



Europe: workers unite! page 3



The tragedy of Yugoslavia pages 6 and 7



Youth Fightback — special on the police inside

Dracula! page 9



SOCIALIST

ORGANISER

Unite the left!

UNITE TO FIGHT FOR JOBS!

PITS AND RAIL

STRIKE



TOGETHER!

The pit and rail unions are planning a co-ordinated campaign of one-day strikes and selective action in protest at the Tories' pit closure plans and the related jobs loss of 100,000.

This campaign is due to kick off with a co-ordinated ballot on 5 March involving at least NUM, NACODS and RMT. It could provide a major focus for all those groups of workers under attack from

the Tories and the bosses. Local government and NHS workers, as well as civil servants, should be pushing for their unions to link their demands to the miners' and rail-workers' campaign.

Our aim should be for a series of one-day strikes across the public sector. More on the pits: page 5. Crisis in local government: pages 11 and 12.

The Poisoned Well



Eva



Green, one of the women on the front pages of the *Star* and the *Mirror*, committed suicide last week. Who set up this *Mirror* pic in which prostitute Nicola Evans approached Lady Green, whose husband Allan Green resigned as Director of Public Prosecutions 18 months ago, after police booked him for a kerb-crawling incident involving Nicola Evans at Kings Cross?

Evans, according to the *Mirror*, accosted Lady Green — outside her home, it seems — to say "sorry". They do not tell us what the *Mirror* photographer said to Eva Green. Yuk!

The Queen's head may come off the stamps when the Royal Mail is privatised. Mr. Heseltine's political head may come off his neck as a result of the brutal fiasco unleashed with his plan to close 31 pits. The desperate fellow may well have considered selling British Coal to Saudi Arabia...

Architect of Hoover no-strike deal

The resistable rise of Jimmy Airlie

By Gerry Bates

This week's man in the news is Jimmy Airlie, the AEEU engineering union's master strategist, skilled negotiator and diplomat.

Jimmy — the architect of the no-strike deal at the US multinational Hoover Cambuslang plant near Glasgow — first shot to fame in the early '70s during the work-in at Upper Clyde Shipbuilders. This work-in was not the great victory that has often been portrayed: 25% of the workers lost their jobs, huge attacks on working conditions were imposed, pay levels were cut in real terms and unofficial strikes outlawed. Nevertheless this was the high point of Jimmy's career.

Here are just a few of his achievements in the ensuing years:

- In 1988 Jimmy masterminded the abortive Ford Dundee single union deal which would have

undermined union organisation at Ford plants in the rest of the UK. This brilliant negotiator even managed to win pay "awards" for the proposed Dundee site well below Ford's agreed national rates.

Unfortunately Jimmy was stopped by narrow minded traditionalists from the other Ford unions and the TUC.

- When left wingers in the AEEU kicked up a fuss at a Broad Left meeting about the Dundee fiasco, Jimmy defended himself from the chair with a brilliant exposition of the Communist Party's views on how to organise the trade union left: "This is a Broad Left and anyone who disagrees with that can get out!"

- Jimmy's negotiating skills were next deployed in the offshore oil and gas industries.

After backing the rig sit-ins in the summer of '89 and '90

Jimmy grew alarmed at the growth of serious rank and file organisation in the North Sea represented by the development of the OILC (Offshore Industry Liaison Committee). So in the summer of '91 Airlie signed a "hook-up" agreement with the oil bosses which gives the bosses the right to de-recognise the unions at a date of their own choosing and gives the unions no control whatsoever over health and safety. Key issues in such a dangerous industry.

Various explanations have been offered for Jimmy's brilliant career. The first focusses on power. Jimmy has always been attracted to monolithic power structures (whether the old bureaucratic AEEU Broad Left machine, or the USSR) which dispense "left" policies to the deserving masses below.

Now that the USSR and the AEEU Broad Left have both col-

lapsed Jimmy has to look to the only other power structure in his life: the right wing machine in the AEEU. Hence his recent performances.

The second explanation of Jimmy's tragedy is a little more mundane.

I would simply ask readers to take a look at the picture on this page and let Jimmy describe in his own words why he signed the national 1991 hook-up deal with the North Sea Oil barons.

"Now I will guarantee you never could guarantee in the time I've signed agreements man and boy and I never signed a perfect agreement. And I've been doing it all my life, but there is always somebody who'll criticise this aspect or that aspect, but the alternative to an agreement is no agreement and it's anarchy... And who is going to argue that is talking nonsense. We're in the business of representing the men.



Jimmy Airlie

Now, they're not perfect, but we're all perfect human beings. A pity the reverend is sitting here, but maybe he'll say a prayer for us. It will prove and it will stand the test of time. We may be wrong and if we're wrong, tell us. And we'll say 'Cheese!'.



21 years ago, on 30 January 1972, British paratroopers opened fire on peaceful, unarmed demonstrators in Derry City, killing 13 (another person died shortly afterwards). Last Sunday, British National Party fascists attacked those who marched in London to commemorate Bloody Sunday.

Heseltine's stinking system

POLITICAL FRONT

By Annie O'Keeffe

I read it in the *Sun*, so it may not be true. I mean the story that Tory Minister Michael Heseltine offered all of Britain's pits to a Saudi Arabian millionaire for £2 billion. The point is, it could be true. And, if Heseltine did try it, but meant it as a joke, the joke would 'work' only because it drew out the crazy logic that is there in everyday capitalism, and which everybody knows is there.

It is not at all impossible to imagine that this member of a feudal royal family, grown vastly rich from the oil which is found under the Arabian desert, could buy the entire industry on which thousands of British workers depend for a livelihood.

"The capitalist system is wrong because under capitalism the workers of the world are bought and sold like livestock by the rich people of the world..."

Such things go on all the time under capitalism. Such operations are modern capitalism.

Arab feudal nobles operating as rich capitalists already own vast swathes of property in Britain, the USA and in Europe. British capitalists buy and sell industries in the third world in which millions work and live.

Of course, it is bizarre and ironic that a sheik from a society still not out of the middle ages, but whose rulers have grown fabulously rich on oil, should be a possible buyer of the British coal industry — one of the key, pioneering industries in the main country of the Industrial Revolution which transformed the world 200 years ago.

But, despite what the Arab-bashing *Sun* says, it is no more 'outrageous' for rich Arabs to own British pits than it is wrong and outrageous for the British rich to own the wealth of Arab and other foreign countries.

One of the great outrageous and wrong things in British life today is the ownership of British industry by Heseltine and his British ruling class friends!

The capitalist system is wrong because under capitalism the workers of the world are, for all practical purposes, bought and sold like livestock by the rich people of the world — Arab, British, Japanese, American or Eskimo.

In the days when the nobles of Tsarist Russia had vast estates peopled by semi-slave serfs (Russian serfdom was abolished only in the early 1860s) it was not unknown for noblemen to play cards for whole estates, including the serfs — women, children, men — on it.

We have come a long way from serfdom, but the idea that a Tory millionaire, Heseltine, talked — seriously, or in jest — to an Arab billionaire about taking over the industry, the jobs and therefore the lives of 100,000 British miners and their families should remind us that we have not travelled anything like far enough away from serfdom.

NUS leaders attack the left

By Mark Sandell

When the self-proclaimed 'most important woman in Britain under 30' — Lorna Fitzsimmons, the right-wing President of the National Union of Students — spends half her life attacking you, then you know you must be doing something right!

Fitzsimmons and the Labour leadership of the NUS are a perfect mirror image of the leadership the student movement needs. Instead of attacking the Tories and listening to student union activists, they attack student activists and listen attentively to the Tories.

The Tories are threatening to destroy student unions by banning automatic membership.

Further Education is being 'turned over to anarchic competition. Student poverty continues to soar.

And what do the NUS leaders do? They denounce the idea of a political campaign by the NUS membership as the 'politics of the dark ages!' Their strategy? They plan to appeal as 'fellow professionals' to Tory MPs! Honestly!

Some NUS Areas have fought back, organising campaigns and demos like the 5,000 strong Manchester Area NUS demo in November 1992.

But Left Unity, the activist left in NUS, is under a concerted attack from the Labour Student leadership. They fear any challenge. Fitzsimmons calls Left Unity 'the enemy within', which blocks Labour Students' plans to reduce NUS to a pressure group.

The project of Fitzsimmons and her friends involves gutting much of the student movement. They have attempted to crush local Area NUS's in Brighton and Tyne Tees by withdrawing

NUS recognition. Elsewhere, they have undermined Areas by sinking them into unmanageably large regions.

Yet, despite the right wing, the NUS remains a national union in which Left Unity has a real base. In desperation, the Labour Student leaders of NUS are now using slander to attack the left.

These stupid allegations show just how desperate the right wing are in NUS. They should inspire left activists to double our efforts in the battle to make

NUS into a campaigning union able to take on the Tories.

National FE Activists Conference
Speakers include Billy Pye, NUM National Executive
Wednesday 10 February
Starts 10.30
Manchester Metropolitan University Student Union, Oxford Road
Contact Tracy McGuire at MANUS: 061-272 8483.

Defend the Palestinians!

Michel Warshawsky, a leader of the Israeli Trotskyist organisation, Matzpen, reports from Jerusalem. Matzpen have been helping the campaign to force the Israeli government to allow back over 400 alleged Islamic activists.

We are pleased that Rabin has been forced to back down. On the other hand, 300 expelled Palestinians still remain excluded. This is a real defeat for Rabin. Today's radio, television and newspaper are all contributing to his embarrassment.

4,000 people marched this weekend in Jerusalem to oppose the expulsions. The march's main slogan was the clear demand for the return of

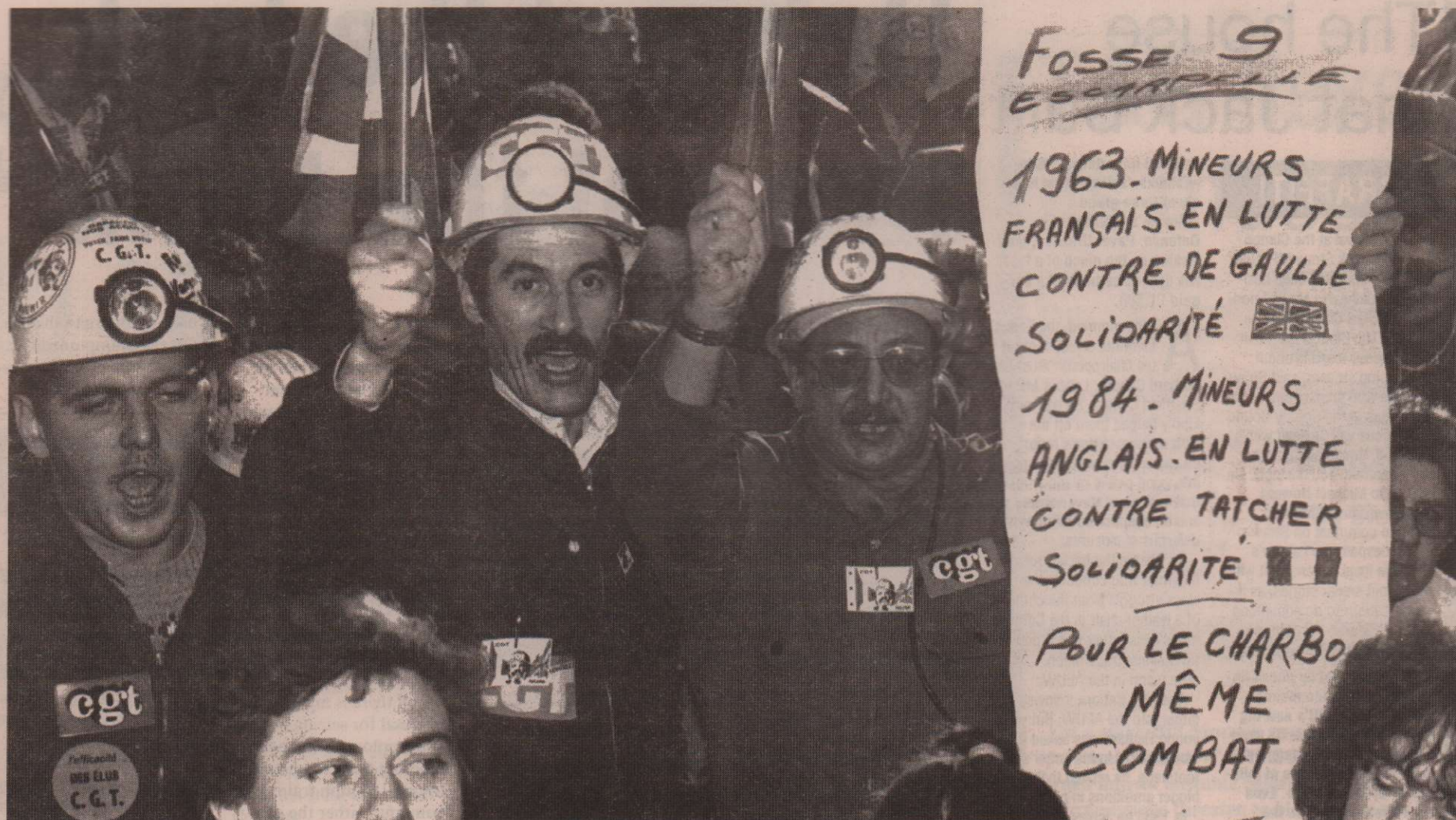
all those who had been expelled.

Formally, the march was organised by the Joint Jewish-Arab Committee Against Deportations. This body is a coalition of Arab national organisations, like the Mayors' Committee, with radical Jewish activists.

In practice, this demonstration was organised by the Islamic Movement inside Israel — the dominant force among Palestinians opposing the deportations — and the far left, including Matzpen.

The PLO is saying very clearly, and correctly, that Rabin has not got a deal with the PLO, or with the deportees, but a deal with the US government.

I do not say that the position of the PLO in, say, two months will be to oppose the resumption of talks with Israel. But I spoke with members of the PLO delegation today and they say they will not continue until the deportees return.



European miners' solidarity in 1984-85

Europe: workers unite!

Dear Tony Benn,

THE UNIONS at the Hoover plant at Cambuslang near Glasgow have just won 400 new jobs by engaging in a grizzly Dutch auction against workers at Hoover's plant at Dijon, France.

The proper business of trade unions is to defend and better the conditions under which trade unionists work, win increases in wages, and fight off all attempts to worsen conditions or cut wages. The unions at Cambuslang have done the very opposite.

They let the US-owned giant, Hoover — conducting separate and secret negotiations with Cambuslang and then with Dijon — set Scots and French workers to bid against each other for jobs. Wages? Conditions? Overtime rates? No strike deals? Roll up, workers of France and Scotland — who offers to take the lowest wages, the lowest overtime rates? Who will throw in a no-strike pledge?

The Scots easily won this "British" industrial job auction: 600 French workers in Dijon will now be sacked; 400 Scots workers will be taken on at Cambuslang.

John Major has hailed this deal as a minor British triumph.

Honest trade unionists and socialists hail it as a sad day for the once proud Scottish workers — and a day of shame for the leaders of British trade unionism, especially for Jimmie Airlie, the long-time Stalinist who negotiated the deal.

In trade union life there are unpleasant names — old, bitter, unforgiving names — for the worker who takes less than the union rate, and buys — that is

steals — someone else's job for the difference between the trade union rate and the wages and conditions he accepts. Such behaviour has always been recognised and condemned as undermining the general working class drive for class advancement and self-betterment. Scottish workers know these names — a minority at the mass meeting which discussed the proposed deal at Cambuslang did, I believe, use some of them — and human sympathy for desperate workers has never stopped class conscious workers from using those names.

Comrade Benn, it seems to us at *Socialist Organiser* that the Hoover deal at Cambuslang throws a glaring light on the social, industrial and political landscape of Britain in 1993. It throws a terrible light on the anti-EC politics of which you are the foremost exponent on the left. It shows up these politics for the

"The Hoover deal at Cambuslang throws a terrible light on the anti-EC politics of which you are the foremost exponent on the left."

anti-working class nonsense they are and objectively — despite your best intentions — always were.

I put it to you that the following propositions are indisputably true:

A. That Britain, fourteen years into the Thatcherite counter-revolution, is now Europe's foremost low-wage backwater economy —

low direct wages, and low 'social wages' too.

It is an industrial slum where desperate workers go cheap, run by a patriotic British government — a government very keen to retain a degree of British 'independence' from the EC — which prides itself on providing cheap, labour to international capital.

B. That the government, and right-wing Tory objections to full British integration into the EC come in great measure from their knowledge that the EC's legislation on trade unions, social services and working class rights generally, is a long way ahead of Britain's. They know that "EC standards" would be a threat to the hope of attracting foreign investment, which this disparity gives them. Cheap, half-beaten labour is one of the most plentiful things British capitalism has got nowadays.

C. That the EC is the great fact, by which everything in Europe is now measured and will be measured in the future. If Britain is not fully a part of the EC it will increasingly define itself as one of its backward appendages.

D. That capitalist Britain would still be a backward appendage of Europe if it left the EC entirely, overwhelmed, buffeted and shaped by its great neighbour. The Tories — or their right-wing Labour government successor — would still appeal to foreign capitalists, including EC capitalists, to come and exploit cheap British labour.

If this is a reasonably accurate picture of how things really stand for Britain and for the British working class, then, Comrade Benn, your anti-EC politics can not be right. The last thing that

would serve the interests of the British labour movement is withdrawal from Europe!

The Cambuslang affair proves that it is in the immediate, practical, urgent interest of both the mainland European and the

"The European working class needs trade union unity at every level from the shop floor to international shop stewards committees."

British working class to unite — to work out common Europe-wide attitudes, a unified Europe-wide trade union approach to the powerful international companies like Hoover, and a common political programme of proposed legislation to improve limits and restrictions on the operations of companies like Hoover.

I speak here — leaving all questions of socialism and the abolition of wage slavery aside — of mere reforms, of the sort of things labour movements once won against national capitalism in Britain and other countries. The old reform working class victories won against national capital are increasingly being negated obsolete by the supra-state international operations of modern capitalism.

It is now 129 years since French and British workers got together in 1864 and founded the First International, the "International Working Men's Association". One of its central purposes was to help workers on both sides of the Channel collaborate to stop scab

labour being moved about the continent for the breaking of strikes. Today, it is not scab labour, but scab international capital moving about, playing God with the lives of workers in Dijon and Glasgow.

The response to this sort of thing can not be a national response without reducing trade unionism — as it is reduced in Glasgow — to something less than itself — something engaged in fighting Dutch auctions against EC workers, blindly fulfilling the role allocated to us in John Major's idea of a brave new cheap-labour Britain.

"Workers of the World Unite" was a good slogan in 1864: it is an irreplaceable slogan now.

We have no real option but to turn the British labour movement towards building — together with the workers of France, Germany, Ireland, Italy, etc — an integrated Europe-wide trade union movement, and a Europe-wide political response to capital as it is now.

Continued on page 5

"The emancipation of the working class is also the emancipation of all human beings without distinction of sex or race."

Karl Marx

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GRAFFITI

The house that Jack built

GRAFFITI

Late arrival at the Clinton ball: Jack Straw MP. Until now Jack has been hesitant and lukewarm about "modernising", but on Saturday he jumped. The Clinton team can teach Labour lessons about neutralising smears, said Straw. "Anyone who smears any of our candidates in the County Council elections will be dealt with", he added, threateningly; but not, I'm afraid, convincingly. On BBC radio Michael Howard, Tory Environment Minister, asked to comment on Straw's threat, bespattered Labour's record in local government with old tabloid smear stories, as if daring Labour to do something about it. Clearly, the Clintonisers have got the Tories scared.

What exactly does Clintonisation mean? Well, Bill's new big idea is to cut back on US state pensions, either by pegging them at below the rate of inflation or by taxing them. Even the Tories didn't have the political nerve to do that last year. John Smith fans beware.

Fancy a post in British Rail? Not these posts! BR want volunteers from their workforce to be tied to posts while trains rush past at 140 mph. The posts will variously be 9 ft, 7ft 4in and 6ft 6in from the trains. The volunteers will be untied, revived if necessary, and asked their feelings about the experience. All rather strange considering that the current "safe" distance from a 125 mph train is 9ft.

The purpose of the exercise? To find out the minimum room BR can leave beside the track for line workers to get out of the way of oncoming high speed trains on the Channel Tunnel link. Every inch could save BR thousands of pounds. BR described these safety testing techniques as being at "the leading edge of technology".

So does that mean that the 80 BR line workers killed in the last 10 years are at the leading edge of health and safety?

If Boris Yeltsin has done one good thing in the former Soviet Union it is to do away with all the privileges for the party and military elite, of course. So there must be some other explanation for the sale of plush country residences on the cheap to the military top brass, who are buying dachas at prices of less than 350,000 roubles (£2,000), while their market values are edging up towards £100,000.

CIS Minister of Defence, Yevgeny Shaposhnikov, explained: "taking into account the existing social tensions in the armed forces, consent in this matter is of great



Yeltsin, President turned estate agent

political importance". Shaposhnikov's dacha cost him about three grand.

Russia's Minister of Defence, Pavel Grachev, isn't kicking up too much of a fuss. His des res came in at a bargain £1,500.

At the moment, the Tories' favourite select committee chairperson must be Richard Caborn, Labour MP for Sheffield Central. He has very kindly helped them off the hook with the committee's report on pit closures, rewriting the policy into good public relations format with short term subsidy and an unspecified number of deferrals of closures.

So what is the background of this man who conducts the class struggle from the comfort of a leather chair in the Commons? His father was a powerful Stalinist trade union bureaucrat in the AEUW.

Aged 16, Caborn followed his father into the AEUW. But when young Richard was asked if he would follow in his father's footsteps, he replied that he had bigger ambitions in politics.

In 1983 he achieved part of his ambition by being elected Labour MP for a Sheffield seat, having deselected the sitting corrupt right-winger.

The swathe he cut was hardly left wing — he joined the Tribune Group, home of those who want cheap, meaningless left credentials to help their careers.

Locally he appeared more and more like a right-winger. In constituency meetings to discuss the proscription of *Socialist Organiser (SO)* Caborn helped orchestrate an influx of seldom seen elderly delegates. In the debate he spoke about how the CP his father was in crushed political dissent and expelled people for their ideas without a fair trial. This was a pretty fair description of what the Labour leaders were doing to SO.

So, he was against the expulsion of SO? No, this was his argument for expelling SO! The meeting voted against the ban on SO. Caborn remained a keen adherent of the witchhunt.

Recently Caborn, cultivating that common touch, has put it around that he is not a Richard but a Dick, a judgement we can all agree with.

Marx wrote about the constant battle of the petit bourgeoisie (small shop keepers and the like) against being driven down into the ranks of the working class under pressure of competition with the bigger and richer bourgeoisie. So it is no surprise to see a little shoe repair and leather goods shop called Gladstone's on Moor-gate, in the centre of the City of London having a bit of a snipe at their clientele.

"Upturn? What upturn?" reads the sign in the window, continuing "20% off everything".

Gladstone is a name with a history hereabouts. The other, more famous, Gladstone was a Victorian politician who gave his name to balanced government budgets. In other words, the Tory policy of low taxes for the rich and cuts in services. Such a Tory policy may not have created the current recession but it's certainly making it a lot worse for most of us.

This doomed shoe repair shop should invest in one last sign: "Gladstone's cobblers".

He's got the tank, I've got the think

PRESS GANG



By Jim Denham

Readers will, I'm sure, have been terribly excited by the new think-tank 'Domestos', with its snappy slogan "clean round the bend". Little Martin Jacques has certainly assembled an impressive team (or "advisory council", to use the official terminology) to head up this bold initiative at the cutting edge of radical thought. But some of you have already written in to express your disappointment at one omission: Yours Truly.

The likes of Ms. Anita "Body Shop" Roddick, Mr. Stuart "Post-Fordist" Hall, Sir Douglas "I was Mrs. Thatcher's Financial Advisor" Hague, *et al*, are all very well. But where is that well-known "thinker of the unthinkable" to add the yeast of unashamed radicalism and the distinctive tang of New Spiced-up ideas to the proceedings?

Have no fear. My name has been kept out of the publicity by mutual agree-

ment between myself and Jacques. But my guiding hand is very much at work. Even the name of the think-tank is my "brain-child", evoking as it does vestigial memories of a reassuring household product, whilst suggesting at the same time a cleansing of old, germ-ridden corporatism, Labourism, Fordism, trade unionism, etc.

"The privatisation of BR is a Good Thing. I promise to welcome Richard Branson as my new boss and obey his every wish."

Between you and me, it has to be said that little Jacques doesn't make a single move without my say-so. He came to me bleating about the *Guardian*: "They don't like my column, they say it's right-wing and alienating readers. They say I'm too hostile to the Labour Party and the unions", he cried in despair. In a flash, I had the answer: "Move over to the *Sunday Times*!" I cried. "My friend Andrew Neil is a man after your own heart — radical, thrusting and innovative. You'll be appreciated there, and treated with the respect that a bold, sharp-end-type thinker of the unthinkable deserves!"

I'm happy to report that

he took my advice and his columns have gone down a treat amongst the ads for British Airways Special Deals and Chrysler Super-charged Jeeps.

"But what has 'Domestos' come up with, so far?" I hear you ask. Well, for a start, there's my bold, challenging plan for doing away with Income Tax on the grounds that it's unfair to former Communist Party members who now earn a modest £50 grand or so on the *Sunday Times*.

Then there is my brilliant proposal for seizing British Rail employees at random, tethering them to posts and driving 140 mph trains past them until either the slip-stream sucks them onto the track or they cry out for mercy, whimpering "Yes, the privatisation of BR is a Good Thing and I promise to welcome Mr. Richard Branson as my new boss and obey his every wish".

This last proposal has the advantage of driving a final nail into the coffin of reactionary, Fordist trade unionism.

All in all, I am sure that you will agree with me that 'Domestos', together with my boy Jacques' thrusting, sharp-end column in the *Sunday Times*, shows the way forward for Britain.

Those of us at the sharp end of radical thinking will be sorry to hear about the imminent demise of the *New States-*

man — an organ that has always championed free speech and ethical, investigative journalism.

"A few years ago, Duncan Campbell, Chairperson of the New Statesman, attempted to ruin a gay publication, the Pink Paper."

A few years ago, Duncan Campbell, Chairperson of the *New Statesman*, attempted to ruin a gay publication, the *Pink Paper*, by suing it for libel. Campbell wrote a self-righteous letter to the *Pink Paper*, at the time of the action; describing the way the *New Statesman* worked: "Taking nothing for granted, checking and rechecking, tracking down first-hand sources, allowing subjects every opportunity to comment and correct — none of this is easy, quick or even comfortable at times, but it does produce the kind of journalism that commands the respect of people who know what they are talking about". Campbell contrasted this approach with the *Pink Paper's* "regurgitation of spiteful invective".

For the record, I'd be very sorry to see the *New Statesman* go down. But they can't expect much sympathy.

Hold your breath for a better NHS

WOMEN'S EYE



By Jean Lane

The mother of an eighteen month old baby waited anxiously and with

increasing exasperation as her doctor tried to find a hospital that had a bed for her child. As one after another gave the negative response, the baby's heart beat was racing and she was struggling to breathe.

The mother believed she would die. When a bed was found it took 5 days for the baby to recover from her ordeal.

This is only one of many such stories being relayed over the media,

as it becomes more and more apparent that the health service is in deep financial trouble.

And yet, Virginia Bottomley, immediately on hearing of this case, came on the radio to say "I am very pleased with the way things are going, I am pleased with the Trusts. And I am pleased with the money we have put into the NHS. I didn't expect the culture that we have been fighting for to change

overnight".

She said that there would be no more money for hospitals this year and that they should pace themselves.

So if you happen to have a baby that is going to be sick you had better tell it to hold off for a year to get in with the pace of Tory health care. Either that or develop a culture of finding your children die before your eyes acceptable.

Strike to save mines and jobs!

"Descend on the pits in your thousands and keep them open."

The NUM delegate conference this week looks set to agree to a ballot for a series of one-day strikes alongside the rail unions.

That's a big step forward, but one-day strikes on their own, although they will massively increase the pressure on the Tories, won't necessarily save the pits from closing.

The only way to ensure that no pits close is for the miners and their supporters to seize physical control of the pits themselves through occupations.

The Women's Pit camps can act as a focus for building up support and solidarity for this necessary task.

Betty Heathfield from Women Against Pit Closures explains:

"Women Against Pit Closures are now taking their example from another group of very valiant and very brave women and they are setting up pit camps instead of peace camps.

Go to all those camps, get them set up at all the collieries — unless you want to say to Mr Major, 'Oh yes, we'll let you

close half of them, we'll let you think you're off the hook.' We're not going to let them close one.

We want many, many more people to visit those camps and to sit down in front of those pits when they try to close them and say: 'you're not going to do it!'

If Heseltine tries, or dares to try, to close one of those pits, then all the communities surrounding that pit must descend there and say: 'That's enough, enough is enough, you're not going to do it.'

So don't stop, keep on supporting the miners, and come out in your thousands just like you did on those two magnificent demonstrations last October."

Betty was speaking at the NWTUC rally in Preston last Saturday 20 January.

"They are not closing any pits!"

Billy Pye, Lancashire NUM delegate to the NUM executive sends a message to the Tories:

"One of the press came to me yesterday and said: 'What about the report then? What about all the millions of tons? What about all those different conclusions they have reached?

for British workers, denounce Major's rejection of the EC Social Charter, demand the same trade union rights workers in Europe have, and raise a storm behind a positive campaign for working class unity in the EC. Forging close British labour movement links with the European workers, it would ask for solidarity in fighting for the EC Social Charter in Britain.

The Great Sleepwalker, John Smith, won't do anything like that, of course. Socialists have learned to expect very little from Labour's leaders. But what about the left? What about you, Comrade Benn? You support the EC Social Charter, I believe. An anti-EC campaign — in alliance with Tories! — is no way to campaign for it! It must be said plainly that it is the opposite of campaigning for it and inevitably cuts against campaigning for it.

The left is paralysed — even in face of a scandal like Cambuslang! — by its senseless "rejection" of the EC. You bear much of the responsibility for that, Comrade Benn.

European unity is — despite everything, and whatever upsets



Miners need support from the wider movement

How many pits do you think they will close?

I said: 'None'.

He said: 'You what?'

I said: 'None'.

He said: 'Well, they're suggesting this subsidy'.

I said: 'Listen, never mind that; they're not closing any pits'. That's what we said in the beginning, and that's the message we ought to be sending out now to everybody who has supported us throughout this campaign.

Before we had the report I saw Edwina Currie on television. She said that changes to working practices had to be implemented in order to make the coal industry more profitable.

What she actually means is this: miners should work a ten-hour shift at the coalface, as opposed to seven and a quarter hours as we do now. And this four-day week MP proposes we should work a 6-day week in future, as opposed to the 5 days we work now.

But, worst of all, they actually suggest doing away with the Mines and Quarries Act, the Act of Parliament that dictates every aspect of safety work underground.

The history of our industry

and of our union is littered with lists of names of men, women and boys who died before we were able to wring those Acts of Parliament out of Capital.

I have a message for Edwina and all those others — we'll not be giving that Act up lightly, we'll not forget all those people before us who died in order to get those Acts.

What does the report actually say then? It suggests a few measures which could find us a bigger market for our coal, a market which would be bigger than what we need to keep all 31 pits open. That's all very well, and it could have been very much worse.

But we have said from the start that the report would reflect what the government felt it could politically get away with at the time. Nothing more and nothing less. And I'll say again that we're accepting nothing less than a guaranteed future for all 31 pits. They still intend to close all those 31 pits. Subsidies aside, I think what they have changed is perhaps the timescale and the way in which they intend to carry out those closures.

We still have the prospect of those same 100,000 job losses, from the pit closures and the knock-on effect. We can still look forward to growing and prolonged mass unemployment. It's all part of the price of profit.

But there is an alternative. We can resist. Our movement never gained anything by sitting back and doing nothing, and waiting for the crumbs from the scraps on the Parliamentary table.

That's why, on 5 March, the mining unions and the big rail unions will be balloting to stage a series of one-day strikes in the future.

We are formally calling on the wider movement, on all other unions, to ballot on that day, and/or to join with us on those days of strike action when they take place in the future.

In 1984/85 a lot of people said that they were behind the miners. This time you have to go out and prove that you're prepared to stand side-by-side with the miners.

Then we will go forward together, and I'm sure we will drive the Tories out of office."

Billy Pye was speaking at the Preston NWTUC demo last Saturday.

With fraternal best wishes,
John O'Mahony
(for Socialist Organiser)

T&G flexes its muscles

Something is stirring in the mysterious undergrowth of the TGWU bureaucracy. The sound of sabres being rattled can be heard, while muffled but distinctly war-like cries have broken out. Shadowy figures can be glimpsed, flexing their muscles and beating

INSIDE THE UNIONS



By Sleeper

their chests. The picture of the T&G as a soft-left, conflict-free zone quietly drifting rightwards into the embrace of John Edmonds and the GMB, has been shattered. Something's up — the only question is *what?*

For a start, Bill Morris's much talked-about "personal chemistry" with Edmonds seems to have turned into an unstable chlorine compound, whose toxic emissions threaten to blow up the whole fume cupboard. Morris apparently now believes that he was 'set-up' over the recent Clinton conference, fronted by the TGWU but inspired by Edmonds' friends in the Labour Co-ordinating Committee.

This £120-per-head jamboree soon turned into an orgy of union-bashing at which Morris had to endure sitting on the platform while Tony Blair denounced the block vote as an "obscene spectacle".

Realising he'd been done over by the anti-union yuppies of the LCC, Morris convened an impromptu council of war at which Deputy General Secretary Jack Adams proposed a counter-attack. This would centre upon defending the block vote against those (like the LCC) who want to break the union link altogether, and move to 'pure' One Member, One Vote.

It was also agreed that the T&G should come out against the halfway house proposal for union input into the Labour Party to be channelled through "registered supporters" — the option favoured by Edmonds and the GMB. The T&G leadership is, it seems, now prepared to call off the merger talks if Edmonds pursues the "registered supporters" proposal.

Morris has now sent out a circular urging T&G branches to renew their Labour Party delegations and reminding delegates that they are required to represent the Union's policies and not just act as individuals. This new-found belligerence coincides with a growing mood of anger and resentment amongst middle-ranking T&G officials in the regions, who have had enough of Labour councils clobbering T&G manual workers in successive local authority spending cuts. In the North East, a caucus of T&G councillors has now been established and similar moves can be expected in the North West and London/the South East.

Meanwhile, the T&G leadership is letting it be known that it is, to say the least, "dissatisfied" with its parliamentary representatives, and may well jettison the likes of Tony Blair and Gordon Brown (and maybe even Neil Kinnock and Margaret Beckett as well). Affiliation fees to the Labour Party are to be cut from £1,670,000 to £1,350,000 by 1994, and T&G members at every level of the Labour Party are to be reminded that they are union representatives within the Party — not vice-versa.

All this would be very encouraging news for the labour movement if only the T&G membership were involved.

From page 3

The European working class needs trade union unity at every level, from the shop floor to international shop stewards committees in companies like Hoover, and beyond. It has to be EC-wide because Europe is now the effective unit.

All attempt to pretend otherwise is transparent nonsense: we will be a full part of Europe or else we will be a backward appendage of Europe. For the working class, an isolated or a half-isolated Britain leads us inexorably to the erosion of living standards and of real trade unionism. That is the lesson of Cambuslang.

The British labour movement desperately needs a lead, Comrade Benn. But nothing could be more distant from what the British working class needs now than the dogmatic, class-blind hostility to 'Europe' on which you are once again campaigning — side by side with Thatcherites and other right-wing enemies of the labour movement.

A seriously-led working class movement in Britain now would campaign for "EC standards"

The rise of Greater-Serbia

Why Yugoslavia

The collapse of the Yugoslav state is a great tragedy, not alone because it is succeeded by a series of terrible ethnic wars, by way of which new states are being carved out in the territory of the old state, but also because it marks the defeat of a great idea — the idea that these peoples, scattered, fragmented, territorially

The reason why Yugoslavia collapsed lies in the nature of the regime which emerged in Serbia in the second half of the 1980s. Once Milosevic came to power in Serbia in 1987, he launched an assault upon the constitutional system and the federal order that created the danger of a Serbian domination of Yugoslavia, i.e. a return to the situation in the 1918-1941 period. This was then resisted. I must stress that the proponents of Serbian domination, not those who resisted it, are the main culprits for the war.

Yugoslavia as it was conceived at the end of the Second World War — as a centralised economic entity run by a centralised Communist Party — soon ran into trouble, at both the economic and political levels. As a result, the country was gradually decentralised. Given that Yugoslavia was highly heterogeneous economically, with its different parts finding themselves at any given moment at different stages of development, it was always difficult to harmonise their different economic interests. The economic crisis which started in the second half of the 1970s and which accelerated in the 1980s made this harmonisation even more difficult. That opened up the space for the Great Serb project.

The Yugoslav federation had tried very hard to stem the growth of the gap between the less developed and the better off regions. In some cases, such as that of Montenegro, it was very successful. But in the case of Bosnia-Herzegovina, Macedonia and Kosovo, the gap continued to grow. The better off regions (Slovenia, Vojvodina and Croatia) became increasingly unable to maintain their contributions, also increasingly unwilling since these contributions did not seem to have the intended effects. After all, Yugoslavia could not develop socialism all by itself. It tried to balance its trade between Western and Eastern Europe, but stagnation in the East meant an increasing orientation towards the West. There was a growing feeling that the economy had to be regulated in a new way, but not much agreement as to how this should be done. The conservative wing in the Communist Party above all feared loss of political control.

Since the Communist Party was the main regulator of political differences and conflicts in Yugoslavia, it is not surprising that it came under a terrific strain. It became impossible to maintain the status quo. The reforming wing of the Communist Party argued in favour of more democracy and more market, while the conservatives led by

interlaced, should co-operate, replacing conflict with mutual accommodation and ethnic war with federal politics.

Branka Magas, is a Croatian, resident in Britain, and the author of "The Destruction of Yugoslavia", published this week.

In the first of two articles she discusses the Yugoslav tragedy.

Milosevic, wished less of both. Milosevic's refusal to compromise drew strength from his effective control of the Yugoslav Army. The Army preferred to see a Serb nationalist in charge of Yugoslavia than to have multi-party elections, which the Slovenian and Croatian Communists were calling for — and which the Communist Party might lose. By lining up behind Milosevic, the Army ensured that Yugoslavia would collapse through war.

"Stagnation in the East meant an increasing orientation towards the West. There was a growing feeling that the economy had to be regulated in a new way, but not much agreement as to how this should be done."

In the late 1980s we saw a tremendous mobilisation of the working class, mainly against the dramatic cut in living standards. In my home town of Split, for example, public sector and shipyard workers struck several times. At first the action was localised but by the end of the 1980s workers started to target the federal government. It is interesting that in the first multiparty elections in 1990, left parties did quite well. However, the collapse of the so-called socialist system, the onset of war and the consequent economic exhaustion has weakened the socialist alternative and, of course, the trade unions. What is more, Milosevic, by fanning nationalism in Yugoslavia's most numerous nation, fostered also a nationalist response elsewhere. Once the war began, nationalism in the republics that were attacked became for many also a matter of national self-defence.

It is difficult to overestimate the extent of the fear induced among the conservatives by the collapse of the Communist system in Eastern Europe. Following the first elections in Slovenia and Croatia, which removed Communists from power, the Army toyed with the idea of placing the country under a state of emergency and banning all parties for a period of four or five years. This "Turkish model", however, was unworkable in a state like Yugoslavia. In the event the actual transition to post-Communism would have been a great achieve-



The civil war marks the defeat of a great idea: of mutual cooperation and federal politics

ment had it not been for Milosevic and the Army. In Slovenia in particular, where democratic openings began earlier, the transition was particularly smooth.

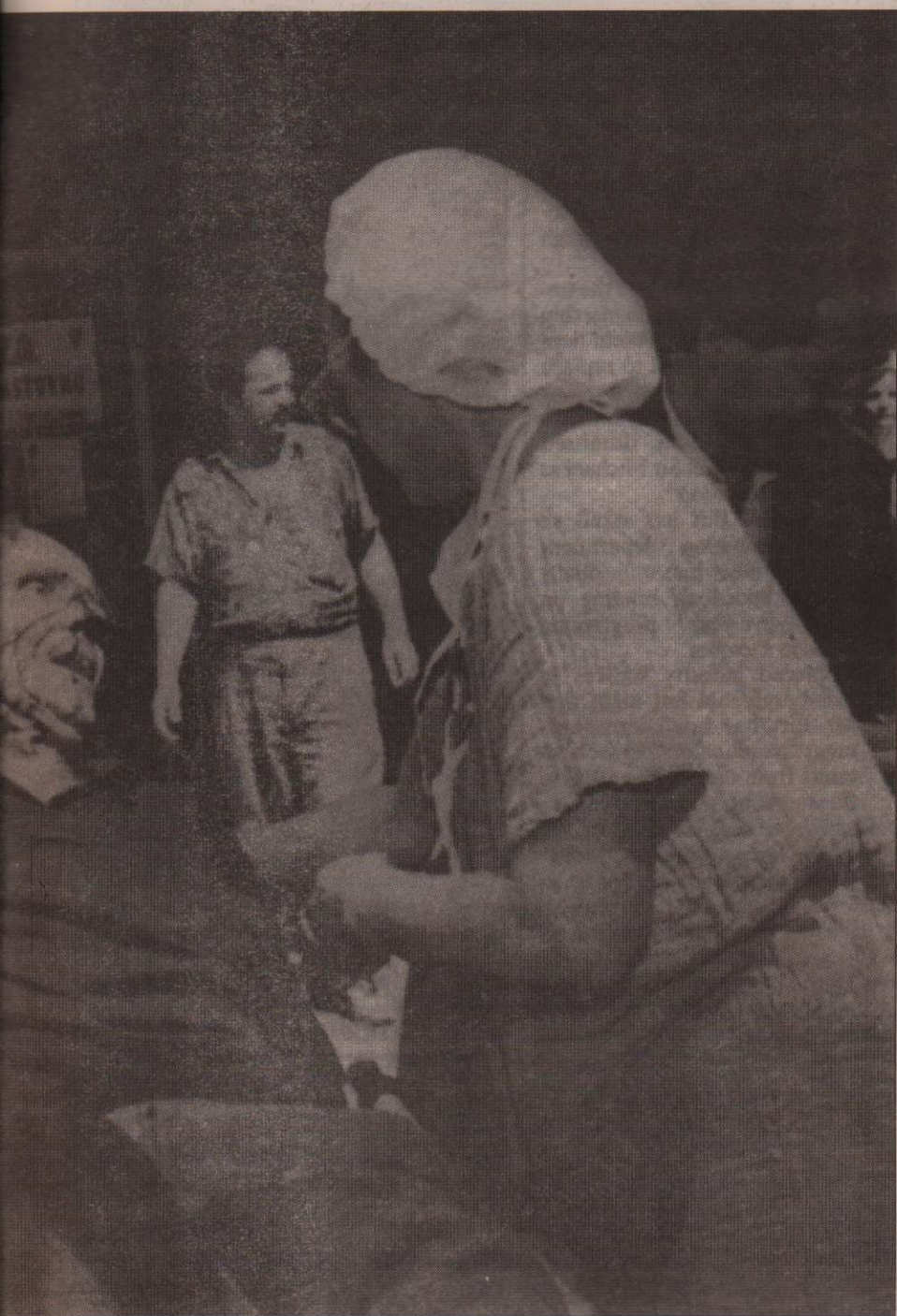
"Right from the beginning there were two conceptions — the Western and the Eastern — about how the political union would work. This difference persisted throughout Yugoslavia's history."

When Slovenia was attacked, in June 1991, its people responded as one against what they saw, quite rightly, as outside aggression. In Croatia, where the transition had been shorter and more turbulent, matters were complicated by the fact that the Army supplied weapons and training to part of the local Serb rural population, in order to establish enclaves within Croatia as bases

for a subsequent military assault. Whereas the war in Slovenia was a brief and relatively bloodless affair, in Croatia it involved outright occupation, the shelling of cities, the blockade of ports and of course, atrocities and "ethnic cleansing". The victims of the war in Croatia were mainly Croats, of course, but Serbs also suffered directly. For example, in the city of Vukovar, which was completely destroyed, there had been almost as many Serb inhabitants as Croats. As in Slovenia, so also in Croatia, the attack provoked a tremendous popular response in favour of resisting the invasion. Only this popular will to resist can explain why Croatia was not crushed.

Why did it prove impossible to find an all-Yugoslav response to Milosevic and the Army? I remember going to Yugoslavia in the second half of the 1980s and discussing it with friends there. One obvious difficulty was that there was no medium through which such a response could be articulated, particularly after Serbia had annexed Vojvodina and Kosovo and installed its own men in Montenegro. This altered the balance at the federal level and made the federal institutions unworkable.

Yugoslavia collapsed



Britain is a unitary state and the British left as a result has always found it difficult to understand Yugoslavia. When the Yugoslav idea emerged for the first time, as a specific form of Panslavism, in the first half of the 19th century in Croatia, Slovenes, Croats and Serbs already saw themselves as distinct nations. The idea was that the South Slavs would be united first culturally and then politically — not on a unitary but on a federal model. By the time Yugoslavia was created, in 1918, moreover, there were also strong individual movements for emancipation among other Yugoslav nations.

Right from the beginning there were two conceptions about how the political union would work. This difference persisted throughout Yugoslavia's history. One might call these two conceptions the Western and the Eastern. The Western concept saw the unions as made up of diverse nations, laid stress on individual national rights and was federalist. Slovenes and Croats, we must remember, before Yugoslavia came into being had lived in another multi-national state — i.e. the Habsburg Empire — and they had also struggled to make that into a

federal state. In the East, in Serbia, before and after 1918, Yugoslavia was understood essentially as an enlargement of Serbia itself: i.e. as a form of Greater Serbia. This concept of Yugoslavia favoured a unitary state and the creation of a single Yugoslav nation, whose identity would be essentially Serb. It was really an imperialist idea. In the end, Yugoslavia was broken up by its inability to reconcile these two conceptions — the federalist and the centralist.

You often find that "Yugoslavism" is a mask for Great-Serb assimilationism. When I started visiting Belgrade regularly, I discovered that many of my friends there defined themselves not as Serb, but as "Yugoslavs". I would say "I am a Croat", because that is what I am, but they saw this as a concession to nationalism. To be an internationalist, you had to be a "Yugoslav" i.e. you had to negate your national identity. But in the following few years, most of these "Yugoslavs" became Serb nationalists! The trouble with such a mentality is that it is intolerant of differences and, given the close similarity of the Croat and Serb languages, especially strongly intolerant of Croat-Serb differences.

This notwithstanding, I don't think the Yugoslav state was doomed. The idea of a common state was articulated and implemented to meet real needs of the people in the region. There was the need, to begin with, to defend themselves against stronger neighbours. Then of course, since the population is so mixed, a common state made sense. There was a strong sense of similarity, a feeling that these were kindred nations. And, finally, the victors in the First World War preferred the Yugoslav formula as a way of stabilising the Balkans. The vast majority of the political parties in the region, including the Social Democratic parties, favoured the creation of Yugoslavia after the First World War. We must remember, however, that neither the Albanians nor Macedonians were consulted — they had been conquered by Serbia in the Balkan Wars of 1912-13. Only a Yugoslavia that would recognise its internal differences i.e. a federal Yugoslavia based on scrupulous respect for national equality, would have worked. The first Yugoslavia was Serbian-dominated, which is why it was a highly centralised state. After the Second World War the Communist-led resistance promised a country based on federal principles and national equality. And in fact, through the various constitutional reforms, Yugoslavia did move towards a greater decentralisation, which suited the needs of the country's existing and growing diversity.

"Had Milosevic not come to power in Belgrade on a Great-Serb ticket, and had the Army not sided with him, Yugoslavia would have survived at least as an economic union with a looser confederal structure."

Had Milosevic not come to power in Belgrade on a Great-Serb ticket, and had the Army not sided with him, I am convinced that Yugoslavia would have survived at least as an economic union with perhaps a looser confederal structure. With Milosevic, however, Serbia became an enemy of a federal Yugoslavia, hence — whatever it claimed — of Yugoslavia as such. Yugoslavia had been created, after all, to guarantee its national self-government, which, of course, involves the right to self-defence. By siding with Milosevic, the Yugoslav Army became a Serbian Army and the other nationals found themselves disarmed. In the name of the Federation, the Communist Party created a centrally-controlled armed force which then became an instrument of war against these nationals. The Army remained the only centralised institution in the state: indeed, after Tito's death, a state within a state. Had the Army become decentralised, it would also have been better controlled and war would have been avoided. This is what Slovene and Croat generals argued for in the 1960s, but they were rebuffed after the great party purges in the early 1970s. After Tito's death there followed a re-organisation of the military structure which allowed, among other things, a further Serbianisation of the army. The process of disarming of the other

republics was completed with the confiscation of Territorial Defence weapons just before the war began.

It would probably have made a difference if the Yugoslav capital city had not been in Serbia, in Belgrade. One must remember however, that after the war, the Yugoslav Communist regime felt very insecure. The Communists could not count on international support. There was a King still sitting in London whom the British government was keen to reinstall. The Soviet Union was by no means happy with Yugoslav Communists. So the Communists sought legitimation in the inheritance of many of the symbols of the previous Yugoslav state, including the capital in Belgrade. It must also be remembered that Serbia was the only part of Yugoslavia that was liberated with the help of the Red Army coming from Bulgaria. In Slovenia, Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina, the partisans created new administrative structures as they fought. In the case of Serbia, these had to be introduced from outside. Without Serbia there could be no Yugoslavia, so winning Serbia to the new Yugoslavia was seen as imperative. This, I assume, was another reason why Belgrade was kept as the capital city. Maybe this could have been changed later. Sarajevo could have become a new capital. Or, alternatively, the federal state functions could have been distributed among the different republics and provinces. This, however, was not done. The federal bureaucracy remained in Belgrade, conservative and overwhelmingly Serbian.

What Milosevic and the Army tried to do in Yugoslavia is not dissimilar from what Stalin did in the Soviet Union: marrying counter-revolution with Great-Russian nationalism. Indeed, Djilas recalled in one of his books how after the war Stalin told the Yugoslav Communists that the talk about national equality was all very well and good, but they should rely on the biggest nation: the Serbs.

The destruction of Yugoslavia - tracking the break-up, 1980-92 is published by Verso; 366pp; price £12.95.



With Milosevic, Serbia became an enemy of a federal Yugoslavia

Should we save the Morning Star?

PLATFORM

The Morning Star is the only left-wing daily in Britain. Long backed by the Communist Party, and subsidised by the Stalinist USSR, it is now starved of resources and struggling to survive. Should socialists help? The Trotskyist historian Al Richardson answers with an emphatic 'no!'

Since last May the labour movement has been the target of a noisy campaign to rescue the ailing *Morning Star* from a collapse it has been staving off for a decade. Not only is there the usual procession of ex-Communists and fellow travelling trade union bureaucrats (and members of some T&GWU branches in particular might ask why so much of their money has gone that way in the past) but such luminaries as Ken Livingstone and his aide-de-camp, John Ross of the Socialist Action group have chimed in.

It should be sustained, so they argue, because it is the only daily reportage and support for trade union struggle, and, in any case, the *Morning Star* faction of the old CPGB is at least superior to the "Democratic Left" and other split-offs in having trade union roots and some sort of class line. Others will argue that, even if it has always been the expression of a sect, a daily paper for the Labour movement is a

crying necessity in any case. Why not give it a hand?

These would be compelling arguments, were it not for the fact that the paper has such an appalling past record, not only politically, but on truth itself.

When it first appeared as *The Daily Worker* in 1930, its first editor, William Rust, had "virtually no journalistic experience" [W. Thompson, *The Good Old Cause*, London 1992, p.50], but he did have considerable experience in telling lies on behalf of the Soviet government, having as early as 1924 claimed that the entire Russian YCL — some 700,000 strong — had "unanimously" condemned Trotsky's politics [*Worker's Weekly*, 12th December, 1924].

This was the diametrical opposite of the truth, for the Soviet Young Communists had in fact supported Trotsky, and Zinoviev was obliged to dismiss their national committee to bring them into line. Where Soviet affairs were concerned it is plain that Rust couldn't tell the truth without straining a ligament, as P.G. Wodehouse would have put it.

Party leader Harry Pollitt was so disgusted with him that it was said that for years he refused even to set foot in the *Daily Worker* building.

The paper's record did not improve as the years wore on. After Hitler had come to power and destroyed the German labour movement it told its readers that "the revolutionary upsurge will inevitably grow" [10th April, 1937].

Four years later when the *Daily Herald* (a real loss to the Labour movement) told the truth about the Moscow Trials, it was accused of playing "the game of reaction", and "foul lies" [19th July and 12th August 1937].

And when war came it really went



These men led the Russian workers' revolution of 1917, fought the rise of the Stalinist dictatorship, and were murdered by Stalin. The *Morning Star* — then called the *Daily Worker* — cheered on their murderers

to town. Stalin's conquest of Eastern Poland as his share of the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact was announced as "Red Army Takes Bread to Starving Peasants" [20th September 1939], and his attack on Finland in the Winter War came out as "Behind the Red Army Life Begins for the Finnish People" [2nd January, 1940].

At one point it even added pro-German propaganda to its reporting. When Hitler invaded the Low Countries its headline was "Allies Had Everything Prepared for Invasion", publishing without comment

the German memorandum justifying Hitler's attack on Holland and Belgium [11th May, 1940].

For, as a note reproduced from *Izvestia* on August 24th 1940 reminded its readers, "the good neighbourly and friendly relations between the Soviet Union and Germany are not based on fortuitous considerations of a transient nature, but on the fundamental state interests of both the USSR and Germany".

But its most amusing coup during this time must surely be an exclusive interview with Maurice Thorez "somewhere in France" — "Outlawed Leader Tells Why He is Hunted", 4th November, 1939 at a time when Thorez was already in Moscow [c.f. H.M. Wicks, *Eclipse of October*, London 1958, pp.375-6].

It was still at it years later, when during the Hungarian Revolution of 1956 it suppressed the dispatches of its own reporter, Peter Fryer, because they did not accord with the picture of a "Fascist Uprising" put out by the Soviet government.

Ah, you might say, so they got it wrong on some of the facts — who doesn't?

Isn't all that made up for by its political support for the working class. Well, here its record was, if anything, worse.

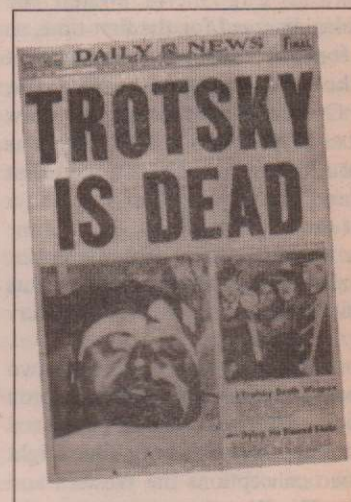
In the very first issue of the *Daily Worker* R. Palme Dutt declared "War on the Labour Government" and invited the people to "Smash This Barrier!" The paper's verdict on the old Bolsheviks who stood in the dock during the Moscow Trials was "Shoot the Reptiles!" [24th August, 1936], and the murder of Leon Trotsky was announced under the headline of "A Counter-Revolutionary Gangster Passes" [August 23rd, 1940].

A year later, after Hitler had invaded the Soviet Union, it became the most bitter opponent of any action undertaken to defend conditions in the workplace. When a magistrate let off a lad with a caution

who had been brought up before him for refusing to go down the pit he was attacked in the *Daily Worker's* second editorial for not proceeding with the full rigour of the law [19th May 1944].

Most amusing for a paper that has tried to make so much mileage out of feminism are stories such as that featured in the paper on September 10th, 1942 celebrating the achievement of Mrs Nellie Mears of Birmingham, who had just broken the world record by producing 1,800 shell components in 10 hours. The title above this particularly edifying tale was "Then She Went Home and Did the Washing".

For many years this paper published such propaganda because it received substantial sums of money from those who wanted it. How can the labour movement at all rely upon those whose principles are so obviously up for sale in this way? What will happen to its political line if someone else makes it 'an offer it can't refuse'?



A bourgeois newspaper reports the death of Trotsky. When Trotsky was struck down by a Stalinist assassin, the *Daily Worker* told its readers that "the fascist gangster" met the fate he deserved

Christianity and anti-semitism

LETTER

While no one can or should deny that from a very early period Christianity has been marred by gross anti-semitism, it does little good to drag out Karl Kautsky's argument [see *SO* 545]. No doubt that was well-argued in its day, based on a reasonable grasp of then respectable study of Jewish and Christian history, and showing some knowledge of contemporary Biblical scholarship. But it is so much at variance with subsequent research, particularly Jewish research, that you damage your case by still giving it credence.

Jewish academics like Salo Baron, and most contemporary Jewish historians borrow deeply from him — almost all insist, (they differ obviously as to explanation) that anti-semitism was found in many places in the Mediterranean, before Christianity as far back, probably, as the Babylonian Captivity. Some would say that it is found centuries before in Egypt. The fact that anti-semitism pre-dates Christianity in no way excuses Christian anti-semitism but it contradicts the thesis that anti-semitism arose as a product of the Gospel account. Examining the early evolution of

Christianity the same Jewish historians almost all agree that the split between the Synagogue and the Church was not absolute in the Apostles' day, that it came in stages (variously estimated as three, four or even seven stages).

1. The Council of Jerusalem, 50 AD, opened Christianity to proselyte, that is to non-racial Jews, and this would have alienated many previously sympathetic Jews.

2. The Council of Antioch — where by Paul's account he "withstood Peter face to face" — released Jewish Christians from the obligation to keep the Old Testament Law.

3. St Paul undoubtedly reacted against his Judaic origins, and against the claims of observant-Jewish Christians to be better Christians than non-observant Jews and Gentile Christians; moreover the tones of his letters introduced the seeds of further division.

There were two sects (the Ebionim and the Nazarenes) of Judaic Christians falling between the main bodies in the second and third centuries and the Sanhedrin took steps to exclude such heretics from the synagogues it controlled. This certainly testifies to the fact that there were two distinct traditions, but there is overwhelming

evidence that at that stage in many places there was still joint worship and that it would not have been possible to make a hard and fast division at the time between Jews and Christians.

Much of the enmity between the two certainly only originated in the reign of Julian the Apostate in the early 4th century. But some Jewish historians have argued that the real anti-semitic nature of Christianity only emerged with Bernard of Clairvaux.

It is fair to point out that Marxism too has a history of anti-semitism, that it resembles Christianity "in choosing a Jewish prophet to spurn the Jews", and that whereas no writing of Christ's survives and so his words only reach us through the reports of others, those of Marx survive and can be quoted to show that apparently anti-Jewish statements do appear in the original.

In fact you would find that quite a lot of 20th Century Christian writers — probably the most famous, but by no means the most outspoken, would be Bishop Bell of Chichester, — have analysed Christian anti-semitism in terms that (while better informed) still go further than Kautsky.

Laurens Otter, Salop

Another bite of the cherry

Cinema

Joan Trevor reviews *Bram Stoker's Dracula*

In its first three days of showing in Britain, this film has taken more money than any other film ever has in its opening three days in Britain. People want Dracula!

And, though I don't know how true it is to the book — or how much that matters — this is quite a good Dracula. For pure visual interest I could probably bear a second look at it. Dramatically, however, it is a bit lacking. Most of us know the plot, so it might not be possible to be excited by

it anymore. But the drama might not have got so swamped by the visual effects if the film had been a bit more "normal", if you like.

And, though it is very colourful, you only get one colour at a time, so it seems for much of the film that it might as well have been filmed in black and white. What you get is black and red, black and blue, black and yellow. You only get halfway normal colour when the story is to the fore — when Wilhelmina (Winona Ryder) visits her friend Lucy, or when she first meets Dracula in London.

Accustomed as I am to the near realism of Hammer Draculas, I felt this was a bit of an unnecessary effect. There's also some gratuitous screaming and rushing around of things that,

in the half-light, you can't really make out. All very creepy, but also a bit of a waste of celluloid.

And there's bloody Anthony Hopkins again, as Professor Van Helsing.

So that's what's wrong with it. What's right with it is just that it is Dracula again!

This is an interesting story. Unlike with real life stories of blood and horror, you can revel in it and let your imagination make what it wants of the story. I don't know how much about sex the original was, but that's the gloss directors — since Hammer, and earlier — have put on it.

"I don't know how much about sex the original was, but that's the gloss directors — since Hammer, and earlier — have put on it."

Some people say that this Dracula is all about AIDS — ironically, there's lots of safe sex — no-one ever really gets down to intercourse — but it's all thrown away because, of course, they drink each other's blood and catch immortality off each other. What greater curse could there be than immortality?

It seems that not wanting to go and join God in Heaven after your earthly spell is the greatest sin. And for that you get punished with growing older and more hideous and frightening to more and more people. And, it struck me, there couldn't be much worse Purgatory, if you like, than getting all excited over some bloke, hyperventilating madly, writhing on your satin sheets in anticipation of fleshly delights, and then only getting bitten in the neck for the rest of eternity.



Another victim gets it in the neck

Supersport

Sport

By Dion D'Silva

Turned up rather bleary-eyed and slightly late for work this Monday morning. I had been watching the American Superbowl the night before — like many others.

Surveys show that the audience for American football is the youngest, most male-dominated and upwardly-mobile of all Channel 4 audiences.

This year's Superbowl was between Dallas Cowboys and the Buffalo Bills. The Pasadena Rose Bowl was filled with over 100,000 spectators, and the game was seen by millions worldwide on TV. It is billed as the world's biggest sporting event. Who can argue when Michael Jackson was just the half-time entertainment — certainly beats the Coldstream Guards.

Although the game started 11 pm British time, it didn't finish until 3 am. The actual playing time is one hour but there are many stoppages, including "time-outs" to allow American TV to show adverts.

The Dallas Cowboys are the younger team but with fewer "stars". Over the years they have been known as the All-American team — rather like Liverpool in British football. It was the third time in succession that Buffalo had made it to the Superbowl — yet they had lost the previous two. The Bills are a "blue-collar team" from a blue-collar city, unlike Dallas. Their famous quarterback Jim Kelly was on the picket line during the national football strike a few years ago.

Things started well for the Bills but Dallas fought back to take the lead. Jim Kelly was then brought down as a 200lb Dallas defender landed on his leg, twisting Kelly's knee. The TV repeated this in slow-motion enough times to make me squeamish. Kelly had to be stretchered off — returning to watch from the sidelines on crutches. In the end Dallas romped away easy winners with a 52-17 victory.

You probably either hate or love American football but you can't deny it is impressive. Each side has three teams: offence, defence and special. Each player has a particular job to do at a particular time — it is an extremely tactical game. The coach on the sideline has headphones linked to

people in a viewing box who monitor the opposition. They even take Polaroid pictures to study during the game.

Unfortunately, Jim Kelly's injury is quite common. Another player was paralysed this season. The grotesque padding is not just for show. Part of the game is to "hit" your opponent. It beats me how you can practise the game — it's not like playing football in the playground!

At least all the violence seems to take place on the pitch and not in the crowd. As cities can be many thousands of miles away, you don't really get groups of travelling fans. It appears to be mainly a middle-class spectator sport. That said, in Los Angeles you can be shot for the LA Raiders T-shirt or hat you're wearing.

American football reflects American society, good and bad. The majority of the players are black but that is a recent phenomenon. Yet, even now, there are few black quarterbacks — the prestige position. Even until recently many people seriously argued that the quarterback was the "brains" of the team, unlike the speed merchants — "wide receivers" or the strong "tackles".

Strangely, quite a few of the leading quarterbacks, including Kelly and Marino, come from a particular area of Pennsylvania, many of them sons of steelworkers and coalminers.

Quite a few players are very vocal Christians. Group prayers are said in most dressing rooms. The after-match cliché is "I thank God for everything".

American football operates an unusually egalitarian draft system. Each year, college players are picked up by the professional teams. The team that comes bottom one year, has the first pick of new "rookie" players. The Superbowl winner gets last pick!

The aim is to balance up the teams, and, generally, it has worked. Teams have a few years of dominance then fade away. First the Green Bay Packers, then the Pittsburgh Steelers, the Washington Redskins and the San Francisco 49-ers. Now the Dallas Cowboys. Even the names of the teams show imagination.

American football exhibits the extremes of sport. The biggest, strongest, fastest and most athletic battle it out for big rewards, covered by a multi-million dollar media circus.

Making the news

Television

Liz Millward reviews *Inspector Morse*, ITV

What with one thing and another, I haven't seen a lot of telly this week, so I am reduced to falling back on Inspector Morse (RIP).

I have yet to see a paper or magazine which has not featured the end of Morse, and so overworked has the subject become that *Private Eye* offered a spoof advertisement for an "Inspector Morse figurine" to stand on top of your telly. This being the case I offer my Morse review in shorthand, thus:

Music — excellent;
Car — difficult to park;
Number of murders — unlikely;
John Thaw — very good;
Kevin Whately — even better;
James Grout — better still;
Architecture — splendid;
Conclusion — cheaper than the pictures.

The best of it is that Morse is still on — the entire series is being re-shown on Saturdays, so if there is still an episode you haven't seen you can catch it now.

I am always entertained by the way TV Companies think that television is important in and of itself. It seems to me that television is a medium, separate from the programmes being shown. But the way the last-episode-of-Morse was talked up you would think a real person had died, or that a real event had taken place for the last time. Of course it was cynical PR exercise, but also an example of "the meesa" taking itself seriously again.

Another example is the way TV journalists think they are themselves news. If Kate Adie isn't there, it isn't a war. All Ms. Adie is there for is to tell viewers what's happening — the events would still take place without her. I am always sorry to hear of a journalist being injured in a war, but the injury is no more painful than if it had happened to a civilian or a soldier, and objectively no more important — except to other journalists.

The ability of the BBC to find itself newsworthy is astonishing. Lead story last Thursday on the radio news was a survey paid for by the BBC and commercial stations to find out how many people listened to each station. This is the BBC manufacturing news, and it is the moral equivalent of starting a fire in order to have all the cameras in the best place to film it for the 9 o'clock news.

However, even creating your own news is better than taking up good space in aid convoys in order to report on them. This disgusting habit should be punishable by being left behind in the combat zone. I sometimes wonder how much room is left for food in a 747 once space has been made for every TV company to send a film crew, equipment and personal food and luggage. The only problem with my solution of leaving the journalists behind is that the TV companies would then be able to manufacture yet more "news" by sending more journalists to report on the original journalists' plight. I would start suffering journalists-fatigue quite soon...

How economic development interacts with politics and ideology

A letter from Frederick Engels to Conrad Schmidt — 27 October 1890

In the last years of his life, Frederick Engels had to devote a considerable amount of energy to defending the basic method of Marxism.

Many people, usually bourgeois intellectuals attracted by the power of the workers' movement had started to reduce Marxism, or what was called "historical materialism" to a crude set of theoretical formulas.

They argued as if real history was simply the embodiment of this or that theoretical formula.

Engels was totally opposed to this method. He insisted that: "The materialist conception of history has many false friends these days to whom it serves as an excuse for not studying history".

It was vital argued Engels to study real history, to collect empirical data, to familiarise oneself with the facts. The movement of real history could not be deduced logically from this or that formula or category:

"In general the word 'materialistic'

serves many of the younger writes in Germany as a mere phrase with which anything and everything is labelled without further study, that is, they stick on this label and then consider the question disposed of. But our conception of history is above all a guide to study... All history must be studied afresh, the conditions of existence of the different formations of society must be examined individually before the attempt is made to deduce from them the political, legal, aesthetic, philosophic, religious etc views corresponding to them".

In this letter to Conrad Schmidt, Engels attempts to answer the "Marxism by numbers school" by dealing with some concrete examples of the interaction of economic development, politics and ideology. We print the conclusion to the letter next week. If you want to be a better fighter against capitalism then study this series!

Dear Schmidt,

I am taking advantage of the first free moments to reply to you. I think you would do very well to take the post in Zurich. You could always learn a good deal about economics there, especially if you bear in mind that Zurich is after all only a third-rate money and speculation market, so that the impressions which make themselves felt there are weakened by two-fold or three-fold reflection or are deliberately distorted.

But you will get a practical knowledge of the mechanism and be obliged to follow the stock exchange reports from London, New York, Paris, Berlin and Vienna at first-hand, and thus the world market, in its reflex as money and stock market, will reveal itself to you. Economic, political and other reflections are just like those in the human eye: they pass through a condensing lens and therefore appear upside down, standing on their heads. Only the nervous apparatus which

would put them on their feet again for presentation to us is lacking.

The money market man sees the movement of industry and of the world market only in the inverted reflection of the money and stock market and so effect becomes cause to him. I noticed that already in the forties in Manchester: the London stock exchange reports were utterly useless for understanding the course of industry and its periodical maxima and minima because these gentry tried to explain everything by crises on the money market, which of course were themselves generally only symptoms. At that time the point was to disprove temporary over-production as the origin of industrial crises, so that the thing had in addition its tendentious side, provocative of distortion.

This point now ceases to exist — for us, at any rate, for good and all — besides which it is indeed a fact that the money market can also have its own crises, in which direct disturbances of industry play only a subordinate part or no part at all. Here there is still much to be established and examined, especially in the history of the last twenty years.

Social division of labour

Where there is division of labour on a social scale there the separate labour processes become independent of each other. In the last instance production is the decisive factor. But as soon as trade in products becomes independent of production proper, it follows a movement of its own, which, while governed as a whole by that of production, still in particulars and within this general dependence again follows laws of its own inherent in the nature of this new factor; this movement has phases of its own and in its turn reacts on the movement of production.

The discovery of America was due to the thirst for gold which had previously driven the Portuguese to Africa, because the enormously extended European industry of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries and the trade corresponding to it demanded more means of exchange than Germany, the great silver country from 1450 to 1550, could provide. The conquest of India by the Portuguese, Dutch and English between 1500 and 1800 had imports from India as its object — nobody dreamt of exporting anything there. And yet what a colossal reaction these discoveries and conquests, brought about solely by trade interests, had upon industry: it was on the need for exports to these countries that created and developed modern large-scale industry.

The money market

So it is, too, with the money market. As soon as trade in money becomes separate from trade in commodities it has — under certain conditions imposed by production and commodity trade and within these limits — a development of its own, special laws determined by its own nature and separate phases. If to this is added that money trade, developing further, comes to include trade in securities and that these securities are not only government papers but also industrial and transport stocks, so that money trade gains direct control over a portion of the production by which, taken as a whole, it is itself controlled, then the reaction of money trading on production becomes still stronger and more complicated.

The traders in money are the owners of railways, mines, iron works, etc. These means of production take on a double aspect: their operation has to be directed sometimes in the interests of direct production but sometimes also according to the requirements of the shareholders, so far as they are money traders. The most striking example of this is furnished by the North American railways, whose operation is entirely dependent on the daily stock exchange operations of a Jay Gould or a Vanderbilt, etc., which have nothing whatever to do with the particular railway and its interests as a means of communication.

And even here in England we have seen contests lasting decades between different railway companies over the boundaries of their respective territories — contests on which an enormous amount of money was thrown away, not in the interests of production and communication but simply because of a rivalry whose sole object usually was to facilitate the stock exchange transactions of the shareholding money traders.

With these few indications of my conception of the relation of production to commodity trade and of both to money trade, I have answered, in essence, your questions about "historical materialism" generally. The thing is easiest to grasp from the point of view of the division of labour. Society gives rise to certain common functions which it cannot dispense with.

The persons appointed for this purpose form a new branch of the division of labour *within society*. This gives them particular interests, distinct, too, from the interests of those who empowered them; they make themselves independent of the latter and — the state is in being. And now things proceed in a way similar to that in commodity trade and later in money

trade: the new independent power, while having in the main to follow the movement of production, reacts in its turn, by virtue of its inherent relative independence — that is, the relative independence once transferred to it and gradually further developed — upon the conditions and course of production.

It is the interaction of two unequal forces: on the one hand, the economic movement, on the other, the new political power, which strives for as much independence as possible, and which, having once been established, is endowed with a movement of its own. On the whole, the economic movement gets its way, but it has also to suffer reactions from the political movement which it itself established and endowed with relative independence, from the movement of the state power, on the one hand, and of the opposition simultaneously engendered, on the other.

Just as the movement of the industrial market is, in the main and with the reservations already indicated, reflected in the money market and, of course, in *inverted* form, so the struggle between the classes already existing and fighting with one another is reflected in the struggle between government and opposition, but likewise in inverted form, no longer directly but indirectly, not as a class struggle but as a fight for political principles, and so distorted that it has taken us thousands of years to get behind it.

The state and the economy

The reaction of the state power upon economic development can be of three kinds: it can run in the same direction, and then development is more rapid; it can oppose the line of development, in which case nowadays it will go to pieces in the long run in every great people; or it can prevent the economic development from proceeding along certain lines, and prescribe other lines. This case ultimately reduces itself to one of the two previous ones. But it is obvious that in cases two and three the political power can do great damage to the economic development and cause a great squandering of energy and material.

Then there is also the case of the conquest and brutal destruction of economic resources, by which, in certain circumstances a whole local or national economic development could formerly be ruined. Nowadays such a case usually has the opposite effect, at least with great peoples; in the long run the vanquished often gains more economically, politically and morally than the victor.



Germany lost two world wars this century. When the Second World War ended in 1945 Germany's cities and industries were smashed and ruined. Yet today, Germany "Brides Europe like a Colossus". The German capitalist ruling class have won by economic means that domination of Europe which the Kaiser and Hitler tried to win by war (and Hitler succeeded in winning for the 4 years, 1940-44).

On the other side, Britain won the war, but has lost the peace. In the long run underlying economic strength proved to be decisive. As Frederick Engels says here: "In the long run, the vanquished often gains more economically, politically and morally than the victor".

Alliance for Workers' Liberty public meetings

Thurs 4 Feb

"Crisis in the Middle East — what socialists say". Manchester AWL meeting. 8.00, Town Hall.

"Bosnia, Somalia, Iraq — is UN the answer?" Sheffield AWL meeting.

7.30, SCCAU, West Street.

Fri 5 Feb

"How to end Third World starvation". York University AWL meeting. 1.15, GO45. Speaker: Richard Bayley.

Tues 9 Feb

"Labour must fight!" Lancaster AWL meeting. 8.00, Priory Pub.

Wed 10 Feb

"What solution to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict?" AWL London

Campaign Against the Child Support Act

Tues 9 Feb

Public meeting. 7.30, University of Northumbria Library.

Forum: the AWL debates Roland Rance of *Return* magazine. 7.30, Calthorpe Arms, Gray's Inn Road.

Thurs 11 Feb

"How to fight cuts and job losses". Nottingham AWL meeting. 8.00, ICC, Mansfield Road.

"Yugoslavia — what socialists say". Leeds AWL meeting. 7.30, Adelphi Pub.

AWL events

Sat 20 Feb

Marxist dayschool: 11.00-5.00, Manchester Town Hall. For full agenda, 'phone 061-881 1377.

Labour Youth Conference

Sat 6 Feb

"Labour must fight" meeting. 6.00, Wessex Hotel, Bournemouth.

Students

Sat 6 March

Left Unity conference. London. Details: Jill, 071-639 7967.

Burnsall strikers

Fri 12 Feb

Benefit social. 7.30, Cam-

den Centre, Bidborough Street, London. Tickets: £5/£2.

Education

Sat 6 Feb

Conference: Defend State Education. 10.00-4.00, North Westminster

Labour must fight

Move this motion in your February Labour Party ward meeting.

This ward Labour Party rejects the idea that the best way forward is for the Labour Party to adopt the policies and campaigning style of the US Democrats.

We believe that increased support for the party will only come through mobilising working class people to defend their own interests and by Labour presenting a clear alternative to the Tories. Though we call on the NEC and PLP to lead a Parliamentary and extra-Parliamentary campaign against the Tory government with the aim of driving them from office and forcing a General Election.

School, North Wharf Road, NW1.

Labour Party

Sat 17 April

Socialist Campaign Group conference. 11.00-5.00, Sheffield Hallam University.

Such a campaign should focus on the following:

- Solidarity with the miners. For a national TUC Day of Action on a weekday!
- Rebuild the Health Service! Stop the Tory cuts! Labour must commit itself to reverse all Tory cuts in health, education and other public services.
- Support all workers in struggle! Smash the Tory 1.5% pay limit! Occupy to stop closures
- Free our trade unions! Support all workers in conflict with the anti-union laws. Labour must commit itself to repeal these laws and replace them by laws guaranteeing the right to organise a union, to strike, to picket effectively, and to take solidarity action.

Miners

Sat 6 Feb

Women Against Pit Closures march. Assemble: 11.00, Embankment, London.

Miners benefit. George Robey pub, 240 Seven

Sisters Rd., London (tube: Finsbury Park). Bands, raffle. 9.00-2.00am. Tickets: £5/2.

Tues 16 Feb

"Support the miners". 7.30, Hackney Town Hall, London. Speakers include Arthur Scargill.

Sheffield council cuts show the need for national action

By a Sheffield NALGO member

The personnel department of Sheffield City Council walked out for one day on the 1 February to protest at being asked to compile lists of names for compulsory redundancies. This action was taken against the background of the council trying to decide how £37 million of cuts will fall. At the time of writing it appears that the options being "offered" by management are either around 250 compulsory redundancies in the next week or a 5% pay cut, no annual pay rise and no annual increments — potentially adding up to about a 12-15% pay cut. These proposals have not yet been agreed by the councillors but with a Labour group that has no stomach for standing up to central government it seems likely that it's all about to hit the fan.

A programme of action based on all members striking for two days a week and key workers striking on an indefinite basis is to be put to the membership at a Special Central meeting on 8 February. It is essential that this action — all as a starting point — won act on the whole

branch will be necessary but will not be won straight away.

It is absolutely essential that national co-ordination and action is initiated.

NALGO local government branches are being left to fight isolated battles against cuts — this is not good enough! NALGO needs to organise

national industrial action against cuts as the centre piece of a campaign for increased funding for local government. The leadership is going

to need a fair bit of pushing before they campaign for industrial action.

• We need the maximum number of local strikes on 18 February.

• NALGO local government conference should link up with rail and pit unions to organise a series of one day public sector strikes.

Rail rank and file get organised

By a RMT member

On Sunday 23 January what could prove to be a very important meeting took place in Glasgow. Called by Motherwell and Wishaw RMT this was the second meeting (a previous one was held in November) on the

crisis in leadership in the RMT and on the way forward — "Towards a democratic and fighting union". The meeting was mainly of Scottish railworkers but there were also a number of railworkers from different areas in England. The sacked Manchester guards were present and reminded us all of the depths to which the RMT leadership are only too

willing to sink.

The threat of privatisation in BR looms ever closer. RMT and Labour Party bureaucrats may be overjoyed at the objections to privatisation raised by Tory MPs but the point about privatisation is that the fight is here and now to prevent the worsening of conditions that will make privatised services profitable. Tories, wet or dry,

are all for these attacks while Knapp has no intention of seriously fighting them as has been demonstrated by the fiasco over the SAT, the machinery of negotiation, the Manchester guards etc. The forthcoming ballot for one-day strikes over job losses in BR is intended more for media coverage than as the start of a real fight.

The simple replacement of Knapp or other worthless RMT bureaucrats — elections for General Secretary and Assistant General Secretary are coming up — is no answer. Unfortunately there are some, in or around *Socialist Outlook* for example, who seem more interested in trying to get "left" candidates elected to union positions than in fighting the attacks faced by railworkers. The *Outlook* controlled "Broad Left" managed (despite its small size) to combine all the worst practices and problems of "Broad Lefts" — neither broad nor left but bureaucratic, elitist and undemocratic.

It would be a real tragedy if such dead end politics were foisted upon the Motherwell

initiative.

The overwhelming feeling of the meeting was that we should call a national meeting that would be delegate based and that we also needed to go back and build local meetings in the meantime to ensure that support is broadened and deepened across the industry — to the branches, depots and workplaces — not just to those in the know at District Council level. There are any number of petty and not so petty RMT bureaucrats with an enormous appetite for "left wing" rhetoric and posturing. However, hot air never stopped a job being lost — on the Underground or anywhere else.

If activists on the rail can really root this initiative amongst the rank and file then we could see an excellent response and a real fight over privatisation.

The meeting was held in Glasgow so we would do well to remember one of the slogans of the Clyde Workers Committee: "If the leaders won't lead then the rank and file must".

CPSA Presidential elections:

Astbury: no solution to Market Testing attacks

By a CPSA member

This weekend the CPSA Broad Left (BL) voted to support Albert Astbury as the "Democratic Alliance" Presidential candidate for this year's election.

The Broad Left has travelled a long way since 1991, when they attacked SO supporters, for arguing for left unity broader than the broad left on the basis of support for workers in struggle and democratic debate, as the way forward.

Now BL or more accurately the Militant, have entered into

a formal electoral pact with BL '84!

The defeat of the BL in last year's General Secretary and NEC elections, plus Militant's continuing rightward drift have led them to take this desperate step.

This is a disaster.

With market testing threatening to make huge inroads in staffing this year, now is the time to fight on a bold fighting programme.

Members under threat can be rallied around slogans which emphasise a common Public Sector fight and mass industri-

al action. At a time when potentially members could turn to the left or at least be responsive to arguments put forward by left activists, Militant has taken a huge step to the right. Albert Astbury is no answer to the threats proposed by Market Testing; he is no answer to the Tory attacks on the Public Sector.

We are in favour of left unity, in favour of joint campaigns with active groups over union democracy, but the candidature of Albert Astbury does just not answer the central problem facing the public sector.

Vaccine against cancer and gene therapy

LES HEARN'S

SCIENCE COLUMN

There has been much talk about a vaccine against cancer recently. In fact, the vaccine is against a virus called Epstein-Barr Virus (EBV). This virus, related to the virus that causes cold sores and measles is more commonly known as the cause of glandular fever. About 80% of the population encounter it as children and carry it with no ill effects. Of those who are infected later in life, about half get glandular fever but in a small number of people it causes rare forms of cancer.

It is known to cause Burkitt's lymphoma, a cancer of the jaw that kills thousands of African children each year; it also causes nasopharyngeal cancer, killing some 50 to 80 thousand

in China and south Asia each year. EBV is also suspected of involvement in Hodgkin's disease, a cancer of the lymph glands that affects some 1,200 people in the UK each year.

EBV is not the sole cause of these diseases, else they would be found in other parts of the world. There may be genetic or environmental factors that help cause the cancers to develop. However, preventing infection by the virus would remove the prerequisite for the cancers to develop. This is what researchers at the Cancer Research Campaign's labs believe their vaccine will do. If it works, it could protect millions of people worldwide from these cancers, as well as eliminating glandular fever.

Hailed as the first vaccine against cancer, this Hepatitis B vaccine. HBVirus causes a life-threatening inflammation of the liver but also liver cancer in about 5% of its victims. It is, however, another step forward in the fight against cancers caused by viruses. It is a measure of the advance of

medical knowledge that this category of cancers, unknown some 20 years ago, now comprises about 20% of the cases today. Among cancers known or thought to be caused by viruses are cervical cancer (human Papilloma Virus) and some breast and colon cancers, and perhaps some leukaemias.

A more exciting departure is the treatment of genetic diseases by the insertion of healthy copies of the faulty gene into the body's cells. For the first time in the UK, this has just been authorised for the treatment of a child suffering from an extremely rare hereditary immunity deficiency.

The child lacks a functioning gene to make a protein called adenosine deaminase (ADA). This makes white blood cells unable to fight infections and the victim must be constantly protected from the risk of infection.

In the trial authorised by the Committee of Ethics of Gene Therapy, bone marrow cells will be removed, treated to add the healthy ADA gene and then put back. If the gene becomes a stable part of the cells' genetic material, DNA, it will be passed on to the

white blood cells produced by these cells. The latter will make ADA and be able to fight infection. Whether enough healthy white blood cells will be made is another matter but even partial immunity to infection would be a significant improvement.

At the same time, the CRGT postponed a decision on a proposed gene therapy with a far greater potential importance. This would have been the first step in a virtual cure for the most common genetic disease in Britain, cystic fibrosis (CF). About 1 in 20 of the population carry a single copy of the CF gene and some 1 in 400 has two copies, one from each parent, and suffers a build-up of sticky mucus in the lungs, causing frequent infections and scarring of the tissues. Even with modern medicines and physiotherapy, few sufferers live beyond 30.

Various suggestions have been made for inserting healthy copies of the gene into the lungs. One relies on putting the gene into a "disabled" virus of a type that usually infects lung tissues. The viruses would be taken in, using

the sort of inhaler used by asthmatics, and would enter the cells of the lung lining. If successful, this would give protection until the cells died and were sloughed off, a few weeks. A technique for getting the genes into the underlying cell layer that actually produces the cells of the lung lining could give lifelong protection. Unfortunately, this would be quite difficult since the cells are found throughout the lung, rather than concentrated in a few places, like those of the bone marrow.

Undoubtedly, CF gene therapy will be introduced soon and this raises another interesting point. The race to identify and describe the CF gene was undertaken by several research groups throughout the world. It was a matter of chance that it was an American group that got there before, say, the group at St Mary's Hospital in London. Now, that group and others working on a cure for this lethal condition are receiving demands for licence fees for using the knowledge of the structure which has been copyrighted by the university where the first discoverers worked.

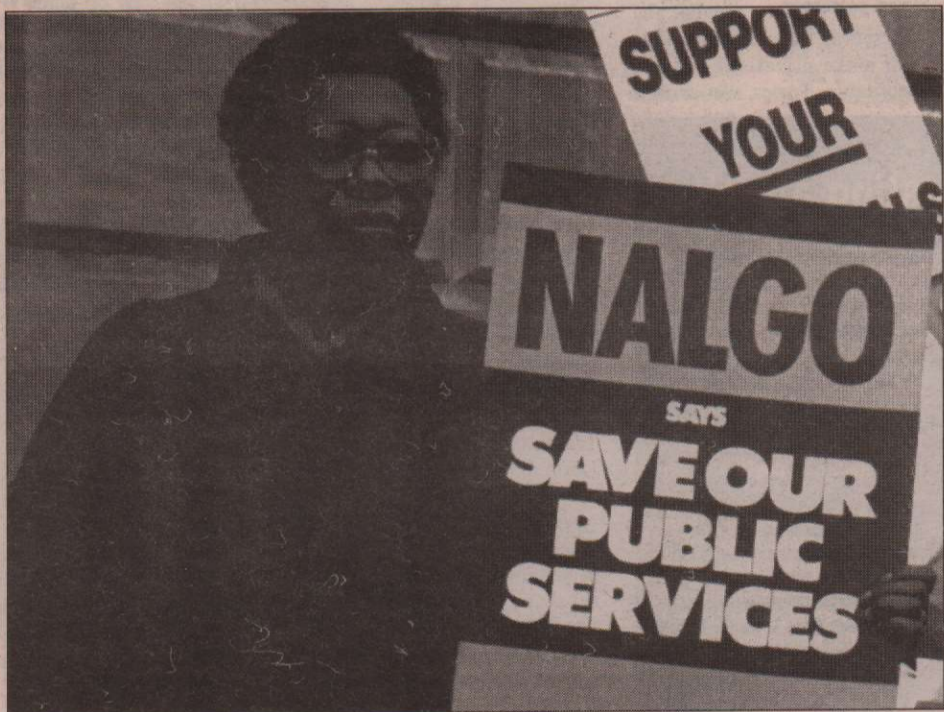
SOCIALIST

ORGANISER

£5,000 target reached!

Lambeth

£40 million cuts



David Pope, Lambeth's Director of Social Services has confirmed in a letter to the council's Chief Executive that the target figure on which the corporate management teams were to base their cuts package must add up to £40 million in all.

David Pope has prepared a package of 'possible options for budget reductions' to be submitted on February 4.

- What are these 'possible options'?
- **Savage cuts in day care for the under 5's, six nurseries closed, and up to 25 job losses.** Lambeth will make only the minimum statutory provision of 200 places for children deemed to be at risk.
 - **Children's homes to be reduced to just 3 for emergency admissions, the majority of staff to be made redundant.** The private and voluntary (P & V) services will be used more, even though Pope says that

most of these services are outside the Borough, and will disrupt the children's family and social networks. Pope admits that P & V homes are not subject to the same level of management and professional scrutiny, and will require close monitoring by social workers (if there are any social workers left!)

- **Elderly day care — up to 20 jobs will be lost, and services specific to minority ethnic communities will be very badly hit.**
- **A mental health hostel will be closed.** Five jobs will be lost and an irreplaceable service for a very vulnerable client group will disappear. A day centre may also be lost.
- **Social work posts — a minimum 7 jobs will be lost, and a maximum of 14.** It gets worse...
- **Admin.** The advent of new technology will 'allow' a 50% reduction in word pro-

- **cessing pool staff.**
- **The Race Unit could face a minimum of 2 jobs lost, maximum 3.**
- **Home Care — between 45 and 90 jobs will be lost.**

The 'options package' goes on to detail more potential job losses in Training, Juvenile Justice, Elderly Residential, Luncheon Clubs, Meals on Wheels, Learning Difficulties, Day Care, etc., etc.

Hundreds of jobs and essential services are under threat. It is an outrage when the workforce is already working under incredible pressure to provide a service to the most vulnerable members of our society.

- What can we do?
1. Demand that our unions take a hard and committed stand against these savage cuts.
 2. Organise emergency shop meetings.
 3. Get local Labour Parties and councillors to oppose the cuts.
 4. Lobby the Council meeting on the 4 February. Leave them in no doubt that it is totally unacceptable and unsafe to lose any jobs or services.

We should not give away our power to the managers — we should use it to save our jobs and services vital to the welfare of our community.

COUNCIL WORKER

Lambeth
Socialist Organiser
Bulletin No. 3
February 1

£40 million cuts - it's official!

In a letter to the Chief Executive, dated 20 January, David Pope, Director of Social Services, confirmed that £40 million was the target figure on which the corporate management teams were to base their individual cuts packages.

David Pope has prepared a package of 'possible options for budget reductions' to be submitted on 4 February 4. The package includes:

- **Savage cuts in day care for the under 5's, six nurseries closed, and up to 25 job losses.** Lambeth will make only the minimum statutory provision of 200 places for children deemed to be at risk.
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When you have read this, please pass it on to your friends. More on the other side...

THIS WEEK we broke our £5,000 target. Last week we received several donations including £500 from an Alliance for Workers' Liberty member in Merseyside. Thank you to all those who sent us money — large or small amounts — to help our appeal. The extra £5,000 has been used to help pay for new equipment used in the production of *Socialist Organiser*.

Help us grow

THE ALLIANCE for Workers' Liberty is expanding its activity. We are organising more meetings and are involved in more campaigns than ever before. We want to increase the influence of socialist ideas and are building the political machine to build our work.

We need your help

- **Send us a donation (cheques to "Socialist Organiser", PO Box 823, London SE15 4NA).**
- **Take out a subscription (fill out the box below) or take a few copies of *Socialist Organiser* to sell at work, in your union or college (details from Jill 071-639 7965).**

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 - £25 for a year
 - £ extra donation.

No cuts in Lambeth!
Lobby Lambeth Council
6.30 pm Thursday 4 February
Lambeth Town Hall
Called by Lambeth NALGO

Socialist Organiser was the first to bring the news of massive cuts in Lambeth to the attention of council workers in our workplace bulletin, "Council Worker" on Monday 1 February. More details of this and other Socialist Organiser workplace bulletins from PO Box 822, London SE15 4NA.