

# Socialist Organiser

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# PARTNERS IN TERROR

Reagan and Thatcher are murderers. The bombings of Tripoli and Benghazi are acts of cold blooded murder. Terrorist murder.

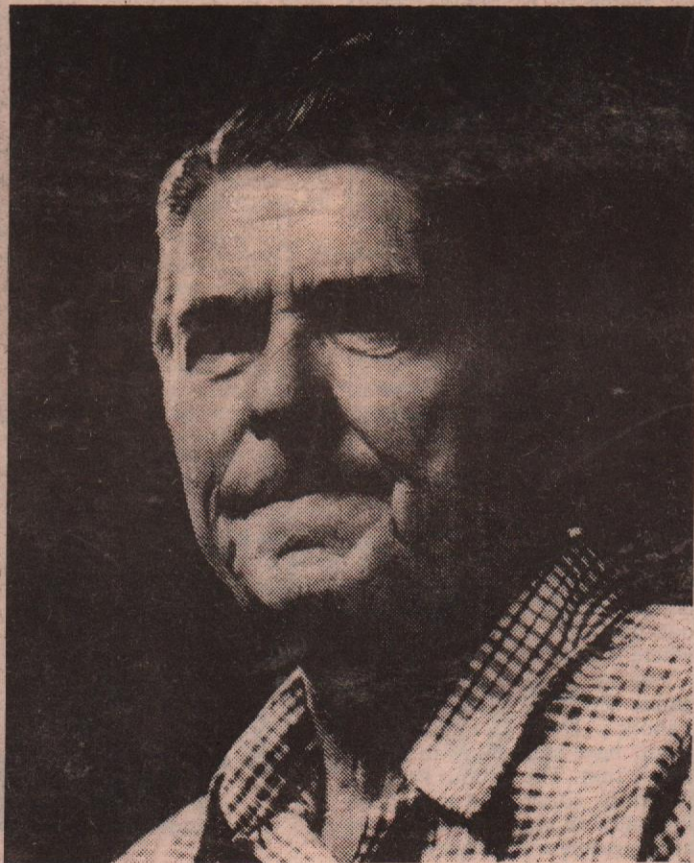
Libya is a small, weak country and that's why the US and their British allies think it can safely be kicked about. The attack on Libya is such a flagrant violation of Libya's rights that even some of the representatives of the British and American ruling class have condemned it as a gross violation of international law. Even former CIA bosses have publicly accused Reagan of senselessly "Rambo-ing" it in the Mediterranean just to please his supporters back home.

And whatever Gaddafi may have done, the idea that the entire Libyan people — the people living in the centres of Libya's cities — are to be held responsible and blitzed is an outrageous example of the thinking and the psychology typical of that indiscriminate terrorism Reagan and Thatcher spend so much of their time condemning. Except that it's on a vastly larger scale.

### Indiscriminate

Any acts of indiscriminate terror — at airports, discotheques, or wherever — should be condemned by socialists. But however wrong, twisted, distorted and confused may be the thinking behind Palestinian terrorism, there is nevertheless a reason behind those actions. Frustrated by the failure of peaceful protest and embittered by the machinations of international diplomacy, — including that of the Arab states — Palestinians turn in despair to terroristic adventures as a means of protest. These methods are wrong in principle, and anyway they will not work. But they will surely continue to be employed by the despairing and the dispossessed until their wrongs are put right. Justice for the Palestinians, and justice for all the oppressed, is the only solution to international terrorism. Reagan's attack on Libya is certain to lead to an increase in terrorist activity — adding a new dimension of self-righteous anger to the outlook of both Palestine nationalists and Islamic fundamentalists alike.

The cost of bombing Libyan



cities could prove to be very great. The bombing of Libya threatens to heat up the international situation. Petty "gunboat diplomacy" like this could set off a train of events that leads to nuclear war between the superpowers. The USSR has remained cautious up to now. But it is unlikely that they would stand idly by if the US were to launch full-scale war against Libya, which is one of their last remaining allies — albeit a maverick one — in the Middle East.

The fact is that Pentagon policy in the Middle East has long rested on the possibility of using nuclear weapons — even against non-nuclear powers.

Reagan once said that he could see 'where you could have an exchange of tactical nuclear weapons without bringing either one of the major powers to pushing the button'.

And, ex-Vice Admiral Millar, in a testimony to Congress in 1976 explained: 'We may have confrontation with non-nuclear states

whose geographical localtion is such that we have no adequate means of protecting our interests with conventional weapons'.

It is very unlikely that anything like this will happen with Libya. What Reagan's Libyan adventure points to is a rash of new US attempts to police the world — and it is this that could mean the sort of scenario Vice Admiral Millar talked of.

At the same time as Reagan threatens war with Libya, he is threatening Nicaragua, and helping the 'contra' guerrillas. Libya is an easier target than Nicaragua. While Gaddafi is unpopular in international 'public opinion' there is much opposition within the US to Reagan's brutal policy towards Nicaragua. By whipping up American jingoism with this international bully boy strike on Libya Reagan may hope to pave the way for an open US attack on Nicaragua.

Reagan and Thatcher want to see the destruction of popular, revolutionary nationalist regimes

like that of the Sandinistas in Nicaragua, because they are afraid of the example the Nicaraguan revolutionary nationalists offer to the rest of Latin America.

They defend not democracy, nor peace nor the right of ordinary people to be free from the risk of random terrorist attacks — what they defend is the wealth and power of the international capitalist class. Profit before people is their motto.

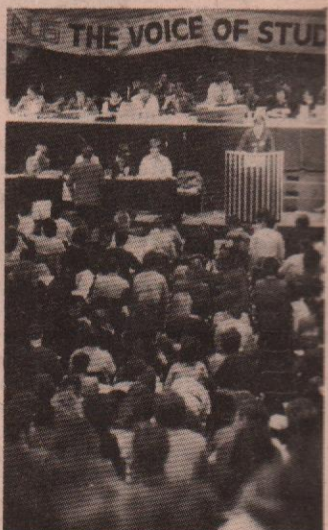
Neither the US nor the British governments have any right to pontificate about 'terrorism'. To the people of Nicaragua, fighting off a brutal terrorist war by US-backed 'contras'; to the people of El Salvador, suffering under the whip of a terroristic government; to the people of Chile, victims of a savage dictatorship that came to power in a murderous US-backed coup in 1973; to people throughout the world who have experienced the sharp end of US 'democracy', Reagan's war against terrorism is a sick joke.

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# Labour must keep pledges

Paul Whetton is the secretary of Bevercotes NUM, sacked for putting up an NUM poster.

The clear message I got from the Fulham by-election result was that the people of this country are sick and tired of Thatcher. If we were to present to the electorate a Labour Party which was committed to changing society into a socialist society, then I'm quite sure that the electorate would return a Labour government. What we don't want to see is that sort of promise made and then reneged on.

People have got to the stage where they feel they can't trust the Labour Party because of what it has done or failed to do in the past. I believe we should make that commitment and having made it, stick to it and deliver the goods. Once people see that we are prepared to do that, then the Tories will be condemned to the wilderness for ever. But we do need that firm commitment and we do need to deliver the goods.

There is still no clear information on whether the UDM do in fact intend to stand candidates in the local elections. But the fact that they are considering it does give an intimation of exactly what they are capable of. It underlines the fact that people like Willy Bach and Frank Payne who have given succour to this monster are going to be gobbled up by that self-same monster, unless they recognise the error of their ways.

However it may well be that they have gone too far down that road to be able to turn and come back now.

The national leadership must be looking to win seats like Sherwood and Ashfield. If the Labour Party leadership are prepared to turn their back on Party loyalists in order to appeal to turn-coats and traitors, then they must carry the responsibility for that decision.

We had a rally for the sacked miners organised by the National Justice for the Mineworkers Campaign last Sunday. Although I'm only a new boy in the ranks of the sacked miners, having only been sacked seven weeks ago, I do know that many of them feel that they are the forgotten people. However the support that was shown at the meeting on Sunday afternoon and the tremendous rally they had on Sunday night shows that the support is there. What we need to do is build on that success and make sure that we keep the arguments before the public and the politicians and make

sure that everyone realises, the NCB, the government, a future Labour government, that the sacked miners are not going to go away.

When we organise rallies like last Sunday's we're really talking to the converted, but we are also saying to the sacked miners themselves that they haven't been forgotten and that we will continue to fight on their behalf.

In Notts itself the NUM is still steadily recruiting while the UDM is going downhill all the time.

As far as the offer by Murdoch to hand over his Gray's Inn Road plant to the labour movement as settlement of the dispute at Wapping is concerned, I wouldn't touch his offer with a barge-pole. In my opinion the offer should be totally rejected.

It is obvious that Murdoch is trying to put out some kind of olive branch. But this attempt to buy off the labour movement is totally unacceptable. I'm sure it's unacceptable to the 6,000 sacked printworkers and on that basis it should be rejected.

I'm not at all surprised at Reagan's attitude to Libya. He seems to be re-living his 'B' movie image of cowboy coming to the rescue. I wonder what Reagan's reaction would be if Libya sent a fleet as close to the American coast as the US Navy is to the Libyan coast. All hell would break loose. It's merely an excuse to continue playing the imperialist role that the United States has been playing for so many years. I think it shows that Reagan would not be willing to consult the British people about the use of nuclear weapons or whatever. He will use what he wants, where he wants and when he wants.

Pressure must be put on this government to demand not only that they disassociate themselves from Reagan's present tactics, but that he is told to take his armoury out of this country back to where it came from.

As for Healey's statements about Polaris, I think the Labour Party conference might have something to say about that. The Labour Party is firmly committed to getting rid of all nuclear weapons, and regardless of what Denis Healey says I think that commitment will stick. I know that people like him will argue in favour of keeping little bits but I believe that the Labour Party has made a commitment to get rid of nuclear weapons which it will stick to.

# The left arrives

NUS Easter conference marked a watershed for Socialist Students in NOLS (SSiN), NOLS and NUS. SSiN is now, without any doubt, seen as the left opposition to the Democratic Left leadership of NUS. By this time next year, SSiN may even be NOLS. All our candidates for the NUS Executive were elected. So, too, were all of the NOLS candidates. Our meetings were often attended by over 100 people and numerous student activists joined us. Our new pamphlet 'Towards a National Campaigning Union' sold well.

In the elections we worked extremely hard. Simon Pottinger was standing for Vice-President (Welfare) against Independent Linzi Brand. We didn't expect he would win, especially when NOLS put out a leaflet saying vote Linzi Brand. But the politics we proposed and our record in campaigning activity over the past year obviously had made an impression. We stood on a left platform of turning the student movement upside down into a radical youth movement oriented to the struggles of the working class. We proposed a reorganisation of the Fowler campaign based on direct action, unity with workers and a conscious orientation to involving the further education sector.

We had expected the VP Welfare election to be close. But in the event, Simon won by over 100 votes.

There was clearly a revolt in NOLS ranks.

The question arises of how and why NOLS decided to call for a vote for Linzi Brand and why that call was ignored. The facts are that the decision to vote for Linzi was taken by a few Democratic Left hacks. It was not put to the NOLS caucus due to the possibility that rank and file NOLS members would have called for an official vote for Simon given that he was the socialist candidate in the election. NOLS members rebelled against a line imposed without consultation or democratic debate.



Students on the lobby of Tory Party conference last October. SSiN supporters were central in mobilising 3000 youth for this demonstration.



In the election for three executive officers, Michele Carlisle, NAC student organiser and SSiN candidate topped the poll. NOLS came fourth. In the election for four executive members, Melanie Gingell, QMC president and SSiN candidate was elected.

We didn't stand in the elections for part time executive committee members but worked to get the NOLS can-

didates elected.

The fact that all the NOLS candidates got elected proves that we were in no way scabbing on NOLS. In fact we were responsible for delivering a larger NOLS vote. The result is that we have a clearly left National Executive with only one Liberal and one member of the SDP. All other members of the NEC are Labour Party members in one way or another (NOLS, SSiN, or Left Alliance) apart from one independent and the obligatory SWP member.

It helps the Democratic Left for an SWP member to be on the executive so that they can lump all 'trots' together or carve us out at conference when there is a

'trots' position. Therefore they gave the SWP candidate 40 votes to ensure that he got on.

The SWP and Militant were ineffectual. The SWP were as loud as usual but Militant were subdued and often invisible. Our success has obviously made an impression on both groups. Militant members are talking of trying to join up with SSiN - which is rather strange considering we have as many differences with them as with the Democratic Left.

The SWP denounce us for compromising our politics which is also strange since it was left to SSiN to argue for breaking links with the Stalinist student bureaucrats in the Soviet Union and it was SSiN that proposed a serious student movement orientation to the working class rather than simply continually denouncing NUS as 'bureaucrats so join the SWP'.

Neither Militant nor the SWP have a strategy for students. Left activists not tied to the two sectarian doctrines are joining us.

The following year will be crucial as our numbers increase and our influence grows.

SSiN members will be coordinating action in individual colleges and arguing for our politics within NOLS. We should be going out into the Areas and linking with the further education colleges to give them the support they need. We shall be trying to establish Labour Clubs where they do not already exist and we should set up Area NOLS organisations for joint campaigning activity. We must get involved in AFA groups, joining with these in fighting racism on the streets. We shall be linking up with working and unemployed youth through the Labour Party Young Socialists and try to draw more youth into the movement.

SSiN has arrived. We must now work to become SSAN - Socialist Student Are NOLS - and transform the student movement.

# The idiots' answer to Zionism

By Jane Ashworth

During and following the debate on Soviet Jewry at NUS conference there was a lot of nasty Jew-baiting.

The President of Lincs Poly, Derek King (a Labour PPC), took a speech against the motions, (although he wanted them passed) using phrases like 'Jew lobby power' and asking why the UJS had the nerve to present the debate when their "kindred semites" oppressed the Palestinians.

The SWP got to their feet to clap this anti-semitic garbage! Asking an SWP member why he thought it was right to bring Israel into the discussion, he replied 'It was the only time Jews were being discussed'.

SSiN denounced King which provoked the SWP to bring out a bulletin objecting to our use of "insulting phrases" like "left-wing anti-semitism".

This showed, they said, we were tied to the 'coat-tails' of the Kinnockite National Executive.

SSiN was at fault, but not in the way claimed by the SWP. In opposing the anti-semitic speech, SSiN supporters declared their opposition to Zionism: but this was irrelevant. Anti-semitism is

anti-semitism, whatever you think of the Middle East conflict.

But in their desperate attempt to relate to SSiN's periphery the SWP have disgraced themselves.

By what reasoning is it right for socialists or even serious liberals to be silent about blatant anti-semitism like this? When it comes from the left? Would anyone argue that we should keep quiet about anti-black racism - from the Labour Party for instance.

It only makes sense if the SWP believe that all Jews, throughout the world, are responsible for Israel's oppression of the Palestinians. And even then it is still ridiculous because we still would defend even reactionaries from racism. Anti-semitism is the idiots' answer to Zionism.

It only makes sense if you believe that every Jew is a member of a 'guilty race' and must take the blame for oppression of the Palestinians by the Israeli state.

That linking together of all

Jews is only one step away from the argument that all Jews are participants in a world Zionist conspiracy.

But the SWP are not logical. They have, fortunately, retreated from their previous position of support for the banning of college Jewish Societies: now they oppose such bans. But since their basic argument has not changed, it is not clear why.

If, as the SWP say, all organised racists should be deprived of the right to speak and participate in politics and if 'Zionism equals racism', then since most members of UJS are 'organised Zionists', they should be banned according to the strict logic of the SWP's argument.

To get themselves out of this the SWP say that oppressed groups should not be "no platformed". But if they are organised racists, why not? Are the SWP excusing the "racism of Zionism" just because of anti-semitism? It wouldn't seem likely given that they are prepared to denounce SSiN for defending Zionists from "left wing anti-semitism". It wouldn't seem very likely either given how hard the SWP think they are. Nor do the

SWP have any intention of treating Jewish Zionists sensitively; rather than argue and try to convince them that their position on the Middle East is wrong, the SWP want to 'confront' the Zionists. Not only is this absurd, it is explicitly aimed at Jews. The SWP and its co-thinkers on this question do not seek to 'confront' non-Jewish pro-Zionists in the same way.

The SWP are in a complete mess about Jews, Zionism, racism and the policy of 'no platform'.

Elaine Heffernan (SWP, NUS National Executive) ran to the Steering Committee to ask for protection when 20 UJS members went to their Tony Cliff meeting. In her own mind, it seems, Jews above anything else are Zionists, Zionists are racists, racists beat people up. So there you go.

The issue was further complicated by a Steering Committee ban on stickers saying 'Racism, Zionism, Apartheid, Fascism'. This was undemocratic as they were banned without reference to conference. SSiN supporters opposed this ban and tried to get it overturned from the floor of the conference.

# Get organised

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# AFTER FULHAM

LABOUR Party members should rejoice in the Labour victory at Fulham.

It so happens that the Labour Party candidate, Nick Raynsford, was a right-wing Kinnockite. Does it therefore follow that if we want Labour to win the next general election we should all become 'Kinnockites'? That's the 'lesson' that the Labour Party establishment will draw and try to persuade everybody else to draw from Fulham.

Now obviously it helps if the press can't plausibly denounce the Labour candidate as 'an extremist' or a would-be subverter of British democracy. But that isn't the point. The stark truth is that Thatcher can only appear before the electorate with some hope of winning by default of the Labour Party.

A confident, aggressive left wing Labour Party could have driven Thatcher from office long before now. Of course the witch-hunting press has an effect in Labour's natural constituency when the Labour leaders agree with it and denounce their own left wing in far sharper terms than Thatcher and her government are denounced.

Fulham contrasts sharply with the 1983 Bermondsey by-election. Why? Not just because in Fulham the candidate was a right-winger and in Bermondsey he was a left-winger (who was also gay-baited). In Bermondsey the Labour leadership endorsed and reinforced the witch-hunting press's attacks on Peter Tatchell. In Fulham



Nick Raynsford (left) with Neil Kinnock. Photo: Andrew Wiard, Report.

Labour was united to get Raynsford elected.

The left was loyal to the party in Fulham; in Bermondsey the right and centre ran scared before the press and the Tories and the SDP, and they fouled their own nest.

The lesson is not that the right wins and the left loses. The lesson is that when the right put faction above the Labour Party then they help the Tories and the SDP. The lesson is that the party leadership should be called to account and that the Labour Party should insist on loyal support from the party for left-wing as well as right-wing candidates.

Far from left-wing politics automatically alienating the

electorate, the truth is that left-wing politics are the necessary Labour answer to the Tories. Kinnock will not offer such politics. He is not even willing to commit himself to reverse the Tory cuts.

## Shed

Arguing from Fulham, the right and centre will increase the pressure on the left to shed our politics in deference to the new paramount goal of winning the next general election. Everybody in the Labour Party should strive to win the general election. But the left should not disarm ideologically or politically. That is where the Socialist Campaign for a Labour Victory

comes in.

The serious left should resist the aimless and opportunist drift to the right. We should organise so that we can present socialist politics — and a commitment to fight for the working-class interest even should a Kinnockite Labour government take office.

The presentation of socialist politics and the public affirmation of the need to stand by class politics even if Kinnock is prime minister — that can be done and must be done within Labour's campaign to win the general election.

The official campaign will inevitably — given the present leadership — be a right-wing

campaign. The left should not misunderstand Fulham and abandon socialist politics.

We must understand that when Labour appears as a coherent force the Tories can be beaten.

## Sabotage

We must demand that never again should the Labour leaders sabotage the election campaign of a left-wing Labour candidate. Within that framework the left should organise to present its own politics in the general election. That is why Socialist Organiser has revived the Socialist Campaign for a Labour Victory.

# Is Zia next?

By Clive Bradley

The tour of Pakistan by Ms Benazir Bhutto, daughter of Pakistan's former President Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, who was executed in 1979, has caused some serious problems for the military dictatorship of Zia ul Haq.

Rallies in support of Ms. Bhutto have attracted tens of thousands of Pakistanis demanding early elections and the end of military rule.

Ms. Bhutto and her Pakistani People's Party have demanded that elections be announced before the beginning of the month of Ramadan, the Islamic holy festival which starts around May 20. Zia ul Haq has rejected this call.

## Bhutto

Benazir Bhutto returned in triumph from exile on Thursday April 10. The dictatorship had allowed for the return of a small modicum of democracy at the end of last year, and the opposition PPP seized on the opportunity to campaign for free elections.

Its foreign policy is for 'non-alignment' — which would represent a shift from Pakistan's current heavily pro-US position. The PPP calls for a political settlement in Afghanistan that would lead to Soviet withdrawal — though their rationale for this is largely that Afghan refugees in Pakistan are a 'destabilising' force.

In addition, the PPP is campaigning around a populist social policy: land for the peasants; a minimum monthly wage of 1000 rupees (about £4); slum clearance, health care, etc.

The problem both for the regime, and in fact for the PPP itself, is that the popular mobilisations in support of Ms Bhutto may threaten to go further than this limited programme.

The movement behind Ms. Bhutto does not represent a politically working class movement in any sense.

The PPP is to a large extent the personal property of the Bhutto family which is a family of big landowners. It is a thoroughly bourgeois party. President Bhutto was a minister under the Ayub Khan dictatorship from 1958-69. Though the Bhutto regime did introduce some popular reforms — a land reform, nationalisation, etc., it was limited in its radicalism even by the standards of military populist regimes such as President Nasser's in Egypt. It was, from the beginning, hostile to the working class, crushing workers' occupations in the Karachi area in 1972, for example, killing and wounding many workers. And after about 1974, the Bhutto regime was based on an alliance with the big landlords.

## Marcos

The popular movement behind Ms. Bhutto therefore has many parallels with the movement behind Corazon Aquino in the Philippines that recently toppled President Marcos.

No doubt the US, as in the Philippines, will start looking to the growing bourgeois opposition as a safer horse to back, if Ms. Bhutto's popularity continues to grow.

# RUC UNDER PRESSURE

By John O'Mahony

IAN Paisley came back to Northern Ireland from a preaching tour of the Bible belt of the Southern USA and denounced the 'Loyalist' campaign against the RUC that had seen 150 attacks in the previous two weeks. Almost immediately the attacks slowed to a trickle.

This must mean that Ian Paisley has to some extent reasserted his leadership of the Protestant Loyalist cause: his alleged supplanter, Peter Robinson, was docile and silent by his side at the press conference in which Paisley called for an end to attacks on the RUC.

But there is probably more to it than that. The cessation of the attacks on the RUC reflects a growing revulsion within the Orange community at the attacks.

The tension continues in the RUC's position as a police force recruited from the Protestant community but charged with facing down the opposition of its own community to the Anglo-Irish agreement. There is no way that can be banished short of either the abandonment by Dublin and London of the Anglo-Irish agreement or an acceptance of that agreement by the Protestant commun-



RUC chief John Hermon meets his Dublin counterpart

ity. Neither is likely. So the RUC remains caught in the middle.

As we go to press the first Protestant has died — after two weeks on a life support machine — from a blow to the head from a plastic bullet (on 31 March at Portadown). The call has gone out for a token industrial stoppage on 16 April to mark his death. Once more the RUC will be caught in the political cross-fire.

The evidence is that the Protestant paramilitaries have

been deliberately 'testing' the allegiance of the RUC. So far the RUC has held against that pressure, though there have been resignations and numerous requests for transfers to Britain.

The latest development is that the Dublin and London governments are reported to have agreed to postpone the next meeting of the intergovernmental conference that effectively rules Northern Ireland. Their aim is to placate the Protestant opposition.

# Partners in terror

From page 1

The history of the British ruling class, too, is stained with the blood of its colonial 'subjects'. Each and every struggle for freedom from British rule was met with brutal repression before the British finally withdrew.

In Ireland the Catholic community have experienced the sharp end of British democracy since 1969 — in another war against 'terrorism'.

Striking miners and their families, Thatcher's 'enemy within', also know only too well how peace-loving and humanitarian the British government is.

Now Thatcher and Reagan have the blood of innocent Libyans on their hands — people picked off at random from the air to 'punish Gaddafi'. Gaddafi himself will in fact be strengthened by the US raids.

Imperialist superpower bullying is no part of the solution. It is part of the problem, a central part of the cause.

The labour movement

needs to stand out clearly against Reagan's British-supported assault on Libya. The Labour Party in Parliament must call Reagan's accomplice Thatcher to account.

## Blitz

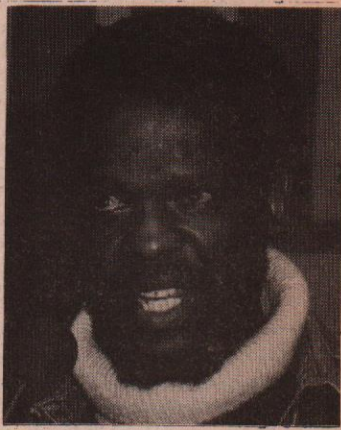
We need to protest against the Reagan blitz not because — as Dennis Healey argues — 'other methods' of more peaceful assault might be more successful, but because the US and Britain have no right to take collective reprisals against the people of Libya.

It is in the interests of the working class and the struggle for socialism to fight to stop the imperialist gunboat diplomacy of Reagan and Thatcher. To fight now to defeat Reagan's and Thatcher's attempts to throw their military weight around is to fight for a fair and just world in which the bullying of the weak by the strong, the threat of global warfare and the hopelessness that breeds terrorism are things of the past.



# In the

**Moses Mayekiso, secretary of Transvaal Metal and Allied Workers Union (MAWU), was recently on a speaking tour of Britain. Pete Radcliffe and Ali Asgar for Socialist Organiser talked to him about the present situation in South Africa.**



*What are the latest developments in the BTR strike?*

At present the company is still refusing to reinstate the workers. The workers have decided to form co-operatives (tee-shirt coop, agricultural co-op), health committees and cultural co-ops to be able to produce something and are doing educationals. The bosses can't defeat everybody. Also we need money because people are going hungry. They are not getting any income. We are also taking part in this campaign to organise solidarity and financial help from BTR workers to be able to push forward the struggle for reinstatement.

*You are also over here pursuing COSATU's policy of forging direct links with the trade unions of this country. What is the purpose of these links as you see it? What do you look for from the British trade union movement?*

Through MAWU and COSATU we are committed to building direct links, direct contacts with liberation movements and trade unions of other countries to create solidarity among the workers and among the progressive organisations for the liberation of the South African people from the Apartheid regime, apartheid laws, and to fight for a new society which we believe should be a socialist society.

*You have addressed several meetings over the last couple of days. What surprised you most in the sort of questions you've been asked and the ideas people have over here about South Africa?*

Yes, I was surprised. It showed that information is not getting out of South Africa and people are not getting fresh information about what is happening inside South Africa so they are not particularly well informed due to state repression of information.

*To go back to the situation of your detention and the events surrounding the uprising in Alexandra. Could you outline the events as they unfolded?*

Through MAWU and COSATU we resolved to be part and parcel of the national liberation struggle: to get rid of apartheid and move towards an acceptable society in South Africa. We are involving ourselves in community and national struggles.

What we did in Alexandra was to set up street committees like those structures in the trade unions themselves, where the leadership has to be answerable to the communities and be responsible

to them.

Alexandra is organised in a very awkward manner: in one yard you find about twenty families; in a block, forty families; and in one street one hundred families. We organised them in a yard and we formed yard committees through yard general meetings.

From the yard people elect representatives to block committees, from block committees to the street committees and from there to the Alexandra Action Committee which is the highest body.

The people have to govern themselves and not depend on the state structures to take their problems to.

So people can build understanding, to understand one another and help each other, thus making people conscious of apartheid and the struggle against the capitalist class. That is what we were trying to do. Our involvement in Alexandra put us in a situation where the state looked at us as people who are organising for the ANC and no longer interested in the factory struggles; but now we are getting out of that and acting politically.

*Do you find this idea of a trade union being the backbone to the community struggle against repression common to COSATU or is it only particular to MAWU?*

This attitude is common to COSATU. Many trade unions are involved in the community struggles taking their experiences in building trade unions to the community and strengthening the community struggles.

*How does that help with the relationship between the organised trade unions in the factories, the unemployed youth and other sections of the communities in the townships?*

The Apartheid regime is in crisis at the moment. People are frustrated and sick and tired of being oppressed. It is becoming brutal and anarchy is creeping. People are being shot, and so the people can see that the system is killing us. We have to organise on a massive scale. Now the gap is being closed that the youth should fight separate battles and the adults separate battles. People are coming together and the system is encouraging this with the detentions, shootings and killings.

*Do you find as well that trade union methods of struggle are being used to supplement the struggle of the community against repression?*

Yes!

*Have you any comment on...*

## Cop out

The four policemen responsible for the raid on the house of Cynthia Jarrett that led to her death and the subsequent Tottenham riots last October, have been let off.

The Director of Public Prosecutions have decided not to press criminal charges on the basis of investigations by the Police Complaints Authority.

It is the same old story. Complaints against the police investigated by the police themselves almost always result in no action being taken. That has been the recent experience of students in Manchester harassed by the police following the 'Battle of Brittan' last year.

Perhaps the worst example of all was the failure to pin responsibility on anybody for the death of Blair Peach at the hands of the Special Patrol Group in 1979.

It shows that the police, far from being the enforcers of 'law and order', are a law unto themselves. They are accountable only to themselves. The police are cut off from the rest of society, subject to very little democratic control.

We should press for greater democratic control over the police. We should do what we can to hold them to account; to demand that there is a serious investigation into the events surrounding Cynthia Jarrett's death and that the policemen responsible for it do carry the can.

But we should also draw out the lesson that what is really needed is a different kind of system of policing altogether. In place of a separate, undemocratic police force, working class communities should organise their own policing.



When Reagan's F1-11s set off for Libya from Upper Heyford USAF base in Oxfordshire, they will have passed over this huge - 55 foot - CND symbol.

Owned by farmer and Labour county councillor David Barber, the symbol has caused some annoyance for the Tory-controlled county council. They threaten legal action if comrade Barber does not get planning permission for 'advertising' or paint it out.

## Pink Ken changes

It must say something about the state of the left that the drift to the right of former leftists sometimes, incidentally, leads them to adopt better politics than they used to have before. Socialist Organiser has commented on this phenomenon, for example, when their move to the right led careerists like Neil Kinnock to drop the 'identikit leftist' Little-England opposition to the EEC.

And now Pink Ken Livingstone has changed his position on Zionism.

Remember that Livingstone used to talk about 'Zionist' conspiracies to Gerry Healy's 'Newline' (see last week's SO). Though he spoke on many WRP platforms for three years, he never in the smallest degree dissociated himself from the anti-semitic ravings of Healy's organisation.

But now all is changed. Last week Livingstone told a meeting at the National Union of Students conference in Blackpool that he now realises that Zionism is not 'racism' but merely a form of 'nationalism'. Well done, Ken! Take 3 out of 10.

But what a comment all this is on Livingstone's past. More to the point, it is probably a comment on his future too.

For during his years with Healy Livingstone was no hot-eyed young rebel blinded by

enthusiasm or anger into going alone with whatever 'politics' Healy dished up. He was a calculating operator who balanced everything he did and said according to the advantages or disadvantages it would bring to his career.

His was a self-serving relationship with the WRP - which provided the material basis for Labour Herald among other things - and with Ted Knight. As well as that, it served him well to mouth the consensus politics on the Middle East of the identikit left.

He differentiated himself from the protection of that consensus only at the point where Thatcher put him up against the gun and he had to choose between his career and defying the government. Then he gave into the government and openly broke with the left.

Probably he broke from the left for the same reasons that he had mouthed its slogans and ideas in the first place.

Just as he once adopted the career-indicated left-wing political outlook, now he adopts the career-indicated political outlook of Labour's centre. At heart Livingstone is not - as rumour has it - a newt, but a political chameleon! It so happens that the Labour Party centre politics Ken now accommodates to has a more sensible



attitude to Zionism than the identikit left has.

So the former Red Ken valiantly strives to improve himself, in more senses than one! And he succeeds.

It was always highly improbable that Livingstone ever privately shared the positions he associated himself with and sometimes endorsed as part of his package deal with Healy and Knight. He is too urbane, too civilised a man to share in the stupid 'anti-Zionist' demonology or in the anti-semitism of Healy's WRP. The best thing about his administration at the GLC was its aggressive commitment to fight anti-black racism. It just happened to suit what he thought were his career interests to appear to go along with Healy.

Of course, in a serious situation Ken Livingstone might surprise everybody, including Ken Livingstone. But in his career so far he has shown himself to be the very type of those much-discussed German and Central European politicians of the '30s and '40s who adapted themselves to anti-

semitism when that current was at its strongest and then after the war adapted themselves to the newly prevailing liberal anti-racist consensus.

He is of the type - for example - of Konrad Adenauer, who made a good career as the Catholic mayor of Cologne under the Nazis and lived to be Germany's post-war 'liberal-democratic' Chancellor, disavowing the crimes of the fascists whom he was never conspicuous in opposing when it might have made some difference.

Gerry Healy is not Hitler. He is not in a position to threaten to massacre 'Zionists'. But the type to which Livingstone belongs remains what it always was - politically spineless and soulless, and without commitment about anything other than the well-being of its practitioner.

And what it is in small-scale and not very important things like Livingstone's participation in Gerry Healy's circus, that it will also be in big and important things in the future.



# eye of the storm



Uprising in Alexandra township

*the present attacks being made on the miners?*

What is happening now in South Africa is that when the workers go on strike they feel that they are liable for dismissal and being chucked out of the industrial areas, dumped in the homelands to starve. They are employing better methods like sit-ins and occupations to fight the employers and the actions that are used by the capitalists against the strikers, especially the miners, are horrible. They are only interested in profits and not dealing with industrial issues properly and constructively.

*Do you want to make any comment on the relationship between COSATU, SACTU and the ANC after the Lusaka meeting?*

In COSATU we feel that there should be one union federation in South Africa and one union per industry so we are having talks with SACTU and the ANC, putting forward our policies to see how they feel about this. That is the relationship we are trying to build with the other forces that are part of the struggle.

*Do you think there is any danger that the trade union struggle will be seen as a liability by those involved in the national liberation struggle? The UDF is a very wide grouping, embracing many sectors of the population, many of whom do not share the aims and objectives of the trade union movement.*

I don't see any conflicts really in the future as

COSATU made clear in its resolutions that we want to be an independent organisation but because we are part and parcel of the liberation struggle we have to work together with the progressive organisations fight for the liberation of the people. We made it clear that we would work with political organisations like UDF and even the ANC if it comes to the crunch. We will work with any organisation that is fighting for the liberation of the oppressed masses in South Africa. In the unions some are members of the UDF, some are members of other political organisations so I don't see any conflict.

*You were talking before about community organisations. Is it the case that these organisations can be transformed into military organisations or do new organisations have to be set up altogether in the course of the struggle?*

There is a civic organisation in Alexandra but it is having some problems because the youth especially felt that if it didn't deliver the goods it won't fulfill the expectations of the people of Alexandra. So they thought that they needed another organisation that would embrace all organisations in the township. We don't say: you are UDF, or you are AZAPO and that you should not be in this organisation. I wouldn't say new organisations have been set up all over, but certainly in Alexandra. We said that the civic is there and all the organisa-

tions are there. We don't want to get rid of them but to build an umbrella organisation that is organising massively, both people who are in no organisation and others that are in such organisations.

*Several months back I heard that Islamic fundamentalism was very involved with the Indian and Muslim population there and it was getting some grip over them.*

No comment, not sure.

*You've mentioned the battles breaking out in the mines with sit-ins, etc. At the moment the management have found ways to break those sit-ins. What do you think is going to be the next step in developing new methods of struggle to ensure victory?*

The sit-ins started late last year with MAWU and other union members and it proved successful. Up to this year at the two plants, strikers had been sleeping in the factories for about two weeks and the company applied for a court order to evict them. This succeeded. But when management was threatening to dismiss them they then decided to occupy the plant. In the mines this is very difficult because of the lack of water and oxygen underground. This isn't such a problem in the other factories. Alternatives have to be planned in other factories.

*Are these factories outside the townships?*

Yes, they are in the industrial areas.

*So they are not open to being seized and held by the work-*

*ers.* No. They are far away from the townships.

*Could you explain the views of MAWU and COSATU on the nationalisation issue?*

We believe that if you talk of nationalisation it should be linked to a particular system, i.e. under a certain control, maybe majority control — worker control of the means of production. Nationalisation under the same system is not going to be beneficial to the workers. It will benefit the bosses instead. There is a resolution from COSATU that there should be a programme. We have got a document called the Freedom Charter which is a basic document, which is answering the basic needs of our liberation struggle. But we should have something that is going further than the basic answers given by the Freedom Charter. The Freedom Charter talks about nationalisation but we should go further and talk about how and under whose control.

*One of the problems, it seems to me, of the plans of the ANC if you read their plans on the economy is that the scope, pace and extent of nationalisation seems to be dependent on some agreement between a democratic government and the rest of the world to some extent. It implies an attitude to the multi-nationals and so on. What are the expectations of COSATU from a democratic government? Would you wait or would you seize the opportunity to put the industries in*

*workers' hands?*

We believe that the capitalists have got no claim to the wealth that is created by the workers in South Africa — all the wealth inside South Africa and outside, because sometimes you find that the multi-nationals who exploit us send the money outside the country. So they owe us a lot! The factories, mines, etc., belong to the people of South Africa and if we take over then there is no need for negotiations: the people should take over the whole thing.

*And you expect the new government to endorse those actions by the workers?*

Yes! Any government that is interested in people's needs should fight for that if it is committed to socialism.

*COSATU has a fairly advanced idea of its political objectives. In what way do you see its political identity developing? It has been asked, do you think it will form a party on the basis of fighting for those political objectives.*

It is our belief in COSATU that forming a party would be divisive and that what should be done is that workers should form a programme which will answer the socialist feelings of the people.

*But one of your expectations and it is a feature of COSATU, is extreme democracy throughout your organisation. Would you not expect a political party claiming to be socialist to be the same? Would you like to see the ANC develop into such a democratic organisation that*

*it gave extensive workers control of that party? Do you think that likely?*

Yes, we would like to see that because the ANC is our organisation in South Africa. It has made tremendous strides fighting the liberation struggle and we therefore feel that workers should play a leading role on the struggles that are waged by the ANC, and through the programme they can formulate.

*COSATU fought very strongly when it was set up for the concept of non-racial trade unionism. How does that conflict with multi-racialism?*

As workers we should put forward our beliefs and discuss things like non-racialism. After the congress our executive met with the ANC to discuss the resolutions that we made in order that we be closer together in this for the liberation movement. With such a programme we have to discuss with all the progressive organisations so that the programme does not conflict with the feelings of the other progressive organisations.

*How much of the experiences of the working classes of other countries have been studied as a guide to action in South Africa?*

That is widely discussed and that is why we are sending people to build solidarity because we would like to learn from other struggles and get the experience of what is happening in other countries. We believe we can't win our struggle without getting friends and help from other organised forces. In South Africa the capitalist class is fighting against the working class and using apartheid as a whip to suppress the people. We need all forces to come together to confront the common enemy.

*How do you envisage the defeat of apartheid? Do you believe there will be a period of reconciliation between some democratic capitalism or do you think the role that the workers will play in that will take it further than just allowing any reformed or stabilised capitalism to set up?*

It will be a problem because you can't reform capitalism. It must be kicked out, removed, and a new social system introduced that is going to benefit the masses. Once you reform capitalism then you are going to have problems because America and Britain are going to benefit from that situation. At the end of the day you will have black fighting against black.

## Support MAWU strikers

1000 members of MAWU have been on strike against British Tyre and Rubber (BTR) Sarmcol in Howick since May 1985. The company — which owns, among others, Dunlops and Pretty Polly — sacked the workers who were on strike for union recognition.



In a discussion paper for Socialist Organiser's AGM at the end of this month, Martin Thomas looks at the chaos of world capitalism today and the labour movement's search for an answer. The second part next week will cover the prospects for a Labour government and the state of the Labour and trade union left.

'BOURGEOIS revolutions... storm swiftly from success to success... On the other hand, proletarian revolutions... criticise themselves constantly, interrupt themselves continually in their own course, come back to the apparently accomplished in order to begin it afresh, deride with unmerciful thoroughness the inadequacies, weaknesses and paltriness of their first attempts, seem to throw down their adversary only in order that he may draw new strength from the earth and rise again, more gigantic, before them, recoil ever and anon from the indefinite prodigiousness of their own aims, until a situation has been created which makes all turning back impossible...'

(Marx)

The world's strongest labour movements, those of the advanced capitalist countries, are in retreat. In Britain, TUC membership declined 18% from its 1979 peak to mid-1985. Trade union membership in the US went down 14% in 1980-4 despite a 5% increase in jobs. Other labour movements have suffered worse in Spain and France, where the main union federation, the CGT, has lost a full third of its members.

Ideologically too we have been set back. There is no clear evidence of a shift of mass opinion to the right (though racist ideas have certainly gained some ground - in France especially). Left-wing parties have more or less held their own in electoral terms through the 1980s: the EEC elections of 1984 gave the left 13 more seats than those of 1979.

The Tories' current troubles are more in line with broad international trends than was their success of 1983, when the 'Falklands Factor' had not yet worn off.

But the traditional left-wing parties, Socialist, Communist and Labour, make less and less show of anti-capitalism. In the 1930s respectable Labour leaders would talk about Enabling Acts to push through mass nationalisations; in the likewise slump-ridden 1980s, Roy Hattersley assures bankers and industrialists that he believes in "high profits" and Neil Kinnock says that re-nationalisation of what the Tories have privatised is not a priority. A feeble national invest-

ment bank is the centre of Labour's economic policy.

Spain's Socialist government has privatised, slashed industries formerly subsidised by the state, and removed laws from the Franco period which restrained bosses from sacking workers. France's left government embarked on full-scale austerity and job-cutting in the manner of Ian MacGregor after 1983. Even Sweden's more confident Social Democrats have dabbled in privatisation.

'1945 socialism', the mass labour movement's traditional alternative to capitalism, has collapsed. Workers are left with pure piecemeal reformism. New alternatives for transforming society will take time to emerge. But emerge they must: and in the longer term our present difficulties may be seen as a retreat which permits a better advance.

In 1945 a sort of socialism had mass support, and much even of the bourgeoisie dared not oppose it directly.

In Germany, for example, the main bourgeois party, the CDU, called for state ownership of natural resources and 'key monopoly industries', and the elimination of large-scale capitalist enterprise.

**Expanded**

In France the National Council of the Resistance called for the nationalisation of 'all the great monopolised means of production... worker participation in management, and comprehensive social security.

The Social-Democratic parties demanded this sort of socialism more consistently, thoroughly and sincerely: the Stalinist parties were usually less radical in immediate politics, but the USSR still gave them quasi-revolutionary credentials.

On this basis the labour movement expanded enormously. By 1947 the German Social Democracy had 875,000 members. The French and Italian CPs became the greatest political parties in their countries. In Britain between 1944 and 1948 Labour's affiliated membership rose from 2.4 million to 4.8 million, and its individual membership from 266,000 to 629,000. By 1948 Swedish Social Democracy had 636,000 members, 40% more than pre-war.



1984: Spanish workers fight riot police sent by a Socialist Party government which is pushing through ruthless job cuts

# LABOUR RETREAT

Third World nationalist movements were also growing fast; trade union organisations were often a major part of these movements; and they proclaimed the same sort of socialism.

But this was a socialism which looked not to the self-liberation of the working class but to the improvement of workers' conditions by administrators manipulating the resources of the state. Several factors moulded it.

There was crushing, grey poverty. Working class living standards were at malnutrition level in much of continental Europe after 1945, and did not rise above the 1930s level until the mid-'50s.

There was crushing, grey poverty. Working class living standards were at malnutrition level in much of continental Europe after 1945, and did not rise above the 1930s level until the mid-'50s. There was the visible power and expanded role of the state, which had spread itself beyond all precedent during the war. There were the successes of the bureaucratic state economy in the USSR, reported in a friendly way during that period even by conservative bourgeois media. There was the apparently established fact of high economic barriers around nations.

And so even radicals looked towards a nationalist 'state socialism' (or state capitalism as it would generally turn out to be in practice). Marx and Engels had been the great ideological inspirers of the big expansion of labour organisation in the late 19th century; the ideas of Lenin and Trotsky were influential in the next big wave of expansion, after 1917; but the third big wave rolled forward under the

banners of Stalin, the Webbs and JM Keynes. Keynes always made it clear that "the class war, as such, will find me on the side of the educated bourgeoisie"; but to many Labour activists the great Liberal economist's programme of "a somewhat comprehensive socialisation of investment" seemed little different from socialism.

Of course the books of Marx and Engels, Lenin and Trotsky were still available. But the Stalinist parties, for example, could combine sales of the Marxist classics with the crudest chauvinism and class collaboration. The accumulated defeats of the 1920s and '30s, the terrible experiences of the war, had set back working class culture.

The living continuity of socialist thought had been to a large extent broken (and this affected even the Trotskyist minority).

An activist who joined the Marxist movement in 1895, when Engels was still alive, might still be in his or her 30s in 1914. A teenage recruit of 1917 would be an experienced activist, not yet 40 years old, in 1938. For the militants of 1938, 1917 was almost as live and recent a reference point as 1968 is for us today. Titles of papers from that period - 'October', 'Lenin's Path' - testify to a culture gap between then and now.

By 1947, 1917 was as remote as 1956 is today. The Stalinist parties had been preaching class collabora-

# THE PRICE OF

In 1981 France, and in 1982 Spain, elected Socialist governments with enthusiastic mass support.

The French government had a fairly radical programme in the 1945 mould. It started off by doubling the state-owned industrial sector and cutting the work week to 39 hours. By 1982 it faced a ballooning foreign debt and inflation well above other Western economies. The government quickly reversed policies and by 1983 was pushing a fierce austerity policy. It planned huge job cuts in industries like coal and steel; clamped down on wages while profits

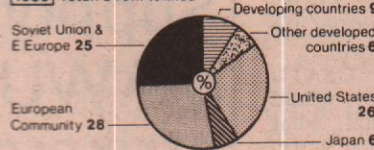
rose fast; cut social security; and let unemployment rise to 11% (from 6% when it took office).

The Socialist and Communist Parties had long been chauvinist, supporting France's nuclear weapons and its remaining colonial/neo-colonial empire (small, but much bigger than anything remaining to other Western powers). The left government imposed a complete ban on new immigration from outside the EEC.

The French working class, and African and Caribbean immigrant workers in particular, are now paying a terrible price for the disillu-

**World crude steel production**

1980 Total: 346m tonnes

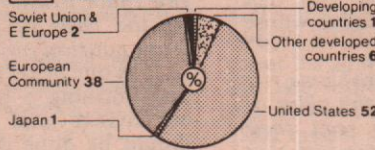


1984 Total: 710m tonnes

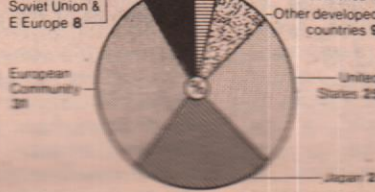


**World car production**

1960 Total: 12.8m units



1984 Total: 30.4m units









# CAPITALIS



Famine is already severe in many Third World countries. In a new slump it will be worse.

The eclipse of the traditional ideology of the post-1945 labour movement does, however, mean that British Labour's leaders have no idea of what to do about mass unemployment except to try to jolly along capitalism into a little expansion.

Kinnock's and Hattersley's own statements (analysed in a section to follow next week) confirm that.

And prospects for a Kinnock Labour government — let alone a coalition or a re-elected Tory administration — are all the worse because it may come to office in the midst of a new world slump.

In 1979 the combination of US government measures to keep the dollar's exchange rate up with the big rise in oil prices after the Iranian revolution pushed the US, and then the world, into a recession. It was a more all-embracing recession than any before. It hit Eastern Europe, tied into the capitalist world by trade and finance. After 1982 it pushed much of the Third World into a debt crisis caused by the drying up of their export markets, a rise in interest rates, and a tightening of credit.

For four years the major capitalist governments chose to 'sweat it out'. A revival of sorts started in 1983, pulled along by huge US government budget and trade deficits. In late 1985 industrial production levelled off, and it looked as if the revival was over (before it had even begun in some Third World countries).

Now dominant bourgeois economic opinion is that the big drop in oil prices will revive the revival, creating a new upturn over the next couple of years. There is some logic in this argument. The drop in oil prices transfers income from oil-state governments who save a lot of it to Western consumers and capitalists, who spend much more of it. It therefore boosts world demand.

However, it may not be as simple as that. For capitalism to prosper, enormous complex chains of transactions have to mesh together exactly. A crisis can be caused by the breaking of just one sufficiently important link in the chain.

Suppose, for example, a low oil price makes Mexico and Nigeria default on their debts. That could ruin some of London's or New York's big banks. Those banks' creditors are hit in turn. International investors decide to pull their funds out of London, or New York. Panic spreads...

For certain there are a lot of unstable structures ready to be toppled by any major panic.

The relatively stable and steady expansion of the world economy up to the late '60s was based on the dollar as the medium of world trade, backed up by the huge economic power of the US. That system collapsed in 1968-71 under the pressure of the huge flow of dollars out of the US, accentuated by the Vietnam war. The US stopped guaranteeing the dollar with gold and fixed exchange rates between currencies were abandoned.

The hard nuts-and-bolts economic basis of the old system had faded away. The US was still by far the world's biggest economy, but it no longer had its former absolute dominance. By the early '70s it had been overtaken by West Germany as a manufacturing exporter; by the early '80s by Japan. Its pro-

Because of pressure on space this week we have had to hold over the third instalment of John O'Mahony's series on 'The Left, Israel, and Anti-Semitism'.

## Labour's retreat

From page 7

In the West, women's participation in the waged workforce, after declining immediately post-war, has steadily become high. Between 1951 and 1976 the proportion of married women in Britain in waged work rose from 22% to 49%. Women's employment has continued to rise in the 1980s, especially in part-time jobs.

Traditional family structures have been quite seriously eroded.

This has strengthened demands for women's equality and for sexual freedom. In a society which offers few forms of human sympathy, support and warmth outside the family, it has also helped to increase crime rates.

Not only the difficulties of the command economies, but also the

fragmentation of Stalinism, has contributed to the decay of '1945 socialism'. Meanwhile social democracy made its peace with the 'mixed economy'. In 1959 the German Social Democracy formally renounced Marx, accepted the 'social market economy', defined itself as a 'people's' rather than a workers' party, and changed the colour of its party membership cards from red to blue. Membership of the workers' parties mostly fell over the '50s and '60s, though it would rise again after 1968.

In the last few years this gradual undermining of '1945 socialism' seems to have reached the point of qualitative collapse. And in most of the advanced capitalist countries, as we have seen, the biggest shifts have been to the right.

Radicalism has been re-defined as the business of handing out bits of patronage and power to various badly-off groups. This concept of the 'enabling' state, 'empowering' people, can be made to sound like a fresh alternative to welfare state-capitalism. In fact it is deeply elitist and manipulative, and it necessarily substitutes piecemeal interest-group lobbying for reform in place of collective working class action for change.

But there are other current and possibilities besides a drift to the right. The focus on women's, black and lesbian/gay demands, even if it is used cynically, has some progressive content. The soft left's stress on a European dimension may be

used to beat down traditional left programmes in favour of closer accommodation to capitalism, but it also educates the movement in important realities.

In future struggles the positive tendencies, at present very subsidiary, could come to the fore in a rapid radicalisation.

And in some Third World countries the shift away from '1945 socialism' is to the left. It is a shift away from subordination to nationalism and populism, towards independent working class politics. The Brazilian Workers' Party and the non-racial trade unions in South Africa are the best examples.

As in the late 19th century the German labour movement rose on the shoulders of the English and French, and in the early 20th century the Russian on the shoulders of the German, so in the late 20th century some Third World labour movements have picked up on the best ideas of the metropolitan labour movements and gone out in front.

'1945 socialism' was never our socialism, and its eclipse is not our eclipse. Marxism never advocated a national command economy, with more or less of parliamentary control, as our alternative to capitalism. Many things are essential to working class socialism which appear little or not at all in '1945 socialism'.

\*The socialisation of housework and the liberation of women.

\*A radical reduction of the working week and a great expansion of education.

\*Not only workers' control in the workplaces, but the revolutionary dismantling of the present state machine and its replacement by a democracy of workers' councils, based on delegates recallable at any time, no official secrecy and no bureaucratic privileges.

\*International integration, going forward from what has been achieved by capitalism rather than backwards to isolated national economies.

Public ownership is essential to our socialism, as much if not more as to '1945 socialism' — but in the sense defined by Poland's 'Workers' Opposition'.

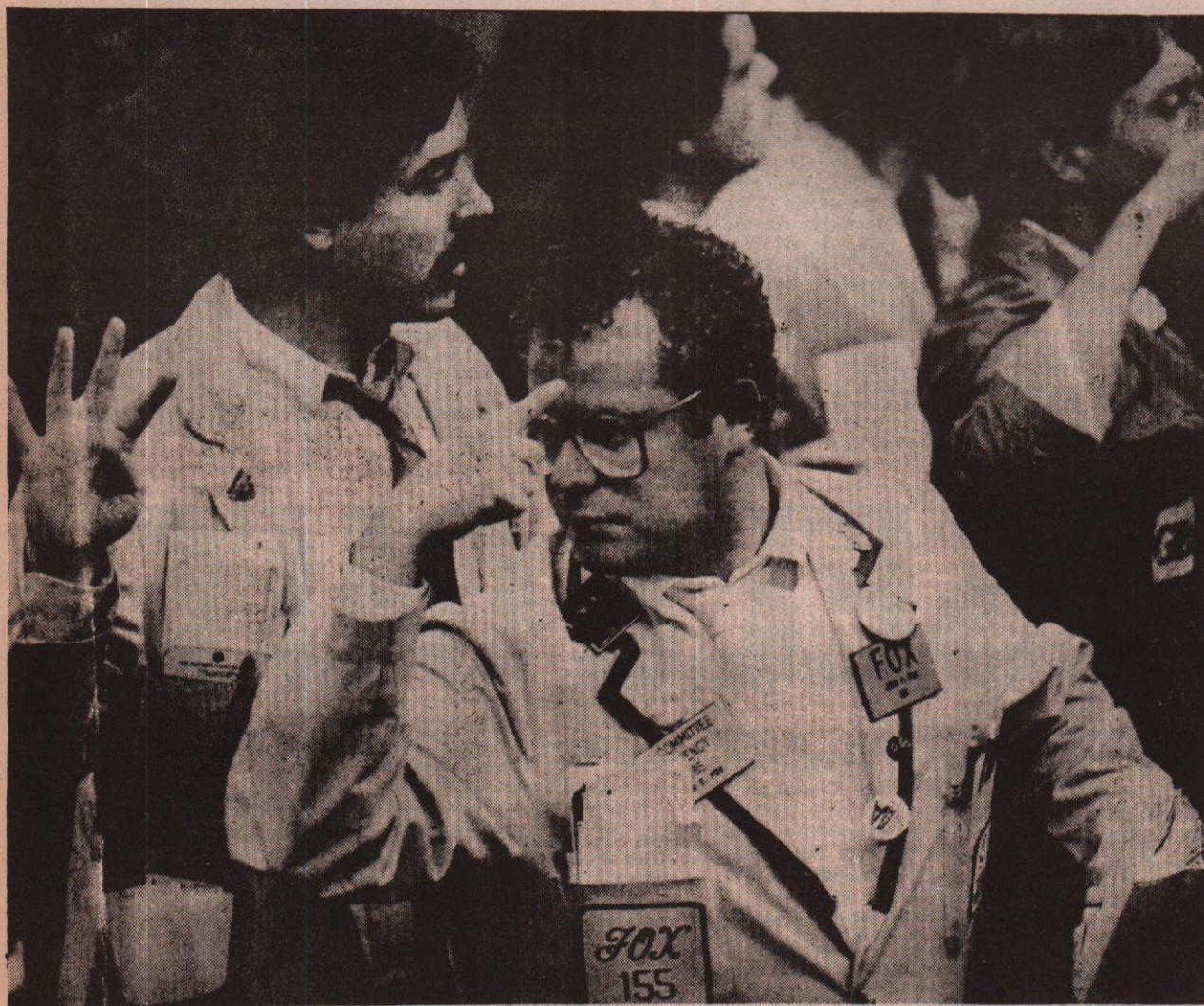
"The indispensable precondition for the liberation of the working class is for it to lay the economic foundations of its liberty, that is, the socialisation... in the framework of a system of workers' self-management, of the means of production that are today statised. It is in this way that the working class will obtain the material guarantee of realising its interests, as well as the legitimate interests of the other groups in society.

"The aim of the revolutionary workers' movement, flowing from the essence of the social relations against which it rebels, is not the reprivatisation of state property or giving it autonomy but to genuinely socialise it".





# M'S FEVER



The floor at the Chicago Money Market

ductivity advantage over other countries has decreased to practically nothing.

So from the early '70s the world financial system has been, as it were, suspended in mid-air. Could it collapse into warring national siege economies like the 1930s? Nothing guarantees that it could not. But in fact the pressures to protectionism have largely been resisted. Even in the late '70s the Tokyo round of negotiations was able to reduce tariffs world-wide. In the 1980s non-tariff barriers - quotas and others - have increased, especially against Third World exports; but still, on the whole, world trade has grown faster than output.

Along with it has gone a mushroom growth of world trade in money-capital. This was first set going by the outflow of dollars from the US (especially during the Vietnam war) and then boosted by the vast operation of 'recycling' the new income of the oil states after 1973 through the world economy.

## Trillion

The 'Economist' (5.10.85) summarises: "The volume of private capital movements has grown massively since the mid-1960s. One rough guide - gross Eurocurrency deposits [i.e. deposits of dollars, and now increasingly other currencies like yen, in European, mainly London, banks] - shows an increase from around \$100 billion in the late 1960s to \$595 billion in 1975, \$1.6 trillion in 1980 and about \$2.4 trillion today

"The changes to the [post-1945] system can be distilled into two points. First, there is no longer any form of policy coordination, the de facto method of America-as-leader having lapsed. Second, capital mobility has transformed the monetary system, turning it

from a series of official negotiated agreements into a 24-hour private, global market".

And today that market is expanding fantastically on an almost entirely unregulated, speculative basis. Foreign exchange trading was estimated at \$150 billion per day in 1984 - double what it was in 1979. The international market in loans and bonds doubled between 1980 and 1985.

New technology in computing and telecommunications has helped the expansion, making instant world-wide trading possible round the clock. A snowball process of scrapping exchange controls and market regulations has also helped it. Different centres - London, New York, Tokyo, Hong Kong, Singapore, Frankfurt, Zurich are the main ones - compete to provide the slickest, most free market. No one national government can control this: if it tried it would quickly be overwhelmed by the size, speed, scope and inventiveness of the market. At best it could only pull its own financiers out of the profitable mainstream.

The market is huge. The total gold and foreign currency reserves of the United States would cover maybe one day's world foreign exchange trading, and four to five months' trading on the capital markets.

The market is inventive. After 1973 there was a vast growth of commercial bank lending. The Third World debt crisis knocked that on the head. So the markets have turned at great speed to alternative methods, especially international bonds - the virtue of which is that they can be readily bought and sold.

It is with this new expansion of international credit as it is with the credit system within capitalism generally. It creates more flexibility; but, as the spiral of paper trans-

actions moves further and further away from the real productive process, it creates more potential crisis points.

Domestic bond markets have also expanded, especially in the United States. "A nightmare just waiting to happen", according to one Wall Street operator, has been created by the rise of 'junk bonds'. These are bonds with a dubious backing in real assets, but offering high yields, often used to finance predatory take-over bids. By 1985 \$18 billion of a total \$93 billion corporate bonds issued in the US were classed as 'junk bonds'.

## Dollar

The most obvious weak point in the international system is the posi-

tion of the dollar. The dilemma, briefly, is this: the dollar has to be kept at a reasonably high exchange rate in order to make capitalists confident about holding dollars and thus preserve the dollar as the medium of world trade. To do that the US government has to maintain relatively high interest rates and tight credit. But such policies tend to depress production and consumption in the US - thus depressing the whole world, and also ultimately undermining the dollar.

To make it more complicated, credit and interest rates are not that easy to manipulate, especially in today's global markets, and their effects are uncertain. Up to February 1985 the dollar remained (on most experts' reckoning) unaccountably high. Would it come down with a bang? In the event it has slid relatively slowly since February 1985. Has the danger of a 'crash-landing' gone? No-one knows.

The frantic activity in the international money system is also combined with shifts in world industrial and commercial capital of great historic significance. Relatively high rates of business investment have introduced new technology fast; and the geographical balance of the world economy has changed.

After some four centuries in which the Atlantic and its cities - Antwerp, Amsterdam, London, New York - dominated, the centre of the world economy is rapidly shifting to the Pacific. Cross-Pacific trade is now bigger than cross-Atlantic. The world's most dynamic economies are Japan, South Korea, Taiwan, and the west coast of the USA. California - with 25% to 30% of all the US's high-tech employment - and Japan are the main centres of the most advanced technology.

## Pacific

Since 1982 the US has been running a vast trade deficit balanced by a vast influx of foreign capital, mainly from Japan and Britain. Within a few years the US, which was the world's biggest creditor country, has become the world's biggest debtor. Japan, which exported very little capital until the 1970s, has become the world's biggest creditor.

The reopening of China to the world economy, despite all its hesitations and blunders, reinforces the

historic shift to the Pacific.

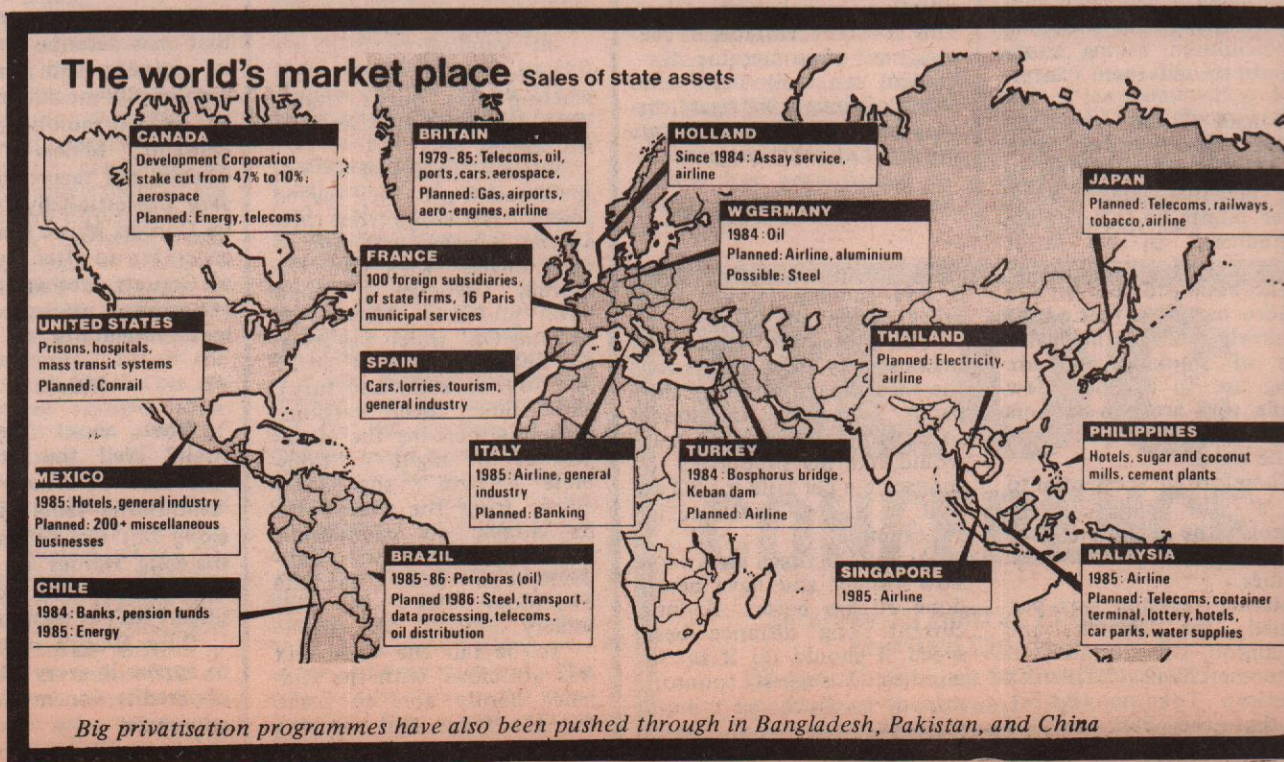
Such shifts mean a relative decline of the old Atlantic economies, though there are certainly many twists and turns and counter-tendencies on the way. It is a fundamental restructuring of the world economy. And capitalism generally can restructure itself only through crisis.

If, or rather when, a new slump comes, it will hit hard in Britain, where North Sea oil income is now declining. It is not quite true, as Labour politicians say, that Tory policies have simply 'wasted' all the oil cash. In effect the North Sea bonanza has financed a huge build-up of British capital's overseas assets. Britain now has a bigger inflow of profits, interest and dividends from abroad than any other country. From a capitalist point of view this is no 'waste'. But for sure it will provide little cushion in a new slump to Britain's working class.

The suffering of British workers will, however, be tiny compared to the consequences in the Third World. The debt crisis has been kept on the simmer, and no worse, thanks to the upturn in the US and other advanced countries which has allowed Third World countries to expand their exports. But the debt burden has been stabilised rather than reduced. A new international downturn will reopen the debt crisis with double force.

Already Third World workers and peasants are suffering mass job cuts, wage reductions and price rises so that the banks can get their slice. The people of Latin America are going through their worst attack on living standards since the Spanish conquest in the 16th century. A new crisis will mean worse again.

International prices of raw materials have risen very little during the small upturn. Indeed in tin the international market just collapsed last year. The low prices for raw materials mean terrible agonies in the less developed Third World countries which depend on exports of those materials; in several countries of Africa this problem has combined with drought and/or war disruption to create mass starvation. All this will become even worse in a new downturn. In many Third World countries, surely, the workers and peasants will no longer peacefully agree to starve to feed the bankers' profits.





# Promiscuity and cervical cancer

By Les Hearn



Science

The medical profession has frequently stated that "promiscuous" women are more likely to get cervical cancer (cancer of the neck of the womb). In saying this, male medical "experts" have ignored the evidence linking cervical cancer with the number of previous sex partners of the male or even with his occupation.

The result has been that women suffering from this major illness have been made to feel that their disease is somehow their fault.

Now, however, evidence is available showing that women who have had only one partner have a greater chance of getting cervical cancer where their partner has had many previous partners.

A study on Mexican couples in San Francisco shows that cervical cancer is more likely in women whose husbands have had at least twenty previous partners. It was also more likely where the husband was a heavy smoker.

It has been suspected for some time that cervical cancer may be partly caused by a virus, transmitted during sex. If true, it could be that the virus is passed around between "promiscuous" men, perhaps by visiting the same prostitutes (who also have a high rate of cervical cancer), and then given to their wives.

## Chemicals

Other cases of cervical cancer seem to be caused by chemicals picked up by the male from his work or from smoking and introduced into the female via his penis.

Little research seems to have been done in this direction. At any rate, though, the role of the male in this disease is starting to be recognised.

Info: New Scientist.

## SMOKESCREEN

The smoking industry have just funded a campaign supposedly aimed at stopping schoolchildren asking shopkeepers to sell them cancerettes.

Donald Gould, a retired doctor who writes with passion on health matters in New Scientist, makes some telling points on this "public spiritedness" in his latest article.

The basic problem for the tobacco barons is that adults are slowly realising the health risks of smoking and are giving up. In addition, few people who are non-smokers at the age of 20 go on to take up the weed.

Therefore, it is essential to get at the under-20s to replenish the dwindling supply of lucrative slow-motion suicides.

Market research was performed for Brown and Williamson, US subsidiary of cancer-mechants British American Tobacco (BATs), to find the best way of

recruiting young smokers. In 1982, the Times published extracts from the advice given.

B&W were told that "for the young starter, a cigarette is associated with introduction to sex life, with courtship, with smoking "pot" and keeping late study hours." They were advised to present cigarettes to young people as "part of the illicit pleasure category" and "one of the few initiations into the adult world".

## Summary

In summary, B&W were told: "To the best of your ability (considering some legal restraints) relate the cigarette to "pot", wine, beer, sex, etc. Don't communicate health or health-related points."

Donald Gould emphasises the suggestion that cigarettes be presented as "part of the illicit pleasure category" and asks what could achieve this better than a flood of eye-catching posters forbidding children asking for them.

He points out that soon every child will be confronted with this message every time they go to a newsagent or corner shop, to buy sweets, soft drinks, comics, etc.

And to what end? Gould thinks every child must already be aware of the legal situation on cigarette sales. This constant reminder of the presence of something forbidden can only have the effect of presenting cigarettes to young people as part of the illicit pleasure category.

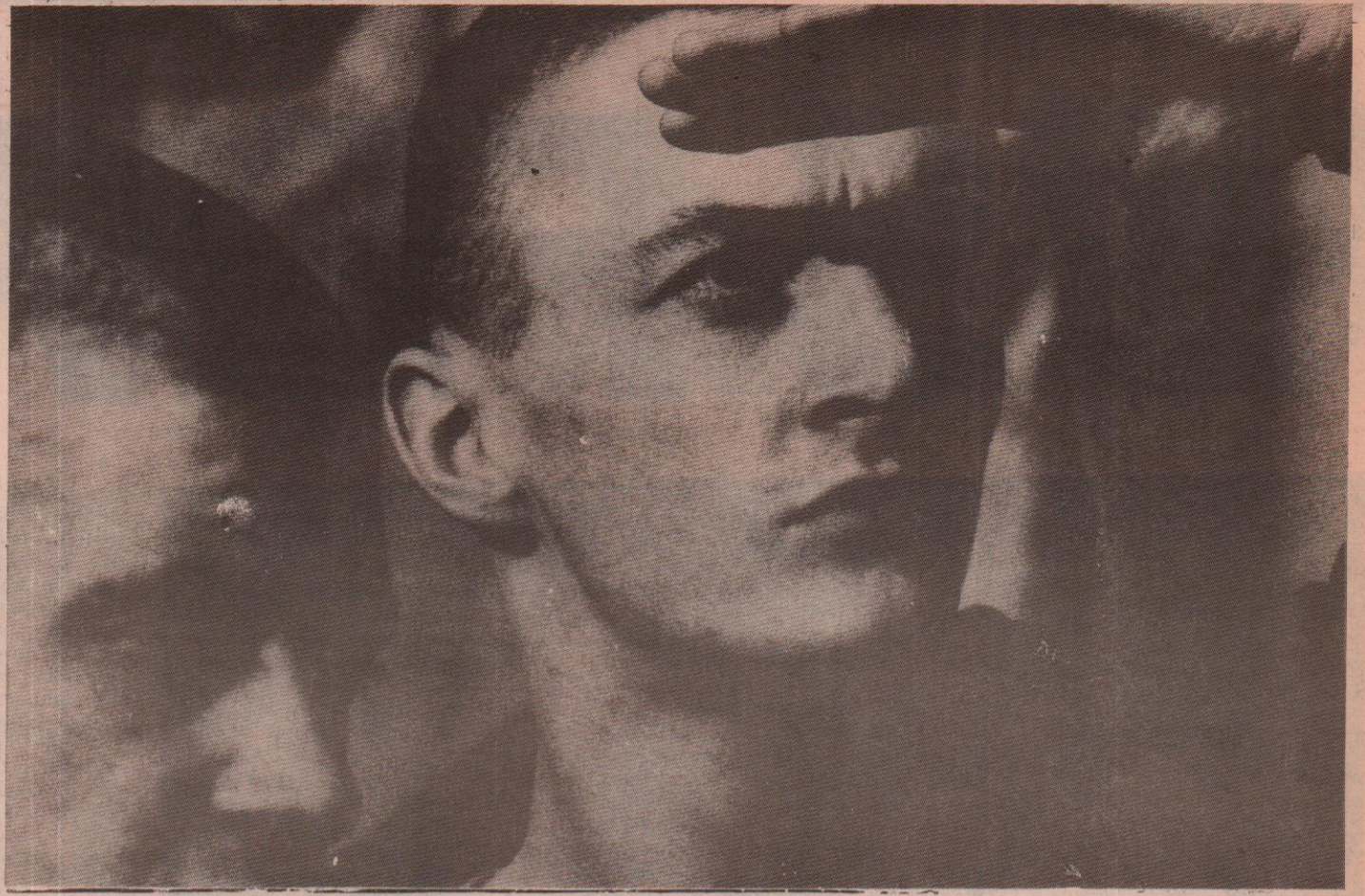
## SPONSOR A SCIENTIST

I am cycling 60 miles on May 3 and running 10 km (6 1/4 miles) on May 18.

The cycle ride is actually organised by Bike Events for the Nicaragua Solidarity Campaign. I am collecting sponsorships for the NSC but would like SO supporters to sponsor me per mile for SO as well as for NSC (half each, for example).

As for the run, I am a very slow runner and have never done 10 km before. At my current long distance best speed, I should do it in 55 minutes. I suggest sponsorship of so much per minute under the hour.

## Review



X Moore aka Chris Moore and Chris Dean looks round and tries to suss out his direction

# NO SELL OUT?

## Bryan Edmunds goes in search of revolutionary entertainment and returns home somewhat disappointed.

Eight SWP paper sellers stand conspicuously and a little self-consciously as we pass by. Half-a-dozen are back again as we leave. In between... no, it wasn't Tony Cliff exhorting us to get organised - but a "Redskins" gig! And an expensive one at that at £4.50 (and no concessions) in a rundown district of Birmingham.

For those of you who have never heard of the "Redskins"; well, they're a three-piece (guitar/vocals, bass and drums) combo, short-haired, male members of the SWP, who have been gigging regularly for about two years or so with a couple of singles and a newly-release debut album to their name.

## Disappointing

Better than a T. Cliff meeting you might think? Well, disappointingly and unfortunately not!

Heavily influenced by '60s soul and R'n'B, they played a set of fast songs from their albums together with one of their singles "Kick Over the Statues" (though I would have preferred "Keep On Keeping On" which was released during the miners' strike and full of anger and fury), and some cover versions, including perhaps the strongest of the night - "Complete Control", that 1977 classic from the Clash with its attack on capitalism's powerful, pervasive, anti-democratic hold on the underdogs, "us", of class society.

To be fair the vocal mix was atrocious, with the audience hardly able to make out the lyrics and catching only a few snatched words

inbetween songs by Chris Dean, the band's singer/spokesperson.

"Gorbachev is a bastard, Thatcher is a bastard, Kinnock is a bastard. That's why this tour's called 'Neither Washington nor Moscow'". (Incidentally that is also the title of the album and perhaps familiar to us all from somewhere else?).

That, together with a few "effing this" and "effing that" as songs were introduced, an SWP guy getting up on stage to announce a local meeting: "If you want to get rid of the effing Tories then

come to our next meeting - Whose Law and Order?", was basically the gig.

I'd hoped for and expected much better from this band of active revolutionaries who for sure put out a lot of anger and at times energy in their songs, drummed competently and strongly but with guitar and bass occasionally losing each other on this occasion; but where was the sussed-out direction to all of this? Nothing but basic anti-Tory clichés and the superficial international socialism type slogans - seemingly very radical sounding but in reality

catch-all liberal aphorisms.

The audience? A couple of hundred: youngish SWP members, students, a few locals, almost entirely white, a little dancing at the front - going through the motions it looked like by a generally passive crowd.

Perhaps I should have known better when I saw the front page headline of Socialist Worker that night (Fulham by-election night): "Time to Rejoice?" Is that what you call relating to workers in struggle? About as inspiring as the gig, I'm afraid.

# HEROES

This album is a celebration of the miners' strike. Celebration may seem like an odd word to use in connection with a fight that ended in defeat but it is the only word that can describe the mood of optimism and pride running through the album. Inspired by Northumberland and Durham Miners Support Group, the record has been very professionally produced by Consett Music Project - a group set up after the closure of Consett Steelworks which effectively decimated the local community.

## Music

What about the music itself? Well the title track "Heroes" by Alan Hull of 'Lindisfarne' fame fairly races along but I'm not sure that the song 'Heroes' on side two by Robbie Burns (local folk singer) isn't at least as good.

Billy Bragg's name seems to appear in every current list of credits for music events connected with the labour movement. Is he in danger of

Heroes is an album of music from and about the 1984/5 miners' strike. The music of Heroes formed the basis of a concert at the Albert Hall on March 2 as part of the launch for the National Justice for Mineworkers Campaign and billed as 'Songs of struggle for the working class'.

Tony Serjeant reviews the album for Socialist Organiser.

overexposure? He doesn't seem to think so because here he is again, this time with the Pattersons and a version of the old syndicalist song "Power in a Union".

Not to be outdone the Flying Pickets wade in with some A Capella and more A Capella is harmonised by Tyneside-based "Workey Tickets". Thoughtful moments are provided by Jock Purdon's pit poetry while in contrast "PC 1150" (the modern-day Laughing Police-

man who's actually in the SAS) is well performed by local comedian Mike Elliot.

## Highlights

But the real highlights of this album I reckon come from Mal Finch (anarchist feminist), firstly with "The Real World" (side 1) then with "Here We Go (for the women of the working class)" - an incredibly moving song sung with intense conviction. Anyone who hasn't heard it yet should buy this album and play "Here We Go" when an antidote is needed for demoralisation.

There's more but the last word should go to the Durham Women's Support Group and on the album it does. Well, who else could provide the backing chorus to the final track "They'll Never Beat the Miners"?

All money made from the sale of "Heroes" (cost £5) goes to the sacked miners. Enquiries c/o Anne Suddick, 26 The Avenue, Durham City.



# Prepare for more action

By Ian McCalman

The people appointed by the Scottish Secretary of State, Malcolm Rifkind, to the Committee of Inquiry into Scottish teachers' pay can only intensify teachers' fears as to its outcome.

The five members include an anti-strike headteacher, a retiring official from Lothian Regional Council, notorious for its anti-teacher attitudes, a retired chairman of Boots the Chemists and a member of the board of directors of William Low and Son, a company which insists on selling South African produce.

Clearly teachers must be on their guard. The best way to prepare is by maintaining the present curriculum development boycott and work to contract, paying the monthly levy and preparing for renewed strike action in the event of the inquiry's recommendations proving unacceptable.

These are the official policies of the main Scottish teachers' union, the EIS and we must ensure that they are enforced.

Twice over the past two years there were opportunities for the EIS, which commands the support of 80% of Scottish teachers, to move away from the demand for an Independent Pay Review and go for a straight claim.

In April 1985 supporters of Campaign for a Fighting Union (CAFU) moved at Council for a 15% interim claim and were defeated. In February of this year we argued for a 30% two year deal and secured the votes of a third of Council members.

But the majority of the leadership and membership were not to be deflected from the Review position.

Rifkind, anxious to avoid disruption of the SCE exams and eager to recoup Tory fortunes in Scotland, cleverly took the initiative after two years disruption in the schools and announced a Committee of Inquiry. The terms of the Inquiry were, however, clearly loaded with specific reference in the remit to teachers' con-

tracts of employment and to cash limits on any recommendations.

When these terms were announced on Thursday 6 March the majority of the National Executive of the EIS appeared to reject them as unacceptable. Yet within 24 hours they unanimously voted to give evidence to the Inquiry.

What had happened in the course of that Friday to change their position? The reason given was that Rifkind had clarified his position to negotiators and removed misgivings, especially on the cash limits issue. Actually, when seen in cold print, his "concessions" amount to very little.

What did sway the Executive was the barrage of "congratulations" on "the teachers' victory" in the media and from trade union and Labour leaders, such as Donald Dewar.

On top of this was the consideration that a wages offer would obviously soon follow acceptance of participation in the Inquiry. Scottish teachers had campaigned for two years and foregone an increase for 1985/6. Would they have been willing to have gone into a third year of campaigning without an increase for 1986/7?

That was a course which the Executive was not willing to risk taking.

Certainly rejection of the Inquiry and the subsequent offer of almost 15% (7% from April 1985, 2% from January 1986 and 5% from April 1986) would have presented the union with immense difficulties in carrying the membership with them. Yet it was the course that they should have taken, arguing hard for non-participation in the Inquiry on the grounds of its loaded terms of reference.

Norman Bissell, a leading figure in the EIS in Lanarkshire, broke ranks and argued for a 'No' vote in the pay ballot. Three other representatives of the serious left on the Executive, all CAFU supporters, decided to follow the logic of their vote for participation in the Inquiry and sup-

Seriously, of course, few will lament the departure of this wretched trash from the trade union movement. Graham is to decent trade unionism what Benny Hill is to sophisticated comedy.

The only regret is that CPSA members themselves didn't directly boot him out - though they may well have done so if Graham had stuck it out for a while longer and put himself up for re-election. (Senior full-time officers in CPSA are elected every five years and Graham's term would have expired in early 1987).

Only the union's right wing will be sorry to lose the guru of New Realism: they have nobody of equal status to stand as his replacement.

The chosen one of the organised right is John Ellis, presently the deputy general secretary. He is more of a traditional right-winger than the slick media-star Graham and has been too overshadowed by Graham to make much of a name for himself.

The Broad Left's candidate will be John Macreadie, who joined CPSA in 1964 and has been an official of the union since 1970. The candidate of the so-called Broad Left '84 (Stalinists, soft lefts and poseurs) is not yet certain but is likely to be Geoff Lewtas, a full time official in the DHSS section.

Despite criticisms Socialist Organiser would make of the politics of Militant, who are the dominant group within the Broad Left, it is imperative that all activists support the Broad Left's candidate and their slate in the forthcoming elections for the National Executive Committee.

Another year of right wing or fake left domination on the NEC would be a serious blow to a union facing repeated attacks from a Tory government that has savaged staffing levels and held down our pay.

Divisions within the right wing in CPSA, and their demoralisation at losing Alistair Graham, are extra bonuses for the Broad Left's campaign. We must ensure the



Glasgow teachers' day of action against cuts in education. Photo: Rick Matthews (IFL)

ported a 'Yes' recommendation in the ballot. Other CAFU supporters disagreed and campaigned for a negative result.

By then, however, the leadership had created a momentum for acceptance and there was an 89% vote, despite the fact that the settlement goes against the EIS policy of putting more money on the basic scales.

At the Special Council meeting of 21 March those on the left arguing to pull out of the Inquiry were overwhelmingly defeated.

Jimmy Ross, writing in Socialist Worker of 22 March, blames the decision to participate in the Inquiry on an undue emphasis upon winning public support for the campaign, at the expense of more strike action. That is certainly a fair criticism of the campaign.

Yet there are obviously differences between workers in an industry who are trying to bring the management to heel by halting production and teachers whose actions can only hurt the

"consumers", pupils and parents, and whose strategy must involve applying sufficient pressure on the government to secure a settlement. Certainly more discussion is needed on the left as to the implications of these differences for future industrial action for teachers.

The other main strand of Jimmy's analysis is to claim that the vote of the three CAFU supporters on the Executive was brought about by "the strategy of many on the left of concentrating on winning positions on important committees."

Yet Jimmy is well aware that CAFU supporters have never neglected building a base at school level through holding reps' positions, organising local reps' meetings and openly campaigning for intensified strike action and on wider issues such as South Africa, the miners' strike, gender equality etc.

Over the years since 1982 we have tried to combine this with a principled and open fight for posi-

election, in May, of a fighting socialist leadership for CPSA.

## Drive out this Nazi

Lewisham Reference Library is being boycotted by library workers following the walk-out of a member of staff who was "no longer prepared to work with a nazi".

Malcolm Skeggs, librarian at the reference library in Lewisham High Street, is known to have once been a member of the NF. Indeed he twice stood for them as a parliamentary candidate in the 1970s. Since then he has been given an informal verbal warning for throwing away race relations literature before it had a chance to reach the public and, more recently, was sent on a racism awareness course. Asked for his comments on the course he wrote an abusive letter describing it as a waste of time and money.

However, it has only recently been discovered that he is still politically active as a fascist. When he left the NF he helped form the BNP for which he works as some sort of publicity/information officer at their office in Forest Hill. It seems that of late he has become a little confused in attempting to combine his activity as a BNP

member with his role as a reference librarian working for a council "committed" to a policy of equal opportunities. Fascist literature and letters from the likes of John Tyndall have been discovered lying about among the more usual bumph you would expect to see on a librarian's desk. Furthermore he has developed a tendency for disappearing down to the post office for 20 minutes at a time. Following one of these visits he was caught in the act of making a photocopy from 'Spearhead'. It was at this point, on Friday 4 April that the walk-out occurred. Fellow library workers gave their support by deciding to boycott the library and a departmental NALGO meeting was called for Monday 7th.

This meeting gave its full support to the action taken so far and called on all members to join the boycott of Lewisham Reference Library. Furthermore it was agreed that Malcolm Skeggs should be removed from his current position and should not be employed at any public service point in the borough.

Later that week the NALGO branch executive met and pushed the matter further, passing a motion calling for his dismissal if the charges made against him are proven - he is due for a disciplinary hearing with management on Thursday 17 April. It is unclear however what the charges are but seem likely to consist simply of leaving the building during work time and making personal photocopies at the council's expense - no mention of his activity as a fascist.

## Morris strike: 1 year on

With the first anniversary of the start of the Morris furniture factory strike in Glasgow only a few weeks away, the Furniture, Timber and Allied Trades Union (FTAT) has called an open meeting to discuss how to step up support for the strike.

The dispute began in May last year when an overwhelming majority voted in favour of industrial action to win trade union recognition and restoration of 39 hour working week in line with the national agreement on minimum conditions between employers and the union in the furniture industry.

On Friday 24 March 29 of the workforce clocked out after 3 hours, refusing to work the additional 2 1/2 hours demanded by management. The following day all 29, including nine apprentices were sacked.

Other workers who refused to cross their picket lines were also sacked.

Morris has taken a hard line in the dispute. The factory owner has refused to meet ACAS or even the secretary of the employers' federation in the furniture industry. Furniture has been imported from abroad and re-labelled as "Morris" in the Glasgow factory in order to maintain supplies to furniture stores.

When the City Council organised a civil reception for the Morris strikers, management bussed the scabs down to the City Chamber to picket the event and conducted a letter-writing campaign in the local press. Pickets have been physically attacked by scabs outside the factory.

The factory has been picketed throughout the last eleven months. The strike has been declared official by FTAT from the outset. And, at least in terms of financial support, the dispute has been supported by the broader labour movement.

But Morris is still able to continue with its operations. The main problems in the dispute are:

\*Drivers, including TGWU members, crossing picket lines to make deliveries to Morris';

\*The lack of support from workers (in the TGWU) at the second Morris factory, in Campsie, near Lennoxton;

\*Morris' success in importing furniture and wood through the docks;

\*The lack of impact of picketing on the scabs, despite the persistence and efforts of the pickets.

It is such problems which will need to be addressed at the FTAT meeting if the strikers are finally to win. And, clearly, the local TGWU organisation has a central role to play in ensuring such an outcome.

\*FTAT support meeting for Morris strikers: 7.30pm, Thursday 10 April, McLellan Galleries, Sauchiehall St.

\*FTAT demonstrations in support of the Morris strike: every Friday, 4.15pm, Morris factory, Milton St., Cowcaddens.

\*Messages of support/donations to: FTAT, 46 Carlton Place, Glasgow G5 9TQ. (Cheques payable to "Morris Fund").

tions at all levels in the union.

In the meantime Jimmy and his comrades in the SWP chose to withdraw from competition for official positions in the union, arguing that a "downturn" in industrial militancy necessitated this course of action. Over the past year they have, however, reversed this course and now try to become CAFU-endorsed candidates.

This background has been drawn not in order to score points at the expense of the SWP but to set the record straight in order to make a correct assessment of the situation. The effort to achieve a balance between building a militant base at school/factory/office level and securing positions in the official structures will remain a central dilemma for socialists in the unions and one of which we are well aware in CAFU.

Clearly there are grave dangers facing teachers throughout the UK. Rifkind will be watching the outcome of the ACAS talks as regards England and Wales in determining the outcome in Scotland.

Pressures will be applied to the Committee of Inquiry to ensure that it comes up with an offer which, in return for extra cash, will tie teachers to compulsory, unpaid curricular development and other such changes sought by government and local authority management.

Those on the serious left who voted to go to the Inquiry did so for tactical reasons, believing that we had to catch our breath so as to fight again when the Inquiry reports. Others on the Executive, however, did so in order to permanently demobilise the campaign. They will be prepared to jump at whatever the Inquiry offers and to sell it to the membership.

Activists in both the EIS and the NUT will have their hands full between now and September warning and preparing teachers for the prospect of renewed strike action in the autumn.

In any case library NALGO members will be meeting again on Monday 21 April. Watch this space for further developments.

## Laings fight on

Pickets of Laings London Bridge site are continuing daily from 7 am to 5.30 pm. On Monday (14th) a delegation of 50 from Southwark Council DLO attended and donated £250 to the Lock-Out Committee.

More good news has since come in. Pete 'Judas' Kavanagh, the TGWU building official who has tried to undermine support for the Laings pickets has been forced to resign amid allegations of corruption.

# BLOC CONFERENCE

Saturday 19 April at 11.00 a.m.

Sheffield City Hall

£3 per delegate, up to five delegates per labour movement organisation



# Socialist Organiser

# Vote Labour MAY 8<sup>th</sup>

# TIME TO STEP UP THE ACTION

By Cate Murphy

There is a desperate need to step up the action in the battle against Rupert Murdoch.

The numbers on the mass pickets are dwindling. Two weeks ago something like 20,000 marched to Fortress Wapping. Last Saturday (12th) less than 2,000 joined the picket.

A lot of striking printers think that a sell out may be looming as Dean and Dubbins continue to 'look into' Murdoch's offer of the Grays Inn Road print plant.

## Paper

As Socialist Organiser argued last week, contrary to what Dean and Dubbins may think, there is no way that Murdoch's offer plus redundancy payments can be considered a reasonable settlement to this dispute. Any projected labour movement paper is likely to employ no more than a thousand, leaving the other 4,500 News International strikers on the dole. It could well have some of the worst conditions and working practices in the entire national newspaper industry - the printers would be continually asked to make sacrifices for 'our' paper and you could bet that Tony and Brenda would be among those asking for the sacrifices.

Even worse, a labour movement paper plus compensation would provide no solution to the central issues of this strike - jobs and union organisation.

To allow Murdoch to get away with completely de-unionising News International would be a defeat for the print unions on an even larger scale than the defeat suffered by the NGA at Warrington.

It is towards just such a defeat that Dean and Dubbins appear to be steering the strike.

The only way to prevent this from happening is for rank and file printers to take control of this



Picket at Wapping. Photo: Stefano Cagnoni, IFL.

strike, and link it to an industry-wide fightback against the bosses' offensive.

\*There needs to be a renewed drive to get printers and other trade unionists down to the Wapping picket.

## Face to face

\*SOGAF members in distribution, and other sectors of the print outside London need to hear from the sacked printers face to face. At the moment officials are playing on the fear of victimisation as a way of holding back solidarity action. Rank and file strikers getting round to every distribution depot and workplace could change that situation.

\*Murdoch's attack needs to be linked to attacks at the Express, the Mirror, the Daily Record and in the provincial press, and to those coming up in the rest of Fleet Street. The way to do that is to pull out the whole of the national newspaper industry.

# NUJ:EXPEL WAPPING SCABS!

Delegates at the NUJ's annual delegate meeting which started today (Tuesday, 15th) will be discussing whether or not the union should discipline the 600 or so NUJ members scabbing at Wapping.

The executive have shown

where they stand on this issue by voting not to proceed with disciplinary action but simply to keep the matter on the table.

The scabs who now look set to sign a legally binding no strike deal with Murdoch should be expelled and the issues raised by the News International dispute seriously discussed. The NUJ must make a firm commitment to discipline any member crossing printers' picket lines.

As it stands there are no resolutions dealing with the spate of sackings that have hit the national and provincial press or attacks on the four day week at the Daily Record or the Manchester Evening News.

These issues must be taken up and linked to the need for unity in action with the print unions against the bosses' offensive. NUJ general secretary Conroy's 'do nothing' approach can only lead to worsening conditions and job losses for journalists.

Local Group	Target	So far	Per cent
North London	1600	1308.48	82%
Nottingham	1000	966.01	97%
South London	800	899.26	112%
Manchester	1000	822.35	82%
East London	760	671.11	88%
Merseyside	500	562.80	113%
Cardiff	600	462.50	77%
Glasgow/Edinburgh	560	398.00	71%
Durham/North East	200	291.80	146%
Sheffield	400	259.41	65%
York/Harrogate	300	230.70	71%
Stoke North	200	202.75	101%
West London	500	200.00	40%
Coventry	350	200.00	57%
Stoke South	200	198.00	99%
Basingstoke	560	127.47	22%
Colchester	100	67.80	68%
Birmingham	100	65.00	65%
Aberdeen	20	46.00	230%
Oxford	40	40.00	100%
Canterbury	90	43.00	48%
Southampton	60	16.00	27%
Leeds	60		
Central/General	5000	1574.80	31%
Total	15000	9628.72	64%

# 108 miles for SO

"I'm sending a cheque for £30", writes Nigel Bodman from Manchester, "which is some of the sponsorship money our cycle ride has raised". Nigel and another Manchester comrade, Andy Barrett, cycled round the boundary of Greater Manchester Council on abolition day, 1 April. It took them nine hours, at an average speed of 12 miles an hour.

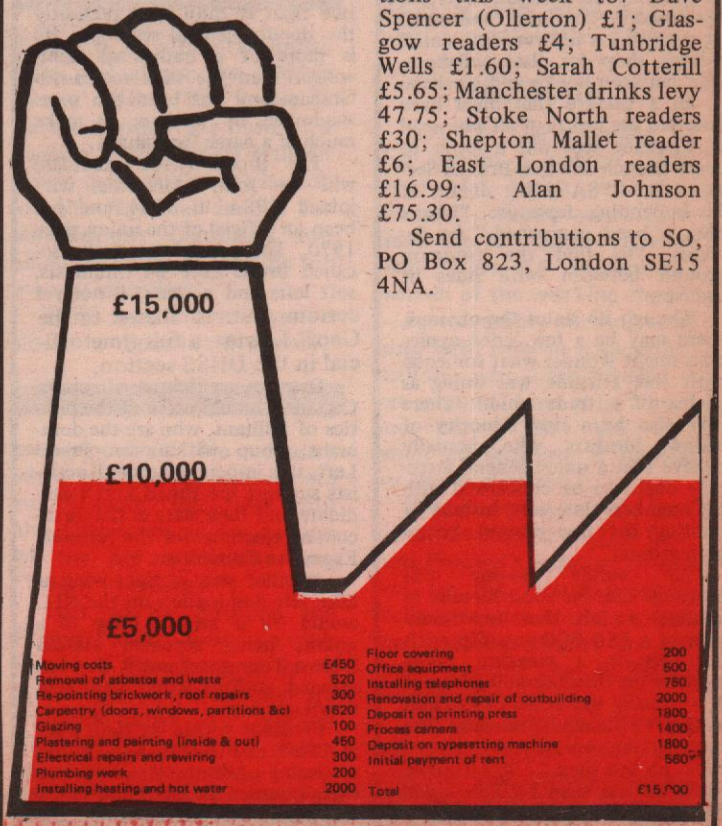
"So far", Nigel writes, "money is slowing coming in - the local election cam-

paign has meant that there are no meetings to catch people at. Hopefully we will have more next weekend".

Les Hearn, author of our Science Column, is cycling 60 miles on 3 May and running 10 km (6¼ miles) on 18 May, and asking for sponsors (so much per mile for the cycling, and so much per minute under one hour for the run). See the Science Column on page 10 for details.

Thanks for other donations this week to: Dave Spencer (Ollerton) £1; Glasgow readers £4; Tunbridge Wells £1.60; Sarah Cotterill £5.65; Manchester drinks levy 47.75; Stoke North readers £30; Shepton Mallet reader £6; East London readers £16.99; Alan Johnson £75.30.

Send contributions to SO, PO Box 823, London SE15 4NA.



## YOUR LOCAL SUPPORT GROUP

Barking & Dagenham	(01) 517 5519	Lambeth	(01)733 5670/670 4647
Basingstoke	(0256) 28460	Leicester	707730
Bedford	(0234) 851844/211079	Lesbian & Gay PSG	(01) 737 2495
Brighton	(0273) 605552	Lewisham	(01) 690 9841/691 2897
Brent	(01) 968 3952/624 1323	Liverpool	(01) 709 3995
Camden	(01) 328 7372	LSE	(01) 226 5969
City of London Poly	(01) 247 1441	Middlesex Poly	(01) 805 4250/807 6538
Coventry	415046/310146	Oxford	(0865) 724707
Deptford	(01) 791 2573	Portsmouth	(0705) 819141
Ealing	(01) 574 7461	Reading	(0734) 861284/868614/584558
Greenwich	(01) 310 5451	Richmond & Twickenham	(01) 755 3237/876 6715
Hackney	(01) 249 8086	Southwark	(01) 582 0996
Harrow	(01) 427 5909	Waltham Forest	(01) 555 6093
Billington	(01) 281 0552/607 6383	Strike Graphics	(01) 582 0996
Warrington	(01) 960 5961		