

SOCIALIST ORGANISER

FOR WORKERS' LIBERTY EAST AND WEST

A DAILY BATTERING

A woman's experience on a building site: page 10.

Sanctions debate

Discussed by Bob Fine - centre pages

Workers can plan!

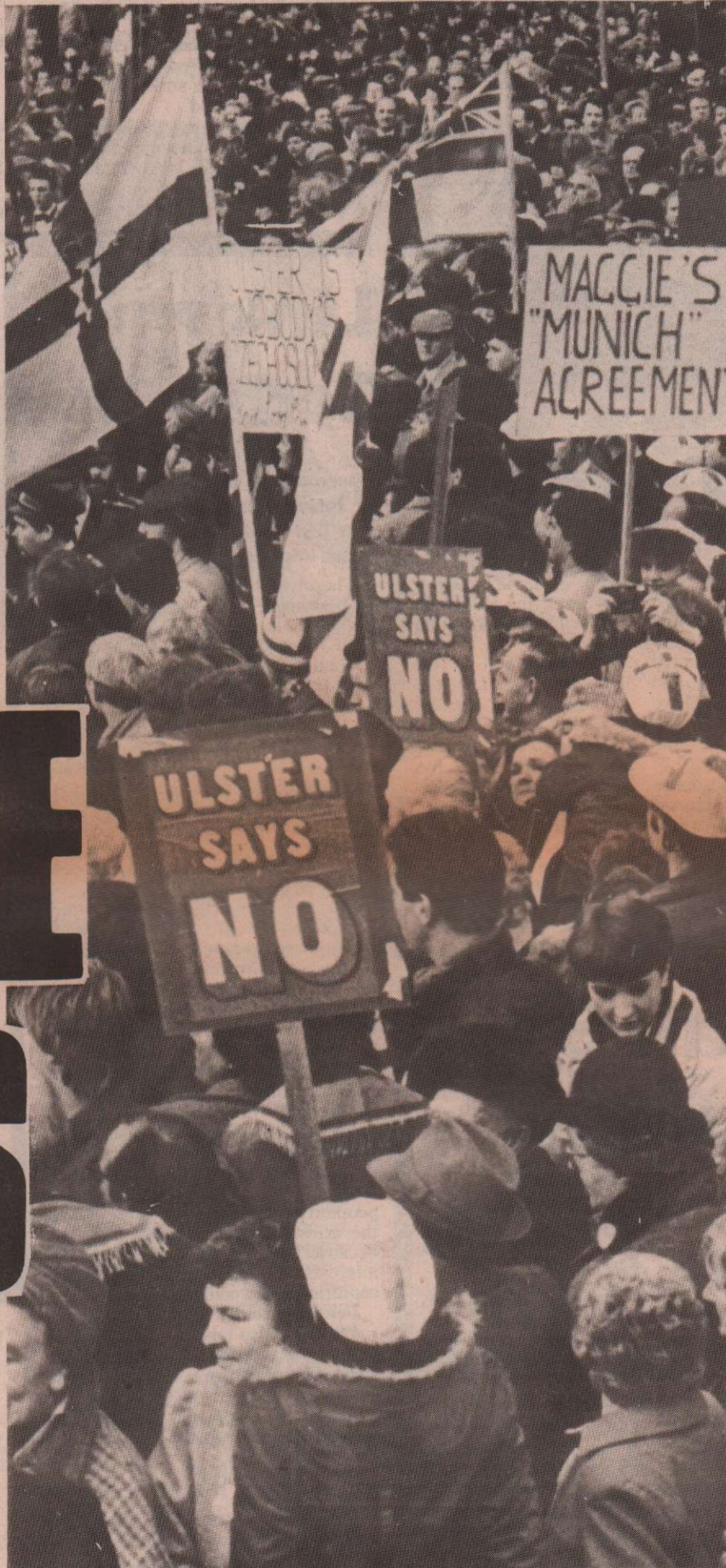
Poland's Marxist underground See centre pages

NORTHERN IRELAND

ARMY LETS ORANGE BIGOTS STRUT



Paisley: bigot



Unionists demonstrate

Photo: Derek Speirs, Report

Would the Orange Protestant bigots be allowed to march on their 'traditional route' through the Catholic 'Tunnel' area of Portadown in Co. Antrim? Or would the British authorities — backed and stiffened by Dublin — insist that they would not, and use whatever force it took to stop them?

On the answer to that question hung the credibility of the Anglo-Irish Hillsborough agreement for many Northern Ireland Catholics.

They got their answer on 12 July. The Orangeists did march through Portadown — but not through the Tunnel district.

Compromise

They were allowed to march down Garvahy Road, another Catholic area. This was said by the RUC to be 'a compromise'. They declared the Garvahy Road area, where the population is over 90% Catholic, to be a mixed area!

Catholics had looked to the agreement, which gives Dublin a role in

the political running of Northern Ireland, to put an end to such provocations. Protestants had feared that it would.

Serious clashes occurred at Portadown last year, during the Dublin-London negotiations but before the Anglo-Irish agreement was signed. It was expected to be a big flashpoint this year. The RUC 'compromise' defused it. No wonder the Orange leaders claimed a victory — not only a little local victory, but a triumph over the Anglo-Irish agreement.

Ian Paisley's deputy Peter Robinson commented on the 'compromise' that

the route down the Garvahy Road was a better one for an Orange Catholic-baiting march. "For some of them Garvahy Road would have been the first choice; it was just that Obin Street was the traditional route".

The 'compromise' emerged in discussions between the RUC and Unionist politicians from which Catholics were excluded, after Ian Paisley led 4000 Orangeists, some of them in paramilitary gear, in taking over the symbolically important village of Hillsborough, where the Anglo-Irish deal

Turn to back page

South Africa: Workers' action spreads

On Monday 14 July South African trade unions called a day of action against the state of emergency. Working class protests had been spreading for the past month.

Now a strike by 2000 diamond miners at De Beers mine in Kimberley has been followed by extensive action in the mining and other industries. The strikers are demanding the release of detained union leaders.

Go-slows

The strikes have been accompanied by go-slows and works-to-rule.

The day of action, called by the giant union federation, the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU), was a success but it was less successful than were the general strikes earlier this year — on May Day and on Soweto Day, 16 June, the 10th anniversary of the Soweto uprising.

South Africa's workers now face repression even more savage than they suffered under pre-emergency apartheid.

Workers' Sanctions Now! Lobby the TUC.
8.30am, 23 July, at the TUC, Great Russell St, London WC1.

In many areas, trade unions, weakened as a result of the widespread arrest of their leaders, were unable to organise effective action. Nevertheless, in the Eastern Cape Province, where the United Democratic Front is strong, support for the strike was most solid.

Other forms of resistance are also being used. The militant Metal and Allied Workers Union (MAWU), which has suffered arrests of its leaders, is taking the government to court, alleging that the State of Emergency is itself illegal.

The severity of the repression and the strength of the resistance have prompted South African business circles to speak out. Gavin Relly — head of the giant Anglo-American Corporation who met with the banned African National

Turn to page 2

Strike rocks Chile

A massive two-day general strike in Chile on 2-3 July marked a new stage in the development of the opposition to the brutal dictatorship of General Augusto Pinochet.

The strike, called by the National Civic Assembly — a broad opposition coalition — was the most successful opposition action in the 13 years since the coup. Workers' leaders claimed an 85% solid strike on the second day. Transport, trade, education and manufacturing industry were all hit by strike action.

At least seven people were killed, and many more injured as troops were sent in to crush the strike. About 700 people were arrested.

Human rights organisations have reported gross violations by the military — including the deliberate infliction of multiple burns on two students in Santiago, the Chilean capital.

The military clampdown was accompanied by big restrictions on the press and radio.

This was not the first strike against Pinochet's dictatorship, but it was the first national strike of such proportions. It reflects the fact that the underground labour and political movements have been organising with increasing effectiveness over the past period.

But the important Communist Party announced last week that it favours negotiations with the junta, and would support a military government without Pinochet, as a transitional step towards democracy — according to a report in the Guardian (8 July).

Coup

Pinochet came to power in a violent coup in September 1973 that left over 30,000 dead, including President Salvador Allende.

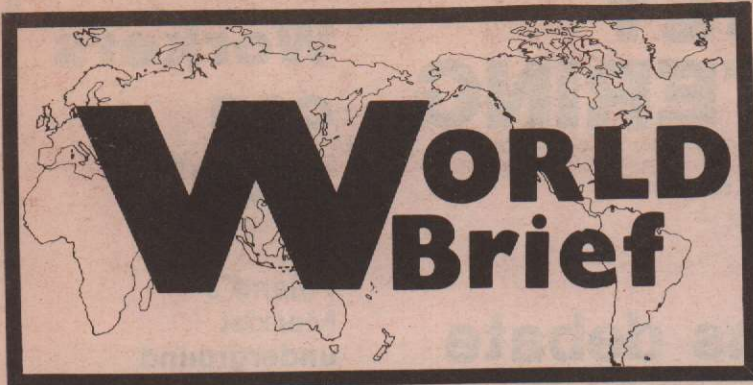
The coup was made easier by the policy of collaboration with the armed

forces pursued by the Popular Unity government, of which the Communist Party was part.

Nothing

This latest turn in CP policy shows that they have learned nothing. Rather than point towards revolutionary objectives for the workers' movement in the follow-up to a successful general strike, the Communist Party wants to divert the movement into bogus negotiations. The 'broad' National Civic Assembly — which includes capitalist groups — forms part of the same general policy.

The lesson of 1973 is clear: the workers must rely on their own strength, and have no trust at all in any section of the military. It would be a tragedy if the workers' movement, reborn after years of terrible repression, merely repeated the history of the early '70s and went down to another defeat.



Russian tanks in Afghanistan

Kabul rift

The appointment of a new leader to Afghanistan's Communist Party has caused violent conflicts in the capital, Kabul.

Rival factions sharply

contest the appointment of Najibullah as secretary-general at the beginning of May. Internal party conflict has now erupted into street fighting and bombing attacks. There has been a wave of explosions in Kabul over the past week.

And there was gunfire outside the Communist Party haunt, the Ariana Hotel, on Saturday July 4, according to diplomatic sources.

Najibullah has also disclosed a case of fraud involving high-up mem-

bers of the Party, suggesting the launch of an official anti-corruption campaign.

The extent and precise cause of the factional violence are as yet not clear. But the new intraparty civil war adds one more problem for the Russian rulers in Kabul.

On the other hand nothing that happens with the ranks of the puppet PDP ruling party can be decisive. Real power in Afghanistan is held by a 120,000 USSR troops there.

Sun sets

"And that's the way the world ends," said the poet, "not with a bang but with a whimper." The British Empire was probably the greatest empire ever. The sun never set on it.

Now the remnant of that empire, the Commonwealth, threatens to fall apart over South Africa. Britain is so heavily involved in the South African economy that sanctions against South Africa would hit Britain itself very hard.

The escalating boycott of the Commonwealth Games, from which most of Black Africa is likely to withdraw, holds a mirror up to the Commonwealth future — unless Britain goes for sanctions.

But anyway, the Commonwealth is a mere shadow. It's nearly 15 years now since Britain chose to look to the EEC instead.

Wall St slumps

On 7 July Wall Street had its biggest-ever fall in share prices.

It wasn't the beginning of a new 1929 crash. But the underlying fact is that industrial production in the US is stagnating. In May it was 5% down on February, and just 0.1% up over May 1985.

A consumer boom in the US, based on imports and a vast trade deficit, has kept world capitalism more or less buoyant. Profits are still high, and shareholders have made huge gains in recent years

— 25% on their investment last year in the US, and as much as 103% in Italy.

But high profits can turn very rapidly into losses when confidence collapses. And many things in the world economy today — especially the US's huge deficit — are undermining confidence.

The Financial Times concluded: "Investors in all markets should prepare for a bumpy ride in the months ahead."

SOCIALIST ORGANISER PAMPHLETS

'Under Whose Flag': workers' Liberty magazine on Trotskyism today, 60p.

'Liverpool: What Went Wrong?' 20p.

'Breaking the Chains': Workers' Liberty magazine on South Africa, 75p.

'Illusions of Power': Socialist Organiser magazine on the local government left, 60p.

'Magnificent Miners': Socialist Organiser magazine on the 1984-5

strike, 75p.

'Where We Stand', 20p.

'The Broad Lefts: What they Are And What They Must Become', 35p.

'The Fight For Trade Union Democracy', 20p.

'Labour Democracy and the Fight for a Workers' Government', 40p.

'Afghanistan: USSR troops out!': Socialist Forum No. 3, 50p.

'Ireland 1969-85': Socialist Forum No. 2, 50p.

'Labour's misspent Youth':

Account of the history of Labour's youth movement, 10p.

Link with Gorbachov

Speaking at the Polish Institute of International Affairs in Warsaw last Thursday, 10 July, Tony Benn told his audience:

The international labour and socialist movement should begin taking the initiative, at every level, to end the Cold War and the arms race, and start to build a new international order, based on the UN Charter.

We must not allow fear, or the idea that these matters must all be left to be decided at Soviet-American Summit meetings, to blind us to the practical possibilities for action that exist at other levels, in our own countries.

Britain is now paying a very high price for the cold war, with heavy military expenditure that absorbs well over 5% of our gross domestic product.

The real danger lies in the continuing poison of Cold War propaganda which prepares people psychologically for the possibility that nuclear weapons may one day have to be used.

US policies, after the Libya bombing, the threats to Nicaragua and the denunciation of the SALT agreement, are becoming increasingly unpopular with the British people, and in particular the Star Wars project is seen as a gross waste of scarce world resources.

By contrast there is growing sympathy for the recent peace initiatives taken by Mr Gorbachov, and many people find his appeals for an end to the arms race to be credible, in part because they are so obviously in the interests of the people in the socialist countries, and would benefit us all.

Benn then told the Polish audience:

We must also take up the theme of democracy and make it central in our own political structures and philosophy if we are to escape from the dangers of bureaucracy and prevent the new technologies from dominating us, instead of serving us.

Benn then outlined a "new international agenda":

1. The extension of direct links, at every level, between the Labour, Socialist, Peace and other progressive movements.

2. The re-unification of the world trade union movement, to bring the WFTU and the ICFTU together.

3. The establishment of regular forums for the open discussion of our experience of socialism, so as to learn from both our successes and our failures.

4. The adoption of specific policies to strengthen confidence in Europe; by developing the Helsinki accords, moving towards the acceptance of nuclear-free zones, and working to replace the military blocs by a pan-European security system.

5. The launching of campaigns for a cut in arms expenditure within our own countries, to allow the diversion of resources to urgent development at home, and world-wide.



On 10 July Wendy Savage was cleared on charges of 'incompetence' and led a march through East London. Wendy Savage is controversial because of her women-centred approach to childbirth. Photo: Stefano Cagnoni, Report.

Workers' action spreads

From page 1

Now is the time for British trade unions to take action against apartheid. The TUC General Council is being urged by the Anti-Apartheid Movement to call three days of solidarity in protest at the State of Congress last year — has called for the release of Nelson Mandela, the imprisoned ANC leader. South African capitalists are fearful of the effect of the unrest, repression and recession on their own profits.

Massive boycotts of schools by black students in protest at the state of emergency marked the beginning of term on July 14.

It was the first time schools had been open since the state of emergency began. In some areas, attendance at school was less than 50%.

Emergency in South Africa. This it must do: and the three days must be used as a springboard for further action.

The British labour movement must develop positive solidarity with trade unions in South Africa, who are at the sharp end of apartheid repression. Industrial action — boycotts of South African trade — must be a big priority.

The visit to South Africa planned by trade union leaders for meetings with South African unions is a good initiative. Such contacts between the labour movements of the two countries must be developed at all levels.

Join the picket of the TUC General Council to call for a serious campaign of trade union action.

The politics of sanctions, centre pages.

The drugs trade and Tory philosophy

DO THOSE who peddle death deserve death? Many workers who are not gut liberals will have approved the hanging of two young men, one Australian, one British-born, in Kuala Lumpur jail last week.

They are mistaken. The death penalty is a barbarous social obscenity. But you can understand their point of view.

The drugs plague seems to threaten to engulf us — from the so-called 'champagne drug' of the well-off, cocaine, to the heavily adulterated 'smack' and dirty needles in the backstreets, where they

are paid for by prostitution and crime and, finally, often by death.

If the children of Tory cabinet ministers are not safe and protected from the drugs plague, what chance have the children of the poor, desperate and needy? Most working-class families with young people feel threatened. To the scourge of unemployment is added a new social plague.

NHS

Many causes have raised this threat to its present lethal level. The decision to block supplies to addicts from the National Health Service apparently started a pro-

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cess in Britain of creating a criminal supply and soon a criminal element on the demand side.

But there is more to it than that, surely. The drugs trade is big business; the possibility of immense wealth tempts individuals to take risks, and steels them against concern for the consequences.

In the film 'The Third Man',

Orson Welles, playing a gangster who diluted penicillin in post-war Vienna, killing and maiming children, takes Joseph Cotton to the top of a merry-go-round and expresses the money-making drug-pusher's philosophy. Pointing to the human specks moving around on the distant ground below, he asks Cotton how he would feel if he got \$1000 for every one of them who stopped moving. Could his conscience cope?

Tobacco

Isn't that the Tory government's own philosophy? Isn't it the philosophy of the tobacco makers and

advertisers who know they peddle death yet continue to peddle it?

Governments can hang or jail a few big drug pushers, but the capitalist system cannot escape the fact that their outlook on the world is identical. The capitalist class has created the demand for the suppliers of premature death and destruction by the way it shapes society.

The drugs problem is the white plague of a decadent civilisation — morally sick and aimless at the top, more and more brutalised at the bottom. It is a system that has outlived itself and is rotten ripe for replacement by socialism.

Peace from below

Tony Benn's statement on his visit to Poland is reprinted on the opposite page. The visit is mis-timed and the statement misconceived.

Benn has gone to Poland on the morrow of the so-called Tenth Congress of the Polish United Workers' Party: a 'congress' of a 'party' attended by Mr Gorbachov, head of the USSR, Poland's regional military overlord. The main business of the congress was to pronounce the Polish trade union movement, Solidarnosc, dead.

It is not dead, despite five years of savage repression. But it has received many blows and setbacks.

Solidarnosc

Socialists in the west owe active support and all-out class commitment to the labour movement in the Stalinist states. It is a question as elementary as not crossing a picket line.

Solidarnosc is the only trade union movement in Poland; the police-state labour fronts misnamed unions are in no way and in no sense trade unions.

The fact that some militants of Solidarnosc, and perhaps militants of other underground trade union movements in the Stalinist states, have illusions about the 'freedom and democracy' of the capitalist West cannot affect our attitude.

Many in the West have parallel illusions about the Stalinist regimes which are the real or designated enemies of

the West's rulers and which lyingly call themselves socialist.

It is a basic rule of working-class socialism that we are for independent and self-governing trade unions and labour movements *everywhere*. Even if a regime calls itself socialist, that doesn't make that principle out of date.

As Lenin himself insisted in the famous 'trade union debate' in the USSR in early 1921, the workers need independent organisations to defend them even from their own socialist state. And for the workers who live under them, the Stalinist states are very far from being their own socialist states.

The reality of the Stalinist states is that they are ruled by privileged bureaucrats who cannot tolerate *any* independent working-class activity; who suppress with fascist-like thoroughness real labour movements; and who foster state labour fronts, fake trade unions, to fill the place of unions and to control the working class.

Tony Benn should know that. What about peace? The labour movement should and does want peace. It is rightly hostile to the open war-mongers and to those in our own movement who are busily trimming down Labour Party policy to fit NATO.

But that does not mean that we should accept the view of the world of the rulers of the USSR, or the cynical propaganda they make.

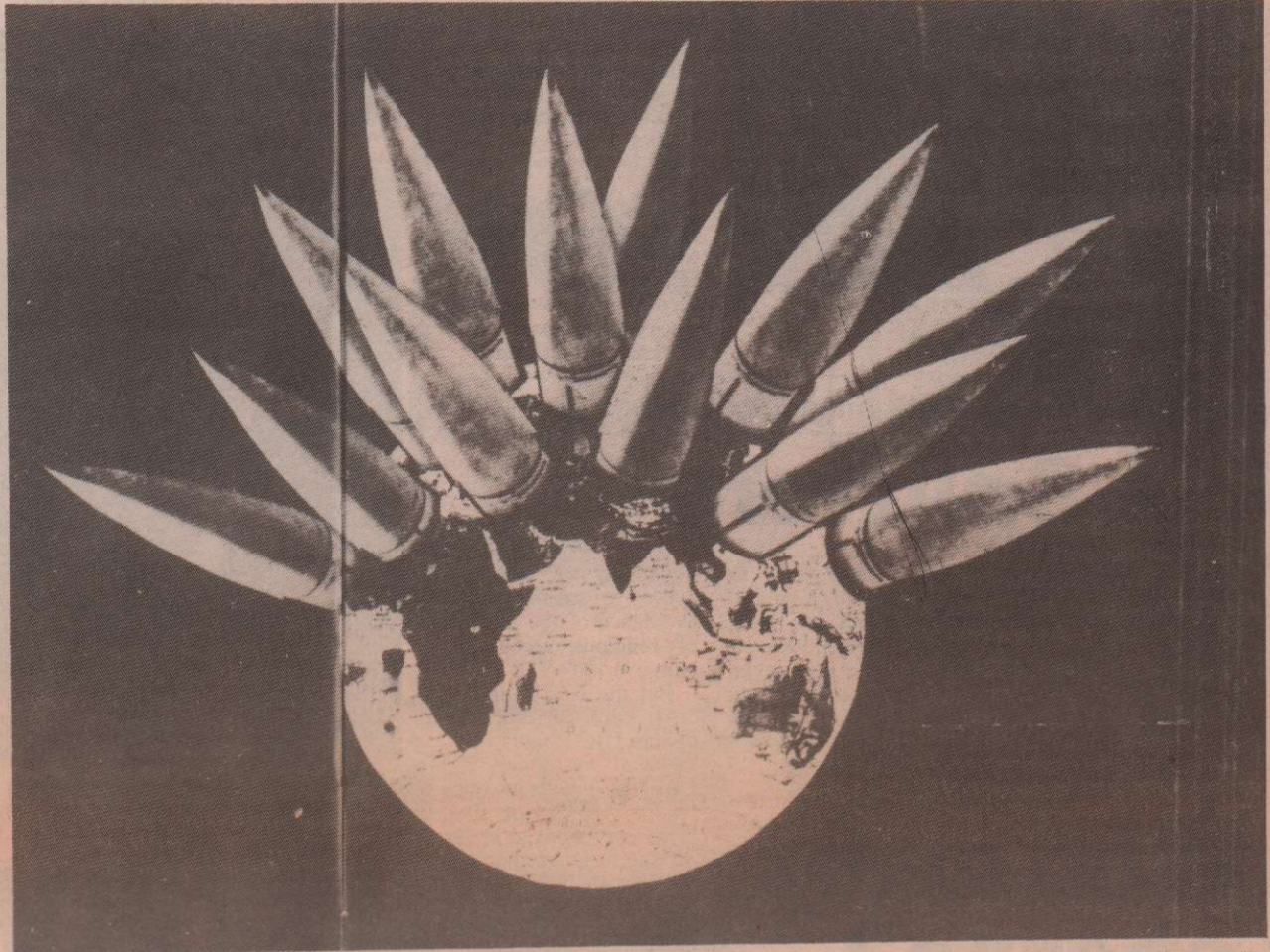
Champions

They present themselves as champions of peace. And by contrast with the ravaging Washington administration, they do seem relatively peaceful, or at any rate cautious.

Yet the rulers of the USSR gave an immense boost to those in the USA who were already getting rearmament underway, when they invaded Afghanistan in December 1979.

Worse than that. Reagan and his stooges and allies conduct bloody war in El Salvador, back the murderous contra guerillas on Nicaragua's borders, and may well go further towards outright invasion. But it is the USSR that is now conducting a full-scale Vietnam-style war — against the peoples of Afghanistan. The USSR is in the 7th year of its attempt to subjugate that country.

It is the bureaucratic rulers of the USSR who systematically repress many nationalities within their own state and 'sphere of influence'. They oppress and limit the national independence of the Polish nation. Within the USSR itself they are attempting by force culturally and linguistically to Russify the sixty million strong Ukrainian nation, which is the



The nuclear arsenal. Photomontage by Peter Kennard from the book 'About Turn'.

biggest oppressed nation in the world.

When Ronald Reagan talks about the USSR as 'the evil empire', one should not let Reagan's gross unfitnes to say it lead one to the conclusion that it isn't true.

Socialism is not what exists in the Stalinist states. What exists there is an unbridled state tyranny run by and for the benefit of the ruling bureaucracy.

Any commitment to work for peace by denying that truth and instead making propaganda for the USSR's foreign policy inevitably ties its practitioner to the USSR bureaucracy. It is a commitment to work for peace between the tops of both societies with the labour

movement reduced to the auxiliary role of being a make-weight, propagandist and mouthpiece on the side of the USSR rulers.

No, the trade unions and the peace movement need to work through and with the ordinary — terribly oppressed — people of the USSR and Eastern Europe.

Workers

Peace cannot be promoted by contact or junketing with the state-fostered Stalinist peace movements, which are bought, paid for and wired for sound by the Stalinist governments.

We must work for peace and mutual

understanding by way of contact with the real workers' organisations in the Stalinist states and by resolute rejection of any words or deeds that lend credence to the vile pretence that the police-state pseudo-unions, the anti-unions, are real workers' organisations.

Tony Benn has played an important role on the left and thereby has the respect of serious militants, especially now for his refusal in the last period to make his peace with Kinnock and allow himself to be co-opted by the new Labour establishment. But there is no such thing as socialism in one country, comrade Benn.

Leave censorship to Mrs Whitehouse!

According to the reviews '9½ weeks' is a not very inspired commercially 'erotic' movie. Some people think it exalts male aggression and violence, and they may be right.

The film has just been banned from its area by Brighton's Labour council. This is just the latest example of left-wing bodies acting in a way that a decade ago would unmistakably have marked and identified them as belonging to the religious, conservative, and repressive Right.

Those right-wingers were — and are: Mrs Whitehouse is alive and well and vigorous, and so is Mrs Gillick — people possessed of moral certainty in their own standards and also in their own divinely inspired and licensed right to impose those standards on everyone else around them.

It is not Christian morality or the traditional 'decencies' of the sexually repressive monogamous family that motivate the new moralists of the left.

It is the desire to protect women and to root out or suppress sexism.

They are people who advocate a woman's right to choose on abortion, and so on, and in that guise they give apoplexy to the old-style repressors and censors.

Yet there is an objective alliance between the two forces. In America the alliance of radicals and conservatives threatens a new age of repression and prudery in the wake of the vast commercial exploitation of the last 15 years.

It is easy to forget, or not to know, how recently the left bore hostility to this sort of censorship as one of its distinguishing traits. It is easy to forget the era when twin beds were compulsory in any Hollywood bedroom scene. But it is only 25 years since the tame 'dirty bits' of the novel 'Lady Chatterley's Lover' were allowed legal publication, and 17 since 'Last Exit From Brooklyn' was prosecuted for depicting homosexuality explicitly.

Of course much in the cinema, videos, and TV — not only sex, but

perhaps especially violence — is nasty, gratuitous, and ugly. 9½ weeks may be a vile example. The urge to stamp on it where possible is understandable. It is mistaken.

Socialists and feminists who join the repressors are, to say the least, short-sighted.

Victims

When the repressors and puritans were in control, it was not good for women. It was women and gays who were the main victims, together with youth.

Victoria Gillick, the Christian bigot who tried to stop young women having free access to contraception, is the proof that the old-style moralists and repressors are still a threat. An ugly society creates ugly commercial films. But censorship?

If something is offensive and unacceptable, picket it! Leave the state and local censorship to Mrs Whitehouse and Victoria Gillick, comrades!

**Socialist Organiser
PO Box 823, London SE15
4NA.**

01-639 7965.

**Latest date for reports: first
post Monday or by phone,
Monday evening.**

Editor: John O'Mahony.

Typesetting: Ian Swindale.

**Published by Socialist
Organiser, PO Box 823,
London SE15 4NA.**

**Printed by East End Offset
[TU], London E2.**

**Registered as a newspaper at
the Post Office.**

**Signed articles do not neces-
sarily reflect the views of
SO.**

GRAFFITI

Wapping copping



Part of the service. Photo: Andrew Wiard, Report.

750,000 police officer hours have been spent on providing a 24-hour uniformed guard for Rupert Murdoch's barbed-wire Fortress Wapping, according to figures given in Parliament on 30 June.

Up to 1,870 police officers have been put on the streets to deter pickets and make the district a no-go area even for its own residents.

Home Secretary Douglas Hurd put the cost of the operation at £1 million — which seems a very low figure, since cops are paid a lot more than £2 an hour.

Orangeists call for trade union breakaway

Splitters

Hard-line Loyalists are trying to disrupt the Irish Congress of Trade Unions.

When Ireland was partitioned in 1920-1, the trade union move-

ment managed to remain united. It split in the '40s but has been reunited since 1961 — which was a gain, even if trade union activity in the Six Counties has

depended on see-no-evil, speak-no-evil avoidance of the issues of religious sectarianism.

But the ICTU annual conference in Belfast, opening on 1 July, was picketed by about 70 Loyalists who put out leaflets calling for the Northern unions to split off and form a region of the British TUC. They shouted at Southern delegates, 'Go back where you came from'.

Ian Paisley congratulated the bigots on their protest, and workers at Ballylumford power station have threatened to quit their union, the GMBU, unless it disaffiliates from the ICTU.

TUC membership figures

TUC-affiliated union membership now stands at 9.6 million. This is a serious decline from the 1979 peak of 12 million, but the rate of decline is slowing, and the unionised proportion of the workforce is still relatively high by international standards at 45.4%.

YTS exposed!

Just what YTS is all about was shown to members of East and North Nottingham LPYS recently when they leafleted a Youth Training workshop run by Notts County Council and where about 80% of the trainees are black.

One of the supervisors came out and unwittingly gave us some classic gems about YTS.

*For a start, he said, you can't bring politics onto YTS schemes (even ones run by a Labour council).

*Then he dismissed our efforts at leafleting by proudly telling us that

half the trainees could neither read or write.

*Finally he said our leaflet was untrue.

But when challenged about our leaflet he admitted that YTS was not so much about training youth for jobs as about keeping youth off the street. He thought this was a good idea as "otherwise these youths would get involved in crime".

Answer

He didn't answer any of the other points about our demands for a guaranteed job for youth and proper trade

union rates of pay. Despite his tale that a lot of the youth couldn't read, a group of them came up to ask us how we thought our demands for jobs, etc., could be met.

Even though the City and County Councils employ thousands of trainees they only "top up" the money that YTS 'trainees' receive by £5!

We are now trying to get the Council to give the youth a decent rate of pay and to offer a chance of a job. We will certainly be back to visit our friend the supervisor to unionise his workforce!

Comradely,
SIMON LAWLOR,
Nottingham North LPYS



Why is SO so nice to these men? Photo: Stefano Cagnoni, IFL.

Why men use the word lady

The 'Editor's Reply' to Les Hearn's objection to SO calling Brenda Dean a 'svelte lady', was a positive disgrace. The sexist abuse in this leading article jumped out of the page as you read it.

The term 'lady' is not one used to denote mere titles or upper class women, it is a morally loaded word. It is used to differentiate between 'nice' women and not nice women of all classes. This differentiation is made usually on the grounds of sexual moral

ity, but may also be done on the grounds of politeness, well grooming, etc. — in sum, by how far a woman fits in with society's prescribed image of her.

Divide

This is used to divide working class women who fit, or aspire to fit this image from those who don't, much more than it is used to differentiate between upper class and working class women.

'Lady' is an ideological term not an empirical one.

Used together with the word 'svelte' this is making a very marked comment about this woman's appearance and image.

It was almost as if we resented her as much for her suave appearance as for the fact that she has played a disgraceful role in the print dispute.

Millions of male trade unionists have done equal or worse things than Brenda Dean with much less comment about their appearance/image/attractiveness.

Even if we had commented on their appearance, it would be a much less serious crime because there is not a problem about men's image as men in our society.

Capitalism is continually defining how women should look. This may be some of the explanation for how Ms Dean looks — pressure from the media, etc.

Socialists should judge women by what they say or do and not by how they look or dress. If Ms Dean were an unattractive woman would the comment ever have been made?

I doubt it!
If Ms Dean had led her union unashamedly in a class struggle on class politics involving no underhand deals or sell-outs then what she looked like would have been irrelevant. We should not use her sex to get at her because she failed.

To do so not only breeds sexism but also undermines our critique of her as a reformist, right wing trade union leader.

Yours unequivocally,
HELEN McHALE
Manchester

Church drops its morals

I enjoyed Pat Murphy's excellent piece on the Irish divorce referendum but I felt he neglected one aspect of the successful campaign waged by the Church against legalising divorce.

After its defeat on "family planning" two years ago, the Church did not dare rely on the strength of its moral authority alone. This time it didn't just tell people to vote against divorce because the Church thought it wrong and had to be obeyed "in matters of faith and morals".

Much of the Church's campaign centred on the alleged social consequences of divorce. What would it

mean for the ownership of land in a split family? What would be the financial consequences for "the divorced first wife"? etc., etc.

Vote

It seems that this was the sort of agreement that turned the intended big pro-divorce vote registered by public opinion polls a few weeks before the campaign into a rout for Garrett Fitzgerald on polling day.

So while the Church did exercise its immense political power, it is significant that it did not dare risk attempting to exercise it as naked theocratic power by directly attempting to direct the votes of the faithful on moral grounds alone.

FERGUS ENNIS,
Deptford

Send letters to SO, PO Box 823, London SE15 4NA. All letters above 300 words may be cut for reasons of space.

Rainbow Warrior criminals freed

Above the law

No-one, so they say, is above the law. Such is the basic principle that separates constitutional government from dictatorship or monarchy where the ruler can do what he (or, rarely, she) wants.

And New Zealand is a solid constitutional democracy. Sink a ship and kill someone there, and the courts will punish you whoever you are — especially if you plead guilty to manslaughter.

Or so you would

think. But New Zealand's Labour government has just agreed to free the two criminals who organised the sinking of the Greenpeace ship Rainbow Warrior and killed a crew member.

Justice has nothing to do with it. It was a naked affair of might makes right. The French government, who employed the two criminals as secret service agents, applied economic pressure. It slashed

open bales of wool imported from New Zealand ('to check for drugs'), counted loads of kiwi fruit piece by piece, and pressured the EEC to cut imports of New Zealand butter.

So much for all the ideals of constitutional democracy. And New Zealand's final capitulation was negotiated through and approved by the supposed guardian of those ideals in the international arena, the United Nations.

The storm will rise

Jack Cleary looks at the background to the current Orange militancy in Northern Ireland.

Orangeists fighting with police and troops; RUC men firing plastic bullets at Protestant demonstrators; 4000 Orangeists marching and drilling to demonstrate their complete control of the now symbolic village of Hillsborough, where the Anglo-Irish agreement was signed last November; and the British authorities making a 'compromise' to allow Protestant/Unionist bigots to march through a Catholic area of Portadown.

That's the record so far as we enter

the hottest part of the Northern Ireland Protestant marching season. But the marching season is not over yet.

In 1969 when the government eventually had to put the army in control of the streets, the major clashes came on 13 August, during and after the Orange 'Apprentice Boys' march around the walls of Derry.

Over the last week there has been a steady build-up and intensification of violence. It looks likely to continue to build up and intensify.

That the British authorities in Northern Ireland allowed the Orange march through Catholic Portadown is a scandal which the labour movement must protest against. Once again it shows that to 'keep the balance' and placate the majority in the artificial Six Counties unit, where the Protestants are a two-to-one majority, it is often necessary for the government to be outrageously unjust to the Catholic minority.

The softly-softly tactics of the RUC at Portadown will probably boost the IRA a little at the expense of the SDLP. But it would be nonsense to think that they mean the gutting or abandonment of the Anglo-Irish agreement's attempt to reshape Northern Ireland.

The Anglo-Irish deal is still intact. The government is following a policy of riding out the storm-season of Orange activity with as few clashes and confrontations between the Orangeists and the state as possible.

At the end of the marching season the agreement signed by the two governments is likely still to be intact. The most serious threat to it may come from the political instability in the South.

Socialists in Britain have mainly dismissed the Anglo-Irish agreement as of little consequence. They are mistaken in this. The Provisional Republicans, on the other hand, have a far more

realistic and sober view of the prospects for the Anglo-Irish deal, as they have of Northern Ireland generally. The editorial from their paper *An Phoblacht* (3 July) printed below shows that.

The views in the editorial are not necessarily our views. For example, their description of the Protestants as the 'imperialist garrison' testify to the growth of a narrow Catholic-versus-Protestant attitude within the shell of the traditional Republican ideal they espouse, of dissolving the different denominations of Protestant and Catholic into the common name of Irish people.

Yet the editorial's sober discussion of the danger of civil war — which they rightly dismiss as an immediate prospect — stands in glaring contrast to the lightmindedness on this and similar questions which characterises those on the British left who sympathise with the Sinn Fein cause.

Civil war? Not yet

Sinn Fein's analysis: the editorial from *An Phoblacht* / Republican News, 3 July (abridged).

Whilst no nationalist in the North would be so foolhardy as to dismiss out of hand the latest rantings from the self-styled doctor of Free Presbyterianism (Ian Paisley) and whilst there is a great deal of apprehension about whether or not this summer is crunch-time, there is certainly a widespread feeling that Paisley's rhetoric and predictions do not match the actual situation within the loyalist community. So far, that is.

Paisley's sectarian record stretches back decades even though he rose to prominence in the '60s on a reactionary wave of opposition to ecumenism and Catholic demands for equality.

Apart from maybe shaving, he has never sustained an injury in his life and was even cute enough in his counter-demonstration to ensure that not just columns of loyalist thugs but additional phalanxes of RUC men separated him and his waving fists from peaceful Civil Rights marchers. He has gone through many friends and has bitten many loyalist organisations — thus explaining the cynicism of the UDA to his calls to organise for civil war and their statement, which one should treat sceptically, that they believe that "non-violent action is the best way to defeat the Agreement". (This should really read, "We can kill the odd Fenian, but we are not quite prepared yet for civil war").

Neither is Paisley's analysis entirely shared by other loyalist politicians, particularly the largest party, the Official Unionists, the bulk of whom came out of the Assembly on their own feet when dissolution was on the cards, unlike the stretcher and head cases of the DUP in last Monday night's Stormont debacle, who have now carried off the Assembly corpse to Belfast City Hall.

The present strategy of the British government rests on the

assumption that, ultimately, Official Unionist anathema at the consequences of rebellion (or civil war), and the surfacing of some rational thinking, will lead them to a major reappraisal of their position and then to an 'internal settlement' being struck with the SDLP.

In support of achieving such an end, but not necessarily conditional upon such a scenario developing, and to make things easier for the SDLP, the British government can also be expected, perhaps at the end of the summer, to begin delivering upon many of the so-called reforms one hears are actually and officially being talked about at Inter-Governmental Conferences. Stabilising the North to guarantee its political, economic and strategic interests has always been the British government's prime objective and the Hillsborough Agreement represents a refinement of the Sunningdale Agreement.

Britain is not taking on the loyalists because of their past sins, nor because of the atrocious conditions which the nationalists have endured, and Britain will not introduce reforms out of any moral concern for the well-being of nationalists, but will, as always, be acting in its own interests.

Historically, the interests of the loyalist garrison have coincided with Britain's, but now the loyalists refuse to fit into their spanking new role and thus the present confrontation.

Because of the policy of 'Ulsterisation' of the crown forces (initiated ten years ago) the British government has to rely on the RUC and on its ally, Chief Constable Jack Hermon, to implement the Hillsborough Agreement. But Hermon's security of tenure is under serious threat from the unpublished and uncompleted Stalker Report which points to a conspiracy within the most senior ranks of the RUC, and involving Hermon, to cover up the premeditated murder of republicans by MI5 and the RUC at the height of the shoot-to-kill operations. The RUC themselves are extremely vulnerable to loyalist pressure and may not hold the 'Hillsborough Line' if petrol-bomb attacks on



Sinn Fein demonstration. Photo: Martin Shakeshaft.

their homes and the campaigns of ostracisation are resumed.

So while Paisley threatens civil war it is quite obvious that the loyalists have not exhausted all means of effective protest action. It is the republican contention that even if the loyalists fail to break

the Agreement they can still frustrate it by remaining intransigent, and the hopes entertained by Britain, Dublin and the SDLP — that a new pragmatic leadership will emerge — will fail to materialise.

We believe that the six counties cannot be reformed but that a limited confrontation between Britain and the loyalists was inevitable. Whilst the lives and property of many nationalists are certainly under threat, the situation does not amount to civil war. Civil war and the butchering of nationalists is a course which loyalists hold in reserve as their ultimate means of either blackmailing the British government into reversing its commitment to withdraw or of establishing a smaller, repartitioned loyalist state.

That day has not yet arrived.

Notts miners at Durham gala

A bus from Ollerton Miners Welfare took us to the Durham Miners Gala on Saturday. We had the Notts Sacked Miners' banner, and we got a fantastic response all the way through the route and onto the field.

I wasn't impressed by the speeches. Kinnock said that sacked miners would



be re-instated and I suppose that's some comfort. He also committed Labour not to build any more power stations, but he didn't say what was going to be done with the ones we've

already got.

But I really enjoyed the Gala. I went and looked at the old pit banners hanging in an exhibition, and I'm sure that the thousands and thousands of men who marched behind them in the past would have a message for today's miners — you've only got one choice, and that's to stand up and fight.

Paul Whetton is a member of Bevercotes NUM

Race & Class

School racism

By Cheung Siu Ming

On Friday July 4, 300 attended the third Inner London Black Teachers Conference. NUT members had agreed to cover so that black colleagues could meet. The first two conferences were held in 1984.

The conference heard John Fernandes criticise the Equal Opportunities policy of London Labour Councils. It was Fernandes who exposed the racism of police cadets at Hendon College some years ago.

Equal opportunities policy, race awareness training and ethnic monitoring are all practiced by local authorities — a whole "race relations" industry has been set up to create a layer of black careerists and "race aware" white managers who combine to deflect any accusation of racism directed against the council.

Racism was grouped under the umbrella of Equal Opportunities alongside sexism, sexual orientation, physical and mental handicap, etc., despite the fact that each oppressed group has its own grievances and demands.

Brent Council's equal opportunities handbook was cited as an example of how racism was deflected by bland, bureaucratic "equal opportunities" procedures.

The conference then heard some examples of ILEA's treatment of black teachers, and how black women teachers in the ILEA have suffered double oppression under an authority which boasts about its vigorous opposition to racism and sexism.

The conference passed various motions, on solidarity with the South African struggle, against the presence of police in schools, and against ethnic monitoring.

At present the ILEA is mandating all head teachers to return an ethnic survey of its teaching staff, though some head teachers are refusing to do it.

But there is already sufficient evidence of discrimination against black teachers, and the monitoring exercise is just a delaying ploy and an exercise in meaningless statistics.

The ILEA is unwilling to act on known cases and patterns of racial discrimination now, let alone on any further patterns which may emerge from such a survey.

Overall, despite the extremely short notice, and the inevitable problems of running a conference which took no amendments to motions, this event was a further step towards the self-organisation of black teachers in Inner London. It brings the campaign to put pressure on the ILEA and the campaign to get the NUT to recognise the right of black members to organise one step closer to fruition.

YOUTH fightback
 Where it comes from
 How to destroy it

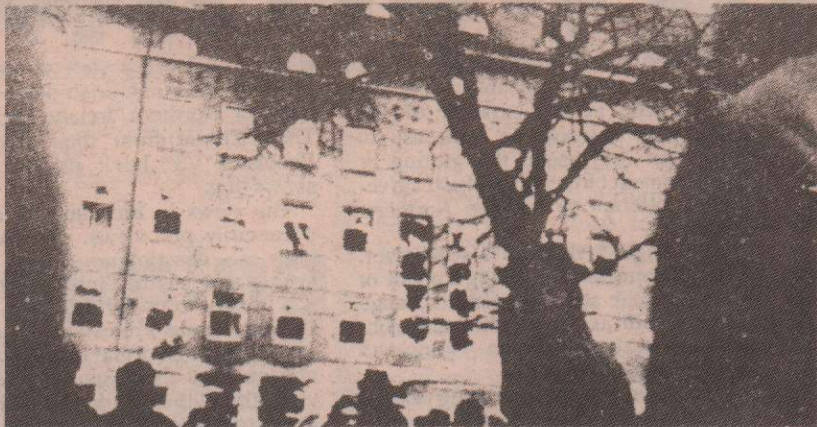
RACISM

20p plus postage from 33 Hackworth Point, Rainhill Way, London E3.

POLAND

The workers can plan!

This is the final part of an interview with a representative of the Polish Workers' Opposition (POR), who are the socialist left wing inside Solidarnosc. The POR aims to replace Poland's monstrous police state with a genuine working-class socialist democracy.



Polish workers burn down Communist Party headquarters in Czezin, 1970.

In talking about the programme the POR is putting forward at the moment, you also mentioned a second point: the defence of the national economy. I don't really understand what you mean by that. In fact, it seems a rather strange slogan, the kind the government might put forward.

The state power talks of the national economy all the time. It talks of "accelerating the economy's development", "carrying out further improvements to the economy", "consolidating the intensification of the economy", etc. What we are talking about is *defending* the national economy — defending it from the state bureaucratic power, defending it from the party bosses and the management in the factories.

Poland's economic resources — its plant and machinery, its mineral resources, its whole economic infrastructure, the skills of its working class — are being squandered and devastated before our very eyes.

We believe there are three basic reasons for this:

*Firstly, appalling bureaucratic mismanagement, from the Planning Commission and the ministries down to the individual mine or factory;

*Secondly, the current economic strategy, which amounts to the deliberate application of a "robber economy" in a desperate attempt to increase production and service the foreign debt;

*Thirdly, the generalised managerial corruption, fraud, theft and criminal incompetence.

These are things every worker sees all around him every day. When you add it all up, it looks like a conscious policy of governmental, ministerial and managerial sabotage.

A Polish worker puts in an 8 or even 10 hour shift in his mine, factory or shipyard, only to see his work obstructed by organisational chaos, the product of his labours wasted, expensive machinery left forgotten and rusting in the yard.

He also feels the effects of all this financially, since he loses his productivity bonus because obsolete equipment breaks down, supplies don't turn up, there's another power failure, or simply because management can't allow production to be higher than last month, as it would set a bad precedent and might mean the factory was given increased production quotas for the future.

In this situation, our call for the defence of the national economy corresponds to the gut feeling of the working class. For forty years, the workers have been told that the factories belong to them, that the whole economy, the whole state, is theirs.

So they are seeing *their* economy being ruined by waste and corruption. They are working longer than they have to, to produce less than they could, and what they produce is of worse quality than it should be. They are weeping Polish industry go into rapid decay, with much of it simply falling apart.

For years now, investment has primarily been channelled into showcase projects, with little basic modernisation. As a result, factory buildings are crumbling, production

lines are being held together by string, saliva, or the ingenuity of the workers concerned, and the average age of industrial machinery is increasing year by year.

Our strategic objective is for the workers to take control of the means of production, but the way things are going at present, once they do so there could be very little left to control.

What we are proposing is a comprehensive programme of action to expose managerial waste and corruption, to fight against it, and to lay the basis for the rational use of Poland's economic resources once these are under the democratic control of the workers themselves.

This means campaigning in defence of social property — in defence of the plant, machinery and raw materials the party apparatchiks destroy and sell off "on the side" to the private sector, in defence of the enterprises they ruin and defraud.

It means campaigning for proper quality standards, ones that conform to the expectations of Polish society. At present the system of generalised piece work and ludicrously high production norms

'All our demands are linked... to the establishment of self-management in the workplace, in the neighbourhoods, and at an inter-factory level'

leads to immense waste in the form of useless, sub-standard products, since the only way the workers can gain a decent wage is to ignore all quality standards, which supervisory staff usually encourage them to do.

It also means campaigning for a rational organisation of production and a rational use of working time, which is integrally connected with our fight for a reduction of working hours.

We have no illusions that these problems can be solved within the present bureaucratic system of planning and management. But the fight has to start now.

In addition, we are putting forward the more general, yet critically important, demand of the complete openness and accessibility of all economic and financial information, from the enterprise to the Government Planning Commission.

This includes all foreign trade agreements, and the detailed budgets of all party and other political organisations, surreptitiously financed from the wealth produced by the working people.

Finally, we are promoting the preparation of alternative economic plans at plant level. Experience has

shown that the workers are already capable of drawing up plans that both rationalise the production process and improve working conditions.

This paves the way for the workers continuing production during future factory occupations and lays a solid basis for the future preparation of workers' plans of production for entire regions, industries, and the country as a whole.

So far, you have been talking about economic questions. What about the strictly political questions the POR is taking up?

There are probably too many of these to go into all of them. The most obvious involve political and democratic freedom, defence against repression, etc.

However, the central axis of the demands we raise and the strategy we are fighting for within the movement is undoubtedly *self-organisation*. In fact this is the key to understanding all the demands I've already mentioned, which are by no means purely economic, but deeply political.

All of them are linked to the establishment of self-organisation in the workplace, in the neighbourhoods, and at the inter-factory level.

For example, the question of automatic cost-of-living increases and additional "equalising" adjustments for the lower paid involves the establishment of "statistical commissions" to calculate the effects of inflation on working class families and analyse wage differentials.

The problem of housing and the tactic of the rent strike poses the question of independent residents' committees. Preparing for future confrontations with the bureaucratic power involves both commissions to work out alternative economic plans and the establishment of workers' guards to defend the factories. And so on.

I don't want to make any rash predictions, since the basic factor here is the development of the mass struggle, but the reception that our ideas have been getting indicates that our current should continue to grow within the Polish social movement.

Internally, I know many of the militants and structures participating in the POR will be developing specifically political work, including the creation of revolutionary political organisations and parties.

At this time, a new branch of our current is developing — the Political Groups of the Alliance of the Workers' Opposition. They are based on revolutionary democratic socialism and are accumulating political forces of the workers' revolutionary left. For example, one of our bulletins, "Front Robotniczy" (Workers' Front) is now the organ of such political groups of the POR in the Warsaw region.

However, this is seen as an extension of mass work, not a substitute for it. In general, I think the POR is making steady progress in developing a revolutionary strategy for the whole social movement, and as the effects of the defeat suffered during martial law wear off, that strategy should gain wider acceptance.

SOUTH AFRICA

This week TUC general secretary Norman Willis and the chair of the TUC international committee, Ron Todd, visit South Africa to demand the release of jailed trade unionists. The TUC has been calling on the Thatcher government to impose sanctions on the apartheid regime, but what can workers do right now in solidarity with the struggle in South Africa?

Bob Fine starts a discussion on this question. Part two will appear next week.

How should socialists relate to the international campaign for sanctions against South Africa? At first sight there appears to be no problem. In Britain all 'progressive' forces from Neil Kinnock to Leon Brittan, from the Church of England to the Anti-Apartheid Movement are calling for disinvestment.

The 'Whitey in the woodpile' is Margaret Thatcher, who has all of a sudden found a heart-rending concern for black workers 6000 miles away — concern she never finds for workers on her own doorstep.

Time

The British government, of course, is merely playing for time, mindful of its own large investments in apartheid. And the conclusion for socialists seems obvious: we should add our own voice to the campaign for immediate, comprehensive and mandatory sanctions.

This is right: we should support sanctions. Something must be done about state terror in South Africa. But I also feel a need to raise questions. We need to understand what kind of weapon sanctions provides, what uses it can be put to, what limitations there are to it, what other weapons are available. One problem with the sanctions campaign is that sanctions appears as the only weapon in the hands of the international solidarity movement. In this regard, the sanctions campaign represents a dulling of the imagination.

Anti-Apartheid Movement has been calling for sanctions, disinvestment and the isolation of South Africa since



Photo: Martin Shakeshaft.



Sacked BTR workers from South Africa

The of s

the time of Sharpeville massacre in 1960. As the liberation movements inside the country suffered defeat in the 1960s, so calls from both South African and international capital for reform, turned into an unseemly rush for the pickings of profitable investment.

Year after year, AA called for comprehensive, mandatory sanctions; year after year Labour and Tory governments alike ignored the call. Even as the slaughter of Soweto hit the world headlines in 1976, Callaghan saw to it that nothing was done. The only success in this period was over military supplies, and even this was partial: a mighty arms industry was constructed in South Africa.

The perspective held by those who supported sanctions was that repression inside South Africa was so intense, and the control of labour so complete, that the overthrow of apartheid would only be engineered from without. On the one hand, therefore, there was the armed struggle, and on the other the international sanctions campaign. The latter was often misconceived as a substitute for internal resistance.

As long as it remained a substitute for working class action, the campaign for sanctions was generally a flop. The



picketers picketing BTR headquarters in London demanding recognition for their union, MAWU. Photo: Ian Swindale.

Isolate with sanctions

“The first duty of socialist internationalism is for British workers to make contact with fellow workers in South Africa, as a basis for solidarity action.”

general view on the Left was that it was no use calling on capitalists to solve the problem of apartheid, since apartheid functioned precisely to secure profits for the capitalists.

The left view was that if sanctions had any chance of working they had to be imposed by the labour movement, not by capitalists or the capitalist state. This did not rule out putting pressure on the state, but it represented a radical shift in the focus of the campaign.

Resolutions favouring sanctions were passed by several Labour Party conferences, but never translated into government policy (I was involved in an unsuccessful attempt to move the AAM into a position of support for the campaign for Labour Party democracy. That was ruled out of order by the AAM chairperson, Labour MP Bob Hughes, as interference in the internal affairs of a fraternal organisation).

Many of us on the Left thought that what at best could have been a useful strategy had been turned into a moral crusade of isolating South Africa — regardless as to its actual effectiveness. At AA AGMs, the Western governments were castigated for their refusal to isolate South Africa; and year after year, the AAM plugged away at the exact same theme and nothing changed.

Faulted

Not only was the sanctions policy not working, it was also itself faulted. The basic message was that everything about South Africa should be boycotted — trade, investment, cultural links, sporting links, etc. This is all very well,

but what did it offer to those who were fighting back against the regime in South Africa itself?

They often wanted and needed links with supporters outside. Sanctions policy should have been aimed at the apartheid regime and its capitalist backers, not at its victims. In fact it tended to be aimed at ‘South Africa’ in general.

Thus the ‘isolate South Africa’ campaign meant in practice that all links with the resistance had to go through the ANC or otherwise be broken. This position was crucial, for example, in impeding solidarity with the newly emergent independent trade unions.

Duty

My view was and is that the first duty of socialist internationalism was for British workers to make contact with fellow workers in South Africa, as a basis for further solidarity action. This was a view shared by the independent unions in South Africa itself, including the Federation of South African Trade Unions, its affiliates, the General Workers’ Union and so on. They called for direct links at all levels with British unions. AA, the ANC and its trade union wing, SACTU, bitterly opposed these union-to-union links in the name of the policy of isolation. Working class solidarity was subordinated to the sanctions campaign, which was treated, along with support for the ANC, as the exclusive goal of international solidarity.

When workers in Britain ask what they should do about apartheid, the answer they receive was to ‘support

sanctions’. They can boycott Barclays and South African food, they can call for the disinvestment of union, party and local authority funds from firms with investments in South Africa, they can call for sanctions from the government. There’s little or no perspective on positive support for the organised labour movement, or for the wider resistance movement inside the country.

Occasionally workers have taken more direct action. In Coventry, for example, I was part of a local AAM group which took a SACTU speaker round some factories in the 1970s during SACTU’s week of action. As a result, BL shop stewards organised the blacking of Land Rovers to South Africa for a week.

This kind of direct action by workers received an ambivalent response from SACTU officials nationally, one of whom told us not to ‘queer his pitch’. Generally, direct action was not favoured or promoted by AA, who preferred national pressures on the government.

The South African unions, meanwhile, were forming many links with British unions, despite the boycott campaign. When those links occurred, British workers were armed not just with a more intimate knowledge of the struggle, but with a far richer array of options as to what to do — from sending material aid, to putting pressure on British companies, to moral support for black workers in struggle, to blacking actions.

Crisis

The intensity of the resistance in South Africa and a deep crisis of profitability has provided the opportunity for a renewed international sanctions campaign. Anti apartheid activists in America took the lead, and a popular movement was soon galvanised.

Small measures have been imposed in the US, but count for little in comparison to Western bankers’ willingness to roll over South Africa’s considerable short-term debt. A good number of American firms have withdrawn investments from South Africa, but it’s not clear how much of this is due simply to economic recession.

SA TREASON TRIAL

Thumbs up for 10 years

Bob Fine gives an eye-witness account of the trial of Helene Pastoors for high treason against the apartheid state.



I WENT to the last day of the trial of Helene Pastoors, the day of her sentence.

It looked like an English courtroom: formal and hushed, despite the packed presence of Helene’s sympathisers squeezing for space, in competition with some massive specimens from the Special Branch.

Helene came in wearing the colours of the ANC, in the form of her scarf and her dress. The photos in the paper had made her look ugly and bitter, the way a terrorist is meant to look. In the flesh she looked intelligent, bright and rather beautiful, nervously waiting for her sentence.

The judge had a reputation as a hard-liner. His pre-sentence speech, however, was restrained. Helene should not be blamed, he said, for what she had done. In cases like these the offender commits the offence out of commitment, not malice. And this commitment is likely to be reinforced by her experience of capture.

There was no admissible evidence brought to the court that the weapons she had brought into the country were ever used. There was no possibility that after her release Helene could do further harm to the South African state for she will surely be deported back to her native Holland.

The judge dismissed Helene’s plea of mitigation that she did what she did as a favour to friends. It did seem stretched in the circumstances.

Sentence

What was the sentence to be? The death penalty was possible in a case like this, of High Treason. But the judge ruled it out. Helene’s lawyers feared the worst alternative: 30 years. After a half-hour summation, the judge let it be known that ten years was a suitable penalty. Helene’s lawyer turned round and gave her the thumbs up. She had expected far worse.

Her lawyer had already asked the audience to restrain demonstrations of support until her press for appeal had been made. The main ground was that Helene was Dutch and not eligible for trial for High Treason. The judge delayed this decision and the session was over.

Helene’s family looked terribly composed, except for a rather ratchety

baby, one of her three children. The crowd started to sing a song to Oliver Tambo, with clenched fists. Helene turned to them with a clenched fist of her own, and smiled. She was taken down the stairs to serve the first day of her ten year sentence. We went out with the crowd of supporters who sang for the TV cameras.

Thumbs up for ten years, I thought, was a sign of the times.

Accident

The police had fallen upon Helene by accident. They were watching and tapping her lover. They overheard her phone conversations. They apparently gave her some rope and she inadvertently led them to the man with whom she had brought in the weapons, another Dutch person called Klaas De Jonge.

After their detention the police played them off against each other, exploiting tensions in their old relationship, and the circumstances of their capture.

De Jonge told the police he could show them one of the arms caches in a building in Johannesburg. He said the arms were on the second floor but failed to mention that the Dutch consulate was on the first. As they walked up the stairs Klaus dived into the Dutch consulate. The police came in after him and dragged him out. The Dutch diplomats protested and he was released later to the consulate.

That is where he remains, months later, surrounded by a permanent corps of several marine police.

Thumbs up for ten years. Normally there is no remittance for this type of offence — political charges — the victim serves every day. This time perhaps a deal can be made by the Dutch government for early release. Or perhaps there will be an amnesty for political prisoners. Or perhaps South Africa will be liberated from apartheid before hand. We shall see.

WORKERS' LIBERTY

Breaking the chains

Black workers and the struggle for liberation in South Africa

More on South Africa

Workers' Liberty special on South Africa: 75p plus 18p postage from SO, PO Box 823, London SE15

Where We STAND

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

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

Socialism can never be built in one country alone. The workers in every country have more in common with workers in other countries than with their own capitalist or Stalinist rulers. We support national liberation struggles

and workers' struggles world wide, including the struggle of workers and oppressed nationalities in the Stalinist states against their anti-socialist bureaucracies.

We stand:

For full equality for women, and social provision to free women from the burden of housework. For a mass working class based women's movement.

Against racism, and against deportations and all immigration controls.

For equality for lesbians and gays.

For a free and united Ireland, with some federal system to protect the rights of the Protestant minority.

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

For a labour movement accessible to the most oppressed, accountable to its rank and file, and militant against capitalism.

We want Labour Party and trade union members who support our basic ideas to become supporters of the paper — to take a bundle of papers to sell each week and pay a small financial contribution to help meet the paper's deficit. Our policy is democratically controlled by our supporters through Annual General Meetings and an elected National Editorial Board.

Activists' DIARY

TUESDAY 15 JULY. Public meeting called by Brent East and Brent South CLPs: 'Support the Sacked Miners'. With Paul Whetton and a speaker from Women Against Pit Closures. 7.30, Anson Hall, corner Walm Lane. Nearest tube Willesden Green.

TUESDAY 22 JULY. Campaign Group of MPs Public Meeting 'Which Way for the Left?' Speakers include Margaret Beckett, Tony Benn, Eric Heffer and Dennis Skinner. 8pm. Hampstead Town Hall, Haverstock Hill. Admission £1.

SATURDAY JULY 5-26. Viraj Mendis Defence Campaign march, Manchester-London. Tel: 061-796 3870. c/o North Hulme Centre, Jackson Crescent, Manchester M15 5AL.

SATURDAY JULY 19. Nicaragua Solidarity Campaign Dayschool, followed by Disco. Conference: 10.30-6. £2.50 (£1.50 for delegates). All in Nelson Mandela Hall, Macadam Building, Kings College Student Union, Surrey St., SC2. Contact NSC, 20-21 Compton Terrace, London N1 2UN. 01-359 8982.

NATIONAL JUSTICE FOR MINERWORKERS CAMPAIGN
The South-East Region Steering Committee has just opened a London Office, where sacked miners will be based for campaigns, meetings, etc. The office is at

Hammersmith Unemployed Centre, 190 Shepherds Bush Road, London W6. Tel: 01-603 1831.

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

LOBBY THE TUC. Workers' sanctions against apartheid. 8.30 am, July 23, Congress House, Great Russell St. Called by Birmingham Trades Council, Greater London Association of Trades Councils.

CONFERENCE AGAINST THE WITCH-HUNT. Campaign meeting. Monday July 21. Open to representatives

from Labour Party and trade union organisations. 7.30 pm. (room booked by Jeremy Corbyn).

SOCIALIST ORGANISER MEETINGS

MANCHESTER
Sunday July 20. 'South Africa: Breaking the Chains'. 7.30 p.m. Town Hall, (Lloyd St. entrance).

IMPLEMENT PARTY POLICY

Petition now out reminding the Labour leaders of the 1985 Labour Party conference resolution on the miners and stating 'We believe that the Labour Party should actively campaign for the above rightful demands in the run-up to the next General Election'.

Copies from G. Scott, 34 Newcastle Ave., Horden, Peterlee, Co. Durham.

Summer school

IT IS still early days in the development of South Africa's new black workers' movement. But already the country is in a state of insurrection.

This dilemma was discussed in the central session of Socialist Organiser's summer school on 4-7 July. Jabu and Graham, two black South African trade unionists, described how the unions have organised on the principle of worker control; Bob Fine spoke about the threat from the militarisation of the state and the growth of fascist forces; and Baruch Hirson, a veteran South African Marxist now living in exile, stressed the need for a revolutionary party.

Football

In a second plenary, Sinn Fein trade union organiser Daisy Mules and SO editor John O'Mahony discussed Northern Ireland. Debate centred round the Protestant workers: how can socialists and Republicans relate to them?

Daisy Mules also spoke on women in Ireland, and other workshops covered women's issues and basic Marxism.

A special general meeting of SO supporters mapped out an outline editorial policy on Ireland — self-



determination, troops out, some federal system to safeguard the Protestant minority in a united Ireland — but decided to hold another meeting in November to consider this further. The weekend also featured a social, a football tournament, videos, trade union caucuses, and a trivia quiz.

Over 150 people attended. Encouragingly, the minority of black comrades, while small, was bigger than at previous SO events.

Fighting FUND

We've had a total of £635.63 for our premises and equipment fund this week: £539.82 from the collection at our summer school, £29.11 from the social at the school, organised by the Manchester comrades, and £55.30 in other donations.

Another £14.40 came from the trivia quiz at the school, and is credited to the local SO groups making the winning team of Reb short, Simon Lawlor, Rob Dawber and Bruce Robinson: 50% Nottingham, 25% Sheffield, 25% North London. They drew ahead decisively by naming seven months of the French revolutionary calendar while most other teams could only manage Brumaire, Germinal and Thermidor. The North London group is now planning a local quiz as a further fund-raising effort.

The summer school also produced IOUs for nearly £300, and we'll expect that money over the coming weeks.

Grand total to date: £12,275.66, or 82% of our £15,000 target. Send donations to SO, PO Box 823, London SE15



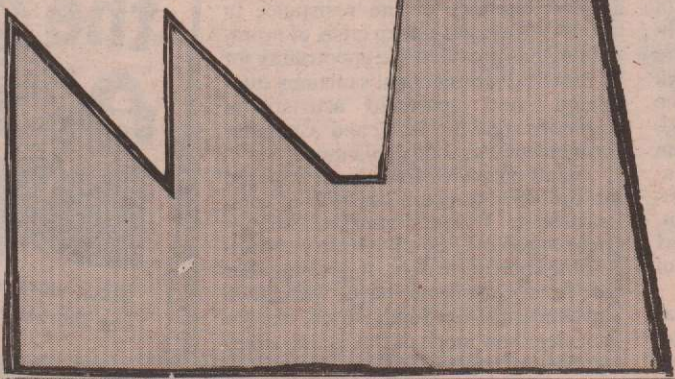
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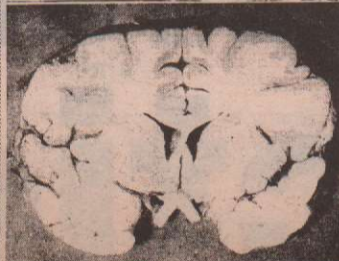
Les Hearn's SCIENCE COLUMN

How boxers get punch-drunk

The controversy over boxing has been simmering for years now. Sometimes, the anti-boxers have the upper hand, as for example when 29 years old Steve Watt died of a massive brain haemorrhage last March. The popularity of the sport tends to recover whenever a bright young star shines forth, like Barry McGuigan and Frank Bruno. In fact, both boxers have been involved in death in the ring.

To caricature both positions, the anti-boxing camp demands the banning of a "sport" whose sole purpose is to batter an opponent into unconsciousness while the pro-boxing camp reject any criticism of the "noble art of self-defence". Let's look at their arguments.

The most publicised aspect of boxing are the occasional deaths. World-wide, some 300



Top: Hemispheres of a normal brain. Above: Steve Watt's brain, showing extensive damage

boxers have died over the last 20 years but the fatality rate of boxing is far less than many sports with a better reputation.

Boxers die at a rate of 13 per 100,000, compared with 30 for American college football, 510 for mountaineering and 1280 for horse-racing.

Now, before SO readers start thinking that it might be safer to get off the streets and into the ring, let's look at the other consequences of boxing. These include eye, kidney and liver damage and, most importantly, brain damage.

A single punch can transmit such force that the recipient's head accelerates at 100 g — one hundred times the acceleration due to gravity.

The head consists essentially of two types of material — a hard bony container (the skull) and its soft jelly-like contents (the brain). As the skull is accelerated, the brain lags behind due to its inertia and then accelerates to catch up the skull.

Thus, a punch to the face causes the front of the skull to hit the brain which then moves back to hit the back of the skull. This bruises and grazes the brain, as well as forcing the cerebellum at the back down into the hole in the skull at the top of the neck.

A punch to the side of the head causes both sides of the

brain to hit the insides of the skull. A punch that causes a twisting of the head will cause the brain to rotate slightly, causing grazing and tearing of attachments between brain and skull. This will make it easier for the brain to be bounced around in the future.

The result of all this bruising and grazing is frightening. The worst outcome is that blood vessels can stretch and tear. The resulting bleeding or haemorrhage compresses the brain and can be fatal. This is how Steve Watt died.

More usual is death or damage to nerve cells in specific parts of the brain; namely, the cerebral cortex, cerebellum and brain stem.

Damage to the frontal lobes of the cortex can have quite subtle effects on a boxer's behaviour. He may be less able to plan his life or may behave in an outrageous way in public. He will perform less well in psychological tests. The damage to cells appears similar to that found in certain types of dementia.

Damage to the cerebellum and the brain stem affects balance and coordination of movements. Similar damage is found in sufferers from Parkinson's disease.

In extreme cases, the boxer suffers from the "punch-drunk" syndrome ("dementia pugilistica"), with uncoordinated movements, impaired mental functions and slurred speech. Readers who have heard Muhammed Ali recently and remember him in his youth may recognise these symptoms.

Supporters of boxing deny that these types of damage occur in all boxers and suggest that they can be detected by brain scans. Affected boxers can then be retired before the damage goes too far. However, much damage will have occurred before it shows up on a brain scan and the damage steadily gets worse after the boxer has retired.

Horror

In terms of physical injury boxing is probably safer than, for example, football, but there is a particular horror about the sort of damage caused, since it actually alters, for the worse, the personality of the boxer.

So should boxing be banned? Both the British and American Medical Associations think it should.

I would not be unduly upset if it was but I must confess to a mixture of feelings when witnessing a match. On the one hand, I admire the skill, fitness and dedication of the fighters while on the other hand, I am revulsed by each brain-damaging blow.

The fitness achieved by boxers is obviously worthwhile in itself as is the ability to defend oneself and the self-confidence that may go with it.

Some defenders of boxing say that it provides a way out of poverty and it is true that a few boxers end up rich or at least well off. Many will be mentally scarred in the process, though. Most of the money in professional boxing goes elsewhere, of course, and there must surely be better ways out of poverty.

The Irish bombs frame-up

One Thursday evening in November 1974, 44-year-old Hughie Callaghan, an unemployed labourer, stood on the platform of the New Street Railway Station in Birmingham and waved off five of his friends. They were taking the train to the Heysham ferry and from there to Belfast.

Four of Callaghan's friends were, like him, natives of the Ardoyne, although they, like the fifth man, who was from Derry, had all been settled and married in England for a considerable number of years.

Loyalty

All of them had been fairly friendly with another Ardoyne man, James McDade, who, a few days previously, had been killed in a premature explosion in England. McDade had been claimed as an IRA Volunteer and, out of some loyalty to the dead man and his convictions, the five republican sympathisers on the train were returning to Belfast for his funeral and to use the occasion to see relatives and old friends.

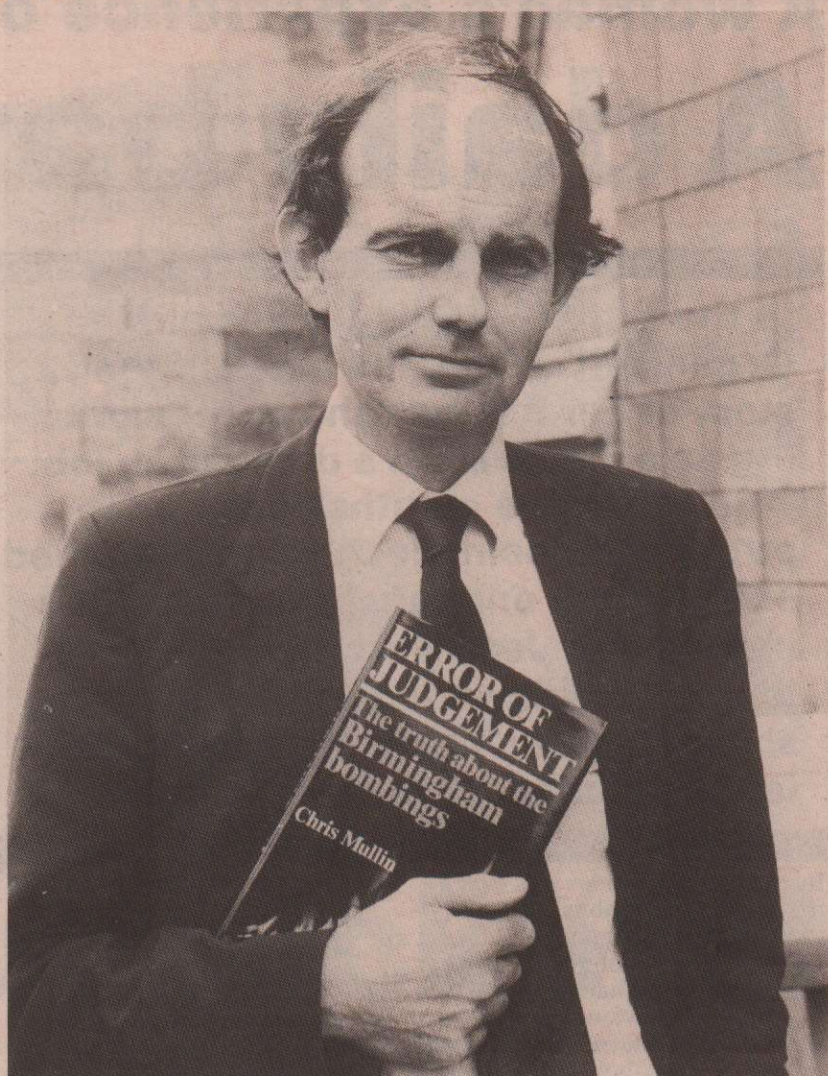
After their departure, Hughie Callaghan went off drinking. In the train, despite the cause of their journey, the five men were in fairly jovial mood (they had had a few drinks before boarding), and they smoked and

Danny Morrison reviews 'Error of Judgement', Chris Mullin's latest book, which re-examines the evidence that convicted five men of the Birmingham pub bombings in 1974. This review is reprinted from An Phoblacht / Republican News.

played cards. Within three hours the lives of the five unsuspecting men — who were not in Sinn Fein and had no connections with the IRA — would be shattered as first they experienced a Kafkaesque nightmare of being brutally interrogated about incidents of which they were completely ignorant.

No-one had even known that they were arrested. The following night, Hughie Callaghan, returning home from a pub, opened his door and was dragged inside by a police gunman, a dozen of whom had taken over his house seven hours previously. His nightmare was just beginning.

Within three days, Hughie Callaghan, Patrick Hill, Gerry Hunter,



Chris Mullin. Photo: Stefano Cagnoni, Report.

Richard Kellkenny, Billy Power and Johnny Walker would appear in court charged with bombing the Mulberry Bush and the Tavern in the Town public houses in Birmingham in which 21 people were killed.

In his painstaking investigation, Chris Mullin has retraced the events of that night — how the physical assaults on the men by police interrogators, which resulted in all but one signing incriminating (and contradictory) statements were covered up by further beatings by prison officers and convicts when the men arrived at Winson Green

Prison.

The experiences of the six men, who between them have served the equivalent of 72 years in jail, are by now well documented. Their innocence is also attested to by the fact that their case has become a *cause celebre* for such "humanitarians" as Peter Barry and former British Home Secretary Roy Jenkins, who introduced the Prevention of Terrorism Act after the Birmingham bombings.

Mullin's research was commissioned by Independent Television's World In Action programme, which was broadcast in October 1985. In that programme the tenuous forensic evidence which triggered off the police lynching party was completely discredited by new forensic evidence which showed that the hands of anyone using an ordinary pack of playing cards would have shown traces of explosives!

However, in his book, Mullin went a step further by interviewing (at not inconsiderable risk to themselves) one of the IRA Volunteers who planted the two bombs and the Volunteer who telephoned through the warning.

Confusion

For years there has been considerable confusion about what happened at Birmingham that night. This was complicated by the fact that a British agent provocateur, Kenneth Littlejohn, who had escaped from jail in Ireland (where he had a record of carrying out actions aimed at discrediting the IRA), was then in Birmingham, staying at the home of a man who was subsequently one of the crown's prosecution witnesses against the six men.

Republicans wanted to believe that the IRA was not responsible and the IRA in Ireland initially did not have the full details. Neither did the passage of time bury an unfulfilled IRA commitment that a full statement would be issued.

With the advancement in recent years in forensic science techniques, which the World In Action used last October to demonstrably demolish the central basis of the case against the men, the IRA used the opportunity, in an effort to help clear their names, to state that its Volunteers had carried out the bombings and that they were still free. Mullin interviewed two of these men, who gave exact and convincing details of what happened, and the man who made the telephone call who explained that an adequate warning was given but was not acted upon.

Mullin's book makes compelling reading and is a powerful argument for the release of the 'Birmingham Six', not the only, but just some of the innocent victims of establishment hysteria.

Bending genders

"Have you ever imagined being a member of the opposite sex?" asked Miriam Stoppard at the opening of Wednesday's episode of "Where There's Life". Judging by the audience's reaction I'm surprised she bothered, because I've seen more life in an urgent note than in this lot put together.

It always fascinates me why people go on television to reveal their personal lives and problems. Let's hope that someone out there is comforted or can gain some knowledge from listening to complete strangers reveal the intimacies that usually unfold.

"Where There's Life" deals with both social and medical problems and Miriam Stoppard (despite having a face like Our Lady of the Sorrows when she talks to people) is better at it than the likes of Clare ("go on you can tell me if you're a lesbian and black and disabled and working class and I'll understand you, luvvy") Rayner.

This episode dealt with gender. Two people talked about how and why they changed their sex and then the audience talked of their feelings about their own gender. Firstly the transsexuals:

Judy used to be a high ranking officer in the army. She spent 53 years as a man and then left her family 15 years ago to become a woman.

on the



By Tracy Williams

Mark who used to be a secretary and spent the first 27 years of his life as a woman and has spent the last 14 as a man.

Both Judy and Mark expressed similar feelings of frustration, isolation and depression before their sex changes. Mark simply said: "I felt wrong in a woman's body." They both underwent counselling, hormone treatment and finally operations. I had to laugh (though it was said in all sincerity) when Miriam Stoppard asked Mark, "But you can't be a complete physical man".

I presume she meant have you got a willy? But let's not dwell on that. What struck me most about both Mark, Judy and the audience was the overtly sexist analysis and understanding they had of their own gender.

And the reasons they gave for wanting to be either a man or a woman made me think: God help a butch woman or an effeminate man amongst this audience or worse still a gender bender!

One woman said she enjoyed being a woman because you got pampered, you could be passive, subservient and romantic!!

So that's what it's all about. I knew I was going wrong somewhere. No wonder men don't ask me out on dates.

Miriam turned to a man. "Do you think men and women are different?" she asked.

To which he replied, "Yes, they look different".

About as bright as a 10 watt bulb you may think, which I did.

Well it's obviously true that there are differences but no one ever mentioned *why* — no one ever suggested that perhaps we could be conditioned into gender roles by family, friends or society.

Or is it that we somehow come into this world bearing a gun and a beer belly if you are a man and an apron and a doll if you are a woman? Are the differences so acute or do we create them ourselves?

Orange, green and vinegar

Ian Jameson reviews 'No Surrender', Alan Bleasdale's latest film, now on general release.

BEFORE I saw this film, the left grapevine suggested that it was both 'ageist' and 'disablist'. This, it was contended, made it a deeply upsetting film.

In fact it is nothing of the sort. And I suspect the reason why 'No Surrender' got such bad notices 'on the grapevine' is that it is a vinegar-bitter send-up of Northern Ireland politics.

It is about as far as you can get from the romantic view of Northern Ireland which is so widespread on the left.

Celebration

Set in Liverpool, and starring Bernard Hill (Yosser in Boys From The Blackstuff) and Michael Angelis (Lucian, the rabbit man from The Liverbirds), it deals with the events of a New Year's celebration in a pretty crappy night club.

Lucian runs this place and Yosser is the bouncer. Between them they end up managing an evening with the local Catholic and Orange OAPs' outings booked in together by accident.

Here are two factions imported from Ireland, still battling it out in Liverpool. They have made low-intensity war on each other all their lives — in Liverpool's pubs, in ritual Orange and 'Taig' gang fights, and by way of rival gaudy religious parades.

Cut off long ago from the real roots of the conflict in Northern Ireland, they still hate each other, still remain steadfastly loyal to 'the cause', green or orange.

The humour, the real content in



Joanne Whalley and Bernard Hill in 'No Surrender'

many ways, is straightforwardly sick in the main, though it is dry Liverpudlian humour.

Bleasdale mercilessly caricatures and satirises the Catholic-Orange divide. One of the chief characters is Paddy, a blind fighting-cock ex-boxer who insists on taking on Billy, the Orange leader.

Pathos

As for pathos — the obvious meaning for us to take away is sorrow at communal hatred carried, literally in one case, to the grave... No Surrender!

In search of the meaning of the film, the feminist magazine Spare Rib, interestingly, turned the 'disablist' tag right around. The only people not tainted by the 'madness' of sectarianism are the people on an outing from a psychiatric hospital who also arrive at the night club. This is the main theme of the film, or so Spare Rib claimed.

A possible flaw in the film is that it

seems to throw its hands in the air — it's all crazy, a 'tale told by an idiot, full of sound and fury, signifying nothing'.

Madness

Of course it is madness, and yet it has sane roots. The original conflict of settlers and natives, then of Unionists and nationalists, has been brought by the descendants of both to Liverpool, where it assumes the form of a senseless fixed hatred.

Though what is happening in Northern Ireland is tragic and terrible, it is not madness. There is an unresolved conflict that must be democratically resolved.

On the other hand, 'No Surrender' might make some who see Northern Ireland through romantic spectacles think about it a little — if they don't fend off thinking about it by dismissing the film as 'ageist' or 'disablist' or simply as impermissible satire.

By Martin Thomas

In the partial struggles which go on all the time, a minority of the working class gets radical ideas long before the majority. On how, and round what ideas, that minority organises, depends the fate of the spontaneous, explosive movements of the majority.

Or so I argued in the last issue. But this focus on the task of demarcating and educating a cohesive Marxist wing in the labour movement seems doctrinaire and sectarian to many activists.

Ken Livingstone put their point of view well in an interview with Socialist Organiser in 1981. "The problem isn't so much what your notional policies are, but whether you'll fight to implement them."

"The policies of the independent Tribune people who provide the majority of the London Labour Party may not be ideologically perfect, but they have a strong commitment to make sure they're implemented [unlike] some more theoretical tendencies..."

"You can't jump from the Callaghan government to a perfect revolutionary position. You've got to go through a spectrum of left wing opinion."

But look what's happened to Ken Livingstone! Look, indeed, at what's happened to the whole range of left-wingers and semi-revolutionaries in Labour local government who thought that we should not bother too much about precise 'lines' and theories, but should instead go for whatever broadly left-wing option seemed to be the best proposition for 'getting something done'.

Their fiasco is rooted in the basic situation of the working class.

If activists do not carve out, constantly clarify, and organise so as to stick to, their own ideas and strategy, then capitalist society will gradually, almost imperceptibly, impose ideas and strategies on them. The 'non-aligned' become the victims of someone else's 'alignment'.

Unlike previous slave classes, the working class has developed powerful permanent organisations, and relatively definite aspirations about changing society. But its activists, officials, and ideologists tend to become separate from the bulk of the class. The trade union or party official becomes more middle class than working class. Their ideas become blunted and diluted by cynicism.

Even in limited struggles, but more dramatically in great class confrontations, the workers find that their own organisations are diverting them down blind alleys. Many times, in many countries, capitalism has been paralysed by working class revolt, but rescued and enabled to revive because the working class too is paralysed — ideologically.

The working class is as strong or as weak as its ideas. Clear socialist ideas cannot be improvised: they have to be worked at, and constantly clarified and updated. And they can be upheld against the pressures of capitalism not by scattered individuals, but only by an organised collective.

In Tsarist Russia, the activists who wanted to 'get something done' and not bother too much about theory went in for terrorism.

Trotsky commented later that it was the Bolsheviks, who started with books, who actually made the revolution, rather than those who started with bombs. In Britain, perhaps, the revolution will be made by those who start with books rather than council or trade union agendas.

A woman's experience on a demolition job pt 5

A daily battering

In the last four issues of Socialist Organiser, Jean Lane has told the story of her five months spent working as a labourer on a demolition job.

In those five months Jean had to put up with being lectured at, laughed at, insulted, and much worse. In this instalment, Jean describes the lengths to which some men will go to show a woman just where 'her place' is. The story continues next week.

By the time Christmas was over I felt fairly well established at the yard, and that the men were used to me. They no longer gave me the impression that they modified their behaviour because I was there but felt free and able to talk, swear or behave in their usual manner.

This talk and behaviour was almost always sexist and racist (all of us were white). There was always plenty of opportunity to have a debate or, more often, a row about something or other. But on the whole it was generally accepted and taken for granted that "Jean's a bit of a leftie" or "Jean has got funny views".

Scapegoat

One of the men, however, Alan, was not so easy going. Perhaps because he was not very confident in himself or maybe because he was not much liked by the others, he decided to use me as his butt; the scapegoat by which to elevate himself in the eyes of others. I don't know.

I do know that his behaviour had the specific aim of making me as uncomfortable as he possibly could — in fact of driving me out. And he very nearly succeeded.

He started out by just talking dirty. Not much different from the behaviour of the others — general sexist comments and jokes that are a "normal" part of men's behaviour and that make any woman feel defensive. He would talk about "tits and bums", page 3 pin-ups and use derogatory language about women in general.

When women are forced to listen to this stuff they have three choices. They can ignore it and take no part in the conversation, thereby cutting themselves off from relations: or they can laugh along with it, or if it is directed specifically at themselves, blush and giggle in their discomfort and unease; or they can argue and fight back, thereby keeping some semblance of self-respect.

Now, the problem with working in a builders' yard is that sexist comments come thick and fast. If you jump on

every one you very quickly become a "bore" or have "no sense of humour" and make an enemy of everyone around you. So you let a lot of it pass — while the laughter sticks in your throat.

That's the regular, routine problem. But Alan went way beyond that.

It soon became apparent, and not just to me, that Alan was talking in this way not as a part of everyday conversation, but as a means of embarrassing me.

As time went on his descriptions of what he did to his girlfriend the other night, or what he would like to do to a "Sun-bird" became more and more graphic. His way of talking about women became more insulting and he made a sexual innuendo out of almost everything that was said.

At first I dealt with it in the same way I had dealt with everyone else's sexism — I put them down or laughed at them. During one of Alan's bouts, for example, I remember saying, "Well, if you do it with as much finesse as how you talk about it, god help who-

"I began to lose my sense of humour and feel very isolated."

ever is on the receiving end".

But I soon learned that this was just what he wanted. It was grist to his mill, and would drive him on to more and worse of the same.

He started bringing in filthy cartoon books and similar material to show round and talk about — consciously excluding me from looking at them, but obviously watching its effect on me.

After a while even some of the men began to look uncomfortable. It was too much even for them. But none of them had the guts to tell him to shut up. Those that didn't like it just kept quiet and those that did, one in particular, egged him on.

Isolated

After several weeks of this daily battering I began to lose my sense of humour and feel very isolated. I knew, and so did the others by now, that Alan was doing all this for my benefit.

If I answered back, I was punished with more — mostly indirect filth said or shown to everyone but me. Sometimes comments were specifically directed at me; but direct or indirect it was all designed to wear me down.

One day, when we were all sat in the hut with the pot of tea — an enormous green affair with a big spout — he drew balls and hair under the spout and a vein going up it, then poured the tea out, laughing uproariously.

Another day, when we were getting ready to go home, he watched me pull my



Is it worth it?

overalls off my shoulders and down my body and said, "That's what I like to see, a woman undressing".

He would make comments and signs behind my back about the size and shape of my arse as I put my foot on a chair to undo my laces, making me self-conscious about my movements and my body.

His behaviour was unbelievably

about it.

I hated going to work — to a job which I had previously enjoyed — and dreaded going into the tea-room. When I did I sat in the corner from which I could view everyone without having to look at them, and where nothing could be done behind my back. And I kept my head down and read my paper, talking to no-one, and letting no-one see the effects that Alan was having on me.

In short, I was ill. And I was desperately unhappy. I was angry. But my anger was directed at me, for not being able to deal with it, adding to my unhappiness and loss of confidence.

To be able to turn my anger to effect I was going to need help. I could not deal with it alone. And since that made me feel inadequate and a failure, I could not accept that I needed help. It was a never-ending circle.

For the privilege of working under these conditions I was picking up £67 a week. The work itself wasn't worth that let alone the sexist shit that came with it.

childish for a 25 year old, but, coupled with the filth that came out of his mouth all day and every day, and with the fact that it was clear why he was doing it, these little things became part of the whole process of destroying my confidence.

His sexism was never physical — only verbal. If he had ever put his words into action he would have been a rapist. But sexual harassment is not just about bruises and scars. Verbal harassment is just as difficult to deal with.

For in fact, if he had ever physically abused me the other men might have been quicker to come to my defence. But mental scars are not so easy to detect.

It took a long time for me to admit to myself that I was a victim of sexual harassment, and much much longer for me to persuade any of the others. But for me, and possibly some of them, it was now no longer a joke.

I was losing sleep, lying awake at night rehearsing what I would say to him the next day. But when the next day came, when the onslaught started, I was too tired and worked up to get the words out. Instead I blushed and stammered and my heart pounded.

I began to take pills to try and sleep. My head ached constantly and my neck and back muscles were rigid with tension. I was irritable and nasty to people and isolated myself at work and at home so that I had no-one to talk to



Jean Lane

The
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Lefts

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are and



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UNION FOCUS

Right wing railroads CPSA

By Steve Battlemuch

Since John Macreadie's election as General Secretary of the Civil and Public Services Association [CPSA] — he was the Broad Left candidate — the right wing in the CPSA have spared no effort to stop him taking up the post. So far they have succeeded.

The National Executive Committee (NEC) met last week, one week before John was due to start work, and used their majority on the NEC to vote through motions concerning the elections. Arch-witch-hunter Kate Losinska moved the motions.

It was decided that, in view of the 'large number' of complaints that had been or are 'likely to be' lodged about the conduct of the elections, the highest placed candidate couldn't take up the post until the 'complaints' process had been completed.

It was also decided that 'complaints' should be dealt with by the Electoral Reform Society in association with the (right-wing) President — as complaints about elections are normally dealt with by the General Secretary.

And, until the whole complaints process has been completed — so the right wing decided — the union will be run by the current Deputy General Secretary.

Guess who he is. The defeated right wing General Secretary candidate, John Ellis!

All through the three-day NEC meeting no evidence of complaints was given to NEC members. Macreadie stated that, if he is allowed to take up his post, he would allow an independent investigation of complaints about the election which put him into office. This was rejected.

Graham

All opponents to the right wing group voted together at the NEC: Broad Left, Broad Left 84 and Democratic Moderate.

Even the outgoing General Secretary Alistair Graham, urged caution but this was rejected by the right wing.

Their aim is to drum up enough complaints either to rule out some of Macreadie's votes, or at least to force a re-ballot. Meanwhile, they will remain in charge of CPSA.

The Broad Left pushed hard at the NEC to try and ensure that Macreadie could take up his post on Monday 14 July, but the right wing were prepared to break all the rules. The Right have acted scandalously during this period.

The latest move by the Broad Left was to go to court to seek a ruling that Macreadie could take up his post. The court is due to rule this week.

However, not everyone on the left agrees with this latest tactic. The Socialist Caucus, at its national meeting last Saturday, criticised the Broad Left National Committee, and Militant in particular, for using the courts to sort out differences in the labour movement.

The meeting felt that a pro-Macreadie campaign needed to be taken to the members. Caucus members are going to be agitating for a special conference to be called to install Macreadie into office.

There should be a campaign of non-cooperation with Ellis as caretaker General Secretary.



Photo: Andrew Wiard, Report.

Step up pickets!

Hundreds of Wapping residents marched in protest at the picket-busting police presence on Saturday night 12 July. Addressed by local Labour MP Peter Shore, the demonstration was led by a banner reading 'East Enders reclaim the streets from Murdoch's boot boys'.

But the Saturday night pickets have been tailing off. A women's demonstration has been called

for 2 August, and the Communist-Party-dominated Liaison Committee for the Defence of Trade Unions has called one for 9 August.

The pickets — especially on Wednesdays and Saturdays — can and must still be built. The dispute is in danger of winding down and being forgotten. There must be a big push throughout the rank and file of the labour movement to revive the action.

NUM CONFERENCE

Notts wins on UDM unity

Last week I reported on the first two days of the NUM conference. After that the big debate was on nuclear power.

Conference was not impressed with a proposal to call for a moratorium and voted it down. We decided to demand an end to building nuclear power stations, and that existing ones should be phased out. We've got 300 years of coal — 300 years to buy us time to seek alternative sources of energy.

By Paul Whetton

Everybody is cagey about wages now. It is a mockery to talk about next year's wage rise when we haven't even got last year's. An actual figure was mentioned this time rather than vague talk of a 'substantial sum', but that would still bring us short, in real terms, of our 1974 levels. I noticed that words about 'industrial action' were not included in the resolution — I think

people are fighting shy about that terminology.

About the resolution on unity and the UDM. Scotland refused to accept the Nottinghamshire amendment putting strict conditions on any unity until the middle of George Bolton's speech. He saw how conference felt and suddenly said that they would agree with the Nottingham amendment. We then adjourned while the NEC discussed it and came back urging support for both Scotland and Nottinghamshire.

The original Scottish motion proposed to take everybody back into the NUM. But we did some forceful arguing, and so did some of the young lads going to the rostrum, that we're not prepared to take everybody back — and that got real support at Conference. But having said that I still want to keep my eye on certain people, who wouldn't be above doing a deal behind the scenes with Lynk and Co. in order to get them back.

After the Conference the thing that everybody picked up back in Notts was Scargill's speech about industrial action. People were uneasily saying "we're coming out on strike again"! We had to go to great pains to point out that this is not true — Scargill's words were taken completely out of context.

RAIL WORKSHOPS

Vote against action

By Rob Dawber

THE RESULTS of the Railway Workshops ballot have been announced. Over 11,500 voted against giving the union a mandate for action, and 5,500 voted for.

The result was bad, though an improvement on what the National Union of Railwaymen's (NUR's) own soundings showed when a similar ballot was abandoned last March. Then the margin was 12 to 1 against action.

Much of the problem is the local leaderships in the main works — time-serving bureaucrats and careerists, for whom the large membership in such places provide a firm foothold for climbing to higher jobs in the union.

Two Main Works did vote yes for action — Doncaster and Glasgow — and they account for most of the yes votes. These are the two up for closure. The prospect of them going it alone now are, however, very, very slim.

We need to build on those who voted for action, while trying to use bitter experience to convince those who stuck their heads in the sand.

SOCIALIST STUDENTS INNOVATIONS

Palestine, Zionists and Jews

We reprint a SSiN bulletin put out at Glasgow University. Part 2 next week.

The General Meeting held on May 15 at Glasgow University passed a number of important motions on the Middle East which are largely to be welcomed: these motions championed the right of the Palestinian Arabs to self-determination and instructed the SRC to establish a scholarship for a Palestinian refugee.

What is not good is that much of the rhetoric which accompanied the motions proved that (probably unconscious) anti-semitic assumptions had insinuated themselves once again into the discourse of the Left.

Jews in the hall were declared 'guilty' of the crimes of the Israeli state. The Socialist Workers Party was particularly blameworthy here. Once again, Jewish students felt under threat from a Left which seemed oblivious to the reality of anti-semitism. Once again, Jewish students — some of whom at least are on the Left — found themselves close to tears.

And once again, the arguments of much of the Left were pervaded by a demonological conception of Zionism as a hydra-headed conspiratorial beast — which, having copulated with 'imperialism', gave birth to the devil-child of the Israeli state.

Reference was repeatedly made to 'Zionist-Imperialism' — as if this were some special mutant form of imperialism. August Bebel once described anti-semitism as the 'socialism of idiots'; anti-'Zionist-Imperialism' is surely the 'anti-imperialism of idiots'.

Those who spoke for the Labour Club and for the Socialist Worker Student Society (SWSS) seemed to share three rather dubious assumptions: that Israel is simply the 'settler-colonial' offspring of 'Imperialism'; that the 'democratic secular state' bears the solution; and that 'Zionism' simply equals 'racism'.

Before these are mopped up, some points have to be clarified. SSiN is not pro-Zionist; we do not argue that anti-Zionist rhetoric is always implicitly anti-semitic; and we do give unconditional support to the PLO.

Whilst it is true that Jewish settlers colonised areas of Palestine, that did not make them a colony of either Imperialism-in-general (sic) or one imperialist power in particular.

Historic Zionism (1897-1948) was a stubbornly autonomous movement shot through with massive contradictions. The idea that 'Imperialism' kitted it out as its 'policeman' in the Middle East from Day One is simply ludicrous.

Consider the historical facts. The imperialist powers in the inter-war period were not exactly in a 'Three Musketeers' mood; thus, a joint 'plot' was not on. The one power which Israel could be said to have been the 'settler-colonial outpost' of was Britain.

But Britain spent 1948 warring against the Zionists. Indeed, the left-Zionist MAPAM saw that period as a 'war of independence' which would lead to socialist revolution. They were wrong, but that is what they thought.

Israel's earliest friend was the horribly reactionary but not (capitalist-) imperialist USSR. After Suez, in 1956, of course, Israel did become a stable pro-imperialist power amid the Nasserite Arab Revolution. However, it was not really until 1967 that Israel's pact with the coryphaeus of post-war imperialism — the USA — was firmly sealed.

These facts tend to belie the mythological view of Middle Eastern history that much of the Left has imbibed from bourgeois Arab nationalism.

SOCIALIST ORGANISER

FOR WORKERS' LIBERTY EAST AND WEST



Stalker

Expose this cover-up!

Prepare for conference fight

Eric Heffer comments on the new Labour Party economic policy drafted by John Smith and David Blunkett

I'VE been through the new Labour Party National Executive document very carefully.

Firstly, why are they avoiding the term 'public' or 'common ownership'? I just don't understand.

We've always argued for common ownership of the means of production and we've referred to it as public ownership. So why is there now an attempt to use another phraseology?

It's a document which reaffirms what they call 'social ownership', but this has in fact been public ownership. The document refers to Clause 4 of the Labour Party constitution, but having made this nod towards political virtue the document is really one of considerable retreat.

It's rather cleverly done, too. Not a frontal attack on the whole thing; but it is put in such a way that it adds up to a retreat on a number of issues. It doesn't really develop any idea of extension of public ownership; it doesn't raise the vital question of the control of the economy through public



Eric Heffer walks out of Labour Party conference. Photo: Stefano Cagnoni, IFL

ownership.

As it stands at the moment it's not the sort of document we could possibly support.

They think if you don't use the term public ownership or nationalisation this will be some kind of vote winner.

They are talking about bringing

British Telecom back into what they call social ownership, and Gas too, if it is privatised. But if you look at the list, it's all subject to what they call 'parliamentary time'. That's the whole point — it can either be done immediately or quickly, or be put to the end, or over the end.

There's all this talk about people being able to buy shares and so on. The document is a bit of a rice pudding or more a jelly — there's no central core to it. There's nothing there.

People are quite right to say that public ownership shouldn't be bureaucratic ownership or bureaucratic control. The socialist left has been arguing that for years, that there should be workers' control, or what I would call democratic management, and ultimately, self-management by the workers themselves.

There's no firm proposals along those lines in the document, just that

there should be greater involvement by the workers.

It goes to the Home Policy Committee this week, and then later on to the NEC, and finally then to the conference. I think that the left has got to make some more positive proposals at the NEC; if we fail there, then I don't think we can support the new document as it stands.

It's been called an attack on Clause 4, part 4 of the Labour Party constitution, but there is no frontal assault on clause 4. They reprint it in the front of the pamphlet; they say they are reaffirming support for what they call 'social ownership' instead of 'public ownership'.

So what do they think they are doing? It's a distancing exercise. You genuflect, like a good Catholic towards the Host in Church, but you don't do anything about eating it.

Direct action against fascists and racists

A group of fascists have moved into 35 Avenell Road, London N5. They are led by Nicky Crane, a Nazi thug, imprisoned for five years in 1981 for an attack he led on black people outside a Woolwich cinema. He has since been in jail for carrying offensive weapons.

Since these fascists moved in, racist slogans have been daubed over three local schools and over the Red Rose Labour Club in North London. Threats and harassment to local people have increased. Many fear using Avenell Road.

To entrench themselves, the fascists have turned the house into a bunker, with closed circuit TV front and back and boarded up windows. 10-15 fascists regularly stay there, with others visiting from Belgium, West Germany and France.

35 Avenell Road is owned by John Hansen who fully supports the views and activities of his residents. He is

wanted for massive rate arrears by Islington Council.

Local residents want these fascists driven out. Racism in Islington and Hackney is already widespread, with Bangladeshi children in Highbury having to be escorted to and from school by teachers to protect them from racial abuse, harassment and stonings.

Follow

Police ignore or downplay reports of racist attacks. Police also followed members of Islington Anti-Fascist Action around as they leafleted housing estates. Names and addresses were taken by police who confiscated leaflets.

Islington AFA's meeting of 13 July was attended by over 120 people. As one speaker put it, "It is time to put more than rhetoric on the line. We need positive action, direct physical action, to fight fascists and racists."

Join Anti-Fascist Action. Write to PO Box 273, Forest Gate, London E7 or phone 01-555 8151.

Orange bigots

From front page

was signed last November.

As troops and police watched quietly, they marched and drilled in the streets for an hour to show who was in control, and then dispersed. Paisley said that it was a token of what would happen if the Orangeists were not allowed to march through Catholic Portadown.

Catholics are bitterly angry. And with reason. The July-August marching season is an orgy of anti-Catholic triumphalism, a provocation and a

threat wherever in Northern Ireland there are Catholics to witness it. Instead of stopping this, the RUC did a public relations job for it.

Over the last few days there has been a large number of clashes between Protestants and the 'security forces', and a number of sectarian attacks against Catholics.

128 members of the RUC have already been reported as injured. Full figures for civilians are not available. Protestant crowds have clashed with the RUC. Significantly, the police report that 281 plastic bullets have been fired — mostly at Protestants.

THE POLICE and the government are finding it more difficult to keep the lid on the Stalker affair.

Senior policemen have been trying to discredit John Stalker, deputy chief constable of Manchester, because he had evidence of a top-level RUC murder gang which assassinated political suspects in Northern Ireland.

Stalker has been suspended on the grounds that a friend of his, a former chair of the Greater Manchester Conservative Association, Mr Ken Taylor, allegedly had criminal associates. Now it turns out that Manchester's chief constable, the bible-thumping oddball James Anderton, had the same circle of friends. But Anderton has not been suspended.

Pressure

Stalker was set up because in the present political situation in Northern Ireland the RUC are under immense pressure from their own Protestant community. The prosecution of senior officers that Stalker wanted would have further sapped their morale. So a clumsy attempt was made to eliminate Stalker.

Evidence that Stalker sought, like the recording made by a police device of the killing of an unarmed 17 year old by the RUC, may now have been destroyed.

The labour movement must organise a full inquiry, and demand that all the facts concerning the Stalker affair and the murders of unarmed Republicans in Northern Ireland are made public.

Child murderer

The policeman who shot five year old John Shorthouse while hunting for his father has been acquitted. The jury unanimously found him not guilty of manslaughter.

The dead boy's mother protested that justice had not been done.

It certainly seems remarkable that a young boy can be shot dead by a policeman who is professionally trained as a marksman, and the policeman get off scot free.

Would the jury have been so lenient if John Shorthouse had been accidentally killed by a black working-class unemployed youth? We think not.

But it's one law for the police... In a celebrated case, the murderers of Blair Peach, who was killed by police truncheons in Southall in 1979, got off.

So watch out. Highly-trained, armed police can accidentally kill you or your loved ones, and there's nothing that can be done about it.

THE LABOUR PARTY

JOIN NOW!

Join the Labour Party. Write to 150 Walworth Rd, London Se17.