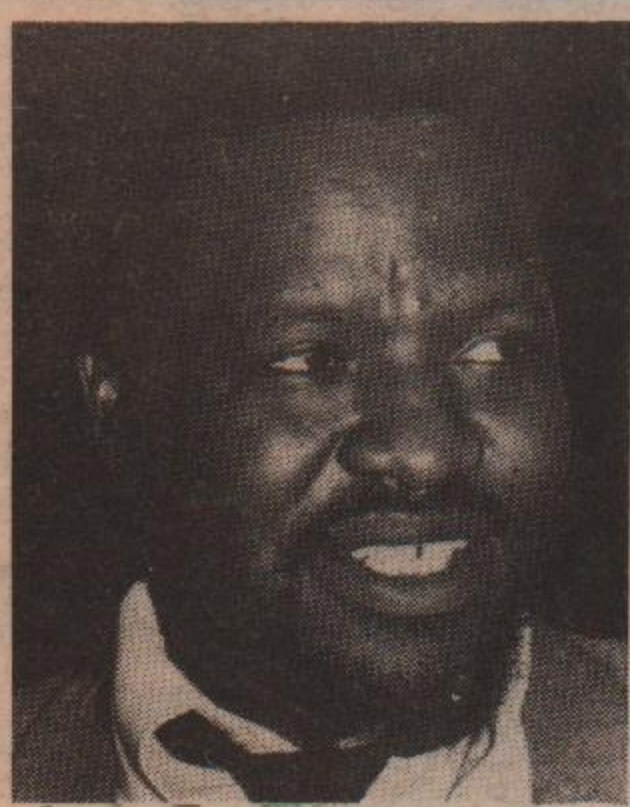


SOCIALIST ORGANISER

FOR WORKERS' LIBERTY EAST AND WEST

The crisis behind the terror

Report from inside South Africa. See centre pages.



James Motlosi

Miners back call for blockade of South Africa

Stronger sanctions against South Africa were called for by the International Miners' Organisation Conference last weekend (22 November).

The conference, attended by delegates from more than 35 nations, appealed for sanctions as the only peaceful way to end apartheid.

By Paul Whetton, Bevercotes NUM

IMO President, Arthur Scargill, met representatives of the South African NUM, including its president, James Motlatsi.

It's 100% right. We sit and moan about conditions and victimisations against us in Notts, but there's just no comparison with South Africa. At last international sanctions are going to be taken.

Of course, even if full sanctions are applied, they won't end the apartheid system or capitalism in South Africa. The workers of South Africa need to look to revolution as the only way that they will ultimately solve their problems.

The IMO is a federation of miners' unions including state unions in Eastern Europe.

PM WILSON WAS BUGGED BY BRITISH SPIES

LABOUR MUST

SCRAP

MI5!



Kinnock backtracks on the bomb

Labour is committed to scrapping nuclear weapons when it comes to power. But will Neil Kinnock stick to his guns in talks in America this week? Apparently not.

Kinnock sent a message to a senior American Congressman last week, expressing his readiness to allow US nuclear armed warships to enter British waters and ports. This is inevitably the thin end of the wedge.

The Labour leaders want to present their non-nuclear policy as a more effective way to defend Britain than the Tories' view. But this avoids the issues.

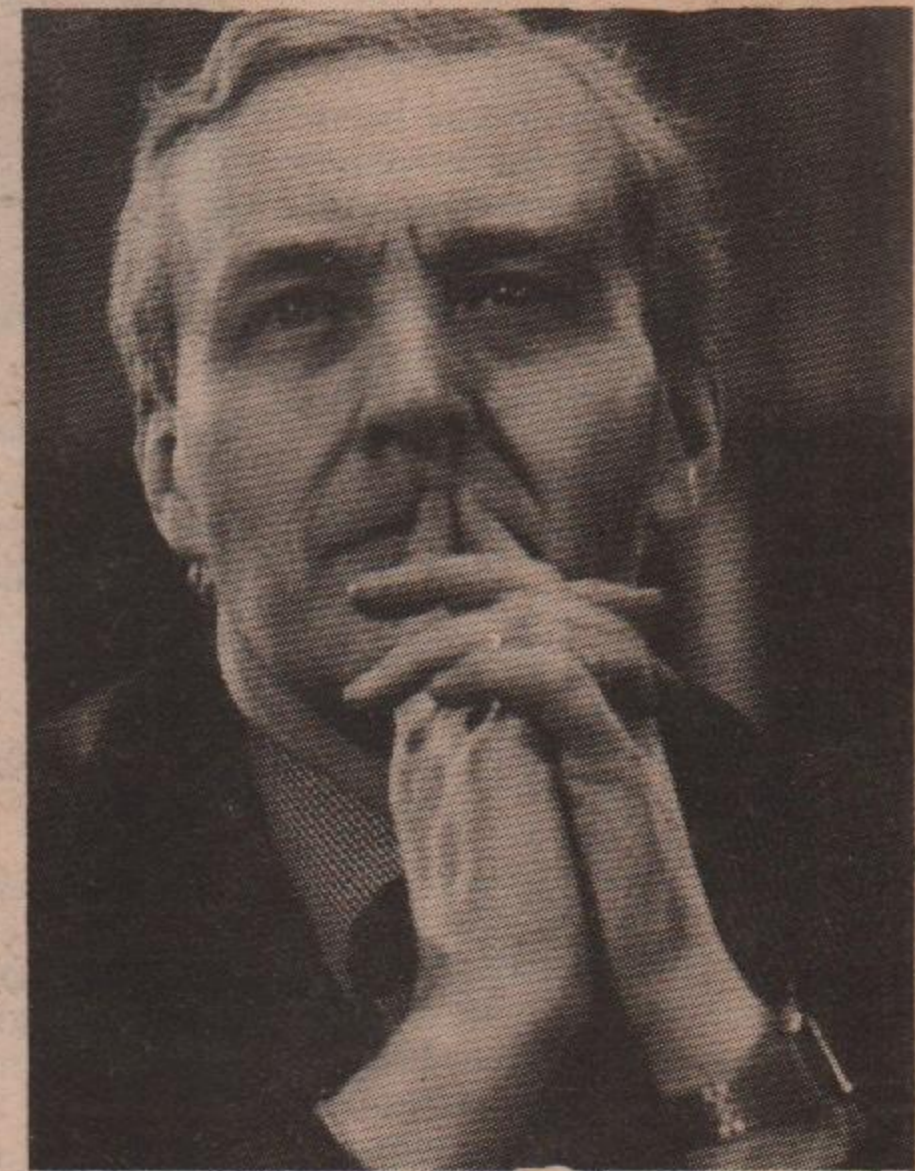
As opposition from even ultra-liberal opinion in the US has shown, Britain's NATO allies will oppose British nuclear disarmament with every means at their disposal. Disarmament is not compatible with NATO membership.



MI5, Britain's secret service, bugged the phone of Labour Prime Minister Harold Wilson. Wilson had to ask the CIA to investigate MI5 for him. These are some of the items dealt with in the memoirs of former spy Peter Wright whose book the British government is seeking in an Australian court to suppress. TONY BENN comments.

What has come out during the court hearings in Australia has confirmed everything that the left has been saying about the security services over many years. When these points were put by socialists in the old days it was denounced as paranoia and 'conspiracy theory', but the reality is much worse than even most people on the left suggested it was.

It would appear that when a Labour government was in power a part of the security services was actually engaged in bugging and seeking to discredit the Prime Minister who had been elected by the British people with a majority in the House of Commons — and the implica-



Benn on the state within the state

tions of that for democracy need to be taken very seriously indeed.

Security is the new state within the state which aims to remain in power whoever wins a general election, and the political motivation of some of the leading figures within that inner state is extremely right wing and has a contempt for democracy.

Turn to page 3

photo: John Harris



BRAZIL

Post-election fever

New austerity measures brought in on 21 November have provoked a storm of protest in Brazil.

The measures include tax rises of 100% on beer and cigarettes; an 80% increase in car prices; tariff increases for telephones (30%), electricity (40%) and post (80%).

In addition, the government has recalculated the cost of living index in order to exclude these new increases. This means also

a new calculation of the inflation rate. Real inflation is probably over 100%.

According to the Guardian (24 November) taxi drivers have organised protests at the 60% increases in petrol and alcohol fuel prices, while supermarkets have been besieged by angry shoppers.

Anger is directed not only at the government itself, but at the Brazilian Democratic Movement Party (PMDB), which last week won a landslide vic-

tory in elections to the Constituent Assembly and of various state governors. Promises of zero inflation and a price freeze are now clearly dead ducks. The PMDB leaders apparently did prevent some of the worst measures going through — abolition of subsidies on wheat and milk, and abolition of automatic inflation-linked wage increases, but the austerity programme is sure to give rise to further opposition.

NORTH KOREA

Hell on earth

North Korea's constitution proclaims it a 'socialist paradise on earth'. Over the last few weeks North Korea has been in the throes of a bitter internal power struggle centring around the succession to Kim Il Sung, the country's ageing tyrant for some 40 years now.

Sections of the bureaucracy led by the veteran defence minister General Ob Jin U, are bitterly opposed to Kim Il Sung's attempts to instal his chosen heir and son, Kim Il Chong, as leader of the country and thus establish a "communist" dynasty or hereditary monarchy.

Kim's seemingly unchallengeable authority inside the country has been undermined in recent years by a series of political and economic failures directly attributable to his policies and actions.

Economically, the country is in a poor state as a result of overambitious expansionist policies pursued in the early 1970s. The failure of such policies have landed North Korea with an international debt of some \$3 billion.

Sections of the Stalinist ruling elite have also become disillusioned with Kim's other external policies. In particular his increasing turns in recent years to the Soviet Union for both economic assistance and the supply of sophisticated military hardware. Kim has thus abandoned traditional North Korean foreign policy of steering a 'middle course' in relations between its two neighbours, China and the USSR.

Since Kim was installed in power by the Soviet army in 1945, North Korea has been one of the most brutal and repressive regimes to be found anywhere in the Stalinist world. All forms of opposition to the regime's policies, however minor, from the North Korean working class, like demonstrations and strikes, have been ruthlessly stamped out by the government. Today,



Kim Il Sung

observers estimate that a staggering 5% of the nation's population are currently incarcerated in one or another penal institution.

The North Korean bureaucracy maintains its 'iron grip' over society through keeping the country on a continued war footing through false propaganda claims that an invasion from the South, backed up by the United States is imminent.

This militarisation of society, particularly in recent years, has reached such levels that today only Israel has more people under arms than North Korea.

Kim

However, perhaps the most bizarre, if not sickest aspect of the regime's policies, is the personality cult which surrounds its leader, Kim Il Sung. The sheer size and level of hyperbole which surrounds Kim makes the cult of personality which surrounded Stalin and Mao in the 1930s and 1960s look quite tame and amateurish by

comparison.

Numerous shrines have been built at enormous cost by the regime to mark Kim's birthplace, the school he attended, etc.

Stalin-type falsification of history is routine. For example, the official history of DPRK says that Kim founded the Korean workers' party in 1926 — when he was 13!

Other history books produced by the regime suggest that Kim almost single handedly led the country to liberation from the Japanese in 1945.

More reliable accounts quite correctly point out that North Korea's liberation owed more to the presence and actions of the USSR's army and that Kim Il Sung probably wasn't even in the country when such events took place.

No matter who replaces Kim Il Sung the tasks facing the Korean working class remain the same — namely to sweep away the parasitic bureaucracy which despotically rules over them and to establish a real workers' democracy run under their own control and in their own interests.

The SDLP and the Anglo-Irish Accord

By Paddy Dollard

The Social Democratic and Labour Party is the majority party of Northern Ireland's Catholics — the constitutional bourgeois nationalist party. Its leader, John Hulme, is credited with being the original author and inspirer of the Anglo-Irish Agreement. Last weekend the SDLP conference met at Newcastle, Co. Down, to assess the results of the Anglo-Irish Agreement so far.

The party leaders united to insist vigorously that the agreement had been a major breakthrough, even though practical improvements for the Six County Catholics have been few so far.

Deputy leader Seamus Mallon argued that the bitter division the agreement had opened up between the Six County Protestants and the British government would alone justify the agreement from a nationalist point of view.

Opinion polls show that a sizeable majority of Six County Catholics favour the deal and the SDLP. But the SDLP leaders know there is a danger that disappointed Catholics could turn against both the agreement and its SDLP sponsors unless tangible results begin to come in soon.

Reflecting the pressure from Catholics for real changes and expressing continued distrust of the police, the SDLP still refuses to call on Catholics to join the Royal Ulster Constabulary.

Deputy leader Mallon used the conference as a platform from which to call for the resignation of RUC Chief, Sir John Hermon, for his part in the attempt to frame up John Stalker because Stalker threatened to blow the whistle on the secret murder gang within the RUC.

The real threat the SDLP leaders see facing the Anglo-Irish Agreement though, is the threat that the imminent 26 County election will return a Fianna Fail government. Fianna Fail leader C.J. Haughey is demagogically critical of the Agreement and pledged to 'renegotiate' it.

The SDLP is afraid Haughey will blunder a Dublin government into overturning the agreement, or give



Left out in cold by TUC

Wapping pickets lobby the TUC Finance and General Purposes Committee demanding expulsion of the EETPU. Photo: Andrew Wiard (Report). Story page 11.

Britain a chance to renege on it. Relations are cool now between the SDLP and Fianna Fail, with which it has always had close ties.

To forestall a possible threat to the Agreement from a Fianna Fail government, John Hulme has called for a get-together of all the Constitutional Nationalist parties north and south of the border to work out a common approach to the agreement.

Passage

In the following passage of his address to the Party conference Hulme is appealing to Fianna Fail not to rock the Anglo-Irish boat. But he expresses the approach of an important part of Irish nationalist opinion which deserves to be heard in the British labour movement.

"When we proudly and emotionally proclaim the indefeasible right to sovereignty of the Irish people, do we even stop to think that it is precisely because the Irish people are divided on how that sovereignty should be exercised that we have a problem today

and have had a problem for centuries.

"Britain has declared in the Agreement that Irish unity is now a matter for those Irish people who want it persuading those who don't. We are being challenged by this Agreement, and rightly so, to cut out the rhetoric, to stop talking about Irish unity and to start working for it and to set out our strategy for achieving it."

The SDLP, he said, had a three stage strategy for Irish unity:

The first stage demanded total equality of treatment for all citizens.

The second would see a willingness among nationalists to join their fellow citizens in every institution to break down barriers between Catholic and Protestant.

Then the third stage would come naturally.

"The only unity that matters on this island, a unity that accepts our diversity and that is born of our common trust and sweat... That strategy we are willing to discuss with all constitutional parties with a view to improving it and developing it."

Wheeler's restaurant strike

Chinese workers fight back

On Monday 10 November, brother San Hang Cheung, TGWU shop steward at Wheeler's Restaurant, Brighton was sacked by the employer. When the other three TGWU workers took strike action in support of Mr Cheung, they were also sacked. The strike has been declared an official dispute by the TGWU.

The sacking of brother Cheung and the three other TGWU members is the climax of an extended dispute between the four chefs, all Chinese, and the new management concerning pay, working conditions and above all, trade union recognition. This dispute has major implications in the catering trade in London and the South East where many Chinese and other ethnic minority workers are employed.

This is the first time that a group of Chinese workers have chosen to join a British trade union in order to further a fight for better wages and con-

RACE AND CLASS

By Cheung Siu Ming

ditions. The outcome of this strike will therefore crucially determine the future prospects of unionisation both in the catering trade in general, and among Chinese workers in particular.

The strike has received strong support from the Brighton trade union movement, including the newly elected Labour Council. However, it is vital that the dispute is given wider publicity and support at this early stage, because the employer has already resorted to issuing of writs to counter the picketing of the restaurant.

The formerly GLC-funded Chinese Information and Advice Centre has been sending volunteers to act as interpreters and support to the picket

line on a daily basis. We have also produced Chinese leaflets to raise support in the Chinese community in London, and are planning meetings in London. This work is expensive but vital to maintaining the morale of the four strikers and to ease communication between them and their trade union and other supporters.

I am therefore appealing to your readers to raise the following points at meetings of the labour movement which they attend.

1. Messages of support, letters, telegrams.

2. Financial donations, payable to "TGWU Wheelers Dispute", c/o TGWU office, 20 Church Rd., Hove, Sussex.

3. Circulating information about the dispute and urging members not to use Wheelers restaurants.

4. Organise a daytrip/weekend trip to Brighton to visit the picket line at Market Street, Brighton.

If you require further information about the dispute at any time, please contact the TGWU office in Brighton or phone CIAC in London (01-836 8291 or 01-379 5098).

Sanctions after Barclays

The sanctions campaign scored the biggest success of its history when Barclays Bank decided to disinvest from South Africa. Or did it?

Barclays chairman Timothy Bevan did say that the long-running campaign against their South African involvement had affected their decision. But he also said their reasons were "basically commercial". Barclays want to concentrate on Europe, the Far East and North America.

Barclays' interest is in making money. They are subject to moral and political pressure, and the campaign by the National Union of Students to boycott Barclays clearly had some effect. But they will respond chiefly to economic

EDITORIAL

pressures.

Like other foreign companies quitting South Africa, they are doing so because the South African economy is in a mess — it's been hard hit by the world recession — and because there are greener pastures elsewhere. Indeed 'anti-apartheid' can be a good moral cover for cutting losses and getting out.

Now that Barclays has joined the growing disinvestment club (which includes General Motors, IBM,

Prudential Assurance and Alfa Romeo), a few questions need to be asked.

The giant South African company Anglo-American will be the dominant shareholder in Barclays South Africa after the parent company pulls out. According to the Financial Times (25 November), "Anglo-American Corporation, once the symbol of greedy, unpatriotic capitalism to thousands of Afrikaaner nationalists, has bought control of the country's largest bank...and the (South African) government is quietly delighted."

Despite quite significant disinvestments, apartheid has signally failed to collapse. Nor will sanctions make it collapse. Only the South African masses — principally the working class — can

destroy the apartheid state and the economic system on which it is founded.

Sanctions pose difficult questions for those very workers, too. The Metal and Allied Workers' Union, the National Automobile and Allied Workers and the Motor Industry Combined Workers' Union have drawn up a set of guidelines over disinvestment. Their chief demand is for companies to negotiate the terms of their withdrawal with the unions. The sanctions movement in Britain should give unequalled support to their demand.

Sanctions victories are moral victories for anti-apartheid campaigners. But we also need to develop more direct forms of solidarity with working class people in struggle in South Africa.

PRESS GANG

Neither Maxwell nor Gnome

By Jim Denham

Robert Maxwell's bloated visage is not a pretty sight at the best of times. On a Saturday morning, leering at you from page two of the 'Daily Mirror', it's enough to make you choke on your Rice Krispies.

The ebullient proprietor of the Daily Mirror had just won £55,000 in a libel case against the magazine Private Eye, for a 'wicked and cruel lie' accusing him of trying to buy a peerage from Neil Kinnock. Private Eye was ordered to pay costs estimated at £200,000.

The philanthropic Cap'n Bob immediately announced that he would donate the money to AIDS research: 'The money comes from an infected organ, so it is appropriate it goes to eradicate this terrible disease which is plaguing mankind'.

The millionaire 'socialist' also recently had two NGA members fined a total of £15,000 for organising a meeting in work time, at the Mirror Group. They are going to have considerable difficulty paying their fines, and the NGA has said it won't help them out.

Private Eye, on the other hand, should have no such problems. Its annual profit is estimated at about £600,000. It also has extensive property interests. Being sued has almost become an end in itself for the Eye — a good loss-leader to promote its 'irreverent' image. In 1982 they paid out £312,000 from a turnover of £1,059,000.

The Eye started out in the early sixties as a rather puerile 'satirical' publication produced by and for ex-public school boys and Oxbridge graduates. Regular contributors over the years have ranged from the eccentric right-winger Auberon Waugh to the SWP's Paul Foot.

Occasionally Private Eye has provided a useful service in exposing big-time corruption and hypocrisy in high places. It played a significant role in the downfall of John Profumo, the Kray twins, T. Dan Smith and Cecil Parkinson.

But, there has always been a less pleasant side to the Eye. It is all too willing to attack targets who are not rich or powerful (trade union activists and gays are perennial favourites) and even its epic battle with the loathsome Sir James Goldsmith had a nasty, anti-semitic tinge to it.

These days the old campaigning, investigative spirit has largely failed. The Eye is increasingly given over to inconsequential tittle-tattle from the worlds of journalism, advertising and publishing.

A lot of people blame the Eye's decline on the new editor, Ian Hislop. I think that the rot set in years ago under Richard Ingrams. More to the point, it was never much good, even at its best.

Some people on the left read the Eye. The good reason for doing so is that even now it still occasionally carries worthwhile information, like its detailed coverage of the Stalker affair. The real reason is probably that we all enjoy gossip and innuendo.

Private Eye is not on our side. Richard Ingrams or Ian Hislop might make slightly more agreeable companions on a train journey than would Cap'n Bob. But, when it comes to taking sides, revolutionary defeatism on both sides has to be the policy.

'A continuing, ongoing threat to our liberties'

From page 1

It is therefore not just a question of bringing the security services under control through a minister, but opening up this secret world so that people can understand what is going on and take the necessary action to dissolve that centre of power and return genuine questions of security to a properly constituted, fully accountable arm of government.

We should be concerned not only about the revelations concerning the past, but also about the implications for the future. For the amount of effort put in to cover up what has gone on indicates how anxious the Establishment is that their plans to control the next Labour government will not be undermined by too great a public knowledge of how they work.

At the time Wilson resigned in 1976 he talked about having been bugged to people who are now writing about it, and a lot of people dismissed it as paranoia — and if a Prime Minister can be paranoid that's something!

I wrote quite a lot about it when I was a minister and, of course, people didn't believe it and you just had to put it out so that it was on the record, but there was a limit to public credibility. I wrote about the details in one of my books — about what had been happening over a long period of time: including the fact that as a young man they tried to recruit me.

One problem is that if you make it very personal it sounds as if you are paranoid.

I think that there is no doubt what-



Police attack anti-apartheid demonstrator: photo Adrian Franklin

soever that the security services had certain people they wanted removed, including the Prime Minister — and the Prime Minister had people he wanted to remove, including me!

There was a sort of mixture, playing one thing off against another. I have no doubt whatsoever — remember the story in the New Statesman of the man who said that Airey Neave had called him in just before he, Neave, was murdered, and said that if Mr Benn is ever likely to become Leader of the Labour Party and Prime Minister you are to murder him?

It was a big story in the New Statesman, but not another single newspaper took it up.

I think you just have to take for granted what any good socialist should know anyway, which is that this thing does go on and we should talk about it as though you were talking about the Treasury, the Home Office or the Bank of England. Because what happens is so horrific that the language used to cover it has to be extremely discreet, or otherwise people say 'come on, you're going over the top'.

Was there a danger of a Chile-style coup facing the last Labour government? My view about this is that the function of a socialist is to analyse all

the threats quite clinically. But we should not speak as if they are unbeatable — because they are not.

Obviously there would have been a lot of people, including some in the security services, who would very much have liked to overthrow the Labour government, and there was an attempt by somebody or other to get Mountbatten to play some part in this — it all came out, there was no doubt that there were military preparations and so on.

But at the same time you can't allow that to frighten you because they really are paper tigers, they can't really run anything.

Coup

In order to run a military coup in Britain you would have to engage in shootings on a very large scale — on the same scale as Chile — or tortures as in Greece — to terrorise people into doing what they were told. You would have to do that, and for myself, I think it would be a very difficult thing to carry through.

The defence of democracy has to be a defence in depth, and the theory that because it's there on paper you're safe for ever and ever is absolutely untrue.

Every generation has to win its

own struggles again, and I think that the resistance that has built up over the last few years to the abolition of the GLC, trade union rights, etc., has begun to mobilise an army against the dismantling of the democratic process.

But I wouldn't put anything beyond those people — they never believed in democracy. They are more afraid of parliamentary democracy than they are even of socialist rhetoric. Anybody can make a socialist speech — what they are really afraid of is a challenge to their power.

There is a continuing, ongoing threat.

Parliamentary democracy has a limited role in controlling things but still it does allow you to get rid of governments — and that is a very important thing and should not be disregarded. Not everybody could sack their government and do it without blood in the streets, and all that would follow.

So you have to take a clear view that it is a safeguard although of course it does not, even if you win in Parliament, give you an effective control over the power behind the system — which is much more to do with what we have discovered with the MI5 revelations.

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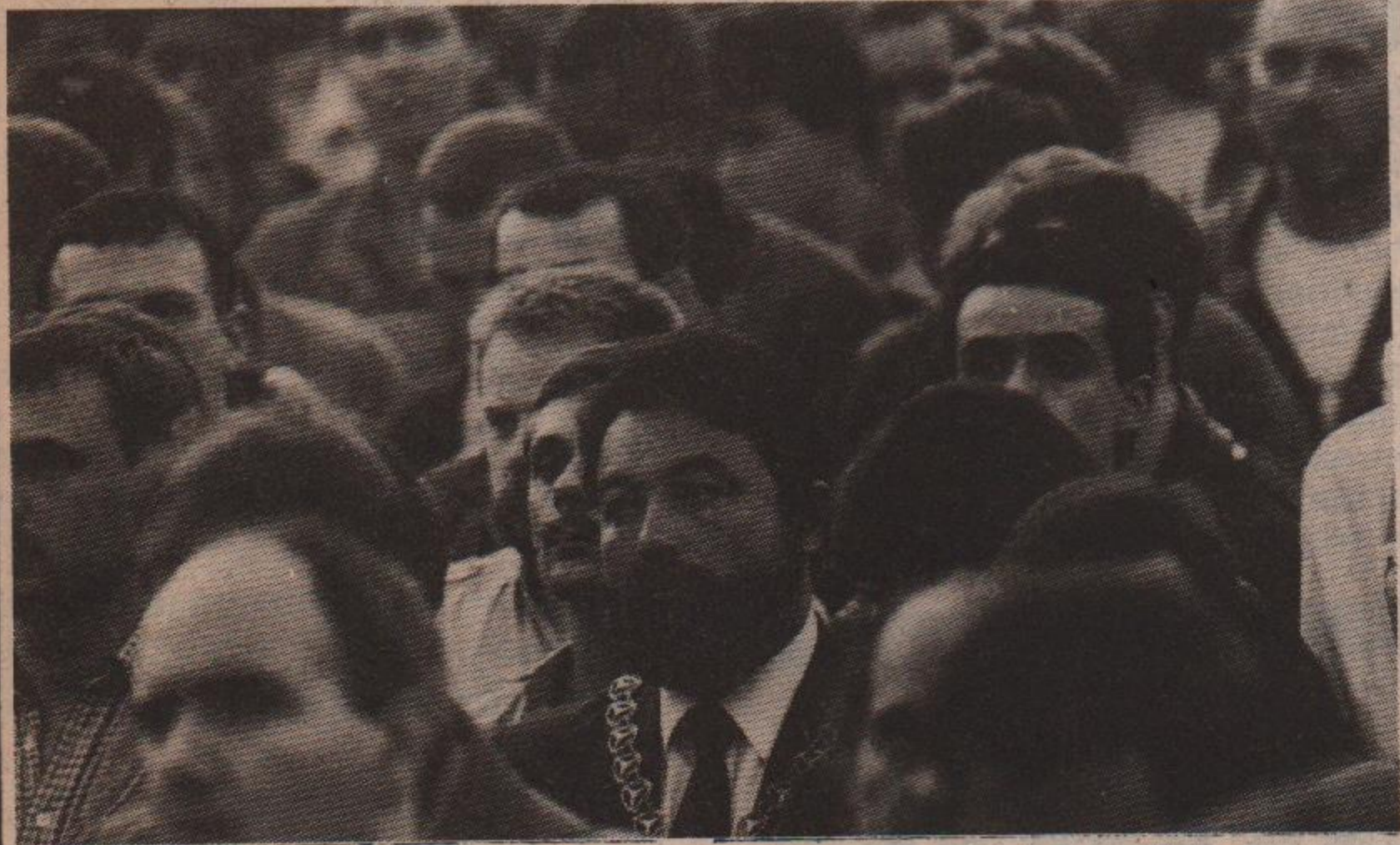
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GRAFFITI



Islington Councillor Bob Crossman at vigil for AIDS victim: photo Simon Grosset (Report)

Who pays for AIDS ads?

The government is to spend £20 million to publicise the risk from AIDS, Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome. But a big part of the funding is to be taken from existing programmes of research into the disease. Six laboratories involved in looking for a cure face closure.

The publicity is already causing some raised eyebrows — referring, as it does, fairly explicitly to sexual activity. But the Department of Health have stopped short of plain language. Instead, some of their publicity would be better described as a scare campaign — “Your next sexual partner could be that very special

Scabs' dinner

During the miners' strike, a banquet was organised by Ian MacGregor to entertain scabs popping in at his 17th century mansion in Suffolk. David Hart, a former pop concert organiser, was put in charge.

Hart, it seems, panicked as the hour of celebration approached. Originally, the banquet was to consist of poussin and boiled pommes de terre. At the last moment Hart decided to give the miners a separate menu of chicken and chips.

The kitchen staff protested at this class discrimination, but in the event the scab miners arrived late anyway.

person...The one that gives you AIDS'. Having waited so long to do anything, the Tories are now trying to make us panic. At the same time, social services secretary Norman

Militant racism?

Liverpool's Black Caucus have brought out a report on what they describe as the racist policies of Liverpool City Council. The Black Caucus came to national prominence last year when they came into conflict with the council over its appointment of Sampson Bond to the position of race relations adviser.

Bond was a Londoner, with no experience, widely believed to have got the job because of his links with Militant.

The report says that Militant have thwarted the

Fowler is scrapping the Health Education Council, and has ruled out more cash for VD clinics — which test and counsel people infected by the AIDS virus.

aspirations of the black community by cutting off grants to black groups and freezing appointments to race relations posts.

Tony Byrne, the new leader of Liverpool Council, comes in for particularly sharp criticism in a chapter entitled “The Growth of Municipal Stalinism”.

“The Racial Politics of Militant in Liverpool” is available from the Runnymede Trust, 178 North Gower Street, London NW1 2NB, price £2.95 plus 40p postage.

To those who have

Between April 1979 and April 1986, the top 10 per cent of male employees got a 38% rise in real earnings.

The bottom 10% got no increase at all — their rise in money wages was exactly cancelled out by inflation.

These figures, released by the Department of Employment, are for gross earnings — before tax. The Tories' tax cuts for the better-off will have meant an even faster widening of the gap between rich and poor in after-tax income.

The gap is continuing to increase. Last week the Labour Research Depart-

ment reported that leading company bosses had paid themselves an average £204 increase in 1985-6. The average rise for ordinary workers was about £5.

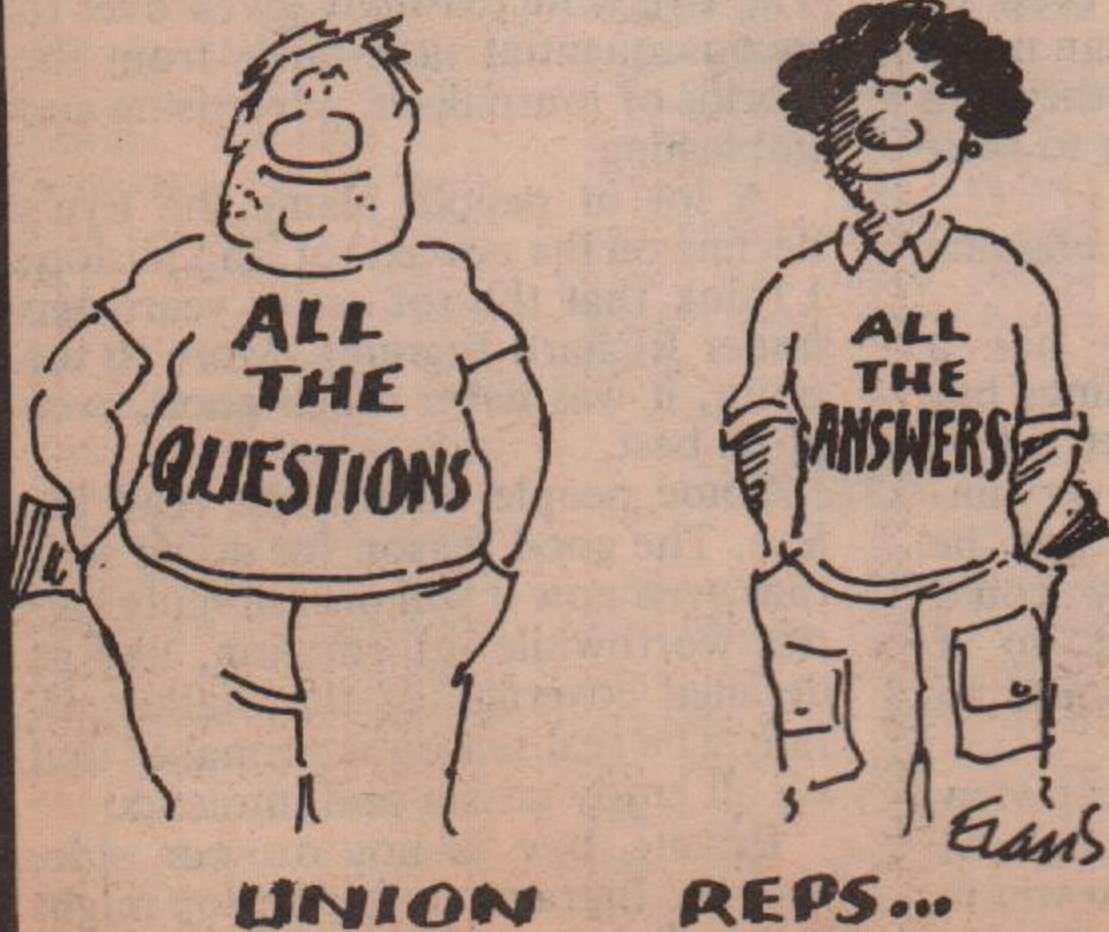
Labour Research also reports on pay in the City of London. They found 361 company directors and 67 employees getting £100,000 a year or more.

Meanwhile Lloyds Bank, for example, pays catering workers £80-82 a week, and cleaners £76.58. Most of the workers in the City are not stockbrokers or bankers, but routine clerical and service workers, often low-paid.

How to cut AIDS risk

There is a little publicised way of cutting down the AIDS risk. According to Alex Comfort — author of ‘The Joy of Sex’ and sometime anarchist — writing in the Guardian (21 November), simple spermicides, notably nonoxyl-9, kill the AIDS virus.

Use of spermicides could cut down the spread of the virus. Dr. Comfort stressed, of course, that it is not a guaranteed safe method.



‘Unions at work: a handbook for shop stewards and staff reps: published by the Labour Research Dept. £1.10

The meaning of Zionism

If all that being a ‘Zionist’ meant or implied was support for the right of an Israeli Jewish nation to exist, and opposition to their forcible inclusion into a ‘democratic secular state’, I would have no quarrel with Mick Ackersley and Jack Cleary (Letters, SO 293).

I am even prepared to concede that if that is all you mean by it, then I am a ‘Zionist’ too — it would be logically irrefutable.

But I don't think that is all it means. Zionism is an ideology — a ‘decayed’ one, no doubt, but an ideology all the same. There are two claims in particular of this ideology that I think we should oppose.

First, is that the movement for the creation of Israel was a movement of Jewish national liberation. Whatever

the subjective intentions of its adherents, it was in practice a movement of colonial conquest.

Second, even if it had not been a reactionary movement in this sense, the project of a Jewish state would have been a false method of fighting anti-semitism in Europe (as false as a notion of a ‘homosexual state’ for other victims of fascism); and a ridiculous method of developing a Jewish socialist movement as the ‘socialist’ Zionists believed.

Just history? I don't think so. Whilst, to repeat, defending the rights of the Jews, we have to explain the origins of the conflict. It is simply impossible to discuss the question of Palestine without doing so. These historical issues are therefore very live political issues.

And the Israeli state is recognisably Zionist — recognisably the product of the Zionist movement. It is a state

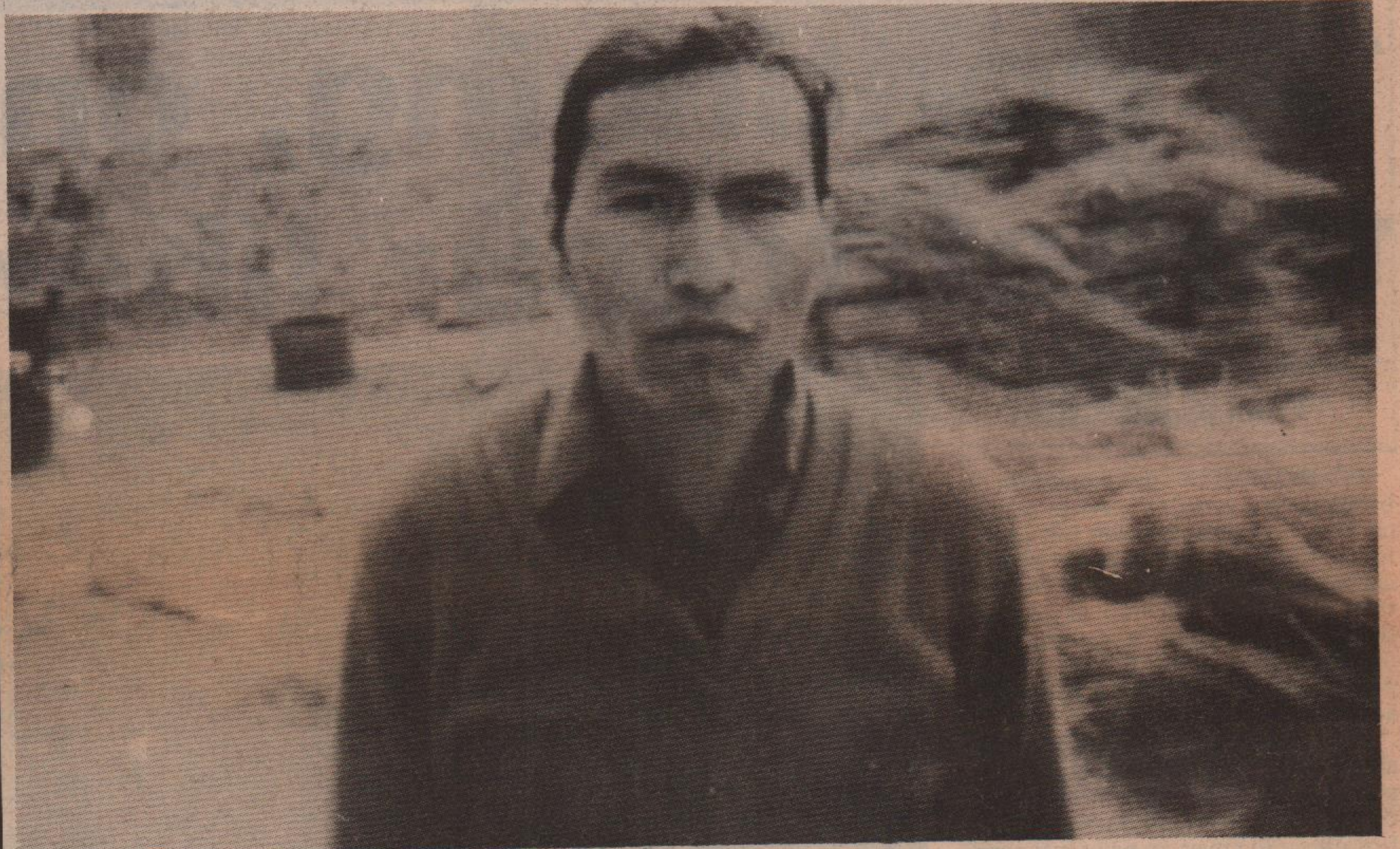
for Jews, as opposed to a state for its citizens; Arabs expelled since its creation cannot live in it.

I oppose a programme to conquer Israel. I think that to propose the self-obliteration of the Israeli Jewish nation is utopian rubbish. I think that the expelled Arabs have no absolute right, in the sense of a right that in principle could be enforced by external armies and thus conquest, to ‘return’. But I do think they have a ‘right’ in a more minimal sense, to live in Israel, and that their exclusion is chauvinist, indeed racist.

Zionism, minimally, is Israeli Jewish chauvinism. I do not think we should call ourselves ‘Zionists’ anymore than, through support for Palestinian national rights, we should be Palestinian nationalists.

To do so obscures real political issues rather than clarifying them.

CLIVE BRADLEY,
London



Free Gutierrez!

Eleuterio Gutierrez was arrested and jailed in Oruro during Bolivia's five-week general strike in September 1985, along with other union leaders.

Although nearly all other trade union leaders were quickly released, so as not to provoke workers into more strikes, Eleuterio has been held for over a year without being officially charged or tried by a court.

The reasons are obvious: Eleuterio, a leading political militant miner in the rebellious mining region of Oruro, is being made an example of during the boss state's imposition of a State of Siege.

Miners are leading the defence of the working class against a puppet 79 year old President Victor Paz Estenssoro, who is at the beck and call of world imperialism, especially the IMF, which has placed the Bolivian working class on starvation rations.

Bolivian miner in jail for over a year

Eleuterio is a Trotskyist militant. Besides being in the leadership of several militant marches on La Paz and active in organising miners in the private sector to resist pit closures and job losses, Eleuterio stood as a candidate of the Revolutionary Workers' Party for MP in Oruro.

An international campaign is underway in Ireland, France (where even Mitterrand's Socialist Party has contacted the Bolivians), the United States and elsewhere. A campaign, which so far has been best supported by NUM members, is being organised

in Britain. The campaign has organised a ‘Latin American Benefit’ in London (see advert below) to raise funds for Eleuterio and his family. In jail, Eleuterio cannot earn even the meagre wages of miners in Oruro; he cannot afford legal representation; his wife and children live in a country wrecked by economic crisis and without social security.

● Raise this question in every labour movement body, TU, LP branches and regions, get donations.

○ Write to: The Ambassador, Bolivian Embassy, 106 Eaton Sq, London SW1, and President Victor Paz Estenssoro, Presidential Palace, La Paz, Bolivia.

● Send donations and messages of support to: ‘Free Eleuterio Gutierrez Campaign’ — c/o Steve Masterson, 14 Denning Hse, Dennington Pk Rd, London NW6 1AU.

FREE ELEUTERIO GUTIERREZ CAMPAIGN Latin American Benefit

Thursday 4 December 8.00pm
The White Horse Pub,
corner Brixton Road and
Loughborough Road SW9,
Latin American food
PRICE £2.00
Strikers, UB40 £1.00

Jan Rebane

A dear friend and comrade, Jan Rebane, died suddenly of natural causes on Sunday 12 November. Jan was well loved and known throughout the labour and trade union movement, not only in Lambeth where he worked and Lewisham where he lived but also wherever else he went across the country.

Without Jan's efforts, there would not have been a Trade Union

Resource Centre nor an Unemployed Centre in Lambeth as he was instrumental in the setting up of both.

His death is not only a great personal loss to many of us but also a severe blow to the movement.

His funeral was on Monday 17 November in his home town of Merthyr Tydfil.

A memorial fund is being set up and donations are to be sent to: Jan Rebane Memorial Fund, c/o Lambeth Trade Union Resource Centre, Unit 117, Bon Marche Building, 444 Brixton Road, SW9 8EJ. Telephone 274 4000 x 372.

In solidarity,
JAN CLIVE

How to build a youth movement

Lynn Ferguson (Sheffield Hillsborough LPYS) describes Youth Fightback's strategy to transform the LPYS.



Lynn Ferguson

How does Youth Fightback propose that the current witch-hunting attacks on the Labour Party Young Socialists should be fought? Build a huge, fighting YS and organise in the Constituency Labour Parties to defy rule changes. Currently, we can link both issues together — and we have a strategy that can win.

Firstly, it must be said that building a mass LPYS — the sole answer of both the Militant and the dominant faction within Youth Action — is no answer in itself. Even a mass LPYS, faced with vicious bureaucrats in the leadership of the unions and Party, would have to look for allies.

It would need to organise specific actions from local Labour Parties to smash specific proposals. Right now this means pledging CLPs to refuse to remove YS delegates to Party committees who have been rendered ineligible by a reduction in the YS age limit.

Rank and file

Youth Fightback is attempting to organise through the Defend the YS Campaign. The idea of organising the rank and file in a fight for labour movement democracy is married to an admission that the LPYS is a pretty awful, genuinely sectarian organisation.

Without that 'admission', obvious to any activist anyway, and the witch-hunters' justification for tampering with the YS, we are dishonest.

If we are dishonest about the state of the YS we will fail to win over honest Labour activists persuaded by the witch-hunters' arguments about reform.

We can pinpoint those directions in which the YS is sectarian: internally it treats minorities badly; it has never done serious work alongside single issue campaigns such as the Anti-Nazi League and Youth CND; it has failed to significantly recruit from its own initiatives.

The LPYS does need reforming. We organise to open up

'Socialist Youth', conferences and the Summer Camp to genuine debate; the National Committee should be elected by conference using proportional representation, to give minorities a voice; the YS as a whole should be forced to campaign — and to campaign along the lines of Trudi Saunders' statement.

We often talk of 'turning the LPYS outwards', away from its sectarian navel contemplation. We can pose 'turning the LPYS outwards' in terms of 'if we had the leadership of the YS'. And if we did, the first campaign we would run would be to direct solidarity towards the South African liberation movement, and in particular the militants in the workers' and students' organisations.

We would contact the AAM, British representatives from the South African trade unions, etc., together with Red Wedge and put together a speaker-music package which could tour the country. We would contact student organisations, attempting to draw in working-class youth organised for us by the education system.

Campaign

The campaign would be run by reps from the various organisations through an open campaign committee.

Around the tour, YSs could arrange street meetings, pickets, bucket collections, etc., in alliance with local unions, Anti-Apartheid groups, NOLS branches, etc. Speakers from the South African trade unions would tour local workplaces.

The LPYS national office could produce speakers' notes for basic street meetings, leaflets and posters to back the tour.

At all the events YS activists would be signing people up for the Anti-Apartheid Movement and the LPYS.

Such a tour would leave in its wake politicised college and workplace activists, bigger and better AAM and LPYS groups and most importantly raise cash and solidarity with the South African working class.

We invite Militant to do something like this now. Of course they will not. So, if passed by our national conference Youth Fightback will do what it can to implement this sort of campaign anyway, during a two week period in early February.

Through this sort of campaign we will create a stronger and stronger network of YS branches, active and competent politically, an alternative to Militant.

We invite non-affiliated branches to join in the campaigning and help create the force that can democratically ditch the Militant.



YCND/GLC Festival, Brockwell Park

Join the Fightback

Trudy Saunders from Peckham LPYS reproduces part of her 'perspectives' statement. It will be voted on at Youth Fightback conference.

Currently, the labour movement's priority is the election of a Labour government.

We support any fightback against the Tories and bosses — on jobs, conditions, union rights, health, education, etc.

We should take politics to the picket line, arguing that workers should join the Labour Party and fight for a Labour victory. Political workers entering the movement will shake it up. And a Labour victory will boost working class confidence.

Labour must be forced to fight the bosses and the state — we cannot afford a repeat of past Labour governments, which have acted in favour of the bosses.

In the Labour Party we must

organise to stop the witch-hunt and the attacks on the LPYS. We are opposed to any YS rule changes without the agreement of the LPYS national conference.

Our aim is to organise youth as part of the whole labour movement, to fight for a workers' democracy based on delegates from the workplace.

Unlike the LPYS National Committee we do not believe that socialism can come about peacefully, being legislated through parliament. The working class will liberate itself — it will not be freed by the actions of a few of its representatives; the bosses will use violence to defend their interests.

Young people are taking the brunt of Tory attacks through the YTS. We demand: union rates and rights; no conscription; a guaranteed job at the end of the scheme. We support full grants for all full-time students over 16; the right of all sixth form students to join NUS. Socialist students should join Labour Students (NOLS) and its left-wing caucus SSiN.

We support unilateral nuclear



Trudy Saunders

disarmament, Britain pulling out of NATO and the building of YCND.

We stand for the unity of workers of all countries.

Against the bureaucrats of the 'socialist' countries we back workers' organisations such as Solidarity. Against these 'socialist' dictatorships and against the military-capitalist dictators of Central America, the Apartheid South African state, we support movements for civil liberties, one person one vote, the right to form political parties and free trade unions. In these struggles we build solidarity with those who are fighting for these demands, even with groups that are not of the working class or who hold politics that differ from independent working class politics, e.g. ANC or Sinn Fein.

In Ireland we support the just struggle of the Catholics, self-determination for the Irish people as a whole and a United Ireland. We argue for the withdrawal of British troops linked to a political settlement.

However, in all struggles we champion workers' interests against their oppressors.

We argue that workers should take power in other countries and we are fighting for international socialism.

**YOUTH
fightback**
Where it
comes
from
How to
destroy it
RACISM

**ATTACK
THATCHER**

INSIDE Ireland and Central America

GET IT! READ IT! SELL IT!
Youth Fightback special anti-racist issue and latest issue. Price 20p and 25p respectively, plus postage, from PO Box 823, London SE15 4NA.

Youth Fightback conference

Sheffield University student union, Saturday 29th and Sunday 30th November.

Major discussions on: Defending the YS; South Africa; Women's Liberation; Fighting racism and fascism.

Details: Mark, 1-639 7967.

Report from inside South Africa

The crisis behind the terror

1984 to 1985 were years of continual mobilisations, strikes and revolts. It was in these years that new forms of struggle by workers and students came to the fore.

Factory occupations, alternate education and street/defence committees made their embryonic appearance. Black workers' industrial struggles increased dramatically. In 1984 according to official figures there were 469 strikes mobilising 181,942 workers. The formation of COSATU was also a significant victory. The tri-cameral parliament and the local councils were a dismal failure. Out of 34 municipal councils elected in December 1983, only three were still functioning at the end of 1985. 200 local councillors have been forced to resign. Almost 20 have been assassinated. According to government figures, 900 police homes were petrol-bombed. The regime made the movement pay a heavy price for challenging its rule: nearly 1,200 people were murdered, many maimed and nearly 25,000 people arrested during 1985 alone.

The struggle in the past while, although heroic, was also wracked with internal contradictions, an absence of long-term perspectives and plagued with a sectarianism that on occasion gave rise to vicious internecine conflict. Many of these factors created an opening for agent provocateurs and the police who

channelled the discontent into physical struggles among the oppressed.

Antonio Gramsci, describing Italy before the fascist takeover could well have been referring to the South Africa of the 1980s when he wrote "The old order is dying, but the new refuses to be born, in this great interregnum a whole series of morbid symptoms arise..." The application of the "necklace" came to symbolise the apocalyptic situation in which South Africa was plunged. Although this was meted out to collaborators, it was also used against those where mere suspicion or circumstantial evidence was present. More ominously it was often used against ideological opponents in the liberation movement. This sectarian indoctrinated activity, if it continues

does not augur well for the liberation movement.

The economic and political crisis and the response of the ruling class.

The economy has reached a stage of development which calls for substantial reforms. The ruling class understands that a bourgeois reformist solution needs to be found. For the liberal bourgeoisie, the presently constituted racist political system has outlived its usefulness.

Yet, the state, for a number of countervailing reasons, cannot embark on fundamental reform and in the eyes of the oppressed and exploited it has no legitimacy for reform-

On this page we reprint excerpts from a document produced by socialists inside South Africa. It outlines the crisis facing the Botha regime as it attempts to modernise Apartheid in the face of mounting resistance from the black working class.



The strong arm of the state. Photo: Mario Zwi (Reflex)

ing itself. Adjusting the system too much could create a breach for the liberation movement to surge through. The legalisation of trade unions for instance, far from taming workers, have instead made workers more militant.

The regime is more conscious than the liberal bourgeoisie that certain apartheid laws if abolished, could well open up an insurrectionary situation. The liberals and imperialism bank on it being possible to negotiate with black representatives, primarily the ANC, in order to reduce this risk and to thoroughly reform the system without the masses getting out of control. At present, as can be seen by the large scale repression, the Nationalist Party does not believe in this possibility. Botha is seeking to gain time, to manoeuvre and to avoid an open crisis today in his own government.

Capitalist domination has now lasted more than a century. Production, very different from the traditional colonial economy have been firmly established. This development has not only resulted in increasing class differentiation among the oppressed but has also opened the way to the beginnings of class consciousness among the black workers. The Social African social formation is an advanced capitalist one with the concomitant existence of national oppression. National oppression continues to exist because the majority of the population are denied democratic rights on the basis of skin colour. The social formation exhibits a complex interplay of class and colour. The phrase 'racial capitalism' is an apt one.

Class

The theory that says the South African social formation is colonialism of a special type or internal colonialism is wrong. This theory emphasises national oppression at the expense of class exploitation. More seriously, it provides the theoretical justification for a national democratic revolution, not combined with class emancipation.

The South African economy went

into a recession at the beginning of 1982. Retrenchments and unemployment drastically increased. By 1984, 54% of urban women and 36% of urban men had been unemployed for more than two years.

Since the beginning of 1985 the political effects of the crisis, coming on top of the economic recession, have brought about a much more serious crisis than the political consequence of Sharpeville 1960 or Soweto 1976.

The bosses have taken advantage of the recession to strike important blows against the trade unions. They have attempted to restructure the industrial apparatus by fusions between big companies, thereby causing more unemployment. They have also introduced new technologies which displace labour intensive sectors of industry. Many workers have seen through these measures. Some trade unions have demanded access to the accounts of the companies and a say over retrenchments and working conditions.

Recovery?

In order to find remedies for this economic crisis, the regime has vainly tried different policies for economic recovery. It re-instituted a 'Commercial Rand' for overseas financial markets in order to favour foreign investment. In 1984, it tried to boost domestic consumption through fiscal measures, which resulted in high inflation. At the end of 1985, the declared priority was the fight against unemployment. But none of these measures have been able to bring the country out of recession and even less, defuse the political crisis.

The appearance of 'ungovernability' and the real growth of the mass movement, particularly the unions as well as the inability of the state to control the resistance using the 'normal' legal framework of state control, has forced even 'conservative imperialism' to the realisation that apartheid would not survive in the medium to long-term. For them a realignment of capitalism is needed. Simultaneously, the major foreign investors reached the same conclusion and started reducing their 'exposure' by withdrawing capital and refusing



Students fight police in Cape Town. Photo: Azania Worker.



GM strikers face police

By Tom Rigby

According to the South African Labour Bulletin (SALB) only about 300 workers are left out on strike in the battle between General Motors and black trade unions in Port Elizabeth over the American multinational's plans to 'pull-out' of South Africa.

The workers have been on strike for four weeks now after it became clear that working conditions, union organisation and pension rights would all be at risk as a result of GM handing over control of its South African operations to local management.

After a vicious attack by the security forces on strikers picketing the plant last Monday, an attack which led to the arrest of at least 16 trade unionists, the unions have switched their tactics.

to lend more capital to South Africa even before the widespread clamours for disinvestment. This precipitated the economic crisis.

The state of emergency — a short reprieve?

The Botha regime is faced with a situation where it has to conciliate diverse interests inside the ruling class and imperialism, as well as take account of pressure from its electoral base. Since the middle of the 1970s, the Nationalist Party has lost a third of its electorate. A part of these lost voters have gone to the fascist right — benefitting the Conservative Party, HNP and AWB. From 1974 to 1982 the Nationalist Party has seen its electoral influence among Afrikaaners drop from 86% to 56%. Botha needs a strong influence in the police and the army. He cannot allow these crucial areas to fall into the hands of the fascist right. Unlike the latter, Botha understands that repression alone cannot save the system.

It is widely acknowledged that Botha's reforms have achieved too little too late. The reliance of capitalism on the black working class has led to the latter's strengthened objective position, which is one of the fundamental causes of the upsurge in 1984-5. Ever since the mass strikes in Durban in 1973, and the coming into being of black consciousness, mass resistance continued unabatedly. This factor, combined with the economic and political crisis means and the diminishing electoral base at his disposal, left Botha with a slim margin of manoeuvre. Attempts to move the mass movement into a moderate approach was transformed into its opposite.

Incorporate

The general thrust of Botha's reforms was to preserve capitalism by incorporating privileged layers of middle and working class blacks. Economic and political concessions were made. Attempts were made to create a black labour aristocracy from those workers who were legally allowed to live in urban areas.

Wiehahn-Riekert was, in many respects, an attempt to extend the strategy of incorporation so successfully pursued towards the white workers between the 1920s and the 1940s, to include the better paid and more highly skilled sections of black workers. But the black workers were not so easily bought off. The regime's strategy was in ruins.

The ostensible reason given for the state of emergency is that a massive and diabolical plan worked out by the South African Communist Party-ANC-UDF to bring down the government was planned to coincide with June 16. While many organisations were planning church services, meetings, rallies and perhaps even a march, something along the lines of an insurrection is inconceivable. The regime certainly used June 16 as an excuse for the crackdown it long wanted.

Reasons

The real reasons for the state of emergency were that:

1. It needed to reassert its own initiatives. Its political programmes for the oppressed were in a shambles. The collaborators (literally) needed to be given a new lease of life. The statutory councils cannot also be allowed to collapse. The regime needs political room for manoeuvre, to implement its economic programme for the oppressed communities.

To do this it is essential to:

2. Curtail the popular resistance and roll back the gains made in the last few years by trade unions, community, student and political organisations.

3. The CP-HNP-AWB threat is a real one for the Botha regime. The Nationalist Party depends for its parliamentary majority on the votes of the white working class and petty bourgeoisie. Botha, a veteran of 50 years of Afrikaner politics, must well remember the fate of the party's founder, General JBM Hertzog, who was outflanked on the right when he threw in with Jan Smuts' South Africa Party — the representatives of English-speaking capital. Ex-cabinet minister Andries Treurnicht and his breakaway Conservative party is waiting in the wings for swelling

white popular reaction to allow them to do to Botha what the Nationalists did to Hertzog.

The state of emergency serves as a palliative to placate the desires of the fascist right. It is foreseeable that the regime might make use of the AWB as some kind of unofficial adjunct to the police and army. This eventuality, widespread in Latin America, could have a devastating effect on the left if we are not prepared to defend ourselves. The murders of Turner, Mxenge, Goniwe and others will be a drop in the ocean compared to what we might face.

4. Finally, talking to some people who have been released and judging from the questions put to them during the interrogation sessions, it seems that the state of emergency is also one big information-gathering exercise.



General Motors strikers argue with scab

The campaign now has two main elements.

Firstly, they are concentrating on a legal battle to win the reinstatement of all those sacked by GM including the 567 victimised after the security forces smashed up the workers' occupation of the plant.

Secondly, the unions are attempting to draw on support from anti-apartheid organisations in the townships to prevent large-scale scabbing.

Freddie Sauls of the National Automobile and Allied Workers Union (NAAWU) put it like this:

"The only way GM can break the strike is with the security forces. They can't break the strike by hiring scabs. That's impossible because the scabs are staying in our townships. And the scabs will be 'conscienced' and influenced in the townships where they live."

But the problem for the strikers is that the 'African' townships in the Port Elizabeth area are far better organised than the so-called 'coloured' ones.

This could lead to the introduction of a dangerous 'ethnic' element into the situation with the majority of scabs turning out to be coloured, a problem compounded by the unemployment rate of up to 60% among blacks. But so far the strikers who are fifty-fifty 'African' and 'coloured' have shown great unity.

Management have also turned to recruiting unemployed white workers as scabs (white unemployment in the area is now over 30%, among the highest in the country).

According to SALB the media inside South Africa have tried to portray the strike as a strike against disinvestment and therefore by implication a strike against the call for disinvestment and sanctions. But this is not the case. The strike is not against disinvestment as such. Rather, it is against the bad effects that disinvestment can potentially have on workers and working class organisation.

An alliance for what?

by Jane Ashworth

Socialist Action's Alliance for Socialism conference held last weekend attracted about 400 people on the Saturday and 250 on Sunday.

Most of the workshops were led off by two or more speakers from different campaigns which meant little time for debate and no direct discussion about how all the workshops fitted together. The political message from the weekend was that every campaign should be supported and that it is the way an alliance for socialism will be established.

Consequently there was no discussion about what the entire left in the Labour Party should be doing as a united force other than supporting all the campaigns which comprise Campaign Forum; in other words there was nothing greater than the total of the component parts.

So, to take as an example a very glaring omission, there was no discussion about how the entire left should be organising for the general election. Representatives from the

campaigns were sanctified — they were star speakers, and more often people whose approach meant that any disagreement with them automatically branded you an alien and "a hostile" of some sort — sexist, racist, pro-imperialist, class-reductionist, et al. This made any real debate of the issues very difficult.

Debate

Take for example the youth debate. There were two members of organisations that support the Sawyer proposals on the platform. They were allowed to say how terrible the YS is without Socialist Action bothering to even reply. Two fierce Kinnockite speeches on the future of Labour's youth movement on top of which Black Sections speaker Kingsley Abrahams also weighed in — were not even answered by the editor of Socialist Action's youth paper! There were no proposals of how to fight the attack or even how to transform the YS out of its current stagnant, bureaucratic and undemocratic pit.

The sanctification of visiting speakers meant absurd for-



Fidel Castro: great socialist?

mulations went unchallenged, like Ken Livingstone's assertion that the Northern Ireland Protestants are "fascists", or the ANC speakers who said we were "cultural imperialists" for arguing that the ANC were wrong to oppose the establishment of the trade unions in the 1970s. Well then, long live cultural imperialism.

For certain building an alliance for socialism has to recognise that not every campaign or movement is politically right. At least real dialogue, political interaction and discussion are necessary. We didn't get that at Socialist Action's feeble mock-up of a none-too-left-wing version of the 'Rainbow Coalition'.

Les Hearn's SCIENCE COLUMN

How food can make you ill

In the UK, less than 10% of food additives have been tested and the government's view of ill-health caused by additives is that there is no problem. But try telling that to groups of workers in the food industry, says MELANIE MILLER of the London Food Commission.

In the research department of a flour products factory a woman developed asthma and bronchitis. On two occasions she suffered such severe attacks she would have died had she not received emergency medical aid. Her asthma was produced by tartrazine (E102), a yellow dye added to foods ranging from cakes to fish batter. Eating the dye produced the same effect as handling it at work.

Survey

A recent survey by the GMBATU and the London Food Commission found that a third of the cases of ill-health reported by food workers was caused by food additives.

Food workers receive double exposure to additives — as workers and as consumers. As well as eating them, they are exposed to dusts, fumes and splashes and can touch or breathe significant quantities. For some the official 'safe' doses are exceeded by oral exposure alone.

Like consumers, food workers are exposed to untested cocktails of additives. Levels of exposure tend to be highest in the sectors where soft drinks, snacks, baked goods, confectionery and meat products are made.

The number of people exposed to additives in food processing is about half a million. Almost half are women and they are particularly at risk because they tend to do the 'dirtier' jobs in this sex-segregated industry. A further quarter million people handle additives in the fine chemicals and flavouring industry and in some parts of food catering and retailing.

Many firms are unwilling to spend money on adequate ventilation systems or protection. In some, people are obliged to wear cumbersome protective clothing. Rarely are hazardous additives completely enclosed. Little distinction can be made between practices in 'reputable' firms and sweat shops.

Ill-health of the sort mentioned above — caused as much by resistance to spending money on proper protection measures as by the additives themselves — has provoked action by food workers and their unions. Additives have become a trade union issue.

At national level, some unions have taken up the issue with the Health and Safety Executive. When some bakers reported eye irritation, breathing difficulties and nose bleeds while handling calcium propionate (E282, a mould inhibitor added to bread) the bakers' union (BFAWU) took the issue to the Health and Safety Executive. The HSE refused to act because they felt the additive presented no long-term hazard. But the union was concerned because calcium

propionate clearly caused ill-health in the short-term. A number of branches refused to work with the pure powder and used an alternative form. The BFAWU's safety department took its own protective measure and issued a successful national ban on handling undiluted calcium propionate.

There have also been a number of local campaigns. For example: •Women suffering sore and blistered skin at a soft drinks plant at Rugby walked out of the mixing department after 18 months' unsuccessful campaigning. They refused to work until the area was made safe. Managers attempted to mix the additives themselves, but the women's demand was supported by their fellow GMBATU members in the bottling area of the plant, who refused to bottle any drink not made by the women. They won a complete re-design of the mixing area in 11 days.

•GMBATU members handling Aspartame for sweetening low-calorie drinks became concerned when they saw a TV programme questioning the adequacy of safety tests. The manufacturers, Searle, had been indicted by the US Food and Drug Administration for replacing test animals that died with fresh animals. They had also concealed the fact that some animals had developed tumours. Scientists were debating whether the small quantities of Aspartame eaten by consumers were hazardous.

Meanwhile a few GMBATU members were working every day in clouds of Aspartame so thick they could not see across the room. They negotiated masks, overalls and showers which reduced but did not resolve the problem. Naturally, they found it very hard to work all day in stuffy equipment only partly effective. The union branch put more pressure on management by arranging a visit by a well-briefed union safety officer. A few days before the visit the managers found (miraculously) that they could introduce the change the union wanted. They ordered supplies of Aspartame in pre-weighed batches to prevent dust being formed at source.

Respects

In major respects, the interests of workers and consumers overlap. Last year, for example, people mixing the flavours and colours for crisps were told that a new dye was to be introduced. Their Safety Rep found out that the colour, Brown FK (154) was a suspected carcinogen. The TGWU members at the firm refused to handle Brown FK, and the management were forced reluctantly to withdraw it. As the Safety Rep remarked: "Safety Reps in factories that produce items for public use must be a good thing; because we are not only Safety Reps for our own members but also for the general public."

*Support FACT (Food Additives Campaign Team). For information, send sae to 25 Horsell Road, London N5 1XL.

**For broadsheet on additives, send sae to London Food Commission, PO Box 291, London N5 1DU.

This article has been adapted from *New Ground 10* (Autumn 1986).

ACTIVISTS' DIARY

Why not form a Campaign Group?

A number of Labour Party members up and down the country have formed themselves into local Campaign groups.

These groups are organised on non-sectarian lines. The aim is to provide a unified left campaigning force in the constituencies.

If you have already done this and have not yet informed the Campaign Group, or if you wish to do so, please contact the Campaign Group of Labour MPs, c/o Alan Meale, secretary, House of Commons, London SW1A 0AA.

From Resistance to Rebellion — an exhibition on Asian and Afro-Caribbean struggles in Britain since the Second World War. Produced by the Institute of Race Relations. Available for hire and on show at the following venues.

19-30 January, LINC Resources Centre, Lydford Road, Reading. Ring 0753 23699 for details.

3-28 February, Dame Colet House, Ben Johnson Road, Stepney, London E1. Tel: 01-790 9077.

2-13 March, Multicultural Education Centre, Leeds 7. Tel: 0532 623448.

13-17 April, Wolverhampton CCR, Clarence Road, Wolverhampton. Tel: 0902 773589.

1-28 May, Highfields Community Centre, Leicester. Tel: 0533 531053.

1-12 June, Waltham Forest

Teachers Centre, London E17. Tel: 01-521 3311.

For hire details contact Busi Chaane at the Institute of Race Relations, 2-6 Leeke Street, London WC1X 9HS. Tel: 01-837 0041.

WEDNESDAY 26 NOVEMBER at 8.00pm. Debate on the left: Which way to Socialism? Speakers Paul Convery, Labour Co-ordinating Committee, Mary Corbishley, Socialist Organiser, Andy Struthous, Socialist Workers' Party. Red Rose Club, 129 Seven Sisters Road.

All TGWU and ACTSS members who support SO please contact Jim Denham at 021-471 1964, home, or 021-771 0871 (daytime).

Wednesday 26 Nov: Lecture on 'John McLean: educator of the working class' by James D. Young, Stirling University. 7.30 McLellan Galleries, Sauchiehall St. Glasgow.

Saturday 6 Dec: Action conference '86 Against Deportation and all Immigration Controls. Organised by Hackney Anti-Deportation Campaign. Speakers include Bernie Grant, Dianne Abbot, anti-deportation campaigns. 10.00, Hackney Town Hall, Mare St. London E8.

Saturday 13 Dec: Conference for trade union sanctions against South Africa. 11 to 6, Carr's Lane Church Centre, Carr's Lane, Birmingham. Contact: Bronwen Handyside, 17 Porden Rd. Brixton, London SW2 5SA, tel. 01-274 7722 x2010.

WHERE WE STAND

Socialist Organiser stands for workers' liberty, East and West. We aim to help organise the left wing in the Labour Party and trade unions to fight to replace capitalism with working class socialism.

We want public ownership

of the major enterprises and a planned economy under workers' control. We want democracy much fuller than the present Westminster system — a workers' democracy, with elected representatives recallable at any time, and an end to bureaucrats' and management's privileges.

Socialist can never be built in one country alone. The workers in every country have more in common with workers

in other countries than with their own capitalist or Stalinist rulers. We support national liberation struggles and workers' struggles world-wide, including the struggle of workers and oppressed nationalities in the Stalinist states against their own anti-socialist bureaucracies.

We stand: For full equality for women, and social provision to free women from the burden of

housework. For a mass working class based women's movement.

Against racism, and against deportations and all immigration controls.

For equality for lesbians and gays.

For a united and free Ireland, with some federal system to protect the rights of the Protestant minority.

For left unity in action; clarity in debate and discussion.

For a labour movement accessible to the most oppressed, accountable to its rank and file, and militant against capitalism.

We want Labour Party and trade union members who support our basic ideas to become supporters of the paper — to take a bundle of papers to sell each week and pay a small financial contribution to help meet the paper's deficit. Our policy is democratically controlled by our supporters through Annual General Meetings and an elected National Editorial Board.

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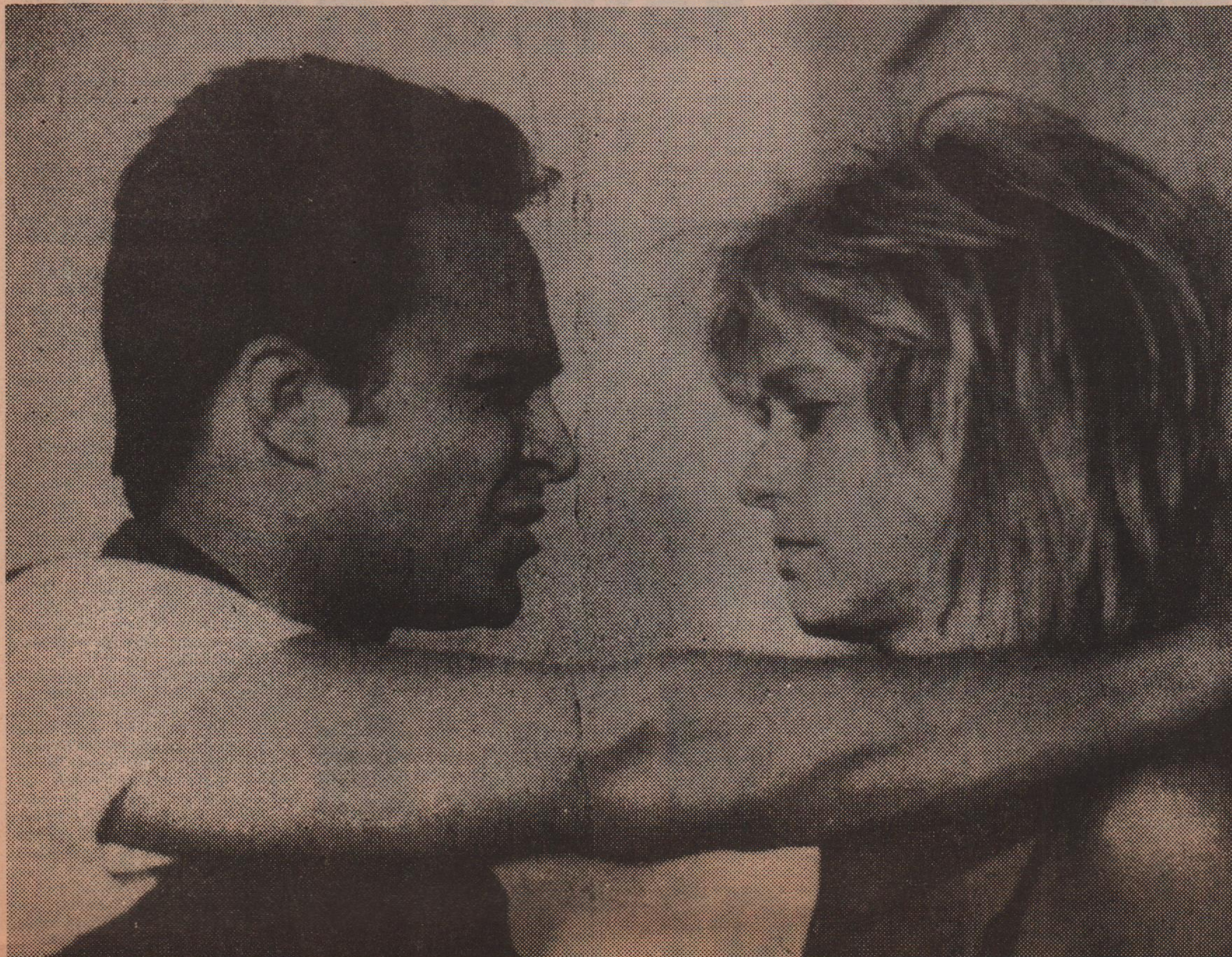
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SOCIALIST ORGANISER

Britain's death squad exposed!

Ulster cops did what to kill

The Times



Politics without politics

By Mick Ackersley

The BBC produced an account of recent British Prime Ministers and their relationship to TV as part of its celebration of the BBC's golden jubilee and no more graphic account of the Americanisation of British politics could be crammed into one hour of television time.

If Churchill, a mere 30 years ago, was telly-shy and indifferent to it, today Mrs Thatcher stands before the British people surrounded by image-makers. She is streamlined, packaged, adjusted and sold like any commercial product. Surprisingly her switch of accent on the advice of the political ad-men worked for her instead of bringing her into widespread contempt, as well it might.

And of course it isn't just Thatcher. The decisive switch to telly-politics in Britain occurred under Harold Wilson. And look at our own dashing young hero and the way his image has been massaged and touched up like an official photograph in a Russian newspaper.

Image

Labour has the 'image' stuck on it by the press of a party of dour, quarrelling, over-serious doctrinaires? Then get Neil Kinnock on a pop video with Tracey Ullman! Comb back his hair and expose his gnome-like baldness and pass him off as a dignified statesman.

Or think — to go further along this road than any British politician has gone — of Ronald Reagan. Much of the time he doesn't seem to know what it is all about and he talks in snatches of dialogue from old movies: Reagan's greatest political asset is a certain grace and the charm of an old movie star. The image is everything. The substance nothing.

Mass democratic politics — to a high degree in Britain already and more or less completely in America — is now a cross between showbiz and the sort of commerce that relies massively on the skills of the advertising agency.

What it means for democracy is that elections are won largely by way of images, symbols, impressions and superficial personality traits. The real questions that have to be decided play little part in the process. This inevitably means that the voters play less and less part in deciding these issues.

The decisions are made by permanent state bureaucracies and by self-serving and often corrupt political caucuses — behind the scenes, in consultation with the ruling class and with high voltage pressure groups.

TV offers the most wonderful possibilities of mass education on the issues of the day, and modern techniques of communication, which are improving at great speed, could offer us the possibility of a massive increase in real democratic knowledge, supervision and mass participation in decision making. Instead it helps turn 'politics' into a showbiz affair increasingly divorced from the real process of political decision making.

It is in the interest of the ruling class that it should be so.

On a certain level Labour has no choice but to compete on this ground with the Tory Party. But the labour movement needs to decide what we are to do about TV's increasing depoliticisation of 'politics'.

Avengeing angel

In some American circles Farrah Fawcett, of Charlie's Angels fame, has been hailed as something of a feminist heroine for her portrayal in "Extremities" of a victim of sexual violence who fights back.

For two years she played the role of Marjorie on the Broadway stage and now she stars in the film version.

Fawcett plays an attractive, independent working woman who is attacked in her car outside the local supermarket. She fights off a masked assailant and runs away, but she leaves her wallet behind her.

At the police station a woman officer tells her that since she was not raped and could not identify her attacker any court case would come down to his word against hers. The police won't give her protection, even though her attacker knows where she lives.

Sue Rossiter reviews 'Extremities'

Marjorie is so disgusted she doesn't even file a report.

Soon after, her attacker, Joe, (played by James Rousseau) catches her alone in the house she shares with flatmates Terry and Patty. He subjects her to mental and physical terror and reminds her of his previous attack, systematically humiliating her.

Marjorie fights back by spraying an aerosol into her attacker's eyes. From now on the tables are turned. She ties up the blinded thug in the fire grate and holds him there under the threat of violence until her flat mates return.

When Terry returns Joe is able to exploit the terror of the situation by using psychological tactics. He tells lies about the relationship between Marjorie and

Tony, Terry's boyfriend. He tells Terry that she is an accessory to Marjorie's crime. He sings the old song that it's his word against hers.

When Patty, the social worker, returns from work, Joe once again tries to drive wedges between the women. He successfully turns the physical terror used on Marjorie into psychological terror used on all the women. Even if he is sent down, he says, he'll return to get his revenge.

This is too much for Marjorie and she attacks him. She is re-enacting his attack on her, but this time with the roles reversed.

The staging of the film is artificial. It has a strong melodramatic streak and this is heightened further by the overheated musical score which turns several highly-charged scenes into comic strip sequences.

result

As a result the important issues of sexual harassment, violence against women and the treatment of rape by the police and the legal system are glossed over. The director goes for cliches rather than sensible questions: but then debate never made Hollywood its millions.

The director has not made an exploitative film of video nasties

status. But the film is plainly pitched to an audience who would rather see the blood and guts of the victim than a sensitive treatment of sexual harassment.

Fawcett isn't really a feminist heroine, but her acting ability surprised many of her critics, including me.

She doesn't question why women are treated like available objects. Nor is the indifference to violence against women in the courts questioned. As an explanation of rape and attitudes to it, forget it. But "Extremities" is a slightly above average drama, well worth going to see.

A view of Vietnam

The Vietnamese Trotskyist group in France have begun to produce a journal, "Chroniques VietNamiennes", intended to be of interest to anyone, specialist or not, interested in the country.

The first issue includes a dossier on Vietnamese leader Ho Chi Minh's massacre of the Vietnamese Trotskyists in 1945.

The magazine will be quarterly and costs 85 francs, airmail, from Chroniques VietNamiennes, 2 rue Richard-Lenoir, 93108 Montreuil, France.

Provos, Protestants and working class politics

THE DEBATE ON IRELAND

Workers Liberty no. 5 is available, price £1 plus 18p postage, from PO Box 823, London SE15 4NA.

Clive Bradley takes a look at the Socialist Workers' Party's recent calls for socialists to quit the Labour Party and give up the fight to transform the labour movement.

"The period (ahead) is dominated by the next general election and the possibility of a Labour victory." So said Tony Cliff, founder and chief theoretician of the Socialist Workers' Party (SWP), speaking at their recent conference. He is right, of course. The interesting question is how the SWP plan to respond.

Since before the end of the miners' strike, the SWP's main tactical orientation has been towards the Labour Party left: they organise debates, sell papers outside Labour Party meetings, and periodically give out 'open letters' calling on socialists to leave the Labour Party and help build a 'socialist alternative to Kinnock'.

A prominent feature of this turn has been 'dear comrades' letters to the Militant Tendency — expressing a so far unrequited desire for unity.

For the SWP, the key question is to convince people of the need for a 'different kind of party' to Labour.

Socialist Worker argues that the basic problem with Labour is that its desire to win elections necessarily means abandoning any commitment to socialism in order to 'win the middle ground'. Trying to win elections necessarily cuts across an orientation towards direct action struggles, because the audience for socialist ideas is only ever the 'militant minority'. Serious socialists in the Labour Party, therefore, should orientate towards this 'militant minority' rather than try to win elections.

"Once it is seen that politics arise from the everyday struggles in the workplaces, that it is here rather than in elections that workers begin to question the prevailing ideas of capitalism, then you can see that the road to socialism is quite different to that taken by the Labour Party." (September 29, 1984).

"Since the left were as committed to electoral politics as the right, they did not know how to argue back when the right said socialist policies had to be jettisoned so as to regain votes." (SW, June 29).

This is a very odd view of the basic problem of reformism — indeed of what reformism is.

The problem with the 'parliamentary road to socialism' is not the wish to win elections. It is the inevitability of violent ruling class resistance if an elected left government seriously tries to fight for its programme. Allende in Chile failed not because he ran for election, but because he did not go on from the election victory to move decisively against the old ruling class.

Left wing

Do left policies lose votes for Labour? Sometimes they do — when the Labour leadership sabotages the election campaign by denouncing the Party's policies, and by engaging in a witch-hunt. If the Labour leaders say Labour's policy is ultra-left lunacy, no wonder voters agree.

The Labour left replies that we need a Labour leadership that will fight for Labour policies. A real campaign by Labour for socialist policies would gain votes. But the SWP accepts the basic terms of reference of the Labour right about how to win elections: that 'winning the middle ground' means 'being moderate'.

What's wrong with Labour is not that it tries to win votes. You have to win votes even to go on strike. You have to win votes indeed — not a



Photo: Jez Coulson, IFL

How not to fight Kinnock

Parliamentary election perhaps, but votes all the same, in workers' councils, for example — to make a revolution.

And the basic fault of the Labour left is neither a failure to get involved in strikes, nor that it doesn't know how to answer the arguments about winning elections. It answers the vote-catching arguments rather better than the SWP does. Many ordinary Labour Party members do get involved in strikes — many, indeed, run them. The SWP know about Labour Party members' involvement in the miners' strike.

Of course, the Labour Party does function primarily as an electoral machine, and this is a serious problem with it. But electoral activity is not necessarily counterposed to working class action. The Bolsheviks made great efforts to get representatives elected to the Duma — the parliament in Tsarist Russia. The Communist International, when it was still revolutionary, took electoral activity very seriously — not just to make propaganda, though that was central, but with the intention of winning elections.

The trouble with Labour is much deeper. The Labour Party is controlled by a bureaucratic apparatus closely entwined with the trade union bureaucracy. And the central feature of this overall labour bureaucracy is its accommodation to, and dependence upon, the capitalist state. Labour governments have rested upon the capitalist state; and what has crucially distinguished them from Tory governments is the greater degree of collaboration between the state and the trade union bureaucracy that they have been able to organise. A future Labour government would draw much of its strength, as a government, from its ability to draw the trade union bureaucracy back into 'the corridors of power' from which they have more recently been

so unceremoniously booted.

It is this relationship between the Labour bureaucracy and the state that makes Labour a reformist party, not the fact that it wants to win elections.

State

The question for revolutionary socialists, therefore, is this: how can we break the labour movement as a whole from its reliance on the state? Of course, as the SWP argues, a focus on direct working class struggles and a fight to give those struggles direction is irreplaceable for socialists. Any Marxist organisation worthy of the name sees those struggles as the central arena of its work. But just to build an organisation that promotes those struggles is not an answer to the problem of a labour movement fundamentally compromised with the capitalist state.

Merely to put the argument — "socialists need a Party quite different to the Labour Party" (SW, September 29 1984) begs the question. We need a reality quite different to the present one. Yet we have to start from present day reality. The Labour Party exists; it is enormously powerful; it structures, shapes and profoundly affects and limits the class struggle; and a real alternative to Labourism cannot be built just by

"For the next three weeks I shall be a very strong Labour supporter."

Paul Foot, Daily Mirror columnist and SWP member, during the 1979 election campaign.

putting out an appeal for it.

Where the Labour Party expresses the political concerns of reformism, the trade unions express its economic concerns. Labourism is trade unionism extended into the 'political' — i.e. Parliamentary — arena. It is the principle of trade unionism — bargaining within the system — applied to society as a whole.

The problem of Labourism is therefore not just a problem of the Labour Party — with its electoral focus — but a problem of the overall politics of the entire labour movement.

The deep-rooted reformism of the labour movement does have a profound effect on individual militants. Often they do move to the right, get sucked in, become bureaucratized. Leon Trotsky said: "The trade unions are a culture medium for opportunism". The Labour Party too. But what's the answer? Splendid isolation, sectarian 'purity'? No: it is to link participation in the broad movement with the development of an organised tendency ideologically sharp enough to fight the pressures to accommodation; to integrate individual activists into that tendency rather than leaving them as individuals.

The SWP's perspective lacks a real strategy for working class power. Essentially, they provide no link between 'small strikes now' and some 'big bang' Armageddon in the future. Logically, their strategy is just to build up an organisation through immediate struggles until the day...

In theory, an organisation of some size could be built purely out of direct struggles — strikes in particular. But unless it relates to the overall questions — how to fundamentally change the very nature of the working class movement — it will be fundamentally sterile, especially during big political upheavals.

It will also be sterile during

political events like general elections.

Just before the 1979 election that brought the Tories to office, Paul Foot commented in the Daily Mirror: 'For the next three weeks I shall be a very strong Labour supporter'. In practice, the SWP had nothing to say but 'vote Labour because the Tories are worse'. Socialist Organiser on the other hand, organised an alternative election campaign to 'vote Labour and prepare to fight'; we tried to organise the left to fight the Labour leadership even through the course of the election, and prepare for battles to come — whether against the Tories or Labour.

Where the SWP focused exclusively on how bad the Tories would be, we focused also on sharp criticisms of Labour's record in office.

The SWP's apparently very left-wing and revolutionary attitude to elections — that they are a reformist business, to be shunned by true Marxists — ends up being quite right wing in practice.

They abandon whole spheres of politics to the Labour leaders.

Marxists should be interested in elections — not because we think there is a Parliamentary road to socialism but because elections are a major part of politics for the working class now.

'Build the revolutionary party', or 'have lots of small strikes' are no answer at all to the question in most workers' minds: what can we replace the Tories with?

The suggestion that the solution to the left's "inability to answer the arguments about losing votes" is to ignore the issue of government altogether (by joining the SWP) is absolutely idiotic. The labour movement is profoundly and rightly concerned about government. The task is to give the movement and in the first place the left, an answer that does address the question of government. We say: don't back down, don't cave in to the right, keep fighting. And we fight for our programme, our political answers. Otherwise we let the Labour leaders off the hook.

Revolutionary politics cannot be just 'workers' struggles' versus 'elections'.

Industrial militancy is not in itself a political answer to anything. A political answer must deal with issues of the overall running of society — to point towards ways to defend workers' interests at a society-wide level, to begin to organise the working class to take power.

How do we end unemployment? 'Organise, occupy, fight for the right to work', the SWP used to chant. Yes, but how? Share out the work, establish workers' control over hours with no loss of pay.

How do we fight declining living standards? Go on strike, says the SWP, for higher wages. Fine: but such sectional struggles need to be linked to an overall working class solution — automatic wage rises in line with a workers' cost of living index.

Marxists have to carry out a political struggle to convince workers of these solutions. Part of that struggle is demanding of the existing Labour leaders that they support struggles now; fighting them if they don't; and fighting for our overall political solutions throughout the labour movement.

One-sidedness

The SWP's one-sidedness leads them to low-level concentration on 'basics' — workplace organisation — at the expense of giving general political answers. During the miners' strike, for example, it led to ultra-pessimism, and a failure to argue for the necessary class-wide solidarity action.

Now they conclude that workplace militancy is off the agenda for a period, and that they can do nothing much but fish among the Labour left.

Revolutionary Marxism is not distinguished from reformism by indifference to elections or by organisational separation from the Labour Party. For revolutionary Marxism politics comes first — the political answers that we give to immediate questions, our political programme. The SWP's approach is fundamentally apolitical, and thus, fundamentally, the opposite of revolutionary Marxism.

Teach Baker a lesson!

SSiN

It is still possible to stop the teachers' pay deal.

The Tory government is still determined to change the deal, which was struck last week with four of the six unions representing teachers in England and Wales. Education Secretary Kenneth Baker considers

the deal to give too much to lower-paid teachers.

Local authority employers and the four unions signed the agreement on Friday 25 November, although the unions have yet to put it to their members. It is virtually identical to the agreement 'agreed in principle' a

few days before.

Whatever Baker may think, it is a bad deal for teachers. In return for an insignificant pay rise, teachers will have to work extra hours, and attendance at parents' meetings and staff meetings will be compulsory. Preparation, marking, administrative

and pastoral work will be in the teachers' own time.

The NUT is to hold a special conference on 29 November. Local associations must mandate their delegates to throw out the deal. In addition there must be a campaign for a 'no' vote in the ballots.

Hammond the scab

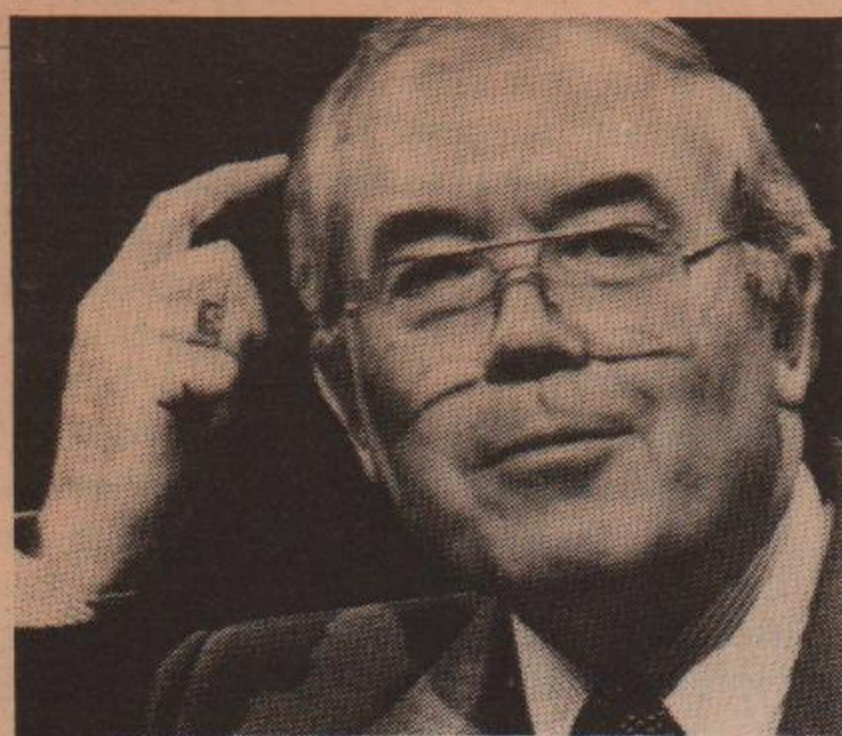
Finally the truth — or at least part of it — is out! Last Thursday the Guardian revealed that Eric Hammond had helped recruit scabs to serve behind the barbed wire at Murdoch's Fortress Wapping.

Yet at last February's TUC general council, Hammond states that the first his head office heard about the two EETPU full time officials recruiting scabs for Wapping was in September and that they were ordered to stop.

In reply to a question from Ron Todd who asked if he had any prior knowledge about what News International intended to do he replied: "Perhaps there was a plot, but I tell you unequivocally that we had no part in it — no knowledge of it".

Not only did he have knowledge of it, but Hammond and his grubby business union acolytes were in bed with Murdoch all along. The Guardian has revealed a series of minutes tying Hammond to Murdoch.

The earliest is dated May 21 1985, and welcomes comments on the draft agreement between the London Post (a Murdoch title which was the pretext for the transfer to Wapping and has never appeared) and the electricians' union.



scab

Another relates to a phone call between Hammond and Murdoch.

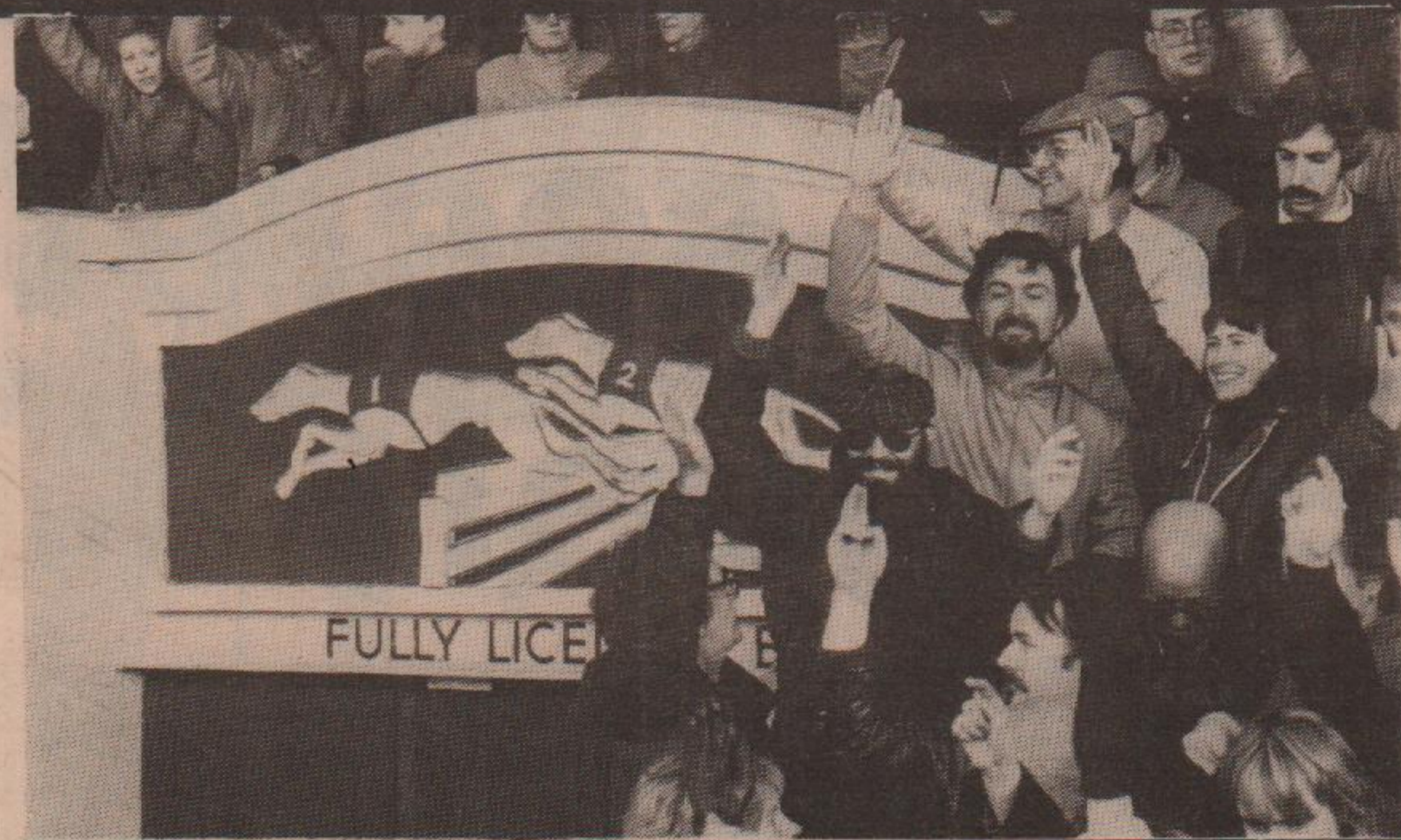
It is self-evident that discussions must pre-date the present evidence of Hammond's complicity. Collusion must have started at a relatively early stage in Murdoch's plans to break the print unions.

The indictment against Hammond is very serious.

•He has lied to the trade union movement.

•He has lied to his own membership.

•He is implicated in throwing 5500 print workers onto the dole.



Lewisham NALGO vote to strike: photo Stefano Cagnoni (Report)

LEWISHAM NALGO ALL OUT

Last Friday at the largest mass meeting ever held by Lewisham NALGO, the branch voted by 800 to 600 to take all-out strike action against the council.

This action is an escalation of the Housing Advisory Centre (HAC) dispute which has been going on for over five months. With the HAC workers on strike since 16 September, the basis of the dispute is the right of workers to negotiate safe working conditions. The HAC workers and the NALGO branch want to see the causes of violence against these workers — in terms of inadequate housing and repairs — brought to an end, but only the Council can do this.

Meanwhile fixed screens will provide protection against the violence faced by the HAC workers now.

On Thursday and Friday of last week, NALGO members on some picket lines started collecting signatures from the public on a petition supporting our call for security screens in the HAC. The response has been overwhelming; members of the public and many Council tenants have been keen to sign. On Friday at the Town Hall only one member of the public who was asked to sign the petition refused to do so.

Last Sunday, 23rd, Lewisham Labour Parties' Local Government Committee met and decided to back the demands of the strikers by a margin of 2-1.

CPSA: Rigged election

By Mike Grayson

Voting has commenced in the re-run elections for CPSA's General Secretary and General Treasurer. In the original elections back in June, the Broad Left candidate, John Macreadie narrowly defeated his right-wing rival John Ellis, with the General Treasurer post being won by Chris Kirk of the soft-left "Broad Left '84" group.

Marion Chambers (CPSA's right-wing president) called in the Electoral Reform Society to investigate a supposedly high number of complaints from branches about the electoral process.

While the ERS put its report together, the running of the union was effectively put into the hands of the deputy General Secretary...who

just happened to be the defeated candidate, John Ellis!

John Macreadie unfortunately chose to try and use the courts to refute the right wing's manoeuvres: a tactic that failed miserably.

Not only did the court find against Macreadie, but the focus on courtroom arguments served to demobilise the campaign that could and should have been taken straight to the rank and file.

The ERS reported that it could find no evidence of attempts at ballot-rigging, only of human error in running the elections. Nevertheless, it recommended that the ballot be held again, and Marion Chambers was quick to back this recommendation.

CPSA's election process was a highly democratic one. Each member attending a workplace meeting (which could generally be held during normal working hours) was given an individual ballot, and voting took place after the meeting had debated the various candidates.

Chambers has now decreed that ballot papers must be handed out at least a day before the meeting: the implication being that it is alright to come to the meeting with your papers already filled out and just stick them in the ballot box.

For now we are faced with running the elections on these new terms. We must make every effort to ensure that Macreadie is again elected as General Secretary, but we must not stop there.

The left in CPSA must again go on the offensive for union democracy, as it did when it successfully argued for the election — rather than the appointment — of senior full-time officers.

Instead of recourse to the courts, a vigorous campaign must be launched that will show to CPSA members who the real supporters of democracy are.

Engineers Historic sellout

Militant engineering workers will be lobbying the executive of the Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions on 4 December in an attempt to stop a new deal with the Engineering Employers' Federation.

The deal, the result of nearly three years of talks, would greatly increase workers' workload and worsen conditions, in return for a small cut in working hours.

The talks have been secret; though Bill Jordan, leader of the main engineering union AEU, boasts of the democracy of his union's postal ballots, he has given his members practically no information, by post or otherwise. There is no guarantee that engineering workers will have a chance to vote on the deal, even by post.

In what little he has said about the deal, Jordan has tried to give it a radical gloss. A shorter working week will create more jobs, he says, and the changes in work practices will advance equality of status for shop-floor and office staff.

But: •The deal commits the unions to ending all demarcations. The employer will be able to move any worker to any job in the factory, at will.

•It promises 'flexibility of hours'. This means that the employer can, at will, cut workers down to 32 hours' work (and only 32 hours' pay) when business is slack, and impose longer hours in busy periods.

•The deal also provides for single-union agreements. Factories almost always have a lot of different unions representing different groups of workers. Some employers establishing new factories recently have made agreements with a single union (the AEU, the EETPU, or sometimes the TGWU or GMBU) to represent all workers.

The deal would allow the bosses greatly to increase the intensity of work, thus easily covering the cost of the offered reduction in working hours from 39 to 37½.

The Confed executive on 6 November approved the outlines of the deal. But it is not yet clinched.

**LOBBY THE CSEUI
NO TO JORDAN'S SELL-OUT
8.00am. December 4, Imperial
Hotel, Russell Square, London
WC1. Called by North London
District AEU and Engineering
Gazette.**

KEETONS

The latest Keeton's strike newsletter lists the companies breaking the strike.

They are: S&H Motors of Tinsley Park; Cooper and Woodboard of Charnock Grove; EBTF of Blackpool; Tuffnell Parcels of Shep-cote Lane; IR Tools of Sheffield; Cromdane of Sheepsbridge, Chesterfield; Fairley's of Rotherham; H. Whithams of Sheffield; and Annealers Ltd of Pennistone Road, Sheffield.

All these firms must be blacked.

A Keeton's striker will be speaking at the social on the Saturday night of the Youth Fightback conference. donations or messages of support, contact: Keeton's Strike Committee, AEU House, Furnival Gate, Sheffield, tel: Sheffield 769041.

Lock out!

By Sue Hill, Manchester University Students Union Executive.

12 November saw the Manchester Area National Union of Students 'Locked Out of Education' Day of Action. This involved a lively demonstration and rally, and the delivery of a petition to Tory Party headquarters demanding a minimum of £35 a week for FE students and open access to higher education.

Despite a poor showing from the supposedly more politically advanced Higher Education students, busloads of Further Education students arrived to demonstrate their opposition to Tory education cuts and the student loan proposals.

South Trafford College mobilised three coaches of very vocal students with only three days of organisation, and out of a very new student union.

Vanessa Croasdaile (President) and Jessica Molinaro reported that gauging from the good student response they had received in the three days, an even better turnout could have occurred with more preparation — with teaching staff at South Trafford supporting the demonstration by promising that no punitive action would be taken against students missing classes.

The two women talked of the need to fight for open and free access to education with government funding. Vanessa can bluntly say that if loans are introduced she can't continue into HE level, and Jessica doesn't feel that young adults should be forced to rely on their parents' good will to continue in education.

The response of FE students in Manchester to the campaigning work of MANUS obviously makes a mockery of national NUS's lack of effort to mobilise the FEs.

If South Trafford is representative, they would be ready to join a student movement fightback against the Tories. Hopefully the enthusiasm of FE students won't get squashed by NUS's half-thought-out plans that don't get implemented and its glossy literature that gets substituted for action.

The area organisations can instead link all student activists up into an active campaigning student movement.

GRANTS

Grants, benefits, housing and student financial support have topped the poll in the ballot for prioritised debates for next week's NUS conference. Steering Committee's factional decision to separate them out has been answered by colleges who recognise that NUS needs an integrated strategy and compartmentalising off the fight for grants and not loans from benefits is no way to defend students' living standards.

There is now a constitutional problem for NOLS — the rules forbid two debates on the same subject at one conference. Clearly grants, benefits and housing and SFS must be composited together to allow NUS to develop a coherent, integrated national strategy.

•The SSiN final planning meeting for NUS conference will take place on Wednesday 3 December at 4.00p.m. in Manchester. All SSiN supporters are encouraged to attend. Contact Jane/Sue on 639 7967 for more details.

Whose Campaign Student?

SSiN

Undemocratic and politically stupid shenanigans are going on under the title Campaign Student.

A bulletin which was agreed upon at a meeting over the summer has now been produced and Socialist Action have since hijacked Campaign Student.

Unannounced meetings have taken place. Apparently Campaign Student now has a position on the Middle East even though no meeting has discussed it. Campaign Student intends to hold a meeting at NUS conference on the Middle East with speakers who are highly contentious. One speaker in particular, Kinsley

Abrahams, is involved in 'non-ratifying' i.e. banning the Jewish Society at his college, South Bank Polytechnic, and another speaker, Dave King caused an enormous furore which dominated last NUS conference for allegedly anti-semitic comments.

Campaign Student has been hijacked into launching itself at NUS conference on a platform no-one has agreed to or discussed, and this has to be wrong.

All in all, Socialist Action have taken the name of the Campaign Group and Labour Left Liaison to use for factional reasons, something which, unless stopped, will make it virtually impossible for Campaign Student to do any positive, constructive work at all in NOLS.

SOCIALIST ORGANISER

FOR WORKERS' LIBERTY EAST AND WEST

UDM scabs on Labour!

Lynk has announced that the so-called Union of Democratic Mineworkers — the scab breakaway union in Nottinghamshire — does intend to field an anti-Labour candidate in the next election.

This shows clearly that they never were interested in supporting the labour movement — either the trade

unions or the Labour Party.

They scabbed on the miners during our strike and now they are getting ready to scab on Labour in the general election.

This decision leaves them completely isolated.

The only people who will recognise these scabs as their own is the foul Tory government of bloody Margaret Thatcher.

Stop Reagan's secret war on Nicaragua!

Gerry Bates looks at a new pamphlet that describes Reagan's attacks on Nicaragua.

The Reagan administration's secret war against Nicaragua consists of a three-pronged attack.

1. A series of economic measures designed to destabilise the Nicaraguan economy.

2. Military aggression in the form of the US sponsored contras.

3. An unending flow of propaganda intended to undermine international support for Nicaragua.

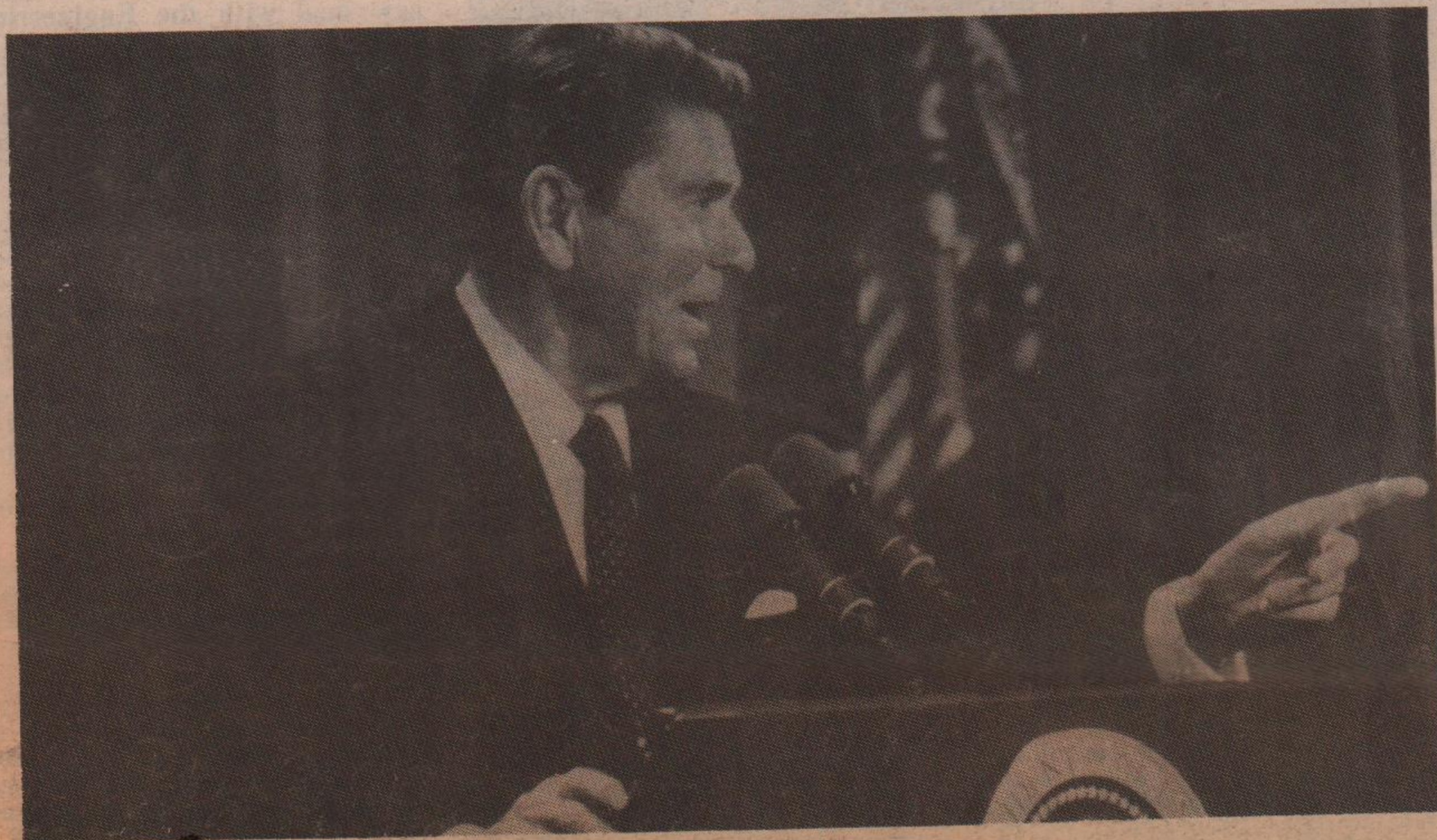
A new pamphlet published by the Nicaraguan Solidarity Campaign, "Nicaragua must survive", details the history of US destabilisation.

In May 1985, Reagan imposed an economic embargo in Nicaragua, banning all imports and exports, and preventing Nicaraguan ships and planes from entering the US. This trade embargo will cost Nicaragua \$57 million.

The US has blocked loans and credits to Nicaragua from international institutions. In 1983 it vetoed a \$2.2 million loan from the Inter-American Development Bank. In 1984, Nicaragua was the only Latin American country not to receive money from the IADB. In January 1985, George Shultz threatened to withdraw all US funding for the bank if it considered giving agricultural aid to Nicaragua.

Well before the official embargo, Reagan had put pressure on private firms to minimise business dealings with Nicaragua. In June 1983, the US shut down the six Nicaraguan consulates in the country.

In February 1984, the CIA planted mines in Nicaraguan ports in an effort to prevent shipping. Although this was prevented by an international outcry, it resulted in a 35% in-



Point the finger at Reagan

crease in petrol prices in Nicaragua. Britain has followed Reagan's lead. British aid has fallen from 16p per person in Nicaragua during the rule of the dictator Somoza, to 2p per person. Britain grants 100 times more aid to neighbouring Honduras.

Opposition

The Observer (12 May 1985) published an internal government memo on Nicaragua: "There is no need to amend our voting policy on Nicaragua for the time being. The problem of explaining it in public will, however, persist and we shall need to stick to our present line of claiming that our opposition is based on technical grounds."

An official noted in the margin: "if we can find them!"

The Reagan administration has

done everything it could in the military sphere, short of sending in the marines.

In direct contravention of the US Neutrality Act, contras have been trained in Florida and South California.

In July 1983, 19 US warships carrying 16,000 troops and 140 warplanes were sent to the Nicaragua coast to carry out training. At the same time, 5000 US troops carried out manoeuvres in Honduras.

In January 1984, CIA-hired crews fired on Nicaraguan forces in the north of the country. In February, US Navy and CIA advisers helped in the mining of Nicaragua's ports.

In 1984, US spy planes flew 1,326 intelligence missions over Nicaragua. Such flights have continued.

The contras were formed after a grant to the CIA of \$19 million to create an army out of ex-Somoza

Guardsmen in 1981. The main contra force, the FDN, has 12-15,000 soldiers. Its leadership is in the hands of supporters of the Somoza dictatorship.

Reagan's justifications for his support for the contras have varied over time. Initially it was to prevent 'the arms flow to El Salvador'. Later it was to prevent Nicaragua 'exporting revolution' and 'introducing a totalitarian state'. It was only after the Sandinista government organised elections in September 1984 that Reagan was forced to come clean: his policy, he said, was aimed at 'removing' the Nicaraguan government "in its present structure...a communist totalitarian state."

As for the contras, one fighter told Newsweek magazine, "Come the counterrevolution, there will be a massacre in Nicaragua. We have a lot of scores to settle. There will be bodies from the border to Managua".

By August 1986, Reagan had finally managed to get his bill through Congress for \$100 million worth of military and other aid for the contras. Two days after the bill went through the Senate, the International Court of Justice found the US guilty of mining Nicaraguan ports in 1984. Reagan refused to recognise the court, and the administration ignored its verdict.

Nevertheless, it's been a bad year for the contras, who have been pushed back to their bases in Honduras and Costa Rica. The Sandinista government, meanwhile, in response to the \$100 million contra package, has tightened up its own state of emergency.

The secret war being carried out by the US, with British support, against Nicaragua must be forcefully opposed by the international labour movement. This pamphlet is a useful tool for spreading the information the labour movement needs.

Nicaragua must survive, published by Nicaraguan Solidarity Campaign with assistance from War On Want Campaign.

Racist attacks sweep East-End

by Payman Rezaei

A petrol bomb attack has claimed the lives of 3 Tamil students in the East London borough of Newham. 6 others were scarred for life.

The attack took place in the middle of the night, when at least 2 petrol bombs were thrown through the windows of 119 Burgess Road. The ensuing fire gutted the whole house.

Local Asian communities' anger was vented in a demonstration outside East Ham police station. According to the Newham Monitoring Project — which was set up as a response to a racist murder 5 years ago — a meeting of the police with 'community leaders' was a 'cynical move by police to defuse tensions in the area'.

The police have at best ignored racist attacks. More frequently they have attempted to criminalise the victims. That is not unusual — when the Mosque in Christian Street, Whitechapel was attacked, the police arrested 3 Bangladeshis! This time the police have been 'questioning' six Tamils regarding the attack!

Last year over 2000 racially motivated incidents were reported to the police in London by various monitoring groups. In Newham alone 192 cases were reported.

The Newham Monitoring Project has never received a reply to its continuous efforts to meet with senior police officers to bring up the issue of police inaction in the face of increasing racial attacks.

Many think that it's no coincidence that a certain well known fascist used to live in Burgess Road himself and although he has moved he still lives in the area. Last June there was another petrol bomb attack in Burgess Road, on the home of Varghese Roberts and his family — causing extensive damage. In fact, over the past 18 months in Newham and elsewhere in British cities, from Sheffield to Luton to Manchester, there has been increased racial violence. This racial violence is directly related to the level of racism in society as a whole.

When Thatcher, the racist Immigration Services Union and the gutter press whip-up racist hysteria over 'Heathrow flooding with Asians', then they create the necessary climate in which racist attacks can increase.

Of course 'respectable' racist politicians would, mostly, stand back and 'condemn' racist murder attacks. But they nevertheless bear a large share of the responsibility for them.

For many racist attacks have become a fact of daily life. It's for us to organise to put an end to racist violence.

Courts launch attack on loyal miners

The High Court decided on Friday that the miners who took part in the 1984-5 strike are not deemed to have contributed to their pensions.

I don't suppose any NUM miners will be surprised at this. We've come to accept this sort of thing as part and parcel of the way the courts operate against the NUM. Of course it's a blow against us — but nothing that we can't overcome. We've just got to keep going on. Our day will come!

All this legislation and these judgements being made against us — I just hope that Mr Kinnock is taking note, and going to do something about it in the event of a Labour government.

The NEC accepted the court judge-

WHETTON'S WEEK



Paul Whetton is secretary of Bevercotes NUM, Notts.

ment in advance. I think that was probably a mistake. But they were trying to be seen to be open and honest. To my mind you can't be open and honest with the courts — it's the last place you'll get justice.

In Notts, reaction to the NUM's acceptance of the pay deal has been mild. The big thing is that any future

strike action is going to be affected by the deal. At the moment that is not a real issue. And blokes are saying "Am I going to live to 65? If I do, how many years am I going to be taking that pension? Sod it, write it down to experience."

When a dispute arises at work I don't think they will stand back and say, "ah, but just a minute, this is going to affect my pension". No way! That'll be the last thing on their minds.

The latest example of NCB harassment took place over our local Welfare. The NCB trustees refuse to turn up when NUM trustees are there, which means the licence is now threatened, and with it facilities for all miners in the community and many jobs.



The house in Burgess Road
photo: Jezz Coulson IFL