

# SOCIALIST ORGANISER

FOR WORKERS' LIBERTY EAST AND WEST

## Protestants on the rampage

# Tory policy fuels bigots



Workers strike for the release of detained trade unionist Moses Mayekiso. Photo: IDAF.

## South Africa: Free all detainees!

10,000 SOUTH African prisoners may be released as a result of a ruling by the Supreme Court in Durban yesterday (11 August).

The court found that sections of the emergency regulations introduced on 12 June are invalid, in a case brought on behalf of Solomon Tsenoli,

Natal publicity secretary of the United Democratic Front, the main opposition group in South Africa.

The clauses declared invalid are those that empower the security forces to arrest and detain without warrant anyone they consider to be a threat to public order. For the present the ruling only affects Natal

province, of which Durban is the capital, where it could affect some 500 detainees.

The four leading English-language press groups in South Africa are pushing for a court ruling that the emergency regulations affecting the freedom of the press are also invalid. Recently, the Metal and Allied Workers' Union failed to win

a court ruling against the State of Emergency.

The new judgment is potentially extremely important, providing important legal leverage for the anti-apartheid forces — UDF, black consciousness groups, the left, and the trade unions.

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THAT THE Orange mobs were allowed to march, riot and rampage through the predominantly Catholic village of Keady in Northern Ireland last week is a disgrace — and it is an indictment of the British government which has responsibility for Northern Ireland.

Keady is a Catholic town. What business did the Orange Protestant bigots have to march and strut their way through the streets to the beat of their Lambeg drums and the wail of their pipes? The Catholics have long suffered under this Protestant triumphalism, which they hate and fear.

Why did the British government, which could have banned this provocative sectarian march, allow them to strut through Keady?

Because the British government believes in *balancing* between the Catholic and Protestant communities.

Last November it made a deal with the 26 County government to share a

### More on Ireland page 3

large part of the political control in Northern Ireland with Dublin. They knew that any attempt to control what the Orange bigots did or where they went during their traditional marching season in July and August could become the focus for full-scale clashes.

The Protestant march through a Catholic district in Portadown in Armagh became such an occasion — which was why the RUC authorised this march.

The British authorities want to avoid confrontation with the Orangists as much as possible. They want to ride out the angry Orange reaction with as little conflict as possible. They are still committed to power-sharing with Dublin, but they have chosen to play it 'softly, softly'.

The irreconcilable bigots didn't play it softly at Keady. They wrecked the centre of the town.

The Anglo-Irish agreement is a piece of fundamentally undemocratic tinkering with the problem, not a solu-

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# Inside Israel

ANY 'unauthorised' contact with representatives of the Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO) was banned by the Israeli parliament, the Knesset, this week.

The PLO was not named as such in the law, which refers to any 'organisation deemed by the government to be terrorist'. The Labour Party opposed the bill, but it was passed in exchange for a ban on racial incitement.

The view that the PLO must be talked to if progress is to be made is gaining wider currency among liberal circles in Israel, and some radicals have braved right-wing condemnation to set up discussions.

## Security scandal

FOUR Israeli security officials, including the head of the secret service, who covered up the killing of two Palestinian prisoners in 1984, have had their presidential pardons endorsed in a high court.

The court ruled that it would not

order the government to have an inquiry into the 'Shin Bet' affair (as it has become known, named after the secret service).

The two Palestinians were illegally murdered after their arrest for a bus hijacking in Gaza. Avraham Shalom, the security head, is alleged to have forged documents and intimidated witnesses.

Eight more Shin Bet members — including those actually responsible for the deaths, presumably — are requesting pardons.

## CYPRUS

# Troops out of Cyprus!

By Neophitos Ttofias

SUNDAY 20 July 1986 marked the twelfth anniversary of the Turkish invasion of Cyprus.

The invasion was provoked by a coup which was initiated by the military junta in Greece. Its aim was to establish 'enosis' (union of Cyprus with Greece), and it was carried out by the ultra-right EOKA-B, led by the well-known fascist Nicos Sampson.

It was the perfect excuse for the Turkish government to invade the island under the pretext of ensuring peace and guaranteeing the constitution. In reality it was creating Taksim (partition), which had been its intention for years.

The Turkish army occupied one third of the island's territory, up to the so-called Green Line which had previously been sketched by the British and the US.

2000 Cypriots were forced to leave their homes and flee. The Greeks in the north were forcibly removed by the Turkish army. Rape and murder were commonplace. In the South EOKA-B and its supporters attacked innocent Turkish Cypriots and mass graves were later found.

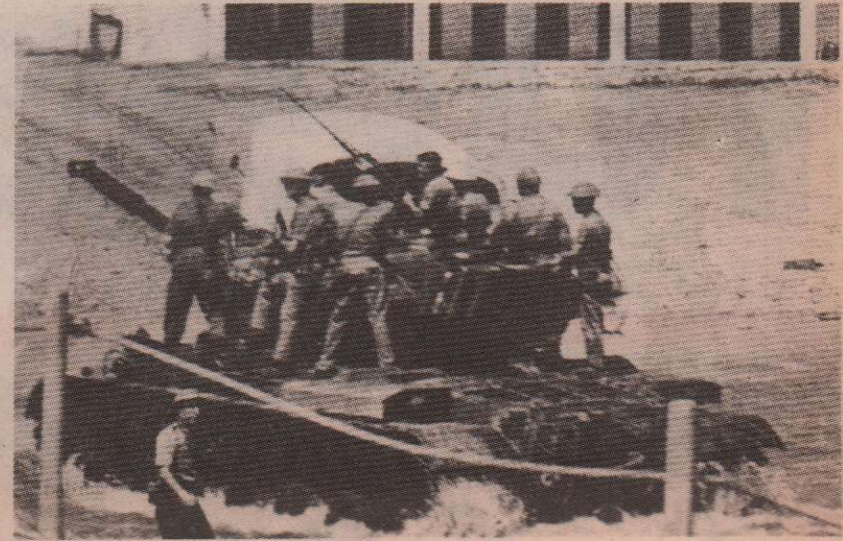
## Tension

Before 1955 there was relative peace between the communities in Cyprus. Greek and Turkish Cypriots lived happily together. There is a long history of village-level friendship. Cyprus was referred to as an 'ethnographic fruitcake' where Greek and Turkish 'currants' were mixed together in the same streets.

Between 1955 and 1974, however, inter-communal differences were encouraged and used as a means of control by the British in Cyprus. An atmosphere of tension was created and nurtured. Britain, which had ruled the island since acquiring it from Turkey in 1878, used 'divide and rule' tactics against the growing anti-colonial feeling.

The right wing Greek Cypriot movement EOKA-B (National Organisation of Cypriot Fighters) was banned and its supporters were hanged, imprisoned and persecuted. EOKA was anti-British, and so its activities were a threat. The Turkish Cypriot movement Volkan, which later became the TMT (Turkish Defence Force), was, like EOKA, guilty of many lethal attacks, yet it was allowed to function — because it supported a continued British presence, on the grounds that independence would mean rule by the Greek majority and therefore oppression of the Turkish Cypriots.

The British also encouraged the Turkish Cypriots to join the British police force in Cyprus, again making the Turkish Cypriots believe they had something to gain from maintaining the status quo. It was only when Turkish Cypriots put on British police uniform that they were killed by Greeks, and a good while later that people began to be killed solely because they were Greek or



The Turkish invasion

Turkish.

In 1958 the TMT planted a bomb in the Turkish Cypriot quarter of Nicosia in order to spark off a series of riots. George Grivas, the fascist leader of EOKA, instructed his members to attack police stations with Turkish policemen and Turkish villages. The TMT encouraged frightened Turkish Cypriots to move into their own no-go areas or enclaves.

After independence in 1960, tension continued. With the invasion in 1974, there was a transfer of population. The Greeks in the north had to go to the south, and the Turks to the north, regardless of whether they wanted to or not.

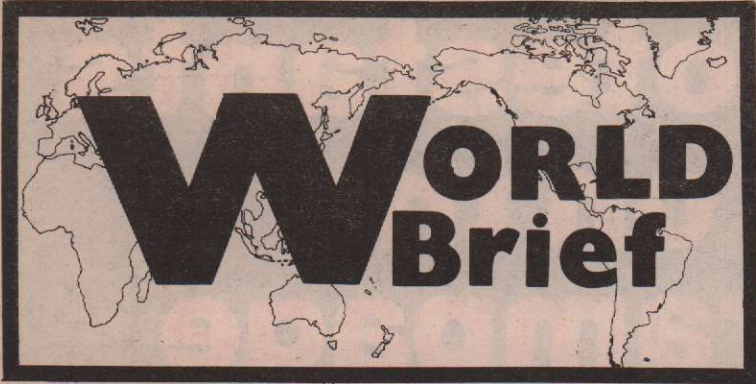
Many did not want to. Over 10,000 emigrated to Britain in 1974-5, though many found that they were not accepted and had to leave or to live as illegal immigrants.

One Cypriot in six lives in Britain, and most of them in London. On 20 July, a demonstration calling for the withdrawal of Turkish troops from Cyprus went from Hyde Park to the end of Regent Street in London. As every year, the march was made up of a few hundred Cypriots (mainly Greek, but some Turkish) and no other support outside the Cypriot community.

## Media

It is understandable that the capitalist media and establishment will not worry too much about Cyprus. The Left, however, is also embarrassingly silent on the question, partly, I suppose, because of a lack of information.

Cyprus is not an easy issue to tackle. No nation outside of Turkey recognises the so-called 'Republic of Northern Cyprus', yet the US has just built a multi-million dollar airbase in the north at Lefkoniko. The UK, Greece and Turkey were all supposed to be guarantors of Cyprus's independence — an independence which Cypriots had little say in defining. Two NATO countries, Greece and Turkey, are at direct odds with each other



Afghanistan: Polish socialists say

## USSR troops out!

The editors of 'Workers' Front', an underground paper of the left in Solidarnosc, have written an Open Letter to the workers of Azania (S. Africa) and Namibia, expressing solidarity. They also declare support for all the struggles of oppressed peoples world-wide.



Workers all over the world who fight for liberty and equality, for independence and self-government, irrespective of where they live or the nature of the oppression they fight, are natural allies with each other. That is why we solidarise and identify ourselves with the struggle of the Afghan people for the right of self-determination against the totalitarian Kremlin bureaucracy's armies of occupation, with the Sandinist revolution in Nicaragua menaced by the intervention of North American imperialism.

In the same way we solidarise with the resistance of the Turkish national minority in Bulgaria against the brutal policy of national, cultural, religious and linguistic Bulgarianisation and with the resistance movement of the Irish Republican Army for the liberation and unification of the whole of Ireland.

would sell them off — the gold price would hit the floor.

One big problem, though: will the governments ever do it? The scheme would rattle the already shaky international financial system. And since South Africa's gold mines are the most productive in the world, it would ruin gold producers outside South Africa — in the US, for example — double fast.

(One other thing. Such sanctions would also hit the world's second-biggest gold producer, the USSR. Perhaps that's why the orthodox sanctions campaign, with its strong links to Stalinism, does not push the gold-bust idea.)

No scheme for government sanctions is likely to be an effective substitute for working class solidarity.

for most sorts of sanctions to work.

The Economist, however, has an idea of its own. Gold is South Africa's most important export. There is no way to stop it being bought. But the western governments do have it in their power to hit South Africa hard by crashing the price of gold.

Stocks held by central banks — 263 million ounces in Fort Knox and other US vaults, 44 million in the Netherlands — are far bigger than annual trading in the gold market. So if the US and a few other countries started selling off their stocks — or even saying that they

Sanctions against apartheid

## Fort Knox and Pretoria

Economic sanctions by western governments would worry the South African regime and give a boost to black morale. But would they really be a decisive blow to the Botha government? A hard-headed analysis in the Economist magazine of 19 July suggests not.

OPEC already boycotts oil sales to South Africa. Yet South Africa has been steadily building up a stockpile of OPEC oil. Most western governments ban arms sales to South Africa. The white regime's own weapons industry is thriving.

There are just too many possible loopholes

Australia

## Labour warning

BIG SWINGS against the ruling Labor government in New South Wales, Australia, in two recent by-elections show working-class discontent with Labor's austerity policies.

Severe cuts in health and welfare spending by the federal Labor government are blamed for the massive swings of 16% and 22% — the highest in New South Wales's history — in the working-class electorates of Bass Hill and Rockdale.

Neil Kinnock, take



Kinnock

note! When Labor governments try to make workers pay for the economic crisis, workers get fed up.

Union-bashing in Argentina

HAVING come to power on a wave of workers' protest against the disastrous militarism of the generals who ruled Argentina, President Alfonsín is now planning to shackle the unions.

Draft laws recently published would outlaw strikes during the life of a wage agreement, and give the government power to order strikers back to work if their action caused 'severe prejudice' to the economy or affected 'essential services'.

Alfonsín also plans to tame the unions by putting worker directors on the boards of state and private enterprises.

A socialist view of Ireland

Socialist FORUM

Number 2



Ireland 69-85

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# The deal holds

**THE ANGLO-Irish agreement signed last November is a commitment by London and Dublin to share political power in the Six Counties.**

It is not joint rule because control of the executive there — and of the army and police — remains in London hands. But London is committed, by an international treaty registered at the UN, earnestly to seek to reach a common policy with Dublin when differences arise.

London has visibly done that.

So far the Anglo-Irish agreement has led to no dramatic change — to little more than an intensification of cross-border police collaboration. Its first



**Catholic residents confront soldiers as Loyalists prepare to march through Portadown. Photo: Martin Shakeshaft.**

being strengthened.

It has visibly been strengthened. As a result of Peter Barry's public criticism, the British ministers responsible for Northern Ireland have publicly acknowledged that it is the legitimate business of the Southern government to concern itself with the routing of Orange marches in Northern Ireland. The inter-governmental conference has continued to meet despite the embittered Orange protests.

Now Britain is announcing new measures to reassure the Catholics. In fact, of course, these are largely cosmetic measures. But what is significant is that the agreement holds and, however marginally, grows. It will

exist as a strong pressure for change in Northern Ireland. The main danger to it seems to come from the Fianna Fail opposition in the South.

Fianna Fail leader Charles J Haughey is apparently now committed to scrapping it if he wins the next election, due within a year. And his party is very much ahead in the 26 Counties opinion polls.

But Haughey is notoriously unscrupulous and unprincipled. He will not necessarily do in power what he now says he will do in opposition.

For socialists the objection to the Anglo-Irish agreement remains that it is undemocratic; that it further aliena-

tes the Protestants while giving very limited gains to the Catholics; and above all that it allows for the perpetuation of the existing undemocratic and untenable partition of Ireland.

But we should be clear — and most of those calling themselves Trotskyist in Britain and Ireland are not at all clear about it — the Anglo-Irish agreement is still in existence.

And it puts the Northern Ireland conflict in a new framework, radically different from the framework of the years between the breakdown of the old Six Counties arrangement in 1969 and the signing of the agreement in November 1985.

## The workers will tear down the Berlin Wall!

**25 YEARS ago German and Russian Stalinists built a wall of concrete and barbed wire, defended by machine-guns and soldiers, right across the city of Berlin and all around the borders separating West Berlin from Stalinist East Germany, within which West Berlin is a capitalist island 300 miles behind the East-West border.**

All the other great walls we read about in history — the Great Wall of China, or the wall built across Northern Britain by the Romans — were built by civilised people to keep barbarians out and to protect themselves. By contrast, the giant prison wall that now runs through Berlin was built by the Stalinist political barbarians to keep their own people in and to deprive them of even the last defence against a tyrannical state — the right to remove themselves from its jurisdiction.

### Bourgeois

16 years after the end of Hitler's war in 1945, the standards of living in West Germany and in West Berlin were far higher than those of the East. More than that, the west was a bourgeois democracy, where citizens had civil rights, including free trade unions, while the East was an airtight Stalinist police state.

In 1953 a working-class uprising in East Germany was mercilessly crushed

by Russian troops and tanks. And recently the West German trade unions protested against the use by Western employers of cheap contract labour from East Germany, on the grounds that the East Germans were not being paid union rates, they worked over-long hours, they had poor safety provisions, and they had no trade union representation. They undercut unionised West German workers.

### Vast

Because of the better conditions in the West, vast numbers of people used to go across the open border to West Germany, and stay. It was a great drain on the East German economy to have its workers exercising the right to sell their labour at a higher price elsewhere. The Stalinist rulers' answer was the giant prison wall, brutally cutting the city in half.

The wall is a symbol of how brutal and barbaric the Stalinist system is — brutal and barbaric even by comparison with German capitalism, with its exploitation, its racism against Turkish migrant workers, its witch-hunts against 'terrorist sympathisers' and 'communists', and its mounting unemployment.

The great prison wall in Berlin also symbolises the large number of nations — a majority in the population of the USSR itself, and on top of that the satellite countries in Eastern Europe — who live in the Russian sphere of influence — who are nationally oppressed by the Stalinist system centred in

Moscow.

The Tsarist Empire which the Russian workers, led by Lenin and Trotsky, overthrew in 1917, had long been called 'the prison house of nations'. The revolution liberated those nations.

But, if the Bolsheviks knocked down the prison walls, the Stalinist counter-revolution in the late '20s rebuilt them. Great-Russian chauvinism and Stalinism went together. The smaller nations were again persecuted and culturally repressed — as is today the 60-million-strong Ukrainian nation within the USSR.

After the war a large clutch of East and Central European nations effectively lost their independence and came under the Russian overlord.

### Visible

The great visible wall in Berlin is only one of the inner walls of the prison house of nations which Moscow has erected in the USSR and right into the heart of Central Europe. It is a visible and tangible prison wall which symbolises one of the greatest problems in the world today — the vast national oppression that makes up so much of the life of the prison-house of nations which Stalin built on the ruins of the Tsar's old empire and far beyond its borders.

The international working class, and in the first place the Russian and East European workers, must once again break down those prison walls as the Bolsheviks and their allies did in 1917 and after.

**P**  
Press  
**GANG**

## Biggles goes to pieces

**THOUGHT I'D have a squint at the old Daily Telegraph this week. Used to be a regular reader, of course, when old Bill Deedes was at the helm. Only stopped taking the thing when old Bill threw in the towel and they announced his successor: that awful little bugger Max 'Biggles' Hastings.**

He may have liberated Port Stanley singlehanded during the Falklands show, but I've never forgiven him for that disgraceful business with the pineapple chunks at Buffy Frobisher's daughter's coming-out do. You remember, don't you?

Anyway, at first, I was pleasantly surprised.

But then this whole Commonwealth Conference business blew up and Biggles and his loyal hacks seemed to go to pieces. While I'm sure you, like me, couldn't quite suppress a quiet smirk at the sight of little Sir Geoffrey squirming as his bollocks were publicly roasted by Kaunda during that less than triumphant tour of the Dark Continent, nonetheless, the natural reaction of any right-thinking *Telegraph* reader had to be, 'Sod these jumped-up buggers and to hell with their beloved Commonwealth'.

That, combined with a certain sympathy with the beleaguered Boer (not to mention such sordid matters as trade and investments) seemed to dictate an obvious line.

**By Col. James 'Squiffy' Denham (rtd.)**

But hold on a tick! In Tuesday's edition, some Canadian Johnny was given a lot of space to put up a very brainy-sounding defence of the Commonwealth, and to issue a dire warning.

And then there's the undeniable fact that H.M. Lizzie herself has quite a soft spot for Mugabe and his cronies, and breaking up the Commonwealth would knock a pretty sizeable hole in the Christmas Day message.

Biggles's ploy was a bold — some would say desperate — one: to make out that the problem didn't exist; everyone had 'agreed to differ' and all was tickety-boo behind the scenes.

'Mrs. Thatcher and the six other Commonwealth Summit leaders were understood last night to have agreed to go their own ways on sanctions against South Africa', claimed 'Diplomatic Correspondent' David Adamson on Tuesday's front page.

This approach depended for its success upon one central assumption: that *Telegraph* readers don't read any other papers, watch the news on the box, or listen to anything except the Fat Stock prices on the radio. Not too wide of the mark, actually, but by Wednesday, Biggles had realised that his line simply wouldn't wash.

The editorial droned on about 'damage limitation' and how the outcome was 'tolerable for the government', but then concluded with the following gutless, *Guardian*-style bleating: 'Reluctantly, we acknowledge that by Autumn the political and diplomatic price of continued resistance by the Prime Minister, in the face of overwhelming world pressure, may be too high to be accepted.'

What with pissed-up Gurkhas running amok and beating the living daylights out of their officers, it's been a bad week for us old Colonials. I had hoped the *Telegraph* would stand firm, a rock against the swelling tide or whatever.

I should have known better, remembering the pineapple chunks. See you at the nineteenth hole.

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# GRAFFITI

400,000 council houses bought

## Selling off Homes

About 400,000 council tenants, or 8 per cent of the total, have bought their homes under the Tories' sell-them-off laws.

The government has forced councils to increase rents rapidly, thus making house purchase more attractive. Few new houses have been built under the Tories, so in effect the widespread desire for home-ownership (77% of people want their own home, according to the Building Societies Association) is being satisfied by running down the public stock for future generations.

About 63% of households in England are owner-occupiers; 28%



rent from the public sector or housing associations, 9% from private landlords.

Scotland has a much lower level of owner-occupation, only 40%.

But on broader international comparisons the distinctive features of English (and Scottish) housing is the small number of private tenants.

## Labour MPs after next election



Kilroy-Sulk

50,000 leaving each year

## Irish exodus

NOT MANY countries have a population little more than half of what it was 150 years ago. But a huge drain of emigration has afflicted Ireland since the Famine in the 1840s.

In the 1960s and '70s, as the South's industry boomed, the drain was reduced and even reversed. But now there is once again a huge exodus of young people

from the island.

An article in the Republican paper 'An Phoblacht' (31 July) estimates the flow at 50,000 a year — even higher than the 1950s. About 40,000 come to Britain, and about 12,000 go to the US. 'An Phoblacht' reports:

"A report on the situation of young Irish emigrants in London in 1985 ... showed that 57% of people had no accommodation on arrival in London and 27% had actually slept rough. 34% had less than £30 in their pockets, and 47% of respondents were without work at the time of the survey..."

"The report... recommends that if young people want to comfortably emigrate to London they would need almost £1,000; it then comments that if they had £1,000 in Ireland they probably would not emigrate in the first place!"

## Record profits

## Banks

POVERTY in Britain, IMF cuts and starvation in the Third World — but there's good news for some.

Britain's Big Four banks increased their profits 23% from 1985 to the first half of 1986, to a total of £1,450 million.

# Utopia in Palestine

TONY GREENSTEIN (SO 278) has, once again, missed the point in his defence of the 'secular, democratic state in Palestine' argument.

## Democratic

Of course, Marxists seek to use even limited democratic demands as tools for mobilisation; and any mobilisation necessarily poses new social questions, so that a struggle for purely democratic demands may develop into an assault on the entire social system. But it is not the Marxist approach to say: this is our democratic programme, but it is utterly meaningless unless all social relations are overhauled and society begins afresh.

This is precisely what the 'secular democratic state' slogan boils down to. To be at all possible it would re-

quire a complete change in consciousness of the vast majority of the Hebrew-speaking nation. Currently they are opposed even to autonomy for the Palestinians, let alone an independent Palestinian state: but they would have to accept, on Tony's own account, the extinction of 'Israeli Jewish nationhood'.

They would not only have to reject nationalism, but discard national identity — something Marxists generally reckon to be possible only after generations living under socialism.

## Israeli Jews

The 'secular democratic state' cannot rationally be a proposal for an immediate solution to the Israeli/Palestine conflict. It can only be a proposal that could, possibly, take effect sometime in the future, after the conflict

is solved. Yet Greenstein et al talk about it as if it could be implemented immediately?

How? By what means are the Israeli Jews to miraculously change their consciousness overnight?

## Smashing

This question is not answered, because it cannot be. In reality, the 'secular, democratic' state could only come into being in the foreseeable future on the basis of the military defeat of Israel in a way that could not be 'democratic' at all. The result would not be the happy intermingling of the two communities, but the opposite. This is all that can be meant by 'smashing the Zionist state', whatever the subjective intentions.

CLIVE BRADLEY, London.

## SOUTH AFRICA

# The best solidarity

BOB FINE's articles on sanctions are described as "a sustained attack on the whole sanctions campaign" by Gerry Bates in SO 278. Worse, they are "socialist" cover for the right wing".

It is wrong, says Gerry Bates, to criticise the 'sanctions campaign' at all: "the whole of the left must support the ANC and its call for sanctions unconditionally".

## More

What is the substance of the matter? Bob Fine, and Gerry, and me, support the call for sanctions. The point Bob was making was that to call for government sanctions alone is not enough. Effective solidarity with the struggle demands more.

It must be transparently obvious that we are not going to get very much in the way of sanctions out of this government. They may do more than they are doing, but that still won't be much.

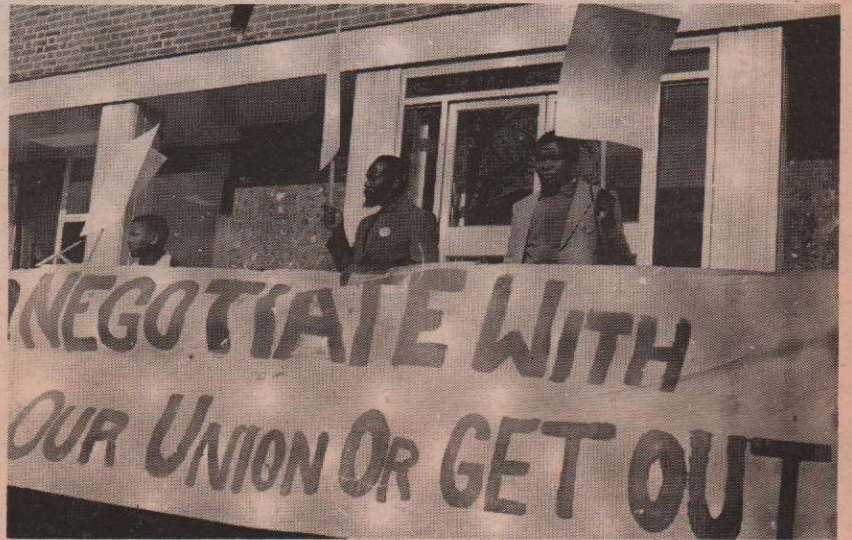
No doubt this inaction does "demonstrate the nature and role of British imperialism". But the South African workers require of us a bit more than that, I think. We need to act: to organise in the unions for the imposition of sanctions from below.

Working-class action is not only more likely than sanctions from the government. It can be far more effective. And workers' sanctions will be subject to real working-class control.

We decide the objectives, duration, etc. of sanctions, rather than a government whose only intention will be to manipulate events to its own advantage.

There is a further point of real contention here, though. How should socialists respond to the anti-sanctions argument that black workers will suffer? Of course we can respond by denouncing their hypocrisy — and Bob's articles did that.

But there is a grain of truth to the argument. It is also true that sanctions could affect British workers' jobs. The only serious answer to this is to couple



South African workers demonstrate outside British Tyre & Rubber in London. Photo: Ian Swindale.

the call for jobs in a call for the defence of jobs — in Britain and in South Africa.

## Moralism

And the only serious way to defend jobs is for workers in Britain and in South Africa to build the strongest possible rank-and-file links. Sanctions 'from below' can be organised jointly, worked out in collaboration — as much as we can — with South African workers.

Working-class internationalism is an answer to those who oppose sanctions, and to the strategies of international capital — British imperialism especially. Moralism is no answer.

And Gerry Bates' exhortation to us to simply 'agree with the ANC' and stop thinking about the sanctions campaign is essentially no more than that.

BRIAN SULLIVAN, Swindon.

## PORN

# Unholy alliance

A RECENT editorial in SO criticised — rightly, I thought — those on the Left who, intending to advance women's rights, take a line on suppressing pornography similar in effect to that of the very differently motivated Mary Whitehouse brigade.

Now the Communist Party in the US has come out in open solidarity — not just de facto alliance — with the moralistic Right.

Last month the CP welcomed a pro-censorship report on pornography from a commission headed by Reagan's Attorney-General Ed Meese, and proposed measures against pornography "ranging from warnings to prison sentences".

This at a time when AIDS hysteria is being used to witch-hunt gays in the US, and the Supreme Court has just endorsed a law to make all oral or anal sex illegal in many states.

Also of interest is a comment in the latest 'Feminist Review' by Elizabeth Wilson: "Half of those on the left who think they are sensitive to feminism have taken up the pornography issue without being aware that it is one on which socialist-feminists disagree".

ALAN GILBERT, Swansea

## WITCH-HUNT

# Defend the LPYS

THE ONGOING witch-hunt against socialists in the Labour Party has now extended to an attack on the Party's youth section, the LPYS. The National Executive Committee (NEC) is proposing:

★ Reduction of the maximum age of YS membership from 26 to 21. This would gut the YS of its most experienced and capable members, leaving it a politically and organisationally inexperienced membership which could more easily be manipulated by the Party leadership.

★ A bureaucratic fusion of the YS

with Labour Students and trade union youth sections (which mostly do not yet exist), without any consultation with the YS.

On Tuesday 5 August, 15 YS members from six different YS branches met to launch a fighting campaign against these attacks. Our next meeting will be at 7.30 on Tuesday 19 August, in room 8 of the City Halls, Albion St, Glasgow, and all YS members who oppose the present attacks are welcome.

STEVE McLEOD, 'Defend the LPYS' Campaign, Glasgow.

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



# Defend Khan and Scally!

Leaflet from the Kevin Scally / Amir Khan Defence Campaign

To Secretaries of All Labour Party Organisations.

We are appealing on behalf of Councillor Amir Khan and Kevin Scally for the support of your organisation in winning their reinstatement as Labour Party members.

Councillor Amir Khan and Kevin Scally were expelled by Birmingham Sparkbrook CLP in November 1985. Their appeals were rejected by the NEC on Monday 9 June 1986 by 13

votes to 12. Both Amir Khan and Kevin Scally were said to have 'brought the Labour Party into disrepute'.

Amir Khan has been an active member of the Transport and General Workers Union for 15 years, having been a shop steward for three years. In the Labour Party he has been branch vice-chair and a sub-agent to Roy Hattersley in the 1983 general election. Amir Khan organised a meeting in Sparkbrook CLP to discuss forming a

black section. For this he was accused by the constituency executive of 'bringing the Labour Party into disrepute'. Subsequently the General Committee endorsed this charge and then went on to expel him from party membership.

### Responsible

Kevin Scally has been a party member for 17 years, during which time he has held several positions of responsibility in his ward and constituency. He

was expelled for being involved in the Bandung File TV programme on Asian involvement in Sparkbrook CLP. In it he drew attention to membership irregularities in the Sparkhill Ward, where as secretary, in December 1983, he received a sudden influx of 140 new applications. On investigation many of these turned out to have not been signed by the applicants. Some came from non-existent addresses.

The actions of Councillor Amir Khan

and Kevin Scally do not substantially differ from those of other party members. Nor do they break any of the party's constitutional rules or warrant expulsions.

We therefore appeal to you to support this campaign and ask that your organisation takes whatever action seems appropriate to achieve their reinstatement at the earliest possible date.

LABOUR PARTY

# Liverpool council's £12m cuts

ON MONDAY 28 July Liverpool council finance chair Tony Byrne gave a report to an aggregate meeting of the disbanded District Labour Party. Towards the end of a long speech he slipped in the fact that it would be 'necessary' to make a spending cut of about £12 million.

£10 million of this would be 'painless' but the other £2 million would not. Byrne stated that he could provide no information as to where the cuts might fall. This would be left to the relevant council committees.

A vote was taken to accept the financial report. Forty or so, mainly Militant supporters, voted for, and two SO supporters against, giving Byrne a blank cheque to make unspecified cuts.

The majority of the 100-plus present abstained, which is a significant indication that the ordinary rank and file of Liverpool Labour Party are very uneasy with the way things are going.

Advance warning that cuts were on the agenda came in the previous week when Felicity Dowling, deputy chair of the Education Committee and a Militant supporter, attempted to make cuts in primary school provision for the

By Bas Hardy

'rising fives' — children previously admitted to full-time primary education before their fifth birthday.

This move nearly provoked a riot of angry working-class parents, who besieged the council chambers and forced Dowling to back down. 'Rising fives' provision was introduced by the Labour council three years ago, and it was quite rightly presented as an important achievement.

The cuts that we do know are going ahead are in funding of citizens' advice bureaux. The voluntary sector is always a popular area for cuts because voluntary organisations often take an independent political line from the council.

The Merseyside Community Relations Council, various ethnic groups such as the Somalis and Chinese, unemployed centres and the Vauxhall Community Centre have all lost out financially.

Privatisation of council-owned assets is another measure already introduced. Militant talk of 'nationalising the 200 or so monopolies', yet in Liverpool they approved privatising 200 or so council properties!

A portfolio of council properties for sale produced by the council's Estates



Derek Hatton and Tony Mulhearn

Department includes Columendy, an educational centre in North Wales where for 40 years many working-class children experienced their first holiday outside of Liverpool. (It was immortalised in Willy Russell's play 'Our Day Out').

The portfolio also includes Holbrook special school. This will be sold off to slum school accommodation in Stonycroft — a vandalised 'sin bin' formerly used for 'uncontrollable' school students.

### Interested

The magazine 'Private Eye' has reported that the firm of Rook and Fox are interested in buying some of the properties up for sale. Derek Hatton has just been holidaying in Michael Fox's villa in Marbella.

Why do the Militant continue to support the likes of Hatton? Are they incapable of learning anything from their spell in power in Liverpool?

Terry Harrison admitted to the 'Not-the-DLP' aggregate that Militant had "made mistakes". Terry is an honest Militant supporter whose record is beyond reproach. Yet he failed to specify exactly what these 'mistakes' were.

More to the point, when trying to answer the question why the Labour Party had failed to build a 'broadly-based campaign', he denounced 'those organisations on the fringes of the labour movement who represent nobody but themselves', and stated that the involvement of these unspecified groups in a campaign would amount to the 'liquidation' of the Labour Party!

'Those on the fringes' could only have meant black people. Not one single person from the black community was present at a 120-strong Labour Party meeting. Harrison continues the old mistakes by counterposing the traditional labour movement against grass-roots community organisations, which need to be drawn into the struggle.

Does Militant seriously consider that organisations such as Women Against Pit Closures have no role to play in the struggle for socialism? The question which needs to be asked is

why groups like blacks and women are 'on the fringes'. The fault, Dear Terry, lies not in the stars but in ourselves!

An apocryphal story illustrates the problems with Liverpool council. Two years ago, a Labour candidate for the Dingle area of Liverpool invited Tony Byrne to talk to a group of elderly people concerned about housing redevelopment.

They wanted to be rehoused in their area, but the council planned to rehouse them elsewhere. Byrne told them: 'In my back pocket I have the keys to 12 of the nicest council houses in Liverpool. If I threw them up in the air, you would all be scrambling on the ground for them. So don't give me all this crap about wanting to be rehoused in the area!'

The story sums up the elitist and bureaucratic approach of Liverpool's Labour leadership — Militant and non-Militant — to the working class. 'We will do things for you. If you criticise our plans, you are a truly ungrateful lot'.

This attitude explains why the council — despite many good things it has done — no longer enjoys mass support, and is now going down the road of privatisation and other cuts in

jobs and services.

Militant are currently chasing the illusion of power. They propose no campaign except the recruitment of individuals in ones and twos to the party through doorstep canvassing. They would sooner go to the capitalist courts for a judgment on what they are doing than to the local electorate.

The Liverpool council case has so far run up a legal bill of £300,000, and is regarded by many Labour supporters as a complete waste of money. It contrasts starkly with the position of Lambeth, whose councillors were prepared to resign, to put their policies to the test, and have a new set of troops elected to carry them out. When we finally do have the 47 by-elections, Labour is going to get a drubbing.

### Pathetic

The current situation is nothing short of pathetic. A 'Trotskyist'-led Labour council is carrying out Tory cuts. It blames the Tories, the Kinnockites, and the trade union bureaucracy, but never itself.

What can you expect when you ask working-class people to get down on their knees for a key to a council flat, instead of asking them to get up on their feet and struggle for their own liberation?

CREATIVE ACCOUNTANCY KILLS

## Cuts cost lives

The NHS is campaigning to get children vaccinated against a treatable disease that kills very few — whooping cough. At the same time, some 1½ million people are not being offered vaccination against an incurable disease that can cause death from liver failure or cancer — hepatitis B.

### Vaccinate

Hospitals are denied the cash to vaccinate those most at risk, even though it is cheaper than treating them. Can this be because they are people for whom the Tory government cares little — gay men and drug addicts?

Hepatitis B first appeared after blood transfusions and mass vaccinations; it is a serious problem in kidney dialysis units; haemophilia and transplant patients are at risk; it can be spread by dentistry, tattooing, dirty

beer glasses, do-it-yourself ear-piercing and communal bathing; drug users who share needles have a high risk; most at risk nowadays are gay men.

Once infected, the virus is never lost and some people become permanently infectious. Symptoms include a serious, even fatal, jaundice and 5% go on to develop liver cancer. An immunisation programme would cost £4 million a year against £20 million to treat new cases.

Limits on hospital spending mean that doctors in special clinics are told not to vaccinate gay patients. These are advised to ask their own GPs but many are understandably unwilling to "come out" in this way. Similar inhibitions may affect drug users.

The money is therefore available to prevent hepatitis B but not in the "right" account. For this absurd piece of cosmetic cost-cutting, thousands may die.

**LIVERPOOL:**

**WHAT WENT WRONG?**  
A SOCIALIST ORGANISER PAMPHLET 20p

## The Real Story

Socialist Organiser special pamphlet on Liverpool outlining the real history of the council's battle against the Tories. 20p plus p&p from SO, PO Box 823, London SE15 4NA.



# Staying p

There is a long, hidden history of struggle by black people in this country. Peter Fryer's book 'Staying Power' (Pluto Press) is a vital contribution to rediscovering some of that history.

Sharon Persaud outlines the story.

PETER Fryer's book is centred around an examination of two main ideas: the contribution of black slave labour to British capitalism, and the effect that English racism continues to have on the lives of black Britons.

These two histories are tightly bound together: since the rise of capitalism in the sixteenth century, with its harsh doctrine of profit at any human cost, the ruling classes have fostered a whole ideology of racism to justify their barbaric treatment of black people.

It is the remains of this ideology of slavery and of empire that still oppresses black people today.

Fryer's book, just by its chronicle of events, explodes one racist myth after another; he shows that black people, far from being recent immigrants, were here as officers and free soldiers in the Roman army — centuries before the 'English'! Since the third century, then, there has been a black presence living and dying in this country; in the early sixteenth century, for example, there are records of black Africans well-known at the Scottish court, and of a musician in a similar position at the Tudor court in England.

### Position

As favoured retainers in that society, however, their position was very different from that of the next generation brought to Britain in the 1560s — as slaves.

These were the first victims of English greed — part of a human cargo sold to Spain for jewels, sugar and spices. Their captor was rewarded by the Queen with a high post — and the provision of a ship and crew for another expedition. From the very start, profitable slavery was sanctioned

and encouraged by English governments.

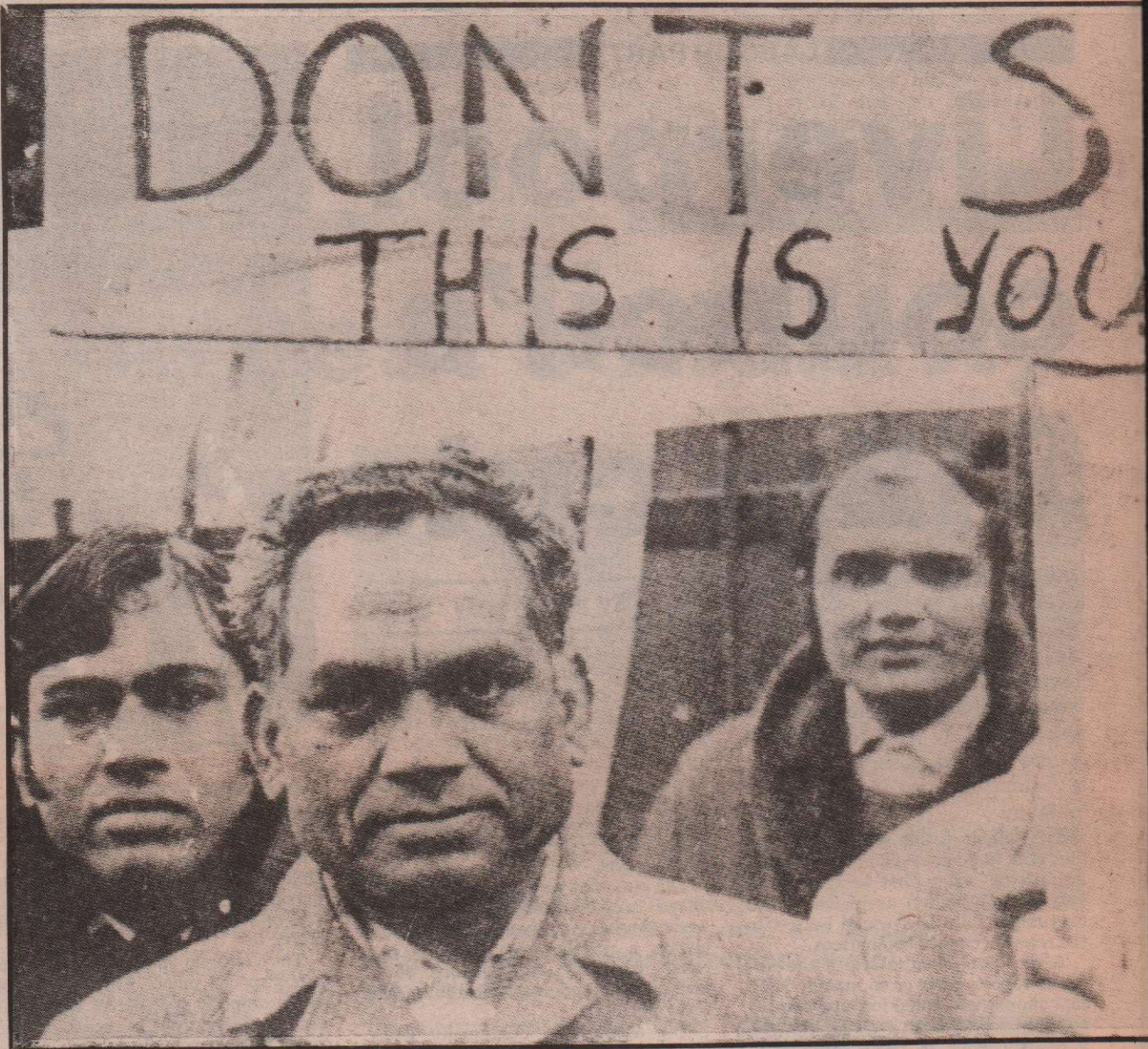
Fryer's book carefully illustrates how, hand in hand with this ever-extending economic policy, the scraps of prejudice which littered popular speech and thought were consolidated into a doctrine of racial inferiority, formulated to serve the economic needs of the ruling class, and transmitted, like a disease, by the printing presses which they controlled.

### Slavery

For example, in the eighteenth century, the class of Caribbean planters and slave merchants whose great wealth was founded on slavery, was responsible for the systematic propagation of racist ideology. In their writings, black people are shown as bestial, akin to the apes with whom they breed, savage, sexually obsessed; if credited as human, they were depicted as mentally deficient or as sullen, vicious children — in short, conveniently enough, as a race to be ruled.

These racist stereotypes, reinforced by a deliberate misapplication of Darwinian evolution, persisted into the nineteenth century, despite the public and prominent achievements of black people.

These included Mary Seacole, for whom the army, grateful for her nursing in the Crimea, organised a four day musical festival in Kennington, forgotten behind Florence Nightingale; Ira Aldridge, hailed in Europe as the best tragic actor yet seen, remains in the shadow of Edmund Kean; Samuel Coleridge-Taylor, a composer celebrated by the Royal College of Music, is now entirely forgotten — as is the fact that it was the native traditions of the eighteenth century black musicians which opened up entirely new possibilities in Western classical music, seized upon by composers like Mozart and



Asian workers on strike at Imperial Typewriters, Leicester, in 1974. White-dominated

Beethoven.

Behind the planters' irrational outpourings — resolutely uninfluenced by the truth — stood vast profits from the 'triangular trade', where manufactured goods carried to Africa, were bartered for slaves there, who were then taken to the Caribbean and sold for sugar, spices, tobacco and rum to go to Britain. As the ships were never empty, huge profits were amassed for the planters, and the merchants and industrial capitalists — as well as all bankers, insurers and financiers that their trade spawned.

Only economic changes, together with a change in the ideology which perpetuated its racist assumptions, could end slavery. Abolition of the slave trade, which came in 1807, was not due to the triumph of conscience embodied by Wilberforce, but economic reasons. In the short term, Pitt, the PM, wanted to destroy the prosperity of Haiti, a French colony built on slave labour brought from British traders; in addition, over-production had made sugar less profitable.

### Capitalism

Behind all the calculation, however, lay the intrinsically suicidal nature of capitalism, described by Marx as 'its own grave-digger'. Thus commercial capitalism, in this case the slave trade, which spawned industrial capitalism, was later made obsolete and consigned to the past by it. Profits now came mainly from factory production, which needed the flexibility of wage labour in place of the limited scope of forced labour — and the factory-owners exploiting wage labour wanted to oust com-

petitors using forced labour.

From early on, black people and the working class were linked together as enemies of capitalism. As far back as 1768, John Fielding, a famous London magistrate, remarked viciously that '(black people) have the Mob on their side'.

Most of Britain's 10,000 black people were already concentrated in London, and there are contemporary reports which imply that they were assimilated into the London low life of the period, with accounts of black and white servants roistering together in various inns.

The histories of black emancipation and working class struggle are linked throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Opposition to slavery and later to imperialism were part of Britain's radical tradition. Working class solidarity and radicalism played a greater part than middle class conscience in the struggle against slavery.

Incorporated in the popular call of the late eighteenth century for 'Wilkes and Liberty', directed against Parliament, was the demand for emancipation; from this, a clear line can be traced through the diverse radical societies of the 1780s, whose histories Fryer also maps, to the Chartists. All these groups openly linked the common struggles of black and white workers in England with the rights of black people in the colonies.

This message was driven home to the authorities both by riots — over the reaction of a people oppressed beyond hope or fear — and by an epic series of petitions lasting from the eighteenth

century to the fourth decade of the nineteenth. These were supported strongly by working people even in those ports which had flourished during slavery: in Manchester, for example, 20,000 from a population of 75,000 signed one particular petition.

And slaves in Britain forced the law to acknowledge their rights by self emancipation: by the 1790s, they had largely asserted their freedom by fleeing their masters and seeking refuge among a supportive working class or black groups; this was still 40 years before the laws banning slavery.

### Resurgence

After a period of repression in the late eighteenth century, there was a resurgence of radical activity, partly in response to grinding poverty, but directly triggered in 1814 by the proposal to renew rights to French slave traders. As before, this was met by a combination of petitions — signed by a higher proportion of the population than signed the later Chartist petitions — and insurrections and revolts.

Set against the background of the Peterloo massacre, when more than 500 unarmed demonstrators were routed by an armed militia, support for black rights grew with the recognition that it was the same power simultaneously oppressing black and white, at home and abroad. And working class organisations did not bestow radicalism, like charity, on passive black people; black Britons themselves were among the foremost activists of the day.

Fryer picks out the histories of men

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Where it comes from  
How to destroy it

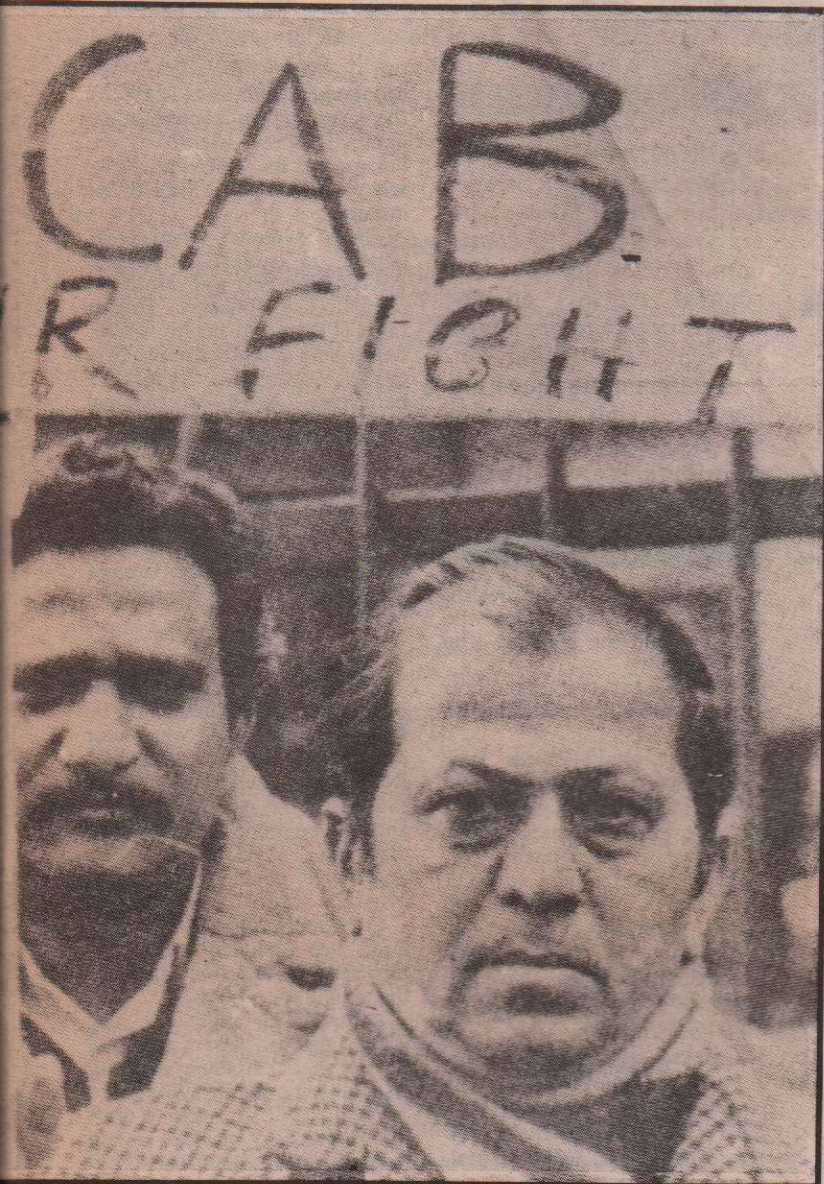
**RACISM**

**MORE ON RACISM**

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



# Power



## unions scabbed on them.

such as Olandah Equiano, unofficial leader of Britain's organised black community, and active in the eighteenth century radical group, the London Corresponding Society; William Davidson, executed in 1821 for high treason as part of a plot to assassinate the Cabinet; of Robert Weddeburn, imprisoned after writing the first revolutionary tracts to reach the West Indies or blasphemous dissent.

Both Weddeburn and Davidson, for example, were part of the Spencean movement, the most radical of the revolutionary socialist groups in Britain at the time. They were instrumental in the series of uprisings against the state between 1816-19, which finally fizzled out, harshly suppressed by a government kept constantly informed by a network of spies.

After this setback, the revolutionary tradition was diffused in several directions.

Black people continued to use every route to freedom, from Chartism — William Cuffay, one of the movement's leaders, was transported in 1848 for the new political crime of felony — to involvement in local and national government later in the century. Wherever there was political activity, black people were found, always aware of the common roots of racial and class oppression.

Fryer cites names like J. R. Archer, one of the founders of the nationalist Pan-African movement, and leader of Battersea's labour movement, where he became Mayor. In turn, he helped the Indian-born Saklatvala, who sat as Communist and Labour MP in the 1920s.

Both those men continued the radical tradition by combining the interests of the colonial oppressed with that of the welfare of the classes they were elected to represent.

Not only Africans and Afro-Caribbeans, but also Asians, have a history of resistance in Britain. Fryer shows that, although Saklatvala was the first left-wing Asian MP, a long line of activism stood behind him.

This stretched back to the seventeenth century, where Asians are recorded as pageant performers, to their eighteenth century settlement as domestic servants, and to the nineteenth century when many Lascar sailors were stranded in British ports and took up residence there.

Though they left few records, possibly because of the language barrier, their tradition is linked to the more accessible African and Afro-Caribbean one — as shown by Archer's help in the election of Saklatvala.

## Labour

In fact, after the abolition of slavery, the planters turned to indentured labour from India, where Asians were tricked into leaving for work in the West Indies, where they were often treated little better than slaves.

Asian political activity in Britain obviously began later — the community only became sufficiently large and organised in the twentieth century — but showed the same determination to use every political outlet.

The labour movement today has failed to acknowledge black people's tradition and solidarity. Fryer's book

documents the rising racist tide both sweeping through the streets and coursing through institutions: pushed by teachers like Ray Honeyford, it emerges in Parliament in statements like Mrs. Thatcher's notorious remarks on 'being swamped by an alien culture'.

As throughout the book, Fryer illustrates this by a historical analysis. Race riots first hit Cardiff in 1919, victimising not only Black Britons resident there since the eighteenth century, but also the servicemen demobilised after voluntarily coming to England's aid in World War One. All the elements familiar to today's black inhabitants of the inner cities was present: against a background of unemployment, black people were viciously set upon in the streets by roaming mobs, unchecked by a police force more sympathetic to the criminals than the victims, and completely misrepresented by the press which fuelled the violence by their stereotypical portrayal of the black people.

## Racism

The government made its own contribution to this eruption of racism by instructing labour exchange managers to keep unemployed black seamen in ignorance of their rights. Simultaneously, there were riots in Toxteth and London, where, after running battles in Cable Street, there was horrifying arson in the suburbs of Poplar.

These days the victims are the post-1945 immigrants, vital to the post-war reconstruction, who came in response to governmental requests, as well as those Black Britons born here, and whose families have been long established. Again these attacks are mounting as fast as the economy declines — ironically, the bitter legacy of a capitalist past built, as we have seen, on black blood and bones — and again these attacks are sanctioned by a state eager for a scapegoat for unemployment.

In 1919, a Glasgow trade unionist admitted that the response to the economic attacks on the poor ought to have been a revolution or general strike; despite the present racist tide, there are signs that his words are at last being heard.

## Violence

In the same cities where black and white working class fought against state repression in the eighteenth century, black and white youths, in the early 1980s, joined together against the police and authorities; more than a response to decades of police harassment and racist violence, it was an extreme response to an extreme situation.

Their violence, the only political expression left to the utterly dispossessed, was an attempt to tear down the social and economic fabric of the country which until now has bound them both in poverty, unemployment and despair.

Peter Fryer's book has many strengths, and ought to be read by as many people as possible. Keeping the economic base firmly in view, he has publicised the lost histories of black individuals and of the labour movement in vivid and readable descriptions of characters and achievements.

Despite his use of original documents and statements, however, there is a lot more to be written by black people themselves on issues such as their self-organisation, and on the place of black women in their liberation — in short, on the inside history of the resistance whose public achievements Fryer so excellently records.

# The germs to sicken Murdoch

Jean Lane reports on a protest by the people who live near Fortress Wapping

THE POLICE attacked a 'Reclaim Our Streets' march by local residents in Wapping last Saturday, 10th.

The march was the second one organised by the local Printers' Support Group to protest at the roadblocks in Wapping and the 'pass laws' the police are operating which mean that local residents who cannot, or refuse to, produce identification are not allowed through.

A small group of residents, with some local Labour Party people and a few children, had met at Glamis Road to march through their own estates to Murdoch's fortress. They intended to deliver a letter to the fortress-keeper himself, demanding the reinstatement of the sacked printers, recognition of the unions, and an end to the strike which has caused the blockading of their streets and disruption of their lives.

## Spirits high

Though the march was small, spirits were high and the singing and shouting "Murdoch's police off our streets! End the roadblocks now!" resounded round the estate, bouncing off the walls of the houses and bringing other residents to their windows. All who watched either raised a cup or clapped the little band.

Roads had been aptly re-named before the demo started. So we marched from Murdoch Road, through Murdoch Street, down Murdoch Lane, past Murdoch Bank, and into Murdoch Way. "You've taken our streets from us", blasted the megaphones. "Well, we're taking them back!"

And the streets had been taken away in more ways than one from the local ratepayers. The Wapping estate is part of the Docklands Redevelopment Area — redevelopment from a working-class housing estate into a private rich man's playground and business centre.

All along our route were glossy signs on the walls, "Four bedroom luxury house, £105,000", and the like. There is 22% unemployment in the area.

As we turned into Murdoch Lane, one of the stewards warned us that the police had designated some of the roads in the estate as 'sterile areas'. "You're bloody right there, mate", someone from the demo shouted. "Half of them are still in hospital!"

Surprise, surprise. The 'sterile area' turned out to be a little road leading from the back streets out onto the Highway where Fortress Wapping stands. And the Murdoch Bootboys were not going to allow any local germs down there to contaminate it. They blocked the road.

The germs stood fast. The thin and began to surround us. The pushing began. The children started to get crushed and look frightened.

The little band of germs was led by a kamikaze pilot who shouted, "The police won't do anything to us here. It's too embarrassing for them. Push!"

Since the police had felt confident enough in the past to harass and arrest people on wide public highways in broad daylight, I had little doubt that they would be quite happy to kick shit out of our little band, including the children, in a dark side street in the middle of the night.

That was when this little germ, violence and arrest not being my forte, fled. One look back, a second later, revealed the banner going down, one person lying on the ground, and another being dragged by the police towards a van.

I sped off down the Highway, not knowing where I was or which direction I was going in. Every corner for miles around had groups of anti-bodies and vans on it. I began to wonder whether I would have been better off being arrested or beaten in the 'safety' of my group, than picked off on my own.

## Safer

Then I felt safer when I saw a march of a few hundred print workers tramping down the Highway to picket the Fortress, quite unaware that a group of supporters were being smashed down a back street.

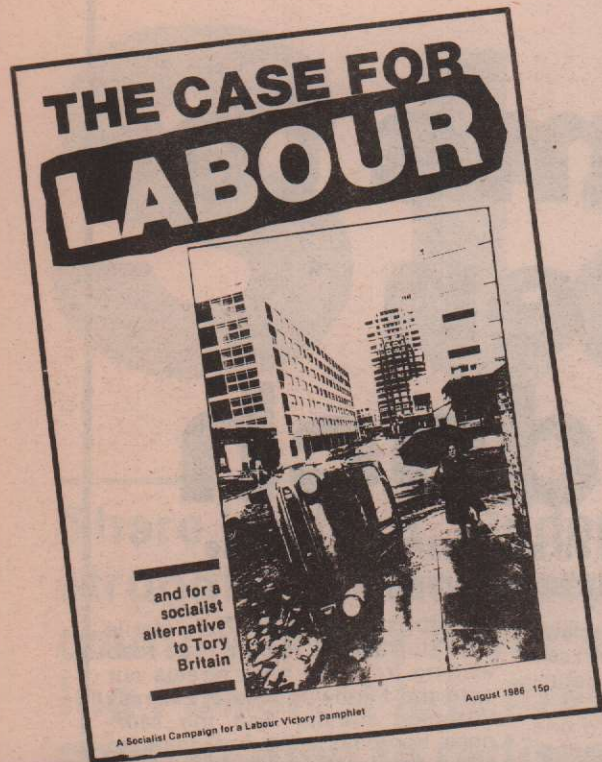
But eventually I got home safely and phoned round my friends to let them know that I hadn't been arrested and to find out that they hadn't either. Two others had been, however; the 'sterile' area had been kept clean of the working class filth; and Doctor Murdoch never got his letter. The operation was a success.

Only the germs are still there. They live there, and fester on. And they will continue to fight against the anti-bodies and the scabs!



Photo: Andrew Wiard, Report





## The Left and Votes

"WE ARE often told today", remarked Eric Heffer at the big meeting in London on 22 July called by the left Labour MPs of the Campaign Group, "Don't rock the boat, don't question, don't criticise. Let us get the power first."

"It is an understandable point. We all want Thatcher out. We want a Labour government..."

"But we want the power to change society... Good organisation goes hand in hand with policies. Organisation on its own does not win elections or lead us to Socialism"

So the Left needs to organise for socialist policies — and for the hard-hitting campaign against the Tories which socialist policies, and not Kinnockite consensus politics, can underpin.

In 1979 a 'Socialist Campaign for a Labour Victory' was organised by left-wingers within the official Labour election campaign, and it was that SCLV which launched Socialist Organiser. This year members of the old SCLV Steering Committee have come together to revive the campaign, and as a first contribution we have printed a broadsheet on 'The Case for Labour' and a petition insisting that the Labour leaders abide by Labour Party policy on a miners' amnesty.

Others on the left have shown an interest in this type of campaign, and we hope to have discussion and collaboration to work out a common approach.

Circulate the petition; use 'The Case for Labour' as a hand-book for campaigning. Copies of the petition from Gary Scott, 34 Newcastle Ave, Horden, Peterlee, Co. Durham; copies of 'The Case for Labour' 15p plus 12p postage each, or ten for £1 post free, from PO Box 823, London SE15 4NA.

## Les Hearn's SCIENCE COLUMN

### After-effects of war

GEORGE Davey Smith contributes this week's Science Column. Other SO supporters are welcome to contribute articles [or even to suggest articles] on any topic they feel to be important or just interesting. Letters commenting, questioning or offering information are also welcome. Shorter contributions are more likely to be printed.

WARS are bad for the health, and not only for the soldiers who get shot and the civilians who get bombed!

Two recent reports have demonstrated the indirect health effects of war.

Infant mortality rates vary greatly across the world, from rates of around one death per 100 live births to rates of one death per five live births. Low economic development, inequality of wealth, poor maternal and infant nutrition, inadequate water supplies, and a high unemployment rate, have all been shown to be related to a high mortality rate.

#### Percentage

A research team from Harvard recently looked at the relationship between infant mortality and the percentage of the gross national product (GNP) a country spends on arms. They found that the percentage of GNP devoted to military expenditure (mil/GNP) was positively related to infant mortality even when allowing for the other factors involved. In other words, the more of its income a country spends on arms, the more of its babies die.

The validity of this finding was strengthened by demonstrating that the change in mil/GNP over the period 1972 to 1979 was related to changes in infant mortality rates — i.e., an increase in mil/GNP was followed by an increase in infant mortality.

Every second a child dies or is permanently disabled by a preventable disease — one that could be avoided by immunisation, clean water supply, or adequate nutrition. Each second £20,000 is spent on arms. One hour of the world's spending on arms would pay for the complete cost of the successful 20 year campaign to eradicate smallpox.

The annual budget of the World Health Organisation is equivalent to three hours' world expenditure on arms. Furthermore, one in five of the world's scientists are working on military projects.

In a classic example of the criminal condemning the crime, the then US president Dwight D Eisenhower said in 1953 that "every gun that is made, every warship launched, every rocket fired, signifies in the final sense a theft from those who are cold and are not clothed. The world in-arms is not spend-

ing money alone. It is spending the sweat of its labourers, the genius of its scientists, the houses of its children..." — and, it seems, the lives of its infants.

The soldiers themselves appear to suffer detrimental effects from war well after the combat has finished. Higher rates of drug and alcohol abuse, depression and other minor psychiatric disorders, aggressive behaviour, arrest on criminal charges, and marital discord, have been seen in veterans of the Vietnam war compared to non-combatants.

The possibility of delayed effects from the chemical warfare substance Agent Orange are also now being investigated.

#### Veterans

However, simple comparisons of veterans with civilians may be biased because men who enter military service are generally from poorer backgrounds (draft evasion is easier with money), and may be prone to some of the disorders anyway. Or less aggressive people may try to avoid the draft.

Conversely, unhealthy individuals are excluded from military service, and this may bias the results the other way.

Actually, an ingenious way around this problem of selection bias is available when studying men entering the army between 1970 and 1972. A macabre draft lottery was held, in which people born on certain days were eligible for service, whilst those with birthdays on other dates escaped.

Therefore, looking at date of birth on the death certificates indicates whether a person was or was not eligible for the draft. A 13% increase in suicide and an 8% increase in death by car accident is seen in the draft-eligible group.

This vastly underestimates the risk for the individual because only 25% of eligible people actually entered the military, whilst 9% of men who escaped the draft showed what true all-American boys they were by volunteering to help Uncle Sam. Therefore the 13% excess suicides and 8% excess car accident fatalities are presumably concentrated in the 25% of draft-eligible men who actually entered service.

#### Suicide

This is borne out by investigating the military careers of people dying. In people who actually served in the army, the suicide rate is almost double the rate for those who didn't, and motor vehicle fatalities are 50% higher.

The authors of the 'lottery' study calculate that 1250 extra deaths have occurred in those drafted into the army between 1970 and 1972, on top of around 4,000 deaths occurring during the actual war.

If the non-fatal effects — alcoholism, accidents, depression, etc. — are taken into account, it is clear that the social and medical effects of war far outlive the actual fighting.

## Activists' DIARY

THURSDAY 14 AUGUST. Fleet Street Support Unit public meeting, 'Fighting for a future'. Speakers: Dennis Skinner, Linda Bellos, Paul Whetton, Carol Hall, Larry Hyett. 7.30, John Marshall Hall, Blackfriars Rd, London SE1.

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

FRIDAY 22 AUGUST. Half-day school on 'The Apartheid Connection — West Midlands companies in South Africa'. 1.45-5pm, at TURC, Victoria Works, Frederick St, Birmingham B1 3HE. Tel 021-236 8323. Organised by South Africa Monitoring Services in conjunction with Birmingham Trades Council and TURC.

'FROM Resistance to Rebellion': an exhibition on black struggle and black organisation in Britain since World War 2, produced by the Insti-

tute of Race Relations. For hire details contact Busi Chaane, 2-6 Leeke St, London WC1X 9HS. Tel: 01-837 0041. Now showing at Central Library, Bancroft Rd, London E1 (4-21 August), and then in Leicester (1 Sep.-18 Oct.), Liverpool (20-31 Oct.), Manchester (1-14 Nov.), and PNL, London (24-28 November).

#### Socialist Organiser meetings

MANCHESTER. Sunday August 17. 'Nuclear Power'. 7.30 p.m. Town Hall.

JARROW 86. March from Jarrow to London (Trafalgar Sq), October 5 to November 2. The organisers are asking for offers of help, sponsorships, affiliations and donations. Contact: Jarrow 86, The Electric Press Factory, 39 Cookridge St., Leeds LS1 3DW.

#### NATIONAL JUSTICE FOR MINeworkers CAMPAIGN

The South-East Region Steering Committee has just opened a London Office, where sacked miners will be based for campaigns, meetings, etc. The office is at Hammersmith Unemployed Centre, 190 Shepherds Bush Road, London W6. Tel: 01-603 1831.

## Fighting FUND

OUR £15,000 fund drive now stands at £12,494.41, or 83% of target.

Most of the major local groups have met their targets. Nottingham has done exceptionally well, raising £1250 so far, or 125% of its £1000 target. South London has brought in over 130% of its £800 target, and Merseyside over 120% of its £500.

Manchester has now raised 102% of its £1000, East London 103% of its £760, and Cardiff 101% of its £600.

North London has raised £1517, more than any other group, but it has a bigger target — £1600 — and so is still at

95%. Glasgow/Edinburgh is at 82% of its £560 target, and Sheffield at 75% of its £400.

Thanks this week to: Sheffield, £31 from sale of barbecued butties at a local festival, Jean Lane, £10, Mick O'Sullivan, £2, Michele Carlisle, £10, and other North London readers, £7.75.

Send donations to 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.

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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.

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# The colour schmaltz

**Belinda Weaver reviews 'The Color Purple'**

'THE COLOR Purple' is filmed through rose-coloured lenses.

Steven Spielberg's view of Southern black women in America early this century collapses under the weight of sugary sentiment he piles on. The result is a piece of inauthentic film-making which fails to do justice to Alice Walker's popular novel.

### Incest

The film begins with Celie and Nettie, two young sisters who suffer at the hands of a brutal, incestuous father, playing in a field. Remember this photogenic field — it crops up again.

Celie, already the mother of two children taken from her at birth, is married off to Mister, a bullying widower, who is in love with Shug Avery, a singer. Nettie escapes to Africa in the company of missionaries.

Celie slaves for the hateful Mister for years, bearing his insults and beatings, until she meets Shug, who gives Celie the confidence she needs to leave and make her own life.

Shug also helps Celie find her sister Nettie's letters from Africa, which Mister has hidden for years.

In the novel, Celie and Shug have a lesbian relationship, in which Celie learns to value herself through feeling loved. In the film, this is reduced to one brief kiss, so Celie's rebellion seems to come from nowhere.

Visually, the film is glossy and prettied up. Poverty mustn't be photogenic enough for Spielberg — all the characters seem fairly well off. Mister is affluent, though he has no hands working his land. Celie is richer and better dressed after she leaves Mister, but we don't know how. Africa is neat, clean and tidy — full of photogenic animals and scenery.

The film celebrates the bonding and love between women, and the strength



**Steven Spielberg directs Whoopi Goldberg**

they get from that love, but in such a way that what should be moving becomes cloying and overdone.

### Fight

When Sophie, the wife of Mister's son, Harpo, angrily tells Celie how she has had to fight all her life against men — it's an affecting scene. But Sophie, the one true rebel in the film, a black woman who stands up for herself against sexists and racists, ends up

broken and sick after eight years in jail.

### Redeems

The message of the film is conservative: that true love redeems; that God will fix it (and the money side too, it seems); and that fighting back before God's good time only gets you into trouble.

Restrained scenes are rare. When Shug leads revellers out of the bar and into the church, with everyone singing

along the way, and then is reunited with her estranged pastor-father, you know you're watching a film by a director whose motto is 'Nothing succeeds like excess'.

### Develop

None of the characters really develop. Celie is at one minute a mouse, the next defiant. Shug appears at first as a drunken slob, then she becomes a beaming fairy godmother figure. And

so on.

### Embarrassing

The cast do as well as they can with an embarrassing script. Whoopi Goldberg as Celie and Margaret Avery as Shug try to convey some character under all that sweetness and light.

A major film with an all black cast is a first, but Spielberg should never have got near it. He should go back to outer space where he belongs.

# The charm of old movies

**CRITICS often complain about the time given to old movies on TV. I can see their point.**

Naturally, lots of them are rubbish. But, me, I trawl TV for old movies — good, bad and indifferent, '30s and '40s Hollywood, '40s and '50s British, the lot.

This column is about me and my attitude to the repertoire of old movies which take up so much TV time. Perhaps I should apologise for the egocentricity. Or then perhaps I shouldn't. I'm a temporary understudy for Tracy Williams, so why shouldn't I seize the chance to gambol, caper, show off — and confess — before 50 readers prepared to read on beyond this point?

I sometimes think I'm fixated in my early adolescence, and one of the expressions of it is this obsession with old movies.

I didn't discover the cinema, or rather I hated it in so far as I knew it, until I was nearly 12 years old. And then, when I discovered the cinema, my discovery was charged with such libido (which is Freudian for basic 'sexual' energy) as to fixate me until now.

I've got a nightmarish memory of being in the cinema, a child in arms (whose I'm not sure, an aunt's perhaps), and watching something frightening on the screen — figures decomposing into moving spools and spirals and then again into figures — a car-

toon, perhaps. I cried and had to be taken out.

I remember going once or twice with my father as a child. My memory is that it gave me a headache.

Then the cinema was closed off to me, declared forbidden and sinful, when I became an altar boy, a little short of nine. Altar boys helped the priest say mass, and we were meant to be very holy. In Western Ireland in 1950, that meant a lot.

### Influence

It was a world dominated by the Catholic Church, under whose influence most of modern literature was banned in Ireland — including most modern Irish or Anglo-Irish writers, from James Joyce to Frank O'Connor. We altar boys were not allowed to go to the cinema, and the priest in charge of us, Father Qualey, regularly lined us up and interrogated us to find out if we had.

People would occasionally confess — older boys, I seem to remember — or be found out. The sinner would be told off, and slapped publicly in the face by the priest in front of us all — maybe even suspended from membership in our august body.

The cinema caused me no problem. I never knew precisely what my friends were talking about when they talked of cowboys, though I played with them.

It was in 1953 that I discovered the cinema. I was suspended — 'sacked', we called it — from the altar boys for hitting an obnoxious colleague with a

## on the



**By Mick Ackersley**

shoe. Suspension was routine. Except that the priest, Father Qualey, went to Rome and forgot to reinstate me before he left.

I developed other interests. And one evening a friend persuaded me to go to the cinema.

And what was showing that night? The 1940 Powell/Pressburger British version of 'The Thief of Baghdad' — one of the most wonderful movies ever made.

It was about flying carpets, magic, a genie, and a wonderful princess in voluptuous colour. I was transfixed.

There was only one cinema in the town; it changed programmes every two days, and had a special one-day programme. I begged the money from my always supportive (or indulgent, if you like) mother, and went back to see 'The Thief of Baghdad' the next night too.

When I was invited to return to being an altar boy I procrastinated and then said I didn't want to. I exchanged one form of emotionally charged theatre for another, I suppose — though I remained religious for three or four years longer. I kept going to the pictures — four times a week, if I could scrape the money together. The cheapest seats were 8 pence (about 3 new pence).

### Besotted

I was first besotted with the princess, an actress with a heavy voluptuous face named June Duprey. But that didn't last long.

I next fell in love with Doris Day in a movie — which I saw again two or three years ago on TV — built around early 20th century hit songs, called 'On Moonlight Bay'. Colour, music, emotion — Doris was wonderful. Some feminists recently held an exhibition of her films, claiming that she was a pioneer of the independent woman on the screen. Perhaps.

The first scene in 'On Moonlight Bay' had her dressed as a boy, which may be significant. I remained smitten for a couple of years. The reader will of course have understood that what happened to me was that — long alienated and cut off from it — I discovered the cinema when I was becoming pubescent. But I didn't know that, though I knew my feelings.

My feelings were undefined. I hadn't been told the 'facts of life'. I

never was, come to think of it: I was over 14, and, you might say, quite grown up, before I worked it out for myself.

My feelings and fantasies were focused on the cinema.

Less than a year after my discovery I found myself transported to Manchester — where the city's central and local cinemas were so numerous as to be given a page each night in the local papers. I was in heaven. But I read in the magazines 'Picture Show' and 'Picture Goer', back numbers of which I got from the local second-hand bookshop, of movies that never appeared.

So I'm hooked on television's old movies.

### Warp

In a way old movies on TV fix you in time — almost in an oscillating time warp. In a few months you see the same stars go from youth to old age and back again. It's a never-never land. At the same time you can hear and observe in them more or less authentic records of conditions now starkly changed or no longer recognisably in existence.

Old movies may be a cheap and easy way of filling the time. Perhaps the short defence of them being shown, though, is that they are so often superior to the current TV fare, with the plastic people and the plastic sentiment.

But then I would think that, wouldn't I...



## Clive Bradley starts a series

1986 is the fiftieth anniversary of the 'Popular Front' governments that came to power in France and in Spain. In Spain, a rising against that government by fascist soldiers in July 1936 plunged the country into three years of civil war.

This year, the Communist Party in Britain and elsewhere wants us to celebrate the year of the Popular Front.

But the Popular Front policy was a disaster for the labour movement. And the experience of the Spanish civil war shows this only too clearly.

The Spanish Republic was declared in 1931 working class struggles were unleashed across the country, as workers looked to reap real benefits from the new conditions.

## Prelude to Civil War

In January 1933, the anarchists — who were a powerful force in the workers' movement — organised an uprising in the major industrial city of Barcelona, which was brutally repressed by the Republican government. And in October the following year a strike by miners in the province of Asturias the only section of workers to take seriously a call for a general strike issued by the workers' leaders — took on insurrectionary proportions.

Like the Barcelona uprising, the Asturias revolt was savagely smashed after a bitter two week long battle. The commander responsible was the right wing General Franco.

But across Spain, workers struck in protest at the repression in Asturias. A 24 hour general strike on May Day 1935 was a great success. Working class unity became the theme of the hour, as Communist Party, Socialist Party, anarchist and semi-Trotskyist militants marched shoulder to shoulder.

The cry of unity had a powerful resonance in the workers' movement. In 1933, bitter divisions in the workers' movement in Germany had allowed the Nazis to take power.

On the one hand, the leaders of the mass Social-Democratic Party had refused to countenance any mass action against the Nazis. On the other, the big Communist Party (KPD) had followed the absurd policy of denouncing the Social Democrats as 'social fascists' who a greater enemy than Hitler. Considering the seizure of power by Hitler to merely be an episode on the road to socialism, the KPD helped bring about the worst and most ignominious defeat ever suffered by a workers' movement. The workers' desire for unity had enormous force. A fascist attack on the French Assembly in 1934 provoked working-class protests. Spontaneously, Communist Party and Socialist Party workers began to build unity in action, against the fascists in defence of working class interests more generally.

This pressure from below imposed unity on the workers' leaders. But the leaders of the Communist and Socialist Parties wanted not only to put themselves at the head of this movement: they wanted to control it.

In a dramatic about turn, the Communist Party embarked upon the policy of the 'Popular Front'. In France, this 'Front' was an election pact of the Communist Party the Socialist Party and the major capitalist party, the Radicals; in Spain it was to include yet wider forces.

This shift dovetailed with a shift in Kremlin foreign policy. Stalin was moving from diplomatic isolation to an alliance with the governments of France and Britain, against Germany. From the Western CPs he wanted not revolutionary action, but pressure to get governments diplomatically favourable to the USSR.

The Popular Front was not the work-



Asturian miners prepare to fight Franco's troops

# When workers fought Franco

ing-class united front that the Trotskyists had advocated, and that wide sections of the working class wanted. It was an electoral alliance on a limited political programme — a programme acceptable to the pro-capitalist forces that the Front encompassed.

## The Popular Front in Power

In France, the Communist Party rejected Socialist Party suggestions for the Popular Front programme as too left wing. Their leader Maurice

Thorez insisted on "respect for the law, defence of the national economy and of the freedom and independence of our country..."

The Popular Front government in Spain took office in February 1936, a few months earlier than in France. The Front was similarly an election pact, agreed by the Communist Party, the Socialist Party, the trade union federation the UGT, and two capitalist Republican parties.

The mass anarchist/syndicalist union organisation, the Confederacion Nacional del Trabajo (CNT), supported the Popular Front. And a far-left group led by former Trotskyists, the Workers' Party of Marxist Unification (POUM) acquiesced in it, although the POUM continued to group together the most politically advanced militants.

The Popular Front was not a stable government from the capitalists' point of view. By June 1936, there had been an explosion of strikes, factory occupations, seizures of land by peasants and agricultural labourers: the working class and oppressed masses of Spain

wanted real improvements in their lives from the supposedly radical government.

The far right began a violent campaign against the workers' movement. On 17 July 1936, General Franco led a military uprising against the Popular Front in an attempt to impose a fascist regime.

Everyone knew that a coup was planned. The Communist Party was calling for Prime Minister Cesares Quiroga to take 'firm action', but this was an utterly trivial response.

What was necessary to deal with the right wing threat was the arming of the working class. But the Communist Party considered any such thing far too radical, too inclined to alienate the 'democratic' sections of the capitalists.

Indeed, the CP and the right wing of the Socialist Party issued a communiqué after the coup itself which put their attitude very clearly: "The government is sure that it has adequate means to deal with this criminal move. Should its means prove inadequate, the government has the Popular

Front's solemn promise... The government commands and the Popular Front obeys".

In other words: hope that the army remains loyal, and if in the judgement of the government the army can't cope, then and only then, the 'Popular Front' — i.e. the membership of the CP and SP — might be called upon to do something.

## Workers take to the streets

However, the masses didn't wait for the government's 'command': they took to the streets.

The UGT (which was controlled by the left wing of the SP) and the CNT called a general strike, and workers began to arm themselves to crush the revolt. A gigantic revolutionary upsurge followed.

The capitalist state had effectively collapsed. Power lay in the streets. And contending for power were the workers' militias on the one hand, and the fascist armies of General Franco on the other.

Franco's forces were very powerful: the province of Navarra fell almost immediately to him. Opponents in the South were rounded up, and some shot. But everywhere there was resistance. And the resistance was firmest, and posed the biggest challenge to the rule of capital itself, in the industrial city of Barcelona, in Catalonia.

It was in Barcelona that George Orwell fought with anarchist and POUM militias, describing the experience in his book 'Homage to Catalonia'.

The response there to news of the uprising was the rapid formation of militias and the setting-up of barricades. Battles between the militias and Franco's army were ferocious; but the fascists were soundly beaten.

Workers began to take over the factories of Catalonia, and to take on the organisation of society. Catalonia was partially independent from the Madrid government, and the Catalan government began to introduce new laws — including abortion rights. Indeed, the Catholic Church was a victim of much of the workers' fury.

But in Catalonia the basic issue was posed most sharply: who had real power — the parliamentary government, be it of the Popular Front in Madrid or in Catalonia, or the working class? The parliamentary governments did not have real power; but the working class had yet to fully take it.

In particular, the anarchists mistook the widespread workers' control that had been created for real, comprehensive working-class power. As anarchists they opposed the idea of a working-class state — but it was precisely a centralised workers' state that was needed to crush the fascists.

Governmental power was still in the hands of the Popular Front. And meanwhile the fascists were advancing on Madrid.

The POUM was the most radical mass force on the Spanish scene, but it failed the test of the revolution. Trotsky described it as a 'centrist' party — one that vacillated between clear revolutionary politics and reformism.

In Spain at that time even the reformists were talking about 'workers power': the POUM's failure was to map out a clear strategy for its achievement.

The POUM were terrified of isolation, in particular from the ranks of the CNT; and so they chose not to criticise the CNT leaders. They did not criticise CNT participation in a class-collaboration local government in the Basque country. And shortly afterwards, the POUM itself joined a 'Popular Executive' in the province of Valencia.

They hoped to use regional governments as a power base. It was a policy doomed to fail.

**Next week: betrayal**



# UNION FOCUS

## Pressure up in CPSA

By Steve Battlemuch

**THE BATTLE continues in CPSA to put the new General Secretary into the office he was elected to.**

Militant supporter and Broad Left candidate John Macreadie beat the combined challenge of the 'Moderate' candidate John Ellis and the Kinnockite Broad Left 84 candidate Geoff Lewtas, by 121 votes out of almost 60,000 votes.

The right wing then used their majority on the National Executive Committee to stop Macreadie taking up the post, and to call an inquiry by the Electoral Reform Society.

The Broad Left went to the High Court to challenge the NEC's action, but the judge, as expected, ruled for the right wing and stung the Broad Left for £10,000 costs.

The right wing made full use of this



Macreadie. Photo Andrew Wiard, Report.

GCHQ

## Tories back down

**THE TORIES have agreed to review penalties imposed on workers at GCHQ who refused to leave their union, so backing away from another confrontation.**

About 50 'rebels' will remain members of trade unions at the centre.

The government's retreat came in a letter to Civil Service unions from the Head of the Home Civil Service, Robert Armstrong. Although the government will not withdraw the penalties — pay cuts of between £1,576 and £2,196 over two years — it will set up an 'ad hoc tribunal' to hear appeals.

The Tories banned unions at GCHQ in 1984, claiming it was necessary for 'national security'.

Their retreat follows opposition from the unions, and from the GCHQ workers themselves. Since the ban, there have been strikes at the centre, and the Tories' strong-arm tactics have failed to force the workers to give up their right to union organisation.

— they have even sent out the judge's ruling word for word as a CPSA circular!

As Acting Secretary, the NEC put in the defeated right wing candidate, John Ellis, who is deputy general secretary.

Despite the court ruling, the Broad Left is now campaigning for a special delegate conference on the issue. Some branches have already voted to call for the conference to be reconvened. However, we are probably still some way short of the required constitutional amount — branches representing 25% of the membership.

In my own branch, the vote for the conference of 124-8 was bigger than the original vote for Macreadie.

The response of the Kinnockite Broad Left 84 group has been interesting. When the NEC took their original decision to ban Macreadie, they placed the same ban on the winner of the election for General Treasurer, the Broad Left 84 candidate, Chris Kirk, who until recently had been a Communist Party member. However, Chris wasn't due to take up her post until next January, so the stories have centred around the Militant' Macreadie.

Broad Left 84 is split on the issue of the elections. The right wing leadership of Broad Left 84 have issued a circular condemning the call for a special conference and stating their intention to run Geoff Lewtas again in the event of a rerun, despite the fact that Lewtas was 6,000 votes behind Macreadie and Ellis.

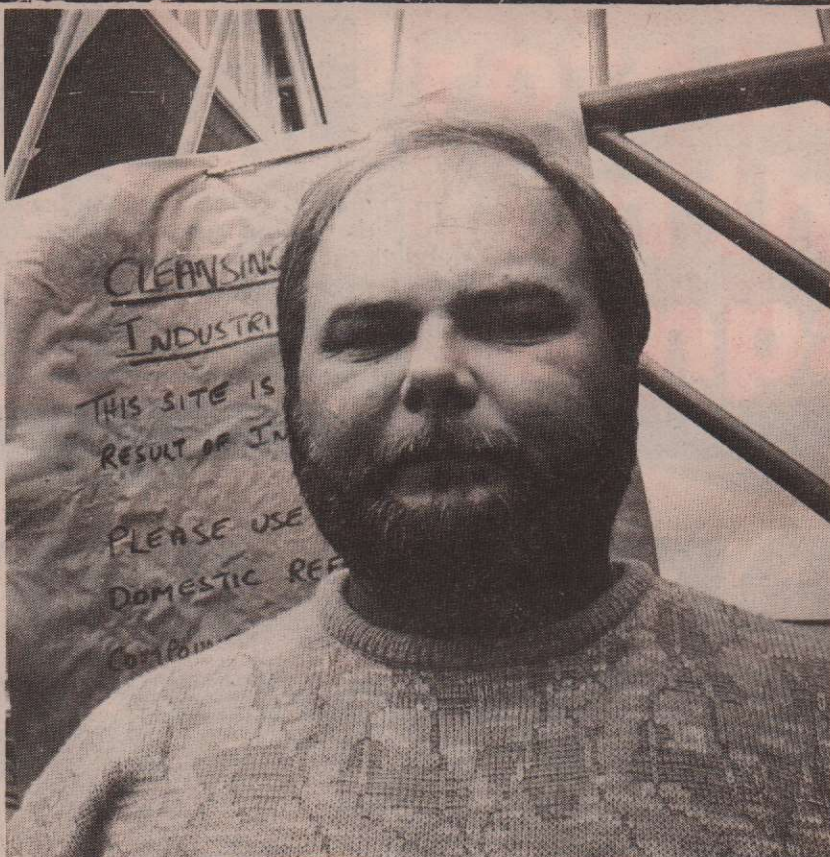
However, this view is not universal in Broad Left 84. Some activists favour an electoral pact with the Broad Left in the event of a rerun, obviously to protect Chris Kirk. (The Broad Left candidate for General Treasurer was only 800 votes behind Kirk.)

Within the Broad Left, the election campaign and the events since have started to come under scrutiny. Many Broad Left members have criticised the decision of Broad Left candidates not to state their Broad Left membership in their election address. Macreadie also omitted to mention that he supported Militant. This has caused problems in talking to members after the election.

The decision to go to court has also been condemned by the South East, Wales and Nottingham Broad Left groups. There is likely to be a full debate at the Broad Left Conference in Manchester in November.

In the meantime, the Broad Left is trying to raise the £10,000 needed to stop us being declared bankrupt. £10,000 would have been better spent promoting socialist policies than paying the legal system, but socialists in CPSA have no alternative but to try raise the money to ensure that the Broad Left is still around in six months time to fight a possible rerun election.

Whether there is a rerun or not, one thing that is certain is that the right wing will try to bring in postal ballots. The left in CPSA needs to be prepared.



Sacked T&G branch chair Brian Berritt. Photo: Jez Coulson, IFL.

## The wrong way to deal with racism

**THE STRIKE by Haringey refuse collectors ended last Friday, 9th, when the remaining yard on strike voted two to one to return to work.**

They had struck, unsuccessfully, against the sacking of Brian Berritt, chair of the T&G branch.

Berritt had taken out a council car loan (open only to convenors and white collar staff) for £4000, bought a cheaper model, and spent the difference on home improvements. The relevant council department had written to him three times asking for documentation and he never replied.

The argument was never about his guilt, but about whether the punishment fitted the crime. It is generally recognised throughout the council that 'people have got away with far worse', and within his service the customary punishment for such an offence was a final written warning.

Underneath it all, the main issue was the fact that Berritt was one of the prime movers in the demonstration against council leader Bernie Grant last year. The demonstration was racist, motivated by Grant's support

for the black youth in the Broadwater Farm riot last October.

But the sacking represents one of the starkest examples of the 'new left' councils' manner of dealing with 'problems' within the workforce. Unable to improve the workers' material conditions which breed racism, they attempt to impose non-racism by enlightenment from above; and when that fails, then out comes the bureaucratic lash.

The sacking will only serve to harden racist attitudes in the workforce, not only within Berritt's section but across the borough.

The T&G were able to gain support for their strike only from other refuse collectors and a few other workers. For the leaders of the other unions, the T&G's attitude of refusing to talk with them (branding them all as Marxist), and not approaching them over this issue, coupled with the formal correctness of the council's procedure, gave them a let-out.

It still remains an open question how far the council have got the bit between their teeth. It is becoming more and more apparent that they see the unions as a major obstacle to their radical-liberal programme for the borough.

COLCHESTER

## Stalemate at Paxman's

By Margaret Bulaitis

**IT IS now seven weeks since 600 workers were locked out at Paxman's Diesels in Colchester for refusing to lift an overtime ban.**

The situation now appears to be one of stalemate, with the workers determined not to return to work on management terms and the management remaining obstinate. A letter from management is expected sometime this week, and a mass meeting may then be called.

However, the general feeling is that there will be no new offers. Some workers have also suggested that GEC plans to develop and expand Paxman's and that it is therefore trying to weaken the power of the unions beforehand.

Work has already been transferred elsewhere — three development projects have been shipped to Dormans in Staffordshire, another subsidiary of the giant GEC. For the Paxman workers to win, it is necessary for the dispute to grow and win support from other GEC workers.

A twenty-four hour picket is still being maintained, and lorries have been turned away from factory gates. Although the picket lines are beginning to thin, the locked-out workers are still

determined to win.

Much local support is still coming in — Colchester Labour Party Young Socialists hold collections every Saturday in town, along with other left groups.

Please send donations and messages of support to:

Secretary, Paxman's JSSC,  
77 Artillery Street, Colchester,  
Essex, CO1 2JQ.

MINERS

## S Wales

**IN THE FIRST industrial action to hit the South Wales coalfield since the end of the year-long national strike, 13,000 miners began an overtime ban on 4 August.**

The Welsh miners are protesting at the delay by the Coal Board in the implementation of last year's pay increase. The delay has been caused by conflict over the issue of pension contributions for the period of the strike.

Miners are also worried about the prospect of further job loss.

16 pits, involving 2,700 face workers and 7,300 other underground workers, are taking part in the action.

The ABC OF MARXISM

# How bosses exploit workers

By Martin Thomas

WHY AND how does the capitalist market economy exploit workers?

The earliest working-class militants generally thought that the problem arose from the capitalists cheating the workers. They pointed out that all wealth was created by labour (with the help of nature) and demanded that the worker should receive the full amount of the wealth created, "the undiminished proceeds of labour".

This was impossible — for if somehow it were carried out, then there would be nothing left for expanding production, for reserve funds in case of accidents, and for public services. In a way it was reactionary, since really it demanded that capitalist society should be run according to the standards of the pre-capitalist individual craft worker.

Economists

But this crude idea played a progressive role in arousing the workers against the capitalists. And the bourgeoisie had no answer to it.

All the major economists of that time admitted that value was determined by labour time. If 20 yards of linen could be exchanged for two ounces of gold, or one coat, or a bible, or a bottle of whisky, the common element was not that they were 'equally useful' (how do you measure that?), but that they embodied an equal amount of labour time.

The early socialists complained that if each day a worker's labour produced 20 yards of linen, then the worker's wages should be the equivalent of 20 yards of linen — and not just 10 or so, as they actually were. The economists protested that the worker had been paid the fair market rate — and in any case profits were necessary to maintain production.

Excuses

When harder pressed, they worked out some other excuses which still go round. In 'Capital' Marx tears these excuses apart.

"Our capitalist... exclaims, 'Oh! But I advanced my money for the express purpose of making more money'. The way to Hell is paved with good intentions, and he might just as easily have intended to make money, without producing at all..."

(Then) he tries persuasion. 'Consider my abstinence; I might have played ducks and drakes with the money; but instead of that I consumed it productively, and made yarn with it'. Very well, and by way of reward he is now in possession of good yarn instead of a bad conscience..."

But the argument between the early socialists and the economists was insoluble in its own terms.

Marx's theory of exploitation resolved the argument in a scientific way. That was not the most important thing about it, however (no amount of scientific argument will convince the capitalists to abandon exploitation). Marx's theory freed socialism from reformist and bourgeois limits, as we'll see next week.

'Save the LPYS' campaign

Organise your Labour Party Young Socialists branch, ward, women's section, trade union branch, or Constituency Labour Party as part of the fight to halt the witch-hunters' attack on the LPYS — and support the struggle to open up the lpsys, building a mass socialist youth movement.

Affiliations: LPYS branches £1, other organisations £5. More information, leaflets, model resolutions and forthcoming news-sheets from: 33 Hackworth Point, Rainhill Way, London E3.

Also from same address: latest issue of Youth Fightback, 25p plus postage.

**YOUTH fightback**

Printers under pressure p 4  
Black women organise p 5  
LPYS under attack p 3  
Murder most Fowler p 13

THE LEFT IN THE LABOUR PARTY YOUNG SOCIALISTS

**SOUTH AFRICA:**

**WORKERS FIGHT FOR FREEDOM**



# SOCIALIST ORGANISER

FOR WORKERS' LIBERTY EAST AND WEST

WAPPING

# Fight the UDM!

MANAGEMENT are putting on the screws again in the Notts pits. They've started again with these bloody letters.

When the breakaway organisation was originally formed, management

**Whetton's WEEK**



demanding that we had to apply separately, in writing, to join the NUM.

These letters then had to be submitted to the bosses before they would stop paying our subs to the UDM.

They then claimed some of our signatures had been forged, and demanded personal attendance before the administration to confirm the signatures.

Now a letter came out just before the holidays — the timing was brilliant — to some of our lads saying they weren't sure which trade union they wanted their subs to go to, and asking them to place a cross opposite either the NUM or UDM. Failure to do this within one month, they said, would result in no subs being paid to any union.

The fortnight holiday period was part of that month. They're trying to panic lads, and create non-unionism.

After the holidays, the bosses have now given a list of all the men concerned to the UDM, who are then getting them into their offices and grilling them, saying they won't get this, they won't get that. Then after that they get the same treatment from the administration officer.

## Belong

When any of our older blokes are inquiring about redundancy, the first thing they're being asked is what union they belong to. If they say NUM, then they're told they've got no representation and therefore are not entitled to any redundancy money.

They're really trying desperate measures. The only details of response I know about are at my own pit, Bevercotes, and the lads have been good. But that's only the lads we know about — who've stood up, refused to be intimidated, and come and told us. It's still early days yet, so I don't know yet what's happening in the other pits.

With the South Wales overtime ban a week old, I'm glad to see somebody taking some positive decisions and making a positive move against the Coal Board. I would like to think the other areas will follow. It's not very nice for me, as a member of the NUM in Notts, to be getting a pay rise and know that comrades in other coalfields aren't getting it. It's about time some positive action was taken in order to secure that pay rise.

On Wednesday, I'm speaking at a rank and file printworkers' meeting in London, and the main message I'll be trying to get across is that the boycott campaign has not been the great success we've been led to believe, and the only way they're going to finish the dispute and win it is to call out Fleet Street.

## Strange

Ireland has been in the news a lot over the last week, and it's affected me in a strange way. The Irish Freedom Movement are holding a march and have a long list of sponsors for it — MPs, Council leaders, etc — a full sheet.

Included there is the Notts Miners' Forum, Notts Women Against Pit Closures, and people like Mick Clapham, Sammy Thompson, Mick McGinty, and myself. I understand that two weeks ago an article appeared in the Sun with a picture of Arthur Scargill and a headline, 'Scargill's men OK IRA butchers'. The article just mentioned me and McGinty.

I suspect we were isolated from the whole list by somebody in the UDM contacting the Sun, and of course they're only interested in us two. They'll probably now use the Sun story to do a job in their own scab paper.

In Ireland, I believe the solution certainly isn't going to be brought about by military means. It's a political problem which will be solved by political means, and part of that political decision-making has got to be the trade unions.

The rank and file of both working classes have got to find that solution. The working class of Ireland has got to get together to discuss the nature of the beast, and that is the state.

**Paul Whetton is the secretary of Bevercotes NUM, Notts**

# Where to now?

By a News International striker and SOGAT member

WHERE TO now? That is the real question that is posed to the News International strikers.

The ban on pickets and demonstrations, coming from the outcome of the civil court action brought by News International, has led to totally unacceptable and disgraceful behaviour from the police.

It was of course no surprise to anyone that the judgment went in favour of Murdoch. And, yes, it was a clever manoeuvre to pretend that the unions were getting something from this decision — i.e. certain individuals got off, and the costs were awarded against Murdoch.

However the simple fact is that the court decision was calculated to strike fear into the hearts of the union hierarchy.

This it has certainly done. At the



Demonstration to Murdoch's Wapping plant. Photo: Andrew Wiard, Report.

beginning of June, the SOGAT Biennial Delegate Conference passed a resolution not to place union funds in jeopardy.

Now the National Executive Committee has moved swiftly to ensure that the judge's verdict

would not place them back into the hands of the courts, and to ensure that there was no 'contempt', which would mean sequestration of the union's assets.

So an instruction was given to the strikers, not only opening them

up to charges of contempt on a personal level with no protection from the union, but also leaving the membership open to disciplinary action by the union if they join in 'unauthorised' demonstrations and picketing.

## LABOUR PARTY

# Stockport purge

THE CURRENT atmosphere in the Labour Party is encouraging empty-heads everywhere to deal with dissidents by threatening a sharp dose of discipline. In Stockport recently, the old red-neck right wing have been given a new lease of life by fresh recruits from the 'left'.

A District Labour Party meeting two months ago passed a resolution instr-

ucting all its representatives to desist from speaking on Militant platforms or being seen to encourage Militant in any way. The resolution was aimed at one Labour Councillor, Bob Boyd, who sympathises with Militant, but it was intended to create a general climate of retreat on the left.

Shortly afterwards, the Council Labour group agreed to suspend Bob Boyd from membership. The main reason given by the Chief Whip was 'his attitude to the group!' However, the real reasons are undoubtedly his refusal to accept that group decisions should be taken by the Leader and then ratified by the rest, and his association with Militant.

There has been resistance. The suspension will not come into operation until some charges can be proven against Boyd. Also Stockport Constituency Labour Party, a major part of the District, decided to regard the witch-hunting resolution as not having been passed.

Despite the weakness of attempts like these to copy 'our leader' and be hard with the left, right-wing clowns around the country will try to use discipline to settle arguments more or less unless resistance to them is organised and constant. Better still, socialists should lift their heads and go on the offensive.

## From page 1

As we go to press, it is not clear what effect this will have on President Botha's speech to the ruling National Party's congress in Durban.

The legal battles in South Africa are important — but there are other battles taking place in the townships and workplaces too. South Africa's growing independent non-racial trade union movement, and in particular the giant federation COSATU, have been hard hit by repression.

Reports from inside South Africa reveal that an important reorganisation has been taking place in the unions. As top-level leadership and shop stewards have been detained, rank and file workers have begun to take on new organisational responsibilities. As a result, the unions have been able to resist the repression.

South African troops, meanwhile, launched another attack into the independent neighbouring country of Angola. They attacked the town of Cuito Cuanavale, about 185 miles into Angola.

Action needs to be taken immediately against this disgusting

# S.Africa: free all detainees

regime, and in solidarity with its victims. The British government, needless to say, is stalling over sanctions, and has yet to implement even the voluntary ban (whatever a voluntary ban is!) on investments and tourism agreed at the Commonwealth summit.

Scandinavian leaders meeting this week are to agree on joint measures to boycott trade with South Africa by the end of 1986. Denmark has already implemented a total ban, and the Labour government in Norway has promised one.

These steps follow action by Scandinavian trade unions to impose workers' boycotts. The British trade unions should follow suit.

## IRELAND

# Tory policy

## From page 1

tion. British government policy in Northern Ireland is fuelling sectarian bigotry. Now any movement would stir up the Protestants: that is probably inevitable. But the British government seems neither to have the will, nor the policy, to stand up to the sectarian

backlash.

What happened at Keady is an outrage and an indictment of the British Tory government. Neil Kinnock should break his shameless new policy of bi-partisan sharing of responsibility for what happens in Northern Ireland with the Tory government, and protest — now.

**THE LABOUR PARTY**

**Join now**

Join the Labour Party!  
Write to 150 Walworth  
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