

SOCIALIST ORGANISER

FOR WORKERS LIBERTY EAST AND WEST

Strike threat to Botha's friends

'SACK our brothers and sisters in South Africa, and we strike!' That's the message from a British trade union to the multinational Burmah Castrol.

ASTMS official Peter Leverton received a request from the International Chemical Workers Federation to help black workers at Castrol in Durban, South Africa. The workers have been threatened with the sack for taking action for higher wages.

Peter Leverton responded by telling Castrol that he would convene an all-Britain meeting of union reps to discuss industrial action if the threat were carried out.

Such working-class solidarity is worth a thousand windy speeches appealing to the Tory government to take action.

Centre pages: report from inside S.Africa

NORTHERN IRELAND

Police cover up murder



RUC chief Hermon

GET THIS MAN OUT OF JAIL!

By Lol Duffy, former class-struggle prisoner from the Cammell Lairds shipyard occupation and now Labour prospective Parliamentary candidate for Wallasey

TERRY French has served two years in jail, and he has two more to serve. He was jailed for standing up to the police thugs sent into the coalfields during the miners' strike to help break the will of the miners to resist closures.

Last Sunday Terry French made a dramatic surprise appearance in Brighton on the eve of the TUC. Out on a weekend's parole, he spoke briefly to the packed meeting called by the campaign for the 500 sacked or jailed miners. Insisting that he was 'proud to be a miner', he spoke bitterly about the treatment of the victimised miners.

Two more years is a long time to spend cooped up in an overcrowded prison. Four years in jail is a hard price to have to pay for doing your duty as a trade unionist.

The labour movement must continue to demand the release of French and the five other miners still in jail. We must insist that the Labour Party pledges a Kinnock Labour government to release any miners still in jail when it takes office.

More on the TUC: see back



Terry French speaking at Sunday night meeting

Photo: Andrew Ward, Report

JOHN Stalker, Manchester's deputy chief constable, is back in his job. But those who tried to frame him have succeeded in their goal, even though Stalker has been cleared of all charges.

The official story now goes like this. The honourable policeman has been allowed to return to work as deputy to Manchester's chief policeman, James Anderton — the man who helped set him up in the first place. Anderton didn't like it, and didn't even go through the motions of welcoming Stalker back, but still, he is back, and some Manchester councillors are now talking about an investigation into Anderton's private life.

Justice

Justice has been done to a decent copper unfairly charged. The system can't be so bad after all.

The truth, however, is that the career of John Stalker was never the issue. The central issue in the Stalker affair was his investigation into the RUC murder squads who killed six unarmed men in 1982 — one of them a non-political 17 year old.

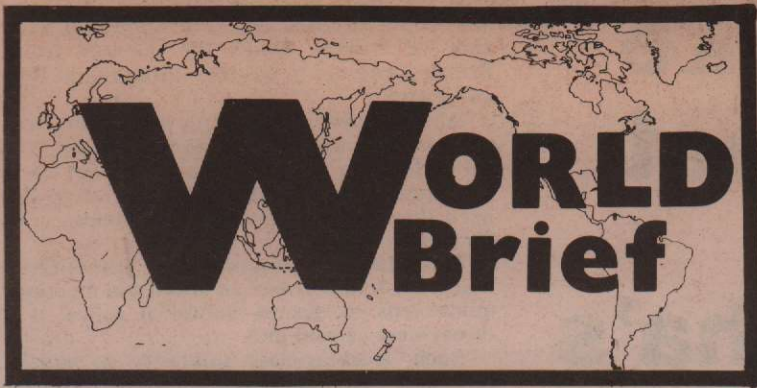
Stalker seems to have conducted an honest and probing investigation into the RUC murder squads, and uncovered a network of murder and conspiracy to cover up for the murder running all the way up to the top of the RUC.

He intended to interview Northern Ireland's chief policeman, Sir John Hermon, and other senior Northern Ireland police, 'under caution' — "anything you say will be taken down and may be used in evidence against you..."

The purpose of those who framed up John Stalker and tried to kill his career was to stop him pursuing that inquiry — and to stop him pursuing senior Northern Ireland policemen.

They have stopped him.

He is back at his job in Manchester, but he is off the Northern Ireland inquiry for good, after spending two years on it and tak-



Anti semitism

When Kurt Waldheim was elected president of Austria earlier this year despite his Nazi war crimes, some people argued that this was nothing to do with anti-semitism.

But seventy percent of Austrians dislike Jews, according to opinion polls. Such polls are taken every couple of years. Results never vary.

Of the 70%, a third strongly dislike Jews and another third consider Jews 'foul' and feel revolted by the presence of Jews.

There were 189,000 Jews in Vienna in 1938 — there are only 7,000 Jews in Austria today.

Waldheim's forte

Deception seems to be Waldheim's forte. On leaving his job as secretary-general of the UN, he tried to steal the residence furniture. He did manage to nick the silver. He used the UN diplomatic bag to smuggle soft US toilet paper to his family in Austria.

The fuss about Waldheim's war record is not just the fact that he

served a Nazi General for three years during World War 2 while Greek Jews and Serbian nationalists were being massacred. The General was hanged for war crimes.

But Waldheim massively covered up his past, through lies, deceptions and grovelling to influential people. He claimed that he had been invalidated out of the army.

Reder

The election of Waldheim was not surprising since the Socialist Party (Waldheim's opposition) presented no real alternative.

The Defence Minister — a member of the Freedom Party, but serving in the Coalition led by the SP, last year went to welcome back the SS major Walter Reder after 40 years imprisonment in Italy for war crimes.

The Freedom Party's leader, Friedrich Peter, is a former SS leader. The Socialist Party, far from worrying about forming a coalition with such a party, has promoted ex-Nazis itself.

Bruno Kreisky, the Socialist Chancellor, had four ex-Nazis and one former SS man in his first government.

USSR

MILITARY reservists called up to do forced labour on clearing up near Chernobyl struck and fought with police, according to a report in the Guardian (28 August)

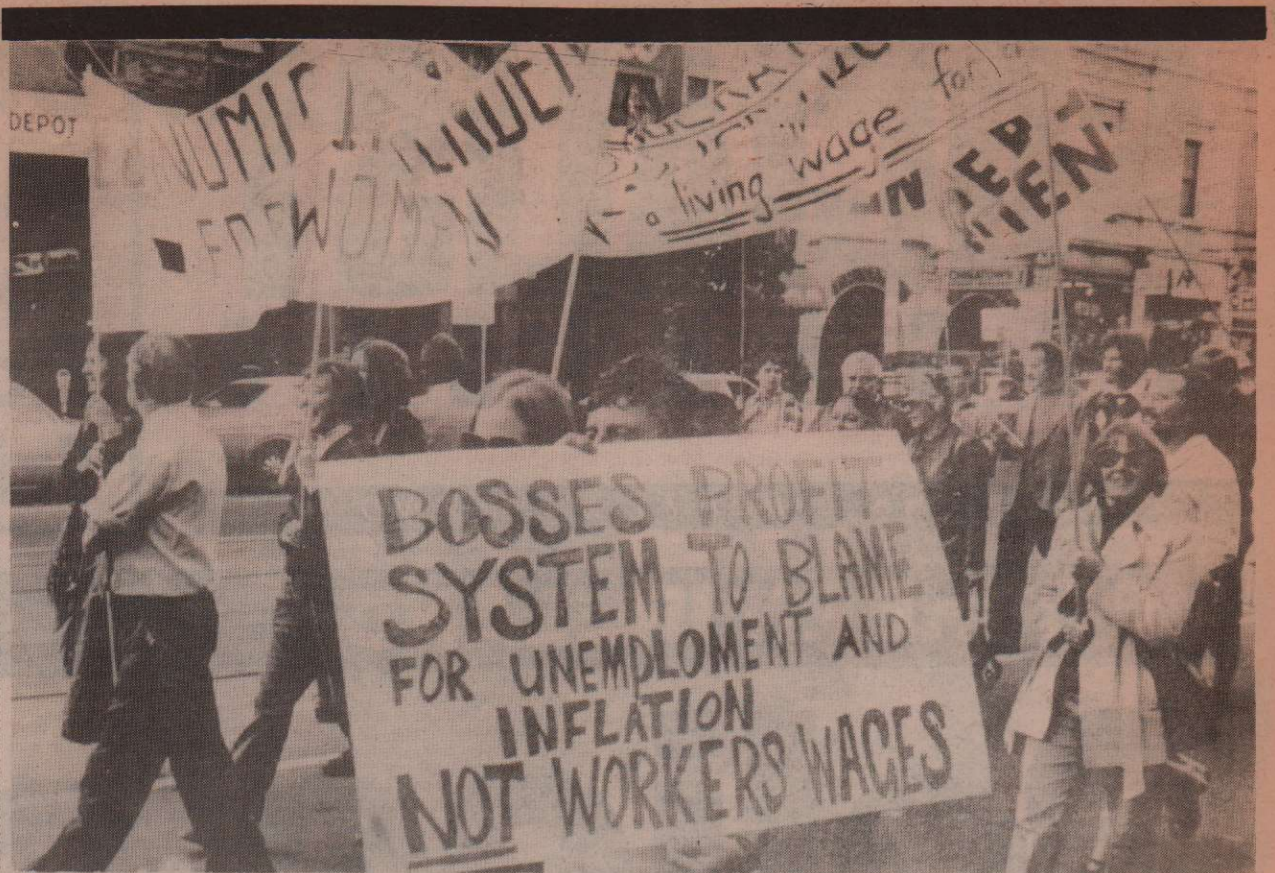
The Guardian's article is based on a Radio Free Europe translation of the Estonian Communist Youth paper. Estonia, on the Baltic, was seized by Stalin in 1940: economically and socially, it is probably the most advanced region in the USSR.

A Moscow official did not directly deny the reports of a strike, but called them 'exaggerated'. The strike is said to have happened in June, when the conscripts were told that their tour of duty would be extended from two to six months.

Poor

33 million people are officially reckoned to live in poverty in the USA, the richest country in the world. That's 14% of the entire population — and 31% of black Americans are officially poor.

The US began to keep figures of the poverty rate in 1959. It was then 22%. It dropped to 11% in the early '70s, and then rose again.



Australian workers are beginning to resist Hawke's policy

Fighting the budget

By Tony Brown

Paul Keating's budget (reported in SO last week) has removed yet another layer from the supposedly 'progressive' facade of Australia's Prices and Incomes Accord.

The Accord's left supporters said unions would be involved in state planning and investment, that weaker unions would get full cost of living increases, that the social wage would be increased, and that unemployment would fall.

The Accord has failed. It has only guaranteed that workers are stopped from fighting for wages and conditions. Real labour costs are the lowest, and profits the highest that they have been for 15 years.

Yet the ACTU has indicated it is prepared to accept a further 2% wage cut if the Accord is renegotiated again. A Special Unions Conference has been called for October at which full-time union officials (who will make up the majority of delegates) are expected to ratify the deal.

Labor is facing more opposition than before. Disillusionment is showing electorally. In two recent by-elections in New South Wales, swings of 15% and 22% against Labor were recorded in the working class electorates of Rockdale and Bass Hill. The Liberals won Bass Hill from Labor. On the same day, in Melbourne, Labor lost several local councils in traditional Labor areas. These swings are not to the left, but towards the Liberals, often disguised as 'independents'.

The two largest Australian left groups, the Communist Party of Australia (CPA) and the Socialist Workers Party (SWP: similar to Socialist Action in Britain, but more Stalinist), have responded differently.

The SWP, while it formally rejects the Accord, only puts forward the strategy of an anti-Labor electoral alliance for a new party. The problem is that disillusionment with Labor does not mean that workers always seek a working class alternative to Labor. A debate on alternatives will take place within the unions and the ALP. Such an alternative must be based on direct working class struggle, rather than mere electoralism.

The CPA have always supported the Accord, saying only that it has been wrongly implemented! They call now for a return to Keynesian controls on the economy — a re-regulation of the financial system, the reimposition of import controls, and a higher deficit.

The ALP left have put forward no opposition to the budget. A few MPs walked out when the decision on uranium was announced.

But there is some opposition. On the day after the budget, students protested against the education cuts, and there were 300 at a rally in Sydney

LETTER from AUSTRALIA

called by the militant left — 'Solidarity' (a coalition including sympathisers of SO and partisans of the USFI), the Builders Labourers Federation, the Socialist Workers Party, and others.

Seventeen left wing unions — metalworkers, dockers, public servants, and others — have called a rally in Canberra for 17 September, under the name 'Mobilisation for a Change of Direction'.

The fight against Labor's new economic policy needs to be both industrial and political. Support for workers fighting wage, job and service cuts needs to be linked to a drive to win the organised labour movement to a socialist alternative. The political battle must be inside the trade unions and the ALP, not a game of posturing on the fringes of the movement.

What is a socialist answer to Australia's economic crisis?

Australia has an economy unique in the world. In the late 19th century, European settlers, seizing a vast resource-rich territory, won the highest wage levels in the world on the basis of raw-materials exports (then primarily wool).

Manufacturing industry in Australia has always been inefficient by world market standards, surviving thanks to tariffs and import controls. With its small, dispersed home market, high internal transport costs, relatively high wages, and geographical isolation, large scale manufacturing is almost impossible in Australia.

To this day, 70% of Australia's exports are raw materials, and 75% of its imports are manufactured goods. The trade is mostly with the EEC, the USA and Japan — with Japan in first place these days. No other advanced capitalist country, except New Zealand, has a similar trade structure.

Raw materials prices are always more unstable than prices of manufactures. When they go down on the world market, Australia is in big trouble. Between 1928 and 1933, Australia's export prices dropped 80% — and unemployment rose to 30% of trade union members in 1932. The Labor government of that time imposed a 10% wage cut on workers.

Now raw materials prices are down again. So, according to Keating, Australian workers have no alternative but to suffer as in the 1930s.

But workers cannot and should not take responsibility for the capitalist world market. In terms of human need, there is no glut of what Australia can export. Wool, wheat, meat and iron ore

are needed to feed, clothe and build for hundreds of millions of people in Australia's own region, South-East Asia. (Yet less than 10% of Australia's trade is in that direction.)

The bosses should pay! Workers living standards should be protected by a sliding scale of wages and hours — automatic pay rises to keep up with a working class cost-of-living index, and work-sharing without loss of pay. Instead of services being cut, the jobless should be employed on a programme of public works, at trade union rates of pay.

It was the capitalists who ran up Australia's big foreign debt — let them pay it! Business secrecy should be abolished; workers should have the right to scrutinise all the accounts of the bosses and bankers, so that they know where the money has gone to.

Amidst his cuts, Keating announced an increase in military spending. Why should workers pay for Australia to be a junior policeman for the USA in the Pacific? Not a cent for ANZUS! Millions for schools and hospitals instead!

The labour movement must break with the bosses and the bankers! And so long as Hawke and Keating continue to serve the ruling class, the rank and file must organise to fight them.

FOR A SOCIALIST ALTERNATIVE TO TORY BRITAIN

THE CASE FOR LABOUR



and for a socialist alternative to Tory Britain

Socialist Campaign for Labour Victory pamphlet, 15p plus 12p postage of 10 for £1 post free from PO Box 823, London SE15 4NA.



Chile terror

Chile's security forces have stepped up clandestine terror operations since 1983, according to Amnesty International.

At the same time, official security forces continue to arrest and torture. The scale of their abuses too has risen sharply since 1983. There was a mass round-up of 15,000 people in the capital, Santiago, in May this year.

Amnesty says that the

clandestine groups include members of the security forces acting under cover with civilian collaborators.

Under emergency laws in force since the 1973 coup, political parties are banned. Journalists, political and community leaders and trade unionists are harassed and imprisoned for criticising the government or seeking to organise peaceful protest.

Peru cut off

The International Monetary Fund has refused to lend any more money to the government of President Alan Garcia in Peru.

Peru owes \$14 billion in foreign debt — small in comparison to some Third World debtors, but still a pretty hefty sum — which it can't afford to pay. Recently Garcia ruled that no more than 10% of annual export earnings be spent on servicing the debt. As a result, the country is \$158 million behind schedule on repayments.

Garcia's response has been militant. Addressing 40,000 people in the capital, Lima, he declared: "We are now going to isolate ourselves from domination, imperialism and the exploitation of the

unjust distribution of the world's wealth."

Other Latin American debtors have rallied behind Peru's firm stand, and undoubtedly it will give Garcia's popularity a boost.

But Garcia has other problems. Repression — including massacres in the state prisons — have failed to quell the revolt of the Shining Path guerrillas in the rural areas of the country.

The 'anti-imperialist' gesture is no more than that. Refusal to pay the debt of itself is no policy at all. To be meaningful and coherent it would have to be coupled with genuine anti-imperialist measures — that is, a challenge to capitalism itself. This Garcia will not do.



Hatton

Defend Broadgreen!

National Labour Party officials have suspended Liverpool Broadgreen Labour Party, and ordered them to hold no meetings in the constituency until the National Executive Committee decides on complaints concerning the alleged participation of expelled Labour Party members Derek Hatton and Roger Bannister at Broadgreen's recent Annual General Meeting.

Broadgreen's Labour MP is Mili-

tant supporter Terry Fields. Broadgreen CLP representatives say the suspension was decided by national organiser Joyce Gould and general secretary Larry Whitty.

It appears to be unprecedented. Eric Heffer, Liverpool Walton MP and NEC member told SO:

"Constitutionally, no party should be suspended unless the National Executive Committee has discussed the matter, and we've never discussed this question. When I was Chair of the Organisation

Sub-committee, no decisions were taken by individual officers — it had to be the sub-committee that decided, and its decision had to be put before the full NEC.

"It's the first I've heard of it — but I'm going to find out about it"

No date has been set for the NEC to discuss the case.

Broadgreen's CLP EC meets this week to consider its response.

Other CLPs should protest immediately to Labour Party headquarters against this suspension.

Race & Class

Images of blacks

By Payman Rezaei

The BBC's programme 'The Black and White Media Show' examined several recent programmes on both BBC and ITV which were concerned with black people.

It clearly identified racism within the media and proved that it urgently needs to be challenged.

BBC's Panorama programme entitled 'Voices from the Ghetto', focused on Liverpool 8's black community and the racist stereotyping was unambiguous.

The viewers are given a commentary voice-over which places each shot in its racist context. Blacks are referred to as 'athletic' and 'well-dressed' and 'mercurial' when there is no obvious connection of these qualities with the stated objectives of the programme: an in-depth look at that black community, an understanding of the social conditions it lives in.

Instead much was done to reinforce racist stereotypes of black people. The images used to put the programme's message across are those of blacks as aggressive and 'frightening', 'a mob'.

TV Eye's notorious programme, 'Racial Outlaws', covering the first eviction by a council of tenants for continued racial harassment of Asian neighbours was extraordinary in the way it focussed on the plight of the racist McDonald family, on the day after their eviction.

Asian tenants and activists were also interviewed, but the programme's sympathy was plainly with the racist white tenants who had made the lives of their Asian neighbours a misery.

So is this necessary by professional standards of objectivity? Or is there something amiss where equal weight has to be given to the case of the harassers and their victims?

According to the maker of the film, who was challenged, the audience, an intelligent audience, would decide for itself. Yes? But in a British Social Attitudes survey, one-third called themselves racist.

After all, racist attacks against Asians on council estates have been a common occurrence for some time now. So far, the official response has been one eviction. Just one!

The point is not whether evictions in themselves are the best way to fight back against racist attacks, but in the way the programme approached and dealt with a serious case of racist harassment in the home, it made the McDonald family seem to be the victim of a greater injustice. Thus it turned reality upside down.

Another bizarre programme was a recent BBC2 Horizon. In this, four white racists and four black anti-racists (Horizon advertised in the national papers for them) were put together in a house for a weekend and what happened was filmed.

According to the producer the idea was to provide for white viewers a 'journey into their own racism', by showing the way the two groups related to each other.

Of course the set-up was extremely unpleasant for the black participants who were isolated and for those watching at home. It was black versus white: there was no white anti-racist there!

A black woman viewer gave a good summing up of the experience: 'It made racism seem like a black people's problem.'

The film was made without the participation of any black groups or campaigns — who would probably have pointed out the unacceptable nature of the project.

In many other ways, cited in this excellent programme, like news coverage and, for example, the way in which the African famines have been handled, TV constantly reinforces old racist stereotypes and helps create new ones.

Racism in the media is an obnoxious and large area which needs to be constantly challenged.

Police cover up murder

From page 1

ing it almost to the point of completion.

Who decides whether Stalker is off the inquiry? According to the Home Office, quoted in the 'Observer', Sir John Hermon decides!

Think of it. A man facing questions under caution decides to dismiss the policeman who was pointing the finger at him. And the Home Office says it's his decision and his business.

There could be no more blatant declaration that the RUC is above the law.

According to a report leaked by disaffected RUC sources to the Observer, the new investigation team under Colin Sampson has not yet questioned Hermon or the other senior policemen whom Stalker had in his sights.

That was the point of 'Exercise Stalker'. There are no grounds for confidence in the Sampson inquiry. So far the signs are that the conspiracy to stop Stalker bringing the RUC chiefs to book has succeeded.

Stalker was innocent — too innocent to be let loose!

Ambushed

Stalker's inquiry was set up to investigate the 'shoot to kill' policy that the RUC seemed to be operating. In 1982 at least six unarmed men were pursued or ambushed by the RUC and shot dead.

It has come out that an informer was paid £30,000 for setting 3 of them up.

Most of the victims were Republican sympathisers or activists. But one was 17 year old Michael Tighe, ambushed and killed in a barn by police. He was not even political.

The RUC was becoming police, jury, judge, and executioner, all in one. A tape-recording exists of the killing of Michael Tighe in the barn and of the near-fatal shooting of his friend, Martin McCauley.

There was a big outcry against the 'shoot to kill' policy. The job of Stalker's inquiry was to do a whitewash job. Plainly that is what those who set it up wanted from Stalker, and what they thought they would get.

After all, Stalker is a veteran cop in a rough British city where it is routine for police to beat up suspects and to fiddle and concoct evidence. Stalker knew about



A young catholic is restrained by the RUC as annual Orange Parade marches through catholic area, Portadown

Photo: Martin Shakeshaft

EDITORIAL

Northern Ireland, being considered an expert on fighting the IRA in Britain.

What went wrong for the Establishment? Stalker was an honest man, and what he found in Northern Ireland shocked even his inevitably calloused conscience.

He found a system in which the police come almost exclusively from the Protestant community, and are unacceptable to the Catholic minority, who number almost four in every ten citizens. But he knew that to start with.

He is said at first to have been inclined — as could be expected of any man of similar background — to see things through the eyes of the harassed and problem-ridden RUC. After all, some of those killed were Republican militants, even if they were unarmed when the RUC shot them.

Mistake

What Stalker could not take was the killing of Michael Tighe, the 17 year old innocent. So Stalker got out of step with the RUC and with the British police establishment. That was his first mistake as a professional policeman.

He found blatant police lying about the shooting. Forensic evidence about bullet wounds and trajectories contradicted the police account. A cover-up network existed all the way up the RUC hierarchy. And the Northern Ireland

courts were treated with contempt by the RUC.

In short, there was a system of brutal police rule, possessing a large degree of autonomy, while those allegedly controlling the police turned a blind eye, or helped to cover up for their crimes.

Stalker concluded eventually that he had to treat the Northern Ireland police chief and other senior officers as criminal suspects to be 'taken in for questioning'.

Stalker's second mistake was that he thought he would be allowed to do what he was publicly appointed to do — a thorough and honest investigation.

Sweeping

He is said even to have made sweeping proposals for reforming the RUC — just at the point when the Anglo-Irish agreement put the RUC to the greatest test it has ever endured, the massive hostility of 'its own' Protestant community. Policemen were being attacked and driven out with their families from Protestant housing estates. They were expected to stand up to mass Protestant demonstrations as well as the IRA.

Stalker was a politically naive cop in Northern Ireland's political jungle.

Other senior policemen are not politically naive. His erstwhile friend, Manchester's Chief Constable Anderton, is said to have advised him to act according to the hoary old Stalinist excuse-all: 'You can't make an omelette without breaking eggs'. But Stalker didn't listen.

The senior police of Britain and of Manchester now began to act like characters out of an old gangster movie. They decided to

'sacrifice' Stalker.

He was investigated behind his back by close colleagues, without being warned. He was then, on very flimsy grounds, hastily removed from his job at a crucial point in the Northern Ireland inquiry — as he was perhaps getting ready to nail the top RUC men, and to press them to release the tapes made by police or MI5 surveillance at the barn where Michael Tighe was murdered and Martin McCauley almost died.

Stalker was suspended. But it was too crude and obvious. The blatant injustice of it jack-knifed against the police Establishment. The press took it up. The Manchester labour movement, and the Police Committee with its Labour majority, threw out the police chiefs' last feeble attempt to 'get' Stalker, on charges of misusing police cars.

Justice

After three months Stalker was back in his job. It seemed that justice had been done.

No it hadn't! Justice will not be done until the investigation into the RUC is completed and seen to be completed. Until then the reinstatement of Stalker to his job will just mean taking the heat off those who tried to get Stalker in the first place, and allowing them to succeed in their main objective — to cover up police murder, conspiracy to murder, and conspiracy to cover up for murder.

The labour movement must demand the immediate publication of the records and documents of the Stalker inquiry — and of the contents of the tapes made by the RUC or MI5 during the murder of Michael Tighe.

GRAFFITI

NF in N.Ireland

YEARS OF endeavour by the Nazi National Front to win influence among Northern Ireland's Protestant bigots now seem to be bearing fruit.

According to the anti-fascist monthly Searchlight (August 1986), the NF now has a new office in Belfast, with a full-time organiser, John Field.

Searchlight suspects that members of the Ulster Defence Association

Back to the 50's

IF THE Tories are campaigning for 'Victorian values', we can't have the Labour Party defending more enlightened modern ideas, can we? It might get some voters thinking there are streaks of red on the old Pink Flag.

So no wonder that Neil Kinnock has told 'Everywoman' magazine that "I'm a father, and no matter how much I try to convince myself towards the course of 'enlightenment', I know damn well that, put to the test, I'm what people would call a reactionary".

Perhaps a moderate slogan like 'Back to 1950s values' would be in order?

Casualties turned away...

Health cuts

MOST casualty units in London hospitals were closed to patients for

... but bosses enjoy binges

DISAPPOINTMENT recently at the North West Regional Health Authority. The Authority does tens of thousands of pounds' worth of business with private management consultants — money usually paid for advice on how best to cut services.

One such firm, British Medical Data Services, pleased with past deals and fishing for future contracts, invited four Health Authority managers to a day at the British Grand Prix recently. The day was to be a slap-up event — meeting the racing drivers, touring the pits, gourmet food and champagne, all courtesy of the firm.

The Regional Manager, however, shrewdly assessed "the attention being paid by the press" and stopped the disappointed four from going on the spree.

But NHS bureaucrats often do attend one or two day seminars and conferences organised by private consultants and drug companies. The Authority thinks nothing of paying £500-plus for a bureaucrat to attend one of these binges of eating and shoulder-rubbing.

ster Defence Association may be financing this activity. "NF accountants tell us that the NF is getting enough finance from its supporters across the water to pay for several full-time officials, the new Belfast premises, and much of the mainland work as well".

Searchlight has also investigated reports in

the newspaper 'Today' that Field and another NF leader had marched alongside Ian Paisley on an Orangeist march in Hillsborough in July. "Paisley himself is in Canada and unavailable for comment, but his DUP deputy Peter Robinson refused to disassociate his party from the NF".



Paisley: Nazis elbowing in?

Anti-strike plans SDP

An SDP government would keep the gist of the Tories' anti-union laws and add new restrictions, according to an SDP document published on 27 August.

Workers in the fire service, health, waver, and power would not be allowed to strike until their dispute had first been to arbitration; and all strikes would generally need a prior postal ballot if just 10% of workers asked for it.

(The Tories' laws do not insist that the ballot must be postal).

UK jails record numbers

Full prisons

THE UK jails more people in proportion to population than any other country in Western Europe. It even outstrips Turkey.

The UK has twice as

many jailings in proportion to population as West Germany or France, according to figures released by the National Association for the Care and Resettlement of Offenders.

The government's attempt at a response actually underlines the point. The UK, it stressed, has "very nearly the lowest average length of detention among European nations".

In other words, the UK uses short jail sentences for many minor offences which would get other penalties in other countries. All evidence is that these jail sentences demoralise and criminalise people, rather than deterring them from further crime.



LETTERS



The heroic Kronstadt; by 1921 it was different

Kronstadt and Stalin

LAURENS Otter's letter on Kronstadt consisted of untruths and half-truths.

In 1938, 17 years after the suppression of Kronstadt, a hue and cry was raised over the role of Trotsky in the affair. Trotsky replied to what he rightly called a 'people's front' of anarchists, Mensheviks, social-democrats, and the bourgeoisie.

Why at that time should they raise the question of Kronstadt? Because they all wanted to discredit Trotskyism as the only genuine revolutionary current.

It appears that in the year of the 50th anniversary of the Popular Front Laurens Otter wants to revive it with his support for Tribune.

Different

Let us examine the facts. Otter's references to the great role of Kronstadt in the revolution are irrelevant. Different people made up the Kronstadt garrison in 1921. As the civil war started in 1918, detachments from heroic Kronstadt were sent to help Moscow. Others went from Kronstadt to the Don and the Ukraine.

Trotsky records that by 1919 complaints began to arrive from various fronts saying that the 'new' detachments from Kronstadt were "unsatisfactory, exacting, undisciplined, unreliable in battle, and doing more harm than good".

By 1919 the revolutionary forces of Kronstadt and the Baltic had been exhausted. Those who rebelled in 1921 were not in any way the same as those who had played a heroic role in 1917.

The actual rebellion itself was in effect no different from the many other such anti-Bolshevik movements of the civil war.

Village

The workers were divided into hostile camps depending on their links with the village, and the army too was tied to the village. More than once an army detachment had to be disarmed. These problems stemmed from the civil war, and the backwardness of Russia, but the fact remains that the rebellions were in essence counter-revolutionary and had to be quelled —

peacefully if possible, by force if necessary.

Kronstadt differed from other such episodes because the anarchists and Social-Revolutionaries from Petrograd flocked to Kronstadt, in an attempt to make political capital out of it. It is from the printed material of these groups that the legend of Kronstadt was developed.

We should dispel the myths about Trotsky's personal role in the suppression of Kronstadt. Trotsky took no direct part in it. The decision was taken, with Trotsky's participation, at the Tenth Party Congress, to suppress the rebellion by military force if the fortress could not be induced to surrender, first by peace negotiations, then by an ultimatum.

After the decision Trotsky stayed in Moscow and took no further part in the affair. He proposed that dealings with the Kronstadters should be put in the hands of the Petrograd party leaders who had recently enjoyed their confidence, and with whom Trotsky was at that time in factional dispute over the trade union question.

Stalin

Finally: Laurens Otter says that Trotskyists only date the degeneration of the Russian Revolution from the time of Stalin's coming to power. To put things this way is a nonsense.

Firstly, it is to see history simply as a matter of the role of personalities.

As Marxists we see history being made not by individuals but by the class struggle. Stalin was able to come to power because of a change in the balance of class forces resulting from the decimation of the best layers of the working class during the civil war, and the consequent demoralisation and exhaustion. If it had not been Stalin, it would have been someone else.

By 1921 the Soviets were hollow shells, and Lenin described the Soviet Union as a workers' state but with bureaucratic deformations.

After the end of the civil war, Lenin proposed the New Economic Policy, restoring some market economics, to alleviate some of the tensions between

town and country that had led to rebellions like Kronstadt. (Laurens Otter is wrong to see Kronstadt as a movement of opposition to the NEP: the rebellion took place before NEP was introduced).

The NEP, however, strengthened the rich peasants, and ultimately weakened the position of the working class.

It was these historical conditions that led to the triumph of Stalinism, and not a particular personality.

ARTHUR BOUGH, Stoke.

Like Israel

Tony Greenstein's accurate characterisation of Israel as a settler-colonial state (letters, 7 August) drew my attention to the inadequacies in Belinda Weaver's comments on the vice-regal sacking of the Whitlam Labour government in 1975 (SO, 7 August).

Australia was, like Israel, "established by driving out another people, institutionalising racism into every aspect of its functioning... supporting reaction both in neighbouring states and worldwide."

From the founding of the Commonwealth in 1901 to today the Labour Party and the dominant section of the trade union movement have underpinned the essential characteristics of settler-colonialism as outlined by Greenstein.

The exclusion of non-Europeans from most unions in the 19th century, the championing of the White Australia Policy, the Hawke Labour government's sabotage of Aboriginal Land Rights and Australia's role as a mini-imperialist power in the Pacific and South East Asia bears strong resemblance to Israel's role in the Levant and North Africa.

The vice-regal sacking did not give birth to an Australian republican movement; that movement, expressing the bunyip-nationalist fantasies of small-holders, fascists, recruiting officers, cheap populists of the neo-Stalinist species, and their academic and literary acolytes has existed since Europeans began a genocidal nightmare still haunting that continent.

Australian nationalism, of which republicanism is an intrinsic part, is as reactionary as its British parent.

The triumph of Afrikaaner republicanism simply cleared the decks for a renewed frenzy of settler-colonial atrocities.

An Australian socialist society, embracing the interests of its multi-ethnic population shall, in consigning settler-colonialism to the trash-can of history, automatically divest itself of any, residual association with Britain's royal mummies.

ROD QUINN
Chalk Farm, London

Spielberg is great

I thought Belinda Weaver was far too critical of the film 'The Colour Purple'. I think it's almost a stereotype for left papers to be against popular culture and Spielberg is of course popular culture personified. Yet Spielberg is the greatest director of our time — no-one comes near him in his breadth of imagination, creativity or diversity or technical expertise. Why wasn't this mentioned?

How do you balance the importance of having a story like Celie's brought to the attention of millions with the fact that 'the lesbian affair' was left out?

How do you balance those scenes that were heavy handed or not very realistic with the over-riding sense of discovery and personal pride and dignity that the story portrayed? The amazing scenes at the end of Black Americans and Africans meeting and the shot of the generations of Black American women standing upright with strength and dignity in the field — I found that very moving.

There were clumsy movements but the story was brought to popular culture. That's good.

TONY BROWN,
Sydney

Hattersley's backlash

Last Tuesday, Roy Hattersley's supporters in Sparkbrook CLP turned out in force for a special Management Committee meeting.

The aim of the meeting was quite simple: to overturn the vote taken at the previous GMC calling for the reinstatement of Kevin Scally and Amir Khan.

The right wing succeeded by 28 votes to 14.

Shock

The reinstatement vote had come as a severe shock to Hattersley's supporters, who expelled the two left-wingers in November 1985 for allegedly "bringing the party into disrepute". Right winger Elizabeth Keene, the Constituency Chair, argued that since the vote to support Scally and Khan had reversed existing policy, 14 days

By Jim Denham

notice should have been given. The left replied that the vote had been taken at a constitutionally called meeting, announced at the previous GMC which had also agreed that motions could be taken from the floor without prior notice.

But as one left wing delegate to the meeting told Socialist Organiser, "the right weren't really concerned about arguing the constitutional niceties. They were just concerned about preventing Sparkbrook's name going on the end of the amendment to Annual Conference that instructs the NEC to reinstate the two. It was quite simply a question of which side could muster the more votes".

This decision will not, however, pre-

vent the issue from being debated at this year's conference, as sufficient amendments supporting Scally and Khan have been sent in to ensure a discussion. The campaign for their reinstatement is now concentrating its energy upon building support in the unions, who will of course be decisive in the vote at conference.

Court

Unfortunately, the campaign can only be weakened by Amir Khan's publicly-announced intention to take the matter to the High Court. The frustration that has led Khan to such a decision is understandable, but it breaches the fundamental socialist principle of keeping the courts out of labour movement affairs, and could give the witch-hunters additional ammunition in the run-up to annual conference.



LOL DUFFY has been endorsed by the National Executive Committee of the Labour Party to fight the next general election in Wallasey. Duffy spent three weeks in Walton Jail in 1984 for his part in a sit-in against closure at Cammell Lairds shipyard.

Woman's EYE

"In order to change the conditions of life we must learn to see them through the eyes of women".

Trotsky

Rape's not so bad says judge

By Jean Lane

A judge last week passed a sentence of four years on a rapist who pleaded guilty to his crime. Sir James Miskin decided that since the man, Wayne Scott, hadn't broken into a house or used a weapon to attack his victim, he could be lenient.

Well, after all, house-breaking is much worse, isn't it! It's an invasion of property and privacy. And if he'd used a weapon he might have hurt her! All he did was drag her into a dustbin shed and rape her. That's not so bad.

I suppose Miskin sees it as just another way of having sex; not particularly harmful. Scott didn't rob her, or disfigure her, did he?

Miskin wouldn't see the robbery of the victim's peace of mind — taken from her for the rest of her life; or the robbery of her freedom to travel, to leave her house or to sleep; the robbery of her right to safety. Nor would he see the disfigurement, the mental scars, inflicted by the knowledge that any man has the right and ability to overpower her and use her to his own ends at any time, bringing upon himself only a lenient sentence by a kindly and understanding judge.

But rape isn't just a sexual act. It is a use of power to assault and abuse a woman. It is the complete removal of her freedom of movement and her freedom of choice. She is no longer an individual with a will of her own but a subject of an animal's will.

Appendages

Now we all know that women are not free individuals with a will or a choice of their own anyway. In our society women are brought up to see themselves as appendages of men. You don't need to try too hard at school; you'll be getting married anyway. You should play with dolls; practice for your motherhood. You don't want a career or promotion; your family is more important.

Everywhere women turn they can see what they are supposed to do. Look pretty for your man. Wear nice clothes, make yourself up, do your hair. Above all, be beautiful; long-legged, preferably blonde, definitely white-skinned, large breasted — and available (but not too available). Be willing, else you are a cock-tease. But not too willing, else you are a tart. And when you've got your man, and married him, be faithful, whatever he may do. Women who sleep around are whores. Men just sow wild oats.

When women are portrayed as, and taught to be, around for men's pleasure, rape is only the final logic of their role in life.

So it's not surprising that the over-paid, over-rated, bewigged example of a successful man, Miskin, sees rape as just another form of the sexual act. It is for him, and thousands of men like him, including the ones he passes sentence on.

As long as men like Miskin see rapists as harmless men who just forgot to ask first, sentences will be light. And as long as women are seen as sex objects for men's enjoyment, rape will continue.

Socialists must remember that just as we are fighting for the dignity of the working class, we are also fighting for a society in which women are free and equal human beings with wishes and desires and a reason for being quite independent of the will of men.

A short story by Angela Fraser

Victory to the glam grans!

JILL's fifty-two years old now. She's had six kids. She's spent the last thirty years washing nappies, cleaning toilets, and cleaning up everyone else's shit. All the while being patient, kind and thoughtful — but mostly crying.

For years she searched his pockets for other women's telephone numbers and checked the bottom of his shoes for unfamiliar pieces of carpet that might be attached to them, while he played games — in the army, in the police force, on the QE2.

He was almost always drunk. Always keeping her short of money. Always humiliating her in front of her friends. And always telling her he loved her and would change his ways.

All the while he knew that he didn't need to change as she would always be there to feed him, to comfort him, to provide a sexual service when he needed it. Because, with six children that she adored, she was going nowhere.

She's had toxemia, thrombosis, osteoarthritis of the spine, and, the final blow, cancer of the cervix. But she's fought it all in her own special way.

The girls are all grown up now and married with kids, and her heart bleeds for them. She tried her best to stop them falling into the same trap as she did. But the only advice she had to offer was to find a man who didn't drink and who had a good job.

The boys are still at home. They've yet to find substitute mothers, and it's going to be hard to find one as good as the one they've got now.

She divorced him, but he still comes round, and she lets him because she needs a cuddle sometimes. He always reminds her that soon the boys will be leaving home and she will be "all on your own then, and lonely".

So when she told me she had saved up enough money to have a holiday (the second in twenty years), and that not only is her second-eldest daughter and her family going, but he is too — I understood.

Then a letter arrived. She put her back out on the first day at the holiday camp and had to lie flat on her back in bed. He had no sympathy for her. He just left her lying there all day while he went out and got pissed.

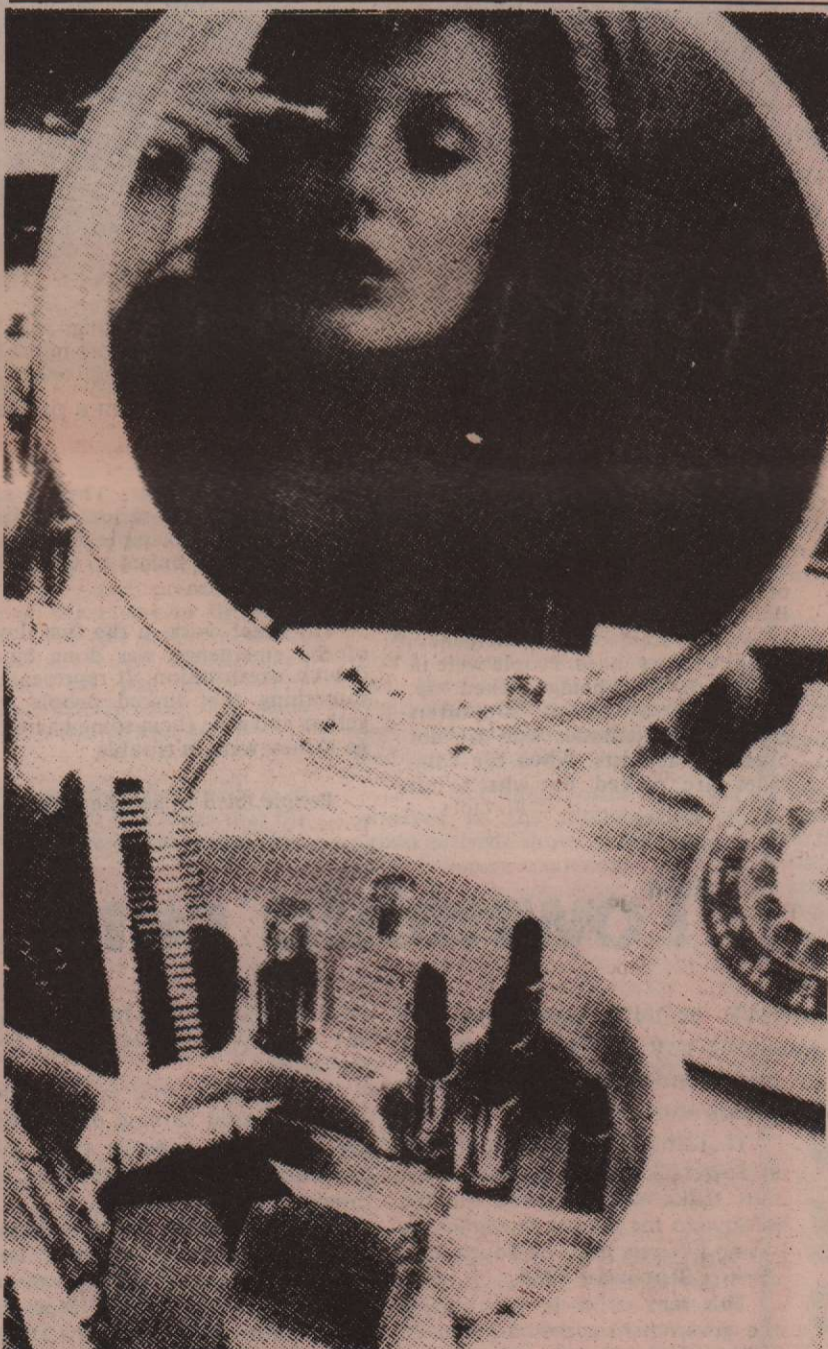
He had just wanted to use her body for the week. Now he couldn't. He went home mid-week.

But then her letter says:

"On Thursday morning I shuffled up to the hairdresser's. She propped me up on pillows and cut and styled my hair really lovely, and in the evening I got all dressed up, put some blusher on my cheeks, made my eyes up, etc., took five painkillers and made my way [with her daughter] to the cabaret hall.

I sank back a couple of drinks and

Jim Denham's 'Press Gang' (21 August) commented on the world made by the media "in which glamorous grannies are as important as the miners' strike." Angela Fraser thinks that 'glamorous grannies' deserve a better press.



'I'll be there when she paints her eyes ...'

entered the 'Glamorous Gran' competition. I was Number 7. I had to come through the back, through the curtains.

Luckily a Blue-Coat held my hand. The lights were so bright I couldn't see a thing, not even the judges.

They asked me how many grandchildren I had, what my hobbies were, and who I would like to be on a desert island with. I said Paul Newman or Paul Young if I was younger.

Then all the entrants had to go outside and wait. A Blue-Coat came backstage and said: "Who is Number 7? Come on, put this sash on. You've won".

I felt like Miss World. I won a diary and a voucher for a free week's holiday to enable me to enter the Grand Finals in September. If I win, I will receive £250. I have to get a really striking dress for that.

Chris (He) told me before he left,

"Don't be stupid. You won't stand a chance of winning. They will all be much younger than you".

So I shot him up the ass, didn't I?"

When I read this letter, the tears streamed down my face. My head tells me that beauty contests are wrong, and I want to shout: "Don't do it, Jill, because, because, because..."

But I know that's her way of fighting back — the only way she knows how.

She doesn't need me to tell her about the need for free abortion on demand because she tried for one when she already had four children under the age of five (including twins of three months old), and couldn't get it.

She doesn't need me to tell her that girls under the age of sixteen need access to contraception, because she had to watch her three daughters' lives fall into the same mould as hers as one by one they all got pregnant.

She doesn't need me to tell her that even though she has to search the shelves at Sainsburys for the cheapest food, she also has to put something in the miners' collection box outside, because she knows what poverty and deprivation is all about. The worst deprivation of all — the deprivation of the mind — knowing that society is wrong, but not knowing how to change it.

If only someone had been able to point her in the right direction years ago. Then, instead of standing up there as a 'Glamorous Gran', she could be making political speeches, using all her knowledge of the sufferings of working class women. But no-one did point her in the right direction, and I'm afraid it's too late.

Can I then deprive her of her crowning glory — the title of 'Glamorous Gran'? No, I can't. I'll give her a hug and admire her sash, and I'll even help her choose her stunning dress for the next round.

But all the time, I'll be thinking about my life, my politics, and most of all, my daughter's future: how she must never come to this. But yes, I'll cheer her on.

Oh, I hear cries of 'capitulation' from the middle class feminists. I hear cries of 'capitulation' from the working class women who have found politics. And worse, I hear cries of 'capitulation' from the true Bolshevik (the man with the beard and the plastic carrier bag), the true class fighter. But I'm not listening, because I know that the true class fighters are the 'working class mothers of ten'.

I'll be there when she puts on her blusher and paints her eyes, when she slips into her stunning dress and parades around the stage. And I'll hold back my tears. And I won't let her see my sadness. I'll cry 'Victory to the Glam Grans. Victory to Jill. Victory to my mum.' While all around me, everyone shouts, 'Capitulation!'

'Comrades are up against the military'

Despite the detention of around 14,000 people under the latest State of Emergency, South Africa's apartheid regime has not been able to destroy resistance to white rule in the townships, factories and mines.

Rank and file worker activists have stepped in to take control of their unions whilst their leaders are in detention.

And in the townships a massive rent strike involving over 300,000 black households stands as a symbol of continued defiance of the white minority regime and its puppet local authorities.

In this interview, a militant from the metal workers' union MAWU tells of the situation in her township under the State of Emergency and the way the community is fighting back against Botha's reign of terror and black "vigilantes".

I arrived the day the State of Emergency was imposed. Army activity in the townships had increased. This was a shock to me. When I left South Africa previously, the occupation of the township was nothing like as serious.

The soldiers were wandering round the townships drunk. They were harassing people and using the vigilantes to attack people.

The vigilantes in the area I visited were basically made up of two families. Their sons had got out of prison. They were given ammunition from the army and protected by army trucks. They tried to eliminate the "comrades".

They also tried to recruit people and threatened them if they wouldn't join in.

First the police would raid somewhere to get ammunition and check people are there, then the vigilantes would come along and fill the place with bullet holes.

Who did the vigilantes attack?

They mainly attacked the families of people who were activists and the young people who joined the popular cause like the "comrades". They also attacked the people's courts. On top of all this there have been attacks on trade union organisers. One organiser was killed and a MAWU organiser was nearly killed. Basically they were after all anti-apartheid activists. They are trying to eliminate the opposition.

The police pick people out at roadblocks and deliver them to the vigilantes. They did this to one guy who was then mutilated whilst he was still alive and then killed.

Do the vigilantes get much support?

It differs from township to township. They are basically Inkatha supporters. This guy coordinates their activities. If people don't pay for his army and courts then they become targets.

Are there any middle class people involved?

Yes, the spy is middle class. He's a principal of a school. Both he and

his vigilante brother-in-law had previously been attacked by the comrades as collaborators. They organised the vigilantes into the 'A Team'. They took the name from the television series where a group of ex-soldiers "protect" people in the community. The vigilantes see themselves in a similar role. They are protecting the brother-in-law of a vigilante, and also recruiting him to their cause. He didn't realise what he was letting himself in for.

How successful are the comrades in resisting the vigilantes?

Fairly successful. The comrades are up against the power of the military. The fact that these people are armed and yet the comrades are still able to resist them says a lot. Also, the functioning of the "people's courts" seems to me to be an indication of their success. The comrades are detained and raided very regularly. If they'd been smashed, the "people's courts" wouldn't be around.

There was one incident when a car parked one day outside the place where the comrades hold the people's courts. The police ran in and just shot one of them, who collapsed on top of the others. The police reported it as a terrorist attack. The more the police carry out these attacks, the more support the comrades get. People are able to tell more and more the difference between good and bad.

The comrades have been able to exert more discipline in preventing people from living with or fraternising with someone they see as the enemy, i.e. the military.

Do you get a sense of how the people's courts were organised and the extent to which the comrades were organised?

I didn't really have that much experience of them but I talked to a few people who were involved with the comrades. Basically they were playing it by ear. At a local level they are active, they know the people. They use the schools a lot. They are mainly students, ex-

COSAS members. They have organisations at regional (townships around Durban) and national level. At regional level they know what's happening and where. If comrades in a particular township are being attacked, others move in and sometimes stay for a while to give them hope.

So you're saying that there's a lot of organisation that needs doing in the communities?

At the start of the emergency, things were in chaos. People were in hiding or still being picked up. There are a lot of supporters around the comrades who are not organised activists. When the comrades are picked up what's left



A comrade runs from a police tear-gas attack. Photo. Gideon Mendel

behind is very loose. There's no tight, joint organisation in the community. For example, one complete committee linked to the UDF was in hiding.

The relief work in the first days of the emergency was done by a church organisation. It represented something that linked people together and gave them somewhere to go if they were in trouble.

People tried to get the women -

the wives of the detainees - to take over. In Durban itself the repression was less intense - the police just raided the offices and it took a while before they picked up leaders like Jay Naidoo [general secretary of COSATU].

In Durban, repression was mainly directed at UDF supporters and sympathisers. People were picked up at the offices who were involved in support work. The state didn't want to take on the unions head on in Durban.

Township rent strike spr

'WE WON'T pay rent. We won't pay for the salaries of our enemies, the puppet councillors and the police'

That's how one leaflet produced in Soweto last week explained the rent strike that has been running in Soweto for the last three months - and in some parts of South Africa since September 1984.

This rent strike is now costing the government something like 30 million rand a month, and involves over 300,000 households in 38 black townships.

The strike has become the major focus for resistance to the joint police/army occupation of the townships under the State of Emergency.

It is a clear sign that although the State of Emergency has forced community and political organisations such as the United Democra-

tic Front (UDF) into hiding, it has not destroyed the revolt in the townships.

This weekend that revolt could reach a crucial turning point with the first mass funerals since the declaration of the latest State of Emergency on 12 June.

The funerals are for the victims of apartheid state violence last week in Soweto. If they go ahead then it will be a major blow to Botha's attempt to crush the struggle in the townships.

According to the publicity secretary of the United Democratic Front, Murphy Morobe (who is himself on the run), the UDF, which has borne the brunt of state repression, has nevertheless weathered the State of Emergency.

"The UDF has not only survived the most severe repression but has grown into a powerful mass movement... the democratic movement

has not been crushed".

He was confident about the UDF's ability to survive.

"While widespread detentions have hit some areas hard, many activists foresaw the Emergency and took the necessary precautions. They have been able to avoid detention and remain active, if covertly.

"We are still intact and able to hold meetings at a national level".

However, the UDF leaders are now saying that the days of open legal mass campaigning are over. What this will mean for the UDF is not at all clear at this stage.

What is clear is that the larger industrial trade unions, like the metal workers' union MAWU and the shopworkers' union CCAWUSA, have held together under the repression. They have maintained their ability to organise openly.

Ordinary shopworkers occupied stores and took over CCAWUSA's



Reflex.

The police were out of control in the townships. By the police I mean joint army/police operations. The police were drunk, they went around the shabines and got liquor without paying. The young soldiers were going around shooting, not really at anybody in particular, just terrorising people. They were trigger-happy, so much so that children would be scared to go out to the toilet.

They drove up and down in the townships and there were a lot of cases

of rape. They stopped and searched my lawyer.

When I arrived there were two hippos and about 15 soldiers around. They run after me, surrounded me and pointed guns.

One of them was so drunk he couldn't even get out the words "We maintain order" when I asked him what he was doing. The soldiers are mainly white. The black ones stay in the background.

When you say that Chesterville is an old township do you mean that the standard of housing is better than other places?

They are run-down buildings and they were one of the causes of the uprising, especially with the higher rents. This led to rent strikes in 1983. Buthelezi has no influence there. The UDF are the main force in the township. In Natal, UDF and the trade unions organise together. COSATU's formation was welcomed by people who identify with that.

Why did the government impose the emergency?

If you look at the experience of 1973 and 1976, with the outbreak of strikes the government managed to crack down. The unions had no roots then. But we learnt from those events. They government thought that the period of calm in 1977-8 was due to the crackdown. They want to repeat this.

The UDF only has a top layer but the unions have a much broader base. The state has to play careful with the unions. It's easier to pick up individuals so the UDF is under more pressure.

To allow negotiations to take place in industry some capitalists have put pressure on the government to release certain detainees where the unions are strongest.

The capitalists seem to want to distance themselves from the worst aspects of repression and appear as a possible ally in the anti-apartheid struggle. They want to keep the pressure off capital and onto the state.

As if apartheid is just down to Botha! We say Botha is just a tool and the capitalists are just as responsible. The trade unions, the organised workers, should take the lead in the struggle.

The fact that bosses have got involved in the interrogation of union activists shows the collaboration between capitalists and the state. If your employer is there it puts a lot of pressure on you. The bosses have a Business Charter but it's hypocritical. They want to increase the exploitation of workers.

What do you think trade unionists here can do to help the struggle in South Africa?

Workers can learn from the struggle in South Africa about capitalism. The working class can do things to ease off the pressure on the people of South Africa. Workers in British companies which have South African subsidiaries whose workers have been detained should refuse to supply materials or organise a boycott of goods.

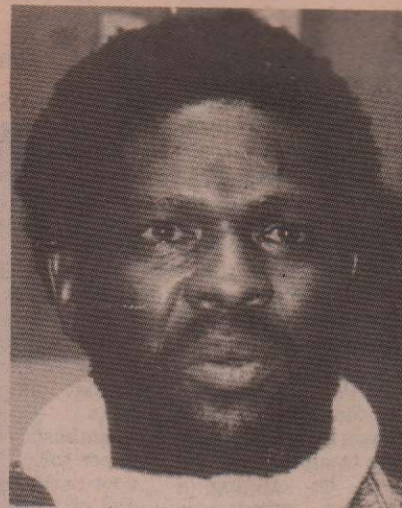
If you are not directly employed by a firm with links with South Africa you should still develop links with South African trade unions because we are all part of the same class. In the long term, direct international links between workers are very important for defeating capitalism.

A longer version of this interview will appear in the forthcoming issue of 'Our Common Struggle'.

Workers' control in the community

Moses Mayekiso, the newly elected General Secretary of South Africa's Metal Workers' Union, MAWU, is the most prominent trade union leader still in detention as a result of Botha's State of Emergency.

In this interview, given to MAWU's paper, South African Metal Worker, before the State of Emergency, he spells out the way the Alexandra Action Committee, of which he is the chair, has tried to build community organisation in the townships, modelled on the democratic structures of the trades unions.



Moses Mayekiso

and to mediate. We are not really acting in the same manner as the present courts. We would like to get people to come together and discuss their problems.

What are the sentences?

In Alexandra this is problematic, because how do you sentence a person? We do not believe in corporal punishment, but we have been lucky because people listen to whatever decision is made there. If the person listens then we don't need to implement any punishment. We have been discussing punishment for the person that does not listen, but we haven't reached a solution. However, the 'necklace' will never be used because we believe that the courts have an educational function. They are there to politicise the offender. Most crime in the area is caused by the capitalist and apartheid systems, so we tell the offender that he mustn't allow himself to be used by them.

Do workers have an important role within the Alexandra Action committee?

Alexandra is very different from other townships as the majority of the people living there are workers. Unlike Soweto, we don't have rich businessmen. Workers are directly involved in the various committees and they bring with them their experience of unions' democratic structures.

We believe that our struggle must be led by the working class and therefore workers should play a greater role in community organisations. In Alexandra shop stewards play a leading role in the community by being elected onto block committees and so on. So there are direct links with organised workers. Also, the Action Committee has sub-committees to organise the unorganised factories because we believe that unless those factories are organised our struggle in the townships is not going to be really successful.

Taken from the latest edition of Azania Frontline.

heads

offices when their officials were detained; and MAWU is carrying on its fight for a minimum wage and a 40 hour week in the metal and engineering industries despite the arrest of 44 leading activists.

In fact MAWU plans to fuse with the carworkers' union NAAWU and another union to form a mighty industrial union in the engineering and auto industries.

Meanwhile, with something like 20,000 black school students excluded from school because of their refusal to register with the army and carry identity cards, clashes between the students and the police and army are continuing.

The State of Emergency may have succeeded temporarily in pushing the liberation movement off balance and into hiding. But it has not succeeded in restoring 'normality' to the townships.

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Botha's state of terror

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How to sell more papers

Socialist Organiser's sales have gone up since we introduced the new format. But they have not gone up enough: not enough politically, and not enough financially.

September, as the labour movement activity picks up after the summer, is a good time to increase paper sales. So we're planning a campaign.

And we have chosen 13-14 September as a special weekend to kick-start the campaign. We're asking supporters to keep that weekend free, and to spend it giving a boost to their sales.

North London SO supporters, for example, are planning:

Cut-price

*On the Saturday to visit every person on their contact list and ask them to subscribe to the paper. We'll be offering a special cut-price introductory sub — ten issues for £2.50, or £1.50 unwaged.

*Also on the Saturday, two street sales, one in Islington and one in Brent.

*On the Saturday evening, a social

Canvass

*On the Sunday morning a drive to canvass new blocks of flats for their existing door-to-door sale in Islington and a start on two new door-to-door sales, one in Islington and one in Brent.

The social is an important part of the weekend; and it helps to make paper-sellers enthusiastic, too, if food and drink is organised for Sunday midday to follow Sunday morning door-to-door sales.

Enthusiasm is the key to paper sales. We're focusing on door-to-door sales for the weekend of 13-14 September in the hope that these sales will help teach comrades a more positive

approach for their sales at political meetings, at work, and so on.

We also hope that sympathisers who are not (or not yet) labour movement activists or regular sellers will join our weekend sales. When they are well organised, door-to-door sales and street sales can be not only politically useful but also enjoyable. And what's specially good about them is that the political novice can often do better than the old stalwarts. Comrades new to politics need not feel that they are second-class citizens.

Poster

A special poster will be produced to publicise the paper in preparation for the weekend. It's also useful, sometimes, to go round the area to be covered by a door-to-door sale and put an old copy of the paper together with a leaflet through each letter

box, to give advance notice of the sale.

13-14 September will also be the final date for collecting signatures for the Socialist Campaign for a Labour Victory petition which calls on the Labour leaders to stick to Labour conference policy on a miners' amnesty.

Petition

The signatures will then be collated so that they can be presented to Neil Kinnock at Labour Party conference by a sacked miner.

Petitioning can usefully be combined with paper sales, so that people whose attention is first attracted by the petition can be offered a paper, and vice versa.

Please send in details of what you are planning for 13-14 September to PO Box 823, London SE15 4NA.



Les Hearn's SCIENCE COLUMN

Ultra-violet and lies

THIS WEEK, I conclude my article on the ozone layer by looking at the consequences of the increased ultra-violet radiation resulting from its destruction. Then George Davey Smith reveals the truth about 'lie detectors'.

UV radiation is produced by very hot objects. It is more energetic than ordinary light but less than X-rays. We cannot see it though some insects can.

Some types of UV are particularly well absorbed by DNA, the genetic code of living things. The UV damages the DNA, killing small organisms like flies, fish larvae, bacteria and algae and causes skin cancer in larger animals.

The first humans, evolving in Africa, had a black pigment in their skins to filter out UV, though a small amount of UV had to be allowed through to make Vitamin D. As humans migrated to less sunny parts of the world, those with mutations giving them less skin pigment would have survived better. Those with dark skins would have got rickets through Vitamin D deficiency.

Nowadays, we can get our Vitamin D from our food so skin pigment is unimportant. However, light-skinned people have less protection in very sunny lands and need to take precautions to avoid the danger of skin cancer.

An increase in UV (following a drop in ozone levels) would undoubtedly cause a rise in skin cancers, perhaps even in those with the darkest skins. There would also be an increase in blindness due to cataracts. These effects could be countered by wearing extra clothing, goggles, etc.

The effect on other life forms would be more serious. Plankton (microscopic plants and animals) floating in the top metre of sea would either die or would have to migrate lower in the water where they would get less light and would grow less. A 10% increase in UV would also kill off all fish larvae in the top ten metres of sea.

These effects would seriously disrupt life in the oceans which depends ultimately on the plankton. This, and other effects, would also disrupt life on land.

CFCS should therefore be immediately banned, but even if they are, those already present in the atmosphere will cause an increasing loss of ozone for decades.

Lie detectors are used extensively by law enforcement agencies in the United States and evidence from them can be presented in court. They are also used by private companies to screen potential employees, interviewees being asked if they have ever committed thefts or similar crimes.

Their use in the UK at GCHQ and other intelligence agencies has recently brought them to public attention, and expansion of their use into the criminological field is apparently supported by some influential policemen

and politicians.

Calling these machines lie detectors makes it seem that they somehow actually detect people lying. Of course, they do nothing of the sort. What they do record are changes in heart rate, blood pressure, respiration rate and skin conductance (the ability of the skin to conduct electricity, which is influenced by the degree of sweating) while the subject is being interrogated.

Conflicting reports of how accurate machines are have always appeared. Accuracy of lie detection can be considered in two ways.

The probability that a liar has a positive test (i.e., is discovered) is called *sensitivity*. For example, a sensitivity of 80% means that eight out of ten liars will have a positive test — but two out of ten will have a negative test (i.e. will be falsely classed as truthful).

The probability that a truth-teller has a negative test is called the *specificity*. A specificity of 70% means that 7 out of ten truth-tellers have a negative test — but three out of ten truth-tellers will be incorrectly classed as liars.

Companies who sell lie detectors (called polygraphs in 'legitimate' scientific work) claim high accuracy — nearly 90% sensitivity and specificity. However, there are many problems with evaluating the machines.

How are independent criteria for truthfulness established? Do the observers have any other clues as to the subjects' truthfulness besides the polygraph recording?

Do the observers know what proportion of their subjects are liars?

All of these could bias the results in favour of lie-detector accuracy. Given the companies' commercial interest in selling the machines, it is not surprising that independent investigators have found lower accuracy — sensitivities ranging from 60% to 80% and specificities from 50% to 70%.

Poor

Since polygraph recordings have not been able to consistently pick out individuals with early hypertension (high blood pressure), coronary heart disease, and neurological conditions, from normal subjects, it is to be expected that their ability to detect liars is poor.

A group of US doctors who recently reviewed the evidence concluded that: "There is no rational scientific basis for any machine to detect liars consistently, since there is no known consistent physiological response unique to the cognitive state of lying".

Even assuming the highest accuracy level, the machines will wrongly identify many people. Furthermore, the degree of incorrect identification will increase as the proportion of liars in the sample is decreased. Using an average assumption regarding accuracy (76% sensitivity and 63% specificity) in a group of 1000 people, 50% of whom are liars, there will be 120 liars missed and 185 people wrongly accused of lying.

However, in a group of 1000 of whom 5% are liars, there will be 351 people wrongly accused of lying, and 12 liars missed. Truthful persons incriminated as liars here outnumber actual liars by seven to one.

In a pre-employment screen the proportion of criminals is likely to be low, and so a very large number of people will be slandered by the test, their employment chances ruined.

This article allows the categories 'liar' and 'criminal' to be taken on their own terms. Clearly socialists cannot allow them to go unchallenged. 'Criminals' and 'liars' are often people struggling to survive under capitalism.

The true thieves (capitalists and their servants) get off scot free, often even when actually caught cheating for sums vastly greater than the 'criminals'.

Even on its own terms, the polygraph is misnamed when called a lie-detector, as it performs this task very poorly. Its use should be opposed universally, except perhaps on politicians at election time.

But then again, we already know they all lie.

Activists' DIARY

FRIDAY 5 SEPTEMBER. 'The Great Nuclear Debate', organised by Friends of the Earth and Greenpeace, 7.30pm. Central Hall, Westminster.

SATURDAY 6 SEPTEMBER NOTTS NUM MINERWORKERS GALA. Assemble 10.30 am, Mansfield Leisure Centre, Chesterfield Road, Mansfield, to march to West Notts College of Further Education. Speakers include Mick McGahey and Dennis Skinner.

THURSDAY 11 SEPTEMBER, Campaign Group News rally, 'Campaigning for Socialism'. Speakers include Tony Benn, Eric Heffer, Joan Maynard, Eddie Newman. 7.30pm, Free Trade Hall, Peter St., Manchester.

SATURDAY 13 SEPTEMBER. El Salvador Solidarity Campaign Picket. 12 noon. US Embassy, Grosvenor Sq., London.

THURSDAY 18 SEPTEMBER. N.E. Region National

Justice for Mineworkers meeting, Gateshead Town Hall (to elect a steering committee and plan a regional campaign). **SATURDAY-SUNDAY, 1-2 NOVEMBER.** National Abortion Campaign Annual Conference. London Women's Centre, Wild Court, Holborn, London WC2. For details contact NAC at the London Women's Centre.

Socialist Organiser meetings

NORTHAMPTON. Thursday 4 September. 'Where We Stand'. 7.30 p.m. Northampton Centre Against Unemployment, 3-7 Hazelwood Road.

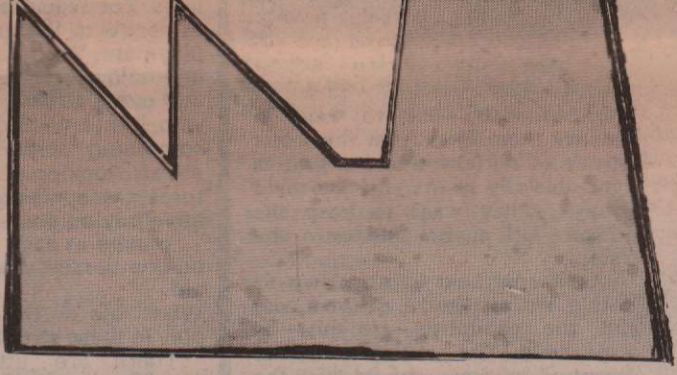
PETERLEE. Tuesday 23 September. Speaker: John Bloxam. 7.30 p.m. Eden Lane Community Centre.

Youth Fightback Editorial Board Saturday 6 September 1.00 p.m. to 5.00 p.m. London
Phone Mark on 01-639 7967 for details.

'Our sales drive (above), which means seeing all our occasional readers and contacts to ask if they will become regular readers, can fit very well with fund-raising. Organise a fund-raising social for the weekend of 13-14.

Take a collecting box with you on the paper sales and ask sympathetic readers to help us by giving £1 for their paper instead of 30p, or by adding £5 or £10 extra when they take out a sub.

Thanks this week to Belinda Weaver, £13.35 raised from sandwiches and drinks for National Editorial Board lunch-break; Pete Gilman, £3.20; North London reader, £0.50; Tracy William, £7.80; Gary Scott, £5; Mike Foley, £3.50; other East London readers, £8.90. And we've raised a further £22.50 on the sale of books by Trotsky and Zinoviev.



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For equality for lesbians and gays.

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Our Rosa

Belinda Weaver reviews 'Rosa Luxemburg' by German film director Margarethe von Trotta.

ROSA Luxemburg was a leader in the international socialist movement early this century. Born in Poland in 1871, she was active in underground socialist groups from the age of 17. Forced into exile, she lived for a time in Zurich, attending university, organising in the working-class movement, and discussing with the leading exiled Russian Marxists of the day, Axelrod, Plekhanov and Zasulich.

Rosa was active both in German Social Democracy, and the Polish Social Democratic Party, which was affiliated to Russian Social Democracy. Most of Poland was then part of the Russian empire.

Rosa moved to Germany in 1898 to work in the socialist movement there. The German Social Democratic (i.e., socialist) Party was the largest and best organised of the international socialist movement of the time, the Second International.

Rosa was the leader of the left wing in the international socialist movement before 1914, and of the revolutionary opposition to World War I. She wrote important books and pamphlets against reformism; on the use of the mass strike as the basis for the struggle for socialism; and on imperialism and the national question (on both of which she differed from Lenin).

The new film 'Rosa Luxemburg', by German director, Margarethe von Trotta, is a personal view of the life of this political woman. Von Trotta calls the film a 'fragment', claiming Rosa's life was too full to be condensed into two hours of film.

Von Trotta is obviously personally sympathetic to Luxemburg. In the discussion after the film's showing on 26 August at the National Film Theatre, von Trotta recalled her first sight of Rosa's face on placards carried by rebellious German students in 1968. She was attracted to Rosa's 'sad, interiorised' face.

Von Trotta wanted to rehabilitate Rosa, by finding the reality beyond the two common stereotypes — from the right wing, the view of 'Bloody Rosa', a bloodthirsty revolutionary, and from the left wing, that of the political martyr.

Humanise

In West Germany, Luxemburg is a controversial figure. When her face appeared on postage stamps in the 1960s, some postal workers refused to handle, and some recipients refused to accept, letters bearing the stamp.

Von Trotta wanted to 'humanise' Rosa. She turned to Rosa's thousands of personal letters — written to her lover, Leo Jogiches, to Luise Kautsky, to Sonia Liebknecht and other friends and comrades, rather than to Rosa's political writings, for the 'real' Rosa.

Rosa endured many personal trials, as evidenced in her letters. As a young Polish Jewish woman active in German Social Democracy, she had to overcome strong prejudice from those who resented her sex as much as her radicalism, intelligence and political clarity. She had to struggle not to be sidelined into 'women's issues', rather than the burning political issues of the day.

But she still played an active role in all party debates, and in the mass movement. She relentlessly fought the reformist ideas of Bernstein, a leading Party theoretician, and tried to pull the Party away from parliamentarism and cautious reformism into the revolutionary struggle.

The early parts of the film show this

passionate, fiery Rosa. We see Rosa at party forums and at mass meetings, fearlessly putting her views. These early scenes, despite confusing leaps back and forth in time, show Rosa the speaker and activist, inspiring and fearless as she fights the caution and backwardness of the 'grand old men' of German Social Democracy, which included August Bebel, a former colleague of Marx and Engels. She was not afraid to fight Kautsky, then known as the Pope of Marxism, as early as 1910, even though Lenin and others continued to respect Kautsky till 1914.

We see her refusing to dance with Bernstein, the proponent of reformism, at a Party celebration. 'I can't dance with you tonight, and polemicise against you tomorrow', she tells him sharply.

In another scene, she describes herself and Clara Zetkin, a fellow left-winger as 'the last real men of German Social Democracy'. Bebel and Kautsky are not amused.

Returning from Warsaw in 1906, Rosa is filled with excitement about the revolutionary possibilities in Russia, where the revolutionary movement in 1905 established workers' councils (soviets) as alternative forms of working class power for the first time. She tries to inspire the German Party with the example of the Russian workers.

These scenes are well worth seeing the film for. We look forward to Rosa's excitement over the coming Revolution in Russia in 1917.

Sad woman

But we wait in vain. The second half of the film lurches into despair. We see Rosa almost broken by the outbreak of war in 1914, and by the betrayals of the Party leaders who failed the revolutionary, internationalist test by falling in behind the war effort. From then, Rosa seems defeated.

1917 only brings her the news of the death of Kostya Zetkin, the son of her friend and comrade, Clara. It does not bring the news of the Russian Revolution — though Rosa wrote:

'Theirs (the Bolsheviks, led by Lenin and Trotsky) is the immortal historical service of having marched at the head of the international proletariat with the conquest of political power and the practical placing of the problem of the realization of socialism, and of having advanced mightily the settlement of the score between labour and capital in the entire world.

'In Russia the problem could only be posed. It could not be solved in Russia. And in *this* sense, the future everywhere belongs to Bolshevism.'

This is a severe lack in the film, and I asked von Trotta why it had been left out. She replied that she had at first planned to include it, had planned scenes and documentary footage, but had been overwhelmed by the complexities of the issues and Rosa's response to it. I'm not convinced: while Luxemburg did criticise aspects of the Revolution, her basic identification with it was uncompromising and clear.

But part of the reason for its being left out can be traced to von Trotta's own politics, which are not class politics. The Russian Revolution was a victory of the working-class, and Rosa Luxemburg hailed it as such. Her politics were class politics.

But the film is otherwise. Rosa Luxemburg, who was a fighter for the working-class movement all her life, who firmly rejected reformism in favour of revolutionary struggle for a working-class overthrow of capitalism, who was vilified as 'Bloody Rosa' by her enemies, is presented in the second half as a sad woman, a pacifist who hated violence, a poetical writer more



Rosa Luxemburg

at home with plants and animals than on the barricades and party platforms of the international socialist movement. The opening credits describe Rosa as a pacifist.

There is no doubt that Rosa was at times despondent, especially in her letters from prison. She had a deep love of nature. But her actions show that, despite periods of doubt and despondency, she never deserted the cause of socialism.

Fighter

Rosa was against militarism - we see her speaking early in the film at a mass meeting. She spoke out so strongly against the First World War that she spent the greater part of the war in solitary confinement in prison, so that her views could not be heard. She correctly saw the war as one where the German ruling class would send the working class to fight and die to safeguard their profits.

Just as the German ruling class wanted to protect their economic interests abroad, so they would at home, should workers ever try to overthrow the capitalist system. Rosa was never opposed to the use of force by workers in an uprising against the capitalist system. Her whole life shows that. Rosa was no meek pacifist.

In her speech on the Spartacus programme at the founding conference of the German Communist Party in 1918, Rosa showed she was far from tired or beaten.

'I hope that, as in my own case, so in yours also, the augmenting talks we have to undertake will neither abate zeal nor paralyse energy. Far from it, the greater the task, the more fervently will you gather up your forces.'

'Nor must we forget that the revolution is able to do its work with extraordinary speed. I shall make no attempt to foretell how much time will be required. Who among us cares about the time, so long as our lives suffice to bring it to pass?'

In showing us a beaten, despondent Rosa, von Trotta is denying history. Why?

Von Trotta's politics are primarily those of the West German peace movement. She sees the threat of nuclear

war in Europe as the major issue today for West Germans. Von Trotta wants the peace movement to grow. She is pessimistic about the chances of success — 'and with our history, no wonder', she says.

These pacifist, pessimistic politics permeate the second half of 'Rosa Luxemburg', and they kill off the film. The purpose of Rosa's rehabilitation is for von Trotta to make use of Rosa as a symbol for the peace movement — Rosa, the victim of militaristic violence.

The film repeatedly shows Rosa as a victim — of men; her lover, Jogiches, denies her children, and answers her love letters with political tirades; of militarism, whose brutality silenced her forever by killing her and dumping her body in a canal; of the socialist movement, which supposedly propelled her into violence she did not want and of the German Social Democratic Party, which supposedly knew of the plot to kill her and fellow comrade, Karl Liebknecht, but which did nothing to stop it.

Murdered

Rosa was brutally murdered, but in making her a victim and casualty, von Trotta is downgrading Rosa's life and politics. Rosa was part of the socialist movement — a movement committed to the overthrow of brutal capitalism. Rosa fought, and fought to win. She knew the struggle would be one to the death, with the bourgeoisie fighting tooth and nail to protect its privileges and wealth and power. Her memory should be an inspiring and positive one, not one permeated with defeat.

The film is a fragment — Rosa's involvement in the Spartacus movement after her release from prison is treated hurriedly and confusingly. Many things remain unclear. But precisely because it is a fragment, people may be moved to seek out Luxemburg's writings for themselves. The film can't be criticised for not telling the whole story.

But it should be criticised for telling an untrue story, which at times it does. Those who go on to read Luxemburg's writings will discover the real Rosa Luxemburg for themselves.

BABY TALK

By Tracy Williams

After being away for three weeks I decided to do a fair bit of television watching last week.

I thought 'To Have and to Hold' was a documentary about surrogate motherhood. However it turned out to be the first of a three-part drama, a soppy and boring one at that, but then the middle classes always leave me bored.

Anyway, it's basically about two sisters, affluent at that. Ann, married, successful in career, apologises for saying 'damn' and can't have children. So her sister Viv, all Body Shop products, Habitat furnishings and allotment decides she should help her sister out and have a child for her.

Anyway everything appears to be fine and dandy until the husbands hear about it. Ken, Viv's husband, is the typical religious, self-opinionated man (just like Ken Barlow in fact, maybe it's the name) who objects because of his stupid pride.

If his special little batch of sperm can't do the job properly, then it's out of the question.

What's sad about the programme is that Ann feels 'lost' and 'empty' because she can't have children — Ann with her wishy-washy liberal views even goes on to say to Ken while trying to persuade him at first to adopt: 'I'd love it, black or white or whatever'. Desperation this, racist desperation at that.

on the Box

Fortunately for both women they are middle class, have economic independence from their husbands and a certain degree of control over their lives. However in the real world the question of surrogate motherhood is not so rosy.

Working class women are particularly susceptible to this as rich white people will want to buy their own children. For working class women it is a way of making a few quick thousand, easier than trying to get a decent job in fact.

For the rich it's another way of exploiting others in poverty.

'Darling, if I leave you with the cheque book will you buy a child on the way home from the coffee morning?'

So they've finally decided to talk about racism on television. Not only talk about it, but a whole programme, 'The Black and White Media Show' dedicated to it!

I sometimes wonder why any of us bother to watch television as it continues to insult us all in one way or another.

However the racist abuse on television is in my opinion the most blatantly cruel abuse faced by any one section of our class.

Comedians, i.e. the stand-up types, are skilled at the racist game, and it is clear that TV tells lies about our class and peddles these racist myths and ideologies.

Youth Fightback special on racism, available from 33 Hackworth Point, Rainhill Way, London E3. 20p plus p&p.

The worst-off workers

By Martin Thomas

In recent weeks this column has looked at Marx's theory of exploitation.

There is one obvious gap in the theory: it doesn't say anything about the most oppressed workers in the working class, housewives.

Something like one third of all working hours in Britain are housework.

Average hours of housework are reckoned at about 70 a week — but in fact the housewife is never off duty. Despite labour-saving devices and despite the fact that more and more housewives (about one in two today) also do another job, there is no sure evidence that these hours are decreasing.

In the 1970s several writers tried to develop a Marxist theory of housework.

Capitalism, historically, changed not only the way work is paid for, but the nature of work. Before, most work was in and around the individual household. There was no sharp line between 'work' and 'life', or between 'housework' and other work.

Under capitalism, social labour — wage-labour — is sharply separated off from 'life' and from housework.

Modern housework, in one sense, is therefore a hangover from past centuries. (Though capitalism has also changed housework, by separating it off from social labour and making childcare much more central than it ever was before).

This 'hangover' exists because capitalism is not a self-contained economic system.

One important economic activity — the reproduction of labour-power — takes place quite outside the capitalist workplace. By its very nature capitalism cannot socialise housework. Instead it pushes the burden onto working class women, by using and adapting family structures it inherited from older societies.

There is nothing 'natural' about the housewife role.

Some societies have only a very slight division of labour by sex. And the separation off of housework as women's job in the home, placed outside the world of social production, is a specific product of capitalism.

What is the answer? As Ann Oakley puts it in her book 'Housewife':

"The housewife role must be abolished. The family must be abolished. Gender roles must be abolished."

Or as Lenin put it:

"No nation can be free when half the population is enslaved in the kitchen."

On the economic level we must socialise housework, on the legal level we must enable people to live in whatever groupings they choose, on the ideological level we must break down stereotypes of women's roles and men's roles.



Two year old threatened

By Payman Rezai

Britain is about to deport a two year old boy because he is the wrong colour, separating him from foster parents who adopted him at birth!

And now Britain is to require visas for entry into Britain — not from visitors from every country but from visitors from five Asian and African countries: India, Bangladesh, Pakistan, Ghana and Nigeria. This is naked racism.

The Labour Party has rightly said so and shadow home secretary Gerald Kaufman has protested loudly. But what would a Kinnock Labour government do about it? Would it reverse the Tories' decision? The labour movement must demand a commitment now from the Shadow Cabinet that they will reverse this petty piece of naked racism.

The two year old boy is the adopted son of Anwar and Abdul Khaliq, a Bradford couple. Khuram Azad was born to Abdul's brother and wife. The Home Office had only given the child a stay of two months and refused appeals to let him stay permanently.

This and another deportation threatened by the Home Office shows the



Anwar Ditta united with her children: a militant campaign won

callous way by which they break up black families and the lunatic racist fanaticism which animates those who control these matters today.

Ifikhar Bakharri is being forced to leave his pregnant wife Affiya and their two young children and be deported back to Pakistan.

The Home Office claims that when he fell in love he had already overstayed his visa. He was meant to be deported on August 15 but missed his

plane due to Home Office incompetence. This in itself has been a traumatic experience adding to the families' sufferings.

Sri Lanka

Meanwhile, the Viraj Mendis campaign against deportation continues, with a planned day of action on September 6 in Manchester. The Home

Office closed all doors to Viraj by turning down his appeal when Viraj and his supporters were on their march down to London last July.

Viraj's MP, Bob Litherland, is to meet David Waddington, the Home Office minister to appeal against the threatened deportation to Sri Lanka.

Viraj, a Tamil activist, would almost certainly face arrest, torture and possibly even death. The meeting is due on October 3.

LESSONS OF THE KAL 007 SHOOTDOWN

How World War 3 could start

Martin Thomas reviews 'Shutdown', by R W Johnson (Chatto & Windus, £10.95)

The North-West Pacific — the area where the USSR shot down the Korean jumbo-jet KAL 007 with 269 passengers and crew on 1 September 1983 — is, so R.W. Johnson argues, the most likely site for the beginning of World War 3.

The world's four biggest powers — the US, the USSR, Japan and China — are eyeball-to-eyeball in the area. And the US has plans according to which it would respond to moves by the USSR elsewhere, for example in the Middle East, by an attack in the North-West Pacific.

The US has massive superiority in this region. Although the area's resources are important for the USSR, its military strength there is hampered by poor communications through the barrenness of Siberia. The eastern USSR is further from Moscow than Jamaica is.

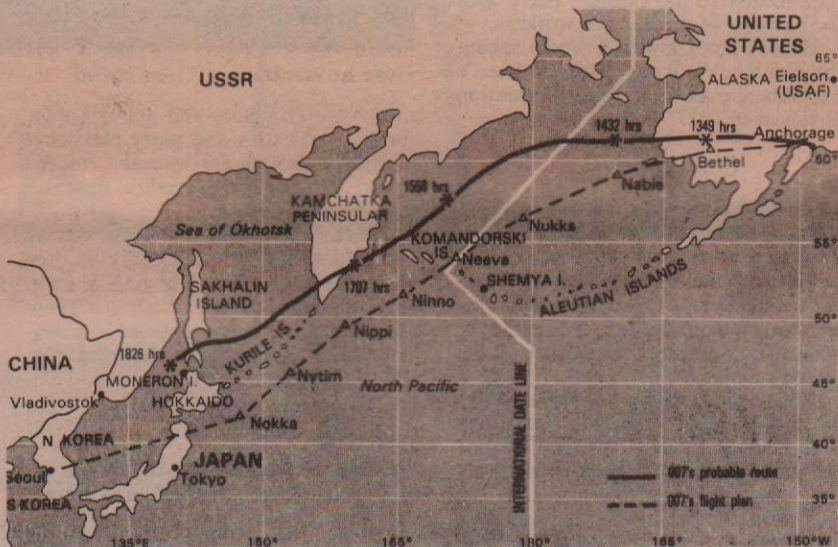
So the US could launch a devastating attack here even with conventional weapons. The US warlords' calculations are that it could be a 'limited' war, stopping short of a full-scale nuclear holocaust. Few people would live to tell the tale if their guess should prove wrong.

Such is the framework in which Johnson analyses the shootdown. He pinpoints one other basic background fact. In July the US had discovered a major new USSR military radar installation at Krasnoyarsk — well inland, but apparently covering part of the north-west Pacific region. The US was anxious to find out exactly what this radar could do.

None of this proves that the KAL 007 flight had anything to do with US surveillance; and indeed Johnson stresses that it is impossible to prove that KAL 007 was not just off course by accident.

But Johnson does argue that surveillance is the most likely explanation for the plane going over USSR airspace.

KAL 007 had no surveillance equipment itself. But it was flown off course



Solid line: 007's actual route. Dotted: its flight plan

in order to trigger all the USSR's air defence and radar systems, and to give the huge US surveillance facilities in the region a chance to monitor them.

It is commonplace to use reconnaissance planes — and civilian planes — for such probing. What was unusual about KAL 007 was that the probe was so deep, rather than a quick stab in and out of USSR airspace.

Motive

The motive, argues Johnson, could have been to bring the Krasnoyarsk radar into operation. That required both a deep probe and simultaneous jamming of the USSR's coastal radar — something the US could have done quite easily.

To use a military plane for the deep probe would have been risky: if the USSR shot it down or forced it down, the US government would suffer a big propaganda blow. A civilian plane was better. The USSR would be much more worried about shooting it down. Quite likely it would escape scot-free — in fact KAL 007 nearly did so, being shot down only just before it left USSR airspace — and if it were forced down, even a slightly dubious story about being accidentally off course would be good enough to stop the USSR making a big propaganda coup.

Such is the theory. There is no proof of it, but it does fit all the known facts. On the other hand, Johnson says, no theory so far put forward about KAL

007 being off course accidentally fits the facts.

Johnson cites:

*Notes on KAL 007's flight plan made before take-off by the pilot, indicating the deviations in advance and requesting more fuel than normal.

*The fact that the plane was off course at its first radio beacon, soon after take-off. For technical reasons it was very difficult indeed for this to happen without the crew noticing.

*The fact that the plane made a turn just before the Soviet island of Sakhalin. This could not happen by a wrong setting in the navigation system. The plane also made inexplicable variations in speed, and gave deliberately false radio reports of altitude.

*The anxiety of the US to avoid investigation. The US official body which was legally obliged to investigate the disaster was stopped from doing so, and the inquiry was instead put in the hands of a UN body which was bound to produce a diplomatic fudge causing minimum offence to the US and USSR.

Johnson also examines dozens of other details pointing in the same direction. And he gives a vivid sketch of the interrelations and the psychology of the top US government people who might have ordered a surveillance mission.

The key man was William Clark, at the time National Security Advisor. Clark is a Reagan crony from California. He got onto the California

Supreme Court without ever finishing law school, and into command of US foreign policy without even schoolboy general knowledge of world politics.

On an operation like this he would have bypassed Secretary of State George Schultz, and probably Reagan himself. Clark would have worked closely with CIA director William Casey, a friend with a similar flamboyant right-wing philosophy.

Such are the people on the US side who could throw us into World War 3. Johnson also examines the USSR side. The USSR's official accounts of the shootdown were even more dishonest and contradictory than the US's.

Truth

The truth of the matter, reckons Johnson, is that the USSR Air Defence Force (a separate body from the main airforce) felt that they would lose out in the manoeuvring within the bureaucracy if they let the plane escape scot free. They had not done a good job of tracking it. They intercepted KAL 007 only a short distance inside USSR air space. Probably they were not sure what it was. Rather than checking, and risking an escape, they shot.

At the time of the shootdown we had a dispute on the SO editorial board. Our coverage made its main attack on the USSR for shooting down the plane — while denouncing Reagan's hypocrisy and the cold-war arms drive, and pointing to the possibility that KAL 007 had been used for US surveillance purposes.

Some comrades felt that the USSR was not really at fault: KAL 007 was certainly on a surveillance mission, and it is right to shoot down spy planes. Our main attack must be against 'anti-communism'.

Johnson gives no comfort to this point of view. "The Russians...shot the plane down;...they...lied about it for days; (and) killing hundreds of innocent civilians was unjustified whatever 007's reason for being off course. If it was really true that the Russians...mis-identified the plane as a (reconnaissance plane) it was still their duty to make a correct identification before losing off missiles..."

This moral and political case remains untouched. What Johnson does show us is a light cast by the KAL 007 affair on the frightening probability of an all-destroying World War Three, so long as we let the world's present rulers continue to prevail.

Notts NUM lives and fights!

By Paul Whetton

The Coal Board has had another go at the NUM in Notts.

The Coal Board has demanded a **KEETONS**

Two-prong attack

By Dave Barter

38 AEU members are in the ninth week of their official dispute with the management of Keeton and Sons, Sheffield.

Management provoked the strike, sending home men who refused to operate the machines of laid-off colleagues at the same time as their own.

Tuesday morning, 1 July, lay-offs were enforced, the remaining workers told to start their machines and those of workers laid off. They refused and were sent home without pay.

A secret ballot the following day — organised in part by management — returned a two to one majority for strike action.

Five minutes after the result, workers were handed notices stating that strikers "will be deemed by management to have dismissed themselves". The terms for "re-engagement" included "future employment will be classed as new starters, non-union only labour will be engaged, past company pension contributions will be withdrawn".

The strike committee say "the longer the dispute goes on the more convinced we are that management triggered the strike to achieve job cuts without having to pay redundancy money". Said one striker, "It's a two-pronged attack, one — get the union out, two — get rid of redundancy pay and pensions."

Scab labour has been taken on but the factory cannot function for much longer as all delivery workers will not cross the picket line. Neither have the scabs the skill to maintain the machinery. Morale is high and the strike shows no signs of fragmenting. Send donations and messages of support to: Keetons Strike Committee, AEU House, Furnivall Gate, Sheffield, S1 3HE.

letter from each NUM member stating that they want to be in the union and therefore want to have their subscriptions deducted from their pay. They got more than they bargained for.

The area industrial relations officer has now had to send out a directive saying that they can't cope with all the forms coming in, and they should be sent back to the NUM!

And if the NUM is going up, the UDM must be going down.

I think the message that should come from Saturday's miners' gala in Mansfield is that there is an NUM in Notts, that it is growing stronger, and that the UDM is not so much a dying swan as a dead duck.

People might not see much happening now but we are moving forward and it's a question of keep holding the line, and eventually we will break through.

The UDM was 'recognised' by the government-appointed Certification Officer on the very last day of MacGregor's reign. If he had looked at the facts he would have seen that they are neither a 'free' nor an 'independent' trade union but a bosses' organisation.

But, of course, he, the government and the Coal Board all want to give the UDM a cloak of respectability and help prop it up.

I would hope that nobody in TUC or Labour Party circles is going to attach any credence to the government's recognition of its own creation and stooge, the UDM. The UDM can go their own sweet way with their certificate of independence.

MacGregor's retired: good riddance to bad rubbish.



Durham miners' gala. Photo: Stefano Cagnoni, Report.

SOUTH WALES BAN BITES

By John Bloxam

The South Wales miners' overtime ban is now in its fifth week. It was put on as the first step in generating a fightback against the Coal Board, whose continued hard-faced attitude on the 1985 pay deal is causing a lot of anger in the pits. Miners' last pay rise was over two years ago.

Since the strike, the number of pits in South Wales has fallen from 28 to 16.

The overtime ban is restricted to coal cutting, and is designed to have a minimum effect on miners' earnings. Many miners and their families are still suffering sharply from the effects of the year long strike.

But according to the Coal Board's own figures, it is hitting at them. An estimated £1 million worth of production had been lost by the end of August.

AUSTIN ROVER

Rank and file must control

By John Dayley

white-collar staff.

Mick Murphy described the claim as "realistic and responsible". He can say that again! His presentation document is couched entirely in terms of collaboration with management, stressing that the union side recognises "the company still faces difficult market conditions both at home and abroad", and assuring the Austin Rover Group (ARG) bosses that "we want to see the Rover Group thrive and grow".

A shop steward from the Long-

bridge plant told SO: the claim was drawn up entirely by Murphy himself.

Negotiations will begin in September, and the union side is likely to call a ballot before the settlement date, November 1.

Poor as the claim is, it is still worth fighting for. But for an effective fight, Mick Murphy's dictatorial hold must be broken. The shop floor must be consulted at every stage of negotiations. If — as seems likely — strike action proves necessary to win the full claim, then rank-and-file strike committees must be formed in every plant: ARG stewards must begin the groundwork for that now.

Gin or the miners?

By Steve Battlemuch, CPSA delegate, (in a personal capacity)

Two issues dominated the first day of Congress — Labour's plans for industrial relations and Wapping.

Ten speakers, including Willis and Todd, spoke in favour of the main composite endorsing the pamphlet 'New Rights, New Responsibilities' produced by the joint TUC-Labour Party Committee. Only TASS, ACTT and NALGO spoke against, Scargill being gagged by the NUM. The composite was passed overwhelmingly.

A motion from TASS, which called for no state interference in unions, was lost but by a smaller majority. Some unions voted for both motions, including the NUM.

The debate on Wapping was a bit livelier, with delegates being reminded of the strike by sacked printers in the visitors' gallery. Dubbins and Dean led off for the strikers, and drew a lot of support for their attacks on the EETPU. The AEU asked for the motion

not to be put for the sake of unity, as did Norman Willis in an incredibly meandering, lack-lustre speech. Hammond rose to the rostrum to try to defend the role of the EETPU in the dispute, an impossible job. He was greeted with cries of 'scab' from the balconies. On the vote it was 5,823,000 to support, and 3,691,000 to oppose.

Most of the controversy of Congress is now over.

The major fringe meeting of Congress so far was the Justice for Mineworkers meeting on Sunday night. Over 200 people packed in to hear Scargill and Skinner. Terry French, on two days' parole, was at the meeting and made an emotional appeal to support justice for mineworkers.

Arthur Scargill made the point that, instead of putting on 'dos' at the Metropole, sipping gin-and-tonics and the rest, the TUC should be donating the money to the Justice for Mineworkers campaign.

Guardian's two worlds

By Jim Denham

The Guardian has at least three kinds of readers. There's the Polyocracy — the brown rice and sandals brigade with the 2CVs; there's the yuppies, with their media-related jobs, Volvo estates and tasteful Habitat furniture; then there are the lefties of all varieties, from shop stewards to student union activists to Socialist Organizer columnists.

That's not to say that the categories cannot overlap, or that a shop steward wouldn't buy Habitat furniture. But it can cause the Guardian identity problems.

Pro-Alliance editorials often sit uneasily with left of Kinnock 'Agenda' articles and the erratic (and increasingly irregular) cartoons of Steve Bell who makes no pretence of even-handedness.

When the Guardian comes to discuss the labour movement its identity crisis really comes to the fore. It doesn't adopt the sneering, hostile stance of most of the British press, but it cannot decide whether it's really a voice from within the movement (a role that the Mirror likes to adopt) or a friendly but objective outside observer.

The run-up to the TUC Congress (when the real business is done) saw Keith Harper and Patrick Wintour (Labour Editor and Labour Correspondent respectively) playing the role of insiders, keeping Guardian readers abreast of the latest wheeling and dealing behind the scenes: "Pay split at TUC dashes Kinnock hopes" was one confident prediction.

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Nearer the mark was Harper's description of Ron Todd's role: "Mr Todd is fervently committed to the return of a labour government above all else, and has repeatedly said that he is ready to forget differences on some priorities with Labour in order to get Mr. Kinnock elected."

While Harper and Wintour gave us the low-down on the pre-Conference manoeuvring, the Guardian's leader writers took a lofty overview: guarded approval for the joint Labour Party-TUC 'People at Work' document (also plugged by Labour's employment spokesperson John Prescott in Friday's 'Agenda' page) was combined with a characteristic sigh of regret: "Why won't those pig-headed trade union leaders treat with the Alliance?"

Thursday's leader pointed out — quite rightly — the "considerable similarities of approach between the SDP document and the Labour-TUC document", and sadly complained that "in a well-ordered platonic world one might now expect the SDP and the unions to sit down and discuss these proposals from positions of mutual respect. That isn't going to happen."

Platonic

On Monday, the first day of Congress, the leader returned to the same theme: "It may go against the instinctive Labour grain but this week's Brighton assembly should not overlook, for example, the apparent willingness of the Social Democratic Party, as signalled in its policy document last week, to move away from that role as the hammer of the unions which some in its leadership had earlier looked to be set on."

That's the sort of thing the Volvo/Habitat crowd (and quite a few of the 2CV and sandals brigade) want to see: a responsible, moderate trade union movement taking business with Mr. Owen and Mr. Steel.

And who knows, come the next election we might end up with a hung parliament and Mr. Kinnock having to sit down "platonically" with Mr. Owen and Mr. Steel as well. That really would be cause for celebration in Habitatland.

Expelling the EETPU

It's a diversion!

By a SOGAT clerical member

If the EETPU didn't exist, print union bosses Dean and Dubbins would have to invent it. What a fantastic diversion it is from their own treacherous role in the News International dispute.

At the same time that Brenda Dean and Tony Dubbins were having a go at Hammond and his scabby ilk at the TUC, to the cheers of the audience and for the benefit of TV, they were continuing to cynically ignore and block the real possibilities that still exist for defeating Murdoch and regaining the jobs of 5500 sacked print workers.

After the green light from Murdoch, the rest of the press barons have steamed in. Most recent have been 'Tiny' Rowland's plans for the Observer to leave Fleet Street and Maxwell's for the Mirror Group.

Maxwell's package included total flexibility; ripping up existing procedures; introducing clock cards and cutting the number of union representatives.

Two weeks ago the SOGAT federated chapels at the Mirror threw this out, and gave the union leadership a mandate to organise a strike. What's happened since? Nothing!

In fact, the only people involved in negotiations with Maxwell so far have been the national print union leaders. The chapel leaders have been kept out.

With a clear lead, the Observer print workers would strike. And if the Mirror Group and the Observer came out alongside the News International strikers that would change the entire situation for the locked-out printworkers.

But for Dean and Dubbins it's so much easier to have a go at Hammond and the EETPU in Brighton than to organise the fight they could and should organise back in London.

SOCIALIST ORGANISER

FOR WORKERS' LIBERTY EAST AND WEST

HANDS OFF LIBYA!

IT LOOKS like US President Reagan is preparing to launch more murderous bombing raids against Libya.

US ships are close to Libya. Reagan's envoy General Vernon Walters is in London. In April the US bombed Libya from British airbases. Now Walters may be making arrangements with Thatcher for a new strike against Libya from Britain.

Libya denounces the US government and its president for massive terrorism and threats of terrorism against the Libyan people.

The Libyan government is quite right about that. Stop Thatcher helping mad-dog Reagan to murder innocent people! Hands off Libya!

No Labour anti union laws!

By Eric Heffer MP

In Monday's debate on the Labour Party-TUC Liaison Committee document the case put up against the document by Barbara Switzer and others was excellent and unanswerable.

TUC Brighton '86

But the vote wasn't about arguments, the vote went the way it did because they think it will help Labour win the next election if everybody keeps their head down.

In other words, what Barbara Switzer said about expediency being placed above principles is absolutely true. That's what happened.

So the document has been carried. But when it comes to putting it into practice there will be one hell of a big argument! In my opinion many unions will totally ignore it.

I would say it was accepted reluctantly and very unhappily.

The point made by Barbara Switzer that there was no demand for it from the rank and file is absolutely true. It's just pandering to the capitalist press.

But the important thing is, it won't pay off — we shall win the next election, but we will win it because the government's policies are proving increasingly unpopular amongst the masses of people who have now, at last, understood the nature of Thatcherism and capitalism.

It's not because Labour people have given way on public ownership or backed down on trade union law — that's got nothing to do with it.

We can win the next election, but there's a real feeling of unease among Labour people. The arguments being smothered now will be raised later on.

I hope the fact that the left was defeated at the TUC doesn't mean that we back away from challenging it at the Labour Party conference in October. It shouldn't mean that.

The interesting vote at the TUC, showing the real dissatisfaction with the way things have been going, was the vote on the EETPU. When even Brenda Dean, who's by no means a revolutionary leader of the trade union movement, had to make the critical speech she did because of what is happening to her members — that's a



The 1,000-strong lobby of the TUC on the first day of conference proved lively and determined. A sizeable number were sacked printworkers calling for stronger TUC support for the printworkers, and for the unions to impose their own sanctions on South Africa.

Photo, Andrew Wiard Report..

pretty clear indication of the dissatisfaction at the way the TUC leadership has been operating.

If you concede all the time, if you backslide, if you retreat from policies and basic ideas, you don't win support for that — what actually happens is that your own supporters, those who would naturally begin to move back to you in large numbers, become hesitant.

When I go round the country people keep saying to me "We're not doing as well as we could do, we're not being strong enough." That's the reaction you get from ordinary working people.

Fight for solidarity!

By Tony Benn MP

The passing of the NGA resolution is a great victory for the Wapping people. It indicates the strength of support in the trade unions for those who take action, just as last year and the year before the TUC supported the miners.

Labour

A Labour government will have to take note of that, as will the TUC General Council itself.

On the first motion — supporting the joint Labour Party-TUC Liaison Committee document — no doubt the dominant consideration was the desire to show unity at this period so it was passed.

But the problem created by the new document is that it could easily bring a Labour government into conflict with unions when Labour is in power, and therefore there will have to be pressure maintained to see that does not happen.

I think the desire for unity will be the dominant consideration at the Labour Party Conference as well, and that will be reflected in the speeches and probably the resolutions and motions carried.

At the same time the situation does require, and will require when Labour is elected, very strong policies that will need to be made clear. The danger lies

in making it appear that it will all be easy when we know that international capital will launch a violent attack on a Labour Government, whatever sort of government it is.

And with the experience of Mitterrand in France, Gonzales in Spain, Soares in Portugal and even Hawke in Australia, it's quite clear that the function of the left in the movement is to see that we do not have the same experience here, a mere re-run of what happened before in Britain under Labour.

The vote on the NGA resolution is a practical matter; the other vote was on a general statement. The NGA resolution is an absolutely clear statement and re-statement of the need for solidarity in struggle, and that is always relevant, whoever is in power.

Whether there's a Labour government, a Tory government, or a hung parliament, the working class solidarity theme is the critical one.

Indication

And I think it's an indication of the way things are going that when you are talking about words people are prepared to go along with a general statement that may appear to attract public support. But when you are dealing with a concrete situation, like miners or printworkers, then the trade union movement has a majority for solidarity.

Printers fight on

It was a damn good lobby of the TUC on Monday. There were large numbers of people there, primarily print workers. Those of us who were there representing the sacked miners found inspiration in the determination of the printworkers to carry the fight on.

Gavin Laird had to run in, like a startled rabbit. Seeing trade union leaders having to run away from workers really summed up for us what the TUC is about.

A lot of the delegates going in looked just too polished and pink to me, as if they were doing very well out of the slump. Some of them are bloody Tory hacks. If they're workers' representatives then things have got to a tidy pass.

I can't for the life of me understand trade union people voting for state imposed ballots which will hang like a millstone round our necks and which we'll find difficult to throw off in the future. It may be all well and good for delegates to sit back and argue something in the abstract, but those dele-

gates should realise that it could be themselves who get shackled by their own legislation.

You can't and shouldn't legislate to try to stop disputes and strikes. Whatever the law says or does, workers will continue to express their feelings when they find themselves up against a blank wall — they will withdraw their labour and begin to fight back.



Paul Whetton is secretary of Bevercotes NUM, Notts.

Labour's proposed trade union laws are a scandal. When Tory judges pronounce penal sentences against workers we won't be able to point the finger against the Tories any longer — we're going to be staring at our own elected representatives, who started the vicious circle off in the first place.

I was very surprised when the NUM withdrew its amendment to the resolution on the Labour Party-TUC document. I wasn't part of the discussion

and was very disappointed. I think they're playing into the hands of Lynk and co, who accuse the NUM of lack of democracy — the NUM rank and file had no say in the withdrawal of that amendment.

When the resolution moved by the NGA against the EETPU was carried, it was a victory for printworkers, of a kind. But when you examine it and see what it really means, all it does is give the EETPU a slap on the wrists. So what?

What they really need is the commitment to get the printworkers their jobs back. Talk about compensation means accepting that they're not going to get their jobs back, they're going to be paid off instead. The issue is not just giving sacked workers a few quid — that's exactly what the Tories and bosses want. The issue is jobs.

OK, the EETPU should in my view be expelled because of their actions, but it is a distraction in so far as it gets away from the real argument which is how the Wapping strikers can win and get their jobs back. The tragedy is that the TUC debate wasn't about getting the sacked printers their jobs back.