Moles....Infiltrators.... Wreckers....Vote-riggers



By Stephanie Grant



THE PAST two weeks have given all of us an insight into the real nature of British 'democracy'. Day after day the press and the television have hammered out the same crude message — that socialists are 'infiltrators', back-stage manipulators, vote-riggers, liars. That we work by devious and even criminal methods to con people and destroy anything good by 'wrecking'.

The charge that socialists are 'wreckers' is ludicrous coming from newspapers which almost totally support a government responsible for more than four million unemployed and the wrecking of a fifth of British industry. The real wreckers and the infiltrators are those people prepared to fling millions. prepared to fling millions of people onto the dole to defend the profits of a tiny minority.

Worse still have been the press accusations that socialists, and in particular supporters of Socialist Action, work by methods of deception and conspiracy. This lie is aimed at

fingering left wing militants in the factories, in the unions and the Labour Party, and in the mass movements like the peace movement and the womens movement.

#### Lies

To try to justify its charge the press, including the 'liberal' Guardian, has resorted to straightforward lies about Socialist Action.

• The LIE Socialist Action supporters rigged the vote at YCND conference

• The LIE that Socialist Action supporters tried to get Labour CND to give money to Socialist Action

• The LIE Socialist Action supartificially porters packed the last Labour CND conference.

#### Moles

On top of these lies come the new revelations about '1000 moles inside the Labour Party'.

Make no mistake, this witch hunt is not just aimed at Socialist Action. It is designed to finger every leftwinger in the Labour Party, every union activist, every CNDer, every feminist, every activist on democratic rights, every black activist. It is designed to make all of us subversives, moles, con-spirators. It is a witch hunt aimed at the whole of the

left.
The witch hunters say we work by methods of conspiracy, intrigue, vote rigging and deception. But the very opposite is true. It

#### Ron Brown MP

66 The sacking of 13 Cowley workers for their politics is McCarthyism, a predictable reaction of management during a period of crisis for capitalism. Obviously, then, Labour MPs must speak up and demand that these activists be reinstated.

But there is also a lesson to be learnt here. Much of the blame for this situation, after all, lies with the 'leading' lights who supported the

witch hunt against Militant and individuals like Peter Tatchell — which led, in turn, to a divided labour movement and to the return of a Tory government.

Yes, we need unity to face the bosses — but we can do without their agents within OUR

ranks. Whatever the capitalist press says, the struggle for socialism must and will go on.

methods of argument, free debate and open discussion. Socialists have the most to lose from the sup-pression of free debate.

is the socialist left which

fights for its views by the

#### **Opposed**

We are opposed in principle to the suppres-sion of free debate and to vote rigging — the hallmarks of the capitalist class and its agents in the labour movement.

The very object of the witch hunt is to prevent a free discussion of socialist ideas in the labour movement, elsewhere. CND

Anyone in the labour movement, anyone in CND or the peace movement, who lines up with the witch hunters is lining up with our bitterest enemies the Tories and the capitalist press. These enemies want to use the press to take away basic rights of the labour movement — to decide which papers to read, to elect who we want to positions, to decide our own policies.

Through Socialist Action, I appeal to every socialist, every

supporter of basic democratic rights to oppose the witch hunt. The right to a job; the right to put your ideas freely without being accused of 'conspiracy'; the right to democratic debate and freedom of association. These are crucial freedoms we must defend.

If it's Socialist Action today, it will be the rest of the socialist and radical left tomorrow.



Now, I want all the dirt you can dig up on this bloke Trotsky ... where he lives, where he works and which Labour Party he belongs to ...

## An urgent appeal

## **Defend Socialist Action**

SOCIALIST ACTION is under sustained attack. First we had the Cowley 'revelations'. then the lies about our supporters in CND, and now the Daily Mail and Daily Telegraph hysteria about Socialist Action supporters inside the Labour Party.

Our offices have been literally besieged by reporters. Some of our supporters have been photographed outside their houses and had reporters camped on their doorsteps.

Neighbours, employers, relations, friends have been closely questioned about every aspect of our supporters lives. A sustained campaign is being waged to make it impossible for us to engage in

We are not going to submit to this witch hunt, which aims to drive us out of the labour movement and vilify our ideas.

But to fight back we need your help. We need you to put motions opposing the witch hunt in the Labour Party and trade unions. We need you to send resolutions and messages of support to the

But above all we desperately need money to fight the witch hunters, to get out the truth about what socialists really stand for.

We appeal to everyone in the labour movement to aid us in this fight, and to send us a donation, no matter how small. Send your letters of support and donations now to Socialist Action, 328 Upper Street, London N1.

## attack on the whole left

# Why the witch hunt?

Thy should the press unleash one of the most icious witch hunts for years about 13 socialists in wley. Why should the Guardian jump on the mdwagon with pure fiction about the activity of cialists in CND, trying to whip up a red scare in e anti-nuclear movement — and openly advise the L management that they should sack people for eir political views.

Obviously the reason is ot that the British pitalist class fears that it about to be overthrown revolutionary soc-lists. Nor does the **abour** right wing believe nt Marxism is about to ize the leadership of the abour Party and the ade unions. Nevereless, the witch hunt is st just a product of the tess 'silly season' — as the have attempted to miss it.

The witch hunt is part an attempt by the pitalist class to inidate and crush the bole left wing of the bour movement, to ake out that militants in e trade unions and bour Party are irramal fanatics.

Since the general elecn, despite the best efrts of the capitalist class d the labour right wing, has not gone completely according to their plans. The witch hunt is part of a plan which aims, by hit-

#### By John Ross

At the time of the general election, all the most serious representatives of British capiatlism like the Economist and Financial Times, and with them the Labour right, the Tories and the Alliance, had a clear target — to smash the Labour left.

ting the whole left, to br-

ing the political situation more completely under control.

Most representatives of British capitalism saw the way ahead clearly. Thatcher should be returned to 10 Downing Street. Labour should be electorally crushed and the right wing should take

over the Labour leadership again. The right wing would then prepare Labour for a coalition orientation to the SDP-Liberal Alliance.

#### Tactical

The call of Frank Chapple and Roy Gran-tham for votes for the SDP and Liberals, the editorials of the New Statesman urging 'tactical voting', the demands of the Guardian for people to vote for 'the Alliance and Labour' were all part of this policy. The goal is to create what the Economist called the 'desirable coalition' of 'southern Alliance and northern Labour' as the sole alternative to Thatcher. With both government and 'opposition' under control, British capitalism's interests would be safeguarded.

This question of getting Labour politically prepared for a coalition with the SDP and Liberals is absolutely fundamental for British capitalism.

The Sun may tell its

readers that Thatcher is invincibly popular but the capitalist class itself does not believe it for one minute. Sir Geoffrey Howe went out of his way to say the day after the election that the Tories were not going to stay in office for ever. David Steel pointed Britain is not going to become a one party state. The Economist finished its editorial on the general election as follows:

'The electoral system has ensured that there can be up to five clear years of necessary economic changes before the elec-toral issue will be faced again. Then it could be the Conservative Party, mauled in what has become the electoral lottery, that joins the cry for (electoral) reform which it at present, with more than a touch of arrogance, spurns.'

The Penrith bye-election confirmed that the support of the Thatcher government is not at all impregnably stable in the economic and political storms which are to come

in British society.
Given that British capitalism does not believe

'Mole hunt, old boy.'

world of Keith Waite

How the Mirror saw it: 'mole' hunts become fashionable with the ruling class.

that Thatcher is politically invincible for the next five years, one of its most urgent tasks is to ensure that there exists only an acceptable' opposition to Thatcher — that is an opposition which doesn't actually oppose anything major which capitalism wants to do.

This means that it should be a Labour and trade union opposition which in practice doesn't fight the Thatcher government's policies, and which accepts that the only way in which Labour will be allowed into office is in alliance with the SDP and Liberals. All policies whereby Labour actually opposes the interests of British capitalism must be eliminated — and that means defeating the Labour left.

#### Smile

At the top level of the TUC and Labour bureaucracy British capitalism today is getting almost everything it wants. Len Murray and David Basnett are leading the TUC back to 'negotiations' with Tebbit — these negotiations consisting of Tebbit agreeing to smile rather than frown when he attacks the working class.

All three fundamental policies in the Labour Party which are unacceptable to British capitalism — withdrawal from the EEC, rejection of incomes policy, and unilateral nuclear disarmament are under attack. Kinnock is leading the assault on the commitment to withdraw from the EEC,

Hattersley and Shore are fighting for acceptance of incomes policy, and the CND leadership and E.P. Thompson are leading the fight to dump unilateral nuclear disarmament as Labour Party policy.

#### **Policies**

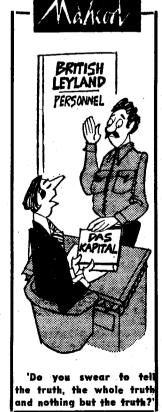
In those circumstances both British capitalism and the Labour right wing have a strong need to try to stamp out the resistance to their policies. It is not the 'moles' they are directly scared of but the fact that there are thousands of labour movement activists who are not supporters of Socialist Action but have concluded out of their own experience that they are against incomes policies, against membership of the EEC, for unilateral nuclear disar-mament, and against a coalition course towards the SDP-Liberal Alliance.

#### Crush

It is not because socialists are 'unrepresentative' but because on certain policies they do represent a growing number of people that the witch hunt is going to be stepped up.

But this is also why the witch hunt is still going to be difficult to carry through. The witch hunters can get rid of five Militant editors from the Labour Party. They can sack 13 people from Cowley. But the problem now is that thousands of people are opposed to the

type of politics the witch hunters are trying to force through. It is not going to be easy to crush all these quite involuntary 'moles'.



..and 'moles' even look like Trotsky.

The current witch hunt, like those in the past and those to come in the future, can and must be fought. The very very political developments capitalism and the Labour right are worried about gives us the base to do so.



"WELL, WE GOT 13, BUT I'M A LITTLE WORRIED ABOUT PERKINS!"

Tuch hunt hysteria spreads. All left wingers are infiltrating 'moles'.

New

Trotsky

threat to

Labour

LABOUR Party.

COWIE

#### Labour Against the Witch Hunt Statement

Labour Against the Witch Hunt deplores the media attacks on Socialist Action and its supporters. We call on the NEC of the Labour Party to make clear its total opposition to these attacks. We fear that unless the

Labour Party leadership make such a statement, the media will interpret their silence as endorsement for a further attack on socialists both within the party and in the country at large.'

#### Livingstone denounces witch hunt



'IT is obvious that the 13 people sacked from Cowley were dismissed because of their political views. No action would be taken against them if they were not suspected of being socialists and trade union activists.

'If the labour movement accepts the right of companies to decide that people will or will not be employed because of their political views the door is open to every type of McCarthyite witch hunt in Britain.

'The labour move-

ment must fight to bring out into the open the whole system of political bans and blacklists, the organisations which operate them and the attack on democracy that they represent.

'The hysterical press campaign of the last week is yet one more reason why the Labour Party must stop its own internal witch hunt. The press wants to decide what political views can and cannot be put forward in the Labour Party. The labour movement has to say a decisive "no" to this sort of thing.

#### End the Witch Hunt in industry No to the blacklist!

Manchester

Speakers include: Stephanie Grant, Les Huckfield, Peter Tatchell, Phil Davies (FTAT), Alf Home (Wythenshaw LP), John Tocher (AUEW — secretary of Manchester

Confed). All in personal capacity.

Thursday 25 August 7.30pm
Manchester Town Hall (basement) Sponsored by Manchester Central LPYS and Blackley LPYS

#### East London

Speakers include: Steph Grant, Liaguat Ali (TGWU senior steward Britain's Toys), Andy Harris GLC coun-cillor, Gerry Ross GLC councillor, John Bloom Hackney councillor, Jim Willis chair TGWU Metal Box

(all in personal capacity).

Friday 26 August 7.30pm

Homerton Library, Homerton High Rd., London E9

Daily TUESDAY AUGUST 18, 1837

Mail
1859



SN KER SEE PAGE 26

'I'm no Marxist-just a Labour Party member'

-BY Ms. MOL

Total fleet cost

Daily Telegraph

BL TRACES MARXIST 'MOLES'

14 face sack at Cowley plant

Who are the witch hunters?

One of the most basic rights which capitalism proclaims but can never grant is the right of people to have a job regardless of their political views. The reason is simple. Any democracy in the workplace is completely incompatible with the famous 'right of management to manage'. As the rights of democracy and the rights of property are in contradiction capitalism naturally supports the rights of property.

The reality is obvious. Every extra minutes work, all 'flexibility of labour', every increase in effort capitalism can extract from the workforce the greater is its profit. The attempt of the working class to maintain its living standards, job organisation, and health is consistently experienced by capitalism as an obstacle to its needs and 'right to manage'.

while Therefore capitalism accepts working class job organisation grudgingly during periods of boom it constantly tries to weaken and smash it in times of economic crisis.

It is perfectly logical therefore that as Britain has moved into recession witch hunting organisations which tried to stay in the background during the 1950s and 1960s are much more openly emerging into the daylight.

#### Dump

The most prominent blacklisting organisation, the Economic League, was quite explicit about its change in policy. In its 1978 annual report the League outlined that:

'The Central Council's policy has been to shun policy has been to shun publicity ... it has been decided that this policy should be changed in favour of a more aggressive one. ... The League ... has amassed a substantial store of information about the activities. mation about the activities of subversive groups and the individuals prominent

in them. The League answers enquiries from the media as well as its own members and we see no necessity to be reticent about the fact that we have such information or that it is available.'

The use made of the Economic League and similar organisations by British companies is quite clear. The personnel direc-tor of Shell explained company policy clearly to The Guardian at the same time the Economic League changed its policy to come out more into the open.

He said:
'We are interested in identifying overt op-ponents of the system to which we are committed. The last thing we want to do is have political subversives on our payroll or on sites in which we have an interest. 29.6.78) (Guardian

A director of Ford's openly explained to the Sunday Times on 14 August this year that his company operated a 'rigid system of selection techniques' and rejected people who were 'unsuitable for whatever reason'.

The official policy of the CBI, outlined in a confidential internaly memorandum in 1976 and reaffirmed to Tribune last week, is that its members should consult the Economic League:

'in the very necessary function of identification of and preventive warning individual wreckers'.

The Economic League has a staff of more than 100 and nine local offices

up and down the country. The way it operates was clearly explained by a personnel director of an unnamed industrial company to the Financial Times on 17 August.

#### Debate

If he wanted to check a job applicant's record, he would type the company's code number on the top right corner of a blank sheet of paper, give the person's name, address, age and national insurance number and send it to a postal box.

Twenty four hour's later he would ring the League's regional office to find out whether the applicant should be employed, and to be given details of the person's past which were on the computer.

#### **Impact**

course the blacklists are much more direct than that. For example in December 1978 two UCATT members applied for a job with Whatlings's in Glasgow. What happened then was described by Labour Research:

'Three hours after starting, Mr Goldie was sacked. When both men approached the site agent about the blacklist, the foreman also said that Mr Monaghan was on it and should also be sacked. Negotiations later led to the two men being reinstated. A sympathetic member of management later leaked the blacklist to Mr Monaghan. It contained 67 names including two UCATT officers, three UCATT Scottish regional council members and eight

UCATT branch officers, including five branch secretaries.'

Among the members of the central council of the Economic League are Lord Hewlett — President of the National Associa-tion of Conservative and Unionist Associations, and Lord Matthews proprieter of the Daily Express and Daily Star. Both Lord Hewlett and Lord Matthews are of course staunch defenders of democracy — in particular the democratic right of the Economic League to use computers to blacklist people and deprive them of jobs.

#### **Futility**

For the point is simple. Capitalism and democracy are incompatible at every step. Democracy is the right of people to join with others to decide on their job organisation, whether they want their jobs or not, how they will work. Democracy, control over me cannot be confined to a five second casting of a ballot every five years. But the right to decide the questions that affect a person is totally incompatible with managements 'right to manage'. Capitalism is the most fundamental obstacle which exists to democracy in our society.

A 'liberal' paper such as the Guardian expresses it exactly. In its editorial of 20 August the Guardian writes that 'Even Trotskyists have to earn a liv-

ing.' But then it goes on:
'Mr Musgrove (the BL director) in retrospect, got himself bogged down in unnecessary nonesense over Red Steph's O-levels. Had he managed to say ... that the function of his company was to make cars, not revolution, in company time, he would have been on sure moral and intellectual ground.'

The Economic League could have scarcely bettered the language. Apart from the remark about 'making the revolution in company time' (try working in a car factory and find out how much time there is to 'make the revolution') the positic of the Guardian is perfectly clear.

#### Support

Naturally 'in abstract' people should not be sacked for their political views but concretely they should be because they interfere with the company's function to make cars. No employer could ask for

But at the same time that the blacklisting organisations come more out of the woodwork this gives more opportunity for the labour movement to expose and fight their activities. Already in 1979 the TUC called for the breaking off of the rela-tions between public bodies and the Economic League because 'the Economic League kept blacklists of trade unionists for consultation by employers considering taking on new workers.'

It is time for the labour movement to step up this campaign. But it should be more explicit and wider. The trade unions should demand that all companies break off funds and links with the Economic League and similar organisations.

The real threat to democracy in the work place — the activity of the black listing organisations and the companies that support them — should be dragged right out into public view.

## ALL OUT FOR 22 OCTOBER STOP THE WITCH HUNT IN CND

## CND dissolves YCND leadership

ARTICLES have appeared in the press which reported the dissolution of Youth CND's national committee by the CND executive. Statements have been made by CND officers denying the charge that they are gradually trying to dismantle YCND as an independent campaign operating within the framework of CND.

We asked TRACY DOYLE and JON GREEN for their views. Tracy was an ordinary officer of the YCND National Committee and a member of the editorial board of YCND's magazine Second Generation before the Executive's decision. Jon was

the national coordinator of YCND.

Events started to move reduced.

Events started to move with a paper produced by Bruce Kent for the CND executive. The paper, entitled Youth CND: Paper and Proposal for CND Exec, argued:

• that the annual YCND conference which took place on 2-3 July in Manchester had no basis since CND council had already decided that YCND was not a 'specialist section' with the ability to govern itself

• that the conference was not well attended, with 29 groups present

• that the conference elected a committee which is 'quite unrepresentative of the broad political base of YCND'

• that the National Committee of YCND should be dissolved and replaced by a youth committee responsible to CND national council.

The result was that CND executive sacked the six ordinary officers elected by YCND conference, cut the regional representation by half and in the case of Scotland from three to one.

With the addition of

With the addition of four members of the CND National Council the number of voting members on the new committee was considerably

reduced. However a pledge was made that a recall conference of YCND would be called before the end of the year.

Jon disputes the status of the decision that ended YCND's status as a specialist section with the right to manage its own organisation within the framework of CND.

'We asked for the minutes of the CND National Council on this point, but Bruce Kent could only produce minutes of the executive which is not entitled to take such a decision.

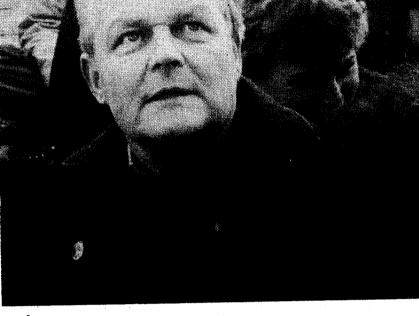
#### Campaign

'In fact, given that the change means a change in the constitution, this decision should be taken by national conference.'

Tracy agrees that the organisation of YCND was rather chaotic. But she says this was because the national office was grossly under-resourced and quite incapable of meeting the enormous growth in YCND reflected in the 70,000-strong festival organised last Easter.

Jon and Tracy argue

that the decisions of CND executive amount to the first step to dissolve YCND as a national cam-



paign. Proposals made at a subsequent 'youth committee' by CND officers tend to support their view. In particular the pro-

posal originally made by Bruce Kent for a recall conference was opposed by the officers present.

The meeting was a stormy one. Most of the YCND delegates refused to vote and eventually Dave Wainwright, one of the YCND officers present, proposed that proposals on structure should be circulated to YCND branches throughout the country. Proposals would then be made at the next meeting of the youth committee on 25 September.

But Jon and Tracy are

sceptical of the consulta-

tion excercise. 'We believe that if protests are made they will be quietly buried and only support for their proposals will be reported,'

says Tracy.
Seven of those present refused to recognise the new youth committee's decisions, while urging YCND groups to support any proposals for action to build YCND.

Reaction among YCND branches is mainly one of confusion. Very little information has come down from national office. Some groups like Hemel Hempstead, St Albans and Watford, in the South Midlands area for which Tracy is coordinator have expressed concern, as have the

Coventry branch. There is also concern in CND Scotland and London.

But behind the accusations of CND against the deficiencies of Youth CND, Tracy and Jon detect a political manoeuvre, linked with the moves by the majority of the CND leadership to making the central objective of the campaign the demand for a 'freeze' of nuclear weapons rather than the objective of unilateral disarmament.

'We think that CND is trying to effectively silence those sections of the movement likely to oppose this,' they say. 'YCND is the first victim. As we said in a statement to the minutes of the CND Youth Committee we aim to defend the unilateralist stance of CND.'

But the press have also raised the sinister spectre of a witch hunt within CND, with talk of a 'takeover' by the revolutionary left.

In fact, says Tracy, supporters of *Revolution* and *Class Fighter*, the two most active political currents building YCND, remain a small minority of the officers elected by YCND conference.

'But even if they were a majority,' argues Jon, 'it is a disgrace that papers like the New Statesman should stoop to the same methods which have been used by the gutter press against CND as a whole!'

Jon and Tracy think it is vital that there should be a recall conference of YCND, called by YCND

tself.

They believe that there must be a fight to continue to build the campaign of YCND in the future, despite the difficulties. In particular they want to build a giant contingent of YCND on the 22 October demonstration in London.

'We want to take this debate about the future of YCND throughout the movement and up to CND conference itself,' says Jon. 'We would like to see people defend Youth CND, and its ability to organise national events like the Easter peace festival.

'So we want CND groups and other affiliated organisations to pass resolutions opposing the executive's action and calling on CND to recognise YCND as a specialist sec-

### The 'crimes' of Oxford YCND

By Kathy Brown, Oxford YCND

People may have recently read in the newspapers various 'accusations' concerning Oxford Youth CND.

Among the 'charges' are that Oxford Youth CND is very big, active and played a major role in building the recent National Conference of YCND. We are pleased to say that all this is

Among other things, Oxford YCND built a very successful march in support of the Greenham Common women involving some 200 young people. We also did register 130 activists before the national conference, and we did take along the biggest delegation to conference to discuss our experiences on how best to stop the

If building Youth CND and actively fighting the missiles is a crime then yes, Bruce, we plead

guilty

## March against the missiles

NEXT WEEKEND, over the August Bank Holiday, nearly 40 marchers will set off from Greenham Common, and march the fifty miles to Hounslow in West London.

The march is in protest at the proposed installation of cruise missiles at the end of this year.

It is being organised by Hounslow Youth CND and a lot of preparation has gone into making it a success.

By Ian MacDonald, Sec Feltham & Heston LPYS

It meant contacting the local community, CNDs Labour Parties and trade unions in each town en route for support. This is important because the whole aim of the march is to show that youth aren't going to

take Thatcher's victory lying down, but are fighting back.

One of the highlights of the march will be the visit to the Sikh temple in Slough, where a reception and food is being provided by the local Asian community who have a history of struggle—noteably the Chix dispute a few years ago.

## Reading Twyford Hounslow Greenham Common Saturday Morning: Leave Hounslow for Greenham Common Lunchthme: Rally at Greenham Common and

Morning: Leave Hounslow for Greenham Common.
Lunchtime: Rally at Greenham Common and march to Reading.
Evening: Arrive at Reading, and stay overnight.
Morning: Leave Reading and march to Slough via Twyford and Maidenhead. Lunch en route.
Evening: Arrive Slough. Stay overnight.
Morning: Leave Slough and march to Hounslow.
The march will be met at the borough boundary by a demonstration which will march into the town centre with the marchers.

All out for CND demo

SCOTTISH Labour CND is urging the Labour Party to mobilise all its members for the vital 22 October demonstration.

The Scottish committee has urged its supporters to pass resolutions along the lines of that passed by the Partick Anderston branch of Hillhead CLP.

'Recognising the urgency of preventing a further escalation of arms race through the proposed stationing of cruise in the UK at the end of December, this branch pledges its full support for the 22 October London CND demonstration.

'It agrees to circulate

members calling on them seriously to consider attending and to print full

details of transport arrangements in its next newsletter. 'It asks its executive to

approach Glasgow West CND offering our full collaboration in their efforts to mobilise our members for any public activity planned in the build-up to the demo.'

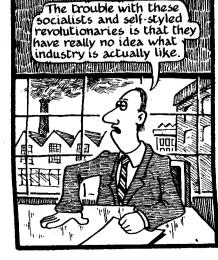
'Recognising the urgency of preventing a further escalation of the arms race through the proposed stationing of cruise in the UK at the end of December, this branch pledges its full support for the 22 October London CND demonstration.

#### **Advances**

A reception is being organised for the marchers by Hounslow CND, with a rally at Greenham Fields, Hounslow which will be addressed by well-known opponents of nuclear weapons. The local Labour Party Young Socialists are leafletting Hounslow this week to build support for the reception and rally.

Whether cruise missiles are installed or not, youth in West London will continue to fight to build the biggest possible campaign against Thatcher and Reagan's war plans.

## demonstration.









by CORMAC #2

## Labour **CND** fingered in witch hunt

FLEET STREET mole-catchers have begun burrowing in the direction of CND's specialist sections, ably assisted by some of the campaign's own leadership. This is a dangerous precedent for those leaders to set.

The contentions are that the 'Trots' rigged the annual meetings of Labour and Youth CND in order to get themselves elected onto those bodies for the purpose of subver-ting CND policy. The Times also alleged that an attempt was made to get Labour CND to donate money to Socialist Action.

#### By Carol Turner, **Labour CND Executive**

Socialist Action supporters categorically deny the charges of irregularity at either of the two annual meetings. Neither has any attempt been made to get money from LCND.

The policy of Socialist Action supporters in Labour and Youth CND is to oppose such manoeuvres. They are the methods of the right wing. We defend the right of all political currents to organise openly inside the specalist sections of CND, as Socialist Action does, to win their positions by democratic discussion and majority vote.

#### Lever

The framework for the allegations made inside CND, and repeated by the Tory press, are the political differences which exist inside CND as a whole, reflected inside the executive of LCND. Such differences are resolved by

majority vote.

But that is precisely where the problem has lain for some members of LCND's executive in their dissatisfaction with the will of the majority. They claim that the annual meeting of LCND was rigged because it was big. (The same allegation is made of YCND, by the way, for the opposite reason: because it was small!)

This year's AGM was big for one simple reason. In the year of an election, many constituency activists were moved to organise around the issue. About 250 people attended the meeting, at least 200 of which were registered through their constituencies in advance. And they elected an executive they thought would fight best to defend CND's policies inside the Labour Party.

One of the AGM decisions — by a two to one majority — was not to comply with the Labour Party's request to register the campaign. This decision prompted a section of LCND's executive, at its first meeting, to query the

constitutionality of the AGM, in an attempt to overturn the decision. When this failed, they resorted to back-door methods.

#### Led

Political differences are resolved, but not of course buried, by a majority vote. Time and again this section of LCND executive found that it had no majority.

Differences came to a head first on the fudge over Polaris in Labour's campaign document. Opposition to such a fudge was carried against a position welcoming the campaign document's state-ment on unilateralism in its entirety. They reemerged around the model

resolution proposed for Labour Party conference.
Meanwhile, the minority of LCND had begun to organise secretly. They were supported by a section of CND's national leadership. leadership.

It's a moot point which of the political positions held inside LCND best reflects the interests of the campaign as a whole. But one thing's for sure when the dust settles, the consequences will be painfully clear to the instiga-

The bosses press 'expose' dirty doings inside CND to discredit the campaign. Just as they exposed the so-called Trotskyist conspiracy at Cowley to attack the democratic rights of all trade union activists.

#### Allowed

Those inside CND prepared to resort to the conspiratorial and witchhunting methods of the right wing play straight into the hands of CND's opponents. Any healthy organisation has tactical

and strategic differences.
Such differences exist inside CND at the present time: around the basis for discussion of nonnuclear defence policy and around how to organise to defend Labour's unilateralist policy (indeed, whether to defend it at all!) and around what position CND should take on the freeze demand.

It is in the interest of all CND campaigners that such differences are resolved by open debate and democratic vote. If any section of the movement attempts to resolve otherwise, the campaign as a whole will be the loser.

## Cameras, cops and computers

SMILE, vou're on 'Heli-tele'! Or you might be if you hear the whirring of a Metropolitan Police helicopter overhead. They can even get you in closeup with their super-sophisticated Marconi Avionics stabilised TV cameras.

If they don't want to photograph you, don't let vour vanity be too deflated because they probably still think you're a very special person and have found room for you in the police computer records: either on the Police National Computer or the Met 'C' Department computer with its use by Special Branch and Criminal Intelligence.

Just to make sure they'll have space for all your details — where you work, who your friends are, where you drink, what you think — the Met police are going in for a big computer expansion, a £23 million Command and Control system to become fully operational by 1986, and a Crime Report Infor-mation System to be operational by the end of

The Command and Control System originates from the military and as Policing London, the periodical of the GLC Police Committee Support Unit, put it is 'to facilitate the rapid and efficient deployment of forces.'

The Command and Control computer will have terminals in both the Central Command complex at New Scotland Yard and in each of the divisional Police stations around London. The computer too will be liked. puter, too, will be linked with the Police National Computer with the capacity to connect with any other systems which come into use, including especially the Crime Report Information com-

This latter computer is to be used to computerise all the crime reports at present on paper, and will allow for far greater amounts of information to be recorded and stored.

All those files now mouldering away in in-dividual police stations with the names, addresses, and descriptions of suspects, victims or witnesses, will be transformed into readily accessible data.

A massive amount of

information on the 'guilty' and innocent alike. If though, you're concerned to know the sort of information the police have on you, the Data Protection Bill now going through Parliament won't help you - police records are virtually exempted from any control.

#### By Tim Wright

Not only does the Bill give you no protection in terms of the nature of the information held by the police nor any right of access to that information, it also enables the police to utilise any data on the myriad of private and public computer systems now in use.

The growing computer power of the police must be seen in relation to Kenneth Newman's plans for the policing of London. It

is through

policing' and 'neighbourhood

'community

and

schemes' that the bulk of low level intelligence will be gathered. The police are at pre-sent trying to forge links with social service, education, and local authority

#### Control

Within the neighbourhood watch schemes, local volunteers will be encouraged to take on the couraged to take on the responsibility for the distribution of police leaflets and to become 'nosy, but not meddlesome'.

There is considerable information on the 'guilty' relayed to the local, friendly home beat officer

structures with a view to

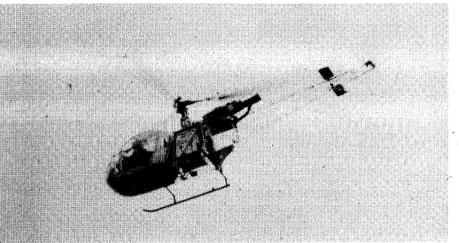
co-opting these structures into their own plans.

friendly home beat officer who, back at the station, will keep his notebook up to date with the aid of the integrated computer gr or by using the mir computer with which eve station will be equipped

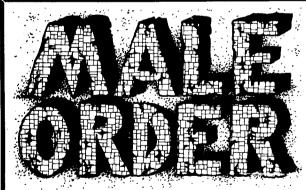
The relevance cameras, computers as cops can be summed a with Kenneth Newman own words: 'it would better if we stopped tal ing about crime preventic and lifted the whole this to a higher level generality represented the words "social co trol"."

When all this is cor pounded with the dange of the Police and Crimin Evidence Bill, a horre dous picture of the futu emerges.

You needn't both writing your 1984 diar just ask a cop, and as los as you aren't arrested of the spot, he'll be able tell you the time and pla of your next meeting three seconds flat fact he'll probably be cor ing along too.



Helicopters — a method of police snooping



#### Tinker, Tailor, Soldier Mole?

THE Daily Express (which is subtitled 'The Voice of Britain'!) had a stunningly original headline last Saturday 20 August.

Under the flyer 'Revealed: The Spy in the Camp' the front page screamed 'RED MOLE SHOCK AT GREEN-HAM'. The article revealed that the women at the peace camp must have had inside info from a 'red mole buried deep inside the base' on a top secret delivery of

According to the Express: 'The Greenham women are strongly linked to the Left through their ties with CND, the Workers Revolutionary Party and other similar groups. A Russian TV crew often film the demonstrators outside the Berkshire base. Copies of the Communist paper the Morning Star circulate at the women's camp.'

Needless to say, the Express couldn't manage to reveal who the spy in the camp was. What they did reveal was that the establishment and their press will stop at nothing to discredit the left and those campaigning for unilateral disarmament.

Unfortunately, the leadership of CND seem to be going out of their way to help them out.

#### Take your pick

IT WOULD seem that BL management and the press decided to pick on a she-mole' as their main target so the tabloids would be able to fill up their pages with a bit of drivel about what 'Red Steph' looked like.

But they couldn't all agree on a description.

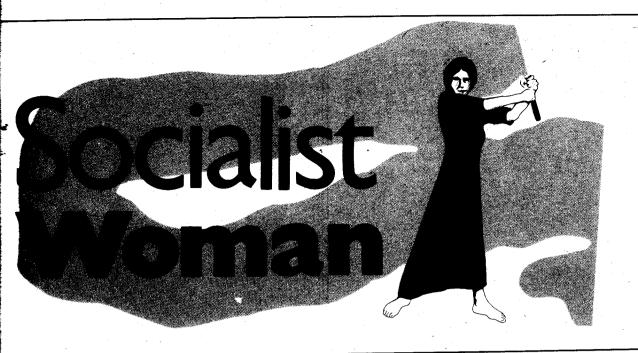
The Sun thought it was vital to point out in the second sentence of their story that 'the 24-year-old punk rocker spoke out after dyeing her blonde hair ... RED'.

The Express decided to go for additional facts: 'Her hair was dyed bright red and she wore two gold rings in her right ear.

But keen to seek out the truth in an amazing display of investigative journalism, the Daily Mail spared no expense to bring us 'Miss Grant. who has orange spiked



ONE OF A series of postcards featuring photographs by Jill Posener and published by The Women's Press, 25p each from feminist and left bookshops.



NO MAN ever sits alone in a train carriage as two women walk by fearing that they will turn round, come into the carriage and rape him.

No man experiences wolf whistles from women when they walk past a building site.

No man will wait at home for his wife or lover to return from a drink with the 'girls' dreading another beating.

Few men's chance of success at school, in the office, factory (or even dare we mention it in a political party) depends upon charming or giving pleasure to the woman or women in positions of authority over them.

Unemployment for men, with very few exceptions, does not bring with it the 'choice' of poverty for you and your kids or the sale of your body to women to gratify the hidden fantasies that they dare not satisfy in the arms of their regular partner.

Women experience all these violations. pornography.

Their experience of male violence and society's perpetuation of these attitudes through the sale of pornography, television and magazine adverts, 'romantic' novels have become a focus of the modern women's liberation movement's concern and anger.

As socialist women we are angry too. We sympathise with women's outrage at the depths to which the male sex can stoop and we feel furious about images which teach women to hate themselves. But we realise also that there are those in society who would exploit the genuine anger of women to repress any expression of a free sexuality in our society.

A clear analysis and demands that lead to action on this issue are long overdue on the left. To this end this supplement is devoted to a debate on how we as socialists and feminists should define, analyse and oppose male violence and pornography.

Below we present four views from women who have been involved with campaigning or writing about male violence and



#### CAROLE RUSSEI

CAROLE RUSSEL, a member of Oxford West Labour Party and a supporter of Socialist Action, also answered the same five questions, giving her view of the debate.

What is your definition of pornography?

There is no absolute definition. The right-wing says pornography is about sexuality. This covers sex education and even just naked bodies.

The liberal view is not so different. They talk about 'arousing sexual pas-— these sexual passions are of course male defined ones.

Socialist feminists have to use an alternative definition. What we object to in the 'video nasties' is not sexuality but violence and degradation of women. Pornography is propaganda to promote the violent oppression of women. It is the ideas, the content, we object to and not the form it takes, or particular sexual acts of parts of the hody shown.

What do you see as being the relationship between pornography and other forms of male violence?

By defining pornography as propagan da for violence against women, we can avoid being side-tracked into long debates about how the particular forms of 'pornography' affect people. There clearly is violence against women, and there clearly are books, magazines that glamorise it.

Most of the studies that try to find a link between pornography and violence start with the right-wing/liberal defini-tion of porn. The results are therefore predictably confused and useless. Goebbels said: 'The best propoganda is that which works invisibly, penetrates the whole of life without the public having any knowledge at all of the propagan-

By these criteria, pornography stands a very good chance of being effective. Pornographic images appear in everything from cigarette ads through to classical art, let alone hardcore pornography and snuff videos.

Who do you think profits from por-

nography?

millions, legally and illegally. Sexual repression creates a lucrative market

for all sexual material. Secondly there is also a crisis in the family. More women have to work to make ends meet. More nurseries are closed down and the right-wing politicians urge women to return to the home. In this context pornography on the one hand provides ammunition for Mary Whitehouse and others who want to see us all confined to the family. On the other it channels both female and male sexuality into patriarchal roles.

Lastly pornography is useful to militarism. Associating violence with male sexuality boosts the macho image of the soldier/killer and helps to desensitize its consumers to violence.

Alexandra Kollontai ▶ FOR ALL those socialists reading this page who don't understand why a socialist newspaper discuss this question!

What are the roots of this unforgiveable indifference to one of the essential tasks of the working class? How can we explain to ourselves the hypocritical way in which "sexual problems" are relegated to the realm of "private matters" that are not worth the attention of the collective?

Why has the fact been ignored that throughout history one of the constant features of social struggle has been the attempt to change relationships between the sexes, and the types determine these relationships; and that the way personal relationships are organised in a certain social group has had a vital influence on the outcome of the struggle bet hostile social classes? between 55

From Sexual Relations and the Class Struggle

Are you in favour of any kind of

censorship against pornography? Accountability is not possible with censorship because of its very nature, whatever form it takes. Feminist censorship is no different in principle from

any other form. Under the present

nner London Women Against Violence Against Fomen were asked to nswer the following five uestions for Socialist

hat is your definition of porography?

ornography is material, pictures and pords, whose purpose is to sexually rouse those viewing and reading it.

Pornography is about the kinds of exuality that has been produced by en for men. Pornography depicts a exuality that is consumable and is bas-

Its themes also depict hatred and contempt of women. We do not make my distinction between hard-core orn, soft-core porn and erotica since hey all rely on using women's bodies or the sexual gratification of men and s such abuse and degrade all women.

hat do you see as being the relaionship between pornography and

other forms of male violence?

Pornography is the propaganda of male sexuality.

It reflects and reinforces men's violence of women in the name of sex.

It legitimates their fantasies and obvious hatred of women and promotes a climate in which violence against women is acceptable. One of the ways that men can learn to believe that women want rape is through reading pornography's repetitive themes of brutal rape, and women's eventual enjoyment of it.

Within the dominant culture where women have made it limited political and social gains, one of the ways men have responded is by reasserting their masculinity through an escalation of violent pornography, paralleled by an increase in actual violence against women — for example the movie Snuff, in which a real women is murdered in front of the cameras.

Who do you think profits from pornography?

All men profit from pornography in that masculinist power is strengthened. In addition, a specific class of men

 white and rich — has set up an industry in which a class of women black and white, has been created whose sole function is the sexual servicing of men.

Are you in favour of censorship against pornography?

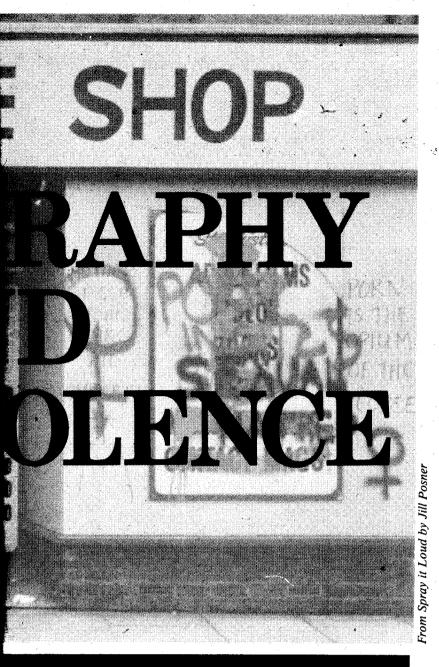
Our definition of pornography is that it is an incitement to sexual hatred of women, and should therefore be subject to the same political and social judgement as incitement to racial

How do you think we will be most effective in opposing pornography and male violence against women? We believe that all women should look at pornography to see male violence and make her own decisions about what she should do.

• For further information of discussion/campaigning groups, women can write or phone us c/o A Woman's Place, Hungerford House, Victoria Embankment, WC2.London 01-930-1584, or contact their local WAVAW group.



First there are the Paul Raymonds and the Hugh Heffners who rake in Socialist Action



pvernment especially, increased cenprship would only guarantee the moval of feminist, lesbian, homosexal and left-wing material from our bokshops and cinemas.

low do you think we will be most fective in opposing pornography ad male violence?

the practical side of dealing with olence against women — battered omen's refuges and rape crisis centres is something there is not much sagreement about in the women's overnent. The problem is how to deal the the propaganda, how to stop it beg socially acceptable that women are ped and beaten.

In taking direct action such as cketing sex shops or porn films we tonly discourage people to view see films, we publicly challenge eir context in a way censorship cant.

The Labour Party's election proamme contained no mention of porgraphy. We should demand that the manifesto includes promises of legislation that help women to campaign against pornography:

1) For a statutory right of reply in all publications (including *Playboy!*)

2) A general law stating the principle that it is illegal to incite sexual hatred (like the Race Relations Act but more effective)

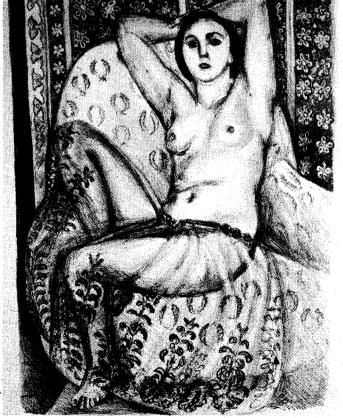
3) An efficient complaints mechanism

to stop sexist adverts

4) A law saying that it is not an offence to deface or damage property if the material damaged is shown to be degrading to women

5) Where women are union members we fight against all forms of sexual harassment, including pin-ups.

Ironically the unions that have the power to attack porn are often the most backward on feminism. Would page 3 of *The Sun* ever get printed if all the print workers in SOGAT and the NGA were women? All unions that lack policy on sexual harassment and pornography should be confronted on this issue



Porn or Erotica? Odalisque with Lace Skirt by Matisse

#### ELIZABETH WILSON

SOCIALIST ACTION took a selection of quotes from Elizabeth Wilson's book What is to be done about Violence Against Women? to answer the five questions.

'Many feminists believe pornography itself to be quite simply an instance of violence against women. It is not merely an incitement to commit violence against women. It actually is violence towards women.

'Even feminists who reject the view that all pornography is violent — and I am among these — recognize that much of it is. And although its imagery may be of violence dished out to some extent indiscriminately to both women and men and by both women and men, the predominant image is of man the sadist and woman the slave.

'Some feminists define pornography very widely to include all images that sexually objectify women. I have heard women for example refer to paintings of nude women in the National Gallery as pornography. I prefer a narrower definition as I believe that language is most useful when it is precise. Angela Carter's terse: "Pornography is propaganda for fucking" would be one way of saying what por-

nography is about.

Attempts to chart pornography in single line throughout history are usually made in order to demonstrate that pornography caters to some eter-nal and "natural" need. Before the nineteenth century, erotic literature had been the reading matter of the leisured, cultivated aristocratic few, an elite that was not challenged over its private amusements, and whose morals were in any case tolerant. After that time strenuous attempts were made to prevent the "working man" from enjoying cheap versions of what had always been expensively available to his betters. It is therefore wise to bear in mind, in any discussion of por-nography, that there is a class dimension to the whole debate.

'Even if, as the research shows on the whole there is little direct link between pornography and violence in real life, is this really the point? Surely some pornography is still so deeply offensive, so violent and so degrading to women that it's free circulation is something we should protest against ... We are more and more in danger of believing that anything goes — that there are no standards, that everything is relative.

'On the other hand we should not make the mistake made by Barbara

On the other hand we should not make the mistake made by Barbara Rogers (Tribune, 4 June 82) who suggests that pornography forces us to completely re-evaluate the distinction between "left" and "right" in the political spectrum. It could never be beneficial to women, or progressive in any sense, for feminists to align themselves with the fundamentalist right.

'Censorship cannot be an answer to porn because censorship does not change attitudes but contributes to the belief that it is not simply pornography but sex that is something shameful, to be hidden from view. Barbara Rogers dismisses the "permissive society" but we should not dismiss them, nor should we forget the greater freedom to discuss sexual matters and "show" sex nas been in some ways beneficial (Jean Seaton, 1982).

The proliferation of porn reflects the failure of our society to be open about sexual matters, particularly with the young. In a freer and less puritanical social climate (for prurience is the only other face of puritanism), the hunger for dirty, under-the-counter sex would be debateable.

'Ros Coward argues ... that pornography is not a separate problem but one particular aspect of a general problem of the way women are portrayed and their sexuality is understood. If she is right, then rather than restricting our

objections to pornography, feminists should widen the critique to include other sexually explicit writings, films, images, and even to incorporate a critique of fiction and films, the imagery of

advertisments and so on.
'I do not myself believe that pornography "speaks" male power in some simple way. It seems rather to reveal the disintegration of male sexuality under the pressures of a commoditizing, fetishizing culture.

'Women have done an enormous amount of work on the issue (of male violence) during the past decade. It would be an important step forward, for instance, if the Labour Party paid more attention to these issues and ex**Tory Party Manifesto** 

WE WILL respond to the increasing public concern over obscenity and offences against public decency which often have links with serious crime. We propose to introduce specific legislation to deal with the most serious of these problems such as the dangerous spread of violent and obscene video cassettes.

Dealing with crimes, civil disobedience, violent demonstrations and pornography are not matters for the police alone. It is teachers, parents — and television producers too — who influence the moral standards of the next generation. There must be close co-operation and understanding between the police and the community they

tended its social policy platform so that it was more closely in tune with what is actually going on in society. There are more and more old people and they cannot all be looked after by their daughters and daughters-in-law, many of whom go out to work.

'Yet I do not believe that women will even begin to escape violence until they achieve a freer and more independent position in society. The answer to the question "What can be done about violence towards women?" then turns out to be women's liberation.

'It is social co-operation, not excessive individualism, that would form a better basis for social life and for relations between the sexes, and would best meet the needs of most of us, women and men together. None of this will happen so long as our society is run on the profit motive, which is the elevation of greed as the basic social principle. That is why I am a socialist.'

• Elizabeth Wlison's book What is to be done about Violence against women? is published by Penguin, price f2 05

#### JUDIT KERTESZ

MORALISM and Monetarism are only two sides of the same coin. Judi Kertesz from Women Against Rape, writing in the Guardian.

In recent correspondence some people have been calling for greater control of pornography and more censorship. These anti-porn campaigners claim they are doing this in the interest of women's safety because they believe that pornography is one, or the major, cause of violence against women.

We wonder why they have failed to notice that in many countries or the world where there is little of no visible pornography, there is no evidence that there is any less exploitation of or violence towards women as a result. In light of this, to suggest that the major cause of violence against women is pornography is absurd.

We appreciate that some pornography is offensive to women and many men, particularly that which shows rape and torture; and that we must have the right not to see what we do not wish to see. But to focus only on the 'imagery of violence' is to play into the hands of the state, and to let it off the hook for what responsibility it bears for the reality of violence against women: such as the way the police and the courts treat rape survivors, which means that many women do not even report rape.

Mrs Thatcher supports getting rid of 'video nasties' but it not interested in getting rid of 'policy or police nasties.' It is no accident that moral crusades against sex and sexual material are on the increase in both Thatcher's Britain and Reagan's US.

To focus on the morality of images pushes economic realities out of the limelight. They are preaching the vir-

tues of the 'family' and at the same time forcing women back into the home with no money — their ideal economy.

This is an incitement to rape and other violence. To the degree that women are forced into financial dependence and men put into a position of power over us, men are encouraged to take out their violence and frustrations on us as some compensation for unemployment and any fall in their income.

'Moralism' and 'Monetarism', Whitehouse and Thatcher, are only two sides of the same coin. Mrs Thatcher, has spelled it out in her sudden esteem for 'Victorian values,' in which women have the least, and our needs come last.

As Mr Hetherington (Letters, June 6) also confirms: 'It is no accident that most of the countries which are the hardest on pornography, also trample most brutally on women's rights.' It is therefore extremely dangerous for all women that the attack on pornography and the call for censorship is spearheaded by so-called 'feminists'.

Anti-porn campaigners have also been so busy discussing the effects of pornography that they sometimes forget to discuss the effects of censorship. They have been so concerned with the imagery that they have forgotten about reality. With rising unemployment, increasing numbers of women are turning to the sex industry to provide a living for themselves and their families.

Have anti-porn campaigners considered what effects greater censorship and forcing the sex industry underground would have on the working conditions of women in the sex industry? We cannot be concerned with the safety of some women, in 'approved' occupations.

Some of your correspondents have been at pains to tell us that they do not align themselves with Mrs Whitehouse. In fact the measures they are calling for, and their view of some kind of 'right' sexuality, is exactly in line with Mrs Whitehouse. What censorship means in effect is more state control



over our lives and greater police powers.

The issue of pornography is also frequently posed as a split between women and men: it is in fact a split between right-wing repressive forces and women and men who are battling to live our lives how and with whom we choose.

• This is an edited version of a letter which appeared in the Guardian

7

## Chile-a road to death and defeat

AS THE 10th anniversary of the Chilean coup approaches, a Chilean marxist takes up, in the second of his three articles, what happened between the elections of Salvador Allende in 1970 and his overthrow by the military in September 1973.

As the class war intensified the workers took over more firms, bourgeois papers, radio stations and requisitioned lorries, shops distribution agencies. Many cordones—the coordinating committees—and other organisations of the people decided not to distribute their products to private commercial concerns.

Instead they distributed directly to the consumers as a means of defeating the black market. Strikes and sabotage by the employers was met by the direct action of the masses.

In January 1973 Orlando Millas the Minister of the Economy and a member of the Chilean Communist Party proposed a Bill that would return 123 of the factories seized by the workers in the previous October. In Santiago workers from the cordones marched through the streets opposing Millas' proposals.

The general secretary of the Socialist Party, Carlos Altamirano reflecting the mood within the party ranks denounced Millas' proposed Bill as capitulation to the class enemy. At the same time he questioned the dialogue between Popular Unity and the Christian Democrats saying that it put a brake on the forward march of the revolutionary process.

Altamirano argued that the revolutionary process had an uninterrupted character without separate stages or consolidations and that the workers must strive for total power. That was the way he said to complete the remainder of the bourgeois democratic tasks and the new socialist ones.

#### **Urgent**

However radical that may sound the fact of the matter was that in all the decisive events in the Chilean class struggle the Socialist Party always ended up aligning itself with the right wing of Popular Unity. The left rhetoric of the Socialist Party leaders had three effects on the proletarian vanguard.

It misled them into believing that if they put enough pressure on the Government it would lead to them implementing the right policies. This tied the vanguard to the legalistic strategy of Popular Unity. Secondly by giving its verbal support to the most politically advanced actions of the workers but at the same time refusing to centralise and generalise these actions on a national scale it became an objective obstacle to the development of working class power, via a workers' and peasants' government.

As most of the leaders on the ground of these struggles were members of the Socialist Party or sympathisers of the party the Socialist Party appeared to be leading the most advanced struggles and this enhanced its prestige enormously. This had the effect of making the revolutionary currents inside the Socialist Party stay within the party and prevented them from taking on the urgent task of creating an alternative revolutionary party.

In March 1973 against a background of worsening economic

crisis, with inflation soaring and shortages getting worse, the country went to the polls. The bourgeoisie claimed that the elections were in the nature of a plebiscite on the government. They hoped to get a parliamentary majority of two-thirds so that they could have constitutionally impeached Allende. The CODE which was an electoral coalition of the capitalist parties got 54.7 per cent, the Popular Unity got 43.7 per cent.

The Socialist Party did exceptionally well polling 18.4 per cent whilst the Communist Party got 15.9 per cent. After this quite amazing election result the bourgeoisie intensified their extra-parliamentary action. In June they were again on the offensive. The lorry drivers and public transport stopped work. The association of liberal professions, secondary and university students along with some right-wing white collar unions as well as the El Teniente copper miners all went on national

their own control. The cordones were strengthened and the first cordones papers were published. The embryonic militias were reinforced.

At a meeting ten cordones from Santiago set up an Area Coordination Committee which reaffirmed the leading role of the working class in the struggle for the socialist revolution. Meanwhile Allende and his government looked towards the military to form a new cabinet and re-opened talks with the Christian Democrats who demanded the inclusion of the military in the government. The Socialist Party then theatened to withdraw from the government if an unacceptable compromise was made with the Christian Democracy.

But the Socialist Party capitulated on 9 August when three heads of the armed forces plus the Chief of the Police were made government ministers. Popular Unity called the new cabinet the Cabinet of National which it was desperately trying to defuse. The armed forces were using the Law of Arms Control introduced by the Christian Democrats and approved by parliament in 1972. Popular Unity had not opposed the Act and had told its MPs to abstain when the vote was taken.

The arms searches had a purpose. That was to disarm the people and strike at the political vanguard. Popular Unity was creating the conditions both psychological and political for the coup which was being prepared. By mid-August the lorry drivers, shopkeepers and the liberal profession went on a 'new strike of the bourgeoise'. They demanded Allende's resignation.

#### **Tortured**

In late August a group of sailors told the general secretaries of the Socialist Party, MAPU and the MIR that their officers were preparing a coup at the Talcahuano navy garrison. The sailors were arrested and savagely tortured by their officers.

Carlos Altamirano a leader on the left of the Socialist Party admitted being in contact with these sailors. When the sailors were charged with sedition the Popular Unity parties including Altamirano issued a statement of solidarity with them. This committed Popuar Unity to nothing and the sailors were abandoned to their fate. The extreme right stepped up its campaign of sabotage and killings.

CAPPARIETO NEVA HARMA

The courage of Chilean workers contrasts with the timidity of their leaders

The irony of this was that the miners union which was under the control of the Christian Democrats launched their strike for economic demands to make it appear that the bourgeoisie was defending the workers' interests. Their aim was to integrate them and other workers in a counter-revolutionary bloc. The response of the government played right into the hands of the capitalists.

#### Coup

It denied the right of the miners to strike by insisting that in nationalised enterprises there was no contradiction between capital and labour. Then it used the police against the miners. Thus thanks to the policy of the Popular Unity, the El Teniente miners were despatched heart and mind into the camp of the ruling class. On 29 June the Second Armoured Regiment attempted a coup against the government.

Responding to a call to come to the defence of the government the workers occupied most of the country's factories and put them under Security. This capitulation of the government and the support given to it by the Socialist Party and the Com-

munist Party demobilised the masses.

The armed forces then went on the hunt for arms claiming they were combatting 'extremist violence'. Across the country factories and enterprises which had headed the movement calling for people's power became targets for repression. Militants were brutally treated and humiliated. Some were killed, others injured. The Socialist Party and the Communist Party had paved the way for reaction and the eventual coup.

#### **Apparatus**

The government was losing control over the state apparatus. Two powers were facing each other. On one side stood the power of the masses. On the other stood the institutions of bourgeois rule like the judiciary, the civil service and the armed forces.

The government was becoming an empty shell — its only breath of life coming from the mass movement

According to Le Monde they were responsible for more than 500 attacks in two weeks in August 1973. Of course when the armed forces had gone out searching for arms they had not included the para-military organisations of the fascists in the searches. The Communist Party responded to the growing threat by collecting signatures against the threat of civil war. All this did was psychologically disarm the masses by creating the illusion that there existed a 'constitutionalist' wing of the armed forces which could be relied on to prevent any coup.

Popular Unity's policies towards the armed forces were aimed at the officer class not at the troops. This strengthened the grip of the officers over the army and made the services impervious to outside political influence and thereby impossible to split. On 22 August the Chamber of Deputies declared the government illegitimate for alleged violation of the Constitution. Not surprisingly it was the Christian Democrats who drafted the document which was the basis for legally justifying the coup.

On 11 September Allenge died,

gun in hand defending the 'peaceful road to socialism'. Many of the Communist and Socialist leaders did not follow his example. A lot of them hid away or sought sanctuary in the foreign embassies neither organising any resistance or firing a single shot. All they wanted was to save their skins. What resistance there was was spontaneous, disorgansed and unfortunately hopeless

Did the failure of the leaders to organise any resistance come as a suprise? The answer is no. Their behaviour flowed logically from their politics. Right from the start Allende and the Communist Party attempted to make a deal with the 'progressive' sector of the bourgeoisie despite all the evidence that the latter by its behaviour and politics had shown nothing but antagonism to any 'anti-oligarchic, anti-imperialist course' let alone collaborating in laying the basis for a socialist society.

The right wing of Popular Unity persisted with this course at the cost of paralysing the very forces that had put them in office, and whose actions had kept there for the previous three years

The tragedy was that hundreds of thousands of Communist Party members and their sympathisers, along with all those workers who supported Allende, thought that was the best way to defend and advance their interests. The centrists who led the left wing of the Socialist Party consistently capitulated to the right wing of Popular Unity and thereby blocked and cut off the evolution of a revolutionary current inside the Socialist Party and Popular Unity and the general workers' movement that could have evolved towards revolutionary socialist conclusions.

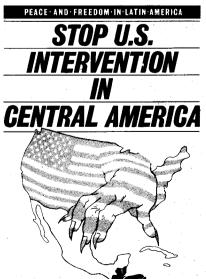
#### Leadership

In its public statements and in the parliamentary debates the Socialist Party talked about class war and even used the rhetoric of the civil war. But when the chips were down and the struggle hotted up it resorted to the traditional parliamentary methods of reformism. What happened in the dramatic and sad events in Chile can be summarised as follows — the most politically advanced sections of the workers' movement entrusted their destinies to the leaders of the Socialist Party. But the Socialist Party leaders tied them hand and foot to the strategy of the Communist Party and Salvador Allende.

Thus working class interests were subordinated to the so-called 'progressive section of the bourgeoisie' who used this policy to entrap the workers' movement in bourgeois legality. This enabled them to deliver the workers' leaders and the rank and file over to the military who tortured and butchered them.

Chile shows the need for a truly proletarian leadership which will understand that there must be no more Chiles. It will have to understand that all the defeats suffered by the working class have been due to the lack of a revolutionary leadership that puts the interests of the working class above all else.

If that problem is not solved then the horrors of the Santiago Stadium will happen time and time again.



NATIONAL DAY OF ACTIO

September 11th

#### Red faces at Fleet Street

PAT HICKEY (SA 18 August) was right to draw attention to employers copying BL 'smash-the unions' tactics.

As he points out, John McKay, former communications director at BL under Sir Michael Edwards, was adviser to the Financial Times board during the 10-week strike there this summer.
But he implies there

was a direct parallel between the case of the FT and Cowley a fortnight ago with management 'screening militants and expelling them from the workforce'

The significance of McKay's role was in management's tactics in the battle for the 'hearts and minds' of the rest of the FT workforce.

McKay helped draft the chief executive's press releases. There were also personal letters and 'fact sheets to all staff, appealing to them directly over the heads of union representatives.

Journalists, for instance, learned through one of these documents that they were going to have to make up their minds where their loyalties lay before their chapel officers were informed of plans (later

abandoned) to produce a paper in Frankfurt without the NGA.

The press coverage was such that most people —even trade unionist— must have found it difficult to sympathise with men being paid £304 a week and apparently wanting more in a simple 'differential' dispute. But the issue for the NGA wasn't primarily over money.

The quarrel wasn't with another union, but with management, which had accepted the NGA's idea of a joint press-room agreement, then struck a deal with SOGAT that pre-empted the NGA's talks.

The 270 men stayed out for 10 weeks on a point of principle that directly affected only 24 machine managers. They were asserting a union's right to negotiate its terms from a mutually agreed status quo. They

To its credit, when the FT reappeared, on 9 August, it carried a humiliatingly accurate analysis as to why the strikers won: 'The NGA throughout maintained a traditional, disciplined union solidarity.

obstinately refused to conform to the pattern of splits and divisions both expected and prompted by the management, with the advice of a former executive at BL, where the policy of divide and rule had triumphed.'

The TUC's disgraceful role, first as promanagement referee, then in moving to expel the NGA for defying Len Murray, is another story.

Of course the media tried to pretend there were no winners. But the Observer's 'FT gets a bloody nose' was nearer the mark, and the Daily Telegraph was bitter about the consequences for other newspaper proprieters: 'The FT has revived the morale and the power of the NGA, slapped Mr Len Murray in the face and greatly weakened the authority

That is what the FT has achieved with its £10 million; the rest of us have yet to receive the bill.' This was the summer of the red faces at the pink paper.

EVA KALUZYNSKA LONDON

#### Defend the 13

I WISH to expess total solidarity with the 13 Marxists who are being currently victimised and sacked following a political witch hunt at BL in Cowley.

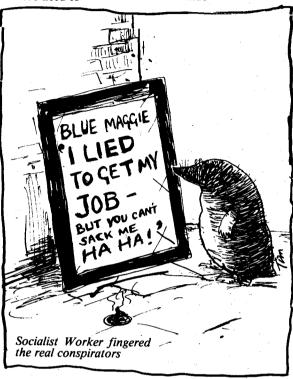
Unquestionably, a widespread campaign is being conducted against the left — not just against one particular group of comrades.

We need to

consolidate and marshal the grass roots of the labour movement in defiance of attempts at owley to raise the spectre of McCarthyism.

Ideally, where possible, there needs to be a campaign organised in defence of, and for the reinstatement of the 13.

ALEX WARNER. Tameside



#### **Socialist Society**

THE EPISODE of the Cowley 13 has been widely reported and discussed in the past week, in terms that give cause for alarm. We reject the bland assurances of BL's management and the CBI that the affair has no intrinsic political implications; nor are we much comforted by the cautious formulations of the TGWU.

Of course there is room for more than one evaluation of the sacked workers' actions, on the left as elsewhere. But that is not the main issue. What should concern all socialists — indeed all sincere democrats - is the potential threat to the political freedoms of wage-earners in this country.

That this consideration is not merely alarmist is shown by the manner of most media coverage of the affair. From BBC2's Newsnight to the Sun, the constant talk has been of 'moles', 'plots' and 'infiltration'.

This is deeply irresponsible journalism. Only compare it with the complacent coverage of the really dramatic acts of infiltration' in recent times: a systematic series of Conservative political appointments to major

ondon out of the killing ground

industrial and financial enterprises — and notably BL's own Michael

Edwardes. More seriously still, the language of these reports is that of redbaiting and spy fiction. Its effect is to suggest a new kind of 'treason', political (ie socialist) infiltration of employment. As such it is an outrage, exposing who knows how many on the left to 'charges' that are not only anti-democratic but also unanswerable.

How can an active socialist prove that s/he has not taken a job for ulterior political reaons? It is impossible.

We must not allow particular judgements to distract us from the ominous implications of the Cowley affair. The danger comes not from the luckless 13 but from those who are already exploiting their misadventure to push us all in the direction of a British McCarthyism.

LYNNE AMIDON, **MARTYN DAY** PATRICIA HOLLAND, RALPH MILIBAND, FRANCIS MULHERN, JOHN PALMER, LYNNE SEGAL,

For the steering committee of the Socialist

#### Labour misleaders

**EVERYBODY** understands that Thatcher has not got her majority in Parliament because of the Militant Tendency or because of a socialist manifesto.

The Labour leadership backed the Tories by harassing and attacking the left. Those who suffer injustice, hardship, unemployment, insecurity do not want the right blaming scapegoats.

They want the truth. The voters have rejected leaders who ignored and misled them at the time of the Falklands war.

Does the right wing want more Labour voters to defect? Is the right wing of the Party aiming to destroy it?

They got it wrong on the Falklands and have it wrong on Ireland.

We who suffer oppression don't want

flatterers in Parliament. We want a leader who at all times will unmask the Tories. A leader who does not applaud Thatcher's reactionary moves, but tears away the 'democratic' mask.

The Labour Party cannot reject the poor and oppressed. It is their Party.

PETER BROWN,



#### The freeze movement and CND

Is the freeze issue being 'imported from the United States'

THE DIVISIONS within the British working class were quite broadly expressed around the anti-nuke issue, but as best I recall Thatcher did not begin counterposing multilateralism' to unilateralism till last November — after our comrades here in the States had given excellent answers to those who were becoming caught up in the 'freeze' movement.

I was struck by the fact that you had such hassles and bizarre turns of expectations in getting CND to agree to your notion towards a call for a vote for the Labour Party in the elections.

If there were a Labour Party here in the States, hopefully it would attract the anti-nuke movement more automatically.

But in Britain you've had the experience of seeing the Labour Party transform into a Labour

government.

In the aftermath of the elections. CND's true colours are more visible for all to see. The 'freeze' issue has been imported from the States.

Hopefully the milieu around CND will not be ossifying politically. emphasize marxist conceptions when working among them more often.

Although anti-nuke

issues touch people at a very emotional political level when they consider that the earth can be destroyed 10 times over, don't you think that we can take on the challenge of explaining that to a marxist this is but the worst of their means of destruction and as workers our interest lies in gaining control of the means of production?

THOMAS BOUSHIER. Oklahoma, USA.

#### Scargill and Eastern **Europe**

I WELCOMED Arthur Scargill's call for political strikes and his statement that dialogue with the Thatcher government would be like talking to the Nazis in World War Two, as a sign that the trade union movement was at last gaining confidence

Scargill is one of the strongest voices for not only the miners of this country, but for all the working people feeling the effects of capitalism.

I was therefore sickened by Scargill's proposals to form a 'Miners International' which gives open support to the official 'unions' of Eastern Europe, which are as representative of working class interests as the Nazi Labour Front

ever was.

These official 'unions' are mere tools of state repression. Their job is not to fight for workers' interests but to ensure that the economic

directives of the state are

carried out.

During the military takeover in Poland these official unions not only supported, but encouraged the repression of the Polish workers which included the flooding of mines to flush out striking miners.

Seven miners were killed trying to defend the right of Polish workers to organise in the free trade union Solidarnosc.

With the call for real



Arthur Scargill

social control of the means of production and an end to corruption and privilege in Polish society, Solidarnosc was a progressive movement

calling for the genuine socialist Poland.

Yet Arthur Scargill aligns himself with the ruling classes of the

Eastern states, who are smothered with privilege and power and maintain their positions with tanks and riot police against the working class.

I hope that Arthur Scargill's defiant stand against dialogue with the ruling class of Britain, who he says rightly have no mandate from the people — will be matched by a refusal to enter into a dialogue, let alone alliance with the despotic ruling class of the Eastern

TIM PORTEUS. Edinburgh

TV Choice will be back when we return to 16 pages



#### Greenings strike 20 weeks on

Twenty weeks ago, 400 workers from Greenings in Warrington went on strike against forced redundancies and changes in working prac-

The picket line remains and now management is threatening to close the plant.

Strike representatives have toured the country to get support and donations have come from a quarter of the Engineering union branches --- including £5,000 from the

Fleet Street branch.
Steps are now being

taken to encourage action in Sheffield factories owned by the parent company, Johnson Firth

The Miners Union have been approached to boycott Greenings' products in the pits, where wire screens from the company are used in the washing of coal.

But, as with the Laurence Scott struggle against redundancies, the national AUEW leaders are dragging their feet and obstructing solidarity.

 Solidarity messages and funds to: N Greening JSSC Strike fund, c/o Len Blood, 26 St John St, Newton-Le-Willows, Merseyside.

#### Britain's Toys strikers on the road

STRIKERS at Britain's Toys in Walthamstow East London sent their first delegations to local factories and workplaces last week.

They are drumming up support for their strike for a reduced working week with no loss of pay.

Management will soon feel the pressure as toy orders mount in the pre-Christmas months.

Their worries are shown with increased intimidation of early morning pickets.

Donations messages to: Britain's shop stewards' committee, 205 Fore St, London

#### Unit **Superheaters** strike threatened

THE STRIKE at Unit Superheaters, a sub-sidiary of the British Steel Corporation, is Steel now in its fourth month.

The strike is over forced redundancies. which have been used to break up union organisa-

The strikers have had big setbacks. Their action began with an occupation but this ended when a High Court writ was served and the union full time officials threatened to remove official recognition.

The management then sacked all the strikers and shut the plant.

When the plant convenor accepted redun-dancy and left the strike others were demoralised and angered.

News has now come out that management have plans to reopen the factory, but with a greatreduced workforce and a blacklist.

The strikers аге strongly opposed to this, but the local Labour council has offered the company a development grant. Local Labour MP Alan Williams has supported this council plan.

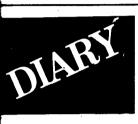
The workers feel that if the Engineering Workers Union give their backing to this plan, then

the strike will be lost.

The defeat will be held up as an example of how through lack of national labour movement solidarity workers can be crushed.

Thanks over the last cou-

ple of weeks to:



These listings are free for all yor labour movement and **np**aign activities. Semiplay advertisements cost per word and must be paid advance. Send to: Diary, cialist Action, 328 Upper **ree**t, London N1 2XP to not later than ursday, one week prior to blication).

National Abortion mpaign conference is on t 1-2nd. For details please stact NAC at 374 Grays Road, London WC1. L 01-278 0153 Forest Peace Festival 3 a major folk and jazz tival Sat 10 Sept, noon to m, Friends Meeting mse, Bush Road,

750p unwaged/children e. Organised by Waltham The Politics of Health in abwe Hour long video lable for meetings or ctions. £10 (payable in rance). Send to Books for nth Africa Fund, PO Box

tonstone, London E11.

London N1. Glasgow Polish Solidarity € Conference 17/18 ntember. For details ward Ave, Glasgow -649 8958

Leggin' it for peace East don Youth CND March, 18 September from

Kelvedon Hatch Civil Defence HQ to London Fields, Hackney. For details contact East London YCND, Box 5, 136, Kingsland High St, London E8.

• Hounslow Youth CND March: Stop Cruise! March from Greenham Common to Greenham Fields, Hounslow, August bank holiday 7-29th. Details from Hounslow YCND, 42 Wellington Rd North, Hounslow, Middx.

 Lesbians in the Labour Party We exist! And it's about time the Labour Party campaigned on our issues too! National meeting for Labour Party lesbians, Sun 4 Sept. 1 pm County Hall. South Bank, London. Nr. Waterloo. Creche available.

Socialist Bookfair 1983

Covent Garden, London WC2. 4-5 November. Enquiries to Bookmarks, (SBF), 265, Seven Sisters Road, London N4 2DE. 01-802 6145.

 Oxford Claimants Defence Committee One day conference on Sat 3 Sept 1983. Discussion of 'operation Major' the police and the DHSS swoop on homeless and unemployed in Sept '82. Speakers and workshops, bar available. Fee only £1.50, unwaged pay less. Information and registration papers contact CDC, 44b Princes Street,

• History Workshop 17 Manchester 1983 Industrialisation and after. Manchester Polytechnic, All Saints, Manchester 15. 11-13 November. Registration and enquiries to: History Workshop 17, 47 Albany

Date . . . . . . . 19 . . . .

Road, Manchester 21. Full fee £7, Students and low wage £3.50, unemployed and OAPs free. Cheques payable to 'History Workshop 17'.

 Swansea YCND Festival 24 Sept, St Phillips Community Centre, 1-6pm. Stalls, videos, music, food and workshops. Admission 30p, all welcome. Further info from Gareth Harding, 2, Overland Rd, Mumbles, Swansea, tel. 68660.

CND National Demonstration London, 22 Oct. Details: 01-272 8896.

• No Intervention in Central America (NICA) a broad based coalition of solidarity groups, human rights orgs, aid agencies and political parties. NICA have organised a daily vigil outside the US Embassy, Grosvenor Sq, 9-7.30. until 11 September.

• No more Chiles - Hands of Central America National demonstration 11 Sept assembles 12.30pm Clerkenwell Grn, London

Against Racism and Racist Attacks! National march called by Newham 8 Defence Cttee and supported by National Campaign Against the Police Bill. Sat 24 Sept, 1pm, Plashet Park, East Ham, London E6.

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

#### Socialist Action Forums

EDINBURGH Socialist Action readers forum is on the last Thursday of every month. Phone 031-667 9630 for further information and details of

EALING Socialist Action public meeting 'US Hands Off Central America'. Speakers from Chile & El Salvador solidarity campaigns plus Phil Hearse from SA. Thur 1 Sept, 7.30pm, Southall Town

#### Red Moles! Shock! Horror!

THE 'free' speaks out:

'Moles are planted in all major industries with the simple brief: "Cause as much disruption as possible'

'A plot by a gang of Trotskyist agitators to seize shop floor power and cause mass disruption at British Leyland's Cowley plant has been uncovered'

'These are not a bunch of harmless leftwing loonies who only want to make political propaganda. They are dangerous Marxists...' fanatical

'New recruits can grow into militant shop stewards...'(!) inflitrators' 'BL

"battle plan" nearly succeeded' 'Industry on alert for infiltrators'

'Amazing red mole

plot to seize BL' 'Lefties are my of wo the enemy people' working

'Car giant foils the

red wreckers'

Last, but not least, your true self revealed by ex-Red Roger Rosewell (now somewhere to the right of Attila the Hun):

'They're totally dedicated and they don't mind the discipline. They're like the Moonies. They're out of the real world in a world of their own. They survive because they are blinkered by their beliefs, as I suppose I

'You have to realise they see themselves as part of a world movement. So all right, it's been a bad day on the factory floor doing a dirty, unpleasant job, when they've got minds which could have taken them to something better.'

The revelations know no bounds:

'But at night, they get together with the other moles. They laugh a lot, get exhilarated about what's going on in the world'.

My god! Laughing! Where will it all end?

'The sacrifices they will make are enormous. They give up the good education, turn their backs on their families, live in squats and hand over to the party much of what they earn on the factory floor.'

Fighting the hysterical press witch hunt, of which a *tiny* selection is reproduced above, is costing us money.

The victimisations are aimed at putting the fear of god into every trade unionist and activcist in the country. But immediately, Socialist Action has been bearing the brunt of the attacks.

Your support at this time is vital. So please rush in your contributions - we need every penny you can afford.

All donations should be mailed to Socialist Action at 328 Upper Street, London N1.

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#### TURKEY: A nation behind bars

Saturday 10th September 2:30pm Stoke NewingtonTown Hall, London N16

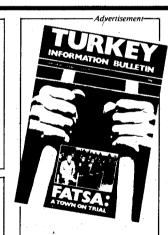
Fig. 1. Cordon NTO
Speakers include:
Jeremy Corbyn MP, Anthony
Kendall (leader Hackney Council),
Turkish trade unionists, Kurdisatn
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Organised by the Turkey Solidarity
Campaign to coincide with the 3rd
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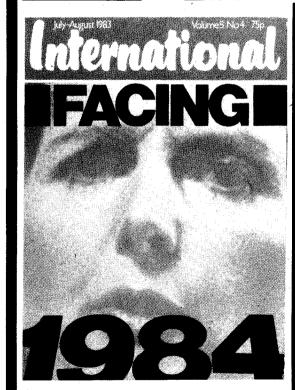


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New issue out now!

Facing 1984 with articles by Alan Freeman on Rebuilding the Labour Party, the 1983 Peoples March & the CP, John Ross on Facing 1984, Margaret Ward on women and Irish nationalism, George Kerevan on Scotland after the election, Charlie van Gelderen on the 50th anniversary of the Left Opposition.

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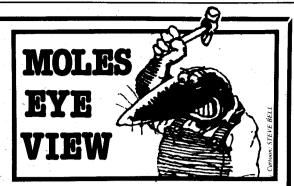
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#### Death of an idealist

IT REALLY is a terrible indictment of those marxist moles when they drive a young idealist into unburdening his heart to the Daily Mail.

It's even worse when the same lad has to take a job as an industrial relations consultant so he can meet other idealist like managers and mole hunters. But that is exactly what happened to Roger Rosewall who hates the marxists 'for what they did to my idealism'.

Roger knows what he is talking about there. As far back as the 1960s his idealism clashed with his organisation the International Socialists — forerunner of the Socialist Workers Party — because he wanted to work full time for ASMTS. All Roger wanted was to help the

ASTMS members.

But IS were having none of that. They insisted that members of IS working for unions should be both elected by, and accountable to, the people who paid their wages. But Roger wasn't going to have his ideals suppressed by a bunch of

sectarian lefties.

So putting his principles first he took the ASTMS job even if it meant being appointed by the union bureaucracy and not being

elected by the rank and file. Roger's idealism had come first before old fashioned and subversive views about the members running their union.

Later Roger did go back to IS. But once again the lad got betrayed. He monned to the Daily Mail that he was told that '... the Khmer Rouge was a movement for mass freedom against American domination.' There was Roger telling everybody how wonderful the Khmer Rouge were.

But hold on. Roger in those days was an orthodox member of IS according to the gospel of Tony Cliff. And Tony and the IS had this theory that the Khmer Rouge represented a force for establishing state capitalism. So most IS members were not exactly euphoric about the Khmer Rouge.

actly euphoric about the Khmer Rouge. So either Roger was a bit stupid and did not understand the line or he is re-writing history just a wee bit.

But not daunted, Roger is still crusading in his idealistic way. He says he will 'go on pointing them out' and what could be more idealistic than helping Thatcher, Tebbit and the bosses to hound socialists and militants?

Not a mole, but a rat. Ex-IS industrial organiser, Roger Rosewell, abandoned the working class for fat cheques and the Social Democrats.





Subscription rates: 6 months £9 (95FF); 1 year £16 (175FF).

Payment in French franc if possible. Personal cheques to PEC and mail to: IV, 2 rue Richard Lenoir, 93108 Montreuil.

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

## More action at British Telecom



THE COLLECTION of the strike fund for the British Telecom engineers' battle against privatisation entered its eighth week on Monday 15 August.

This week also saw a limited escalation of the union's action against Project Mercury — the private consortium which hopes to cream off the most lucrative services now provided by BT.

Five Central London branches blacked all private wires for British Petroleum, Barclays Bank and Cable and Wireless — Mercury's backers.

These private circuits provide data, telex and direct lines to the other financial institutions. Seven key buildings belonging to the three companies are also blacked.

At present the POEU's action is aimed specifically against the interconnec-

tion of Mercury to BT's network. However, a motion passed at annual conference in June authorised the POEU executive to begin industrial action against privatisation immediately.

At a one day special conference on 15 September, this wider campaign will be mapped out.

campaign will be mapped out.

The action of scab managers, who have carried out the work of engineers on strike, is one

By a POEU engineer

In retaliation against this scabbing 151 engineers, who take faults

of the major reasons why

the media have so far been

able to ignore the selective

actions and have considerably lessened their ef-

from customers, have been withdrawn in the area of Mercury's head office in Covent Garden.

A few managers may be able to make equipment work, but they cannot make POEU members

scab on striking workmates by making maintenance engineers accept fault reports.

The escalation of the

action is a sign to many members that the new Broad Left-dominated executive committee of the POEU is serious about a fight for jobs.

But this is badly weakened by the executive announcement that the £1 per member levy for the campaign fund is to be indefinitely suspended on 2 September.

Many members are concerned about this, having been led to the brink and sold out many times by the previous executive.

They are watching the new executive to see if it really is something new.

Although there are problems with some undemocratic union officials not carrying out

their duty to collect the levy, the vast majority of the membership is in favour of paying it.

The NEC must decide its strategy on the basis of the union's strengths and not its weaknesses.

courage these branches to pay the levy is to extend the action.

The best way to en-

If the members see why the union needs the levy they'll want to know why it is not being collected.

The greatest danger for the executive at the moment is to neglect those people who do want to fight by bending to those who are against privatisation but don't know what to do about it.

## Wandsworth gardeners win

THE FOUR week strike of 38 gardeners, working for Pritchards Industrial Cleaning Services in Wandsworth, finished this Monday when management conceded the majority of the workers' demands.

Management have agreed not to impose piece work targets and will guarantee existing gross earnings as a minimum.

Demands for protective clothing and contracts of employment have been met in full.

Although management won't recognise a union fulltime officer they have conceded the workers' right to join and recruit to the National Union of Public Employees. Three NUPE shop stewards will have full representation and negotiating rights.

No new practices or disciplinary action will be imposed before negotiations with the stewards.

With this victory the workers have stemmed some of the worst excesses of management.

Pritchards rely on exploiting their workforce to under cut direct council labour. This was the reason for them winning the contract.

But, wherever Pritchards have won contracts the tale is the same — low wages, disregard for health and safety, instant dismissal, union witch hunts and so on.

Although the workers return to conditions which are still inadequate compared to most council employment, their action has shifted the balance of power dramatically. Their victory gives them the confidence to tackle further issues.

The dispute is also of great significance for the fight against the hive off of public services.

It reveals the aims and pit falls of privatisation. Before privatisation the gardening section was efficient and there were very few public complaints.

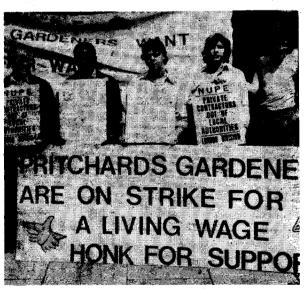
Pritchards were given the contract when they claimed they could save £35,000 — with among other things a reduction of gardeners to 9 full time on reduced wages and the remaining gardeners reduced to casual workers.

This saving is small in a contract worth £500,000. There lack of gardening management experience and cut in staff quickly led to contracts not being met—with fines to the Council mounting to £45,000 in three months.

Pritchards then attacked workers conditions further in a desperate attempt to cover the fines — including the imposition of the wage cutting piece rate system which led the workers to take action.

Fines have now reach-





ed £84,000! This places the extreme right wing Tory council in a difficult situation.

They desperately don't want to tear up the contract. They would lose political face and direct labour is the next lowest tender.

But they also can't justify hanging on to the contract when it is obvious Pritchards can't fulfill it.

Now that Pritchards can't pass their fines onto the workers, they will have

to subsidise the work more heavily from other parts of their multi-national empire, which will not please shareholders. Eleven pence has already been knocked off the share price as a result of the dispute

This struggle has lessons for other workers resisting privatisation. Speakers are available from Dave Benlow, Secretary Wandsworth District NUPE, 25 Vectis Rd, London SW17.



## Central America's 'ray of hope'

THE SCOTTISH Medical Aid Campaign has organised a delegation to Nicaragua to report to the British Labour movement its observations of the revolution and the impact of United States aggres-

One of the delegation, BRIAN WILSON, has just obtained an exclusive interview with FATHER MIGUEL D'ESCOTO the foreign minister of Nicaragua from which we publish the following excerpts.

'UNTIL NOW, the Contras have had to rely mainly on former members of Somoza's National Guard. They cannot find any significant numbers of ordinary citizens.

'They have about 7500-8000 people that they have managed to train and arm. Having made little headway by mid-June, returned to Honduras to regroup and rearm.

They are still making raids into Nicaragua, and we are not able to go over the frontier in hot pursuit — that would be to fall into the trap that has been set by the United States.

National

Square

demonstration

Assemble 1pm.

Clerkenwell Green. London EC1

Rally in Trafalgar

September 11th

'There is already an increase in the level of activity again, and we now expect the Honduran armed forces to be involved in the next offensive — probably in September. They will be rebuffed, but the Hon-duran airforce could do quite a lot of damage.

#### Outfit

'We have virtually no airforce. Honduras happens to have the best in Central America. But it takes more than that to win a war. When it comes to the morale of armies. there is really no comparison ...

'From the logic of empire you can understand why they (the Americans ed) should be insisting on squashing Nicaragua's revolution. It was generally accepted in the area that there could be no successful revolution, at least in this century. disproved that.

#### Pact

'Moreover — in spite of the enormous foreign debt that we have accepted responsibility for, whether we were morally obliged to or not — we have given answers to some of the profound aspirations of

our people.
'We are giving better answers than those of richer countries which have not suffered in the way Nicaragua has suffered.

'We have become a ray of hope for many people in Latin America who would like to make similar progress and achieve similar

independence. Latin America is now on its

threshold ... 'Squashing Nicaragua's revolution would really be like sending a message to other patriotic forces throughout Latin America — that it's useless

to attempt it ...
'Incidentally, it's being said today that the US sees this as part of an East/West conflict.

'Maybe that allows them to get a bit of sympathy from their people at home. But we know that things never change. They invaded us in 1912, before the Russian revolution had occurred.

#### People

'They invaded us in 1928 — Nicaragua was the first victim of dive-bombing, you know — and at that time we were supposed to be in the process of becoming a second

We are always on the

verge of becoming a se-cond something else. The only way they have been able to get along with Nicaragua was when Nicaragua was when Somoza was in power one of the most despotic rulers in the history of the Americas, yet they got on famously.

'Roosevelt was asked once by a distinguished journalist how they could have anything to do with that son of a bitch Somoza.

'He replied "But he's our son of a bitch!"

'That has been their attitude. Now for the first time we are making a firm effort to democratise our country.

'We are on the eve of passing a law which will guarantee the existence of political parties. And it is now that they are so con-cerned about democracy

in Nicaragua ...
'Our relations with Cuba are excellent, just as they are with many other countries on the basis precisely that they don't compromise autonomy.

We would like to have excellent relations with the US but that means our autonomy being recognised.

We don't have any military pact with any country. That is why we can't have any illusions that in the event of an American invasion anyone is going to come to our

side.
'Just as in the past we had to rely on ourselves to get rid of Somoza, so in the future we will have to rely on ourselves to defend the revolution.

'That is not to say that we do not appreciate the enormous international solidarity we have receiv-

#### War

'It's understandable that we should have advisors. Ours is a new army. Somoza's army, which was an American created army, was totally dispers-

'We have got to look for advisors who will not repeat the immoral and criminal outfit that was created for Somoza.

The National Guard burned its own cities, killed its own people — we will never have that again in Nicaragua...

'More and more, Reagan's actions against Nicaragua are being repudiated throughout the whole world.

'It looks so awful for Britain to be the sole western supporter along with, I suppose, Israel and Pinochet's Chile and Guatemala.

'It's awful company for Britain to be keeping."

#### solidarity events ...

WEST LONDON. Wednesday

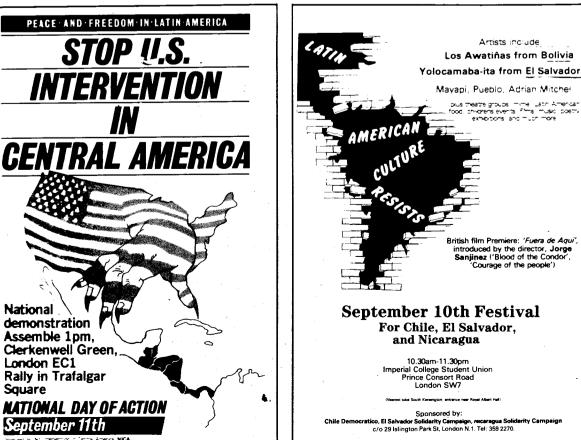
September. Film benefit with invited speakers, including an eye witness account from news reporter JON SNOW.

7.30 The Electric Cinema, Portobello Road.

Organised by West London El Salvador Solidarity Campaign.

**EAST** LONDON. Solidarity rally sponsored by Hackney North, Labour Party, East London and Hackney CND. Speakers from FSLN, FDR,

Guatemala and films. Rio Cinema Dalston. On Sunday 4 September.



For readers who take out a year's inland subscription Subscription we are offering a free copy of Hard Times, a new rates: book in the 'Arguments for Socialism' series by Inland: 6 months \$8: Bob Sutcliffe. The book normally costs \$2.50. 1 year £15. Alternatively we are offering Alan Overseas: (1 year only): Surface Freeman's book, The Benn Heresy. and Europe \$17/Air mail \$24. For new readers there is our special Please delete as appropriate) introductory offer of 8 issues for \$2. Name: ...... All subscriptions are posted first class on day of Address: . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . publication. For multi-reader institutions double the above rates. Send to Socialist Action, 328 Upper Street, London N1 2XP.

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