is a need to organise within the party. The left is, as yet, not organised.

We need to argue out a platform that will bring together the widest range of forces on the left on a clear political line and that line must be dictated by the need to break the social-democratic basis of present government policy.

We're going to prepare the ground for that fight now.

■ Free abortion and contraception on demand. Women's equal right to work, and full equality for women.

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

At the end of 1975 the Equal Pay Act and the Sex Discrimination Act came into force. And then the bosses won 70% of the equal pay cases and 90% of the sex discrimination cases taken to the tribunals in 1976.

For many working class women, thrown out of their jobs by redundancies and public sector cuts, and forced back into the home — where they are over-burdened as a result of lack of nursery provision and facilities to care for the sick and elderly — Callaghan's speeches about the family are a hollow joke.

They want the right to be economically and personally independent — and for that, they need to be able to free themselves from the burdens of caring for the young, the old, and the sick, and to go out to work, into the labour movement and into trade union and political activity.

Unless the cuts are reversed and women's equal right to

work is established, the modest gains of the sex-equality legislation will come to nothing.

Abortion promises to be a major issue at election time. Many Labour voters disapprove of abortion. But while, certainly, every person has the right to his or her own moral views on abortion, it is wrong that the views of anti-abortionists should be imposed as law on everyone else.

The unborn foetus is not a person in any full sense; the pregnant mother is. The right to decide must be hers. Restrictive abortion laws lead to nothing but women being bullied by husbands and doctors, to the spread of backstreet abortions, and to an increase in late abortions as opposed to earlier, safer and less distressing early abortions.

Free abortion and contraception on demand is Labour Party policy. It should be part of every constituency labour party's campaign.

■ 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 now. Political status for Irish republican prisoners as a matter of urgency.

The top army officers who preach 'counter-insurgency' and organise strike-breaking in Britain do not become philanthropic peace-keepers when they cross the Irish Sea.

In Northern Ireland the British army is propping up a sectarian state based on Protestant supremacy. It is maintaining the anti-democratic Partition of Ireland. It is defending an oppressive and unjust set-up which cannot be made peaceful. And it is trying to forcibly beat down all the active, militant people in the Northern Catholic minority who are fighting to end that oppression and end the centuries-old British grip on Ireland.

The Labour government has just continued the Tories' work. Soon after taking office in 1974 they gave in to the sectarian 'Ulster Workers' Council' strike and dropped 'power-sharing', a set-up resented by the Protestant bigots because it gave the Catholic middle class a small share of government posts and government patronage.

The Labour government's

other major new policy in Northern Ireland has been the scrapping of 'political status' for Republican prisoners, as from March 1976.

To the Republican prisoners it is clear that they are jailed for their activity in fighting for their country's freedom, and they have mounted a major struggle for recognition of this. The SCLV supports them.

The Labour government is also responsible for the 'Prevention of Terrorism Act', introduced in November 1974 as a so-called emergency measure and renewed periodically ever since. In the first 2½ years of operation of this Act, 2251 people were detained (mostly with no charge being made) and 81 deported on the say-so of the Home Secretary.

In 1921 the Labour Party resolved to support the right of the Irish people (as a whole) to determine their own future. That is still the only basis for peace and progress in Ireland. And the 'Prevention of Terrorism Act' has given new evidence for the old axiom: a nation which oppresses another cannot itself be free.

■ It is essential to achieve the fullest democracy in the labour movement. Automatic re-selection of MPs during each parliament, and the election by annual conference of party leaders. Annual election of all trade union officials, who should be paid the average for the trade. These measures are essential if we are to have a leadership of the labour movement which is responsive and loyal to the interests of the working class.

The best policies are no good without the means to fight for them. The SCLV will back left-wingers against right-wingers as Labour candidates; it will press those candidates to commit themselves on key issues; and it will urge constituency Labour Parties to hold MPs to account on those commitments.

But fundamentally we look not to getting a few more left wing promises or left wing MPs, but to the action of the rank and file. We want the broadest democracy in the labour movement so that the rank and file can organise most freely and bring pressure to bear most effectively on the labour movement's leadership.

A left wing candidate in the

recent elections in Peru said: 'In our country, the main voters are the tanks'. In Britain, the ranks keep in the background and the main voters are the balance sheets. In his memoirs Harold Wilson has described how the Bank of England dictated policy to the 1964-70 Labour government.

More recently we have seen the bankers of the International Monetary Fund dictating policy to the present Labour government.

The working class cannot afford to 'leave it to our elected representatives', still less to give MPs and trade union officials a job for life. Without democracy and accountability in the labour movement, all the promises and conference resolutions are empty words.

IRELAND'S TRAGEDY, LABOUR'S SHAME

by
**RICHARD
CHESSUM**

NOTHING could better illustrate official British Labour's imperialist attitude to the Irish working class than an exchange that took place in 1969 between the present Prime Minister of the UK, James Callaghan (then Home Secretary), and the arch-Tory Unionist James Chichester Clark, during the latter's Premiership of Northern Ireland.

Callaghan coolly suggested to Clark that to help solve Northern Ireland's housing and sectarian problems in one fell swoop, the whole of the Shankill and the Falls should be pulled down, gutted, and rebuilt at different ends of Belfast: "I suggested that a verdant park should be created in its place to be called the Chichester Clark park", Callaghan recalls. And Farmer Callaghan's landowning friend from the backwoods of Ulster was, not surprisingly, "tickled" by the idea.

It is perhaps in reaction to this arrogant contempt for ordinary people, shown equally by British Labour and the Ulster ruling class, that elements in both Protestant and Catholic communities have recently been talking of ending the British connection by

setting up an independent 'Ulster'.

But for such a solution to be in any way 'progressive', a number of conditions would have to be fulfilled. And it is extremely doubtful whether they can be, inside the 6-county state.

The northern state was the direct product of army mutiny and Tory threats of civil war, as well as being the culmination of centuries of 'divide and rule' by British imperialism. Its artificially created Loyalist majority protected the interests of the northern capitalists, ensured the continuation of the Protestant ascendancy, and made impossible a unified and militant labour movement throughout Ireland.

Yet illusions in the possibility of progressive developments within this gerrymander of a state are still reflected in official Labour thinking.

For example, a recent document produced by the working group set up by the National Executive Committee to study Northern Ireland recommended a new democratically elected top tier of local government. Yet the consequence of this would be quite simply to restore to Loyalist-controlled local authorities the power to discriminate.

"Democratisation", within a state created to deny democracy to the Irish people as a whole, merely leads to its

opposite.

Another suggestion of the working group was that British Labour should set up its own organisation in the 6 counties, and contest elections. A resolution for Annual Conference from the Boilermakers Society demands that the NEC organise "in N. Ireland as in the rest of the UK".



Roy Mason, Labour Minister — and front-man for the army of occupation in Ireland.

Once again it is useful to remind ourselves of the former activities of James Callaghan.

In 1971 he visited Belfast and made strenuous efforts to revive the Northern Ireland Labour Party. Since then the NILP has shrunk from a tiny, irrelevant and mainly Protestant social democratic party, to a rump of two-nations theorists and 'Loyalists with a human

face'. Callaghan himself admitted that it was virtually a Protestant party, but preferred it to the mainly Catholic SDLP because it alone had links with the trade unions.

Today, with the demise of the party and the impotence of the trade unions (as demonstrated in the UWC strike) the argument is being advanced that the only weapon with which to fight sectarianism is a new region of the British Labour Party in the 6 counties!

There is no reason whatever to believe that the fate of such a party would be any different from that of the NILP.

Perhaps it is recognition of this that even the Organisation Sub-Committee of the NEC rejected the proposal. And the watered-down version of the working party report containing the proposals for 'democratisation' has been shelved by the NEC.

Instead, a document is to be presented to Conference for discussion.

What will it contain? Will it tell the Labour rank and file the truth about the war in Ireland — that Britain is fighting an oppressed people in her oldest colony; that Britain has no right to be in Ireland; that 'our' Army is an army of occupation?

Consider the following:

* In 1974 the army carried out approximately 70,000 house raids on Republican areas. The Catholic population is 500,000.

An equivalent number of house raids in Britain would be 7 million in a population of 50 million.

* There are between 2,000 and 3,000 Republican political prisoners in the 6 Counties. This is like having between 200,000 and 300,000 political prisoners in Britain.

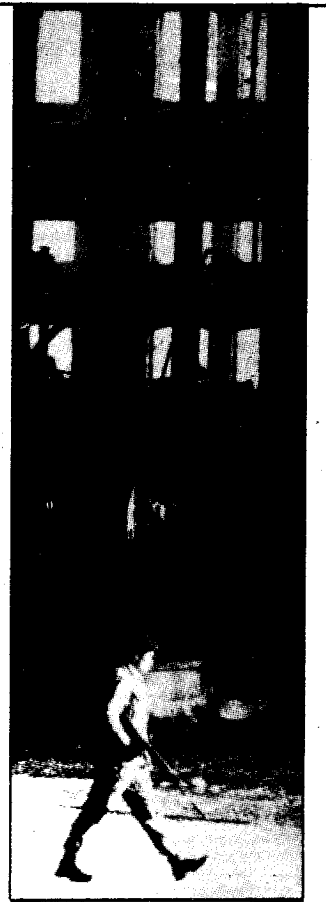
* When the Queen visited N. Ireland in Jubilee year, 32,000 members of the 'security forces' were on duty. This is one member of the 'security forces' for every 6 adult Catholics.

Could this level of repression exist throughout Britain without a fascist regime? Yet we are constantly told that a 'handful of gunmen' stand between Northern Ireland and 'normality'. That's why Roy Mason needs rigorous censorship to hide the true nature of Britain's imperialist war from the British labour movement.

There has always been a reluctance on the part of British labour to accept the partition of Ireland as permanent. This is partly due to the origins and obviously reactionary nature of the 6 County state. It is also partly the product of the right wing ideology and practice of the Protestant working class.

This is undoubtedly a factor in persuading even some right wing MPs to reject the kind of proposals submitted by (the majority of) the working party.

However, it is one thing to



believe in the ultimate reunification of Ireland, and quite another to concede that our own British state is fighting a war against a people waging a national liberation struggle. Unless we understand this, we shall be blind to the oppression being prepared for ourselves. The coercive apparatus of the capitalist state in now better equipped and experienced than ever before. It is still the case that "A nation that oppresses another cannot itself be free".

SPG to the right, TUC to the left, how the Grunwick strike was lost

by **FRANK
HANSEN**
[Brent East CLP]

A COUPLE of months ago the Grunwick strike was quietly wound up by APEX leader Roy Grantham.

Despite all the fine speeches by TUC leaders about "crushing" George Ward, despite the Labour Government's Employment Protection Act which is supposed to guarantee the right to belong to a trade union, and despite a Court of Inquiry recommendation in favour of recognition and partial reinstatement, the Grunwick strikers were left high and dry without a union and without a job.

Yet in July 1977 George Ward's tinpot dictatorship was almost in ruins.

Unofficial blacking by the Cricklewood postal workers had cut Grunwick's 'jugular vein', halting its vital mail-order work. Thousands of workers from all over the country flocked to the daily mass pickets. On July 11th, 20,000 came down and Grunwick was sealed off for five hours, despite the efforts of a 6,000-strong army of police. It seemed that Ward would have to live up to his words about "liquidating rather than capitulating".

Yet the July 11th mass picket was diverted into a harmless protest march by APEX and the TUC, and the scab bus got through even on that day. After that the Cricklewood postmen were driven back to normal working by threats from UPW bosses Jackson and Stagg (and their leaders later fined by the union). APEX sabotaged the August 8th Day of Action and ensured that



no further official mass pickets would take place. The TUC refused to cut off Grunwick's essential services, despite appeals and even a hunger strike on its doorstep. Ward was off the hook.

The strikers fought back with their own mass pickets in the Autumn, only to see them smashed by police violence and mass arrests, without even a whimper of protest from the Labour leaders. Now APEX has promised to find jobs for all the strikers. But after four months only a handful of jobs have been offered. Union branches and CLPs can still back the strikers by demanding that APEX and the TUC mount a struggle for jobs — in organised workplaces — now.

Grunwick was a bitter defeat for the labour movement. Nevertheless it contains rich lessons.

■ It demonstrates the sinister build-up of state forces since the miners brought down the Heath Government. Think what the Tories would make of this if they got back in. As Tory policy-maker Keith Joseph put it, "Grunwick is all our tomorrows".

Laws

■ The strike showed that we cannot place one ounce of faith in the laws — even laws which are supposedly on our side.

The position of the Labour leaders was that we should "respect the law". What this meant in practice was "accepting the bosses' law".

While our main weapons — mass picketing and blacking — were deemed illegal, Ward and the NAFF were allowed to defy the Employment Protection Act and the Scarman Inquiry with im-

punity. Far from winning the strike, the EP Act and Scarman were used as carrots to defuse the struggle and extricate the Labour government from an embarrassing situation.

■ Grunwick will go down in working class history not just as a brave and bitter struggle by immigrant workers, most of them women, for the right to join a union, but as one of the most brazen and naked betrayals of the Labour government and of the TUC in its efforts to spare the government from trouble. "I blame every leadership" says strike leader Jayaben Desai — "Union, TUC, Labour Government... all of them are the same... it was finished by the leadership."

Toothless

The Labour leaders were terrified by the Grunwick strike because of the class unity and solidarity it evoked, demanding that Labour's fine words be put into practice. And it was said that Grunwick would weaken Labour's election prospects by exposing how toothless were the laws that Labour had enacted as its side of the 'Social Contract' deal.

But it's not necessary to fight the election by saying how wonderful the Social Contract has been, or what an advance for workers the Employment Protection Act was.

We can say instead: the class hatred that nearly smashed George Ward can now be harnessed to make sure that his party is kept out — or we'll see hundreds more of him springing up in every part of the country.

THE BRITISH ARMY TRAINS FOR CIVIL WAR

by
JEFF SLEE
[Cambridge
CLP]

ONLY armed force maintains Britain's grip on Ireland. Over the last six years, Northern Ireland has become, in effect, a military dictatorship. Very often it is the Army commanders who decide matters — not the British Government or the British Parliament.

The Army showed its hand most clearly during the Ulster Workers' Council strike of May 1974, which toppled the short-lived 'power-sharing' regime in Northern Ireland. An article in the right-wing Tory weekly, *Monday World*, described how "the army decided that it was right, that it knew best, and the politicians had better toe the line".

The Cabinet, on May 24th, decided to order the troops to break the strike. The Army refused.

It was a repeat of the Curragh Mutiny of 1914, when Army officers refused to carry out the orders of Parliament on the question of Home Rule for Ireland — an event which helped to pave the way for the Partition of Ireland in 1920-21.

The Army has its own politics, and they don't correspond to the official story that the Army's purpose is to defend the people of Britain against external enemies.

The last Tory Prime Minister Edward Heath told the United Nations that the major armed conflicts of the coming years would be civil wars, not wars between nations. Top Army commanders have the same idea.

Six years ago Brigadier Frank Kitson wrote a book on methods of putting down 'subversion', saying that would be the Army's chief role in future. "It is difficult for the British with their traditions of stability

to imagine disorders beyond the powers of the police to handle, but there are already indications that such a situation could arise...

"If a genuine and serious grievance arose, and such might arise from a significant drop in the standard of living, all those who dissipate their protests over a wide area of causes might concentrate their efforts... Should this happen, the Army would be required to restore the position rapidly."

The book carried a recommendation from top Army chief Sir Michael Carver. And its ideas are evidently being put into practice.

When the army was used against a dockers' strike in 1970, it was the first time since 1955 that such a thing had happened in Britain. Since then the army has been used nine times against strikes.

New techniques of repression have been tried out in Northern Ireland, and thousands of soldiers trained in using them.

The Territorial Army Volunteer Reserve (TAVR) was built up by the Heath Government with modern weapons and improved training. It is now 60,000 strong — and in many areas it provides a nesting ground for the National Front.

In 1975 a TAVR unit staged an assault on a derelict empty house in Hull. Undoubtedly this was not the only training operation the TAVR has had for urban conflicts.

And some of the roles suggested by Kitson have been taken on by special police units like the Special Patrol Groups and Anti-Terrorist Squad. Joint police-army operations, notably at Heathrow, are now common.

Any real worries about national defence could be quickly resolved by arming the workers in every factory and office throughout Britain. But the existing army is more of a threat to the working people of Britain than a defence for us.

Even in the days when the British Army's operations were mainly wars against other nations, that had nothing to do with defending the working people of Britain. Mostly they were wars to gain colonies for Britain, or — as in Malaya, Kenya, Cyprus, Aden and Northern Ireland — to suppress radical movements in those colonies.

During the Second World War, the British Army's operations were mainly in Africa and Asia, defending Britain's colonies rather than Britain. Most of the fighting it did in Europe was to suppress a revolutionary movement in Greece, in 1944-45!

The British Army is, and always has been, a force which recruits the sons and daughters of the British working class to fight against our class brothers and sisters in Britain and abroad, and to die for the greater glory and profit of the British ruling class.

Its commanders, men like Kitson and Carver, are drawn from the wealthy classes, and trained in upper-crust institutions like Sandhurst after a spell in the OTC at Eton or Harrow. They are solid reactionaries, men who would never hesitate to follow the example of Pinochet in Chile in the event of a British government taking serious measures against the power and wealth of the top 5% in society.

So the Tories' call for increased defence spending is a call to build up a bigger striking force against the working class. The Labour Government's weak compliance with British Army policy in Ireland allows that striking force to step up its training for operations against 'subversion' by the British working class.

That's why the SCLV says: not a penny for 'defence'. Get the troops out of Ireland now! Dissolve special police squads like the SPG, Anti-Terrorist Squad, Special Branch & MIS!

by DAVID SKINNER,
one of the first eleven
Clay Cross councillors
victims for
their fight against the
Tory Housing
Finance Act

Stop the NEC selling out Clay Cross



"The N.E.C. has tricked the Conference. This must not be allowed to happen again"

AS WE once again approach the annual conference of the Labour Party, it might be a useful exercise for readers to cast their minds back 12 months.

For last year a resolution was passed which simply said: 'This conference deplores the continuing disqualification from public office of the 21 Clay Cross Labour Party members, and demands that the Government introduce a bill to remove the disqualification forthwith'.

Ask anyone, do those simple words mislead you? Can you — can anyone — believe that the resolution, which was passed almost unanimously, said or had things in it that the supreme decision-making Conference was not aware of? Or was it a simple case of Conference not knowing what it was doing?

Well, comrades, that is exactly what Allaun and Heffer from the NEC, along with well-to-do officials, believe! Sounds incredible, doesn't it?

Here we have two prominent 'left' wingers of the NEC actually agreeing with Peter

Shore (Environment Minister) that the Conference was tricked and it didn't know what it was doing. If anyone doubts it I have proof in the form of minutes of the meeting.

The document which was endorsed by the NEC listed other 'crimes'. You may like to compare them with the 'crimes' of the Crown Agents, William Stern, John Poulson, T. Dan Smith, or even the Rhodesian sanctions busters.

Refusal to raise rents

'WE ACCEPTED NOTHING COULD BE DONE'

"HOME POLICY COMMITTEE: Report of a meeting with Rt Hon Peter Shore on Clay Cross"

Present: F. Allaun, E. Heffer, G. Bish, E. Miller, P. Shore, D. Cowling.

The NEC members accepted that neither the Conference nor the NEC had examined, as closely as perhaps they should have done, what their attitude should be to that expenditure (by all of the 21 councillors) which was nothing to do with the Housing Finance Act, and which

had been declared unlawful in April 1975.

Peter Shore said that a Bill to cancel the disqualification arising from these latter surcharges raised an entirely new issue: it would be very difficult to contemplate because the principle of general legal restrictions on council expenditure was of such wide application. To relieve the Clay Cross 21 of these surcharges and the consequent disqualification would have very different implications from a specific

measure to deal with the aftermath of the Housing Finance Act. Even then there remained the disqualification on the first eleven arising from their undischarged bankruptcy.

The NEC members said they accepted that nothing worthwhile could be done at present on the disqualifications and surcharges arising from the Housing Finance Act; and that the difficulties involved in cancelling the other disqualification seemed insurmountable...

We are being denied basic human rights — internal exile if you like — because the 'left' on the NEC have no guts to

fight the right wing Ministers and Transport House officials, like Ed Miller and J. Bish.

All those CLPs which voted for the Clay Cross resolution must get this NEC decision overturned. This can be done by the moving back of the NEC's report to this year's Conference (Page 55, 'Resolution 320, Clay Cross').

Further, all those delegates to Conference who are part of a Trade Union delegation must get the backing of their own Trade Union, e.g. TGWU, NUPE, AUEW, TASS, GMWU, ASTMS, NUM, etc. You must insist that an emergency resolution, if necessary, be the order of the day.

The NEC has tricked the Conference. This must not be allowed to happen again. The NEC has no right to vet resolutions which have been democratically arrived at, let alone chuck them on the scrap heap.

My message to the Conference is: Beware of the Allauns and Heffers of this world. They are as left as my right arm. Don't vote for hypocrites on the NEC, and support Clay Cross in its struggle!

Building a movement for women's rights

The Tories never miss a chance to stress that they are the Party not only of the Church and State and Law and Order, but also of the Family. 'Let Our Children Grow Tall' is the title of a set of the Leader's collected speeches — a bit cheeky coming from the old milk-snatcher...

Callaghan, closely trailed by Transport House in the latest TV broadcast, tries to nail Labour's colours to the same mast. He told Labour women last month that: 'the overriding social concern is to preserve and enhance the influence of the family as a whole; an influence that is beneficial in every way'.

Does it live up to the idealised image of a safe haven of happiness and love?

Socialists and feminists argue that it doesn't.

It isn't just that family life so often goes hideously 'wrong': more women are beaten and murdered in their own homes every night than in a hundred years of dark alley muggings. About 300 children are killed and 3000 severely injured each year (official figures: the true number may be much higher) in their own homes. They pay the price for society's use of the family as a shock-absorber for people's bitterness and frustrations.

But even in the 'happiest' of families, children hear more do's and don'ts than everything else put together, as parents struggle over the years to turn their naturally rebellious in-

fant into obedient, lawful and disciplined youngsters. In any society, the parents' role is to act as a sort of social foreman, breaking-in their children and moulding them to 'fit in'.

Little wonder that the family institution is so valued by conservatives (and given an extra boost in the most authoritarian societies such as fascist Germany).

When politicians talk about the family, they are talking about the very opposite of the welfare of its members. The family is an institution designed to look after itself and save the state the money and the bother of doing it.

Poverty

That's been very clear in relation to the social service cuts. Less hospital beds means more time spent in bed at home tended, most often, by a wife or daughter. Less nurseries means under-fives hung around their young mother's neck like a lump of lead.

Then there are the one-parent families. One and a quarter million children live with just one parent — and with poverty.

The Finer Report, published four years ago, spelt out many proposals to ease their plight. More than half of the 230 recommendations were rejected outright. Its two major proposals — guaranteed maintenance allowance and family courts — were rejected as 'too complex

and too expensive'.

It seems that the only family Callaghan cares about is Mr. & Mrs. Average and their 2.6 children.

The Child Benefit Scheme, supported by both Tory and Labour, shows they recognise the reality of family life: otherwise why take money (in the form of child tax allowance) off the father and hand it to the mother to spend on the children?

The biggest losers in family life are women.

Even before they get into it, the expectation of marriage and children limits their education and job horizons. Because their main role is still seen as that of wife and mother, Britain's nine million women workers are in the lowest paid, most boring jobs. About a third work part-time to 'fit in' with childminding: so they lose out on job security and many of the benefits that have been won for other workers.

Despite the Equal Pay and Sex Discrimination Acts, this Labour government has made things worse for women, by cutting back on every social facility necessary to free women from the ties of housework and the home care of the very young and the very old.

And how successful have these Acts been?

Employers had five years' warning in which to devise ways round the Equal Pay Act. And that's just what they did. Most women aren't covered by it anyway, or don't benefit by



their rights under the new laws but refused to get bogged down in the tribunals set up under those laws.

One thing has become clear too: the bosses aren't the only obstacles. Many are the male workmates who've scabbed on equal pay struggles or pressured women to 'go out the gates first' when redundancy is threatened. Some men have even struck to keep their jobs all-male. And the unions, with their male leaders and officials, have been slow to push the interests of the sisters, especially in the old craft unions.

Abortion

One big advance in the labour movement was at the 1977 Labour conference, which backed women's right to have an abortion on request, no questions asked. The next step is to insist that Labour's MPs toe the line on that: many are still insisting on their right to vote in line with their 'conscience' (and constituency Catholic pressures) for even more restrictions on abortion. And on this matter, too, the government has failed women in cutting back on NHS abortion facilities that should have been extended to provide day-care abortions.

So far, women's struggles have forced the leaders of the labour movement to pay lip-service to their demands. Now we need to organise to win those demands. By organising socialist women in the labour movement, the SCLV can help to build a working class based women's movement, a movement to defeat both the ruling class and the conservative, male-chauvinist bias in the ranks of labour.

PAT LONGMAN

How we're fighting the cuts in Hounslow

PETE ROWLANDS, secretary of Hounslow Trades Council, reports on the Hounslow Hospital occupation and 'Fightback'

HOUNSLOW Hospital, a small 66-bed hospital in West London, was due to close as part of a cuts package on August 31st, 1977. After the announcement of closure a 'work-in' was begun at the hospital in March 1977. Meanwhile, the Trades Council had become fully involved in the campaign.

The day of closure came and went; management assumed that the hospital would run down as patients were discharged. However, sympathetic doctors admitted new patients. The response to this was a raid on October 6th, 1977, which stripped the hospital of its patients.

transformed itself into an occupation, which has been going ever since.

The occupation has not confined itself to local questions. Realising that similar actions are growing throughout the country, it has launched a journal, *Fightback*, aimed at fighting cuts in the health service and linking the various campaigns being mounted round the country.

Fightback has played an important role in linking, maintaining and promoting actions against the cuts, some of which have been successful. Campaigns at the Elizabeth Garrett Anderson, Bethnal Green, St Nicholas's, Sheffield, Birmingham and Aberdare are all linked to *Fightback*.

At the same time, *Fightback* has attempted to involve workers from outside the health unions and the public sector, and has affiliation from a number of trades unions and other groups.



HOUNSLOW HOSPITAL after the raid. Health authorities removed all patients and staff on October 6th, 1977.

Ford workers' answer to 5 p.c.: No way!

A shop steward in the Paint, Trim and Assembly Plant at Ford Dagenham describes the feeling among Ford workers over their claim for £20 increase and a 35 hour week.

ALL THE TALK now is that the 5% is not acceptable to us. Mostly now people are coming and asking questions about this. What's the 5%? Are the unions going to agree?

I say no, we won't agree at all. We've already said 5% is not enough. We want £20.

I sometimes ask: do you think the 5% is justified? They say: no way. I never heard anybody saying it's OK. There's a very strong feeling. Everybody's ready. It's only

for the top people in the union to say yes, stick to your guns and we'll fight — and we're out.

■ ■ Do you think there'll be a strike?

□ □ Yes. If there's no agreement you have to. There's no alternative.

■ ■ How would a strike affect Ford now?

□ □ It is a good time. They have a new model Cortina waiting to come in... a few changes for next year. And at the moment the Cortina is in great demand, so obviously we are in a very good position.

■ ■ What is the feeling on the shop floor about striking against a Labour government, particularly with an election coming up? Do you think that the argument about not rocking the boat will have any effect?

□ □ No. If they offer 5% there is no way we'll accept it. This time everybody has just got

fed up. We want really free collective bargaining this time. We say that we have supported the Labour Government for quite a few years, and we are not accepting the situation. I think this time too much has gone.

For the last few years, under the Social Contract, our increases were not much. We even got the £6 in installments — £3, and then £3 afterwards. Now I think £20 is quite reasonable enough.

■ ■ What is the situation with Ford internationally?

□ □ Some blokes think Ford is difficult to fight because it's an international company. They're thinking that Ford can afford to lose the production because they'll only make it somewhere else, in Spain or in Germany.

But if Ford Dagenham really wants to have a go with the company, they can paralyse the whole of Europe, wherever Ford is, because lots and lots of parts are exported from this

country to the others. The last time we were out, for 80% lay-off pay, factories were about to be closed down in many places — Germany, Cologne especially, and Spain.

But I don't think we will get support from Europe. The working class is not so conscious about it. There may be some attempts, but I don't know of them.

■ ■ What about the demand for a 35 hour week?

□ □ Few people think they'll really get 35 hours, they say it's very difficult.

But I say, look, when we were working 45 or 50 hours, everybody said it's not possible to get 40 hours, but we achieved that. The same way we can achieve 35 hours.

There's nothing impossible. I tell them that they are ready to reduce 2½ hours in the American car industry — so you think we can't even do that?

They say: well, we can do that, but still people want to work overtime. That's true.

but if I don't want to do overtime, I shouldn't have to. Any overtime is bad, but we do it because we've got very poor wages.

■ ■ What preparation and organisation has there been for winning the claim?

□ □ One thing has come up. For the first time on pay, there's going to be a meeting of all the Dagenham shop stewards, from all the plants on the estate, in the company's time, to discuss the claim and offers.

It's very, very good. The convenors have organised it after it was requested by the shop stewards. For a long time we've been saying it.

■ ■ Last year the claim was sold out by the union leadership. What can be done to prevent that happening this year?

□ □ The only way you can do it is through the rank and file. They should be informed. Shop stewards should discuss with the membership...

TGWU frame-up back on the road

AS THE AUEW leaders pressed ahead with their vendetta against the SU toolmakers and the Bathgate shop stewards, frame-up charges against nine militants in the Transport and General Workers' Union were revived.

The charges against nine militants at the Cowley Assembly Plant of British Leyland had been referred back by the TGWU's Region 5 committee on July 19th. Now the Oxford District Committee, which initiated the charges, has voted to continue with them. The Regional Committee will reconsider the case at its next meeting, on October 18th.

The accusations were made early this year after a new militant leadership was elected in the Assembly Plant. Bob Fryer was elected convenor, and Tom White, Frank Corti and Alan Thornett were voted into deputy convenor posts — though the Leyland bosses refuse to recognise Thornett.

Fryer, White, Corti, and Thornett are all among the nine. The District Committee is pressing for Thornett — a well-known revolutionary socialist militant — to be expelled from the TGWU, and Corti to be banned from union office for life.

The frame-up includes ridiculous charges like criticising union officials, revealing details of payments made to a TGWU branch secretary, publishing union documents, and... shuffling their feet in District Committee meetings.

Resolutions and messages of support for the Cowley 9 Defence Campaign can be sent to Frank Corti [secretary, 5/293 branch], 4 Queens Close, Botley, Oxford.

Strikers beat the Tory warmongers

"IF WE can't get troops, we'll get private paramilitaries to break the strike", declared a leading member of Basingstoke's Tory Council. But a five week strike by council workers, ending on September 7th, defeated the war-mongering Tories' attempt to bring in contract labour for maintenance work on council housing.

The 70 council building maintenance workers led the strike, demanding the work be done by direct labour and not by contractors. After a massive police intervention against the maintenance workers' pickets, all the other council manual workers came out, making a total of 300 on strike.

The strike was made official by the T&GWU, the main union involved, after four weeks. By that time the council was getting worried. Three leading

Tories, Dudley Keep, Rodney Barrett, and Joe Ludgate, put a motion through the Council calling for troops to be sent in to break the strike.

The Home Office refused to give the Council the troops they asked for — and then Rodney Barrett told *Southampton Evening Post* reporter Cliff Mogg, "we'll get paramilitaries instead".

Police had already arrested six workers on the picket line, charging two of them. But the strikers stood firm. Within 72 hours after Barrett's statement, the council caved in.

Barrett has since denied he made the call for paramilitaries. Probably some of his more cautious colleagues have been warning him that it doesn't do to display the 'unacceptable face of Toryism' so boldly in a pre-election period! But Mogg insists that his report is true, and Barrett can take him to the Press Council if he denies it.

The victory is not complete. The council has given no commitment not to use contract labour in the future, and it has not increased its direct labour force. But the Tories will think twice before confronting these workers again!

POEU Left loses—but gets organised

BY A MARGIN of 76,000 to 42,000, the Post Office Engineering Union recall conference on September 16th voted to accept the union executive's deal on the engineers' demand for a 35 hour week.

The deal gives a 37½ hour week — with strings. The great majority of POEU members felt it was a sell-out. The vote went through for acceptance only because delegates felt it was impossible to regain the momentum lost when the union executive called off the engineers' successful overtime ban and work to rule.

Just to make sure, the executive had organised the conference so that the branches could present no resolutions, nor even any amendments to the one permitted resolution, from the Executive.

Now the Left in the POEU has to organise to prevent future sell-outs. A Broad Left conference is scheduled for October 14th, in London. Contact London City Branch POEU, Moorgate Automatic Telephone Exchange, 72 Fore Street, London EC2.

EIGHT MONTHS ON STRIKE: NO MORE WAITING!

Mass rally and picket to support the Garners strikers fighting for union recognition.

Saturday October 7th. Assembly 3pm at Speakers' Corner, then march to Trafalgar Square.

Messages of support and donations to Strike Committee, Room 84, 12/13 Henrietta Street, London WC2.

WHY THERE'S NO REWARD IN PAY RESTRAINT

PROPPING UP the 5% limit, there will be the old argument that 'one person's wage rise is another person's price rise'. FRANK LEE and BRUCE ROBINSON show that this common-sense idea is wrong.

■ ■ Saying price rises are caused by wage rises is as logical as saying price rises are caused by price rises. Wages are a price: the price of labour power.

□ □ But wages form part of the cost of almost everything we buy. So isn't it logical that a rise in wages will mean a rise in all other prices?

■ ■ No. Manufacturers can't just increase their prices whenever their costs increase. The price they can charge is fixed by the market. The increase in costs can just as well mean a cut in the difference between cost prices and selling prices — that is, a cut in profits.

□ □ That may be true if you have free competition. But don't the big capitalist monopolies have price-fixing agreements which enable them to 'pass on' increased costs?

■ ■ Yes — but only within limits. The car industry and the bread industry give recent examples to show that even the most heavily monopolised industries can't just fix their prices as they like to give the bosses the profit they want.

□ □ So what does cause inflation, then?

■ ■ Credit, bank overdrafts, hire purchase, mortgages, and state borrowing all create a similar effect to the state printing extra paper money (which it also does).

But pound notes and dollar notes are just tokens. If 10% more pound notes (or their credit equivalents) are in circulation, then that is not the same as having 10% more of money which has real value: that is, gold money. On the contrary, it just means that each pound note represents 10% less gold.

So, all other things being equal, every price will go up 10%.

□ □ Then why don't Governments stop inflation by cutting credit and the money supply?

■ ■ If they did, there would be an enormous slump! The 'excess demand' created by credit and extra paper money allows the capitalists to stave off recessions. This policy has been the norm for capitalism since World War 2.

□ □ How has the present Government managed to reduce inflation to 8%?

■ ■ Mainly by a limited squeeze on credit, money supply, and state spending. Wage controls have very little to do with it. Look at the facts! In the 1950s and '60s workers' living standards rose quite steadily but inflation remained moderate.

Since the late '60s we have had harsher and harsher wage controls — and more and more inflation. Both are responses to the crisis of capitalism.

□ □ What about the other argument, that one person's wage rise is another person's job loss?

■ ■ Again, the facts contradict it. Over the last few years there have been falling real wages — and rising unemployment.

The assumption behind the argument is that there is a fairly rigid limit to the total 'wages fund', and, beyond that, one worker's wage can only be increased at the cost of another losing his or her job. It's not true. Wages can be increased at the expense of profits.

□ □ But business can't run without profits. So you'll still be doing yourself out of a job.

■ ■ The idea that business can't run without profits depends on the fact that the means of production are owned by a privileged class who will only set production moving as and when they can make profits for themselves. We want to change that — to take the means of production under social ownership by a workers' state, and under workers' control, and to organise production for need and not for profit. That would end unemployment for good!

□ □ That's all very well... in

the long term.

■ ■ And in the short term too, if you start worrying about keeping up profits, you are cutting your own throat.

If workers restrain their wage demands for the sake of leaving a big profit, then the bosses won't respond by becoming sweet and generous. On the contrary, they will taken advantage of the lack of militancy to push through speed-up... and sack workers just the same! Their greed for profits is unlimited!

Lack of working class struggle leads to intensified exploitation and increased unemployment. Militant class struggle, on the other hand, does not necessarily lead to unemployment. Bosses who find their profits squeezed don't just give up; they introduce more modern and efficient methods of production. The big wage increases won in France in 1968 were followed not by a slump, but by a boom.

And whether wages are high or low, the basic anarchy of capitalism still inevitably leads to periodic crises where profits plunge ever lower. To tie our fate to capitalist 'viability' is to condemn our living standards to plunge ever lower as the crisis sharpens. Every time the bosses tell us their profits are too low, we should reply: nationalise the firm without compensation, and run it under workers' control.

BRITISH LEYLAND

Standing up to blackmail

THE AUEW has now withdrawn its expulsion threat against 32 striking toolmakers at SU Carburettors, a British Leyland subsidiary in Birmingham. But the issue of democracy in the unions in BL is still urgent: union leaders are having talks about new pay deals in BL against a background of continual threats and blackmail from the BL bosses — and without any shop-floor control over the negotiations.

The talks are likely to lead to new proposals for speed-up and job cuts in BL, which the union leaders will then try to impose on the rank and file; and the bureaucratic set-up has already led to sectional go-it-alone tactics by toolmakers and craftsmen.

KENNY ALLEN, a shop steward in the toolroom at Rover Solihull, talked to *Socialist Organiser* about the SU's dispute and the BL toolmakers' demands.

□ □ The Rover toolroom is one of the highest paid, so

feeling for separate negotiating rights isn't as strong here as in other places. There was tremendous sympathy for the SU people, though.

I reckon everyone here in the toolroom would have come out if the expulsions had gone through.

■ ■ What about unskilled and semi-skilled workers?

□ □ There may not be much sympathy with the toolroom claim, but there was definitely strong feeling against the expulsion threat. Even TGWU members wanted to come out over it.

■ ■ The British Leyland Trade Union Combine Committee says the answer is to bring forward the scheme for pay parity between British Leyland factories to November 1978. What do you think?

□ □ I can't see the company being able to do that. There's too many problems with re-grading. And it's supposed to be self-financing too. That means there either have to

be massive profits to cover it — or speed-up and de-manning.

There's not much faith in the parity scheme on the shop floor. Everyone is really cynical about the national negotiations. They remember how the 'security of earnings' deal was thrown out at Rover, but then forced through by Joe Harris, the convenor, when it was accepted nationally.

Toolroom workers see the choice as between the Leyland Cars joint negotiating committee, dominated by convenors and bureaucrats, or the toolroom committee which is more responsive to the rank and file.

I'd support the right of any group of workers — toolmakers or labourers — who want separate negotiating rights.

■ ■ What about the claim that the toolroom committee just represents craft exclusiveness?

□ □ I don't agree with that. Maybe toolmakers do tend

to be conservative, but they are not as bad as some of those who condemn them. For instance, during the national strike last year, when the AUEW EC backed Leyland's threat to sack the toolmakers, a Communist Party member got up at Birmingham East District shop stewards' quarterly and supported the EC. You can't get much more conservative and reactionary than that!

■ ■ Has Edwardes' latest letter threatening closures if a toolroom strike goes ahead had any effect?

□ □ Very little. Everyone has seen it all before. We all know Edwardes wants big cutbacks, strikes or no strikes.

The toolroom committee don't think the support is there for a national strike at the moment — although it definitely would have been there for the SU blokes.

Obviously a victory at SUs over their wage demand would be a big boost. It would show that it is possible to win.

Callaghan backs the Shah

by
GEOFF BENDER

A FRIEND in need is a friend indeed. Ever ready to assist an old friend in trouble, James Callaghan has written expressing his warmest sympathy for the current plight of the Shah of Iran, dictator and mass murderer. Callaghan "speaks warmly" of Iran's progress towards industrialisation and of the need for a "stable and prosperous Iran".

To their credit, Labour MPs Stan Newens and Frank Allaun have responded sharply to this support for the butcher of Tehran. "We strongly disagree with and deplore a statement of sympathy for the Shah from any source. ... His tyrannical regime has now become so hated that vast numbers of people are bitterly opposing it. In the last few weeks unarmed men, women and children have been shot in the streets without mercy."

Coup

Since the CIA-organised coup which overthrew the radical nationalist regime of Mohammed Mossadeq and brought the Shah to power in 1953, he has presided over one of the most brutal regimes anywhere in the world. Under the slogans of the 'White Revolution' and 'the Great Civilisation', Shah Reza Pahlavi has run an empire of repression, using force and terror to hold the lid down on national and

religious dissent, political and intellectual freedom, and above all on trade union rights.

With between 25,000 and 100,000 political prisoners thronging Iran's jails and torture chambers and the agents and informers of the secret police SAVAK ever-present, the regime has turned Iran into one big prison ruled by fear and violence. SAVAK operates in the world's capitals to watch Iranian students abroad and political exiles. This summer an Iranian activist was carved up in the middle of London as he walked away from a left wing bookshop. Labour MPs opposed to the Shah's regime have also come under SAVAK surveillance.

Oil

Mossadeq's government was overthrown under the direction of US General Schwarzkopf, with \$19 million of CIA money (and the support of the British government), after it had nationalised the British oil holdings in Iran. With the help of CIA experts, the army and security forces rounded up thousands of trade unionists and supporters of the Tudeh (Communist) Party and Mossadeq's National Front.

Until 1975 the Shah maintained a pseudo-parliamentary facade, where two parties conducted a debate scripted by the dictator. This was brought to an end with the launching of the Shah's National Resurgence Party, membership of

which is virtually compulsory. Its emergence was facilitated by the (un)timely death of the leader of the opposition Mardom Party in a road 'accident'.

In 1963 the Shah launched his so-called 'White Revolution' — white because it was supposed to be bloodless. In June 1963 massive demonstrations took place in Tehran and other major cities: 4,000 people are estimated to have died as these were suppressed.

The 'White Revolution' was a programme of reforms which were to lay the foundations for the modernisation and indus-

trialisation of Iran through the revenues from oil. The Shah's land reform, however, ruined Iranian agriculture while providing the old landowners with sufficient wealth and power to find their way into the ranks of the emerging capitalist class. And the establishment of 'literacy Corps' has not changed the fact that 75% of the population is still illiterate.

For the workers, the 'White Revolution' meant increased exploitation through phony profit-sharing and piecework schemes. SAVAK agents policed the factories. Average wage levels are £7.25 a week in

Tehran, and £1.85 a week in remote Baluchistan — while food prices are generally higher than those in Britain.

The chaos of agricultural reform and the limited industrialisation has led to large-scale unemployment and homelessness in the cities and perennial food shortages leading to the inevitable black market.

The role of Islamic traditionalism in the past year's upsurge — a favourite topic for western commentators — is in fact a small element in the anger of the Iranian masses.

The remarkable thing is not

the scale of that anger — with thousands defying the guns time and time again — but how the Shah has lasted so long. And that is where his friends come in.

It was the hawks of the US State Department and Anthony Eden of later Suez fame who brought the Shah to power. But successive Labour governments since then have been utterly prostrate before the Peacock Throne.

Tanks

Peter Shore, Tony Benn, Denis Healey, Barbara Castle and James Callaghan have all visited Iran. In 1975, Britain's exports to Iran rose by 77% while the Shah lent the British government \$1,200 million. A large number of British-based companies have very extensive interests in Iran.

Under a big arms-for-oil deal Britain is now the second largest supplier of arms to the Shah's regime. The Iranian navy has been equipped by Britain, and its army has 780 British-made Chieftain tanks, and more are on the way to build up to a total count of 2300 tanks.

As the workers, peasants, intellectuals and religious dissidents in Iran continue their life-and-death struggle to topple the Shah, it is more than time that we in the British labour movement bring our leaders to book for propping up this dictator's blood-stained throne.



NICARAGUA: A DYNASTY MADE IN THE USA



Nicaragua's dictator, Anastasio Somoza, who now faces full-scale civil war in his Central American state, is not getting the same all-out support from the USA and the 'Western Alliance' that the Shah of Iran receives.

The USA is not opposing Somoza, and some US government officials, according to Newsweek, are still worried that "Fidel Castro would dance a jig if and when Somoza falls". But when Somoza's greed and corruption has reached the

point that most of the country's big businessmen support the strikes and armed uprisings against him, then the US starts thinking about finding a replacement, or at least getting Somoza to men his ways.

So they have cut off military aid to him.

For the last forty years, however, the Somozas, running Nicaragua as a family firm, have owed their position to US backing. The US has financed the National Guard, supplied it with arms, and trained its officers.

The Somozas have become hugely rich. Anastasio Somoza is reckoned to be the ninth richest man in the Western Hemisphere. Meanwhile in Nicaragua a labourer earns £70 a year; average life expectancy is 46 years; only 38% of children attend school, and there is one doctor for every 3,000 inhabitants. Half the whole population gets only 15% of the national revenue.

Aid sent to Nicaragua after a major earthquake in 1972 was looted by Somoza, his cronies

and his National Guard.

The Somoza regime dates back to the 1930s. In 1926 the US Marines invaded Nicaragua to overthrow the nationalist Moncada government. From then to 1933 they fought a war, bombing and strafing the villages, to put down the opposition led by Augusto Cesar Sandino, a former deputy of Moncada's.

In 1934 the chief of the National Guard — the father of Nicaragua's present boss — ambushed Sandino and murdered him, with US government approval. Since 1937 the Somozas have ruled Nicaragua outright, while Sandino remains a hero for the radical opposition.

Earlier this year, in a move which sparked off the present wave of revolt, one of Somoza's chief opponents, Dr. Pedro Joaquin Chamorro, was murdered — probably by Somoza's thugs.

That is how Western Democracy operates in Central America.

Zimbabwe: whose revolution?

WHITE RULE in Zimbabwe and Namibia is nearing its end. But behind the unanimous opposition to Smith of the black Zimbabwean leaders and the neighbouring states, there are important social conflicts.

The major conservative influence in black southern Africa is Zambia. South African capital controls most of the copper mines in Zambia the life blood of the Zambian economy. In 1974 Zambia's president Kaunda gave his blessing to South Africa's strategy of "detente" with the black African states.

The revolutions in Angola and Mozambique following the collapse of the dictatorship in Portugal have, however, shifted the political balance. These new states,

which came to power on the basis of mass militant peasant movements, have a more radical stance towards imperialism. This remains true despite their increasing links with the USSR.

In Zimbabwe itself, the Angolan and Mozambican revolutions fuelled radicalisation. Sithole and Muzorewa who once had mass support are now completely isolated, and Nkomo and Mugabe both know they could suffer the same fate if they try to conciliate.

Still more important is the growing revolt of Africa's mightiest working class, in South Africa. The link between the working-class struggle in South Africa and the anti-imperialist struggle elsewhere in Southern Africa

is quite direct: half of South Africa's workers are migrants from Mozambique and elsewhere.

The revolt of the black workers and peasants of Southern Africa could mean an end not only to white Rhodesia, not only to apartheid but also to neo-colonial regimes like Zambia's and Malawi's.

That is what explains the alliance of forces striving for a tightly controlled 'moderate' settlement in Zimbabwe. Britain's Labour Government has thrown its weight on the side of the counter-revolutionary alliance. The rank and file of British Labour must put our weight on the other side, with the black workers and peasants.

A. MUHOKA

Save Astrid Proll

"I DO NOT expect to survive if I am returned. My life is now in England. I value it highly". So said Astrid Proll, detained last week under an Aliens Order, and facing extradition proceedings.

After the deaths in West Germany's top security prisons of Ulrike Meinhof, Jan-Carl Raspe, Andreas Baader, Gudrun Ensslin and Ingrid Schubert, as a result of so-called 'suicides' her fears are well founded.

Astrid Proll was first arrested in Hamburg in 1971. After 2 years solitary confinement in

one of West Germany's 'silent cells' — sound-proofed, painted white, and with the light on 24 hours a day — she was found unfit to face trial. Sent to convalesce from the effects of this treatment in the Black Forest, she escaped and began a new life in England.

Settling here in 1974, she took various manual jobs and finally became an instructor in motor mechanics in a North London garage training centre. A feminist, she had many friends in the East London Women's Movement.

Under the new Suppression of Terrorism Act the police, acting on behalf of the West German authorities have charged her with two attempted murders and two bank robberies for which she is wanted in Frankfurt.

A defence committee is being set up to prevent her falling into the tender clutches of the viciously anti-communist West German state — which has shown, from Stammheim prison to the Mogadishu army raid, its concern for legality, human rights and the defence of democracy.

Eight years jail for Marxist writings

Everyone knows that there is police repression in the so-called socialist countries as well as in the capitalist states. Less well known is the fact that socialists and communists face the worst of this repression and are in the forefront of the fight against it.

The case of Rudolf Bahro is an example. On June 30th he was jailed for eight years in East Germany. Support for him has come not from the western capitalist press, but from socialists organised in the Bahro defence Campaign, who have issued this appeal.



On August 23, 1977, the state security forces of the German Democratic Republic arrested Rudolf Bahro on a charge of espionage. We the undersigned, wish to express our grave concern about this case and appeal to you to take immediate steps to secure Rudolf Bahro's speedy release.

Rudolf Bahro's arrest followed the announcement of the

publication of his book *Die Alternative: Zur Kritik des real existierenden Sozialismus* [The Alternative: A Critique of Existing Socialism] by the Europäische Verlagsanstalt, the publishing house owned by the West German trade union federation DGB, and the publication of several interviews with Bahro by various West German news media.

We believe that, far from defending socialism, such repressive measures only serve to discredit and therefore weaken it, in both East and West. Socialism is not only the nationalisation of the means of production and a centrally planned economy, it is also a higher form of political freedom than the political freedom even the most liberal bourgeois democracy can offer its working masses.

Unless socialism can be seen to mean the broadest working class democracy, with the freedom of political expression, debate and organisation at all levels of society, including within the socialist and

communist parties, the Western working classes will continue to prefer bourgeois democracy as the devil it does know to socialism, the devil it does not know, and dissidents in Eastern Europe will continue to be forced to look to phoney defenders of human rights such as President Carter in their despair over the absence of meaningful socialist democracy in their countries.

As is clear from the printed evidence, Rudolf Bahro wrote his book as a communist militant committed to genuine socialist democracy.

We therefore demand the immediate release of Rudolf Bahro from prison, the publication of his book in the GDR and a public discussion on his views in the mass organisations, the political parties and the media of your country.

The Bahro Defence Campaign can be contacted c/o Gunther Minnerup, 14 Folkestone Road, Copner, Portsmouth.

Not More Police, But

PATRICK KODIKARA, on behalf of the Hackney and Tower Hamlets Defence Committee, outlines the need for working-class self-defence against the National Front

SINCE JUNE of this year the police have drafted extra forces into Brick Lane and the surrounding area on a large scale. The additional manpower has been brought in from places as far removed as Twickenham.

Has the increased policing improved the situation in any way?

The police state that no incidents have taken place in the area since early June. However, a brief look at events over the previous three months gives a clearer understanding of what is taking place.

Self-defence!

These events show that simply increasing the police force in the Brick Lane area can do nothing to prevent the fascist attacks; on the contrary, it is becoming apparent that the increased policing is leading to increased harassment of black people.

In recent months the police have been seen to be protecting the aggressors — the National Front — particularly at the top of Brick Lane.

Every Sunday the National Front pitch is 'reserved' by the police for their paper-sellers irrespective of whether or what time they arrive.

The work of the police is not, of course, determined by individuals, but follows the general policy — laid down over many years — of the employing class. It is important to that class that sufficient 'law and order' be maintained so that each morning workers arrive at the factory gates and go inside to work.

It is also important to the employing class that the workers should not gain too clear an

idea of their own importance — for without them the factory would be idle. For this reason, racialism is not suppressed by their forces of 'law and order'.

Even if a change in the quality of the police with regard to the black community were to take place (and this is not impossible) it would still remain a force which is kept and maintained to ensure that the key function in our society — the making of profit through the work of others — is carried out.

This is the role of the police in working class struggle: that of supporting strike-breakers and smashing picket lines.

A 'better' police force — from the black people's point of view — would still be a fundamentally anti-working class police force.

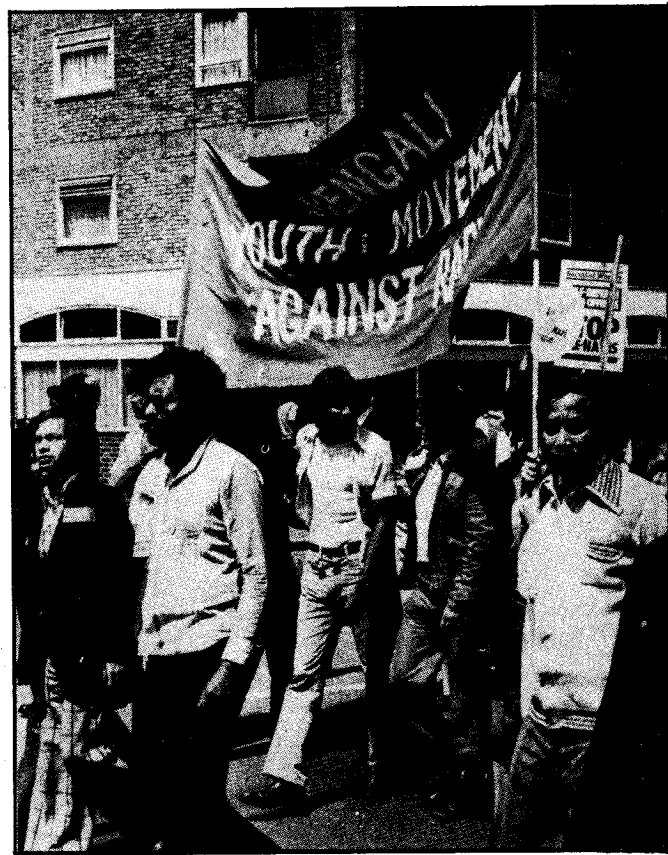
The Defence Committee would not suggest that at the present stage the development of an open fascist regime with a main emphasis on racialism is inevitable in this country.

However, the economic crisis which is developing will inevitably bring about a period of heightened class struggle, which in turn will bring about major changes in the structure of the state.

Even today, the preparations for those changes are being made, and it is clear that the role of the TUC and most of trade union leaders is now that of policing the trade union movement.

By organising active self-defence, we have already said to the employing class: "You and your forces are no longer able to maintain peace in our streets. This is now our task, and unlike you we can and will do it".

We are convinced that only by forming organisations which are not a part of the capitalist state, such as the Defence Committee, and by working with all militant sections of the working class movement which are beginning to organise against the class enemy, can the struggle against fascism in all its forms be begun.



The judge helps keep us in the dark

THE SENSATIONAL decision of Judge Willis to stop the ABC trial, discharge the jury, and start all over again with a new jury, is a minor but significant victory for defendants Crispin Aubrey, John Berry and Duncan Campbell. But the reason for the judge's action, taken, on his own admission, 'with great regret', is also significant.

One of the jury was found to be a former member of the SAS who had served in, among other places, Cyprus, where there is a SIGINT installation likely to figure prominently in the trial. The defence unsuccessfully applied for this man to be removed from the jury, on the grounds that 'with the best will in the world' he was likely to be biased.

The judge rejected this application — in the absence of the jury — and apparently instructed journalists present not to mention it in their reports. Chris Hitchens, a journalist appearing on the London Weekend TV programme Saturday Night People, decided to disregard this instruction and made the application public knowledge.

The fact that the judge was initially willing for the trial to proceed with the SAS person on the jury, coupled with the prosecution's 'positive vetting' of potential jurors for 'loyalty' [to what or to whom was never precisely specified but can readily be inferred] shows how anxious the State is for ABC to be convicted and to receive exemplary sentences.

It is not difficult to see why. By exposing the existence of such institutions as SIGINT and the General Communications Headquarters in Cheltenham, their links with the CIA, and the effect they have on our lives, journalists like Aubrey and Campbell make it that much more difficult for those in

power to retain it and use it for their own ends.

But the keenest investigator is unlikely to get far without willing sources of information, which is why the State is particularly anxious to punish Berry 'pour encourager les autres'.

As a high-up at the Admiralty once remarked to the late Tom Driberg MP, 'It's not the Russians we're afraid of, old boy. They probably know most of our secrets, anyway. No, it's our own people [my emphasis] who must be kept in the dark.'

The truth of the matter is that the secret services, the Special Branch and other organs of the State are scared stiff of the effects of investigative journalism. If the capitalist system is to last for any length of time, it has to depend on an elite having the detailed knowledge to keep it more or less intact.

Too much knowledge in the wrong hands could help to create the preconditions for revolutionary change — and if our pitiful democratic freedoms have to be sacrificed to retain the status quo, then so be it, in the eyes of our rulers.

That is why ABC has taken on the status of a show trial, and why the State is even using discredited sections of Parliament to achieve its ends. It is also why ABC if any or all of them are convicted, are likely to receive stiffer sentences than Jeremy Thorpe, if he is convicted.

After all, Thorpe — whatever he may or may not have done — is an upper class member of the Establishment, and an elitist, anti-socialist politician. 'Conspiracy to murder', in the State's eyes, is not half so heinous an offence as the conspiracy to find out, to inform and to know.

JONATHAN HAMMOND

Scrap the immigration laws!

by **BERNARD MISRAHI**
[Secretary, Labour against the Immigration Acts]

SIXTEEN Indian sailors were recently in dispute with their employers. Their strike-bound ship docked in an English port.

Immigration officials kindly withdrew their original decision to deport them to India where they could continue their negotiations for parity with their doubly-paid white shipmates, and allowed them to stay in Britain... in Pentonville jail.

There they must have met dozens of others jailed for allegedly being illegal immigrants. About 250 are held at any one time under the 1971 Immigration Act, for months without trial.

Just as the police see every Asian as possibly an 'illegal' who has to be checked — just in case — so Immigration Officers in the Indian sub-continent disbelieve those claiming to be the wives or children or parents of those already settled here. These dependents have to wait years for an interview to get an Entry Clearance Certificate which will allow them to be subjected to humiliating interrogations at Heathrow Airport designed to 'catch them out'.

These everyday occurrences have continued and intensified under Labour's rule. Then Thatcher made her anti-immigration speech earlier this year, heralding Tory proposals that would step up this harassment and add to the racist witchhunting attitudes to black people.

But the basic policies of Labour and Tory are the same. Thatcher and Whitelaw, Rees and Callaghan, and the Parliamentary Select Committee made up of five MPs from each party, all agree that good race relations are achieved by convincing racists that the government is keeping out black immigrants. The purpose of immigration controls is to do this; therefore, their very existence is an admission by governments that the racists 'have a case'.

Immigration controls must demonstrably be seen to be anti-black, even if the laws are carefully phrased to avoid looking explicitly racist on paper.

The 1968 Act was passed in a frantic few days by a Labour Government frightened of a racist response to the sudden entry of a few thousand Kenya Asians holding British passports. The Act did not actually prevent many from entering Britain, but it took away the right they had, as UK passport

holders, to enter Britain freely. It made them form a long queue for entry vouchers — a long, slow queue which is only just reaching its end.

The Government claimed that its swift action would stem the rising tide of racism: but all it had done was to pander to it and strengthen it.

Every restriction and regulation since, and in particular the 1971 Act, has had the same effect. So would the Select Committee's ideas and the Tory proposals. And since existing controls already keep out most black would-be immigrants, it is difficult to devise laws to cut that trickle which don't boldly say "Blacks out":

and that, when it comes, will massively worsen today's persecution of black people.

The whole assumption (as is the assumption behind immigration controls themselves) is that black people are an evil: each one more, a worse evil; each one less, a lesser evil.

From their very inception, the logic of immigration laws was this: racism, repression and fear for black people.

Under the existing immigration controls, extra rules and measures can be thought up any day to tighten the screws, without any reference to Parliament. For instance last year Labour announced its determination to stop 'mar-

riages of convenience'.

Husbands and wives have since been asked personal and insulting questions to prove that their marriages were not 'convenient'. This (like the new Tory proposal to bar husbands and male fiancés joining women here) blatantly discriminates against women as well as being racist. "Why can't these (mainly Asian) women follow British practice and marry someone already living here?", the authorities moaned. And better still, "Why can't they follow Indian practices and go and live with their husband's family — in India?"

The Labour Government has also published a Green Paper on British Nationality Law which proposes to create a category of "British Overseas Citizens" who won't be able to enter Britain. Most of these can't anyway; but it will also include people who might have entered Britain years ago, not become naturalised, and will become "British Overseas Citizens", in defiance of geography, while already here, probably with a loss of a number of civil rights and living under the shadow of deportation.

Whoever wins the next election will probably introduce tighter controls, making life more and more miserable for black people and further encouraging the racists.

Unless the anti-racist movement fights these as hard as they have fought the National Front, then some day in the not too distant future a government (and it will be a Labour or Tory one, not the National Front) could take the next logical step of introducing repatriation accompanied by a degree of compulsion which will imperceptibly increase until we have compulsory repatriation.

After all, if you stop all black immigration and this doesn't satisfy the racists you are so anxious to appease, what else could the next step be?

Some people argue that some controls are necessary and that these need not be racist. The whole history of the immigration controls we now have disproves this.

The SCLV urges all those who agree that existing and proposed controls are racist to join Labour Against The Immigration Acts (LATIA) and take up the fight in their CLP. Remember, repeal of the 1971 and 1968 Immigration Acts is one of the many Labour conference decisions that the Callaghan government has ignored.

Working to the same end outside the Labour Party is also the Campaign Against Immigration Laws.

Contact LATIA for speakers and details of meetings at: 170 Wandsworth Road, London SW8.



THE TORIES aim to make one of their trump cards in the General Election their policy on race and immigration. Labour must have a clear and unequivocal answer to the unashamed Powellism of the Tories' plans.

That answer is contained in the 1976 conference policy against the Immigration Acts, for aid and support to black self-defence, and for the expulsion of fascists from the unions.

The Tories propose a virtual end to all immigration — of black people, of course; internal controls of black people living in Britain; and, in effect, pressure to drive black people out of the country.

Tory leader Thatcher played the keynote of the campaign in her rabble-rousing 'allens swamping our culture' TV interview.

In an effort to outbid the latherings of the fascist National Front and grab the racist vote, the Tories have declared for:

★ An end to permanent settlement rights.

★ And end to settlement rights of husbands and male fiancés.

★ Severe restrictions on the issue of work permits to all non-EEC nationals.

★ Internal controls [like the South African Pass Laws].

★ A compulsory register of women and children legally entitled to come to Britain from the Indian sub-continent.

★ A crackdown on so-called 'illegal immigrants'.

★ Wholehearted endorsement of the racist Select Committee Report signed by five Labour and five Tory MPs.

★ Help for immigrants who 'genuinely want to leave'.

These proposals amount to a charter for racists. Black immigrants and their families are to be made the scapegoats for the problems created by British capitalism's decay.

Police harassment, strict controls and 'repatriation' is the name of the Tories' game: intensifying and sanctioning a climate of racist thuggery and murder.

THIS IS the first newspaper edition of the bulletin of the Socialist Campaign for a Labour Victory. The staff of Workers' Action and Chartist have missed an issue from the schedule of each of their papers in order to help produce and distribute this

paper. Signed articles, of course, reflect the views of the authors, not necessarily the views of the Campaign.

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