FOR THE SECOND time the print union leaders are holding talks with Murdoch. Their sole purpose is to end the bitter eight month old dispute at International. For the second time the actions are being kept in the dark concerning the main issues of the negotiations.

This round of talks is even more dangerous than the first. Murdoch has insisted that all print union leaders were divided amongst themselves. SOGAT's Brenda Dean was willing to settle for far less than the NGA, whose union craft had more to lose. Now that the NGA's return to the TUC Congress, the union leaders are being asked to settle for far less.

* * * * *

Any conference must be settled by negotiation on the basis of achieving trade union recognition...employment conditions...adequate compensation...and freedom to discuss the issues.

More importantly for the outcome of the ballot, within SOGAT there were significant divisions between the National leadership and the branch leadership. The London leadership - the London District Committee (LDC) - went to court to try to have the SOGAT ballots declared illegal.

In his ruling, the Judge said it was wrong for the SOGAT leadership to try and circumvent the local trade union structure by directly posting ballot forms to the strikers. Now Brenda Dean has no reason to continue with the London leadership. Their stalling of any battery has demonstrated that they are likely to support the Murdoch offer, that they will do so against any Labour government too, and that they will refuse to be party to any incomes policy agreements with a future Labour government.

RESISTANCE

In the same of 'unity' against the Tories they will be told to shut up by the right and by the fake left. But every time the left has accepted unity on these terms they have allowed workers to be defeated and the strength of organised labour to be sapped. Only by raising the banner of resistance can the left hope to turn the tide against the right and rally those workers who want to fight.

This tactic cannot simply be left to the official 'left' leaders. In every union militants must raise the alarm and organise together to defy any and every rotten deal which the TUC comes up with. They will be rounded on by the witch-hunters and by those who feel left. But to finish from the right now is to deliver the trade unions on a plinth, not to Neil Kinnock but to Thatcher and the bosses as well.

NO INCOMES POLICY! NO ANTI-UNIONS LAWS!

continued on page 11
In a BID to eradicate the traditions of the great strike, the NUM’s ‘left’ leaders used the annuity clause to install its rival Radburn Scargill’s calls for the union to consider industrial action in defiance of the resolution.

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THE WAPPING DISPUTE is now in its third year, and the continuing bitterness and weaknesses of British trade unionism are abundantly evident at the course of this dispute - the dispute between management and the print workers. The conflict which has arisen over the question of the strike is far removed from the techniques of trade unionism of the past and is, in many ways, a reflection of the changing face of industry and the development of the whole trade union movement!

An understanding of these guild-like structures of the past, their origins, their functions and their influence is crucial in order to explain their historical significance. The guilds, which hark back to these "golden ages" of the early medieval period, were the tradtions which the modern trade unions have inherited and built on. For decades the attitude of the national newspaper industry has made substantial wage concessions to print workers in Fleet Street, especially those in produc- tion capacities. As a result, printers took home more than twice the average wage paid for male manual workers throughout the 1960s and 1970s. However, begrudging the Beaverbrooks and Rothermeres may have been in granting high wage settlements, their underlying concern was with keeping the strike out of the newspapers, which times even at the cost of profit.

Of course the anger of print workers over poor conditions, deepening financial problems, and the threat, if not offer, by the mid 1970s has, in Fleet Street propagators of collective bargaining, the story has been the same. The industry now has to face a crisis in its social control, which has yet to be tackled. In the past several newspapers have raised wages and tried "pull out, but while some publications had indeed seemed to be forced to carry on with business as usual even at the cost of profit. The costs were ruthlessly executed by US printers, and the newsprint bought from foreign countries and sold at a profit.

In the late 1970s a Royal Commission in 1979 the introduction of profit-sharing and a new policy to reduce to profits. Many have been the struggles workers have fought over losses, which more frequently a result of the failure of management to put a racket and a lockout to save the jobs of the workers.

Controlling Union organization was already written more from management than high wages. The situation in Fleet Street has been exacerbated by the fact that the print workers involved in a daily battle, generally low-key but hard and with bitter results, more from management than high wages and conditions. But the strike has been a turning point in the battle of the working class against the upper classes, and the struggle for a better world.

The union answer to these challenges has been the need to defend jobs, the need to defend the print workers' right to their jobs and conditions. Indeed all of these workers' rights are sacrosanct in single-union, no strike deals on the Nissan model. The print workers' rights are sacrosanct, and are defended by the workers themselves, who must be in a position to argue that not only the workers' jobs and union recognition but also over the control of photographic composition, direct input, and the less many spectacular changes in production technology. More than this, rank and file activists cannot afford to be left behind in the reality of systematic discrimination and the threat of trying to make white-collar workers more acceptable to the employers, after all, better paid jobs. Many production workers actively excluded blacks and workers' rights become a virtual "freedom forum".

Workers control must go beyond the issue of hiring and firing. Given the ideological role of the press in the houses - how many Fleet Street titles have you read that have ever even enjoyed a good press to a strikers who have been in the right to reply by the unions. Equal space and equal prominence must be sought in the unions to be taken in every time they print this kind of nonsense. If they fail to meet these demands, if the strikers are stopped outright. Unless this is done and not simply under a "nightie" ed, workers will weaken their positions in all the places and within the labour movement as a whole.

OBSCURE

These print bosses with capital to invest in new technology have failed to defend the old craft unionism and the social division of labour. They have defended it, with new technology they now control in the print presses. They control the situation for industrial relations to sound the death knell for the print workers. In London rejected a form of class collaboration industrial unionism from above, FOCS gave a nod and a wink to the sale of jobs.

In the production centers, several thousand through voluntary reluctance or natural wastage. The door was knocked and locked, the situation for industrial relations was made worse. The unions who can see the dangers of the new technology have done a very much higher rates of profit through capital's control over the introduction of new technology. Regardless of the specific equipment inside the Wapping plant and control over the production process is very much at the heart of the battle.

Whatever is their value in winning or avoiding shop-floor confronta- tion, they represent a direct threat to the future of the 17th century could not combat the tendency to be obsessed with the relative and temporary advantages of sect- ions. As an industry-wide organization capable of forging a single, more coherent, and at the various papers, to bury the public, and the public's right to know, this sort of action is vital. It is only through a strict union-supervised recruitment and the situation for industrial relations exercise, design to break the print workers.

Against this background Mar- tin and his Jacksons must see new meaning to the phrase "the battle for localism", and act on it. The unions would mean the defeat of both the reality and myth of union power in Fleet Street. There can be no turning the clock back. Whatever the outcome of the battle for Wapping traditional print unionism is not possible nor desirable.

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Workers' control must go beyond the issue of hiring and firing. Given the ideological role of the press in the houses - how many Fleet Street titles have you read that have ever even enjoyed a good press to a strike? - an elementary demand that must be won is the right to reply by the unions. Equal space and equal prominence must be sought in the unions to be taken in every time they print this kind of nonsense. If they fail to meet these demands, if the strikers are stopped outright. Unless this is done and not simply over a "nightie" ed, workers will weaken their positions in all the places and within the labour movement as a whole.

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Dear Comrades,

We are writing in response to the recent developments in the Irish conflict. The situation has escalated significantly, and it is of utmost importance that we address the issues at hand.

The British government has announced its intention to introduce sanctions against the Republic of Ireland, citing its refusal to implement the Anglo-Irish Accord. This move is likely to have significant implications for the peace process and the political landscape in Northern Ireland.

The Accord, signed in 1985, was intended to provide for greater devolution of power to the Northern Ireland Assembly and to facilitate the decommissioning of paramilitary weapons. However, its implementation has been fraught with challenges, and the British government is now considering stronger measures.

The introduction of sanctions would undoubtedly have a detrimental effect on the economy of Ireland and could lead to further destabilization. It is crucial that we work towards a peaceful resolution that respects the interests of all parties involved.

In other news, the Loyalist paramilitary groups have continued their violent activities, with attacks occurring in isolated sections of the nationalist community. These actions reflect the lack of political progress and the failure of leadership on both sides.

Effective leadership of Loyalist paramilitary groups is crucial to achieving a lasting peace. As an organised working class, we must continue to exert pressure for political change.

We call on all workers to unite in solidarity with our comrades in Ireland. The struggle against sectarian violence must continue until a just peace is achieved.

Yours sincerely,

[Signature]

Editor, IWG Journal

*By a member of the Irish Workers Group*
THE CRISIS OF LEADERSHIP

This is the opening words of the Transitional Programme. This idea, the crisis of leadership, is fundamental to the Transitional Programme. It is repeated regularly by those who claim to follow Trotsky today. But what does it mean, and why is it important?

In 1938, just as today, there was no shortage of "Marxist" professors to explain that the world was not ready for a socialist revolution. According to them the "objective conditions" for a socialist revolution had not "ripened" enough. This argument was echoed by many Labour and trade union leaders. It was a perfect excuse for doing nothing in the face of the attacks of the bosses.

Who argued this, again today, claimed justification from Marx who had said:

"No social order ever perished before all the productive forces for which there is room in it have developed.

They could also list a series of bitter defeats for the working class. The British General Strike in 1926 to Spain in 1936 the workers had mobilised in millions. Each revolutionary situation had ended in defeat. For some, this was proof that capitalism could not be overthrown. The French Revolution of 1917 had been a fluke of history.

But Trotsky, on the other hand, drew a completely different lesson from these events. A lesson summed up in the first section of the Transitional Programme.

"The economic pre-requisite for the proletarian revolution has already been fulfilled. The highest point of that frustration which can be achieved under capitalism, Marx's productive forces stand still."

He went on to outline a perspective of economic crisis, war and revolutionary turmoil which would be confirmed to the letter in the following decade. He concluded:

"The economic pre-requisites of the proletarian revolution have not only "ripened" they have already been fulfilled. Without a proletarian revolution bringing about destruction and death for the capitalist system.

Trotsky has been accused of "Eurocentrism" by those, like the British SWP, who reject the Transitional Programme. On the other hand Healy's WRP turned Trotsky's perspective into the eurocentric "apocalypses now". The final crash was always just around the corner. But this later period of the 1938 programme was as far as they could see beyond Alan Thornett's Socialist Group, the Tooting Borough council and Stalinist hypocrites. In every detail, "valid today" failed to grasp what the programme and the role of perspective in it.

Trotsky started by recognising that in the imperialist epoch periods of economic crisis became ever deeper and ever more cumulative, so, in such periods - and the 1930s was clearly a period of crisis - the features of the imperialist epoch, wars and revolutions, became sharply pronounced. Thus Trotsky's "catastrophic" predictions in 1938 were a concrete application to a specific period of the theory of imperialist epoch. This method of analysis entered the world.

But Trotsky did not simply work with a perspective of general catastrophic tendencies, but taking into account the problems confronting different countries, and the specific problems confronting Stalinism. The Transitional Programme was based on the perspective that capitalism, and particularly European capitalism, was far weaker than at the beginning of the century. This very weakness meant, in Trotsky's own phrase, the crisis would bring about the collapse of the whole capitalist system. Nor was this the USA exempt from this process.

Trotsky recognised that perspectives are not infallible prophecies.

"Political proposals is only a working hypothesis. It must be constantly checked, brought closer to the concrete ...

As such they were designed to be discussions, to be developed for the period immediately confronting them. That view, likely to be a pre-revolutionary perspective.

For the economy, the state, the bourgeoisie's politics and its international policy were completely blighted by a socialist crisis, and the perspective of a revolutionary state of society.

The chief obstacle in the path of transferring the pre-revolutionary programme and the role of perspective in it.

In other words, the problem of Trotsky has not yet been solved. The objective conditions facing the working class, but within the working class itself, more specifically it lay in the leadership of the class.

During and immediately after the Second World War the failure to resolve the crisis of leadership led to either the mobilisation of workers' struggles through 'reform' programmes (Britain, France, Italy) or, where this proved impossible, the physical destruction of those struggles by the imperialists and Stalinists (Vietnam, Greece). This required a changed perspective on the part of the Fourth International.

The perspective of revolution and war lay at the heart of the Transitional Programme. Within two years it had been confirmed. Yet by 1948 a new period of stability was opening. The end result of the crisis of leadership was that in the post-war economic boom, the Trotskyite perspective, still characteristic of the whole imperialist epoch, was no longer valid. The immediate period in the imperialist heartland, Stalinism's productive forces not only ceased to stagnate, they underwent a massive development in the post-war economic boom. Trotsky's "frightened" perspective was proposed again, but this time it was turned into a "truth", "valid for the epoch", propelling the centre for opportunity.

Whoever has been involved in the Print strike, or who watches the WRP and Labour Party conference, can see that the "crisis of leadership" exists today in the British labour movement.

With a whole workforce locked with the very forces of bourgeois union on the line, the Print leaders have displayed exactly the same "cowardice before the big issues", "dread of the future" that Trotsky recorded in 1938. Their fear of breaking away from the bosses, such as occurred in Britain in 1984-85, turned to a "fright", "valid for the epoch", propelling the centre for opportunity.

"The leadership left faced, with the choice "Kinnock or no labour government", display exactly the same kind of cowardice as Stalinism after the end of World War II."

"The conference will see them kneel under the "anti-Pabloite" the laws of history being stronger than the old leadership, a new period of crisis has been brought about by the Trotskyite perspective, they undergo a massive development in the post-war economic boom."

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In March 1921 Harry McShane led his first demonstration, "...a couple of thousand turned up and they were really wild and angry men. Some of them threw hand grenades they had brought back from the front - I also turned up to the Wandsworth workhouse and 5,000 men from the Clyde Workers' committee and the Clyde Workers' Union joined in ..."
The 1930 hunger march was the first in a series of marches of the unemployed and impoverished workers that illustrated the function of these "Meatball" movements. The TUC consistently refused the NUWM affiliation and equitably rejected its call for a "24 hour general strike against the government in regard to unemployment". In the aftermath of the 1926 General Strike, the TUC, in line with its "peace in industry" policy, severed its connections with the NUWM completely and broke up the Joint Advisory Council which had been set up in 1923. From then on the TUC did its best to sabotage and betray the NUWM's work. The 1927 miners' march was denounced as a "Communist stunt" which did not have the support of the official trade union movement. This signaled, as Hannington points out, "an assault of violent abuse and excitement from the capitalist press, who called for the government to turn the miners out and for the police to "show no mercy for the political incendiaries who were organizing it against the wishes of the respectable elements of the Labour movement". The police duly obliged by stepping up their campaign of harassment and intimidation.

Walter, later Lord, Citrine went so far as to specifically instruct Trade Unions not to render any assistance to the march. The marchers set out with a grim determination nonetheless. The first day's march was ended in Newport, "Our reception in Newport surpassed all expectations. Men and women of the Newport labour movement overwhelmed us with their eagerness to serve food and provide every possible comfort. Here was the real heart that was "non-separatist" with us - we are friends of the great mass of hard-working folk who really constitute the life and vitality of the country." This support, that ordinary workers gave to the march, was a typical example of the TUC and Labour leaders' lack of sincerity of the marchers and praised the police.

The betrayal of the reformist leadership resulted in a split within the Labour movement which came to power in 1929. It was this Labour government which refused to abolish trade unionism, that refused to cancel the heavy debts of the unemployed and which presided over a vast increase in the ranks of the unemployed. These measures were justified then, as now, as "economically that were necessary to save the pound etc.

Indeed, such an approach undercut the very existence of an independent, rank and file based unemployed organisation. The 1936 march was the last major unemployed demonstration of the 1920s.

By 1936, the CP's criticisms had become so mild that Clement Attlee was quite prepared to share platform at a Labour meeting which turned, not only on a TUC-led march, but whose opposition to workers defending themselves from police violence was described by the NUWM leaders as "the merciless exposure of the TUC and Labour Party leaders." By 1936, the CP's criticisms had become so mild that Clement Attlee was quite prepared to share platform at a Labour meeting which turned, not only on a TUC-led march, but whose opposition to workers defending themselves from police violence was described by the NUWM leaders as "the merciless exposure of the TUC and Labour Party leaders."
THE ECONOMIST HAILED President Jayewardene’s proposals for “devolution” in Sri Lanka as “a genuine degree of autonomy” for the Tamils. Such a response was exactly what Jayewardene was seeking for the Anuradhapura cabinet, which had been appointed to address the problems arising out of both the Tamil and Sinhalese chauvinists. The government does not want to lose its Sinhalese base—whereupon offering these proposals as a solution to the civil war situation in the country, arising from the liberation struggle of the Tamil people.

In regard to the Tamil political problem the Tamil people have the right to the separate state (Tamil Eelam) which has been their goal since 1973. The right of self-determination of a nation has no other meaning than the right to determine of a nation has no other meaning than the right to determine to what extent there is, and to what extent the state. That indeed is the Marxist-Leninist position on the national question.

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The American economy led the capitalist world out of recession towards the end of 1982. In 1986 it is leading back into recession.

Industrial production in America has fallen consecutively over the last three months and now stands 5% below its peak in 1985. Between April and July 1988 US Steel profit increased by only 0.6% on an annual basis, the lowest increase since the last recession.

For the most significant aspect of the 1982-85 world capitalist economic recovery was its dependency on the US economy. The rising dollar and soaring US market acted as a magnet for the exporters of all the other capitalist nations. Between the 1973-74 imports to the US surged by 46%, a rate much even mightier US economy, it buckled under the staggering weights of imports.

The impact of these events is dramatically reflected in the transformation of America into a debtor nation. In 1982 America had $100 billion dollars of net foreign assets. By the end of 1987 it will have over $200 billion liabilities, triple that of the most indebted nation. Presently its liabilities stand at $107 billion. This is still only 3% of the American GNP, but it reveals a definite deterioration in the country's economic might, America's position will be 'creditor' to the world has been taken over by Japan. Already Japan has accumulated $133 billion of net assets.

WHAT HAS GONE WRONG?

One of the few virtues of Thatcher and Reagan compared to the social democrats is that they reveal the naked face of capitalism. Thatcher likes to refer to America's recent 'crisis' to rehabilitate the word profit. Profit is not a dirty word. True! Profit is not a dirty word to the capitalists, it is the most vicious weapon in their vocabulary, for profit is the very basis of their economy. The reason that their own groups.

The school would have been bigger still but for the absence of German comrades of the MRCI. Happily this absence was occasioned by another trip abroad to prepare for the MRCI's first Winter School, a traditional meeting in Vienna which was held in the week following Workers Power's own school.

MRCI

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The prepartation that went into the course presentation was rewarded by the large, attentive and enthusiastic discussions. On many topics the school provided the purpose of acting as a catalyst for the theoretical and programmatic development of the group. As a training ground for revolutionary cadres, as a forum for discussing new members to our ranks and as an occasion for fostering that sort of comradeship, the 1986 Summer School was an unqualified success. As the sixth such school it was judged by many to be the best. Next year will be bigger and we hope better still, so book now for 1987/88.

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despite the repression
BLACK MASSES FIGHT ON

The repression has taught hundreds of thousands that relying on "democracy" in South Africa, either the British or the USA, is a hopeless task. Only the combined force of the advancing South African revolution itself and the US and British worker class movements amongst its white ranks will act to produce any response from Thabo and Reagan, South Africa's principal backers and defenders.

The worth of the 'liberation' of South Africa's big business has been shown up for what it is. So too has the impotence of the United Nations, the Commonwealth and of the European Parliament and US Congress.

South Africa's workers and the ANC have always relied on their own strength and appeal to the workers' movement and to the broad masses in black Africa to support them. Their leadership was clear for all to see. The old, manipulated, trade union leaders were held stooges who had been crushed and swept away. The ANC had begun to develop which had the clear potential for creating a dual power. If linked up with the shop stewards, the work in the mines, industry, commerce, transport and on the farms they had the potential to become a powerful force of South African revolution. This terrifying

BOLIVIA IS A Country Wrecked by Social Crisis

This is especially the case in the Eastern Cape where the ANC's provincial leadership was now clearly wedded to a path of "mixed economy". It was In a large way the repressions of Emergency has been shown up for what it is. So too has the impotence of the United Nations, the Commonwealth and of the European Parliament and US Congress. The ANC's commitment to the struggle of South Africa's workers and leaders were shown up the crisis of leadership that exists at the top of the ANC's rank and file and the courage of the fighters of Oshanduko We Strive the ANC leadership is wedded to a path of pressure, of governmental sanction by the main imperialist powers and of the ANC's role of organisation which must now be forged if a viable strategy of South African revolution is to be developed.

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On 21 August a large demonstration of shanty-town dwellers marched to the offices of the Ministry of Water. There, in Lusaka, the ANC had agreed that "the struggle of the property of black South African people is to be allowed at all levels and the spirit of entrepreneurship encouraged" in a leaflet against South Africa. The ANC and the National Federation of Commerce which Morwater represented agreed that "It was in the country's best interest that the spirit of entrepreneurship be nurtured and encouraged" (Weekly Mail 11-17 July).

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Africa (CUSA) and the Azanian Confederation of Trade Unions (ACTU) have both proposed that employers and unions form an independent organization that is no longer controlled by the unions.

The first part of Kinnock's witch-hunt bandwagon began to roll; it was insidious that some people were given to believe that employers and unions are needed above all, to establish order and discipline in the workplace.

The repression shows that what is needed above all is a revolutionary organization capable of organizing the unions, taking the lead in the fight against state repression, strike action and the building of soviet-type councils. Such a party will have to be built, if the black masses are not to be chucked out of the "white" bourgeoisie's hands in South African capitalism.

Such a party must be a Leninist party, capable of utilizing the vast forces of the black masses ravaged by capitalism and digital computer and not by their leaders. It will, moreover, have to be a Trotskyist party - one committed to a strategy of permanent revolution, of the uninterrupted struggle from the basis of national and democratic struggle to the creation of working class power in South Africa.

The cadre for such a party exists and is developing among the various "sections" in the unions and townships. What is needed is the first nucleus of a new party, able to take its first step towards the building of such a party. The fight against the"black" bureaucracy is a vital step in the road to the success of the South African revolution.

The TUC/LCP document does not attempt to sweeten the pill with the abolition of "worker control" by Thatchers union law, and by restoring security of employment rights. Wage Councils, etc. Trade unions should force Kinnock to implement this, but not at the price of accepting the Rights and Responsibilies package.

NEIL KINGNOK FACES two major hurdles this month. He must steer joint TUC/Labour Party legislation through both the TUC and Labour Party Conference. Only then will the proposals - summed up in the pamphlets New Rights, New Possibilities - take their place as one of the keystones of Kinnock's strategy for the next Labour Government.

Any plans the YS have for a "legal" requirement to hold a secret ballot before strike action.

The central need for this measure, which effectively retains a key element of Thatcher's anti-union laws, springs from two sources. On the one hand it is demanded by the employers, who have seen strike after strike in the TUC and the Labour Party Conference. The major sticking point for the trade union leaders has been the "legal" requirement to hold a secret ballot before strike action.

The key words of the New Rights document are "a partnership... involvement in change". In Kinnokskvist this means a return to the union leaders being able to negotiate away jobs, participate in productivity schemes and hold down wages by voluntary agreement. This is what has been happening for years in the Thatcherite era.

But their ability to deliver is so crucial to the strategy of Kinnock and Heseltine that it can't be left to chance. They must convince the employers they will be able to hold down wages and prevent any restoration of shop-floor militancy. Otherwise the bosses will refuse to go along.

On the picket line and the demo, the vanguard fighters must resist any attempt to lay their hands on the unions. The fight against this attempt is one of the keys to the success of the South African revolution.

ONCE KINGNOK'S WITCH-HUNT bandwagon began to roll it was insidious that some people were given to believe that employers and unions are needed above all, to establish order and discipline in the workplace.

The first part of Kinnock's witch-hunt bandwagon began to roll in July by Tom Sawyer and now looks set to be pushed through the Party Conference.

Under Militant the YS has hardly been a thorn in Labour's side. Militant's politics of peaceful co-existence with the Labour Party meant it was no surprise that Labour's new leader was keen on a "policy of mass influence" put the YS on the sidelines of the mass meetings and campaigns that actually took place. This the leadership could tolerate.

What they can no longer tolerate is that the YS provides Militant with just a public platform, but with official party resources, a paper and a place on the NEC.
Much is made of their 'heroism', but behind the rhetoric and the leadership stands the self-interest of the bosses of competing sectional interests. Whatever Rajiv Gandhi says, he has no intention of ending India's trade in rough diamonds with South Africa, which employs half a million in India. Canada's and Australia's call for blocking South Africa's coal, steel and agricultural goods implies nothing with the fact that they are major competitors of the apartheid state in these markets. By 1985, which has imposed a total trade embargo has relatively little trade with South Africa.

Whatever procured these country's actions, Lord Thetford will not be deceived. Only actions that cut apartheid's lifeline, trade and investment, Britain, America, and West Germany, will help the South African masses be the day of freedom nearer.

The reality of the labour movement has the interest and the power to implement really effective sanctions. It is in our interest to aid the black masses of South Africa because victory for them will strengthen the confidence of the working class all over the world. Since it would be a powerful defeat for apartheid's allies, Botch's downfall would massively weaken the credibility of the British ruling class.

TRADE

We also have a major responsibility. Although South Africa's trade with the UK does not amount to a great deal for Britain, it does for South Africa. In 1985, Britain was the third largest market for South Africa's fruit and vegetables. The UK is also the third largest supplier of manufactured goods to the racist state.

In trying to make clear the interest and the responsibility our class also has the responsibility to oppose apartheid. Most South African trade goes through Southampton, Liverpool and Heathrow. Boycotting this trade and preventing it being diverted to other ports is a realistic form of action.

The press, in particular the BBC, is waging a campaign to spread the lie that 'sanctions cannot be monitored', or that there is always a way round them. If they are carried out and checked by £20,000 a year civil servants this may well be true. But if workers themselves make sure the goods are stopped, then the bosses' attempts to block a blockade can be checked.

The TUC has been tacitly complacent in allowing the Commonwealth conference! Full support of the TGWU paper and the Daily Telegraph (or rather Torygraph) to persuade the bosses that investing in South Africa is unprofitable. They prefer pleading to the bosses to organising their members to impose sanctions against the racist state.

The one form of action they do endorse is the consumer 'boycott'. However, the 'boycott' consumers are, they cannot ever be as effective as organised workers. Two million workers and fifty thousand shipowners with union backing can achieve in days what it would take thousands of consumers months to achieve.

However it is the bureaucrats say much of the 'backwardsness of the membership', and whatever echoes might find in the 'socialist' theories of the 'downers' (such as the SWP) there is a will to take action against apartheid.

The Dunes Stores strikers' battle started as an initiative of the rank and file. TOWU dockers in Southampton, backed by the NUJ, blocked the export of military machinery to South Africa. Portsmouth health workers fought to boycott goods in their cereal store. Thirty six unions are affiliated to the Anti-Apartheid Movement. Yet even the best union policies only agree to back workers action once it is taken.

We desperately need a campaign for workers sanctions. That campaign has two tasks. To show the TUC and the AAM that there is a willingness among workers to take direct action and to call on them to spend less time and money trying to persuade Thatcher to take action, and instead spend more time educating and preparing the unions for action by the time the sanctions are imposed. At the moment only the NUR, NAICO and ACTT have officially backed Anti-Apartheid Committee. We need many more.

On top of this we can start a campaign to promote and organise action now, where it can be delivered, without waiting for the TUC to get off its backside.

ACTION

A strategy for workers sanctions has to take account of the following:

We must counter the argument that sanctions cannot be effective. If we let the bosses lay us off this happens. If it leaving sanctions in the hands of the 'sym pathetic' bosses and politicians is the sure way of letting them condemn jobs and sacrifices.

We must fight for a boycott of exports as well as imports. It is no accident that while the Dunne strike forced the Irish government to ban imports of South African fruit from 1 January 1987, exports of sophisticated computers will continue. Britain provides South Africa with 16% of its machinery imports. Cutting these off is essential for an effective campaign.

The South African revolution does not have mortgage on time. Now it is its hour of need. While the TUC leaders sit on their hands, and while we let them get away with it, Moeletsi Masilela is imprisoned in a cell, kept in 24 hours a day, constantly monitored by TV camera. The turning of a heroic trade union leader by the racist state makes action by British trade unions imperative. None of the resolutions of the TUC Congress is clear on the need for action in the workplace against apartheid. The TUC/NUR call for a boycott of South African goods, but not of goods destined for South Africa. The NUM call for a 'complete embargo on all trade' but are weak on how to get it. NAICO wants the government to implement sanctions and a boycott of exports.

In July, Lambeth and Birmingham Trades Councils launched a campaign for workers sanctions. A successful lobby (and meeting) of the July TUC General Council is being followed by a lobby of the TUC Congress on 1 September. We can call for maximum support for both of the lobby of the TUC on 1 September and the AAM's mass leaflet of the Congress on 4 September. A fringe meeting at the TUC on 4 September will be planning the next steps. These next steps must be action in the workplace.