

SOCIALIST ORGANISER

For Workers' Liberty East and West

Fight the Tories! Rebuild the left!



Back Benn and Heffer!

GANGSTER MEETS DICTATOR

The superpower summit in Moscow will not really bring world peace. Reagan and Gorbachev both rule violent, oppressive systems.

The best that sumitry can do is ease tensions — temporarily. A new kind of social system is needed internationally to secure world peace — democratic working class rule and socialism.

Editorial, p.3.



Protest against Reagan!

When he visits the Guildhall on Friday June 3.

Assemble at 11.15 corner of Alderman-bury and Gresham St. London.

WOMAN'S
EYEAre babies
sexist?

By Lynn Ferguson

"Are girls allowed to drive buses?" Not, I suppose, an unlikely question from a 4 year old boy. But then, the boy in question does actually know a woman bus-driver and has been taken around the garage by her.

Sex-role stereotyping in young children is a funny thing. Try as you might to provide non-sexist books, to avoid pushing your kids into roles determined by their gender, boys will be boys and girls will be girls. My 2½ year old daughter likes tidying up, is very affectionate and treats her teddies like babies. The boy, at that age, was obsessed with public transport to the extent that I was worried he'd grow up to be a train-spotter!

Faced with such apparent intransigence of ideas and behaviour it's easy to think we got it all wrong. The answer does lie in the genes after all, or more precisely, inside the nappy.

But there is another explanation. The really serious stereotyping comes from peer-group pressure — the pressure to conform with other kids at nursery, at school. But it starts even before then. Very small children have an impulse to make sense of the world, and are fantastically creative in inventing their own theories to explain what they see around them. And that is really the fundamental point. Its all well and good telling kids that girls are as good as boys, can do just the same things but what they see is a male dominated world.

Kids absorb and rationalise such messages very early on. They develop a view of the world as it is, rather than as we would like it to be.

Does this mean we're fated to produce mini-patriarchs and junior housewives until the great day when communism triumphs? Not quite. But I think it does mean that it's impossible and wrong, to try to make our kids into little paragons of socialist consciousness. A few anti-sexist story books, won't change the consciousness of a generation.

TGWU COMMUNITY PROGRAMME NATIONAL SHOP STEWARDS' COMBINE

DEMONSTRATE AGAINST WORKFARE

Protest at Government plans to force the unemployed to work full time for their benefits/dole.

MARCH ON THE MSC

Assemble: 1.30 p.m. Caborn's Corner (Off Spittal Hill, Sheffield)

Demo Starts: 2.00 p.m.

Rally: 3.00 p.m. outside MSC Headquarters 'Moorfoot'

Speakers invited include:

Ron Todd (TGWU)
Tony Benn MP
Clare Short MP
John Edmunds (GMB)

LIVE
MUSIC

WEDNESDAY 15 JUNE

STRIKE AGAINST WORKFARE

Those opposed to 'Workfare' include: TGWU, GMB, NALGO, NUPE, MSF, Scottish TUC, NW TUC, SE TUC, NAT. CONFERENCE OF UNEMPLOYED CENTRES.

Fight business unionism!

By Jim Denham

The decision of Eric Hammond and the EETPU executive to ballot members on coming out of the TUC has provoked two main responses from the rest of the movement.

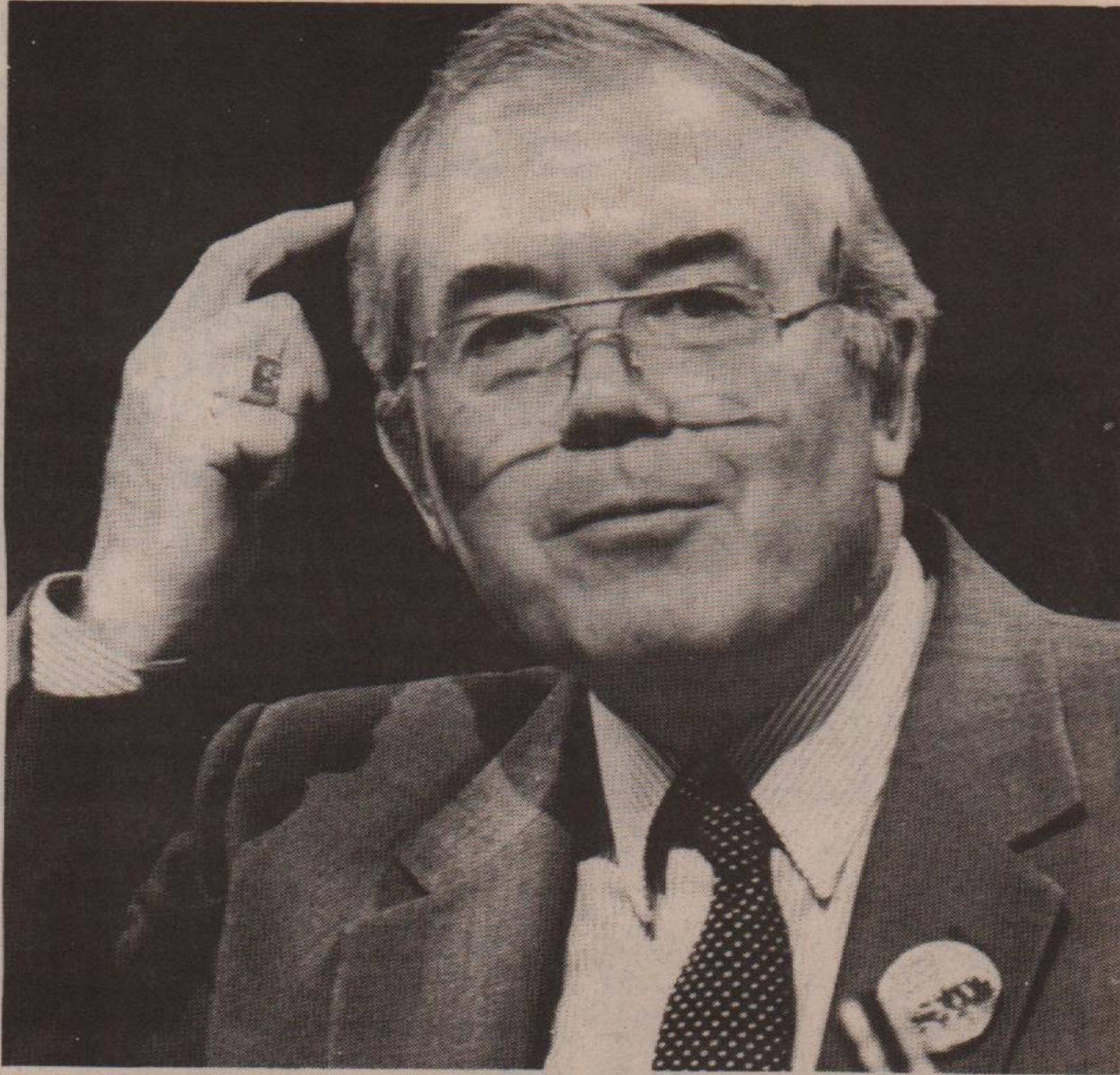
The first has been to back away from confrontation and offer concessions on issues like single-union/no-strike deals, in the hope of keeping the electricians in the TUC fold at any price. This has been the reaction of the TUC right wingers like Bill Jordan of the AEU (who, in any case, favours a merger between his union and the electricians), and so far it seems to have been the approach of Norman Willis.

The other — apparently diametrically opposed — response has been to call for the expulsion of the EETPU from the TUC. Alan Tuffin, leader of the post and telecom workers (UCW), has already proposed this. The leaders of the print unions SOGAT and NGA have been calling for it since the Wapping dispute.

Most of the left — including the *Morning Star*, *Socialist Worker*, and *Militant*, have taken the same line.

The call for expulsion is an understandable reaction, and is certainly preferable to simply allowing Hammond to carry on with his business unionism and scabbing. But it is essentially a bureaucratic response, and one that does nothing to challenge Hammond's leadership.

Rank and file electricians are not a different species from other trade unionists. They could be won to basic trade union principles, against Hammond. But that would require a real campaign that challenged the direction Hammond is taking the



Fight Hammond by mobilising the rank and file of the EETPU! Photo: Stefano Cagnoni, Report.

union in, and appealed directly to his membership.

The TUC has never run a campaign of that sort before. But it is the only adequate response to the present crisis, and would worry

Hammond much more than simply kicking the EETPU out of the TUC.

The foolishness of calling for the expulsion of the EETPU at the moment is clearly illustrated in an

Privatisation

Rail comes up for the chop

By Rob Dawber

Many changes have happened in British Rail in the past 9 years of Tory government. But now preparations are afoot for the big axe. With the think tank options for getting as much of BR as possible out of the public sector, the plan is now to put the sell-off in the Tories' next general election manifesto.

That would make it 13 or 14 years since the Tories first embarked on their privatisation programme. The reason it has taken so long is not strong union resistance (although that would have been nice) but the need wholly to restructure BR first.

The privatisation of BR could not take the same form as the wholesale sell-off, for example of British Gas, because profitability is uneven in BR. Instead it is to be broken up. The sale of bits of BR began with the sale of Sealink, BR hotels and soon BR Engineering Ltd.

The method by which BR will be sold off is 'sectorisation'. This can be said with certainty because of the whole line of development of BR's internal restructuring.

In 1981 Sir Robert Reid was appointed chair of BR to replace the bumbling Peter Parker. Reid was to oversee his ideas on the development of sectors within BR. These became five — Freight, Parcel, Intercity, London and the South East and Provincial.

Previously BR had operated on the basis of the 4 old railway companies, nationalised in 1945. There became 5 regions as Scotland was separated out.

For the purposes of privatisation, however, these were inadequate, as the highly profitable freight, for example was mixed up with the hard

to get rid of, but unprofitable rural lines.

The job of sectorisation was to separate these out. The last 7 years have been spent restructuring management, accounts, and allocation of train crews, depots, locomotives, wagon fleets and so on.

The regional structure is now irrelevant. No regional manager can move a muscle without permission and money from the relevant Sector Director.

Freight now makes a profit. So does Parcels. The Intercity sector (most long-distance passenger trains) was removed from government subsidy on April 5 this year. To make up its losses it has been 'allowed' to seek finance from the City up to the point at which it is expected to be profitable (5% per annum) in 2 years time. To all intents and purposes this means that the Intercity sector is now private. It will require only an administrative switch to make it actually so.

This drive to profitability has only been made possible through attacks on the workforce such as Flexible Rostering, Driver Only Operations (doing away with guards), more single-staffing of high-speed locomotives and increas-

editorial in last week's *Militant*. After calling for the expulsion of the electricians, the editorial goes on to call on EETPU activists to "campaign for a no vote in the ballot" — i.e. to campaign to keep the union inside the TUC! *Militant* then compounds its confusion by urging "activists to remain in the EETPU even if it is outside the TUC, to continue the fight to win it back to fighting democratic trade unionism".

No: to go for expulsion now is an easy answer, but it is no solution, and it could even play into Hammond's hands. The movement needs to fight for the hearts and minds of rank and file electricians, and give full support to those in the union who oppose a split from the TUC.

The *Flashlight* group has called a conference in Manchester on 25 June open to all EETPU members who want to stop Hammond. They are bringing out leaflets and a special issue of their journal for the union's industrial sector conferences in June. The TUC could make a start in the fight against Hammond by giving full and public support to *Flashlight*.

Rank and file trade unionists can give their support by contacting *Flashlight* at 62 Wolsey Road, Burnt Oak, Edgware, Middlesex. Copies of *Flashlight* journal from that address, price 20p.

Socialist Organiser have had the Vanessa Redgrave/WRP libel case against them thrown out of court.

"Defend Freedom of Speech in the Left Press!"

Public meeting with many speakers including the editor of Socialist Organiser, John O'Mahony

7.30 Monday 20 June, Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, London WC1. (Tube: Holborn)



A Nicaraguan port in flames after a US attack (top); protests against Russian oppression by Polish students and Aghan Islamic fundamentalists (bottom). Both Washington and the Kremlin are enemies of freedom and peace.

P R E S S
G A N G

What we owe Mike Gabbert

By Jim Denham

Last week Mike Gabbert performed his second greatest service to journalism: he dropped dead.

His other most valuable contribution was to establish the fact that beyond a certain point sensationalism, trivia and soft pornography do not sell newspapers.

For a period of four months in 1987, Gabbert was the editor of the *Star*. The Express Group had been panicked by the relative success of the *Sunday Sport*, edited by Gabbert and owned by pornographer David Sullivan. They reckoned that the *Sport's* formula of "wall to wall tits" (Gabbert's phrase) might be just the thing to boost their ailing tabloid.

To pre-empt plans for a daily version of the *Sport*, Express Newspapers offered control of the *Star* to Sullivan, who duly installed Gabbert as editor. What little claim the *Star* ever had to be taken seriously as a newspaper soon went out of the window — as did most of its journalists, who either jumped to save their self-respect or were pushed by Gabbert.

Chief leader writer David Buchan told a meeting at Labour Party conference that he was ashamed of the *Star*, and could no longer take it home for his wife and kids to see. Gabbert promptly sacked him.

But sales fell by 25,000 as the *Star* fast became known as a porno rag and decent working-class people (some of whom had become regular readers because of its early claims to be a Labour paper) deserted it. The final blow was when the Co-op and Tesco withdrew their advertising. At this, Express boss Lord Stevens suddenly noticed what his beloved tabloid had turned into, and was suitably appalled. The Sullivan deal was ended, and Gabbert was sacked, with a rumoured £100,000 golden handshake. The *Star* is still trying to recover its image as a 'family newspaper'.

Hopefully no-one will try anything quite as bad again for a long while. Whether you're up in the great celestial editorial office, or down in the demonic composing room, thank you Mike.

Come on Over

When Rupert Murdoch took over the ailing 'Today' from Eddie Shah, it was only a matter of time before the paper switched allegiance from the Alliance to the Tories, in line with Murdoch's other titles. The problem facing the Digger's editor, David Montgomery, was how to effect the switch without making it too obvious that he was simply doing his masters bidding. The ignominious implosion of the Steel/Owen axis gave Montgomery the perfect opportunity to start distancing Today from both wings of the Alliance but the final break was a long time coming. In particular, Dr Death continued to receive rave reviews in the editorial columns of the paper.

On Monday 9th May, Today crossed the Rubicon, but the old loyalty was not totally forgotten. That day's editorial noted that, "Mrs Thatcher thinks more highly of him (Owen) than of any other British politician." Today urged the Doctor to "seriously consider his future. It might mean stepping across a huge political divide but he owes it to the nation". Whether the good Doctor follows Today's advice remains to be seen, but full marks to David Montgomery for switching horses so gracefully.

Reagan the gangster and Gorbachev the dictator

EDITORIAL

Will the Reagan-Gorbachev talks bring us any nearer world peace?

On the face of it, the signs are better than they have been for a long, long time. The Superpowers are talking to each other, and have already agreed to significant arms reductions. Perhaps, although it seems unlikely, the current talks in Moscow will lead to further reductions.

More tangibly, Russian

troops are leaving Afghanistan, a major flash-point, the invasion of which was an opening sally in the 'new cold war'. Although not directly related to the superpower summitry, the American Congress has voted to stop backing the Contras in Nicaragua (although whether this means anything in practice remains to be seen).

The very fact of talking — in Moscow — seems remarkable. And undoubtedly, the drive towards this new, less tense and bellicose relationship between the USA and the USSR has come from the Russian side. The superpower summits are of a piece with glasnost and perestroika.

Every easing in tensions is to be welcomed. But it would be a mistake to put any trust in talks between Reagan and Gorbachev. Reagan is a gangster,

and Gorbachev is a dictator. Both rule empires founded on violence and oppression and neither is going to give up anything essential to them.

Before the Russian revolution, the Russian empire was called the 'prison house of nations'. So it is today. In the USSR itself the Great Russian nation oppresses many national minorities; recent events in Armenia have indicated the depth of nationalist feeling the oppression stokes up. The Ukraine is the largest oppressed nation in the world — 60 million people.

In addition, Eastern Europe is in effect under Russian overlordship.

The USA, as well as backing the Nicaraguan Contras, supports every right-wing murderous regime across the world. The USA is the world's

biggest bully boy. And its nuclear build-up, far from a 'defensive' process has been connected to thoroughly aggressive policies in the Middle East and elsewhere.

Reagan and Gorbachev both have plenty of blood on their hands. World peace will require different social and political systems to either the moral majority capitalism of the USA or the restructuring bureaucratic nightmare of the USSR. So long as those who rule have an interest in 'spheres of influence' for the sake of their own power, peace will only be fragile and peace treaties only bits of paper.

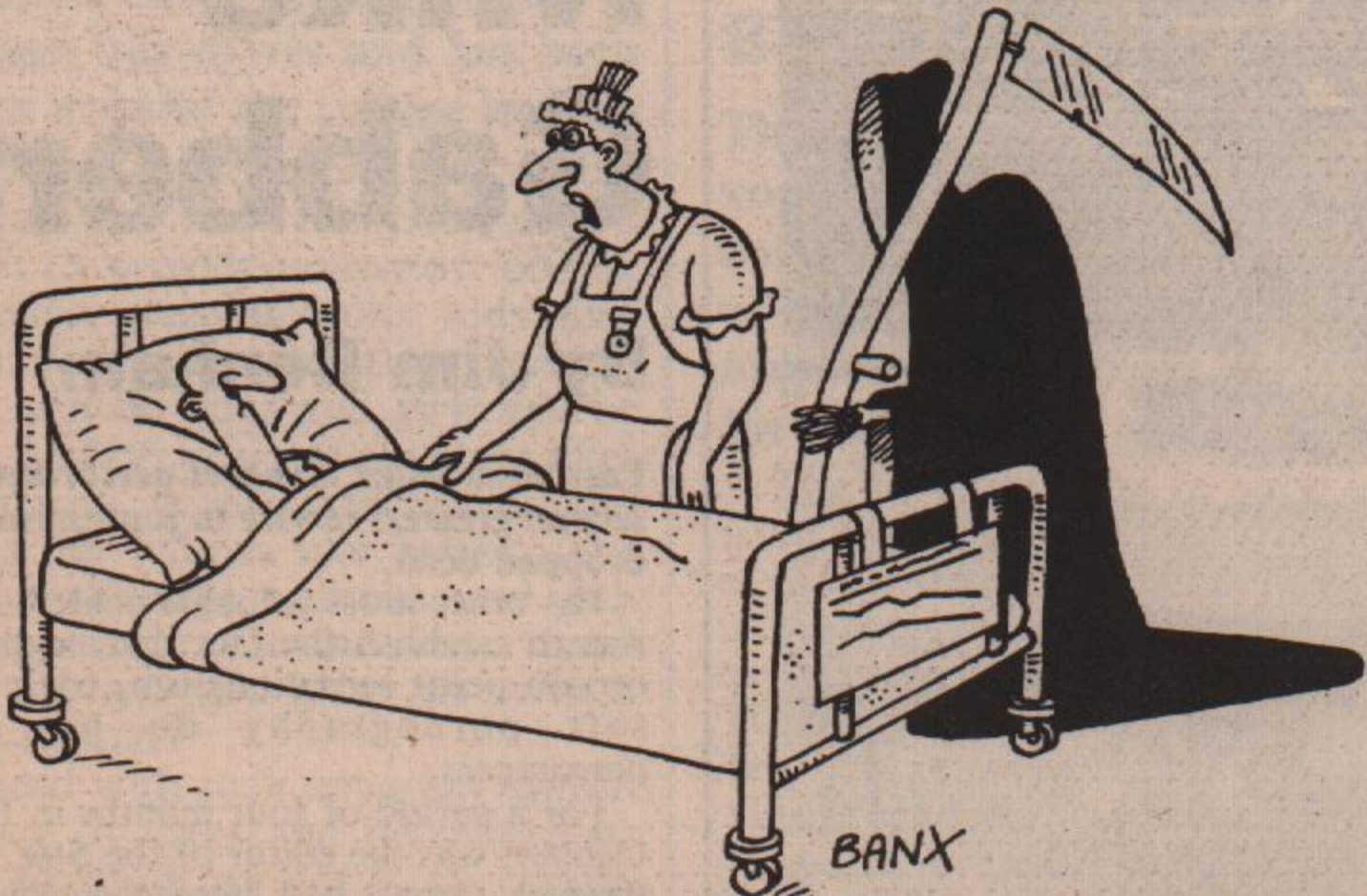
World peace requires world democracy — the democracy of international working class rule of society. Otherwise it will be the peace of the graveyard. Reagan and Gorbachev can never introduce such a system of democracy. Rather they will both have to be overthrown for it to be possible.

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GRAFFITI

"IT'S NOT FOR YOU MR STAPLETON,
HE'S COME FOR THE ENTIRE N.H.S."



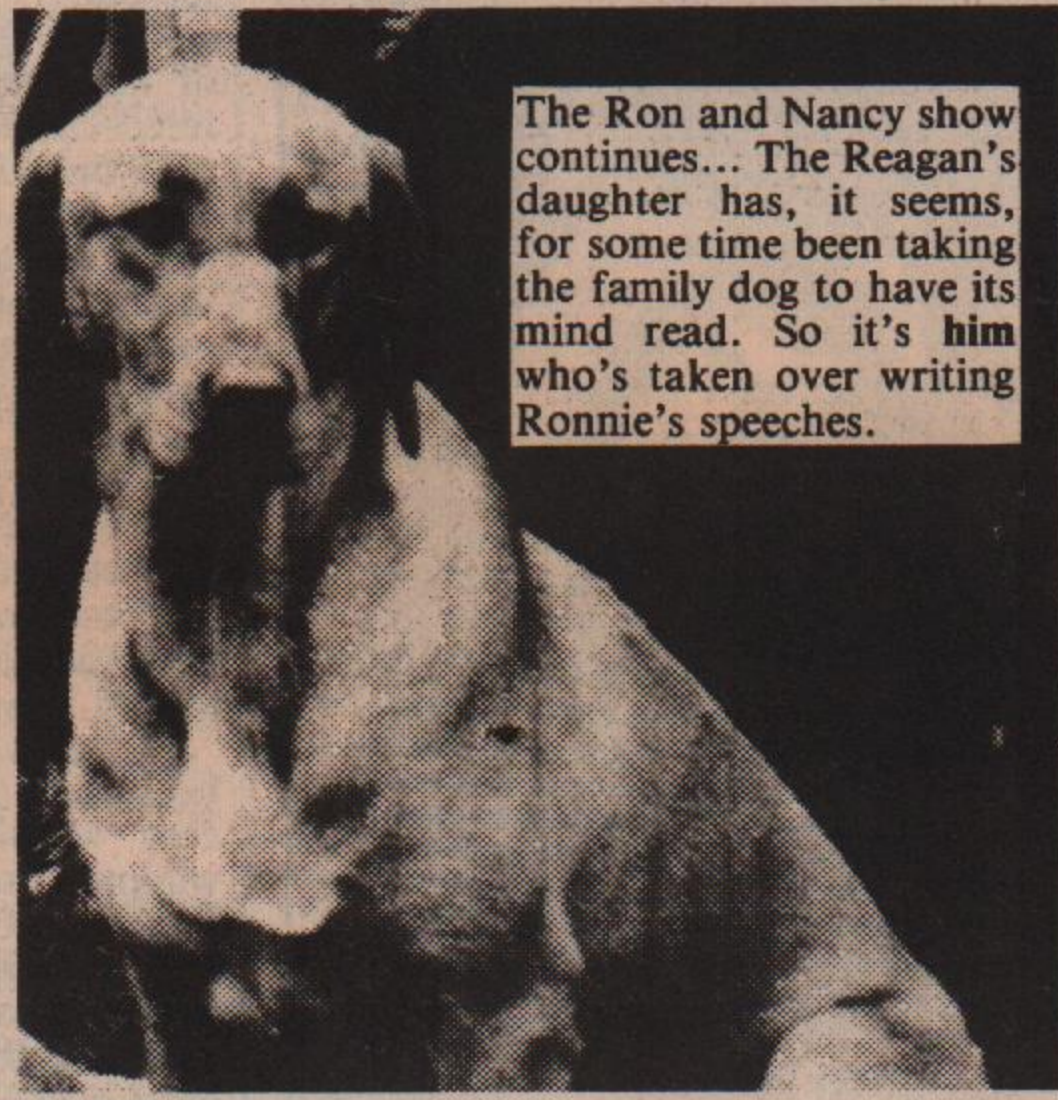
Victims and 'objects'

Children suspected of being victims of sexual abuse are treated as 'objects' by professionals investigating allegations.

A new handbook produced by the Children's Legal Centre says that children are often pressurised and disbelieved by experts over-eager to back-up medical diagnoses.

The booklet particularly criticises the practice of performing intimate physical examinations on suspected victims of abuse without first obtaining their consent. "Where various examinations are carried out specifically seeking evidence of sexual abuse, without any evidence and without consent, the doctor would seem to us to be acting outside the law".

The pamphlet emphasises the need to actually listen to children and young people and treat them as individuals with their own rights.



The Ron and Nancy show continues... The Reagan's daughter has, it seems, for some time been taking the family dog to have its mind read. So it's him who's taken over writing Ronnie's speeches.



Vigilantes attack UDF youth. Photo Billy Paddock (Reflex)

Why Inkatha must be beaten

There has now been over 1 year of intense fighting in and around Pietermaritzburg South Africa between supporters of Chief Buthelezi's Zulu tribal movement Inkatha and democratic trade unions and community groups.

Close to five hundred people have died in the fighting. The number of people killed each month is on the increase as the fighting escalates. What lies behind the fighting?

The fighting started after Inkatha attempted to smash up May Day demonstrations last year. It escalated after Inkatha launched a membership drive in the Pietermaritzburg area last September. This poses the question of what kind of organisation Inkatha is if its membership drives lead to civil war.

Their approach was "sign this card or I'll kill you". A chief said in an Edendale Church meeting that everyone had to join Inkatha and "woe unto them" who did not. Within 24 hours a mother and her son who refused to join Inkatha were killed.

Since September the violence has escalated. Community groups and trade unions have formed self-defence groups to defend themselves from Inkatha vigilantes. Mpopomeni, the township base of the BTR strikers, is like a fortress. Parts of Edendale controlled by UDF and COSATU people have been renamed Angola and Moscow. Inkatha-controlled districts are no-go areas for the left.

Buthelezi's Inkatha movement is difficult to define precisely. Buthelezi poses as a leader of the 'liberation movement', yet at the same time he is boss of an ethnically based political party and ruler of a bantustan.

He preaches black unity and liberation yet can be viciously anti-Indian in his speeches. Some of his supporters go in for tirades against Xhosa speakers and all other 'Africans' who are not Zulu. Buthelezi strikes a popular pose as a

Margaret Thatcher and Ronald Reagan love to hold up Chief Gatsha Buthelezi as a peaceful and non-violent leader of South African blacks. The reality is that Buthelezi is the leader of a movement that is neither peaceful nor non-violent. Over the last year or so Buthelezi's Inkatha movement has been involved in a murderous and bloody attempt to drive out any progressive opposition to his rule in Natal's black townships. The storm centre of this conflict is the townships around the Natal city of Pietermaritzburg. Anne Mack explains why Inkatha must be beaten.

'friend of the people' yet is a bitter enemy of the workers' movement.

Inkatha has many of the attributes of a fascist movement - terror, populism, ethnic exclusivism and murderous hostility to the labour movement. It even has a military-style training camp for the Inkatha Youth Brigade, who provide a substantial part of the Amabutho or vigilantes, and a labour front, UWUSA, dedicated to undermining and physically attacking COSATU and other independent unions.

Perhaps the best description of Buthelezi's potential historic function for South African capitalism was provided by the *Financial Mail* when they nominated him 'Man of the Year' in 1985.

"History... is made by individuals. And the question is: who can deliver SA to a new era of conciliation and relative harmony? (We use the adjective 'relative' advisedly; it would be naive to believe that

anything short of a smoking ruin would satisfy many of those now fomenting violence. They will have to be put down)...

"One name comes easily to mind... and it is that of Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi... a man of compromise... he eschews violence... against disinvestment... against consumer boycotts... an unabashed free marketer."

To play that kind of role Buthelezi needs to break out of Natal and establish himself as a national political figure. To do so Buthelezi needs to drive out any opposition to him in his base of Natal.

That's why the fighting is so bitter. Buthelezi is determined to hold onto his base.

Without control in his base in Natal Buthelezi can't pose as a black leader on the national stage committed to a negotiated compromise with white minority rule.

Secret AIDS tests

Thirteen hundred women have been secretly tested for the HIV virus at Homerton hospital in East London. The women were

neither consulted nor informed about the test. The testing was part of a trial programme to establish the incidence of HIV infection

amongst the heterosexual community. The testing, according to the hospital was completely anonymous. The staff were unaware of the identities of the women involved.

The government has announced that it will offer HIV screening to 90,000 women in three areas of the country. The scheme will initially be voluntary but if the take-up rate is low, plans are to introduce blanket anonymous screening.

Pregnant women are already subject to a plethora of medical procedures and tests during ante-natal visits, very few of which are ever explained. In this context, its easy for women to be used as guinea-pigs in such schemes.

Some lawyers believe that to perform tests on blood without consent constitutes an assault and is therefore illegal.

Lords of money

Wasn't it wonderful to see the massive display of concern shown by our landed gentry last week in the poll tax debate.

Ageing peers, never seen before in our prestigious second chamber gamely turned out in their droves to ensure the correct practice of democracy.

But could the motives of some of those noble Lords have been less than honourable?

Sadly it does seem so. Take the Marquis of Bath for instance. He owns Longleat and its 10,000 acre grounds. The 83 year old ex-Unionist MP has never attended the House of Lords for a key debate until last week. Lo and

behold, his present rates bill is £1403 a year. With the introduction of the Poll Tax this will go down to £186 a year.

And then there's Lord Vestey, notorious tax-dodger (all legal and above board of course) and third richest man in Britain. At present his rates bill comes to £5017 a year. He will pay £180 poll tax. These are the rule rather than the exception. One peer Lord Cranworth, took the oath on Monday morning especially to vote in the poll-tax debate.

Nice to know, isn't it, that our democracy is safeguarded by such independently-minded statesmen as these.

Plan Anarchy

Leading figures in the Kremlin have discussed completely dismantling the planning system.

According to Pravda what exists in Russia is "plan anarchy". Over the past 20 years not one of the 170 official "essential" items has been produced to target. In fact shortages have

increased and prices have risen.

In meetings leading up to the next CPSU Conference it has apparently been suggested that the state should completely withdraw from planning, and leave individual enterprises to be completely self-regulating. The existing Soviet

system was compared unfavourably with capitalist economies.

What is most likely to happen is that planning will be restricted to a few hundred selected products - though Gorbachevites are worried that the majority of conference delegates will be conservatives.

COSATU fights vigilante terror

A member of the COSATU local (shop stewards committee) explained how the organised workers are fighting back against Inkatha vigilantes. The local has representatives from the 50 biggest organised factories in the Pietermaritzburg area.

How did COSATU come to be involved in the struggle against Inkatha?

It really started in early 1987, although there were incidents before, like the attacks by vigilantes on the SARMCOL strikers. There were also attacks in other areas. We had the problem that some shop stewards were Inkatha members in the community and union members in the factory. It was a very difficult situation, because we could not chuck anyone out because union organisation is to strengthen workers' power in the factories.

Then came the attacks. We discussed this in a big COSATU Shop Steward Council (SSC) meeting, because workers had to stay up all night defending their community and then they would be drowsy and tired at work. There was a danger of accidents. The SSC decided to involve management and employer organisations in solving the problem. The Chamber of Industries was not interested at all; but the Chamber of Commerce was willing to discuss with us.

Then we decided to involve the UDF activists, because most of the active people in the townships are members of UDF affiliates. We decided to elect a committee as a link between the SSC and the UDF. We decided to tackle the struggle jointly, to issue joint statements, and that UDF should also send representatives to the meetings with the Chamber so they could report back to their organisations.

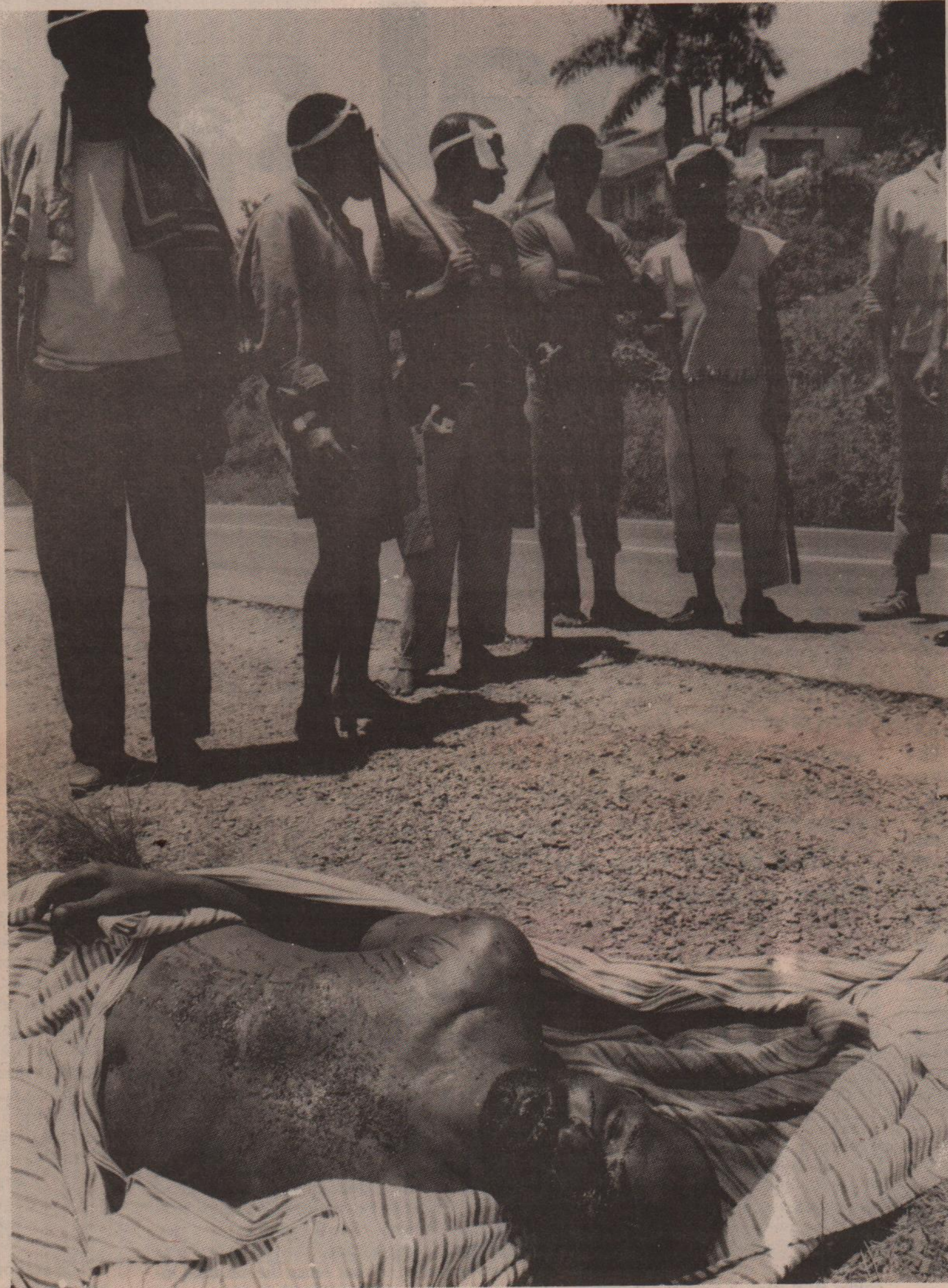
So we met with the Chamber. We raised that there must be freedom of association, freedom of speech and an end to forced recruitment. The chiefs should call meetings in their areas and tell their communities that they are free to join any organisation. We asked the Chamber of Commerce to act as mediators with Inkatha.

In the end we met Inkatha. We proposed that each organisation should publicly condemn violence. We also demanded that warlords should not be part of any delegation and that they should be arrested and charged with their crimes. There was agreement on some points but Inkatha did not agree on the question of the warlords.

So in the meantime people were forming defence committees in the townships. It was difficult because in some areas both Inkatha supporters and UDF supporters were living. But Inkatha vigilantes kept on attacking, and some people were being killed. So in some areas like Ashdown people resolved to clear all Inkatha people out of the township, since they were causing the problem. There was some resistance from Inkatha supporters, but in the end they were kicked out of Ashdown. We noted that the police did nothing to restrain Inkatha supporters, but they detained UDF activists.

At first the youth were opposed to talks with Inkatha, because they saw it as collaboration. But we managed to persuade them that it was important.

The talks got bogged down at the



Victim of Inkatha terror. Photo Billy Paddock (Reflex)

second meeting when Inkatha brought in three national leaders who were not very co-operative. They demanded that we repudiate Inqaba Yabasebenzi. We said it does not come from our structures so we cannot repudiate it. There have been no meetings since then.

But now there is strong collaboration between the vigilantes and state. The vigilantes point out activists' houses and the police detain them. The TV and other media accuses COSATU and UDF whereas we are just defending ourselves.

Can you tell us more about the structures in the communities?

It is difficult to call the committees street committees, because in the outlying areas there are no streets, and even in Edendale there are not proper streets. So we call them defence committees, because they started when people came together to resist attacks by Inkatha vigilantes. In Edendale there is also the Edendale Crisis Committee formed from shop stewards and elder people, to assist the youth and the community struggle generally.

Our main problems are the In-

katha vigilante attacks, and the detentions of our leaders, more than 300 people. The floods also disrupted us.

How did the idea of defence committees start?

The defence committee came out of the struggles themselves. They may also have linked up with discussions among the shop stewards about the need for defence against vigilante attacks.

The youth and the UDF are very active in the defence committees. The only problem is that they have been disrupted by detentions. Our shop stewards and activists that are still outside are jointly active in generating ideas and solving problems.

Some shop stewards are also members of community organisations. Initially the whole violence was directed against the UDF. It ended up involving shop stewards because some shop stewards were killed, and they were also parents of kids being killed. That was in itself a push for workers and shop stewards to take an active role.

At what levels do UDF and

COSATU co-operate?

One of the agreements that we made was that whenever we want to do anything we'll do it in consultation, so that we don't find friction taking place between the two organisations, because that will be too dangerous for the whole struggle. The State and Inkatha will intervene as soon as they hear that there is friction.

But still we as COSATU operate through our own structures, and the UDF has its own structures. Then we have a joint forum, and if UDF raises anything we take it back to our structures and if COSATU raises anything they discuss it in UDF structures. Its two independent organisations consulting and co-operating.

At the local level shop stewards are part of the community structures. Initially workers were not keen to join those structures. This was because no-one knew the direction Inkatha was going to take. It was only with the Kwa-Natal Indaba that Inkatha supporters started on forced recruitment. Also in Natal people were reluctant to confront the system, believing it

would affect their jobs and so on. But when the situation hotted up they saw they could not avoid becoming involved.

Tell me about the functions of the defence committee?

The most important function of the committees is defence against Inkatha supporters. But they are discussing what other issues they can take up as community organisations, because once the issue of Inkatha is resolved there is a vacuum, where because of a lack of activities people get involved in silly things.

In some areas there is no Inkatha, there seems to be a vacuum and youths do things that are out of their constituency. In some areas there is no history of organisation, people first came together for defence. I am talking about the more remote rural areas. Now you find problems of discipline, problems of old grudges surfacing in youth structures and so on. This is one of the things the Shop Steward Council is addressing. Wherever there is a problem it is discussed in the SSC and the ideas filter back into the areas. We are discussing with the youth. Discussing what kind of organisation and what are its purposes, and developing political understanding, which was not here before the defence committees formed. This is the main reason for the problem of a lack of discipline in some areas.

In some of the outlying areas you find a few individuals dominating, taking decisions for the whole community. Now we are educating the community how to control the leaders who they have elected.

Because of these problems we decided to have a Shop Steward Council meeting together with a number of the youth, so we could address these issues in their presence, and the shop stewards could give some guidance. I noticed that the youth were very interested in the discussion, and I believe they will take these ideas back to their areas. We plan to have more such meetings. But I do not see us having permanent youth representation in the SSC. In the end I see there being a permanent forum for youth and shop-stewards to meet, but the SSC being independent.

Are women involved in the committees?

At first women were not involved in the defence committees, because their main purpose was defence. But now that the committees are discussing their tasks, we are discussing the role of women. Some comrades felt women are weak, they can easily pass on information. But we pointed out that is not true. Women are an important and integral part of the struggle, and they have particular skills, for example gathering information.

Why has the support for UDF/COSATU grown so much?

There was a big group of neutral people, who were not part of any organisation. They became victims of Inkatha vigilantes, so they easily drifted to UDF/COSATU. At the time of the floods we also gave people assistance, and we assisted victims of violence. So people came closer to us.

Also, Inkatha supporters did not have organisation, only a few warlords and their vigilantes were doing the job. So when there was retaliation against them they were forced to run for their lives. The whole community developed a hatred for them, so they could not handle the fight because they were in a minority. Now they are starting to operate with the police and the kitskonstabels.

So Inkatha supporters pushed the people to UDF/COSATU, and UDF/COSATU used organisational skills to help the people and make them comfortable.

We need to get the ordinary members to come over onto our side, because most of them were forcibly recruited. One of the messages at our rally was that ordinary Inkatha members must not be attacked, people must concentrate on the question of defence and the warlords. We must try to organise the ordinary Inkatha members into our camp.

From South African Labour Bulletin.

Trotsky on the national question

In two countries of pre-war Europe the national question was of exceptional political significance: in Tsarist Russia and in Hapsburg Austria-Hungary. In each of these the workers' party created its own school. In the sphere of theory, the Austrian Social-Democracy, in the persons of Otto Bauer and Karl Renner, considered nationality independent of territory, economy and class, transforming it into a species of abstraction limited by so-called "national character."

In the field of national policy, as for that matter in all other fields, it did not venture beyond a corrective status quo. Fearing the very thought of dismembering the monarchy, the Austrian Social-Democracy strove to adapt its national programme to the borders of the patchwork state.

The programme of so-called "national cultural autonomy" required that the citizens of one and the same nationality, irrespective of their dispersal over the territory of Austria-Hungary and irrespective of the administrative divisions of the state, should be united, on the basis of purely personal attributes, into one community for the solution of their "cultural" tasks (the theatre, the church, the school, and the like). That programme was artificial and utopian, in so far as it attempted to separate culture from territory and economy in a society torn apart by social contradictions; it was at the same time reactionary, in so far as it led to a forced disunion into various nationalities of the workers of one and the same state, undermining their class strength.

Lenin's position was the direct opposite. Regarding nationality as inseparably connected with territory, economy and class structure, he refused at the same time to regard the historical state, the borders of which cut across the living body of the nations, as a sacrosanct and inviolate category.

He demanded recognition of the right to secession and independent existence for each national portion of the state.

In so far as the various nationalities, voluntarily or through force of necessity,

The Tsarist Empire was justly described as 'the prison house of nations'. It oppressed a vast number of peoples and nationalities. The Bolshevik Revolution broke down the walls and gates of that prison house, liberating the peoples. But the Stalinist counter-revolution has turned the USSR into an even bigger prison house of nationalities than the old Tsarist Empire. The Bolshevik approach to the national question was one of their distinctive contributions to Marxism. Without it the Russian Revolution would not have been possible. Without the same approach to questions like Ireland and the Middle East, socialists today would be disoriented. Here Leon Trotsky makes a concise outline of the Bolshevik teachings on the national question.

This is the first part of a series on marxist ideas in preparation for Workers' Liberty '88.

coexist within the borders of one state, their cultural interests must find the highest possible satisfaction within the framework of the broadest regional (and consequently, territorial) autonomy, including statutory guarantees of the rights of each minority. At the same time, Lenin deemed it the incontrovertible duty of all the workers of a given state, irrespective of nationality, to unite in one and the same class organisations.

The national problem was particularly acute in Poland, aggravated by the historical fate of that country. The so-called PPS (Polish Socialist Party), headed by Josef Pilsudski, came out ardently for Polish independence; the "socialism" of the PPS was no more than a vague appendage of its militant nationalism. On the other hand, the Polish Social-Democracy, whose leader was Rosa Luxemburg, counterposed the slogan of Polish independence the demand for the autonomy of the Polish region as a constituent part of democratic Russia. Luxemburg proceeded from the consideration that in the epoch of imperialism the separation of Poland from Russia was economically infeasible and in the epoch of socialism — unnecessary.

Abstraction

She looked upon "the right of self-determination" as an empty abstraction. The polemic on that question lasted for years. Lenin insisted that imperialism did not reign similarly or equably in all countries, regions and spheres of life; that the heritage of the past represented an accumulation and interpenetration of various historical epochs; that although monopolistic capitalism towers above everything, it does not supersede

everything; that, notwithstanding the domination of imperialism, the numerous national problems retained their full force and that, contingent upon the internal and world conjunctures, Poland might become independent even in the epoch of imperialism.

It was Lenin's view that the right of self-determination was merely an application of the principles of bourgeois democracy in the sphere of national relations. A real, full-bodied, all-sided democracy under capitalism was unrealisable; in that sense the national independence of small and weak peoples was likewise "unrealisable". However, even under imperialism, the working class did not refuse to fight for democratic rights, including among them the right of each nation to its independent existence.

Moreover, in certain portions of our planet it was imperialism itself that invested the slogan of national self-determination with extraordinary significance. Although Western and Central Europe have somehow managed to solve their national problems in the course of the nineteenth century, in Eastern Europe, Asia, Africa and South America the epoch of national democratic movements had not really begun to unfold until the twentieth century. To deny the right of nations to self-determination is tantamount in effect to offering aid and comfort to the imperialists against their colonies and generally against all oppressed nationalities.

The problem of nationalities was considerably aggravated in Russia during the period of reaction. "The wave of militant nationalism," wrote Stalin, "called attention from above to numerous acts of repressions by those in power, who wreaked their vengeance upon the border states

for their love of freedom, calling forth in response a wave of nationalism from below, which at times passed into crude chauvinism." This was the time of the ritual murder trial of the Kiev Jew Bayliss. Retrospectively, in the light of civilisation's latest achievements, especially in Germany and in the USSR, that trial today seems almost a humanitarian experiment. But in 1913 it shocked the whole world. The poison of nationalism began to affect many sections of the working class as well. Alarmed, Gorky wrote to Lenin about the need for counteracting this chauvinistic rabidness. "As for nationalism, I quite agree with you," replied Lenin, "that we must cope with it more earnestly than ever. We have a splendid Georgian staying with us here who is writing a long article for *Prosveshcheniye* (Enlightenment), after garnering all the Austrian and other material. We will bear down on it." The reference was to Stalin.

Gorky, long connected with the party, knew all its leading cadres well. But Stalin evidently was utterly unknown to him, since Lenin had to resort to such an impersonal, although flattering, expression as "a splendid Georgian". This is, by the way, the only occasion when Lenin characterized a prominent Russian revolutionist by the token of his nationality. He had in mind, of course, not a Georgian, but a Caucasian: the element of primitiveness undoubtedly attracted Lenin; small wonder that he treated Kamo with such tenderness.

During his two months' sojourn abroad Stalin wrote a brief but very trenchant piece of research entitled "Marxism and the National Problem". Since it was intended for a lawful magazine, the article resorted to discreet vocabulary. Its revolutionary tendencies were nonetheless distinctly apparent.

Materialist

The author set out by counterposing the historico-materialistic definition of nation to the abstracto-psychological, in the spirit of the Austrian school. "The nation," he wrote, "is a historically-formed enduring community of language, territory, economic life and psychological composition, asserting itself in the community of culture." This combined definition, compounding the psychological attributes of a nation with the geographic and economic conditions of its development, is not only correct theoretically but also practically fruitful, for then the solution to the problem of each nation's fate must perforce be sought along the lines of changing the material conditions of its existence, beginning with territory. Bolshevism was never addicted to the fetishistic worship of a state's borders. Politically the point was to reconstruct the Tsarist empire, that prison of nations, territorially, politically, and administratively, in line with needs and wishes of the nations themselves.

The party of the proletariat does not enjoin the various nationalities either to remain within the bounds of a given state or to separate from it: that is their own affair. But it does obligate itself to help each of them to realise its actual national will. As for the possibility of separating from a

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Workers' Liberty

88



summer school

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at is a matter of concrete circumstances and the relation "No one can say," wrote that the Balkan War is the end of and external circumstances that other nationality in Russia will necessary to postulate and to solve em of its own independence. course, it is no business of the o place barriers in such cases. at very reason Russian Marxists t along without the right of nself-determination."

terests of the nations which y remain within the bounds of c Russia would be fenced off by "the autonomies of such self-d units as Poland, Lithuania, ne, the Caucasus, and the like. autonomy is conducive to a betion of the natural wealth of the oes not divide citizens along lines and makes it possible for group themselves in class par e territorial self-administration s in all spheres of social life is osed to the extra-territorial — atonic — self-administration of ies in matters of "culture" only. er, most directly and acutely t, from the point of view of the t's struggle, was the problem of ons between workers of various ies inside the same state. n stood for a compact and in- nification of workers of all na- in the party and in the trade a the basis of democratic cen-

ype of organisation does not ex- uence on practical work alone. an indelible stamp on the whole spiritual life. The worker life of his organisation, within e develops spiritually and is ..The international type of on is a school of comradely feel- e greatest agitation in favour of nalism."

the aims of the Austrian pro- of "cultural autonomy" was ervation and development of the diosyncrasies of peoples." Why hat purpose? asked Bolshevism ent. Segregating the various na- portions of mankind was never ern. True, Bolshevism insisted nation should have the right to the right, but not the duty — as ate, most effective guarantee ppression. But the thought of ar- preserving national idiosyn- was profoundly alien to n. The removal of any, even e even the most refined and prac- mponderable" national oppres- ndignity, must be used for the ary unification rather than the n of the workers of various na- . Wherever national privileges ies exist, nations must have the y to separate from eath other, they may facilitate the free n of the workers, in the name of approachment of nations, with at perspective of the eventual fusion of all. Such was the basic of Bolshevism, which revealed easure of its force in the October



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Stalinism: the most implacable tyranny in history

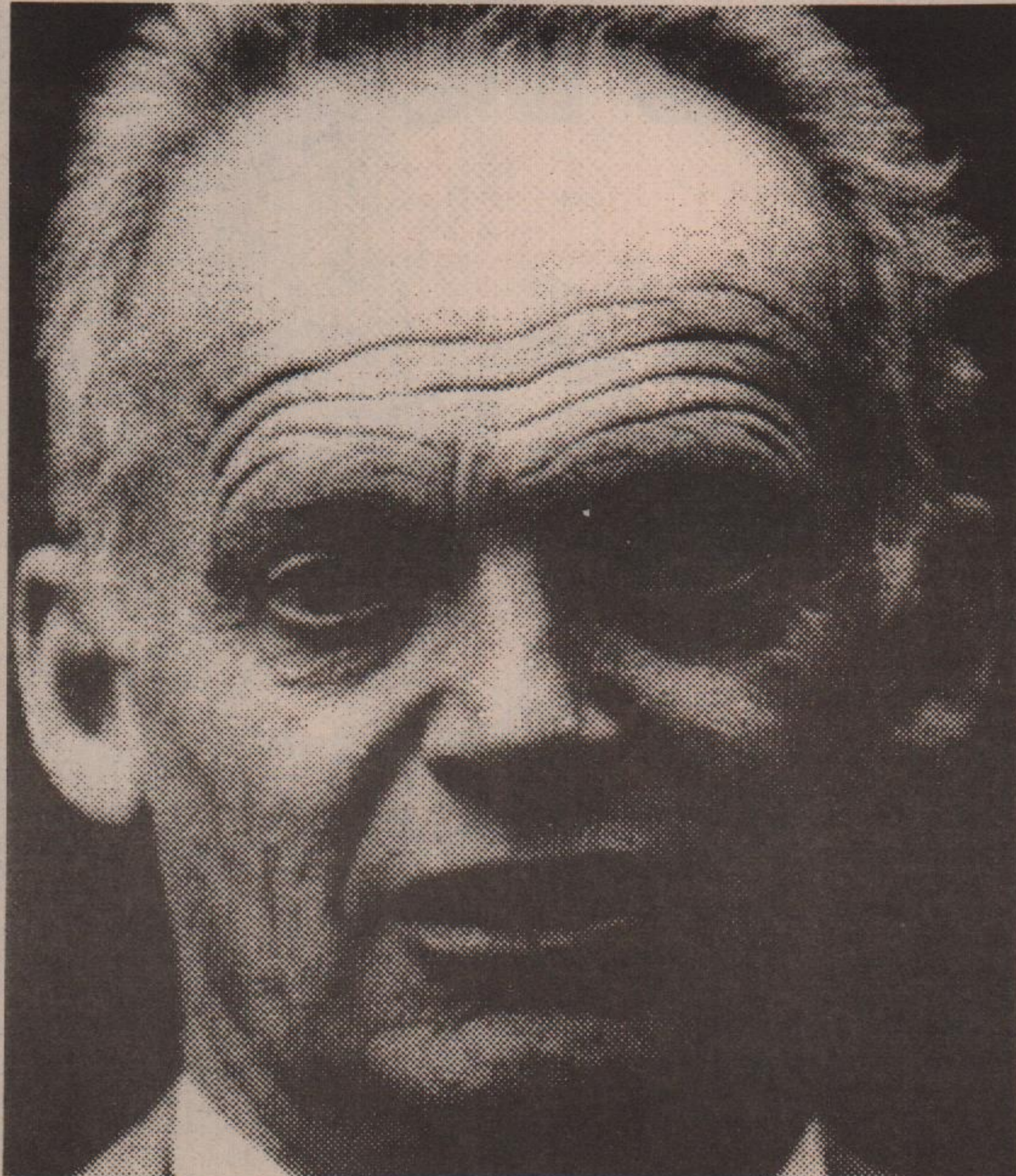
By Trotsky's grandson
Esteban Volkov

The original idea of socialism in its empirical form and later in its most articulate and scientific form, that is to say, Marxism, arose in response to the social conditions of exploitation, injustice, and alienation of the human being. These conditions, which have prevailed in all societies accounted for by history and have taken their most sophisticated and extended forms in capitalist society, still persist unfortunately in postcapitalist and presocialist societies with their statified economies under bureaucratic dominion.

The first triumphant Marxist revolution took place on this planet approximately seventy years ago. This triumph, based on the uprising of the Russian workers and peasants, was directed successfully by the Bolshevik Party, which was headed by men of great talent, boldness, and indomitable faith in the socialist cause: Lenin, Trotsky, Bukharin, Zinoviev, Kamenev.

The monopoly and the centralization of power in the hands of the Bolshevik leadership, which previously had been a key element in the victory of the revolution, later opened the door for Stalin to establish and consolidate his dictatorship. In addition, there was the isolation of the revolution, the depoliticisation and exhaustion of the masses, the weakening of the revolutionary leadership as a result of Lenin's death, together with the fact that Trotsky was surrounded by the counter-revolutionary bureaucracy.

Stalin created the most implacable dictatorship and tyranny known in modern history, betraying the foundations and principles of Marxism. Instead of using the truth as a battering ram and revolutionary weapon, he imposed lies and falsification of history as his *modus operandi*. Instead of abolishing the exploitation of man by man, he sent from ten to fifteen million Soviet citizens to work as slaves in Siberian "work camps." Instead of a respectful and comradely treatment of Lenin's



Bolshevik companions, he set up a monstrous parody of justice with his Moscow trial frame-ups, as a result of which most of them were executed in the basement of Lublianka prison or exiled to Siberia.

Two years later, Leon Trotsky, the organiser of the Red Army and close collaborator of Lenin was also murdered in Mexico City by a GPU agent. For the "dictatorship of the proletariat" Stalin substituted "the dictatorship over the proletariat", penetrating and invading every area of Soviet life with an absurd and asphyxiating bureaucratic control so that now, seventy years after the October revolution, the Soviet Union is still trailing behind the rest of the industrial world in many scientific and technical fields as well as in housing and the general standards of living of its citizens.

And as a grand finale, Stalin committed high treason against his own country, the land of Lenin, when in his paranoia he decapitated the Red Army by executing its most experienced and brilliant generals and officers only a short time before the Nazi invasion, putting the survival of the Soviet Union in peril. The list of Stalin's crimes is

too long and varied to waste more time on.

It is shameful for humankind that in our time we have had to witness political regimes such as Stalin's. They have to be openly denounced and wiped out of any future page of history.

If Gorbachev and his leadership really want to succeed in achieving perestroika and glasnost and return to the road of authentic socialism, it is a *sine qua non* that light should be cast on all of the crimes of the Stalinist era. All the names of the innocent victims have to be made known and must be cleared. The historical truth must be reestablished. Among this long list of victims we have to emphasise once more the indomitable Russian revolutionary and Marxist theorist Leon Trotsky. He was a key protagonist in the triumph of the Russian Revolution and afterwards he became its fiercest defender in a deadly fight against the Stalinist counterrevolution. Leon Trotsky became the most calumniated and persecuted revolutionary on the planet. Until now, glasnost has not succeeded in freeing him of all these calumnies and neither has it allowed the publication of his writings and free

discussion of them inside the Soviet Union. Leon Trotsky will show us how far glasnost will advance. *The avalanche of lies, falsifications, and calumnies they have covered for more than half a century have to be exposed and eliminated forever!* Free and open discussion has to be established as it was at the beginning of the Bolshevik Party.

In history there is little place for experimentation. Most of the events have to be solved as they occur. That's when one understands the extraordinary force and richness of the open, direct and violent polemics that took place within the ranks of the Bolsheviks during Lenin's time, when ideas emerged as incandescent iron ingots which were impetuously hammered out by the blacksmiths of the revolution — forging the tools for its victory. This was the great secret of the Bolsheviks' strength and success. The mediocrity of Stalin's court of adulation came later.

The last pages of history have shown us that the abolition of private property in the means of production is not a magic formula that will automatically take humanity into an earthly paradise. A second element of great importance of reaching socialism is the solution of the equation of power. As with property, it has to be shared by all the working sectors of society. If the power is only in the hands of one social group, chances are that this group will sooner or later keep the best and the most of what society offers and will not have very much concern about what is left over for the remaining groups. The third important factor is to establish an adequate level of abundance which will permit the fulfilment of all human needs. Scarcity will always generate stratification of society with inequalities on a national and international scale. The fourth factor will be the prevailing of internationalism. "Socialism" behind national borders will always be a potential source of conflicts and wars.

Man came out of the cave seminaked. He has reached the moon, has freed the energy of the atom, developed the super computer, and created a new science of genetic engineering. Is he then unable to create a more just and harmonic social organization on this earth? Or has human history reached its last page?

Until the present, the train of history has not reached its final destination: authentic socialism. It had to make a previous stop in an inhospitable desert. Fortunately, little, by little, the train is resuming its forward motion.

From the US magazine "Bulletin in Defence of Marxism".

WHERE WE STAND

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

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

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For equality for lesbians and

gays.

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

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ACTIVISTS' DIARY

Sunday 5 June. Leeds SO educational: The politics of racism. 5pm at Leeds University Student Union.

Wednesday 8 June. Cardiff SO meeting: 'Lesbian and Gay Liberation'. Speaker: Liz Millward. 7.30, Gower Hotel.

Thursday 9 June. 'Women for Benn and Heffer' meeting, 7.30, Walworth Town Hall, London SE17. Speakers from the Campaign Group of MPs, Maudsley Hospital, and the P&O strike.

Saturday-Sunday 11-12 June. Second 'Chesterfield' Socialist Conference, at Chesterfield Technical College. Queries c/o Socialist Society, 9 Poland St, London W1.

Thursday 16 June. Newcastle SO meeting, 'After Alton'. 7.30 at Newcastle Poly.

Monday 20 June. 'Defend free comment in the left press!' A meeting to celebrate Socialist Organiser's victory over the libel cases brought by Vanessa Redgrave. 7.30, Conway Hall, Red Lion Square. Speakers include John O'Mahony (SO)

Friday-Sunday 1-3 July. Workers' Liberty 88 summer school, at Sir William Collins School, London NW1.

Friday-Sunday 8-10 July. Conference of Socialist Economists 1988, at Sheffield Poly. Queries: CSE, 25 Horsell Rd, London N5.

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1588: the real history of the Armada

This year England is celebrating the 400th anniversary of a notable victory for the terrorist hi-jackers of the 16th century. In 1588, with much help from the weather, the English navy defeated the Spanish Armada. The English commanders had made their names and their fortunes by hi-jacking Spanish treasure fleets from America.

There was no moral superiority on the Spanish side, since the gold and silver in their ships had been got from America only by the most brutal, indeed genocidal, exploitation of the native Indian population. As Marx put it: "The discovery of gold and silver in America, the extirpation, enslavement and entombment in mines of the aboriginal population, the beginning of the conquest and looting of the East Indies, the turn-

ing of Africa into a warren for the commercial hunting of black skins, signalled the rosy dawn of the era of capitalist production...On their heels treads the commercial war of the European nations, with the globe for a theatre".

Three developments in the 16th century set the scene for 1588. In 1558 the death of the Emperor Charles V — who had claimed Germany, Austria, Hungary, most of Italy, Spain and the Netherlands as his realm — signalled the end of the project of a universal empire of Christendom. The large unit of Christendom, and the small units of the city-states and the petty fiefdoms and principalities, were being replaced by nation states.

It would be another three hundred years and more before this process was complete, but the beginnings were clear. England, in particular, by the second half of the 16th century, had ceased to be a

By Martin Thomas

province, or a collection of provinces, within a larger Anglo-French unit, and become a distinct country.

Behind this political development was the economic growth of capitalist trade and — in centres like the Netherlands and northern Italy — capitalist production. Gradually the network of trade was becoming dense enough to define nations, definite arenas of trade at a level between that of the petty village market-place and that of the long-distance commerce in luxuries which stretched as far as India and China.

With the economic and political change came ideological change. The Catholic Church had been the great ideological institution of the European Middle Ages, but also a

very material factor — a big political power, a great landowner, and a large-scale trader, selling church offices and the remission of sins for cash.

The new nation-states faced the problem of how to relate to the universal claims of the Church. The Kings of France and of Spain were strong enough to hope to make the Pope a junior partner in their power-politics. Other rulers were not. They rebelled against the Pope, and confiscated the rich wealth of the monasteries. From about 1520, Europe became divided between Catholic and Protestant.

The more individualistic spirit of Protestantism suited the rising bourgeoisie better. Spiritual debates, however, played a small role in the material conflicts which set factions bearing a Catholic banner against those bearing a Protestant banner. In 1593 Henri IV cynically tidied up a thirty-year war for control of France between great

landlord families — each fighting under a religious banner — by converting from Protestantism to Catholicism with the comment: "Paris is worth a Mass".

The rise of capitalism, and all that went with it, was quickened by the influx of gold and silver from America to Spain, which became a flood around 1550 and reached a peak around 1600.

Spain, however, as some of its officials complained, was "the Indies of other countries". The gold and silver which came in flowed straight out again. Spain had an unreformed feudal structure which gave little scope for productive investment. The wealth of the Americas swelled parasitism. In the late 16th century two-fifths of Spanish men did no productive work.

Spain needed to import timber, wheat, rye and cloth. From where? From the Netherlands, which with their dense city population had already by 1500 established themselves as the foremost industrial area of Europe, and which were the centre for the trade with the Baltic for Polish wheat and Scandinavian timber.

So "treasure was exported from Spain to Antwerp, a city as much (if not more) the true capital of the Atlantic as Seville or Lisbon...A system of exchange, circulation and banking came into being, centred on the Scheldt port and extending as far as Germany, England, and even Lyons..." (Fernand Braudel).

The gold and silver from America allowed the King of Spain to pay for a vast military machine. In 1571 he was able to defeat the Turks at Lepanto, in a battle which signalled a historic shift in supremacy in the Mediterranean from East and West. But the Mediterranean was no longer the centre of the world economy. The voyages of discovery, the advances in shipping, had passed the centre to the Atlantic. And there Spain proved unable to prevail.

The Netherlands were part of Spain's empire. Protestantism gained ground there. It became the banner for revolt. In 1566 the workers and the poor people of Antwerp and other cities rioted and ransacked the churches. Attempts to tax the Netherlands — in order to finance the Spanish troops sent to subdue them — increased the people's anger. By 1581 the Northern Netherlands had declared themselves independent from Spain. Spain held on to the southern Netherlands (present-day Belgium), but many of the merchants of Antwerp moved to Amsterdam, which soon became the new capital of the world economy. It was the world's first victorious bourgeois revolution.

England entered the conflict as an ally of the Dutch republic. The King of Spain determined to deal with this by conquering England. He failed; the cost of successive attempts helped to bring him to bankruptcy in 1596. The hugely expensive war with the Dutch Republic dragged on until finally Spain conceded independence in 1648.

Meanwhile the Dutch were defeating the Spanish economically in the arena of world trade. Right through the 80 years' war, Spain, to its chagrin, had to keep trading with the rebellious Dutch. By the early 17th century Spain's trade with its American colonies was being undercut by manufactured goods brought as contraband by Dutch merchants. The Dutch merchant navy was the equal of all the other fleets of Europe put together.

"Gain is the sole and unique compass by which these people are guided", wrote the French ambassador to Holland in 1648. All considerations of feudal honour, obligation and fixed status were being swept aside in the insatiable drive to multiply money. This was the then-new world of capitalism which the defeat of the Spanish Armada helped to usher in.

Why I'm an Eastenders fan

By Katherine O'Leary

One image from my childhood is remarkably vivid. Ena Sharples, Minnie Caldwell and the ever miserable Albert Tatlock sitting in the snug of the Rovers Return, Ena dissecting the dubious morals of Elsie Tanner over a bottle of milk stout. I used to be allowed to stay up till the first commercial break — and felt really grown up when I was allowed to watch it all the way through.

I've always watched "Corrie", but over the past couple of years, our love affair has fizzled out. Try as I might to keep it alive, the gradual loss of all the old characters meant Coronation St could never be the same. The loss of Hilda Ogden to Dr Lowther's country cottage sounded the death knell for me and Coronation St. Not fair on Hilda, but I'd rather have her struggling in the street than comfortable for the first time in her life somewhere in Derbyshire.

What all this is leading up to is the announcement that there is a new love in my life. A couple of years after everyone else, I know, but I've become an Eastenders fan.

There's always a lot going on in Eastenders. Several plots run on at once, and each 'set' of characters is actually interesting enough to sustain it. In Coronation St you tend to get a sort of sequential form — for a couple of weeks you never seem to be out of Emily Bishop's twee little sitting room, then lo and behold, for the next few episodes we're treated to the Machiavellian shennanigans of the Street's baddie, Mike Baldwin. There's no continuity. Issues are taken up, then dropped as they run out of steam. Not much like real life.

Eastenders piles trauma on trauma, crisis on crisis. This could be awful — indeed celebrity Dr Vernon Coleman has argued that 'Eastenders' is driving the nations' Beebwatchers to suicide. But in Dallas and Dynasty where shooting follows incest, follows kidnapping, follows... you name it, Eastenders crises are everyday. Sue Osman's obsessive worry about her new baby, after a previous cot death. Colin getting queer bashed after getting blotto in the Vic. Punk Mary's desperate drug-taking and neglect combined with love for her baby daughter are things we can all relate to. And Eastenders deals with "social issues" which again could



The story of Michelle's abortion stirred discussion.

Photo: Ian Swindale

be terrible. 'Brookside' is notable for its set-piece "Beware! This is social comment" scenes. The recent story-line around token gays Gordon and Chris is a case in point. Trying to get a joint mortgage they are asked to fill in a 'life-style questionnaire', the upshot being that they are offered a mortgage conditional on taking a HIV test. Chris is dead set against it, and almost (but not quite) delivers speeches on turning gays into social lepers into the camera. Ugh! Talk about hammering the point home.

Eastenders never lectures. The now famous stuff around Michelle's abortion was sensitively dealt with. Different characters voiced a series of different views but somehow they were always in keeping with their characters as we already understood them. I for sure didn't feel they were just being said as mouthpieces for a set debate. And coming when it did, in the middle of the fight against David Alton's Bill, I'm certain it provided

more of an impetus to discussion in homes across the country than any number of Panorama specials.

At the moment the issue of sexual harassment at work is being dealt with through the put-upon Cath and the slimy groper Wilmot-Brown, boss of the 'Dagmar'. Cath has told several of her women friends how she dislikes his constant brushing past her, and unnecessary touching. Most of them can't understand — well, it's a bit of fun, or its par for the course.

Many women do think it's nothing to make a fuss about. The discussion on the screen and the gradual build up of harassment over the weeks has made the whole thing very effective. What has come over particularly well is the level of uncertainty in Cath herself. She doesn't like it, she knows he shouldn't do it, that it's not just "being friendly" — but then again, can she be sure? In these situations women always feel maybe they're

wrong. Maybe they encouraged it, maybe they're over-reacting. And of course, the overwhelming problem of how on earth do you deal with it. Those tensions, though not overtly stated, are there in the acting. Again, something to provoke discussion.

A complaint of some of the male actors, according to the tabloids, is that it is the women in Eastenders who are strong. The men are too pathetic, vacillating and weak. I think this is wonderful! Go into any pub and you'll see it. Men ground down by the system, trying to get a petty bit of power and importance by going into dodgy deals, trying to lord it over their wives and families, strutting about like cock of the roost with damn all to strut about. Now you don't often find women doing that.

Eastenders is what a good 'soap' should be. Forget Brookside, even forget Coronation St. Give Eastenders a try. Oh, and I have to say it. Dirty Den is my favourite!

Socialism or SDP Mark II?

Eric Heffer MP, the left's candidate for deputy leader of the Labour Party argues that Labour must not transform itself into a pale-pink SDP Mark II.

The full NEC of the Labour Party has before it a number of documents which have emerged through the joint NEC/Shadow Cabinet policy making committees. At this stage these are draft reports. Some minor alterations and re-drafting could still take place, but it seems that the basic attitudes and proposals are more or less settled.

Take the draft report of the Policy Review Group called "A Productive and Competitive Economy". Unless the document is fundamentally changed, I hope Party Conference will reject it. It is basically non-socialist; it could have been drawn up by a committee headed by Dr. David Owen. It is, in my view, a right-wing SDP document. Although it has some good points, it is a document that even some Tories could accept. I am sure Ted Heath would find little wrong with it. No wonder Dr. Owen can now say he could, under certain circumstances, re-join the Labour Party.

This policy document is far more revisionist in a right-wing direction than the one which caused so much trouble in 1957, i.e. "Industry and Society and Public Ownership". That document, after fierce debate, was carried at Labour's 1957 Conference by 5,309,000 for, to 1,276,000 against.

It is interesting to note those who were wholeheartedly in favour without any reservations, and those who were against the document.

The document was supported by Bill Carron, right-wing leader of the AEU, but equally clearly rejected by Manny Shinwell, who said, "... the Executive is to be congratulated on this analysis of capitalism, this condemnation of capitalism. But obviously the implication is this: if capitalism is condemned, then the only alternative is a further programme of public ownership in the national interest, and not as one of the vital features in this document suggests, to bolster up the Stock Exchange in the future. If we endorse this document and if the next Labour Government implements it, in the future we shall not have a political conference, we shall have a meeting of shareholders with the directors on the platform; and the Daily Herald will no longer be the Party newspaper, it will be the Financial Times". Today there is no Daily Herald or even a Labour

Weekly. The capitalist press is stronger than ever.

The difference between "Industry and Society" and "A Productive and Competitive Society" is firstly that there is no real analysis of capitalism in it and secondly, even on public ownership it is much more flabby and revisionist. What Manny said about "Industry and Society" can be said about this document, but even more so. As you are aware, Manny was by no means at all times on the Left, but he recognised that you could not change society without public ownership.

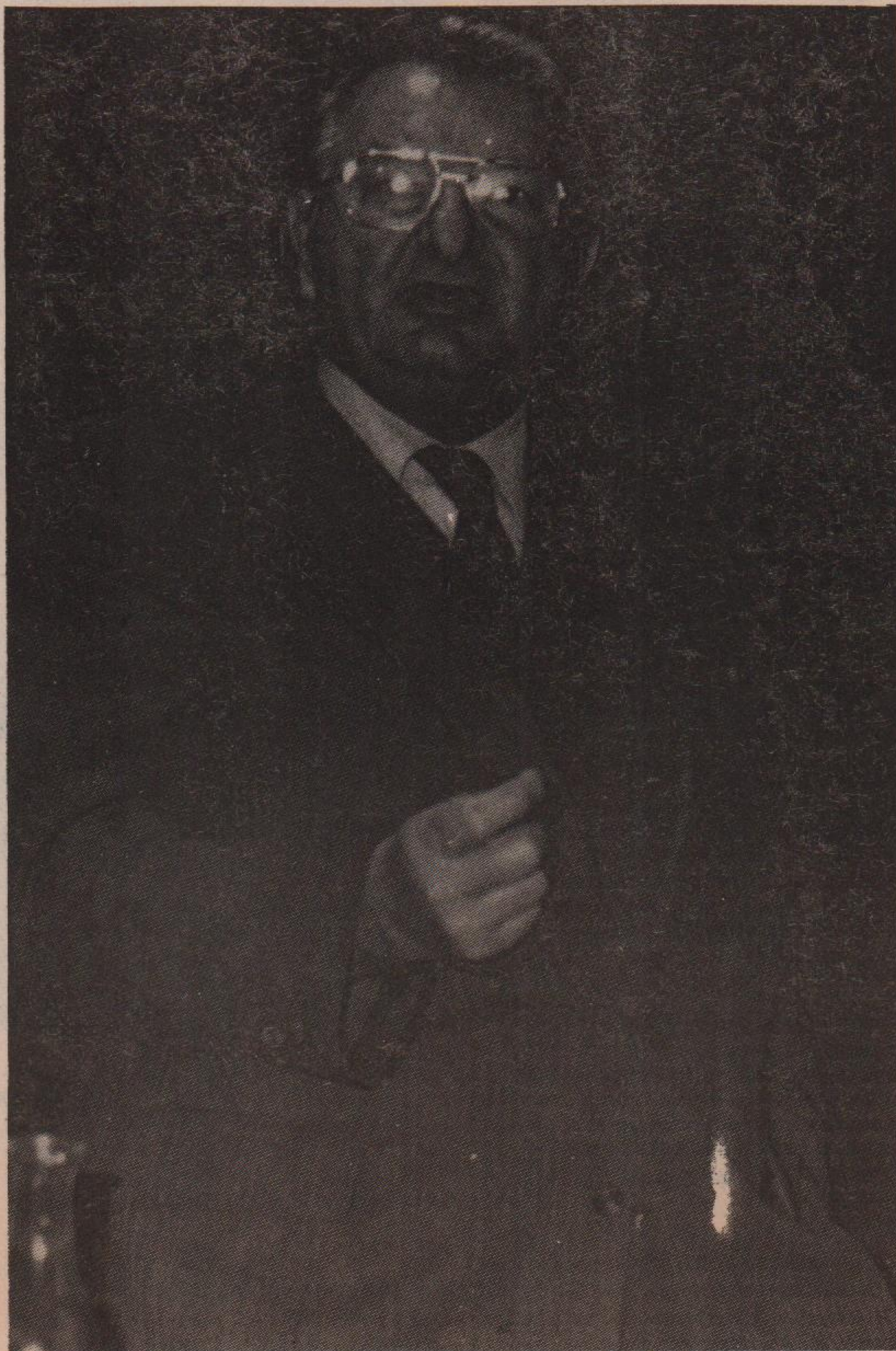
Bearing in mind what he said, let us take a closer look at the present document. It says in paragraph 1.1. "Labour's aim is to develop a talent based economy for the 1990s and beyond". What exactly does that mean? Such a statement could have come straight out of a Tory or SDP Manifesto. It is a series of words which add up to nothing.

Then in paragraph 2.2 it says, "The right balance must be struck between what the market and those operating it can do for themselves, and the economy in the short run, and what Government can do to establish a framework in which medium and longer-term responsibilities for investment, for improving competitiveness and for harnessing the new technology, can be sustained"!!

I have to say, clearly and frankly, that that adds up to an abandonment of a socialist strategy and a socialist objective for society. No wonder Peter Walker at the House of Commons Press Gallery lunch last Wednesday could say that there is now little difference between the Labour and Tory parties.

Take for example, paragraph 2.4, which talks of "These failings can only be tackled by a macro-economic policy of steady expansion, competitive exchange rates and low inflation". Such a statement could surely have come from the mouth of Mrs. Thatcher herself.

In paragraph 2.9, it talks of a "new partnership between individual and society" and goes on to say, "It will be the task of a Labour Government to meet its responsibilities, working with business and with the community to ensure that investment is made, technology is harnessed, economic development is balanced and sustainable. We are confident that individuals and firms will respond by taking advantage of the opportunities that open up, and that that



Eric Heffer

response will in turn create a more successful creative and united society."

That could have come straight out of an SDP policy document.

It underlines what I have already said in my book, "Labour's Future", that some people in the Labour Party want to abandon socialism and create an SDP Mark II, thereby accepting that the capitalist system, with some minor changes, is here to stay. It is the opposite of our socialist conceptions.

It is interesting to note that not one word is said in the document about working with the trade unions. In paragraph 2.15, for example, it says it is essential that Government agencies and local authorities work in partnership with firms, the Confederation of British Industry, trade associations and chambers of commerce so that the process of policy-making and industrial development is one of concerted action."

Apparently: concerted action between capitalist firms, without the trade unions!

This is a dreadful document. Paragraph 2.16 talks about "... the changes needed to improve our competition" and says that "They must be identified in consultation with industry so that the areas which offer the best return..." can be determined".

The whole document is obsessed with competition. This is the hallmark of the capitalist system. I always understood that as socialists we believe in production for use, not for profit based on competition. That concept is now clearly being abandoned and competition placed at the centre of Labour's policy. If it were a matter of some degree of competition in a publicly owned socialist economy, that would need to be considered, but here it is competition without a fundamental change in society. And that, in essence, is to accept Thatcher's agenda.

This comes out particularly when

public ownership is mentioned in the document. It talks of a new approach. A new approach is one thing, but abandonment of public ownership which this really is, that is surely something else.

Instead of genuine public ownership, as advocated by such diverse people as Nye Bevan and Neil Kinnock, when writing in the Labour Monthly of December 1974 — Herbert Morrison, Manny Shinwell, Clement Atlee etc., we are offered the "public interest company", which will have targets agreed, and "strengthened regulating authorities which will have the power to monitor and enforce those standards". The standards? "Service to the consumer, investment, pricing policy and other measures of economic performance".

The document then goes on to say, "In some cases, a change in ownership or control as well as regulation may prove necessary if the consumer and economic interest is to be fully safeguarded". What a big deal! Forgive me if I am wrong, but I thought that public ownership under democratic control as advocated in Clause IV of the Party's constitution was essential to get rid of class society and the privileges that arise from it; and that it was the essential means with which to transform capitalist society into a democratic socialist one, so that power would be transferred to working people and their families.

Today, with the tremendous advances of modern technology, Britain with a publicly owned socialist economy can, together with other European countries create a European Socialist society.

The document talks of "Developing a new agenda for European co-operation". Unfortunately, like the rest of the document it is words without context. The real issue which is not seriously raised is who is to own and control the means of production, distribution and exchange?

What are we to do about the monopolies and the multi-nationals?

Surely it is important that we grasp the nettle and to understand the real issues — who has the power and how do we transfer it from the capitalist companies to the people?

I call upon members of the Labour Party to oppose this document and to defeat it at Conference. In doing so, I would like to refer to a speech made by Mr G. Fear of Crosby CLP at the 1957 Labour Party Conference, and I apologise for the lengthy quotation. He said "We had a great inheritance passed on to us by our forebears, and preserved in 1945 by Mr. Atlee and his brilliant, faithful colleagues. Now we have something entirely different. People are saying that you can dirty your hands by dealing with capitalism."

There are some of us... who... are still of the opinion that capitalism is an evil thing. If you do not believe me, I wish you to go back and get George Lansbury's book, "These Things Shall Be" and Fred Henderson's book, "The Case for Socialism" ... If you are going to employ socialist funds in perpetuating capitalism you have a hell of a responsibility to posterity. In any case you are going to lose the right to call yourselves a Socialist Party. You will not be a Socialist Party, but a Reformist Party.

You are never going to attack the vitals of capitalism in the way we intended".

That was the authoritative voice of the Merseyside rank and file of the Party. The truth is, Labour did not win the 1959 General Election two years later. Its Gaitskillite reformism, its compromise on basic socialist issues did not win. Gaitskill backtracked on too many issues especially on the basic question of a socialist transformation of society. His leadership was a disaster.

Do not let us suffer from that same fate again. Labour did not lose in 1979 because of our Socialist Programme. Under Harold Wilson and James Callaghan we had, in fact, retreated from it, and in 1983, the right-wing SDP split had confused the people. Those who say our policies were wrong misread the situation.

It is not softly, softly that wins election. It is boldness. A bold policy won for Labour in 1964 and again in 1966. Labour lost support when it failed to carry through its "revolution" and turned on its trade union supporters.

It should be remembered what Gaitskill said in reply to the 1957 debate at Conference. He said, "... the millions of electors we have to convince, including millions of Labour supporters, are not quite so well educated in socialism as that, and they will not be satisfied, if when they ask 'Why are you proposing to take over this industry' you simply reply 'Because that is socialism'".

It is the same type of argument we hear today. It is the argument of retreat and compromise, of so-called realism: in fact it acceptance of the capitalist status quo. The answer to that argument is that we have to relate the argument for socialist policies to the lives of the people.

For example, if we want safety at sea, we need public ownership of ships, ferries, docks and ship-builders, with the needs of the people put first. Had we had genuine socialist public ownership we should not be in the situation we are in today with the Seafarers strike and the Zeebrugge disaster.

We must advocate People before Profits.

If we put service before all else, it must be through public ownership. Don't let us apologise for it. Let us go out and explain why it is required.



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Sack this fascist!

By Trudy Saunders, CPSA DHSS HQ (in a personal capacity)

On May 26 Civil Service Offices all over London closed down when Civil and Public Service Association (CPSA) and National Union for Civil and Public Servants (NUCPS) members took strike action against the employment of fascist organiser and British National Party member, Malcolm Skeggs, in the Civil Service.

Strikers marched to Kennington Park to hear speakers, including Onay Kassab from Hither Green DHSS where Skeggs is currently working. CPSA members at Hither Green have been on all-out strike since the beginning of April — and they are staying out until Skeggs is moved.

Management are looking to transfer Skeggs to DHSS HQ. On May 13 he was interviewed at DHSS HQ Library. The Library staff walked out in protest and Skeggs was refused the job. But Personnel



Section have been told they must find somewhere for Skeggs in DHSS HQ.

The right-wing branch officers at DHSS HQ know Skeggs could be transferred at any time. But they have not worked out a strategy to have him thrown out. The right-wing dominated DHSS Section Executive Committee, rejected a strategy put forward by Broad Left

SEC members at the May 24th meeting. What we are currently left with is a strategy worked out before it was known Skeggs would be transferred to DHSS HQ. This strategy is based around strike action in SE region DHSS offices, and becomes redundant if/when Skeggs is moved to a DHSS HQ office, particularly one in North London.

What we need is a strategy based around DHSS HQ. This must call for:

- immediate all-out strike of the office where Skeggs is employed,
- escalation of strike action to other London DHSS HQ offices and other DHSS offices in that

region.

- escalation of strike action to all other London DHSS offices if the former are not enough.

We face an uphill struggle, not only against management, but also against an inept right-wing leadership who came to power on a clear 'no-strike' ticket. Already the incompetence of the right-wing leadership on the DHSS SEC is very much in evidence. They have had to rely on the experience of Broad Left SEC members (the vast majority Socialist Caucus supporters) to argue and build for strike action on 26 May amongst workers.

Manchester

Solidarity strike needed

By Tony Dale

The cleansing strike in Manchester is now entering its third week. The dispute at Water Street depot started when drivers were being forced to cover both street cleaning and refuse collection, due to the cuts.

After putting up with this situation for a number of weeks, they had had enough and walked out. The dispute quickly spread to all the other depots in the city. Now the Council's cleansing service is at a standstill.

The crisis was brought to a head by the exodus of workers offered voluntary retirement by the Council.

The support the strikers are getting from the rest of the workforce is unprecedented. Other council workers can understand the situation the cleansing workers are in.

Cuts in every department have led to management putting more pressure on workers to cover for

vacancies, take stick for a declining service and face worsening conditions.

In negotiations, management first offered a 'buy off'. Then bonus and overtime payments — a bribe rejected by the strikers. Now management have offered the transfer of only four drivers into the cleansing services. This has also been rejected.

The strike must continue until a substantial offer of extra staff is made. And any increase must be permanent — if vacancies arise, they must be filled.

Support for the strike has spread to the Labour Party: Central Constituency have backed the GMB, and many then are due to discuss the issue.

If the council won't shift, the action must be stepped up. As a start, a one-day strike by all council workers is needed.

Teachers' pay

NUT ducks out

By Liam Conway

Last week the International Labour Organisation met in Geneva to discuss the right of teachers in Britain to negotiate pay and conditions. The issue had been referred to this powerful body of international labour by local organisations, teaching unions and the TUC.

Needless to say it ruled against the government, describing their actions as a 'denial of international standards of freedom and fairness'.

And how did the government respond to the ruling of this august body? Ironically, on the same day the ILO announced its decision, the government imposed a 4.25% pay rise on teachers in England and Wales. And as the ILO's advice that teachers' collective bargaining rights should be restored, the government responded with the traditional two fingers.

Meanwhile, the NUT has no plans whatsoever to mobilise the membership to fight against the 4.25% pay award. In reality, the appeal to the ILO is part of the NUT's 'House of Lords' strategy.

If you can get enough eminent people to tell the government they are wrong, they might start to believe it themselves. It's amazing how Baker and Thatcher manage to keep a straight face confronted by such logic.

Unfortunately, there is little chance now of the left in the NUT mounting sufficient opposition to the leadership over the pay issue. Morale is very low, and even if the left took control of the union tomorrow, a great deal of basic grass roots work would have to be done to improve the fighting spirit of teachers.

On the face of it, the NAS/UWT leadership is looking decidedly militant on the pay issue, and they have decided to ballot their members for half day strike action later this term. However, this is nothing more than a 'new realist' tactic. The NAS/UWT leaders have done nothing to explain to their members why they should fight or where the half day strike is leading. It is pretty clear that they will be happy if the membership votes no to strike action — a very likely outcome.

Such a result would confirm their view, and the view of the NUT leaders, that taking on this government is impossible.

Why miners joined the Dover pickets

A week last Saturday the Notts sacked miners took their banner down to the demonstration in Dover in support of the seafarers. After the march we intended to stand on the picket line with the strikers. Originally the police refused but we insisted, and they eventually let through 6 of us with our banner.

I still think that a major element behind the attempt to smash the NUS is a concern to ensure 'union-free' supply lines for cheap coal imports, particularly after the privatisation of the electricity industry.

Privatisation has again been in the news with the leaked report of the Tory's aim to privatise the rail industry. Their privatisation plans

all fit together: electricity, coal, rail etc. In each industry it will end up with the Tory's business friends getting rich pickings by buying off the profitable parts, with the public having to pay in reduced services and higher prices. What we should be seeing is a massive campaign against this, led particularly by the TUC and the Labour Party.

But instead of a campaign, what we got from the Labour Party last week were new policy documents taking the Party even further to the right.

It is being said that the face of capitalism is a pock-marked, ugly mess, and the Tory Party is very skilful at applying plenty of make-up to present the acceptable face of capitalism. Now the Labour leaders are saying that we are better beauticians than the Tories; we can apply the make-up better to make capitalism more acceptable.

WHETTON'S WEEK

Paul Whetton is a member of Bevercotes NUM, Notts

But that is not what we should be about. We should not be about managing capitalism but changing it; we should be about managing the economy on behalf of those who create the wealth in this country, the workers.

What we need is a Party that fights for a radical change in the way society and the economy is run; that goes out to fight for Clause 4.

We also need to start talking about getting rid of the House of Lords, and using what happened last week with the poll tax vote as a

weapon against the institution. I know that Tony Benn has campaigned for years for its abolition and people have mistakenly thought this to be a 'revolutionary' proposal. In fact it has been a long-standing socialist argument to get rid of this 'house of privilege'.

The argument in favour of the House of Lords, a second chamber as a safeguard mechanism, was shown to be completely false last week. It was not a 'safeguard' but a rubber stamp for the Tories.

My proposal for the next Labour government is for them to get all the sacked miners, seafarers, TV-AM technicians, printers and Silentnight workers, make them Lords so that we can then have a meeting and abolish ourselves. I am not convinced that we do need a second chamber but, even if we did, the very least it needs to be is elected!

I live in a small, rural village, and

Nearer to one union for the print

By George Hall

The SOGAT Biennial Delegate Conference voted unanimously to give as much moral and financial support as possible to the National Union of Seafarers. Nearly £30,000 was raised without placing SOGAT outside the law.

One Union for the print looks a lot nearer after the Conference. Conference was not able to vote on an amalgamation document, but the idea of a SOGAT-NGA merger was endorsed. The overall view was that there was no alternative. Past differences have to be put aside to enable the fusion to take place. It now looks likely in the latter part of the year.

One encouraging sign is that this merger will not suffer from the 'Joint-General-Secretaryship' syndrome. A General Secretary and a President will be elected by the new membership; the losers will become deputies.

The Conference took a strong stand against Hammond and the leadership of the EETPU, voting for their expulsion from the TUC. Brenda Dean took the opportunity to divert Conference's anger towards the electricians, lacking any new policies to fight the Tories and the employers' offensive.

Conference decided to keep up the pressure for an independent inquiry into the brutal policing at Wapping, but voted against setting up a trade-union investigation.

Proposals for a lay executive and periodic election of officers, leading to a more accountable leadership, were heavily defeated. This, together with the increase of the Executive's power regarding rule changes, showed how much work the left must do.

Discrimination in Northern Ireland was raised in a resolution — superbly moved — supporting the 'MacBride principles', but it was defeated, without being given the serious debate it deserved.

There was an emotional debate about whether SOGAT should recruit staff in Wapping. Conference decided to recruit at Wapping. But the true position was not explained, that the chances of getting back inside Murdoch's plants are nil, when other London plants, such as the Telegraph, are being de-unionised.

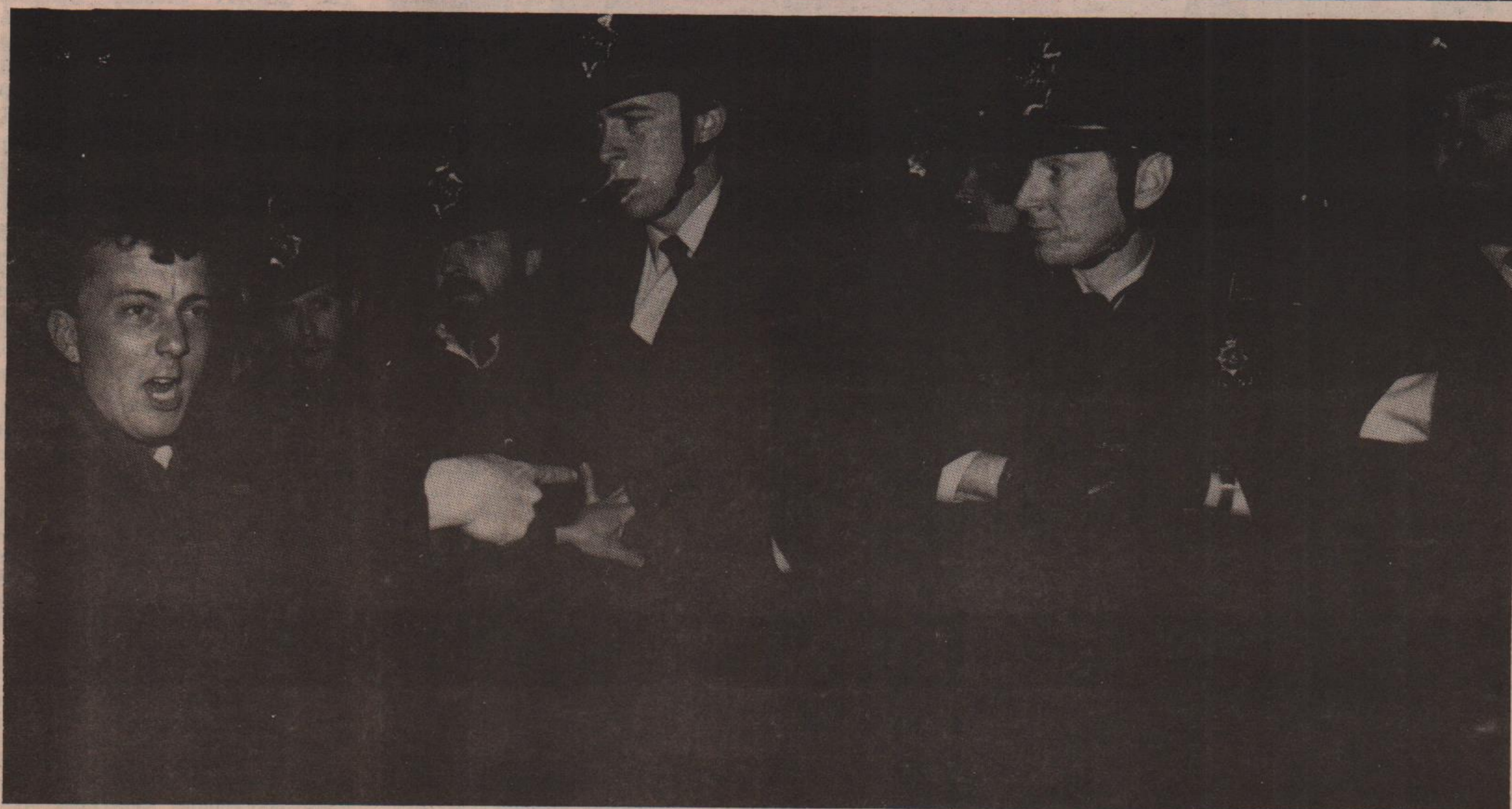
Conference voted to censure SOGAT 82's representative on the Labour Party NEC, Ted O'Brien, for voting in favour of closing 'Labour Weekly', and advocated the re-establishment of the paper as soon as possible.

Overall, it was not a very encouraging conference. Against we are shown the need for a left-wing alternative within SOGAT to fight on the very real issues facing the working class today.

One place to start building such an alternative is the campaign within SOGAT to back the leadership challenge of Tony Benn and Eric Haffer, which was launched at a fringe meeting attracting nearly one-third of the conference's delegates.

SOCIALIST ORGANISER

Free Adam Keller!



Seafarers picket of Dover obstructed by police (photo: Andrew Wiard)

Judges turn screw on NUS:

To have more than six pickets in an industrial dispute is to lay a union open to sequestration. That is the conclusion of a High Court ruling last week imposing a new P&O sequestration on the National Union of Seamen. According to judge Michael Davies, the trouble with the pickets was that they were obviously trying to stop people working.

The limitation of 6 people is not part of any law. It derives from a Code of Conduct agreed by the TUC and the last Labour government.

But if a union can have its funds seized simply for the most elementary attempts to make strike action effective, they will be rendered completely useless. The right to picket is an essential counterpart to the right to strike. Last week's decision is major attack on trade union rights.

Labour law in Britain is already more reactionary than anywhere in Western Europe. Solidarity action is unlawful. 'Political' strikes are technically unlawful. Unions are liable for damages that companies incur during strikes (the abolition of which had been a gain for the labour movement as long ago as 1906). Now picketing is in effect, illegal.

The trade union movement has resisted these attacks only very ineffectively — compared, for example, to successful resistance to Heath's Industrial Relations Act in the early '70s. The trade union laws have been allowed to break such major strikes as the 1983 Warrington Stockport Messenger dispute, the miners' strike and the Wapping dispute.

Now they are being used to crush the NUS.

The only way to defeat the laws is to make them inoperable. For sure that is easier said than done. It re-

DEFEND THE RIGHT TO PICKET!

quires **solidarity** action: for solidarity action could have prevented the miners' defeat. And for solidarity action to be possible it is necessary to rebuild rank-and-file organisation — linking together militants across the unions.

The Labour Party could play a role in rebuilding rank-and-file confidence. An **alternative** to Tory trade union law should be put forward, spelling out the positive rights of trade unions and trade unionists — to strike, to picket, to take solidarity action, to decide their own affairs without interference from the state. A campaign for such rights could help organise the trade union rank and file.

The Party's policy reviews won't

do that, and the domination of Kinnockite new realism will have to be fought in the Labour Party and in the trade unions.

• Send money to the Seafarers Hardship Fund, c/o Transport House, Smith Square, London SW1 and local support committees.

• Aylesham Support Group, 61 Castle Drive, Whitfield, Dover, Kent. Tel: 0263 840202.

• Canterbury Support Group, 75 Tenterden Drive, Canterbury, Kent. Tel: 0227 66768.

• Deal Support Group, Magness House, Mill Hill, Deal, Kent. Tel: 0304 367840.

Right now the whole labour movement must stand firm against the Courts' attempt to shred the NUS. Defend the right to picket!

• Dover Support Group, 210 London Road, Dover, Kent. Tel: 0304 214113.

• Folkestone Support Group, 7 Tennyson Place, Folkestone, Kent. Tel: 0303 51997.

• Thanet Support Group, 147 High St., Ramsgate, Kent. Tel: 0843 587990.

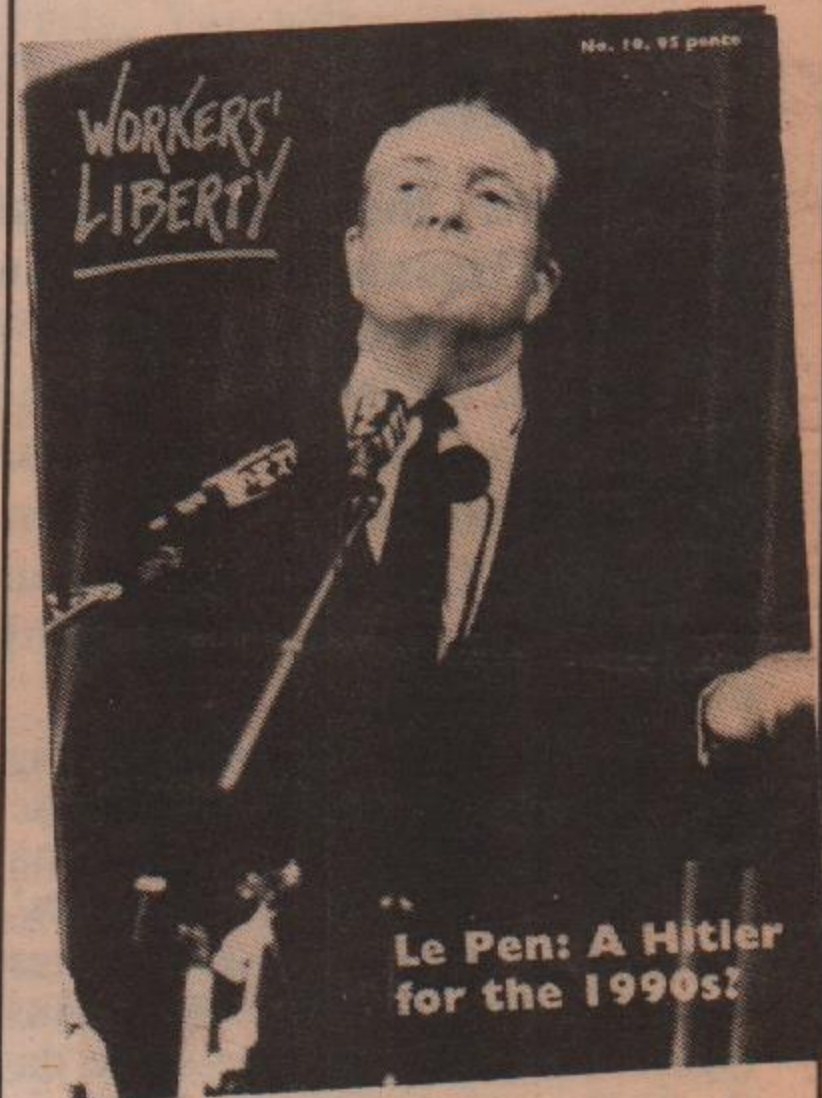
• The London support group can be contacted at 33 Acton High St. or at the Hackney Trade Union Support Centre. Tel: 01-249 8086.

Adam Keller, editor of 'The Other Israel', whose material has occasionally been reprinted by this newspaper, has been arrested and sentenced to 9 months (6 months suspended) imprisonment in Israel. Keller was court-martialled by the Israeli army's southern command.

Keller had written on 117 tanks: "IDF (Israeli Army) soldiers! Refuse to be occupiers and oppressors! Refuse to serve in the occupied territories!" After the verdict was given Keller told friends that he did not want to be "a small and obedient boy in a machine galloping towards destruction". It was impossible for him to stay quiet while the Israeli army was being turned into an army of thugs and the state of Israel into an apartheid state. He sees his term of imprisonment as a service to a free and democratic Israel.

Adam Keller is a member of the Progressive List for Peace, which is the most radical group with representatives in the Knesset. He regards himself, according to interviews, as a 'non-Zionist', committed both to a Palestinian state and to the continued existence of Israel. At the same time he is opposed to racism and chauvinism in Israel.

Another trial, soon to begin, is of Michael Warshawsky, a leader of the Revolutionary Communist League, Israeli section of the Paris-based United Secretariat of the Fourth International. Warshawsky was arrested in connection with the Alternative Information Centre, closed by the authorities last year for alleged connections with illegal Palestinian groups. He could be sentenced to up to 20 years in prison.



The resurgence of independent militant trade unionism in Poland is one of the central themes of the latest issue of *Workers' Liberty* magazine.

Zbigniew Kowalewski, an exiled leader of Solidarnosc, has contributed a report on the present strike wave, and the magazine carries a translation of the account in his book 'Rendez-nous nos usines' of the fight for workers' self-management in 1980-1. Also in *Workers' Liberty* is a translation of the Nowa Huta steelworkers' strike committee's statement of its demands.

An editorial and a survey article cover the rise of fascism in France. Clive Bradley discusses the Gulf War.

Martin Thomas looks back at the events of May '68 in France, analysing the greatest general strike in history and drawing out the political lessons for today.

In a thoroughly researched feature, Stan Crooke examines the anti-Zionist campaign in the USSR in the 1970s, demonstrating conclusively both its anti-semitic content and the fact that much avowedly Trotskyist anti-Zionism today, such as Jim Allen's 'Perdition', draws its essential themes from the Kremlin's campaign.

Workers' Liberty always tries to act as a forum for debate. In this issue discussion continues on the Middle East and modern films, and Sean Matgamna and Geoff Bell debate Ireland.

Workers' Liberty is available from PO Box 823, London SE15, price 95p plus 35p postage.