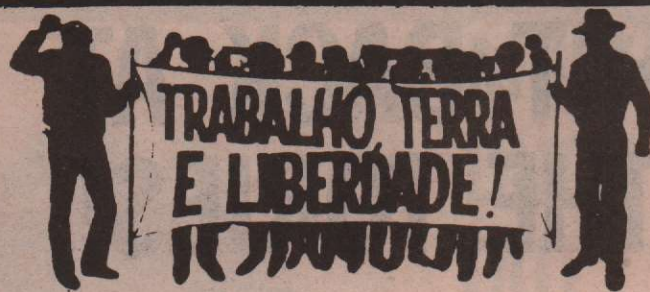


# SOCIALIST ORGANISER

FOR WORKERS' LIBERTY EAST AND WEST

South Africa: miners fight back

Eyewitness report page 5



**BRAZIL: the emergence of a new workers' movement.**

Centre pages

# HIT BACK AT THE TORIES!

## Will Sinn Fein split?

By Patrick Murphy

Arthur Scargill's message to Labour



Arthur Scargill

**AT LABOUR Party conference** this week too many people have been avoiding doing or saying things that should have been said and done.

In the false pursuit of so-called unity many people have avoided criticism either of statements from the platform or of keynote speeches. I intend to depart from that procedure.

I listened in keynote speeches to rhetoric, wit and flashes of internationalism. I listened in vain for any socialism.

I can't understand how we can be so near to an election and yet be so devoid of socialist policy. I listened to a speech on behalf of our executive committee that paid little or no attention to Wapping, no analysis of the crisis in the printing industry!

I listened in vain for analysis of the workers' struggle at Silentnight. I listened desperately for a call to the Co-op to stop selling Silentnight beds, or for workers to stop handling the products of Murdoch.

## Picket the trials!

All-night picket of Tottenham police station (5 October) organised by the Broadwater Farm Defence Campaign on the anniversary of the mass police invasion of the estate and on the eve of the Old Bailey trials of those arrested.

Simon MacMinn, a 19 year old mechanic, the first defendant to be convicted, has been sentenced to seven years' jail for the relatively minor offences of affray and burglary. A heavy sentence, according to the trial judge, 'to deter others'...

61 people are facing charges for alleged offences arising from the Broadwater Farm events.



Jez Coulson, IFI

**THE YOUNG** Northern leadership of Provisional Sinn Fein, who dominate the Provos' ruling council have decided to allow Sinn Fein supporters elected in the Republic of Ireland to take their seats in the 26 Counties Parliament, the Dail.

The decision has the support of President Gerry Adams and will be put to the Annual Conference (Ard Fheis) in a month. The Sinn Fein leaders are in a position to judge what will happen at the conference.

Plainly they think they can now win. They will need a two-thirds majority to carry this significant break with the 64 year old Republican tradition of boycotting Dail Eireann.

### 1969-70

This same question of parliamentary participation triggered the split in the Republican Movement which gave birth to the Provos in December 1969 and January 1970. The question now is, what will the Sinn Fein minority opposed to participation do?

The minority includes most of the founding leaders of the Provos. One

Turn to page 2



Gerry Adams



# HIT BACK AT THE TORIES!

continued from front page

I heard instead a reference to the possibility of Labour reducing unemployment by one million in five years. And I heard economic 'experts' by the score telling working people how it's not possible to do this faster or in any other way.

I've never heard such a load of rubbish in my life.

I can cure unemployment within a week — what's the problem? We've got four and a half million people out of work; and we've got motorways that are collapsing, a lack of schools and houses and hospitals. Why can't we put workers to work to build these things we desperately need? It would reduce unemployment at the stroke of a pen.

I'll give you more practical ways, as some intellectuals might question the theory of my statement. Why is it that we don't get a pledge from a Labour government to stop the insanity of overtime? Why can't we have the same fervour campaigning for a four day week as we did campaigning for a five day week?

What's so remarkable in a technological age about arguing for a four day week? Why is it that we hide or apologise for our politics, instead of clearly arguing for policies to eradicate the obscenity of unemployment?

Can't we suggest a reduction in the retirement age at least by five years for all? Not so that we can chuck the retired onto the scrap heap — not so that we can cut the talent and skills of people with a lifetime of experience.

But a society ceases to be civilised when 20 per cent have no job, no role to play, and see themselves as useless. It's time our Party and those on the Left began to offer an alternative.

For too long we've gone our own different directions — Campaign Groups and coordinating committees, Tendencies — it's surely time for all of us to have a socialist policy.

## Independent

I listened in vain to keynote speeches for references to free and independent trade unions. It's no good talking about Nicaragua or Poland if we suggest state interference of any kind in our trade unions.

You can't pretend we have free trade unions when you get state interference, whether from a Tory or a Labour government. Interference from a Labour government is worse, because they should know better and respect the International Labour Office convention.

I listened in vain for a policy to provide for a non-nuclear Britain not only in nuclear weapons but also in nuclear power. Why don't we come out powerfully with our views? I debated nuclear power

last night.

I asked could those from BNFL guarantee that workers would not be contaminated with radiation. If you're a woman exposed to two and a half rems of radiation when you are pregnant, you produce a child 50 per cent more likely to contract cancer.

Is it not reasonable to assume that men and women in the nuclear industry who are exposed daily to 5 rems are likely to suffer some serious effect?

His answer? He said we don't have many pregnant men at Windscale. This is the attitude they have displayed over many years.

I then asked, could they guarantee that there would never be another nuclear accident that could kill thousands of people.

They answered, no they couldn't — but the risks in mines were just as bad. I replied: Consider the worst possible accident in a pit, where the whole workforce gets killed in a change of shift, and compare that to a nuclear disaster. A nuclear disaster could kill half a million people, and no industry has the right to exist on that basis.

I want to conclude by dealing with witch-hunts and expulsions. I've felt sick this week that the Labour Party can expel people from the movement for trying to defend working people's interests, and at the same time we have the obscenity of a Labour Party member in the bulky shape of Robert Maxwell walking on the conference floor.

## Witch-hunt

And it's time somebody on the National Executive Committee was asking the question: if Derek Hatton and members of Liverpool council are going to be expelled, then what the hell are you going to do with Don Cannon and Frank Haynes, who are members of the UDM?

Comrades, I conclude as I started. We need analysis, but we also need to produce the vision of a better Britain, free from hunger and want, free from unemployment, and free from the threat of nuclear war.

We want to build for our young people a better world, but first we need to inspire them, inspire them with a splendid vision.

Stop hiding our socialism! Begin to demonstrate in action that we mean what we say, and let's translate that into positive actions and deeds so that we can bring about a transformation of society.

We must explain to the population that we don't just want to win an election, we want to win political and economic power.

That's why I'm a socialist. That's why I'm in the labour movement.

Arthur Scargill was speaking at the Campaign Group fringe meeting at the Labour Party conference.

# THE LEFT ARE THE REALISTS

By Vladimir Derer, secretary of the Campaign for Labour Party Democracy and of Labour Left Liaison.

**THIS WEEK'S Labour Party conference has been a further stage in the drift to the right that began with the defeat of Tony Benn in the deputy leadership election of 1981.**

The dramatic ousting of Eric Hoffer from the National Executive Committee constituency section and the defeat of Margaret Beckett have strengthened the centre-right majority behind Kinnock and Hattersley.

The two economic policy statements from the NEC which were adopted overwhelmingly — *Social Ownership* and *Party of Production* — represent a serious retreat from Labour's more practical and credible commitments.

*Party of Production* makes no mention of import and exchange controls, without which any economic expansion will be blown off course. *Social ownership* is a Gaitskellite hotch-potch which marks the abandonment of any new public ownership at all.

## Stage-managed

The attempt to extend the party's commitment to close US nuclear bases to all American military bases was heavily defeated. There was no advance on NATO — and the vote for British withdrawal from Ireland was lower than before.

Support for Black Sections remains low, as does that for the right of Women's Conference to elect the NEC Women's Division and to submit its own resolutions to the full Conference.

After a stage-managed debate, an amended resolution from APEX was carried overwhelmingly with the support of the NEC, the Labour Women's Action Committee leadership, the Labour Coordinating Committee and the trade union block vote.

The resolution called on the NEC "to develop proposals for a system of voting at the National Conference of Labour Women which reflects the number of women represented by the respective delegates".

The support of some women for the demand that the male-dominated NEC should be entrusted to 'develop proposals' for the structuring of women's organisation is no less farcical than the introduction of the block vote into Labour Women's Conference.

If acted upon both demands can only ensure a rotten compromise with the Party's right-wing-dominated Establishment. To describe them as a huge victory, as did an anonymous Labour Women's Action Committee writer in Thursday's 'Campaign Briefing', is a sad commentary on the extent of the ground leading LWAC members are prepared to concede.

Conference swallowed the new National Constitutional Committee whole — with its catch-all crime of 'sustained conduct prejudicial to the Party'.

Delegates also rubber-stamped the proposal for legislation to tie the hands of the trade unions. The crude stage-management of the debate and procedure and the Chair's contempt for basic democratic norms were accepted meekly.

But there were some important vic-



45,000 people joined an 'Arms Round Scotland' CND protest last Sunday, following a mass trespass by 5000 at the Couplport Polaris base on Saturday. Photo: John Harris, IFL.

torious. On the last day Conference, against the wishes of the platform and after much obstruction, passed the CLPD-sponsored resolution which would put an end during this Parliament to all attempts to undermine the accountability of Labour MPs.

## Lessons

The platform was also defeated on Cabinet status for the Minister for Women, and there should now be an end to all-male shortlists. Conference voted for a moratorium on nuclear power development and a long-term phase-out — though the NUM's proposal for the closure of all nuclear power plants by the next Labour government fell just short of a two-thirds majority.

The Achilles heel of the right is economic policy. Hattersley's wheezes will not deliver a one million

cut in the dole queues within two years.

Some of those identified with the soft left are becoming restless about the retreat from a practical and credible economic strategy. This is where we can go on the offensive. CLPD's new pamphlet *The Case for Public Ownership* is an attempt to do just that.

There are some important lessons to be learned from the Left's failure to stem the continuing advance of the Right. For instance, changes in the composition of the NEC might have been less drastic had the Left been able to agree on a joint slate.

The absence of a credible candidate for the 7th place for the constituency section has undoubtedly reduced the total number of votes cast for the Left. Credible slates must go hand in hand with credible demands, i.e. demands that take into account what those whose support must be won think.

# SINN FEIN SPLIT?

continued from front page

of them, Rory O'Brady, Adams predecessor as president of Sinn Fein, warned the Ard Fheis two years ago against tampering with the movement's principles. He recalled that there were former comrades now in their graves because they had tampered with those principles.

Two weeks ago O'Brady again condemned the idea of dropping abstentionism, and said that the Northern Catholics would be left defenceless if the movement "went too far down the road of constitutionalism". Obviously aware of what was to come, O'Brady warned that it would be disastrous if constitutional politics took over.

The more radical, political

Republicans have been preparing for this change for some time. It continues their entry into electoral politics begun in earnest with the hunger strikes of 1980-1.

An influential factor must also be the new role the 26 Counties have taken in the North since the signing of the Anglo-Irish Accord. Many people see the 26 Counties as the weakest link in the Anglo-Irish chain.

A general election is close, and opposition leader Charles Haughey is, at least on paper, hostile to the Agreement. Left alone, he would be under pressure to support the Agreement, but if he should lose votes to the Provisionals, who have 36 councillors in the Border areas and growing support in Dublin, the pressure to abandon it would be great.



Kinnock and Skinner: making sure that the Left is kept out of the public eye? Photo: Andrew Wiard, Report





Kinnock and Hattersley: triumphant. Photo: John Harris, IFL

# KINNOCK TRIUMPHANT?

CONFERENCE delegate Ruth Midgley from Sheffield summed up this year's Labour Party conference accurately when she commented that it was more of a rally than a conference.

It was a stage-managed, deodorised, over-refined and fibreless rally, designed as a media event in the run-up to a general election. It was not a conference where the labour movement frankly and openly hammered out policies for a future Labour government.

## Revelation

The emphasis now is on getting to Downing Street, not on what Labour will do if and when it gets there.

This is the great revelation of the Kinnock faction which now leads the party: politics is a media event akin to showbiz. The real decisions will be made by wheeling and dealing, and by wire-pulling behind the scenes, not by the party.

On the surface Kinnock's approach now has the assent, if not always the whole-hearted support, of the broad labour movement. The daily crimes and outrages committed by the Thatcher government against the working people of Britain make what the governments of Callaghan and

Wilson did between 1974 and 1979 seem like benign bunglings and a few bad decisions.

It is not that people expect a great deal from a Kinnock government.

But whatever its inevitable problems, however ill-prepared it may be to tackle the problems it will immediately face, and despite the timidity of commitment and aspiration which the Kinnock leadership will bring to its work, nevertheless the most important thing in British politics in the period ahead is to kick the Tories out and put in a majority Labour government.

That is what large sections of the labour movement believe, even when they despise Neil Kinnock's timidity and condemn him for refusing to pledge a Labour government to even such a miserably inadequate reform as the restoration of Tory cuts.

They appreciate what he is trying to do to project a Labour 'image' that will help win the election. They either support him in it or at least want to bide their time until after the election, in the hope that Kinnock will succeed.

## Short-sighted

This view is short-sighted but understandable. Up to a point it is valid. Only people with rocks in their heads will deny that kicking out the Tories is the major task facing the entire labour movement.

Those, like the sectarians, who mess about on this question, will not easily be forgiven by thinking women and men in the labour movement if even a tiny fraction of responsibility for a Labour defeat can be laid at their door. The whole labour movement must be roused up for an electoral crusade to drive the Tories from office.

The ideological offensive of the Tories over the last seven years has shifted the balance of opinion on many questions to the right, and thus made the election of even a middle-of-the-road Labour government difficult.

The Kinnockites — the sincere ones and the careerists alike conclude that Labour has to shift to the right too.

Many who want socialism feel obliged to agree with them — 'for now', some of them tell themselves.

But where does the dominance of Tory ideas come from?

From the failure of the official labour movement over the last seven years to mount a sustained and vigorous campaign against the Tories' ideological offensive, and to organise all-out working-class action against the Tory government's attacks on the welfare state and the working class.

Even as late as the miners' strike, we could have dealt a shattering blow to the Tories that would have got them on the run, politically and ideologically.

But the TUC leaders and Neil Kinnock refused to throw their weight in to the scales with the miners to help them win.

**The mirror image of the Kinnockites are the sectarians of the Socialist Workers' Party. They point to the drift to the right, and conclude that because of that socialists and Marxists should abandon the Labour Party — the mass party of the British labour movement funded by and ultimately controlled by the trade unions — to the Kinnockites. Left-wingers should go away and build an irrelevant sect somewhere else.**

In fact these are just fainthearts, cowards, and deserters, consoling themselves with brave songs about socialism while they hide in a bolthole far away from the arena of struggle for the political soul of the labour movement.

## Siren

They now try to siren socialists disgruntled with Kinnock's ascendancy out of the struggle in the Labour Party. They have been doing the same thing all through the battle the Labour Left has waged since 1979. What will they say in the election in which Kinnock will conduct himself like a man running scared of the SDP?

They'll say what they always say: 'Vote Labour'. But on no account must socialists take part in fighting to shape Labour Party policy!

They will be quite right, however ludicrous it sounds from them, to say 'Vote Labour'. For this is the only labour movement we have got, or are likely to get, and Labour is its mass

political party.

The harsh truth is that a Kinnock government with Kinnock's present policies is likely to be a British version of the Socialist Party government which ruled France from 1981 to 1986 — a government which ended up conducting all-out attacks on the working class and trade unions. All the statements of Kinnock and Hattersley, together with the assurances they give to the ruling class, show that that is what they will try to be.

But they may not be able to be what they want to be. The labour movement is still very powerful, and a Labour electoral victory would help restore some of its old confidence and vigour. Quite a lot of what a Labour government will do, whatever its leaders now intend, will be decided by what the rank and file of the Labour Party and trade unions will do.

## Hunger

The present mood in the labour movement will certainly continue until after the election. Then either Kinnock will be in power, or he will face the anger of people who know Kinnock's approach has failed in its objective of winning office.

Win or lose, the Labour leaders will face major problems, and the Labour left will be forced to 'take stock'.

Events will regenerate the Labour Left — purged of careerists and fainthearts.

The left needs to focus on two things now: organising and strengthening itself, and taking the winning of the election seriously.

Apart from getting the Tories out, the best way of putting Kinnock to the test before the whole labour movement is to put him into No.10 Downing Street.

As Tony Benn put it: "We must write to every CLP in the country and ask them to pass a resolution supporting the demands we have made. We must make sure that what we demand is in the election address of every Labour candidate."

It may not be in the manifesto, but we each have our election addresses... During the next Parliament, we should demand any Labour MP who does not support the Justice for Wiveswives Bill!

# MILITANT DUCK OUT

By John Bloxam

ANTICIPATING serious position, Labour's establishment had arranged for their witch-burning to be carried on behind closed doors on the Monday morning of Conference.

In fact they had little to be worried about. The witches never showed up.

It had been known for a long time that each of the eight expelled Militant supporters would get five minutes to appeal to the conference. On Monday morning they turned up, paraded for the TV cameras outside the conference, went through a charade of trying to 'negotiate' extra speaking time — and then refused to come inside and take part in the conference.

Predictably, chair Neville Houghton refused to let anybody else speak on their behalf, and there was a crushing vote against their appeals, 6,146,000 to 325,000. Less than half the Constituency Labour Party delegates voted for the members expelled in Liverpool.

It is difficult to imagine how much worse Militant could have conducted the fight against the witch-hunt. First, their unprincipled use of the High Court gave us the grotesque spectacle of the Labour bureaucrats being able to use the argument about not bringing the capitalist courts into the labour movement to back up their purge.

Secondly, the vain publicity-seeking of the Hattons and the use of the courts was a sickening contrast to their refusal to use even the five minutes (or 35 minutes, between them) they had to address what they call 'the Parliament of the labour movement'.

Of course, five minutes was not enough, but better to use that than hand it to the bureaucrats on a plate and give Kinnock the chance to say that they hadn't got the backbone to stand before the delegates.

The five members of the Militant Editorial Board took their five minutes in closed session in 1982; why didn't Hatton and his comrades?

Their antics did not help Militant later in the week. They were annihilated in the debate on the Young Socialists. The majority in favour of the proposals from Tom Sawyer and the Labour Coordinating Committee was six million to 250,000.

Militant replied to the charge that their running of the YS had "nothing to do with revolutionary politics, but everything to do with sectarian advantage" by talking, irrelevantly about young people committing suicide in Liverpool.

But Labour's bureaucracy did not get it all their own way. The call to reinstate Amir Khan and Kevin Scally was defeated only by 3,443,000 to 2,715,000. If it had not been for the platform's promise that the cases would be reviewed anyway, it is probable that they would have been reinstated.

It was the Khan/Scally case, more than any other, that confirmed what SO and others have said from the beginning — that the expulsion of Militant supporters is a stalking horse for a more general attack on the left.

Tribune clearly thought that the purge could be limited to Militant, and have been frightened by the way it has turned out.

David Blunkett publicly attacked the centre-right dominated NEC at the Wednesday Tribune rally. "I believe that Neil Kinnock is now relying more on the centre and the right than those who have previously been supporters on the left."

The atmosphere at the NEC this evening is not healthy... I would not like to leave my future in the hands of some of those elected in behind-the-scenes deals.

At the same rally Ken Livingstone accepted that one of the main reasons why we had to be so angry at the NEC was that it had agreed to the

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# GRAFFITI



A plastic bullet

## Unions act on defence

INTIMIDATION of workers in Northern Ireland by both Loyalist and Republican paramilitaries will be the subject of a conference on 25 October organised by the Northern Ireland Committee of the Irish Congress of Trade Unions.

Unions have normally kept out of such issues, but the situation caused by the Anglo-Irish deal has forced them to do something, or at least appear to do something, to defend (as they see it) their members' interests.

The IRA campaign against

## Racism

JAPANESE Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone thinks that a 'lower level of intelligence' in the United States is due to the presence there of so many blacks, Mexicans, and Puerto Ricans.

Nakasone's racist outburst was quickly retracted, when he realised that he had offended a lot of Americans. But it wasn't the first such outburst by a Japanese politician. Indeed, only recently Nakasone sacked Education Minister Masoyuki Fujio for a stream of abuse against the Chinese and Koreans that caused a small international crisis.

About 700,000 Koreans live in Japan, and they face terrible discrimination. Thousands of families who have lived in Japan for generations are still treated as aliens.

Racism is nothing much to do with natural differences between skin colours. Whites can be racist towards white-skinned people (like Jews), and yellow-skinned people can be racist towards other yellow-skinned people (like Koreans).

Racism is a product of imperialism and capitalism, not of nature.

people working for the security forces is having considerable effect. Building work on police stations has been held up, and rubbish collections from and milk

deliveries to several police stations have been stopped. Protestant paramilitaries have replied to that campaign with a general threat to murder Catholics.

## Working for RUC

THE criminal making false allegations against John Stalker — the Manchester deputy police chief at the centre of a controversy earlier this year — was working for the RUC. So the Observer has discovered.

Stalker was investigating the RUC's shoot-to-kill policy when he was suspended on false charges of corruption.

David Bertlestein was supplying information to the RUC about the relations between his gang and the IRA, whilst making allegations about Stalker.

Labour Party con-

## More homeless

Homelessness is booming. The most recent official figures show 25,000 households homeless in the first quarter of 1986 — one-third more than in 1983.

The Tory government has cut public spending on housing by about half — more than any other sector. So few new houses are being built. And the Tory policy of enforcing council house sales has further reduced the stock of housing available at reasonable rents.

The effects are particularly bad in some inner London boroughs. They have a lot of people arriving to seek work, and they also attract people



An eviction. Photo: Andrew Moore

ference last week called for a public inquiry into the Stalker affair.

## Downes

IN 1984, John Downes was shot dead by a plastic bullet fired by a member of the Royal Ulster Constabulary (RUC). But reserve constable Nigel Hegarty has been acquitted of manslaughter by a Belfast Crown Court.

The court thought it was 'not unreasonable' for Hegarty to have fired at Downes — from point-blank range.

16 people have been killed by plastic bullets in Northern Ireland, and 60 seriously injured.

because these Labour authorities treat the homeless better, or less badly, than councils elsewhere.

Camden's total of homeless, for example, has more than doubled since '81-'82, 58% of new council tenancies there now go to homeless people rather than transfers or people from the waiting list.

Neighbouring Islington is little better off: about 50% of its new council tenancies now go to homeless households.

The homeless who get council flats are the lucky ones. The rest get put into bed-and-breakfast accommodation — 4,400 households in London alone at present, according to the pressure group Shelter.

The bed-and-breakfast hotel owners are making a fortune out of this — £26 million from the London boroughs in 1985-6 (compared to £13 million in 1984-5), and more from the DHSS. The homeless get squalid, cramped, sleazy and insecure accommodation.

Simon Pirani of the Workers' Revolutionary Party continues the debate on Ireland

COMRADE JIM Denham (SO, 25 September) has correctly identified the three areas of our disagreement on Ireland.

1. Is Ireland subjected to imperialist, or colonial, domination by Britain?

2. The position of the Northern Protestants.

3. The responsibility of British socialists towards Ireland.

Let us clarify our differences on each point.

1. I stated (SO, 18 September) that the 'basic problem' in Ireland was 'British colonialism, which had taken a hold on Ireland for several hundred years, and had encouraged sectarian divisions for decades, before the native bourgeoisie emerged'.

'Surely', I wrote, 'the great problem of the Irish working class is that forcible partition took it into the imperialist epoch with one of the most basic tasks of the bourgeois revolution — national independence — not yet carried out'.

I attacked the claim in Socialist Forum (a magazine published by SO) that 'Ireland has had its "bourgeois revolution"'. Comrade Denham defends that formulation, saying that 'the Republic of Ireland is a developed, relatively advanced capitalist state... integrated into European capitalism independently of Britain through the EEC', and is 'definitely not a "puppet" bourgeoisie or a colony of Britain'.

### Throttled

Let us leave aside comrade Denham's reference to the bastard 26 county state as 'the Republic', an insult to his Irish readers which reflects his apparent insensitivity to nationalist aspirations.

Now, is the 26 counties a 'relatively advanced capitalist state'? In economic terms, we must qualify this by saying that while it may be 'advanced' relative to colonies or semi-colonies elsewhere, it remains backward relative to capitalist Europe.

And are we not obliged as Marxists to say why Ireland is one of the most economically backward countries in Europe? Is it not because its economic development was choked, throttled and manipulated by Britain?

Of course. And I used the word 'colonialism' not because I was 'conflating' it with imperialism as comrade Denham says, but because Ireland was subject to Britain's economic domination long before the epoch of imperialism, and this has left its mark on Ireland until this day — not only in the form of economic backwardness, but in the form of partition.

Politics reflect economics, but not directly. That is why in 'relatively advanced' Ireland, the question of national independence (in the political sense) has not been resolved; in 'relatively backward' semi-colonies in Africa and South America, it has.

May I ask again the question that comrade Denham ignored? Has 'one of the most basic tasks of the bourgeois revolution — national independence' been carried out in Ireland or not? And is partition the result of British colonialism, or (as 'Socialist Forum' claims) of a 'split bourgeoisie' in Ireland?

2. On the position of the northern Protestants, comrade Denham has misquoted me. I did not call them 'settlers', or (as your caption-writer



RUC block Loyalist march

suggests) equate them with the South African Boers. I did not say they are 'agents of British imperialism'.

I said that they were 'not an oppressed national minority but in fact have been given privileges over a long period by Britain to encourage sectarianism'. I said this to stress the fact that for 200 years Loyalist reaction was armed, encouraged, and strengthened with economic favours by Britain.

May I call in evidence the words of a British communist who I believe did try to get to grips with the Irish question, William Paul? His pamphlet 'The Irish Crisis 1921' (available in the Cork Workers' Club Historical Reprint Series) speaks of the extremely reactionary nature of the Ulster capitalist class, and the way it used religious sectarianism.

He explained that class divisions would prevail at the end of the day. For the Protestant workers, he wrote, 'it was Carson who demonstrated that political movements only yield to force. When these workers move against capitalism, the revolutionary movement of Ulster will have good reason for thanking Carson for his magnificent work'.

Paul thus recognised that in a revolutionary situation, the militarism of Protestant workers could backfire on their capitalist masters. I believe that such a possibility could still be realised.

But the fact remains that since 1921 sectarianism has deepened; today, with no revolutionary situation, the Protestant workers are by and large behind their extreme right-wing near-fascist leaders, who speak for the Ulster capitalist class.

### Split

These leaders, with working-class support, have thwarted British attempts to impose a capitalist solution in the north, not because they are 'very effective anti-imperialists', but because Loyalism, that reactionary and crisis-ridden frankenstein created by Britain to maintain its control of Ireland, has gone out of British control.

My difference with SO is that they believe that there is something inherently 'anti-imperialist' about the northern Protestants. I say that, until the Protestant workers are split from their Loyalist leaders — and I doubt whether anything short of a revolutionary situation can do that — they are attacking Thatcher, the Hillsborough deal, and the RUC, from an entirely reactionary standpoint.

3. Comrade Denham asks 'do we

as British socialists have the right to put forward a socialist programme for Ireland that goes beyond support for the nationalist resistance and the call for British withdrawal and Irish self-determination?'.

As internationalists, we have not a right but a duty to learn about, and discuss with other Marxists, the methods of struggle and the programme of Marxism in all countries.

But comrade Denham is confusing things. My argument with comrade O'Mahony had nothing to do with the programme of Irish socialists, it had to do with the programme of British socialists; it had nothing to do with whether we go beyond the demand for Irish self-determination, but whether we go as far as that.

I said that British socialists could not introduce a demand for a federal form of government into their own programme as a precondition to supporting Irish self-determination. I attacked comrade O'Mahony's phrase (SO, 10 April) that he was 'in favour of British withdrawal, but as part of a political solution which actually allows self-determination'; that is, only in conjunction with a federal Ireland policy; that is, not unconditionally.

### Unconditional

I did not say, as comrade Denham suggests, that British socialists must 'support the nationalist resistance and its demand for self-determination uncritically'. That was not my point.

My point was that British socialists had to make the unconditional demand for self-determination their own; support it not simply because it is being advanced by Republicans or nationalists, but because it is a principle without which the international working class will never go forward, without which international working-class unity will never be achieved.

Let us argue about the programme for Irish socialists. But first, let us as British socialists get our own programme correct. Does it include the unconditional demand for Irish self-determination, or is comrade O'Mahony right to place conditions on it?

Too much Irish blood has already been spilled because of British socialists' failure to stand firm on this principle.

Letters are welcome: send to PO Box 823, London SE15 4NA. 300 words or less, please, or we may have to cut them.



# "A boost to workers' confidence"

**THE HALF** a million black miners who work on South Africa's gold, coal and diamond mines have the industrial muscle to shake the apartheid regime to its foundations.

Last Wednesday they showed that muscle in a one-day protest strike to commemorate the 177 black miners who died in the Kinross disaster three weeks ago.

The South African Labour Bulletin (SALB) talked to Socialist Organiser about the significance of the strike.

"300,000 miners took strike action on Wednesday 1 October. They were supported by workers in other industries who also held stoppages, particularly in the metal industry.

The main areas of solidarity were the Transvaal and the Eastern Cape.

The action on the mines was strongest in the Transvaal and the Orange Free State, especially in mines owned by the giant Anglo-American Corporation and by Gencor".

## Gencor

Gencor, the state-sponsored mining house, owns Kinross and is known for its anti-union attitude.

In fact, earlier this year at its Congress the NUM declared that Gencor was an enemy company, and that organising Gencor would be one of the main tasks over the next period. From the turnout last Wednesday it

**'Management should take heed that the NUM is prepared to take up any issue, be it wages, political, safety — we can mobilise workers around virtually any issue. It makes us confident'.**

**Cyril Ramaphosa  
NUM General Secretary**

seems as if the NUM are succeeding in that task.

SALB underlined the significance of this: "The union was divided in the 1985 wage dispute when different houses made different offers. Gencor was central to the divide-and-rule strategy of the Chamber of Mines. But now the NUM is in a very strong position at Gencor. This is a breakthrough".

The action taken by other workers in support of the miners is evidence of increased willingness by workers to take solidarity action.

## Solidarity

According to SALB "Support came from COSATU one week before the action. The issue was discussed at every level down to areas and locals.

Solidarity action ranged from half hour stoppages and token stayaways through to five minute commemorations services".

According to the Metal and Allied Workers' Union, workers in 56 of their 60 organised factories took action.

Not surprisingly the action on the mines received the attention of the security forces.

"150 miners were arrested following a demonstration in Welkom. Tear gas was used.



Demonstration to commemorate Kinross dead in downtown Johannesburg

Meanwhile in Secunda SASOL workers, members of the Chemical Workers' Industrial Union, had a memorial service halted by the police".

According to Cyril Ramaphosa, general secretary of the NUM, miners were also attacked and teargassed as they were singing freedom songs in their hostels at Vaal Reefs on Tuesday night.

The most important thing about the strike was that it showed that Botha's State of Emergency has not succeeded in weakening the militancy of the independent unions.

## Confidence

"The strike is very significant. It was bigger than anyone could have hoped for.

The largest miners' strike before this was in 1983, when 30,000 miners took action after the Hlobane mine disaster.

But last Wednesday ten times that number took action. It shows how far the NUM's campaign on health and safety has advanced.

The response to the stay-away on Wednesday was overwhelming by any standards.

It was the biggest ever strike on the mines; the biggest ever strike in one industry; and the largest ever strike over health and safety.

This has given a great boost to workers' confidence".

# Strike helps wages fight

**THE MASSIVE** turnout last Wednesday, 1 October, will provide a big boost to the South African National Union of Mineworkers' (NUM) wages campaign.

300,000 miners taking action, nearly twice the paid-up membership of the NUM, represents a real threat of the mine bosses organised in the Chamber of Mines.

An offensive on the wages issue could further help to pull together the NUM as a powerful fighting force.

This is how COSATU, the paper of the Congress of South African Trade Unions, has described the NUM's wages campaign so far.

"The mine bosses have made hundreds of million last year. Gencor made 458 million rand; Goldfields 201 million; JCI 149 million, and Anglo Vaal, 66 million. Altogether the Chamber of Mines made 1900 million profits in 1985.

These profits come from the labour of mine workers. But the bosses will only offer underground workers a 38 rand increase, and surface workers only 32 rand.

The wages of underground

workers are now 193 rand per month. Surface workers get 162 rand per month. The union is demanding a 57 rand increase for underground workers and 48 rand increase for surface workers. Gold miners work 49 hours a week, and coal miners a 48 hour week.

## Starvation

Mine workers earn starvation wages. The increase the NUM is demanding still does not give miners a living wage. NUM's members are hungry for a living wage and decent conditions.

Workers' anger has shown itself many times this year. In the first three months of 1986 over 60,000 mine workers went on strike. On May Day 300,000 mine workers stopped work.

Since April another 40,000 workers have struck. Already this year over 100,000 mine workers have taken strike action!

The NUM has declared a dispute because of the bosses' refusal to listen to workers' needs. By mid-August NUM will be in a position to take national legal strike action. NUM's 180,000 members will vote on whether to strike for a better wage or not.

Since July workers in gold and coal mines have been refusing to buy at mine bars and canteens in protest against starvation wages and the bosses' refusal to meet workers' demands. NUM's campaign has also helped to recruit tens of thousands of unorganised workers into the union. The union's membership has grown by 80,000 in the last seven months."

## ADOPT A DETAINEE!

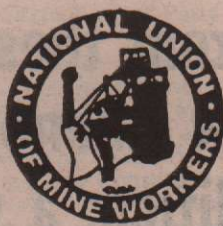
**BELOW WE** print the names of NUM militants detained under the State of Emergency. Try to get your branch or lodge to adopt a detainee or detainees, and send donations to the NUM:

Lekton House, Wanderers Street, Johannesburg 2001. Tel: 010 27 11 402 3432.

L Babuseng, Kimberley  
Mannie Dipitso, Kimberley  
Mhlambi Theo Hempe, Brakpan  
D Lekowa

Ezekiel Mngxolo  
Revelation Molokwane, Kimberley

Johannes Moroka, Kimberley  
Tshido Mthupi



Nonqoob, Kimberley  
Johannes Phate, Welkom  
Johannes Piki, Johannesburg  
Moses Tladile, Klerksdorp.

If you want the full list of all trade unionists detained put out by the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, write to SO, PO Box 823, London SE15 4NA.

**Woman's  
EYE**

# Dark streets

By Jean Lane

**I REMEMBER** years ago, when I was about eight, walking down a dark street with my dad in Birmingham.

I don't know where we had been or were going, but I can still see the street. It was quiet and residential. The only light was from a few lamp-posts. There was no traffic.

A little way ahead, the road bent round to the left, and on the bend there was a bridge over the road. Under the bridge it was pitch black, and you couldn't see anything of the road on the other side.

My dad was holding my hand and we were chatting. About 200 yards in front of us was a young woman walking in the same direction. My dad tittered and said: "Look, she's quickening her steps. Let's give her a fright". And I joined in the game.

She could obviously hear footsteps behind her, and as she walked faster, so did we, enjoying our collusion in giving this completely strange woman a hard time.

It wasn't until years later that the significance of what we had done hit me. There she was, alone, on an empty road at night. Two lots of footsteps behind her and a dark bridge in front. The footsteps gaining on her all the time.

## Flew

She flew through that bridge and by the time we got through it she was gone. No doubt, by now, she was sweating, breathless, and walking down smaller and darker streets than before.

We giggled. What a good game! My dad enjoying the feeling of power to frighten a woman, and myself enjoying the unusual pleasure of sharing a joke with my dad.

Since that time I have more than once had a man or men creep up on me from behind, and with more in mind than giving me a fright. About eight years after our 'joke', a young man attacked me from behind intending rape.

The only thing that stopped him was that my face changed colour as I tried to scream through the grass and mud he was shoving into my mouth to shut me up.

Of course, you don't have to experience that first hand to know you are not safe to walk the streets, or for your heart to start knocking when you hear footsteps behind you. But do you have to be a woman to think of it, to feel the fear?

My dad is not a cruel or vicious man. He's not particularly nasty. And yet he must have known what he was doing that night.

When I got home from my attack, eight years later, he was furious. He wanted me to take him to the spot — still scratched, bruised, and frightened as I was — to find and beat up the man who had done this to me, his daughter.

Wasn't that woman someone's daughter? Wouldn't her father want to beat up my dad for frightening her like that? But then maybe he too has walked behind some woman in the street and smiled to himself, or grabbed a woman from behind at work. Well, it's only a joke, isn't it?

Do you have to be a woman to know it isn't a joke? I honestly don't know the answer.

But all you men who have got rid of the need to feel power and who have stopped seeing the women in your lives (daughters, mothers, wives) as possessions to be protected from other men's power — when you are walking on the street behind a woman on her own, slow down, cross over, or go the other way.



# The rise of the workers

Since the late seventies Brazil has been gripped by a series of spectacular strikes and working class actions. Out of these has developed a new party, the Workers' Party — and the promise of a substantial challenge to capitalism. Phil O'Brien reports.

**BRAZIL has a population of 135 million, and the ninth largest gross national product in the world. With a diversified and substantial industrial base and immense natural resources (though not oil), it is a country of importance — if not now, then in the future, as Brazilians say.**

Governed by the military from 1964 to 1985, Brazil was the first and longest-lasting of the bureaucratic authoritarian regimes which swept Latin America in the 1960s and '70s. On the face of it, it has also been the most successful: the only one of the dictatorships with any possible claim to having achieved an economic miracle.

But the claims look less convincing when we examine them more closely.

The Brazilian economy has consistently notched up growth rates of over 6 per cent a year since the Second World War, with the exception of the recession years of 1952-3, 1962-7, and 1981-3 — and production shrank only during the last of these.

The military justified their takeover of power and their determination to hold on to it by casting themselves as the deliverers of the economic miracle. But there is no historical justification for their claims. Brazil's industrialisation dates back to the 1930s and earlier: it did not begin with the 1964 coup.

Behind the present spate of growth, however, lies another story: the increasing tendency for multinationals to decide to locate major Latin American plants and export production sites in Brazil as part of a process of concentration which has seen them run down or even withdraw from plants in other Latin American countries, such as Argen-

tina.

From the multinationals' point of view it makes sense: Brazil has the largest home market in Latin America. Brazil and Mexico have now begun to concentrate Latin America's industrial production within their borders: and again, the sufferers have been smaller industrial countries, such as Argentina, Chile and Peru.

Multinationals played a vital role in engineering the 1964 coup which overthrew the populist and ineptly reforming government of Joao Goulart, and they have been the most loyal supporters of the regime ever since. Local capital also gained from the coup, since the military continued Brazil's traditional policies of preserving large State firms and guaranteeing local industrialists orders through these and through aggressive bargaining with multinationals to secure joint ventures and local supplies.

But local capital began to lose out in the 1980-3 recession, and has since been one of the principal sources of pressure for 'democratisation'.

Rapid industrialisation in Brazil has helped to alter the class structure, as millions of poor peasants flooded into Sao Paulo. The growing new working class in its satellite cities, particularly in the car industry, began to display its potential power in 1978, in the first of a series of illegal mass strikes which shook the dictatorship to its roots.

## Concessions

From these strikes emerged a new phenomenon in Brazilian politics, a working-class party genuinely responsive to its base, the Workers' Party (PT). Although fragile, this party offers the best hope of socialist change.

Official the 1943 Labour laws, which consolidated the previous decades' legislation on labour, gave a number of material concessions to the workers such as a minimum wage, pensions, paid holidays, etc — legal rights often ignored by the bosses. But it did this at the cost of a tight corporatist system of controls.

Vargas created his own 'workers' party', the PTB, to stand side-by-side with his own party for landowners, the PSD ('Social-Democratic Party'). Through demagoguery and a very real nationalism he so dominated working-class politics throughout his life that even the persecuted Communists gave him political support, working through the official unions rather than setting up independent unions, and working with PTB leaders.

In the late '50s and early '60s some of these controls began to break

down — a contributing factor to the 1964 coup.

After the coup the military reimposed even tighter controls — a total ban on strikes — with none of the material benefits which Vargas had initially offered.

Only in the late 1970s did unions again begin to break free of these controls. But one of the principal struggles of the new Workers' Party even now is for free and autonomous unions; and it has not been easy for them to shake off the harness of legal controls.

The transition to some form of democratically elected government in Brazil has been very much a stage-managed affair from above. Not all of the stage-managing has been completely successful. Time after time the military-favoured party or candidate failed to win. But in general the essentials of the military's own project for a return to civilian rule have been achieved.

## 1964 coup

Compared to what later happened in Argentina and Chile, the 1964 coup was relatively bloodless.

Torture and political assassinations were used, but not on the scale which Brazil was later to help introduce elsewhere. The favoured method of control was much more the disbandment of organisations like the peasant leagues, and the purging of unions and the universities, together with the suspension of opposition figures' civil and political rights.

Also unlike, say, Chile, after the 1973 coup, the military, though governing through arbitrary decrees, did not abolish all the trappings of elected government. The military created two parties: a pro-government party, ARENA, and a loyal opposition party, the MDB.

However, the military were always in control, and quick to react to any sign of emerging protest by changing the ground rules. From 1968 until 1974 they ran a thorough-going dictatorship, brutally repressing armed actions, strikes, and even left-wing Church activists.

In 1974 the new President, General Geisel, began the process of 'opening' which was to culminate in the indirect election of a civilian as President in 1985. Under pressure — the



Brazilian workers on strike

official opposition party, the MDB, were making too many gains — the military attempted to take advantage of the bitter divisions within the MDB by allowing the emergence of a multi-party system from 1979.

But again parties were only allowed to operate if they could secure elite support. Recognition was limited to those who could find support from a bloc in Congress.

## Transition

The attempts at control did not lead to the results the military intended. The introduction of a multiparty system did lead to the break-up of the tame and loyal 'opposition' party, the MDB. But the emerging new opposition party, the PMDB, was more genuinely oppositionist, and reduced the majority for the new pro-government party, the PDS, in the 1982 elections.

In addition the military were

unable to prevent the victory of Brizola, President Goulart's Minister of Labour at the time of the 1964 coup and seen by the military as a dangerous radical, as Governor of Rio.

The election results encouraged the opposition to push for more genuine democratic reforms, above all for direct elections for the Presidency. This demand, together with a protest against the deteriorating economic situation, brought millions onto the streets of Rio and Sao Paulo in 1983.

## Protests

Faced with both an economic crisis and demands for political change, the PDS and the military President, Figueiredo, seemed to disintegrate. The PDS compounded the disarray by its in-fighting on the choice of a successor to President Figueiredo and then by choosing Maluf, a corrupt maverick politician.

Faced with mass protests in the streets, and an open crisis in the regime, the Brazilian elite quickly rearranged its options. The impassioned demands for direct elections were ended in April of 1984 when Congress failed to give the necessary two-thirds majority to an amendment to allow direct elections.

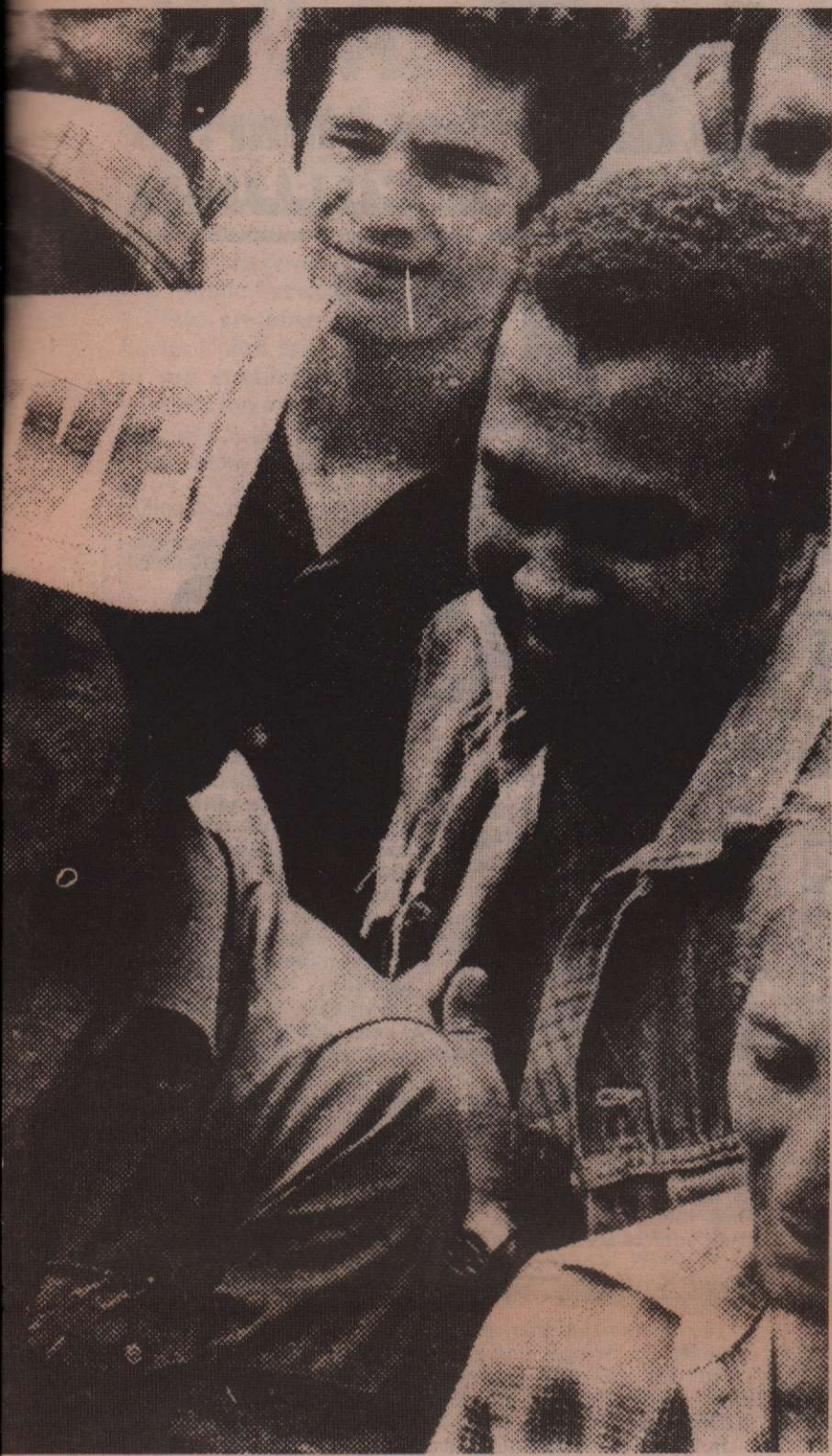
Mysteriously the mass protests evaporated, showing perhaps that although the feelings were genuine the political organisation of the protest was, here also, top-down.

Crucially the PMDB sensed that it could win the indirect elections through negotiations and compromise. In a complex and secret series of manoeuvres, involving key military and civilian personnel, Tancredo Neves was chosen to represent a Democratic Alliance for the in-

**"From these strikes emerged a new phenomenon in Brazilian politics: a working class party genuinely responsive to its base, the Workers' Party".**







demise. The party is still rather ill-formed: its ideology is vaguely socialist, but it has no clearly defined programme.

The party has many fractional groups within its ranks: various Trotskyist groups, ex-guerrillas, Maoists, left Christians, social democrats, etc. This can cause confusion. Once one of the fractions in Salvador robbed a bank to send money to Nicaragua, thus allowing the opponents of the PT to have a field day.

The PT is not yet a really national party, but still very much based around Sao Paulo and among sectors of the intellectuals and professionals.

It is beginning to get some support in the countryside, where a great deal of territorial power remains in the hands of a large and armed class of landowners who have always run their properties like fiefs.

### Emergence

In 1985, 160 people died in clashes over land. Agrarian reform is an explosive issue in Brazil. And so far it has mainly been the Church which has pushed for a radical agrarian reform.

Although still fragile, the PT is the best hope for the emergence of a combative, class-based politics in Brazil which can offer a socialist alternative. And in Lula, the metalworkers' union leader, they have the first authentic working-class leaders to have emerged in Brazil for decades.

But the task facing the PT is an uphill one. The long tradition in Brazil of leaving politics to 'them' is deeply engrained throughout society.

They face, for example, the problem of Brizola, whose socialist rhetoric and popularity is still in the authoritarian populist tradition which Vargas established with the Brazilian Labour Party. Brizola's party has attracted many socialists.

If there is mass discontent looking for a more radical alternative, then Brizola is likely to be the main beneficiary of such discontent. In addition, Sarney, after a period of seeming to be a lame-duck President, emerged as an immensely popular figure when he launched the 'Cruzado Plan' to stop the drift to hyperinflation and later a development plan promising growth and a whole range of social programmes.

### Postponed

The Cruzado plan froze all prices, but it also froze wages after a wage rise of 8 per cent to all workers and 16 per cent on the minimum wage. But the plan was so popular that a whole series of strikes, including a planned general strike, had to be postponed by the CUT. The CUT had to content itself with fairly muffled criticisms of the plan, although one trade union study claimed that the plan meant a real cut in wages of about 20 per cent.

The Conclat gave uncritical support to the plan.

Politically, too, there has been a growing tendency towards the emergence of 'charismatic' non-party political figures. Sarney himself seems to be becoming one of these.

Other indications of this trend were the victory of ex-President Quadros in Sao Paulo, the emergence of millionaire businessman Antonio Ermirio de Moraes as a candidate for Governor of Sao Paulo, and the general discrediting of Party politics and of Congress.

This November will see important elections for State Governors and Congress, elections which will establish a new Congress as a Constituent Assembly with the task of legislating a new Constitution.

Although the Presidency has already drawn up most of the provisions of that Constitution, and Sarney will be looking for a Congress to rubber stamp them, Brizola and the PT may be able to have some impact if they do well in the elections.

On all sides there are attempts to squeeze the PT. It should survive, but its consolidation and growth are likely to be a slow and painstaking struggle.

direct election to the Presidency.

He was a cautious old-style politician in the Vargista tradition, and Governor of the important state of Minas Gerais. Never an open supporter of the military, he helped found the short-lived PP party in 1979-80 — a party known as the bankers' party — before joining the PMDB.

His vice-presidential candidate was Sarney, who had recently resigned as president of the pro-government party, the PDS, to join the Democratic Alliance.

The whole affair was designed to ensure the original military project of a controlled return to civilian rule without disruption.

It worked. Neves' victory in the electoral college was greeted with wild applause. His sudden death before he could take office led to incredible scenes of mass mourning, and Neves' elevation into the pantheon of Brazilian greats.

But with Neves' death, Sarney, who had shortly before been leader of the pro-military party, became President of Brazil as leader of the opposition grouping!

Everything changes so that nothing may change.

### Workers' Party

In all this manoeuvring by the elite, only the Brazilian Workers' Party, and to a lesser extent Brizola's PDT, remained aloof, demanding direct elections. The PT had emerged from the bitter strike movements of 1978-80 which swept Sao Paulo, and particularly the big car plants.

The new unions would not have emerged as they did without the support of radical sections of the Catholic church, through their 'community base' organisations committed to direct grass-roots action.

But the new unions also reflected the concentration of an industrial proletariat determined to find its own method of representation, and, with the PT, its own voice in national politics.

The new unions had to contend not only with the hostility of the Government and the traditional parties, but also with the opposition of the Brazilian Communist Party.

The Brazilian CP, once the largest of Latin American CPs, had declined over the years under the impact of repression and illegality.

In 1980 the veteran CP leader Prestes was allowed by the military regime to return to Brazil, only to find himself almost immediately sacked when Brazilian 'Euro-Communists' took over the party and forged an alliance with the PMDB.

When the new unions formed a national trade union congress, the CUT, in 1983, it was the first central trade union body since the military dissolved the CGT in 1964. But the CP got together with the conservative unions to form a rival, the Conclat.

Conclat failed to expand its membership, and in 1986 the CP joined forces with the PMDB, with the Maoist (now pro-Albanian) party, and with the pro-American and traditional government unions, to form the General Workers' Confederation, the CGT.

The CGT is larger than the CUT, but the diversity of the groups within it is likely to make it ineffective. Also, the number of groups not affiliated to either confederation is larger than that of both confederations combined. The unaffiliated unions are mainly right-wing.

The Brazilian Workers' Party, the PT, is a new and exciting development in Brazilian politics. It is still, however, early days for it, and many forces in Brazil would like to see its

# A sense of identity

Payman Reza continues his review of an article by A. Sivanandan in 'Race and Class'

The change of course from multi-cultural to the new ethnic strategy was facilitated by the publication of Lord Scarman's report on the Brixton 'disorders'.

According to the ethnicist analysis, second generation British blacks are 'caught between the cultural expectation of their parents (first generation migrants) and the social demands of the wider society. The young often feel that they do not fit in either culture...' This search for identity and ethnic distinctiveness is a direct response to racism. Ethnicity itself is a 'sense' of this identity.

Scarman's report tied in neatly with this ethnic framework — further developing the idea of 'ethnic need and problems' which now replace 'racial disadvantage'.

Along with the Home Affairs Committee report (1981) the main different ethnic needs were identified. These were based on racist categorisations of the Asian and West Indian communities, on the grounds of group psychology, customs, family structure, inherent disabilities.

## Race & Class

Grants were allocated for ethnic groups through local authorities and the definition of ethnicity was widened to include a variety of national and religious groups, e.g. Italians, Jess, Moslems, Chinese.

Sivanandan argues that the ensuing 'scramble' for grants led to sharpened ethnic rivalry, which was further developed into 'institutionalised ethnicity' by the Left Labour Councils. Only a few genuinely anti-racist campaigns came out of this — e.g. against deportations, police harassment and racist attacks.

Scarman's analysis rests on a 'socio-psychological' view of racism and racial disadvantage, but Sivanandan argues that this view is actually more 'socio-biological'.

The reality of racism, for Scarman, is a matter of subjective feelings, perceptions, attitudes and beliefs. So young blacks have a 'sense of rejection' and the Asian community has 'a belief' that the police do not protect them from 'alleged' racist attacks.

The main effect of Scarman's 'findings' was to shift the terrain of the struggle against racism from the political one to the 'personal' one: institutional racism was a matter of black 'perception', white

racism one of 'prejudice'. The acceptance of Scarman's findings paved the way for Racism Awareness Training (RAT). RAT has its roots in the Human Awareness Training (HAT) courses at an American military base in Florida. The course was the military establishment's response to the black riots in the American cities in the late 1960s. It was meant to uphold the principles of individual dignity, worth and equal opportunity.

The instructors' brief at the Defense Race Relations Institute was to teach 'minority' history and cultures and explain personal racism.

The race relations aspect of HAT emerged after the publication of the 'radical' Kerner Commission report on the riots. A further US report in 1970 developed Kerner's ideas and defined racism 'as any attitude, action or institutional structure which subordinates a person or a group because of his or their colour'. From this it concluded that to fight racism involved 'changing the behaviour of whites and increasing the capabilities of non-white groups'. This is referred to in Britain as tackling racial disadvantage. The report put the main responsibility on the white population.

These two reports generated a whole plethora of literature in education, psychology and the churches to tackle the task of changing white behaviour. Models for racial awareness training of teachers in integrated schools were developed. These involved making trainees aware of 'covert' and 'overt' racism and how whites benefit from this. Other trends in the development of RAT argued for the creation of a new white consciousness based on the awareness of cultural, institutional and personal racism all at once. Cultural racism had to be examined in language, books and the media. 'Confrontation techniques' were offered as a good way of challenging personal and institutional racism.

Others like Judy Katz at Oklahoma University argued that racism was a white problem which it was in its own interests to overcome. According to the Commission on Mental Health (1965) racism was identified as the number one mental health problem. In the US: 'Its destructive effects severely cripple the growth and development of millions of our citizens...' According to the 'latest' research, racism was shown to be a 'psychological problem...deeply imbedded in white people from a very early age both on a conscious and an unconscious level'.

For Katz racism is part of the collective consciousness of white America — there's no getting away from it.

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These photos, together with pictures, are essential. Photo: John Harris.

# Socialist voice at conference

THE STRONG pressure towards unity and conformity behind Neil Kinnock in the run-up to the election was intense at Blackpool.

The conference was heavily stage-managed to produce the atmosphere of a pre-election rally. Nevertheless many delegates showed real interest in the ideas of Socialist Organiser.

Over 100 copies of the paper were sold.

1000 copies of the Socialist Organiser conference briefing

were produced each day. Offering voting guides, analysis and comments on conference events ranging from what was happening inside union delegations to quotes from the fringe meetings, the SO bulletin provided a valuable service to many delegates and visitors.

A number said as much at the end of conference and showed they meant it by helping pay for it. £60 was collected to help cover production costs.



## Les Hearn's SCIENCE COLUMN

# A NEW AIDS DISASTER

**BIGOTS in positions of powers are allowing AIDS to spread, thus encouraging the development of a social and human disaster.**

The process started with the spread of Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome through gay communities. Governments dragged their feet and toned down public health advice to gays on how to avoid AIDS ('safe sex').

Now, the pattern is being repeated among drug users who inject drugs into their veins. Because of harsh laws, as well as the threat of losing their jobs, their children, etc. drug addicts are driven to the back streets, where drugs are taken with few hygienic precautions.

The widespread sharing of hypodermic syringes has provided just the right environment for the spread of the AIDS virus.

In New York alone, out of a quarter of a million addicts, 60% are infected with AIDS virus. By 1991, there could be 100,000 addicts with the full AIDS disease in the USA, each requiring treatment at a cost of \$50,000. Of course, the bigots care nothing for these people. Some are already talking of 'triage', the process by which, as in wartime, 'hopeless' cases would be turned away without treatment.

### Filter

The opinion of AIDS experts at their Paris meeting in June was that AIDS infection would eventually filter into the general population from such groups as drug addicts. For instance, many addicts turn to prostitution to finance their habit, their customers often being the fine upstanding pillars of the establishment previously mentioned.

In Miami, for example, some 40% of prostitutes carry AIDS virus. The problem is not confined to the USA. In France and Italy, some 70% of addicts are infected, and around 50% in Sweden and Spain.

So what's the answer? The evidence so far is that drug addicts are not going to abandon their life style, despite TV appeals from Ron and Nancy. It is therefore important to reduce the opportunities for the virus to spread.

One way is to provide maintenance doses of heroin, or of its substitute methadone, from clinics. In New York, 22,000 addicts receive oral methadone daily, with a waiting list of three months. Though methadone is thought to be 'more' addictive than heroin, at least these people are

not sharing needles.

Another alternative is to issue free sterile needles on a one-for-one basis. In New York, both the mayor and the Health Commissioner want to do this, but the police will not agree, believing it will encourage more people to take heroin.

However, in Amsterdam, where 100,000 hypodermics were given out in 1985, the number of addicts has not increased, and the level of AIDS infection has remained below 5%.

### Scotland

A further possibility is to issue condoms free to drug-addict prostitutes. This is done in Amsterdam, but in New York Medicaid will not cover the issue of free condoms.

In Britain, AIDS infection has reached less than 10% of drug addicts though up to now the government has refused to sanction the issue of clean syringes and needles.

In Edinburgh there has been a particular crackdown by the police on the availability of syringes, with equipment being confiscated from drug users. The result has been the appearance of 'shooting galleries' where addicts share needles. Now over half the addicts in the East of Scotland have been infected with AIDS — some 1500 people.

This situation was described by the government's Chief Medical Officer Dr Donald Acheson, four months ago, and confirmed by a committee of the Scottish Office three weeks ago. By contrast, less than 5% of addicts in the West of Scotland are infected, probably because they share needles much less. The committee recommended that clean needles be supplied.

### Moral

The previous Health Minister, Barney Heyhoe, opposed clean needles for fear of being seen to encourage addicts, and former Scottish Health Minister John McKay opposed it on 'moral' grounds. Their successors may now be ready for a surreptitious U-turn, with pilot schemes in London and Edinburgh.

Since it is thought that up to 30% of people infected with AIDS virus may go on to develop the full disease and die, some 400 extra people in the East of Scotland may die as a result of the police crackdown and of Heyhoe's and McKay's moral scruples.

Their sexual partners and any babies they may have also run the risk of infection and death.

## Activists' DIARY

### Why not form a Campaign Group?

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

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

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

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.

**Saturday 11 October.** Demonstrate against Racist Immigration Laws. Assemble 12.30pm. Longsight Library, Stockport Road, Manchester. Called by Manchester Immigrant Wives and Fiances Campaign.

**Saturday 13 October.** Picket Morley's and Times Furnishing, Brixton Road. Solidarity with Silentnight strike. 11am. Called by Lambeth Trades Council.

**Saturday 25 October.** Demonstrate for Fair Deal for Lesbians and Gays in Notts. To protest at the Labour County Council's refusal to include lesbians and gays in their equal opportunities policy. 12.15pm. Old Market Square, Nottingham.

**Saturday 13 December.** Conference for Trade Union Sanctions against South Africa. 11 to 6, Carrs Lane Church Centre, Carrs Lane, Birmingham. Contact: Bronwen Handyside, 17 Porden Road, Brixton, London SW2 5SA. Tel 01-274 7722 x 2010.

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

North London Socialist Organiser supporters are organising a Trivia Quiz to raise funds for our new offices and equipment this coming Saturday, 11 October, from 8pm at 'The Cock', Phoenix Road, between Kings Cross and Euston stations.

We need more such efforts. Our new typesetting equipment is now installed and in use, but we'll face heavy repayments on the loans raised to buy it.

Total so far is £12752.94, or 85% of our £15,000 target. Send donations to SO, PO Box 823, London SE15 4NA.



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

Socialism can never be built in one country alone. The workers in every country have more in common with workers in other countries than with their own capitalist or Stalinist rulers. We support national liberation struggles and workers' struggles world-wide, including the struggle of workers and oppressed nationalities in the Stalinist states against their anti-socialist bureaucracies.

### We stand:

For full equality for women, and social provision to free women from the burden of housework. For a mass working class based women's movement.

Against racism, and against deportations and all immigration controls.

For equality for lesbians and gays.

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

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

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

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

# Where We STAND

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

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# CPSA: FIGHT FOR DEMOCRACY!

By Trudy Saunders

**THE RIGHT-wing-dominated National Executive of the Civil and Public Services Association (CPSA) are obviously using the Soviet Union as a model of how to run elections. Members can vote for anyone they want — as long as it's the right wing!**

Joe Stalin couldn't have done it better. When Broad Left (and Militant) supporter John Macreadie

won General Secretary, and Chris Kirk of Broad Left '84 won General Treasurer, the right wing called in the Electoral Reform Society to investigate.

**Last week it was leaked to the press (the rank and file still haven't been told) that the Electoral Reform Society had found no evidence of ballot-rigging.**

This suggests to me that the election result is valid. But no. The Society also recommends a re-run. Macreadie has accused the Society of 'absolute collusion' with the right wing — a thought that will occur to many CPSA members.

The right wing must have a large

crystal ball. They have somehow foreseen the outcome of the Society's report, and have already produced new election leaflets which link Militant to the Kremlin!

Militant might run Liverpool City Council as tin-pot failed-benevolent dictators, but they are not great fans of the USSR.

Broad Left '84 — some of whom are great fans of the USSR — have said they will accept the Society's report without argument. Whether they will accept a decision to re-run the election is unclear. This is indicative of BL 84's ever-increasing movement towards the right.

Macreadie has called for a Broad

Left campaign to prevent a re-run. This is exactly what all Broad Left supporters should have been doing since the NEC announced its intention to investigate the elections.

Instead Macreadie, in true Militant style, rushed to the courts.

Broad Left needs to launch a tough campaign against the right wing, and against BL 84 if they will not join us. We must campaign for democracy in our union, and tell the right wing to get back to Russia where they belong.

**Socialist Caucus conference: Lambeth Town Hall, from 11am, 11th and 12th October.**

## Strike spreading

THE LUCAS Electrical pay dispute is spreading. The 6000 hourly paid employees at plants in Birmingham, Cannock and Fradley have now been joined by 15,000 staff employees, mainly represented by TASS, in a coordinated programme of industrial action throughout the group.

So far this has involved an overtime ban and work to rule.

Lucas Electrical workers are angry that a £2.15 a week pay rise, agreed before the autumn shutdown, has been withdrawn by management.

Already production of the new Rover 800 at Austin Rover's Cowley plant has been stopped and 1000 workers laid off. Lay-offs are also threatened at Longbridge with Metro, Mini and Rover 200 production all starved of components. Jaguar and Ford could also soon be affected.

Lucas workers seem to be in a strong position to win their claim. They should be prepared for all-out strike action if necessary.

## KENURE

### No time to lose

By Dion D'Silva

THE DISPUTE at Kenure Plastics is now in its 23rd week.

42 Asian workers in the moulding section were sacked after they tried to negotiate a decent wage. The bosses have now closed down this section and threatened to finish all production at the Feltham plant by December.

The AEU leaders are letting the dispute drift. There is no concerted campaign to boycott Kenure goods or to leaflet other factories. This has been left to supporters of the sacked workers.

The union District Committee seems to be waiting for an industrial tribunal to order compensation for those sacked. Naturally, this has led to some demoralisation, and some workers are now looking for other jobs.

But most of those sacked are still picketing and determined to fight for their jobs.

The men themselves must organise leaflets for the other factories, calling for support and explaining that only by united union action can they safeguard their jobs and improve conditions.

## SEAFARERS

### Sealink strike

THE SACKING of nearly 500 workers by Sealink last week has produced widespread resistance which has forced the company to negotiate.

Strikes have shut down Sealink services in all mainland ports. At Guernsey, Weymouth, Portsmouth and Cherbourg, Sealink ferries have been occupied by workers. 14 out of 20 ferries are at a standstill.

The NUR has 100 members threatened with redundancy, and has already instructed its members not to cross picket lines. The NUR may hold a ballot on strike action if Sealink does not withdraw its redundancy notices.

Seafarers employed by the Isle of Man Steam Packet Company voted to strike in solidarity, while 70 NUS members on the Tynwald ferry held a 48 hour protest strike on Monday and Tuesday, 6th and 7th.

The dispute began when Sealink announced a merger of its Channel Island services with the rival Channel Island Ferries, with 492 job losses. The seafarers' unions are in fact only pushing for improved terms for those sacked, and a guarantee of terms and conditions of employment.

Opposition to the merger is aggravated by the Bermudan flag of Channel Island Ferries, which denies crews the protection of British maritime law. But it is wrong to see the problem as 'foreign flags'; the issue is defending workers' rights.

The labour movement must give every support to the Sealink strike.

## TEACHERS

# SACRIFICED FOR KINNOCK

By Liam Conway and Ivan Wels

**TEACHER representatives from all over the country have reported outright hostility to the teachers' pay deal signed in Coventry and the interim agreement on covering for absent teachers.**

This was clear at the Local Association Pay Action Conference (LAPAC), held in Leicester on Saturday 27 September.

Ian Murch, NEC member for West Yorkshire, explained that members of the National Union of Teachers (NUT) should not accept this feeble pay offer in return for a possible nightmare of teacher appraisal by the bosses, contractual obligations to cover for absent colleagues, and an increase in working hours.

Teachers were being sacrificed so that the leaders of the National Union of Teachers and of the Labour Party could claim credit for peace and calm in schools, thereby preparing the way for a Labour election victory.

Over 30 NUT Local Associations are continuing to refuse cover in defiance of the union's NEC.

Delegates to LAPAC were under no illusion about the present level of action. Demoralisation could easily set in as teachers are increasingly pressurised by Local Education



Authorities and school managements.

This would allow the Executive to bide its time until it was safe to put the pay deal which they have agreed to the members for decision. It is therefore a matter of urgency that action should restart.

LAPAC is calling for a lobby of the National Executive meetings on 9 October and 31 October.

No cover action should be extended to every Local Association in the country to prevent demoralisation, and rank and file members of the second-biggest teaching union, the NAS/UWT, should be pulled in behind such action.

Teachers in Notts have already resolved to set up a Notts No Cover Campaign to appeal to both unions.

## KEETONS

### Management makes a worse offer

By Dave Barter

KEETONS management have come up with a 'revised' offer — a worse one.

They have reduced the number of workers to be accepted back from 17 to 13 and they are still to be considered 'new starters'.

Management are demanding that the strikers accept a package deal, which includes:

- Six volunteers to take early retirement;
- re-employ (not reinstate) 13 on short time;
- remaining workers to leave with an ex-gratia payment;
- non-union shop;
- no-strike agreement;
- total flexibility.

Management are willing to negotiate only the details of the package, demanding acceptance of its basic terms.

The strikers have rejected the package. They describe it as 'ridiculous' — no better than the

position 14 weeks ago at the beginning of the strike.

Blacking of Keetons products and supplies is vital. Haulage firms S&H Transport, Cooper and Woodward, and Ted Cain are crossing the picket lines and should be boycotted.

It was union boycotts by other Sheffield workers that stopped the previous scab hauliers, J J Shepherds, from delivering to Keetons.

Send donations and messages of support to: Keetons Strike Committee, AEU House, Furnival Gate, Sheffield S1 3HE. Tel 0742 769041.

## WAPPING

# Strikers must take control

By Carol Hall, SOGAT clerical striker, in personal capacity?

SCAB NEWSPAPER proprietor Rupert Murdoch has put a deadline of 6pm Wednesday (8 October) for the 5500 News International strikers to respond to his offer — which is roughly the

same as what the strikers voted to reject four months ago.

The result of the strikers' ballot on the revamped deal should be out that day: voting finished on Monday. Strikers report an 80% turnout, roughly the same as last time.

Most people are saying that they want a no vote. But they are also feeling disillusioned. If there is a no vote then something has got to happen. We have got to find practical ways — not slogans — to escalate the action.

We will be pushing for a strike committee to run the strike properly, and get away from this stupid and ineffective boycott campaign. The dispute now has to go into the hands of the strikers — there is nowhere else to go.

When we have put these ideas before, many disagreed with us. But now a number see what is happening and say we are right. They will be prepared to put a lot of energy into fighting for these ideas.

## Student housing crisis

By Hilary Curtis and Robert Read

**STARTING college can be a harrowing experience for students, often made worse if you have nowhere to live.**

The problem facing students in West London is very severe. The property boom means that rented accommodation affordable to students is in short supply.

At Ealing college, an estimated 150 students were homeless at the beginning of terms. This figure does not include those staying with relatives or on friends' floors, or travelling long distances. Many of the homeless students have been housed in bed-and-breakfast accommodation charging extortionate prices.

## SSiN

Others have had the alternative of sleeping on the common room floor.

Since 1979, when the last one was sold off by the Tory council for use as police offices, the colleges has had no halls of residence.

To make up for this, council flats were allocated for between 65 and 85

students. However, the high-rise blocks in Acton and on the Golf Links estate near Southall are neither pleasant nor safe areas to live in, particularly for women.

The student union believes that the council uses these as student flats because they are unable to get other tenants to live there.

## Unfit

Students looking for private rented accommodation are faced with a barrage of agency fees, deposits, and rent payments in advance. Many housing agencies are acting illegally. Some students have been asked for up to £100 before they even see a flat, and are not guaranteed a refund, even if the flat is not suitable, until 17 days later.

Others have been offered places unfit for habitation through the grossly overworked accommodation office at the college.

The student union has been campaigning for residential accommodation for students. However, despite a windfall of £300,000 last year, the college authorities won't budge.

The problem must be seen as part of the general housing shortage. What is needed is more property at affordable rents.

Socialist Students in NOLS can be contacted at 54A Peckham Rye, London SE15.



# SOCIALIST ORGANISER

FOR WORKERS' LIBERTY EAST AND WEST

# WAPPING REPRESSION

**DURING THE** first seven months of the News International dispute, there have been a total of 1,139 arrests — the equivalent of one in six sacked printworkers.

Compare this with the total of 10,377 arrests during the miners' strike — on average one per hundred

striking miners.

The number of police deployed at Wapping, up to 10 May 1986, averaged 1,014, one officer for every six dismissed strikers! During the miners' strike an average of 5,350 police were sent to picket lines each week — a ratio of one officer to 22

striking miners. The Wapping figures include officers from Special Patrol Groups; on 15 February, for example, eight SPG units were deployed.

These details are published in the October issue of *Labour Research*.

The total cost of policing the dispute to taxpayers is an average of £7299 a day. This costing also reveals that an average of 28,692 extra hours have been worked by the police each week during the dispute.

The magazine reveals that the police have learned a number of lessons from the miners' strike. Some charges used against arrested miners, such as unlawful assembly, conspiracy and riot, have been abandoned during the print dispute.

Clearly this is because the police found it extremely hard to gain convictions on these charges. All 137 riot charges in the miners' strike were thrown out once they got to court.

The police are also asking the courts to 'bind over' charged printworkers, often because they have no evidence to offer against them.

# ORGANISE THE LEFT!



By Eric Heffer

and buried, and the Labour Party Americanised. I do not think it is quite like that.

There has been quite a strong and wide acceptance of the Kinnock approach, but only because Party members want to win the next election and are therefore prepared to be muted to some extent.

But underlying that there is still a very strong desire for something better, and powerful feelings that the Labour Party has got to move in a far more socialist direction.

We had some losses — the losses for the Left on the Executive; the fact that on nuclear energy we did not get the two-thirds majority we needed to put it into the Party programme.

But we can use what we did win to the Left's advantage.

The left has now got to organise more than we have ever done.

I think that is a result of the experience of this Conference. The left recognises that if we are not careful we will find other people targeted and chucked off the Executive in the future. The left will suffer worse defeats. So we must organise.

We are beginning to get together in the Campaign Forum. We must be more positive, hold more meetings throughout the country, organise more and better campaigns.

**The Labour Left must be seen to be in the forefront of everything that is positive and socialist.**



Jez Coulson, IFL

Thousands marched last Saturday, 4 October, through the East End of London to commemorate the 50th anniversary of the Battle of Cable Street, where anti-fascists battled with police and 4000 of Mosley's blackshirts.

# ERIC WILL BE BACK

By Vladimir Derer

**ERIC Heffer's** defeat in the National Executive Committee elections is the most dramatic commentary on the decline in sophistication of the section of the Party which once enjoyed the reputation of being the most political.

The fact that fewer than half of the Constituency Labour Parties chose to mandate their delegate to vote for Eric makes clear that CLP activists increasingly perceive the world in black and white terms.

There can be little doubt that the most important single factor which cost Eric the support of 163 CLPs is his defence of Militant.

Unfortunately they fail to differentiate between those who believe in the democratic right of Militant supporters to promote their views within the Labour Party and actual Militant supporters.

Apart from the Party leadership, the dubious honour of reinforcing the irrational fear that Militant will lose us the next election belongs to the pressure group around Labour Coordinating Committee.

**Anxious for quick promotion in the Party, many of these young careerists have for some years tried to get Eric Heffer off the NEC.**

Eric's activities were an unpleasant reminder of their idolisation of the present leadership, of their abandonment of their youthful dream about socialism, or their juvenile obsession about Militant which they acquired during their student days.

Eric's presence on the NEC, because of his unwillingness to join any particular tendency or clique, was a source of discomfort to many.

**His unequivocal stand for the democratic rights of Eastern European working class people permanently offended Stalinists of all varieties.**

If Eric Heffer's enemies at last succeeded in getting their pound of flesh, they are unlikely to enjoy it for very long. There are already clear indications that the mood is changing, and the honeymoon with the new leadership is fast approaching its end.

**It may not be too long before we shall once again see Eric causing distress to all those who prefer the comforts of conformity to the penalties of dissent.**

# Whetton's WEEK



Paul Whetton is secretary of Bevercotes NUM, Notts.

**LAST WEEK** the members of the UDM scab union at Hucknall voted 2 to 1 to accept the closure of the pit.

The NUM branch there had been prepared to stand up and fight, and stand by the NUM tradition of fighting the bosses and opposing the dictates of management. But the UDM did what we expected and took the easy way out, avoiding a fight.

Rather than stand up and say they were against pit closures, the UDM referred the issue to a ballot and put the responsibility for not fighting on the membership. Nevertheless, a substantial number of UDM members still voted against the closure — which shows that even inside the UDM there are miners prepared to fight.

**It won't be long before those lads come over to us, and not just at Hucknall.**

We will go on opposing pit closures and start a campaign against the Coal Board's attitude — not just about individual pits but as an Area and national union.

In Notts the reaction to the Labour Party conference is the response that Kinnock and Hattersley wanted — a fantastic conference, with everybody full of vigour and fire.

But I was at Blackpool, and I found it depressing to see the leaders abandon certain stances and the conference accept Kinnock's and Hattersley's proposals about bringing the law into trade union affairs.

**It shouldn't deter us: the fight to build a socialist party must go on. We will just have to battle that much harder.**

The way the leadership is going to

day, there is going to be no radical change when Labour get in after the next election. Kinnock and Hattersley are just looking to get into Downing Street. It's power at any price.

**But I wish they would look beyond that. If they behave in power the same way they are behaving now, all they are going to do is guarantee a Tory government in five years' time.**

Kinnock and Co. may very well be able to afford that. I am damned sure that the working class in this country and in other countries certainly cannot afford it.

The Labour Party leadership has actually hi-jacked the party from the membership. Now we must choose. We can either do a Roy Lynk and form a breakaway, which would be disastrous, or we can fight to take it back from the leadership.

After this conference many people will go away down in the dumps — but don't go away and bury your head. The only answer is to get back in there, and organise and fight.

As Labour Party members we are obliged to go along with Conference decisions, but that does not stop us campaigning to reverse the present policies, and that is what we will be doing.

**We will certainly not accept the expulsions.**

The left now needs to get into the Campaign Forum, get itself organised, and build from there. It has been clearly demonstrated what the leadership intends to do when they come to power, and I think it is vital that the left gets organised.

**The fight is not over, Neil. It's just beginning.**

# RELEASE TERRY FRENCH!

**Dennis Skinner explains about his effort to get jailed miner Terry French out of jail. Terry is serving a four year sentence for standing up to the police thugs sent into the coalfields to beat down miners during the strike.**

**I HAVE** been to visit Terry French over the period he has been in jail. He is now expecting to be in there until next year, and, if he loses his remission, even longer.

They allowed us to see him at Maidstone open prison. Arising out of that, he spoke with me at that fringe meeting at the TUC congress when he was allowed a weekend out of jail.

When he returned he was sent back to Wandsworth prison. I find it hard to believe that his speaking at the fringe meeting was unconnected with being taken out of the open prison and put back into Wandsworth, where he is locked in a cell for 23 hours a day.

Having been in touch with people



Jailed miner Terry French

in the Kent coalfields, I decided to put in an application to see the new Tory minister, Caithness, at the Home Office to examine the question of parole. The meeting will take place after Tory party conference.

I wanted it earlier, but Caithness said he needed to get his feet under the table.

The meeting is taking place on 16 October. I have told quite a number of other MPs about the meeting, so I think the chances are that we can get a number of Campaign Group MPs to be present.

I am not so sure this fellow in the Home Office knows that yet, but he will have to work it out.