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SOCIALIST ACTION

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John Tocher says vote no to cash for ballots
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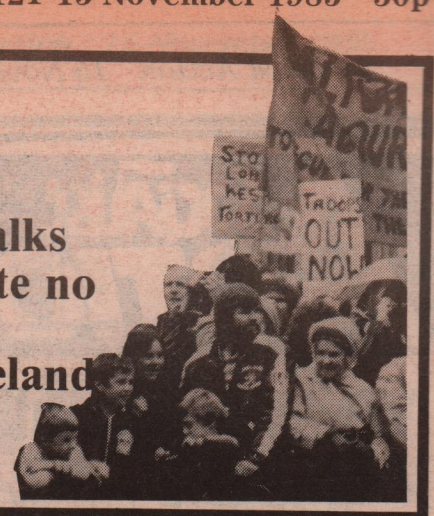
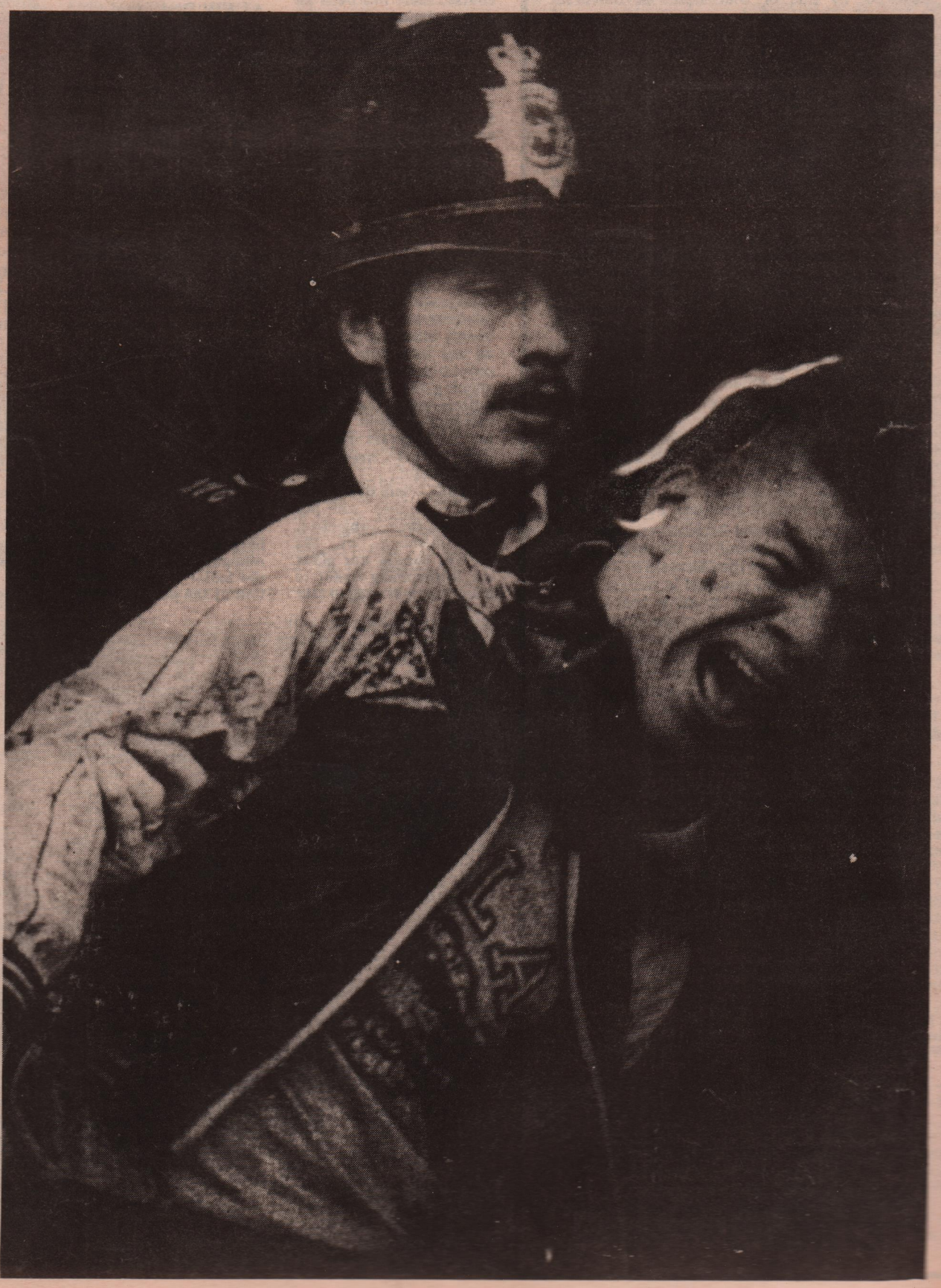


SOME LAW!

SOME ORDER!



CUT TAXES to win the next election, and truncheon anyone who disagrees. That's the Tory strategy for the rest of the '80s.

It was spelt out in last May's White Paper on public order and reaffirmed in the Queen's Speech. It was put in context by Nigel Lawson's economic statement this week.

Understand that policy and you'll understand all the events on the law and order front in the last months.

- **The victimisation and imprisonment of hundreds of miners for participating in the strike.**
- **The police brutality and harassment that led to the explosion in Handsworth.**
- **The police shooting of Cherry Groce in Brixton.**
- **The brutal police break-in that led to the death of Cynthia Jarrett.**
- **Why people in Brixton are having their doors sledge-hammered down at dawn by police searching for 'secondary offenders'.**

A hysterical campaign is under way in the gutter press to link together crime and protest — to prepare the way for 'public order' proposals which represent far and away the most serious threat to basic democratic liberties for fifty years. It is for that reason that a judge, for example, savagely sentenced a Chelsea football fan to life imprisonment for 'riot' — and directly declared this to be a lesson to pickets.

Under the campaign they are whipping up the Thatcher government are demanding the following laws — already prefigured in their White Paper.

- **That the police can ban any demonstration they choose**
- **They can tell you where you must hold any open air gathering, how many can come and when you must stop**
- **A new statutory offence of riot will be created with a sentence of up to ten years**
- **A new statutory offence of 'violent disorder' means you can be arrested and jailed for five years**
- **A 'disorderly conduct' offence is to be created.**

This is all couched in terms of 'preventing crime'. But the White Paper is careful to lump together 'hooligans', 'pickets', 'protestors', and football crowds. If it moves, thump it — that's the philosophy. As Labour Party black section member Diane Abbot puts it the aim is to 'brand as criminal anyone who resists the Tories, whether it's students, Greenham women, teachers or black kids on street corners.'

There is no doubt that Thatcher's policies are producing crime and 'disorder'. That is an inevitable product of policies of mass unemployment, cuts in services, squalor in housing, attacks on local government, and savaging of the cities — and the fact that people will rightly fight back to defend themselves against these policies.

As Tony Benn correctly put it you will never have 'law and order' as long as you don't have justice. Full employment, not a strong police force, is the only way there will ever be order and justice, in Britain.

The entire Tory and press campaign on 'law and order' is one of the most cynical operations even Thatcher has ever carried out. It is on a par with Enoch Powell's notorious 'rivers of blood' racist speeches. It should be exposed with the utmost contempt by the labour movement.

Socialist Action

What is Socialist Action?

THIS WEEKEND Socialist Action is hosting an 'Alliance for Socialism' event. It is a good time to emphasise what our paper stands for and fights for.

Marx wrote in the *Communist Manifesto* the beginning and the end of all wisdom on working class politics: that Marxists 'have no interests separate and apart from those of the working class as a whole. They do not set up any sectarian principles of their own, by which to shape and mould the proletarian movement.'

Marxists are, he said: 'distinguished from the other working class parties by this only: in the national struggles of the proletarians of the different countries, they bring out and bring to the front the common interests of the entire proletariat, independently of all nationality. In the various stages of development which the struggle of the working class against the bourgeoisie has to pass through, they always and everywhere represent the interests of the movement as a whole.'

He added: 'the theoretical conclusions of the communists are in no way based on ideas or principles that have been invented, or discovered, by this or that would-be universal reformer. They merely express, in general terms, actual relations springing from an existing class struggle, from a historical movement going on under our very eyes.'

Within its limited resources, that is what Socialist Action tries to present and to emulate. We are a paper with our own definite views on every major issue. But we don't see that as *counterposed* to the actions of anyone else who is truly defending the interests of the working class. On the contrary we see those struggles as the ones which we champion.

Throughout the miners' strike, Socialist Action was inspired by the leadership which Arthur Scargill gave the miners — as were the members of the NUM. We applauded Dennis Skinner when he talked out the Powell Bill. We have never seen a movement in Britain like Women Against Pit Closures. We stood with Bernie Grant when he defended black youth and denounced the police for *their* riot in Tottenham.

Internationally, and on a higher level, Socialist Action supports every effort of the FSLN in its fight against first Somoza and then the contras. We back the FMLN against the Salvadorian junta. And we stand shoulder to shoulder with those who are fighting, and dying, in the struggle against apartheid in South Africa.

The pages of Socialist Action are open not only to our own views but to those of anyone fighting on any issue in the interests of the working class. That is why you find in our paper the views of Diane Abbott arguing the type of alliances black people must make, the African National Congress demanding the implementation of the Freedom Charter, Tony Benn defending the miners, Gerry Adams calling for freedom for Ireland, and as many other struggles as we can find space for.

Even where we disagree, we still find room for causes and campaigns which are progressive. For example, we disagree with John Tocher on many things, but we'll campaign flat out for his election as AUEW president, and for a 'no' vote against government funds for union ballots. On these, and similar struggles, our pages are always open.

Socialists have nothing to fear from the clash of ideas. Who is right and who is wrong is tested in the struggle, in real life. In today's world those tests come quicker than they did in the decades of the '50s and '60s.

It is for these reasons that we are hosting the 'Alliance for Socialism' weekend. And this is how we try to present each week's issue of the paper. We don't hide our own views. But our pages are *always* open to those who want a platform for the cause of the working class and oppressed.

We agree very much with something Tony Benn said: ideas are very important in politics, but most important of all is 'which side are you on?' To pinch a phrase of Arthur Scargill's, what we try to build is 'a newspaper as loyal to our class as the *Financial Times* is to Margaret Thatcher's.'

But that's just another way of saying what Karl Marx said in the first place.

Smart guy wasn't he?

The AUEW must vote no!

WE ARE living in very difficult times. Thatcher has introduced anti-trade union legislation and deprived people of their basic civil and democratic rights built up over 200 years.

At the same time, Thatcher is masquerading as some kind of 'democrat' — insisting, quite rightly, that union leaders be accountable to the members. But here again, she is advocating a method of election in which the media can involve themselves without any constraints.

Faced with this assault, the trade unions agreed early on to a non-cooperation policy with the government. And while over the NGA, GCHQ — and over solidarity with the miners — opposition was weakened. The TUC and the national committee of the AUEW *were* opposed, by an overwhelming vote, to legislation which threatened their existence.

They were opposed to government funding of internal union ballots. It was correctly viewed as the thin end of the wedge — enabling direct state interference in the internal affairs of independent unions.

The AUEW Executive Council majority has changed its stance and, of course, there has been an overwhelming vote of the membership to accept government funding.

As a result, another issue has emerged which is more dangerous even than the acceptance of government money itself: an attempt by the ultra-right wing to exploit this difference between the AUEW and the TUC to split the trade union movement — something that the Tory Government has not even achieved.

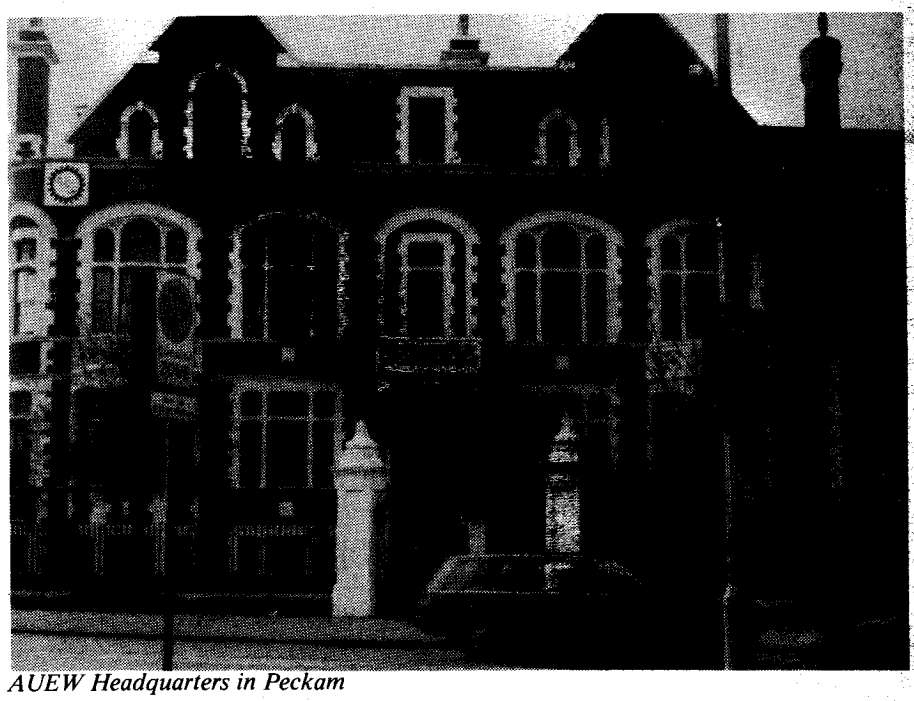
We have seen the emergence of 'Mainstream' who are openly attacking the TUC on the basis that a split should take place, and aligning the AUEW with unions such as the EETPU and non-affiliates such as the Nottingham malcontent miners' breakaway organisation.

I am firmly of the opinion that they will not achieve their objective. But members of the AUEW should not allow the forthcoming ballot to allow the right wing to take the AUEW away from the united trade union movement at the most critical time in its history. So I strongly recommend all members vote against acceptance of government funds and stand by National Committee policy.

By John Tocher, AUEW Divisional Organiser, Division 11 (personal capacity)

If the membership decide otherwise, again by a big majority vote, we will have jeopardised our membership of the TUC. In that event I would advocate all ballots be conduced by the TUC (in accordance with the unions' constitution) and that government monies for the purpose of balloting would be claimed by the TUC. This would remove the threat of government intervention into the internal affairs of our union and avoid the AUEW becoming a vehicle for splitting the trade union movement.

Irrespective of our members' views of ballots, I do not believe that our membership wish to be outside the TUC or Labour Party — as has been indicated by the recent massive 'yes' vote in the ballot over the retention of the political fund.



AUEW Headquarters in Peckam

EEPTU - beware enemies bearing gifts

ONLY A matter of weeks after the TUC declared once more its opposition to taking government money for ballots, the EETPU and AUEW have reopened their offensive against this policy. In advocating the case for taking government money for ballots, they have put their unions on a headlong course for expulsion from the TUC.

The special TUC at Wembley in 1982 rejected this offer of Judas money — preferring to retain their unions' integrity and independence from outside influence. The Tories may claim that they want to give the unions back to the members but, as the TUC has stated, the real intention of the Tories' anti-union legislation is to weaken the unions and their ability to serve and protect their members.

Independence of the unions from state interference is central to democratic traditions. The EETPU itself has in the past been one of the most outspoken critics of state interference over trade union affairs in some of the East European countries advocating the case for independence from the state — and rightly so. Their present policy however, has created division and discord within the TUC at a time when maximum unity is required if we are to return a Labour government. The EETPU must stand by TUC policy in this regard.

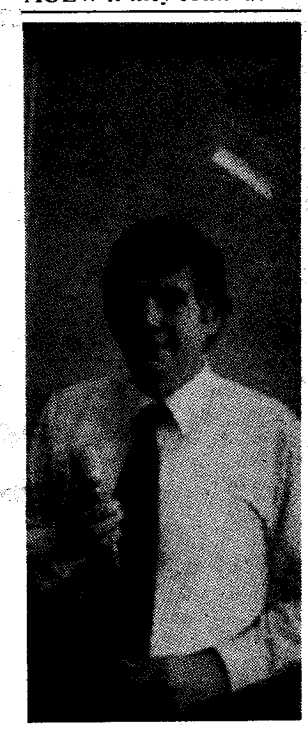
Democratic

The AUEW argues that there are contradictions in the TUC policy and the actions of other unions. The argument from the 'right' is that trade unions accept government money for TUC education, so why not for ballots?

Whatever the rights and wrongs of taking government money for union education, there is no TUC policy against it. Simply because democratic decisions appear contradictory, it does not give the AUEW a license (especially after the 1985 TUC conference) to flout those decisions.

One could have some sympathy with them if they were arguing the case that their bed-partners, the EETPU and others, should be electing *all* their full-time officials like they do, and therefore sheer costs may cause the TUC to rethink its policy in this regard.

'Contradictions' may well arise however for both the EETPU and the AUEW if they continue to pursue the case for accepting government money for ballots contrary to TUC policy. Having recently received massive 'yes' votes from their members for the political fund they are now deliberately inciting their members to contradict their own earlier votes in favour of this political fund. If they now vote to take government money, they will put themselves outside the TUC and hence be ineligible for affiliation to the Labour Party.



By Ian Brown, EETPU, Joint Craft Convenor, Shell Carrington, Manchester (written for and on behalf of the Joint Craft Shop Stewards Committee)

Striking women engineering workers

Vote Tocher

IF THERE was any doubt about the importance of the AUEW presidential election, the recent memorial service for Terry Duffy should have cleared it up. Among the mourners present were senior engineering employers' representatives and a most impressive array of ruling class politicians — Nigel Lawson, Michael Heseltine, Leon Brittan, Norman Tebbit, and David Owen.

But homage for services rendered to capital by Terry Duffy was not the only reason for the Tory and SDP turnout. The memorial service 'fortunately' coincided with the announcement of the AUEW election results. The coincidence allowed the biggest possible press coverage for the message favoured by the right-wing leadership of the union — 'the king is dead; long live the king'.

Bill Jordan — who topped the poll in the first ballot for the presidential position — was presented as the heir apparent to Duffy.

For the Tory government, both the vote on cash for ballots and for AUEW president are central. Winning acceptance of state-funding for union ballots is crucial to the entire package of anti-trade union legislation. Continuing the present right wing leadership of the AUEW is critical to the long-term aim of dividing the trade union movement.

Gavin Laird's statement on *Weekend World*, made two days earlier, that the AUEW was prepared to split from the TUC was music to the ears of Tebbit and co. Their presence at Duffy's memorial service was a way of saying 'thank you'.

But the eager Tory cry of complete victory is still premature. It masks the obstacles that lie in the path of the Tory government.

The claim that Bill Jordan's vote represents enthusiastic membership backing for the executive's line is a fraud. Despite backing from the government, the media, and the union leadership, Jordan still only gained 32 per cent of the votes cast. His 72,000 votes represent seven per cent of the members registered to vote.

But the voting results were undoubtedly bad news for the left-wing in the union. They represent a shift away from the broad left candidates compared with the last round of elections in March.

Right wing candidate Jackie Crystal won the post of assistant general secretary left vacant by the retirement of Bob Wright. Right wing candidate Bill Morgan hammered Derek Simpson in the contest for the vacant executive council seat covering the East Midlands and East Anglia.

In Scotland, the broad left incumbent, Jimmie Airlie, only hung on to his executive council seat by the skin of his teeth.

In the key presidential contest, broad left candidate John Tocher polled some 50,000 votes, or 23 per cent of the votes cast. This was enough to take him through to the second ballot — which will be a straight fight with Bill Jordan next March.

But there is a huge task ahead if Tocher is to stand any chance and a long term challenge to the right wing is to be built. What are the perspectives for a fightback?

It was an election which took place against a background of hundreds of thousands of engineers on the dole, national wage rates falling behind price rises by eight per cent in four years, proposals by the employers to eliminate conditions at work built up over 50 years, savage attacks on trade unions by the Tory government, and a possible split in the TUC involving the AUEW. But 70 per cent of the registered members did not feel motivated to vote.

The combined vote of the two front runners, Jordan and Tocher, amounts to only 15 per cent of the registered voters.

By Jon Silberman

This is partially accounted for by the sheer number of candidates, including national figures like EC member Gerry Russell and national organiser David Graham from Scotland. But this far from explains the whole story. There is no doubt that the right wing, combined with the failure of a clear cut campaigning alternative by the broad left, has produced apathy — a dangerous development.

The right wing leadership does not have the enthusiastic support of the ranks. But the broad left was unable to take any advantage of this because it failed to genuinely campaign around a clear set of policies and measures which will defend the interests of the members at such a time of crisis.

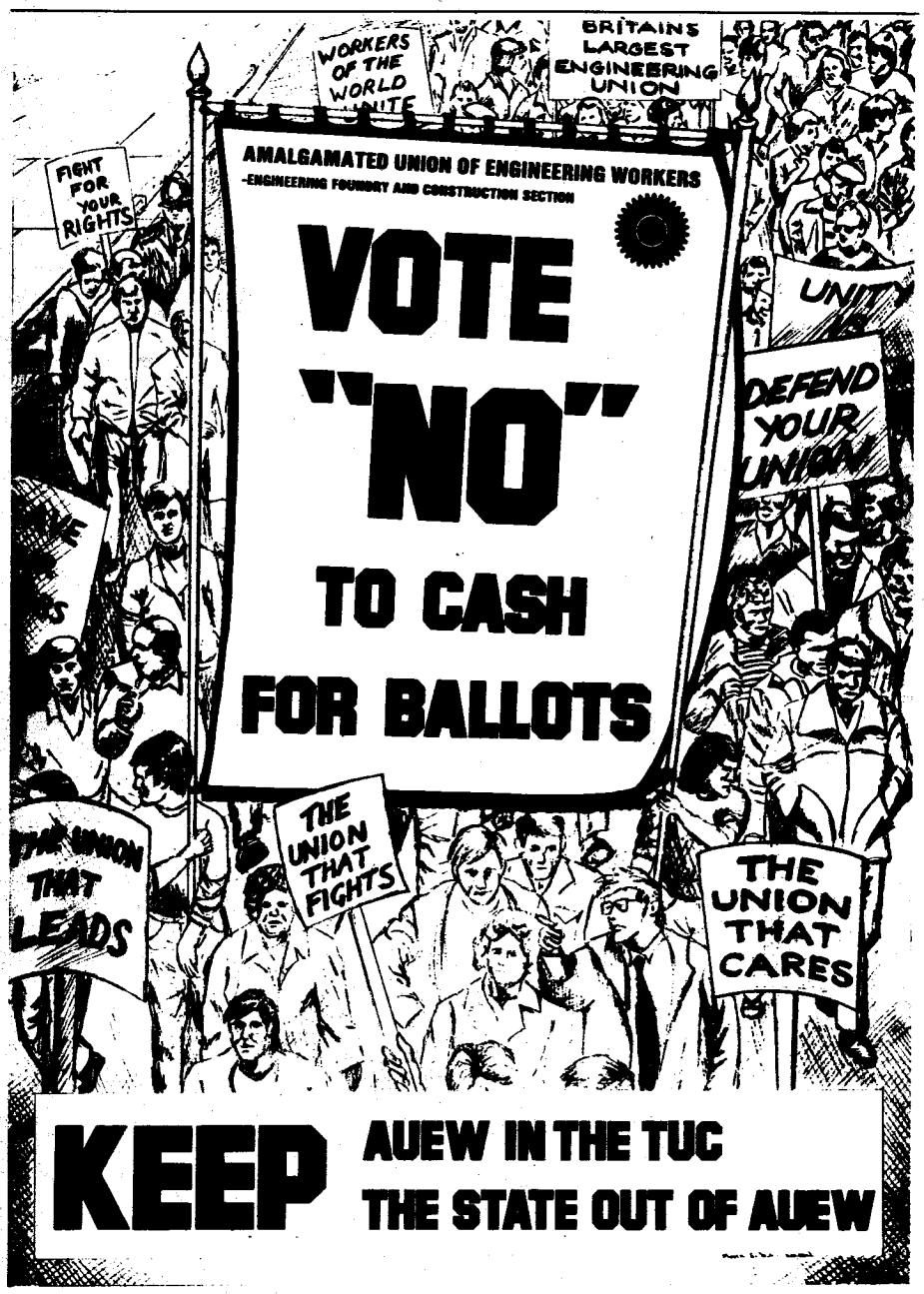
For instance the most prominent broad left leader in the union — Jimmy Airlie — over the past months attacked the successfully fought for claim of the Ford women machinists for equal pay, attacked the leadership of the NUM, supported the employers proposals to savage the apprenticeship system, and blazed the trail in promoting pre-strike ballots. As for taking government cash for ballots, Airlie's silence has been deafening — as it has also been on the 35 hour week and a number of crucial issues facing the membership.

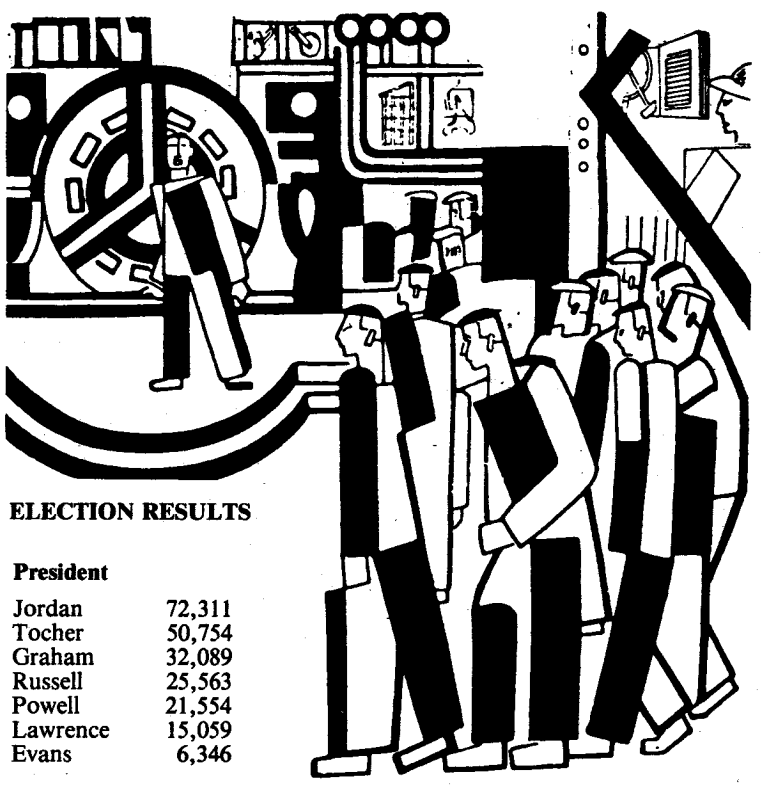
It is not possible to challenge the right wing by the type of strategy which consists of trying to win elections by moving to the right.

One third of the AUEW's membership are women. How can their support be won by denouncing — as Airlie did — the so called 'sexual' claim of the Ford women machinists as 'divisive'. What a disaster for the left inside the union when it is the right wing in Scotland which is appealing for support on the basis of its opposition to Airlie's policy on women's rights.

On the other hand Tocher's presidential campaign could and can strengthen the struggle against the right wing. The clear victories of broad left candidates Northey and Graham in the two assistant divisional organiser elections show's what is possible.

In the wake of the miners' strike Jordan has defined clearly where he stands — with the scab miners' breakaway and all it stands for. By clearly campaigning on the key issues, and reaching out to develop the interests of the whole union, Tocher's campaign can strengthen the left in the union.





ELECTION RESULTS

President

Jordan	72,311
Tocher	50,754
Graham	32,089
Russell	25,563
Powell	21,554
Lawrence	15,059
Evans	6,346

Why every AUEW member should vote no

THE VOTE of the AUEW on taking state funds for union ballots, starting on 22 November will vitally affect the entire trade union movement.

In the last six years literally hundreds of thousands of engineers have joined the dole queues. The employers have announced their determination to erode working conditions and living standards.

But instead of drawing up plans to defend its members interests the AUEW executive has chosen to do battle with the TUC.

In association with the leaders of the EETPU, and the Notts breakaway organisation, the AUEW executive are openly threatening to split the trade union movement.

Socialist Action AUEW members explain why it is vital for every member of the union to vote 'no'.

Why is the AUEW balloting a second time on the same issue? Shouldn't the TUC keep out of the internal affairs of member unions?

First it wasn't the TUC that forced a second ballot. It was the AUEW national committee — the highest policy making body of the union. The national committee censured the executive council by the massive margin of 120 votes to 1 for their handling of the issue of government money for union ballots.

Second the TUC *should* intervene to support congress positions on this issue as it is in the interests of every trade union.

But what was wrong with the original ballot?

It is official AUEW policy to *oppose* the Tory laws. The executive council went against union policy by campaigning for a 'yes' vote to the acceptance of government cash.

This was nothing other than a way of by-passing the rules of the union to get the result they were after.

But the AUEW membership decided to accept the money. Surely that's what counts?

The executive council issued a ballot which said, in almost as many words. 'Do you want the government to give the union £1 million? Executive council recommends you vote "yes".'

No alternative arguments were allowed. The executive did not explain that the union's policy, just like that of the entire TUC, was opposed to taking cash for ballots. And then they rushed the ballot through — it was the quickest in the union's history.

So there was no real chance for a counter-campaign. The result was a foregone conclusion.

A vote threatening a split in the TUC was forced through as quickly as possible so the executive could avoid facing a threat to its policies.

But what's wrong with getting some money from the government? After all, the Tories have certainly taken enough from us!

Because the Tory government is proposing to *continue* with exactly the same policies it's been pursuing for the last six years. The aim is imposing government strings on unions not aiding them. Taking government money for ballots, and thereby allowing state interference in the trade unions, will make it *harder* to fight for hospitals, jobs and the other things for which government money could be used.

Nevertheless the AUEW is pretty hard up?

The best way to improve the union's finances is to get more members. We've lost literally hundreds of thousands. If the AUEW organised a real fight to defend jobs and living standards against the government's attacks it would start to rebuild. Right wing policies have *undermined* the union.

But can we afford to look a gift horse in the mouth? At least the government's offering some cash. Can we afford to turn it down?

We can't afford not to. State funding of unions is nothing more than superficially in the short period of state control. A state is our very existence as an independent union.

The AUEW has already gone a long way to implement the Tory anti-union laws. At the Rules Revision Conference this year a solicitor was presented to 'explain' how the rules of the union conflicted with the Tory laws and how they needed to be changed. And they were changed accordingly.

Following the Rules Revision Conference the executive council issued a circular stipulating that secret ballots must be organised before any form of industrial action in line with the 1984 Trade Union Act. The issue of cash for ballots is the final one to whole scale acceptance of the Tory laws.

If the union's gone so far already, then why hold out over the issue of accepting government cash?

Precisely because it is the final issue before complete acceptance of the Tory laws it is so important. We didn't choose the terrain it's true. It's not the most favourable one it's true. But we've got to fight.

A victory would be a step in the fight against the entire package, a defeat would be a body blow to the entire movement.

What about the threat of a split with the TUC if the AUEW votes 'yes'?

If there is a split the whole responsibility will be with the leadership of the AUEW. Gavin Laird has made this clear. He announced publicly, on TV, that the AUEW, EETPU are prepared to break with the TUC. They're already linked up with the scab miners outfit through *Mainstream*. They're saying ing to the TUC 'back down or we go!'

It's not the TUC that's going ahead with a threat of a split, it's the AUEW leadership.

OK, but will the TUC back down?

The best way to prevent any threat of a split at all is to defeat the AUEW leadership.

A massive campaign is needed for a 'no' vote.

TUC dumps the miners ... again

THE NUM-TUC TALKS last week laid bare the TUC leadership's present course: that of abject capitulation to the Thatcher government. By simultaneously adopting the Tory argument of the inevitable decline of the British coalfields and advising 'reconciliation' between the National Union of Mineworkers and Lynk's scab UDM, TUC bosses have made plain their intention to lie down and die in the face of government attacks on the working class.

By Carol Turner

They have shown that they share Margaret Thatcher's priorities. And the first is getting rid of Arthur Scargill and destroying the fighting leadership of the miners' union.

According to the *Financial Times* last Thursday, to whom the finance and general purposes committee report was leaked, the TUC view the prospect for the coal industry as one of 'accelerating decline'. They back this up by citing the number of pits likely to close.

The failure of the TUC leadership to fight for action by other unions in support of the 1984-85 strike played no small part in the closure of the pits, however — a factor which the FGP committee no doubt fail to highlight. They confidently predict further closures, with a concomitant loss in capacity and in employment.

The report also says that the misnamed Union of Democratic Mineworkers is 'solidly based' in Notts with the prospect of expanding into other areas, especially in high-productivity pits. It adds: 'In these circumstances there seems to be limited scope, if any, for a further campaign to be mounted by the NUM supported by the TUC against the new organisation.'

On the amnesty campaign launched by the NUM, the FGP committee report argues against mass action initiatives like the proposed lobby of parliament. Instead it suggests targetting what the TUC considers more winnable cases — with the clear implication that others must be dropped.

Taken together, the passages from the report leaked by the media paint a grim picture of the TUC's attitude towards the problems of the miners' union. But this should hardly come as any surprise.

Throughout the NUM strike the TUC leadership refused to try to mobilise industrial solidarity action by other unions in support of the miners. And, like the Labour Party leadership, made clear at its congress this year that it would stand back in the face of further Tory attacks.

As far as Norman Willis and Neil Kinnock are concerned Arthur Scargill is the *real* threat to the labour movement, not the Thatcher government and the capitalist class in whose interests it acts. The Scargill leadership of the mineworkers union is clearly a threat to the present policies of the TUC leadership. He offers a real alternative to the stay-within-the-law-regardless approach of Norman Willis and company.

Scargill's answer is to continue to fight for the interests of his members and the interests of the working class. The whole of the labour movement has a stake in supporting that.

The way forward for Labour

IT HAS ALWAYS been the right who have split the Labour Party in the name of unity, argues MP ERIC HEFFER. Without understanding that a fight *against* Thatcherism is necessarily a fight *for* socialist solutions, Labour will never get its election strategy right. The issue most central to today's debate inside the party is the question of supporting those in struggle against the Tory government. Arthur Scargill is a 'magnificent leader', a shining example to the whole of the labour movement of how to do just that.

THERE IS a great feeling in the party that we ought to concentrate on winning the next election. Because of that, many people argue that we ought to stop discussing important problems. But to do so could easily mean we become a 'confirmist' group without any discussion on the issues we're faced with.

I believe those issues are the way in which we deal with the crisis of the capitalist system. I don't think we can separate the struggle against Thatcherism and against capitalism from the struggle for socialism. At this point in history, Thatcherism is the expression of British capital's reactionary ideas. She epitomises their view of how to fight the development of socialist ideas.

When we argue against Thatcherism we must also argue *for* a socialist programme. That's not simple to define, but I think there are a number of basic principles.

In my view, we have to accept that the class struggle is not dead. It will continue to exist as long as there is a class society. Labour has to be part and parcel of that.

Second, we have to understand the nature of the state. In Britain the state defends private property on behalf of capital against those who want to get rid of that system.

If we want to transform society by giving working class people security, full employment, peace, education, somewhere decent to live, and so on — then we are hitting at the roots of the capitalist system. It is as simple as that.

We have to understand that Keynesian welfare capitalist concepts are dead. Welfare capitalism can no longer deal with the basic crisis we face. We have to go beyond that, and the only way is on the basis of real socialist planning of the economy and democratic control. That means the involvement of working people at all levels. Without that, Labour can't advance.

A Labour government is better than a non-Labour government, but we have to go beyond reformist Labour governments. We need to properly understand the nature of this society to deal with the basic problems.

The pamphlet by Andrew Glyn which the Campaign group of MPs is sponsoring is a step in that direction. Discussion on the theme of that pamphlet in every constituency party in the country would be a very positive first step in getting to grips with how we deal with the crisis we're in at the present time.

The Campaign group should not be criticised for what they've being doing. It was quite right to support the miners' strike and Liverpool council, quite right to consistently argue for public ownership, quite right to support black people and raise the terrible problems of the inner cities.

Those who argue that this is divisive are similar to those in the past who argued that the Bevanites were divisive, that *Keep Left* was divisive, that the Socialist League was divisive. But when you look back at history, it's always been the right wing element who have let the party down, who have opposed basic socialist ideas and on many occasions have betrayed those principles and the party.

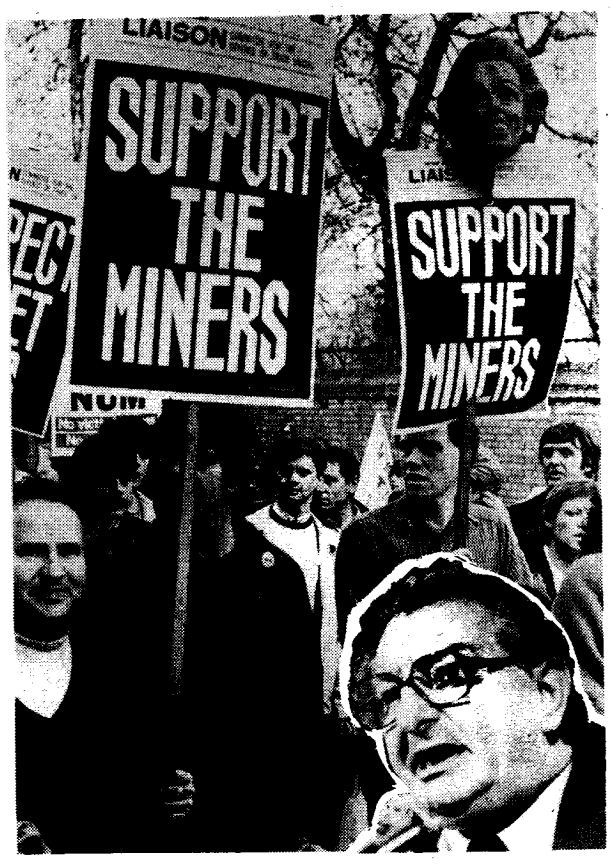
Take Liverpool council who are now in a very great crisis. What they *don't* need is the top level of the party attacking them. They need assistance to help them to wage the struggle they have been conducting.

In Arthur Scargill, we saw for the first time in a long time an absolutely magnificent leader, fighting in the consistent way he did for the views of his people, standing by his class. Those people who attacked him of course are those who didn't want the miners to fight and don't agree that we should involve ourselves in that kind of struggle.

But socialists, even parliamentary ones, should identify themselves with the struggles of working people. Any part of the movement in struggle must be supported.

The struggle for socialism is long and hard. We are going to have defeats and setbacks. That leads some people to say 'let's abandon the struggle, let's look for alternatives'. Those alternatives mean some sort of understanding with the SDP and Liberals, or with breakaway organisations.

Unfortunately, there was a majority of miners for the Notts breakaway. Of course there will be individuals caught up in it — honest working people, rank and file party members — who we need to talk to seriously. But that doesn't mean we have to allow organisations based on scabbing to affiliate to the party. That doesn't mean we have to compromise on the basic principles.



National amnesty campaign group launched

A national campaign in defence of the sacked and jailed miners held its first planning meeting. The National Amnesty Campaign Group was formed out of a large fringe meeting at this year's Labour Party conference organised by the Campaign group of MPs.

The planning meeting was chaired by Billy Etherington of the NUM national executive and it adopted a plan of activities proposed by Alan Meale, secretary of the Campaign group of Labour MPs.

The campaign will be participating in the relaunch of Tony Benn's Amnesty Bill in the spring — including the production of a pamphlet on the Bill. Fringe meetings, jointly with the Campaign group, are planned for each regional Labour Party and TUC conference.

A delegate steering conference will take place in January of next year.

The campaign will seek to publicise the NUM resolutions passed by the TUC and Labour Party conference, the Amnesty Bill, and seek to raise money for the NUM National Solidarity Fund established for the victimised miners.

By Dick Withecombe, North West Area Miners' Defence Campaign

New miners' strike video

During the miners' strike, for the first time, a large group of workers received the daily attention of the mass media over a 12 month period.

The gap between how miners and their supporters saw what was going on in their communities, on the picket lines and at the meetings and rallies, and the way it was portrayed in the media led to deep suspicion, resentment and frustration. 'Shove your camera up your arse' was a picket line chant that often greeted the arrival of the news crews.

The strike proved to be a direct lesson for many working class people that the media's sophisticated arguments of neutrality and avoiding 'bias' only resulted in it putting across the views of those who were holding the power.

Some media workers, both inside broadcast television and outside it were sympathetic to the strike and tried to put over the miners case. A handful of supportive documentaries did make the screens (mainly on Channel 4).

The most interesting and committed programmes were being produced outside of broadcast television. Since the end of the strike a number of tapes have been produced that try to build wider support in defence of the continuing attacks on the NUM. For example, *Whose law?* produced by Chapter Video of Cardiff, and *Supporting the Miners* produced by the Miners Defence Video Project in London.

This is not the end: Defend the victimised miners is a tape that was recently produced by Active Image, based in Rotherham, South Yorkshire. We were involved in the Miners Campaign Tapes during the strike, and have maintained an active role in the local support groups and defence campaigns.

The tape aims to publicise the victimisations to a general audience by means of a short programme designed for use at meetings, and a longer programme that also brings out the role of the police, the Orgreave trials, the breakaway union and the move to privatisation.

Like many of the groups doing this kind of work, we don't receive any finance for it, so it is essential that these tapes are taken up and used by the widest possible audience to ensure that this work can continue. Can your organisation use these tapes?

By John Hanlon, Active Image

● *Contact: Active Image on 0709 67676; Miners Defence Video Project on 01-607 9964 and Chapter Video Workshop on 0222 396061. Copies of* This is not the end *are free to miners' support groups and £10 for other organisations to hire.*

Constructing alliances

THERE IS a real shift in consciousness going on among Britain's black community, argues DIANE ABBOTT, of the Labour Party Black Section National Committee and the Women's Action Committee. And even if they're not participating directly in the development of black sections in the party, they're certainly watching closely. She discussed with ALAN FREEMAN what alliances for Labour.

It's obvious from the Queen's speech that the Tories are going to make a big deal out of law and order. What do you think the implications are for black people?

It's really an attempt to criminalise dissent. Anyone who resists the Tories, whether it's miners, students, Greenham women, teachers or black kids on street corners, is branded as criminal in public discourse. You can see this from the way they make a point of linking strikes, pickets, marches and hooligans.

The appeal to law and order is very seductive; it conjures up images of security and stability, and it appeals to the fear of the mob. This has been the authoritarian appeal throughout the ages.

In fact it's crazy. If you want peace and stability, the last thing you need is water cannons and plastic bullets on the inner-city estates. It will just turn our streets into something approaching Derry.

Its aim, of course, is not to deal with criminal activity but to keep protest off the streets.

But it won't achieve this either. Every time there is a riot we are told there are 'outside agitators'. In Northern Ireland we are told that the 'IRA holds the community in thrall'. But just as the IRA couldn't survive without popular support, the statement which young black people make has a resonance in the wider community.

These manifestations of dissent are not just marginal. They are not just fringe elements. They express a much wider feeling throughout the working class.

Repression aims to suppress this much wider dissent. In fact, however, it is having an opposite effect. I was on the Anti Apartheid march and I noticed thousands of young black people who had no previous involvement in politics.

Thatcher is forcing people into alliances. She is forcing them to recognise for the first time that they have a common enemy. They are almost being politicised against their will.

Black people have been, I think quite rightly, extremely distrustful of the British labour movement and the Labour Party. Do you think this new politicisation indicates a change?

There is a real shift in consciousness going on. Many people used to vote Labour but were not interested in making alliances with the Labour Party. They perceive the Labour Party, as an arm of capitalism — with, I must say, remarkable clarity. But now they are coming round to the notion that they have to construct alliances, so they are becoming interested in what is going on in the Labour Party.

Take Lester Lewis in Hackney, who I've known from a long time back. He used to be a very strong Pan-Africanist. I was very surprised recently to see he has become a councillor: it indicates the sort of changes that are going on.

How do you think black people see the black section?

They see black people in the Labour Party making themselves felt. Whether or not they agree with the *tactic*, they still approve of the fact that it is being done.

I remember a white guy I was talking to, who was up on Broadwater Farm recently and was amazed to see that all the youth saw the black section debate on the telly, and followed the whole debate in the *Guardian*. He couldn't understand it. The point is they are extremely interested even if they are not taking part.

You said that people were being drawn into political activity in search of alliances. What kind of alliances?

I think alliances are growing up around the questions of state power. Black people, trade unionists, and people in Northern Ireland are all being drawn together by the state's attacks.

Do you mean an alliance around the existence of the state, or the way it is used?

Primarily around the way it is used. But inevitably this will lead people to question its existence, and to ask 'in whose interest does it work?'

The labour movement has ignored the state. Black people can't ignore it. We have always had an analysis of the state.

I don't mean a deep, theoretical analysis. I mean our experience of British colonialism, the immigration authorities, the police, has taught us what it represents.

That's one of the reasons, I think, why there is such hositility to black self-organisation. It's really a very moderate demand, yet everyone went for us as soon as we raised it.

Diane Abbot

Kinnock came boring in to tell us we absolutely can't have it. Why? What are they frightened of?

I think they see us as a sort of virus which will infect people with opposition to the state. After all, we've been fighting it for long enough. Everyone thinks of older Afro-Caribbean people as peaceful church-goers, and forgets that 50 years ago their aunts and uncles were burning canefields in protest against British rule.

Our approach is a challenge to all the Fabian assumptions that the state is a power for good as long as it is in the right hands. It is a challenge to the Morrisonian theory of nationalisation; to the idea that all you have to do is set up big bureaucratic corporations without any popular control.

We *are* a virus, and I hope we'll start an epidemic: of refusal to submit.

What sort of alliances do you think black people need within the Labour Party?

I would look at it the other way round: what kind of alliances does the Labour Party need?

You have to start from an understanding that all white people are racist. Some of the most pernicious are those who claim to be 'anti-racist'. We can't just ally with people [illegible] do not accept this. We are not prepared to accept a crude class reductionism that says 'at the end of the day, black people and women are expendable'. You can't have unity on the basis of white control. An alliance has to be around what black people themselves want.

The people who oppose this are really saying they know what is best for black people. We are fed up to the back teeth with this. Even Bill Morris, when you put his back to the wall, even though in public he says what the bureaucracy tells him, rebels at white people defining what black people need.

The same applies to women. Women have really been turned over by the left in the Labour Party. Look at the result of reselection. In London, it looks as if Labour will have only two women MPs — after all the gestures and declarations of support for the miners' wives.

There were no male speakers in favour of WAC's positions at the Labour Party debate and WAC keeps losing its resolutions. This year it even lost a proposal that was backed by the NEC, that there whould be a woman on every shortlist.

And when you look at some of the men who have been reselected, it is a real slap in the face for women to say that they are not up to this standard.

What do you think of what Neil Kinnock has been doing?

No one can say he is a prisoner of the right any more, that's for sure. No one is forcing him to say what he says. It's his own choice. He is trying to distance himself from the party more and more in his presentation.

His speech was very popular even among some of the left because he attacked *Militant*, which is the left's weak flank. But he was actually attacking the whole of the left. When he attacked Liverpool, he was going for *all* the councils who might be prepared to take on illegality.

He is playing on people's desire to win the election and get rid of Thatcher. But in all the rapturous press acclaim. Joe Haines made the most astute comment. He said that he made Steel and Owen look like 'pygmies'. What he meant is that if you want to know who is best at marginalising socialism and containing an insurgent working class, then Kinnock's your man.

The point is, however, that this line can't win the election. He has accepted the Tory agenda: law and order, selling council houses, and so on. But we can't win by fighting on the Tories' agenda.

Why don't working class people vote Labour? Not because it's too extreme, but because they can't see the difference.

It's very distressing. If the only reason to have him is to win the election and he can't even do that, then what's the point?

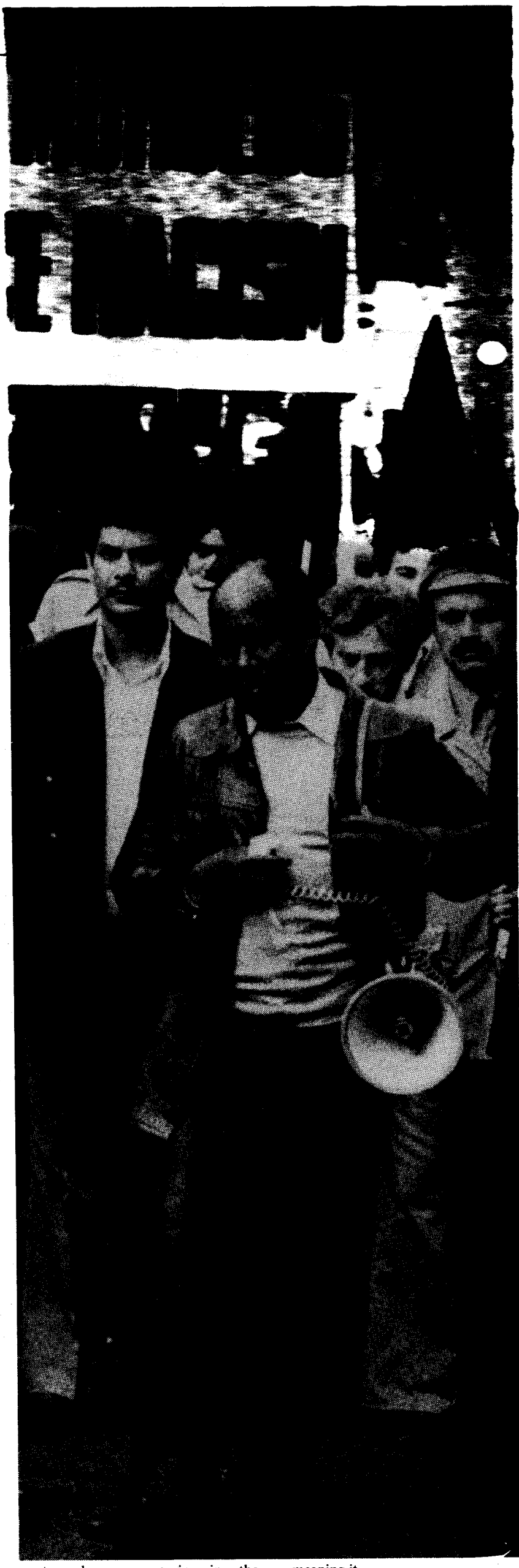
Can this rightward trend be reversed?

I think there's a lot to be optimistic about. If I can go back to the Anti Apartheid march: there was a time when I could go on these marches and I knew every black face. In the last two years there has been an enormous untapped energy coming in, the energy of black people and above all *young* black people.

You could see the same process in the miners' strike. The feminist analysis and the black analysis, has been accepted in the ranks of the NUM who were once the 'grenadier guards of the labour movement', the bastion of white male patriarchy. What a change it is to see straight, white, male miners standing up to support us and meaning it, really meaning it.

Then take Thatcher's new legislation. She reacts a bit like the South African government, who seem to think that if you don't film it, then it isn't happening. She thinks that if people don't march, then there isn't any dissent. But the dissent is there and it won't be intimidated out of existence.

History shows that once the working class starts to mobilise, straight repression will not work.



Gerry Adams "We do not fear the struggle..."

ON THE day before he was executed, South African freedom fighter, Benjamin Moloise, during a last visit by his mother, said: 'Tell the world freedom is at hand.' The following day he was hanged.

Against the background of daily news reports of black people, some of them children, being murdered by the terrorists of South Africa's apartheid regime Thatcher succeeded in preventing the imposition of sanctions against Botha's administration. The British Foreign Secretary called on the African National Congress to renounce violence.

Thatcher was accused of being the only apologist Dr Botha can depend on in the outside world. She is not. The Dublin government also refused to impose sanctions.

Winnie Mandela correctly described the British government's attitude as an insult to her country's black majority. The Dublin government's attitude on this issue is not only an insult to the black majority of South Africa, it is an insult to the Irish people whose feelings are epitomised by the courageous Dunnes Stores strikers.

The Dublin governments' attitude is disgraceful. Indeed, I have no doubt that Nelson Mandela, if he were in Portlaoise prison, would be speedily extradited by Fitzgerald and his cohorts.

Sinn Fein's attitude is straightforward and well-known. We do not hypocritically call upon the ANC to 'renounce violence'. We stand shoulder to shoulder with them in their fight to develop their struggle by whatever methods are forced upon them. We call upon those responsible for violence to renounce its use. We condemn apartheid as immoral.

We condemn Dublin's refusal to enforce immediate and total sanctions and we congratulate the Dunnes Stores strikers. To the ANC, we extend our unconditional solidarity. To our black brothers and sisters in struggle we send this simple message of support: 'Fight on!'

It is no accident that the Dublin government finds common ground with Thatcher and Reagan in their attitude to liberation struggles. Dublin's attitude on these issues is but an extension of its attitude to the British presence in this country.

The natural and logical place for Ireland is alongside the Palestinians, the Chileans, El Salvadoreans and the Nicaraguans. A government which truly represented the Irish people would be in opposition to Reagan's backing of repressive regimes in Central America, in opposition to Israel's policy of genocide against the Palestinian people, and in opposition to the British partition and occupation of this country.

Sinn Fein reaffirms its support for those struggling for national liberation and an end to exploitation throughout the world. In that regard it could be suggested that our position is not unlike the attitude of countless groups, political and otherwise, who are periodically vocal in the denunciations of the far-off regimes.

This is most certainly not the case. Unlike most of those hypocritical organisations, we have that fundamental grasp of geography which tells us that Ireland is as much as part of this earth as is Central America.

There is an even more fundamental difference. We are anti-imperialists and the acid test of one's anti-imperialism and political integrity is in one's attitude to the struggle of national liberation in this country. So in extending solidarity to freedom fighters throughout the world we extend solidarity also to the freedom fighters in our own country.

To the men and women soldiers of the Irish Republican Army, to republican prisoners of war in Free State, US and British prisons, to their families and supporters, from this Ard Fheis we extend solidarity, and we rededicate ourselves to match their efforts and sacrifices by our continued endeavours to popularise and politicise this struggle.

Sovereignty

THE current London-Dublin talks are a compliment to all anti-imperialists. Never before have the Irish and British establishments been forced to spend so much time deliberating on how best to isolate and defeat Irish republicanism.

Since the first hunger-strike, in December 1980, Dublin and their Northern allies, the SDLP leadership, have been struggling to claw back the high ground of Irish nationalism which they surrendered so long ago. The Dublin Forum report, its ignominious demise at Chequers and the current talks have marked further dilutions of nationalist aspirations and attempts to lower nationalist expectations.

What started off as the 'greatest political initiative since the '20s' is now merely 'part of a process'. What was to be the relieving of the nightmare of Northern nationalists could well end up with a treaty at the United Nations which endorses the British claim to sovereignty in the 6 Counties, thereby copper-fastening partition and insulating the British government from international criticism of their involvement in Irish affairs.

It is foolish to speculate on speculation about what shape any agreement is likely to take, but we can sketch out our attitude to the talks and their political context. They are not about Irish independence or Irish re-unification, or even federalism or con-federalism, or power sharing — those other Forum favourites. This much the London government has made clear.

When the Forum report was launched, we asked what the Forum parties were going to do when Britain said 'No!' Margaret Thatcher said 'No!' three times. Dublin could have withdrawn from a process which was patently being conducted in the interests of the British government. It did not withdraw because it shares those interests.

The talks are about creating a political climate in which Sinn Fein can be isolated through a mixture of repression and appeasement. The extent of the repression will depend on how successful we are in developing our party and expanding our support.

On that count we can prepare ourselves for a lot of repression. Proscription, attempted ostracisation, new laws, censorship, the banning of our newspapers, imprisonment (with or without trial), even summary executions, have never defeated us in the past. Nor will they now.

Unionists

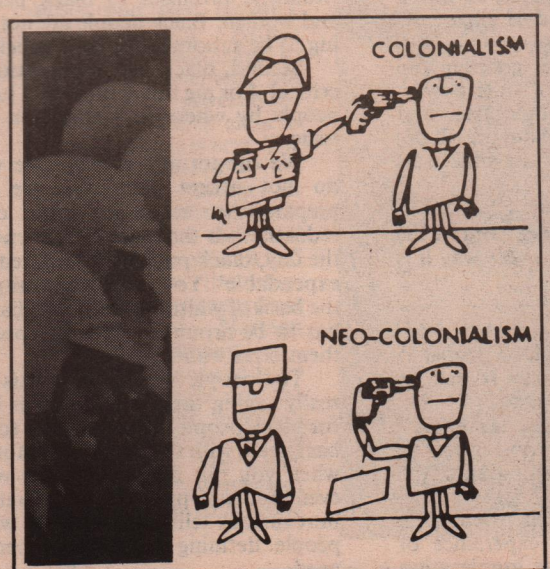
London-Dublin collaboration is no new thing. The nature of this statelet and the ethos of the ruling class ensures its dependency upon, and subservience to, the British government. Never before, however, since British guns were used to bombard the Four Courts has the collaboration been so public and so unapologetic.

The duration of the struggle, the failure of the British to defeat us, and the short-sightedness of the unionist leaderships are all factors which contribute to the British government's need to involve Dublin more and more in the task of stabilising their interests in this country.

They can afford to offend the unionists. After all, there will be no constitutional changes and, for all their protestations, the unionists have failed to subdue opposition to partition. Their blatant use of discrimination, gerry-mandering and coercion, encouraged by the British for as long as they succeeded in fulfilling the British need to neutralise opposition to their rule in Ireland, are now to be refined. More sophisticated methods are to be used. The predictable unionist outcry will be utilised to exaggerate the substance of whatever concessions are produced.

But ordinary nationalists will judge these talks not by the rhetoric of its supporters or opponents but by the real substance, its effects on their lives and its relevance to the struggle of the Irish people for self-determination. The establishment have made the major mistake of believing their own propaganda.

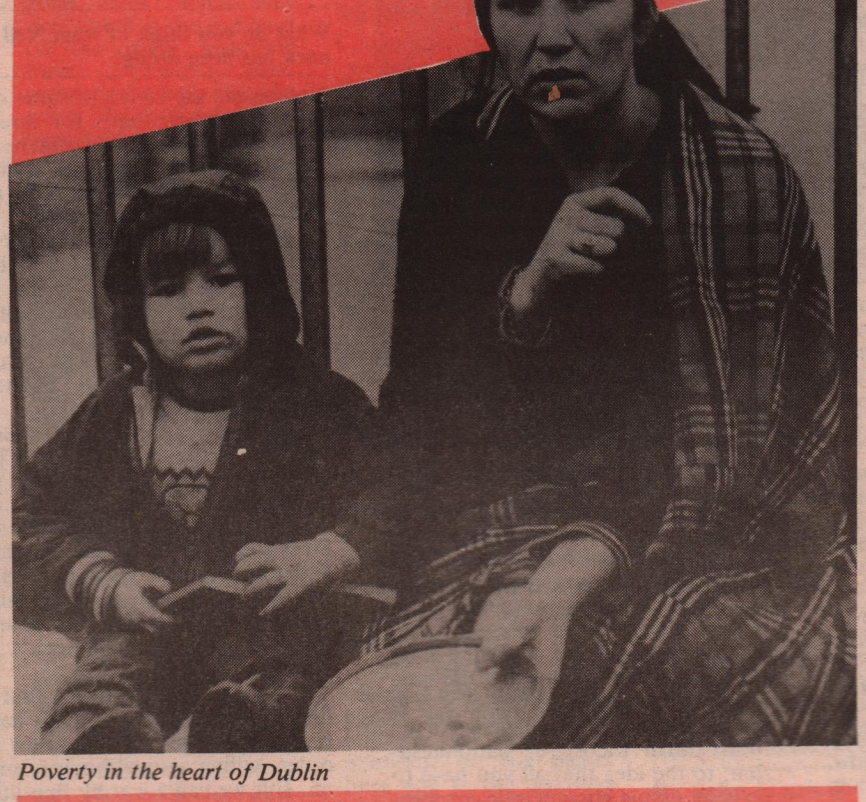
They believe that Sinn Fein flourishes in conditions of deprivation



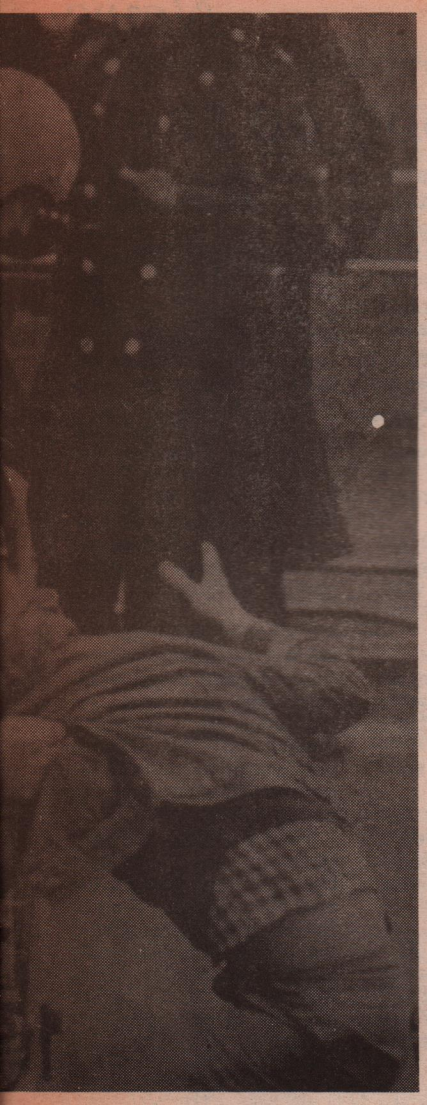
Free State guardai attack nationalist protest: 26 County taxpayers bear even greater burden in supporting partition than the British.

IMPELLED BY the growth of Sinn Fein, establishment politicians from London and Dublin are the closest they have ever been to signing an agreement for an 'internal settlement' in the occupied Six Counties. In his presidential address, GERRY ADAMS stressed the need for a clear understanding of the social forces at work in creating this situation and a clear political response from the republican movement. Set in the global context provided by the struggle for freedom and dem Central America and the Mid bare the decaying fabric of Ir the establishment to countena report which flows from the h struggle against injustice in Ir thoroughly revolutionary.

(Edited by Socialist Action.)



Poverty in the heart of Dublin



ocracy in South Africa, le East, Adams' report lays h society and the inability of ice meaningful change. It is a art of an unremitting land. It is a report which is

unemployment and one-sided laws. They fail to note Sinn Fein's commitment — while smashing partition — to work alongside ordinary people to win as many gains as possible within the 6 and 26 Counties.

They also underestimate the intelligence of the republican electorate. No mention was ever made in the past of the Flags & Emblems Act (banning the flying of the tricolour), the status of the Irish language, the conditions of political prisoners and their families. Issues like these, neglected by the SDLP and Dublin are now elevated to a position of major importance.

The people are not so unsophisticated. They realise that it is their soundness on these issues, and support for Sinn Fein, which makes these issues so important now.

Our opponents say Sinn Fein needs the imprisonment of our comrades in order to maintain our support base. How little they understand! They are our brothers and sisters, sons and daughters, husbands or wives, mothers or fathers. They should not be imprisoned at all.

Any change in their conditions will be due to their own resistance and that of their families. It will be welcomed by us as such. Not as a sop to the conscience of their jailers, but as an overdue recognition of their own incorruptibility.

Our opponents say that we exploit social inequalities. Unemployment, social demoralisation, poverty, bad housing and ill-health may be a breeding ground for apathy, drug-taking, alcoholism, and the battering of women and children, but they are hardly fertile conditions for political activism.

Where Sinn Fein members are involved with the people against the drug menace and other issues of social concern it is not for political point-scoring but because these evils hurt the communities that we live in and represent. Regardless of what way our motives are maligned or misrepresented, we will continue to campaign for proper and total changes in this situation. We do not fear any progress on this front. On the contrary, we welcome any meaningful progress and recognise the centrality of people's own efforts in making these issues pertinent.

Occupation

Britain may of course make concessions. EEC and US financial aid may be made available as part of a mistaken analysis that we will be undermined. Such concessions are not attributable to the efforts of establishment politicians. They can be claimed by the struggling nationalist people as a minor appetiser on the road to tasting the full fruits of victory.

The dangers of the present talks lie not in the conclusions that they may or may not reach, but in their intention of putting a diplomatic veneer on British rule and injecting a credibility to constitutional nationalism so that British rule and its interests can be stabilised in the long-term.

Explanations for the doggedness of the British government in maintaining its occupation of the 6 Counties are many, including the ridiculous notion that they remain there out of some sympathy with, or obligation to, the loyalists.

The British occupation of the 6 Counties is one of political imperialism which has weakened the Irish working class, North and South, because of the absorbing and divisive nature of partition, and which created powerful vested interests in the unionist and Irish establishments which have a real affinity with Britain.

Successive Dublin governments inherited a tradition of neutrality — in practice, the battered concept of which they have often stretched. Nevertheless, neutrality is a principle which coincides with the instincts and mood of the Irish people who do not want to be drawn into any imperialist nuclear nightmare and who support the concept of an independent foreign policy and improved relations with the developing nations.

It has been mooted — and the SDLP deputy-leader, among others, has welcomed the idea — that the principle of neutrality be bartered in return for British concessions on the national question.

Not only would such a move be taking the 26 Counties back into the 'United Kingdom', but in joining with NATO powers Ireland would be joining the club of imperialists and former colonial nations notorious for their oppression of people across the globe.

Irish foreign policy should be based on a policy of neutrality and non-alignment which includes the promotion of nuclear disarmament, the promotion of peace internationally, and independence in political, economical and ideological matters.

Sinn Fein is totally opposed to the 26 Counties being involved in the EEC Security Committee. In our opposition to EEC membership we have always pointed out the dangers of such involvement. Strategic considerations have always been a major factor in the British government's attitude to Ireland, which is considered by NATO as an important element in strategic planning. These considerations have increasingly led to a US interest in the stabilisation of the 6-County situation.

As a nation, we have a right to national self-determination. Ireland does not stop at the British border. No Irish institution, government or otherwise, has the right to sign any treaty with the British which encroaches on Irish sovereignty. In the 26 Counties people should consider also why they, as taxpayers, were being charged £53 per year in 1984 for the 'privilege' of partition when the cost to their British contemporaries was a mere £9 per year. So much for economic planning!

Do not be confused by Dublin or SDLP support for the unionist veto. Northern Protestants have as much right as any other section of the Irish people to shape or veto the shape of any future independent Irish society, but unionists have absolutely no right to veto that society's right to national self-determination. They have no right of veto over the British connection.

Freedom

Dublin often attempts to confuse its acceptance of this veto as being part of a high-minded pluralist approach. It is nothing of the sort. It is merely surrender to a reactionary and undemocratic assertion of brute force.

Real proof of the Free State parties' pluralist credentials is found, for example, in their attitude to divorce legislation. Fianna Fail are backing the Catholic hierarchy while Fine Gael and Labour pussy-foot around it. On this and related issues, their policies towards pluralism are exposed. Sinn Fein supports demands for divorce and other social legislation because we recognise it as a need and basic right for people.

Sinn Fein was formally established 80 years ago this month at a convention in the Rotunda on 28 November 1905. Since then, this country has undergone many changes and in terms of social composition and policies Sinn Fein is a different party.The nature of British rule is different now also, but two fundamental things remain unchanged: the British government still denies us our freedom and we, like the republicans of that period, remain resolute in that struggle for freedom.

I will finish as I began. Inside the visiting area of Pretoria prison, with its glass screen between the visitor and the prisoner, Mamike Moloise spent 20 minutes with her son. She told the world that he looked, 'Stronger, stronger than I have ever seen him.' The next morning he was hanged. He told his mother and the world: 'Freedom is at hand. The struggle must go on, nobody must fear it.'

Comrades, the struggle will go on and we do not fear it.

Soldiers of the Cumann na mBan: 'We rededicate ourselves to match their efforts and sacrifices.'

Labour must back withdrawal

THE DUBLIN talks are about enmeshing the Six Counties more closely to Britain, argues Sheffield MP JOAN MAYNARD. Hypocrisy on Ireland must stop. The next Labour government should untertake to withdraw within the lifetime of a single parliament.

ANY fruits of the Dublin talks won't be the sort that will be in any way helpful to a united Ireland. I think they are, in fact, the reverse: how to enmesh the Six Counties more closely with Britain to keep Ireland divided. I don't see any good coming out of these talks.

They would never have taken place had it not been for the growth in support for Sinn Fein. Under the leadership of Gerry Adams, Sinn Fein has made tremendous strides over the last few years. They have begun to successfully combine the struggle for socialism and the struggle for national liberation.

I agree with Gerry Adams that Sinn Fein should start organising in the South. It's essential that Sinn Fein should build up a base down there as well as in the North.

We aren't going to get any steps towards a real solution from this Tory government. But the same will apply to our government, unless we can get the Labour Party to accept that there's no possibility of a united Ireland with the consent of the loyalists in the North.

I consider that position to be a typical piece of British hypocrisy. First of all, when we divided Ireland in such an unjust way, we did it without the consent of the majority of the Irish people. It's a particular irony now to talk about reversing that process only with the consent of an in-built majority that we gerrymandered in the Six Counties.

We've got to shift Labour away from this contradictory position which says 'we're in favour of a United Ireland but it must be by consent'. The unionist veto must be removed.

I would like to see the party saying that we are no longer prepared, and won't be as a Labour government, to underwrite the position of the unionists. Some unionists are sufficiently realistic to appreciate that they can no longer block a solution to the question of Ireland. At the moment they don't need to sit down and discuss the politics, because of the veto. We've got to change that.

I believe an essential ingredient for the next Labour government is to say that we intend to leave Ireland — in a military, a political and an economic sense. We should make a commitment to do it within the next parliament. If we don't there'll be people trying to drag that out in order to see it doesn't happen. So I think Labour should set the limit of one parliament.

That kind of declaration would begin to absolutely transform the situation in Ireland. I don't suggest for one moment that it won't be very difficult — there aren't any easy solutions to the horrific problem that we have created in Ireland by dividing it in the way we did. But I believe the essentials are complete withdrawal from Ireland and withdrawal of our support for the unionists' position.

The Labour Committee on Ireland had done good work in raising the question of Ireland within the party. That needs to be expanded. Their resolution to this year's conference was excellent. It asked for a campaign against the Prevention of Terrorism Act, against the use of plastic bullets — which are now very much on the agenda — and it called for a general discussion throughout the labour movement. That's what we should be campaigning for.

I don't think there would be great opposition in the Labour Party to the idea of a united Ireland and our withdrawal. That may not be for the reasons that I would be in favour of. To a certain extent it would be because British people must be tired of having their sons, husbands and brothers killed over there. I'm convinced that people are sick of the killing which is going to go on.

There's no way it's ever going to stop until we decide to make a declaration that we will leave. Now it's no good just making the declaration. We have to use the intervening period to try to bring together all the various parties in both the North and South, and we ought to disarm the UDR.

I understand the difficulties. But difficulties are there to be overcome, they're not there to be used as a barrier against doing what is right.

It was Marx who said that the British working class would never be free whilst the Irish working class is in chains. I have made that same point over the years. I say to comrades 'you can't retain freedom for yourself and deny it to others'.

Lots of people who were involved in the miners' struggle, who previously had great faith in the police, no longer have any faith in them at all. I'm sure that during that practical struggle which they conducted for 12 months they must have asked themselves 'where were these tactics learnt?'

International Solidarity

● **United States.** Thousands of people across the country took part in a national day of protest against apartheid on 11 October.

The slogans for the day were: free South Africa, free Nelson Mandela and break all United States links with apartheid.

Many of the participants were young and black, including students who were preparing for a student anti-apartheid conference on 1-3 November.

But many unions were involved on the day, collecting signatures for workplace petitions, carrying banners on local demonstrations and laying plans to follow the lead of the Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union on the West Coast. A year ago this union refused to unload cargo from South African ships.

Most US trade unions, including the executive council of the AFL-CIO are on record against apartheid and the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists supported the day of action. So too did the National Organisation of Women and the Coalition of Labour Union Women.

The United Mineworkers of America has just finished hosting a tour of miners from the NUM in South Africa. Before touring the US, the miners were the guests of the Canadian steel workers union.

● **Sweden.** Transport workers took part in a month's trade boycott of South African goods from 23 October to 24 November. The action was to press the Swedish government to end all trade with the South African regime.

● **France.** Members of one of the country's major trade union federations, the CGT dumped two tons of coal outside a government office in Paris on 31 October. This was a protest against South African imports.

Labour leaders march against apartheid

Isolate apartheid

DOCKERS AND seafarers from 30 countries met at the end of October and agreed to block all oil supplies to South Africa. Industrial action will be taken against ship-owners or oil companies who attempt to deliver oil to the apartheid regime. Oil imports cover 20 per cent of South Africa's energy needs and 80 per cent of the fuel used for transport.

On the same day that oil supplies were blocked, Swansea dockers refused to unload South African coal. These are the latest union actions to cut the lifeline of trade with the apartheid regime.

The Tory government has refused to apply sanctions. The Anti Apartheid Movement has proved that the government's 'restrictive measures' are riddled with loopholes. The latest AAM report shows breaches of the United Nations arms embargo by companies like Plessey.

In 1979 the government issued guidelines banning North Sea oil, but deliveries to South Africa continue. In the first eight months of this year, traffic of refined oil to the country hit £5.67 million worth. British Petroleum and Shell alone meet 40 per cent of South African sales.

British computers and radar equipment continue to find their way to the South African police and airforce. More British sportsmen and women appear on the UN register of sporting contact with South Africa than any other country — in breach of the Commonwealth Gleneagles agreement.

This evidence shows the need to step up a campaign for sanctions. The Anti Apartheid movement already has 35 national union affiliations, from unions representing 8 million workers. Three hundred union branches have joined. This is a springboard to force the government to impose sanctions and to implement these by trade union action if they refuse.

A recent London AAM conference offered suggestions for trade union activity. Union members can be made more aware of the issues through workplace and union meetings, factory speaking tours of ANC and South African trade unionists, showings of videos and distribution of leaflets and bulletins.

Sanctions

The November issue of the *Yorkshire Miner* is a good example. Its one-page feature tells miners about the ANC, the Freedom Charter and the struggle of South African miners. The recent Canadian and North American tour of South African miners could be repeated in the British coalfields.

Other suggested activities are boycotts and the monitoring of products to prepare for sanctions. The Tobacco Workers Union has already begun this.

Railway unions are encouraged to move against South African advertising and goods on British Rail. Trade unionists are asked to follow the example of the Dunne supermarket workers in Ireland who refused to handle South African fruit.

Union pension funds have been invested in South Africa and the administrative union, APEX has joined those who have agreed to disinvest. Material aid is also needed for the South African unions and mass organisations.

In South Wales, the public service union NUPE has contacted local authorities to demand that they break all links with South Africa. One hundred authorities around Britain have already taken some action.

Labour councils have a particular responsibility and local parties should put the pressure on those who have not yet broken all links with South Africa.

Labour members of parliament and the shadow cabinet should be asked to take a lead by using private members and 10-minute bills for total sanctions. Already some local Labour Parties are approaching trade unions, black community leaders and the AAM to organise large public meetings and rallies with ANC speakers.

Such activities in the labour movement are a vital part of the growing anti apartheid movement, which took to the streets on the 100,000-strong 2 November demonstration. The banners from black people's defence campaigns, trade unions, Labour Parties and student unions show the potential for a mass movement against apartheid. This throws out a challenge to the Labour Party Young Socialists. It can become a mass campaigning youth organisation by mobilising the young workers, black youth and students who are incensed by the slave system of South Africa behind the Anti Apartheid Movement.

Blood on their hands

AT LEAST 34 Tory MPs have assets in South Africa or are directors of companies with subsidiaries there.

Over £1 million every year fill Tory Party coffers from companies with South African interests. That's almost half the Tory funds from big companies.

Last year nine Tory MPs visited South Africa. Well-known Tories with blood on their hands include:

● Tom King, secretary of state for Northern Ireland. King has shares in the State Tilney Company, which has South African subsidiaries.

● James Prior, MP for Waveny and ex-cabinet member. Prior is chair of the General Electric Company and a director of Barclays bank.

● Cecil Parkinson, MP is a director of Babcock International, Tarmac Ltd and Sears Holdings which all have South African connections.

● Dennis Thatcher, husband of the prime minister. Thatcher is a director of Burmah Retail and Quintin Hazell plc, both of which have interests in South Africa.

● Eldon Griffiths, MP for Bury St Edmunds and paid advisor to the Police Federation. In 1981, Griffiths was a director of Redman Heenan, a firm found to be smuggling arms-making equipment.

No wonder that Thatcher refuses to implement sanctions. To add insult to injury, she has just appointed an apartheid banker as the British representative to the Commonwealth delegation to South Africa.

He is Lord Anthony Barber, a former chancellor of the exchequer. Barber is the chair of Standard Chartered Bank, the second biggest banking interest in South Africa with assets of £2 billion tied up in the apartheid system.

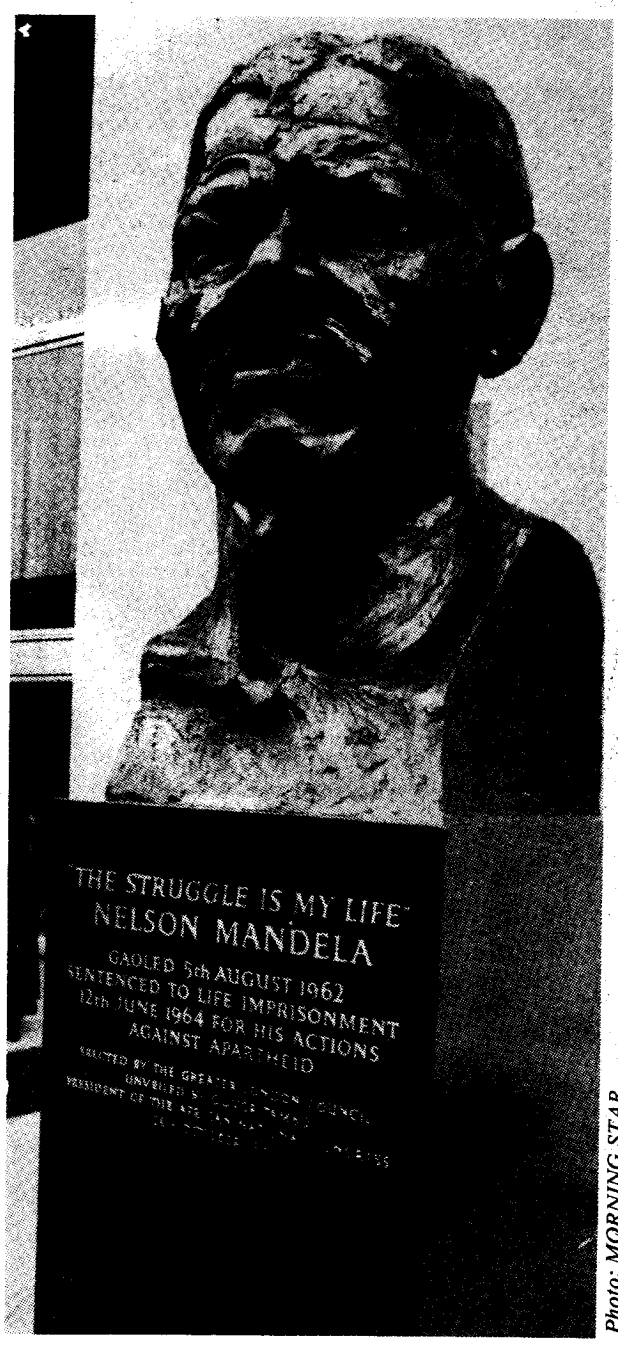


Photo: COLIN HEADWORTH

Photo: MORNING STAR

Newham against apartheid

NEWHAM Anti Apartheid is organising a major rally sponsored by Newham council.

This aims to draw together activists throughout the area, in particular from the labour movement and black community. The council is putting posters on official notice boards throughout the borough and the AA group will distribute thousands of leaflets. On the same day, the council will send a deputation to the South African embassy to protest the hanging of Benjamin Moloise.

● *Rally at East Ham Town Hall, High St, London E6, Wednesday 20 November, 7.30. Speakers: Eleanor Khanyile, ANC; Shapua Kaukungua, SWAPO; Tony Banks MP; Unmesh Desai, Newham Monitoring Project; Councillor Fred Jones, leader of Newham Council. Also, the film,* The Anvil and the Hammer *and ANC singers.*

Break all links now!

THE AFRICAN National Congress has called on the British government and people to isolate apartheid in these ways:

- **End all trade links**
- **Withdraw investment**
- **Ban loans and other economic measures that assist the apartheid regime**
- **A total arms embargo**
- **A sports and cultural boycott**

How to join the Anti Apartheid Movement

AAM MEMBERSHIP includes a subscription to AA News, a regular newsletter and details of current campaigns.

- **Individual waged membership per annum £9**
- **Joint membership for two people at same address £12**
- **Students and apprentices £5.50**
- **School students, pensioners, claimants, unwaged £3.50**
- **Local organisations affiliation fee £12**

Contact Anti Apartheid Movement, 13 Mandela Street, London NW1 0DW, tel 01-387 7966.

Other Books

The following selection of books on South Africa is available by post from Other Books:

South Africa: white rule, black revolt,
Ernerst Harsch, Monad, 352pp, £6.25 plus 69p postage

Class and Colour in South Africa 1850-1950,
Jack and Ray Simons, International Defence and Aid Fund, 702pp, £5.00 plus £1.33 postage.

Heart of My Soul
Winnie Mandela, Penguin, 159pp, £2.95 + 25p postage.

To honour women's day: profiles of leading women in the South African and Namibian liberation struggles,
IDAF, 56pp, £1.00 plus 22p postage.

Nelson Mandela: I am prepared to die,
IDAF, 48pp, 50p plus 18p postage.

Nelson Mandela: The struggle is my life,
IDAF, 208pp, £1.85 plus 46p postage.

Make cheques or postal orders payable to IMRS. Orders with payment should be sent to: Other Books, PO Box 50, London N1 2XP.

SMASH APARTHEID badges. 30p plus 13p postage. Bulk orders: over 20 badges, 20p each, postage paid. Over 50 badges, 15p each, postage paid. Make cheques or postal orders payable to IMRS. Orders with payment to: Other Books, PO Box 50, London N1 2XP.

Photo: JOHN HARRIS

Grenadians in Britain protest against US invasion of Grenada

"Long live the memory of the Grenada revolution"

SINCE THE destruction of the 1979 revolution and the murder of prime minister Maurice Bishop there has been great confusion among Grenadians in Britain and supporters of the Peoples Revolutionary Government. Two parties claiming to be heirs of the PRG are campaigning for support — the Maurice Bishop Patriotic Movement and an organisation which has adopted the name of the party that led the 1979 revolution, the New Jewel Movement.

KENDRICK RADIX, a minister in the PRG recently visited Britain on the second anniversary of Bishop's murder. He explained the facts behind the murder and why British socialists should support the Maurice Bishop Patriotic Movement. We publish edited extracts from his speech.

WE IN tiny Grenada come from a history of struggle. We come from a history that produced Julien Fedon, a man who in 1795 fought the Grenadian revolution.

We in Grenada are the children of Fedon. As we analyse the colonial condition in which our people remained for over 200 years, we realise that we have in our people the necessary character, the necessary vision, the necessary values.

We were able to lead ourselves from the cycle of slavery and exploitation, from colonial imposition and neocolonialism and to usher in, in 1979, a popular democratic people's revolution, based on the masses and taking power for the working class and for the working people.

In this context we have to see the contribution of our late prime minister Maurice Bishop — a man who was perhaps the most simple, the most honest, the most unpretentious, civilised human being and leader that I've ever met in my life.

I have never known him to be spiteful or petty, to be manipulative, to not pursue the interests of the worker, of the youth, of the women. It is not surprising that in a single-minded fashion, without any care for himself nor for the pains of office, he participated in a process to usher in the 1979 Grenada revolution. Finally in 1979 we thought that slavery was a thing of the past.

There are those around the world and those inside our country, tiny elements, who said that the revolution was not a revolution but a coup d'état, that it was not a democratic revolution because there was no secret ballot. When the New Jewel Movement made its revolution there was voting of a different kind, because people were prepared to put their lives on the line in support of that revolution. That is the highest form of democracy, not voting once every five years.

Over the years of the revolution there was democracy of a different type. Not 'Mr Speaker sir', 'those in favour say aye'. It was a democracy of the many, where the masses of the people, the workers, farmers, peasants, unemployed, the soldier and the woman sat side by side on a monthly basis, either in the women's organisations, in the youth or workers' organisations, in the parish and zonal councils — meetings on a regular basis with the leadership of the country.

The leadership of the country had to report and account to the masses. That is what we call meaningful democracy, people's participation and people's power.

We had the life of the revolution and our people are well able to judge. Now that we've come all this distance we are marking an anniversary which has caused tremendous suffering, disillusion and grief in the hearts and minds, not only of our people in Grenada but of all progressive, democratic, peace-loving people throughout the world.

We have to say that the demise of the Grenada revolution, painful though it is, must be observed and marked. All the sceptics cannot deny the dignity our revolution gave to the people: the patriotic sentiment, a sentiment asking not how they can build themselves, but how they can build their country.

Amidst all these actions and the indomitable leadership of Maurice Bishop, there arose within our party a Judas who had strategic plans, who later characterised our leader as a petit bourgeois right opportunist and who, in the midst of this petty jealousy, rose up to create a hydra, a two-headed monster of dual leadership.

Have you ever seen anywhere two captains on a ship, two captains of a cricket team? Where was this model from? Coard and company claim to add to the science of Marxism by application and extension of even Lenin himself. And if Lenin came back and told them, 'you are wrong', they would condemn Lenin as a revisionist, as petit bourgeois and lost in direction.

As a lead up to the events, a series of well thought-out strategic objectives were put into place. You may have heard of OREL, which was an organisation started by Coard. At that early time, when he came into the party, the New Jewel Movement was well founded.

He claimed that we in the leadership were middle class, that we were moving too slowly and that he would create his own foot soldiers and started OREL. But when they came in, we had an agreement that they would dissolve themselves and that they would join our party. We took them at their word.

But later when the morning of the revolution triumphed all members of OREL were put into the armed forces of the country to fight another day. All of them were put into the armed forces, which were 'to usher in the proletarian revolution'.

What was happening was that they wanted to move Maurice Bishop and therefore wanted to move people who supported him. I was an obstacle in their path. Vincent Noel was removed, Jaqueline Creft was removed.

I warned Maurice Bishop that they would end up murdering him. I resigned from the party and the government in 1982. Maurice Bishop asked me to rejoin the government when I refused to rejoin the party.

I told him that the day they moved against him, I would come out and fight them in the streets. I am happy to report that I was the first person on the streets to lead the first demonstration against the house arrest of Maurice Bishop, for which I was branded a counter-revolutionary and thrown in jail on the orders of Bernard Coard.

It is not widely known or believed that Bernard Coard was responsible for these events, because he allegedly resigned a few days before. But when they were moving to remove Maurice Bishop, Selwyn Strachen, the former minister of mobilisation, had gone into St Georges. He was chased out by the working people when he announced that Bernard Coard was to be prime minister.

All these events show that these people did not respect the political power in the country — not only Maurice Bishop's leadership, which was only a personification of that power. What they refused to do was to listen to the people. Everywhere they went villifying Maurice Bishop, the people said no. But they would not listen to the people.

The greatest foul-up of the tragedy of Grenada has been its impact within the Caribbean and internationally. Within the Caribbean the political left has been totally and completely discredited in the eyes of the working people. The so-called doyen of the left — the Workers Party of Jamaica, which claims for itself hegemony, even displacing the sober judgement of our Cuban friends — was the bastard father, with no disrespect to bastards, of the two-headed hydra of which I spoke.

Trevor Monroe paid an almost secret visit to Grenada, underpinning ideologically this concept of dual leadership. In the early days they put out disinformation, saying that the prime minister and others were never executed. They said they died as a result of cross fire. Perhaps they should have said he died in bed of old age.

The damage to the left has been fundamental. The prestige and respect for working class power, working class values, the dignity of small countries and peoples has been cast aside.

Grenada certainly was in irritant for the United States. After Cuba there were supposed to be no more Cubas. Grenada broke that law and Nicaragua is a living reality in defiance to that law.

Bernard Coard was a clever fellow. He had a computerised type of mind. He was able, but he was obsessed by power. He lost his control, his discipline and so plunged the country into a fate which is worse than death — to be colonised again after the sacrifices of Fedon, after the tremendous sacrifices of our heroes and martyrs.

These people have put us now under the yoke and jackboot of the United States imperialists, the most terrible experience that our people can have. These people have put us in a state of total dependence, where the integrity and independence of our nation is smashed underfoot.

The New Jewel Movement did us proud while it lived. But the NJM was murdered with Maurice Bishop, and all the others who fell with him.

Since the murders and the collapse of the revolution, no one professing to the New Jewel Movement has hit the streets. They cannot go onto the streets because publically they cannot accept responsibility for murder. All those who claim to be NJM people are on Richmond Hill indicted for murder.

So the New Jewel Movement is a phantom in the mind of those that want to exercise power for themselves.

There is a pamphlet published by the New Jewel Movement and I quote: 'accepting full responsibility for the events of last October'. What does that mean? I leave it to you to judge.

Those who pretend and claim that the NJM is fighting for workers in Grenada, don't you believe it. They have never held a public meeting, they have never organised anything. It is a phantom to discredit the Maurice Bishop Patriotic Movement.

The Maurice Bishop Patriotic Movement was born out of necessity. We have to fight all over again to put the real issues on the agenda, because our people's minds were turned back because of that savage butchery. They could welcome the United States invaders and could feel they were liberated by the United States. That is the dialectic of our people as a result of these events.

The New Jewel Movement is dead. Its contribution is now historical. Its continuity is to be found in the Maurice Bishop Patriotic Movement.

We participated in the elections to put the working class agenda — about the right to develop the state sector, the need for workers' rights, mass popular democracy, the right of people to have human rights.

The United States spent $7 million to discredit us and say that the left is dead. And in that climate our party was able to register something like 4000 votes.

The people, particularly the young people are turning to ourselves. They are turning to the MBPM because only we have the programme for the poor, for the exploited, for the women.

Many people are sceptical. But must we sit down and say that by fate we are a people who cannot advance? Are we to say that we are waiting for another liberation process to arise spontaneously? Are we to make alliances opportunistically, with the New Jewel Movement and join with them, because they say that both of us are ideologically on the left and so there is a basis of unity? We say no. You can never justify killing the masses.

I must say something to show the breadth of vision of our party. Our party is not partisan. One question is the Chester Humphrey situation. A few weeks ago we organised a rally and small demonstration. There were 350 people at the rally.

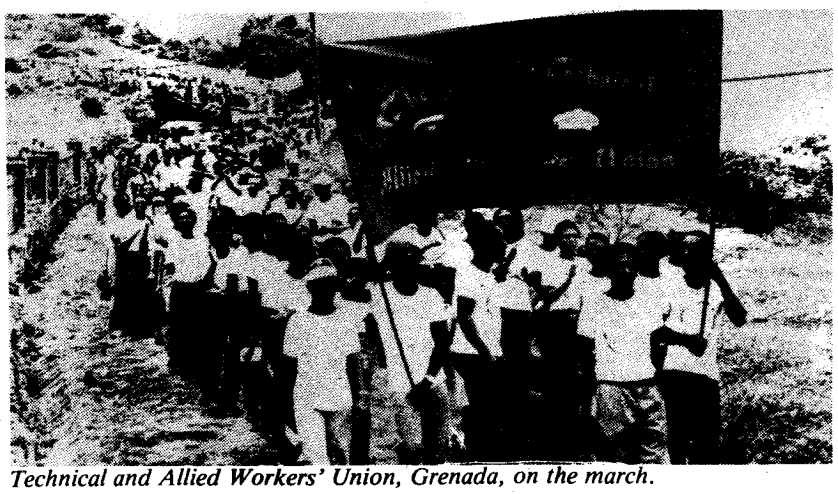
There are many people who support Chester Humphrey, that he should not be extradited to the United States. Many people say that Chester Humphrey belonged to the Revolutionary Military Council, to Bernard Coard's faction. But Chester Humphrey is not being extradited for anything he did in 1983. It is our duty to protect Chester Humphrey because what he is alleged to have done was a patriotic act, for which our people are eternally grateful.

We are organising at home with very limited resources and many of our supporters are out of work. We appeal to you to exercise the highest degree of solidarity to help our poor organisation. There is no other political party at home in Grenada nor here in the United Kingdom that will bring a working class victory other than the MBPM.

At this time we must focus our attention on the terrific out-pourings of democratic aspirations of the people of South Africa to have their freedom at the price of blood. We say break the links now with South Africa so that we can end apartheid. There can be no compromise with apartheid, it must be overthrown.

I remember the words of Julien Fedon when he said: 'all is not lost, the hour will strike again.' Long live the glorious memory of the Grenadian revolution. Forward on our feet never on our knees.

● *Information about MPBM activities and publications in Britain from: J. Charter, 48 Broad Lawn, New Eltham, London SE9 3XD, or phone 01-851 3283.*



Technical and Allied Workers' Union, Grenada, on the march.

What's behind Healy's expulsion?

THE GUTTER PRESS is revelling in the campaign of slander and invective between two warring camps of the Workers' Revolutionary Party. CONNIE HARRIS, who joined Healy's organisation in 1953 and was expelled in 1960, has been a Trotskyist for 44 years. She looks back at the disastrous sectarian degeneration which led the WRP to its present state, and asks: why did it happen?

AS, ever, more interested in sex than politics, the media is trying to use the WRP split to discredit the Marxist movement as a whole. However we need to study the WRP's history, and that of its forerunner, the Socialist Labour League (SLL) in a more serious way to learn the lessons of their degeneration.

Press

The press portrays Healy as the 'patron saint' of British Trotskyism. But the record of his break with Trotskyism has been well-documented in many publications, including *Marxism versus Ultraleftism, How Healy and Pablo blocked re-unification,* and *Healy's Big Lie.*

These publications are an invaluable source of Marxist education, showing how a once-promising Marxist nucleus could degenerate into a barren sect unable to relate to the real world of the class struggle and unable to tolerate any criticism of its sectarian course.

Many readers will know from their own experience that it is impossible to draw the WRP into united action or engage their members in genuine discussion. Thousands of young militants have passed through this movement, wrongly believing they were joining a revolutionary organisation and preparing a future socialist society, only to be disillusioned by its method of driving out independent-minded individuals, its use of bureaucratic methods, physical violence, frame-ups, slanders and lies of the vilest kind as a substitute for political debate and united action.

These methods, which are nothing to do with Marxism or revolutionary politics, have been responsible, along with Healy's ultraleft politics, for the decline and isolation of the WRP.

Joseph Hansen, in his introduction to *Marxism versus Ultraleftism*, points out that the roots of the differences recorded in the SLL can be traced back to divisions that appeared in the Fourth International in the early '50s and led to a split in its ranks.

The issues involved conflicting estimates of the probable evolution of the soviet bureaucracy, conflicting views on tactics towards stalinist and social democratic parties, and sharp divergences on internal practices. The Fourth International split into two groupings known as the International Secretariat and the International Committee. The International Committee was led by James P Cannon, the founder of US Trotskyism. Healy took part in it.

By 1956 the main disputes had receded. Both sides reached similar judgements on Krushchev's revelations that year, and stood together in defending the political revolution in Poland and especially Hungary, against the Kremlin.

Leaders of the US SWP felt these political agreements on such decisive questions made possible a principled reunification. They took initiatives to bring this about in 1957.

However McCarthyite legislation prevented them leaving the country. Healy became isolated from his closest international collaborators and rightly feared his increasingly undemocratic and arbitrary organisational practices would be condemned in a reunified International.

Facts

The facts show he tried to block steps towards reunification. Lacking weighty reasons rooted in the class struggle, he resorted to misrepresentation and downright lying.

Disregard for facts and doctoring the truth became his hallmarks. The SLL's press became one of the most unreliable in left circles. In consequence he parted company with the real class struggle.

Hansen shows that the victory of the Cuban revolution in 1959 was decisive in showing further resistance to reunification was unprincipled and irrational. By 1961 both sides agreed a workers' state had been created, and had to be defended. But for Healy there was no substantial difference between the Fidelista government and the Batista regime it overthrew!

Course

He embarked on a course which led to the escalating degeneration — politically, organisationally and morally — of the SLL and the WRP, founded in 1973.

He 'discovered' that the US pioneers of the world Trotskyist movement had been harbouring CIA and GPU agents all along, namely Joseph Hansen and George Novack. The 'evidence' was Hansen's alleged 'criminal negligence' when responsible for defending Trotsky's household in Mexico.

His big-lie technique boomeranged on him. On 14 January 1977 more than 1000 socialists packed into a public rally in London to express solidarity with his targets. It brought together, despite differences on other questions, all the major leaders of the world Trotskyist movement to condemn Healy's slanders.

Healy's Big Lie is a collection of the material printed in *Intercontinental Press* on the subject. It strikes an important blow for workers' democracy, exploding the trumped-up charges against two selfless revolutionaries.

A statement on his slanders entitled *A Shameless Frameup* was signed by individuals and representatives of a wide range of left tendencies covering 27 countries.

In the statement by Mike Banda, WRP general secretary, in the *Newsline* 30 October 1985, entitled 'G Healy's expulsion: the facts', it is reported that Healy had been found guilty of maliciously slandering David North, the leader of the US Trotskyist Workers League. Banda explains that Healy slandered him as a CIA agent without a shred of evidence.

Today Banda and his central committee have yet to speak out against the frameup of Hansen and Novack. Until they do, they will be rightly seen as accomplices of the very techniques of which they complain.

There are many lessons from the experience of Healyism: not least the impossibility of building an exclusively *British* revolutionary movement, outside and separated from the Fourth International. In that respect Healyism is only one variant — the most grotesque, to be sure — of the political consequences of an organisational break from working class internationalism.

Since the expulsion, two versions of Newsline have appeared on the street. Bottom right: Healy's own rejects the expulsion

Labour listens to selected youth

THE FIRST in a series of 'festivals' designed to win young people to support the Labour Party was opened by Neil Kinnock last weekend. But at £3-a-head for credentials, 'Labour Listens to Youth' is hardly likely to attract the hundreds of thousands of unemployed school leavers to whom Labour should be appealing. And just to make sure there was absolutely no chance of that, the party leadership didn't officially let the Young Socialists national committee know the event was happening. The 250 who attended were drawn through constituency parties and elsewhere rather than via the LPYS branches. MICK BURKE looks at what the party leadership is up to.

AT LAST Labour leader Neil Kinnock has designed himself a project of winning youth to vote Labour at the next election. It was that strategy he outlined at County Hall last Saturday. His policies are devised around an agreement he shares with Lord Shackleton, among others, on the need to increase the profitability of industry and wider share-ownership.

'Fifty years of the last Labour government would be preferable to 10 more minutes of this one,' said Mr Kinnock. But such a vision is, of course, incompatible with policies to end youth unemployment and provide decent pay and grants from trainees and students. It is also at odds with any measures which would win support from young workers and students by defending their interests.

Instead Kinnock's strategy relies on basking in the reflected glory of the African National Congress and the Sandinistas, and pop idols like Paul Weller or Billy Bragg. But his solidarity with international struggles is confined to pious phrases and his main action so far as party leader has been to attack those in struggle now against the Tory government.

A further series of regional 'listening to youth' festivals have been threatened. Their main goal is to organise the party leader's base among young members. This is led by the Labour Coordination Committee Youth and their attempt to win control of the LPYS.

The response of the YS *Militant* leadership to this political offensive is wholly inadequate. A major target of Kinnocks attacks will continue to be rebellious black youth from the inner cities. Kinnock's policies include developing 'community policing' — by which he means more black cops to put the boot in against their own communities and against the working class.

The response of the YS and its leadership should be all-out support for the black youth under attack. Instead *Militant* have echoed the self-same sentiments of Kinnock by condemning 'all rioting'.

Such a plan as Mr Kinnock's has no hope of winning a majority of young people to vote Labour. But in the next few months the LCC Youth, relying on a base of support among those who wrongly hope to be exempted from the ruling class attacks, can grow as a political tendency within the Young Socialists.

All those presently struggling against Thatcher and coming under attack from the party leadership must help meet this challenge head-on. This means uniting Labour's youth organisations, the LPYS and the National Organisation of Labour Students, around defence of the working class struggles, especially the NUM, and solidarity with South Africa. It also means defending Labour's youth against the further attacks from Kinnock which are to come.

Telecom engineers debate strike action

LAST Sunday a special conference of the National Communications Union (NCU) discussed how to fight management cuts and reverse the privatisation of British Telecoms.

As we go to press a second NCU conference on rules revision is deciding whether to comply with government demands for secret ballots before strike action.

An NCU delegate reports on Sunday's debate.

UNION branches facing the sharp edge of British Telecom's axe led demands for militant industrial action in 1986 in support of union policy, which is for a 32-hour week. But militant resolutions did not break with the old policy of selective industrial action and shied away from preparing national strike action to defend jobs.

NCU members are already striking against cutbacks — notably in Glasgow, and also in Birmingham, the North of Ireland and in Leeds motor transport division where picket lines are now out.

BT, which made £1.6 billion profit last year, is trying to sow divisions by attacking minority groups first — post office, motor transport, and supplies. Without a lead from the Broad Left-led executive to build national action, they have been left isolated.

Differences on how to fight job cuts threaten to undermine resistance. Despite disastrous results in fighting privatisation, largely the result of unwillingness to commit the union to all out national action, many lessons have still to be learned.

Justice for black people: 5000 march

Cherry Groce's [illegible]

BRITAIN's first national demonstration of black people, and the largest black people's demonstration since the New Cross massacre, marched through London on Monday 11 November to protest the shooting of Cherry Groce and the death of Cynthia Jarrett. They demanded justice for black people. Over 5000 came to support that cry.

The march organisers said they now intend to call a national convention of black people. A planning meeting is being held this Sunday in Tottenham.

Monday's demonstration was called on the initiative of the Groce Family Support and Community Defence Campaign, and backed by a wide range of community defence organisations. It set off from Brixton at 11am after hearing Cherry's brother, Tony Young, speak and marched for five hours to a rally at Hyde Park. This was addressed by Floyd Jarrett, Lambeth councillor Imelda Inyang, and Cecil Gutzmore of the African Liberation Committee, among others.

Banners against police racism and police attacks on black people were prominent. There was significant trade union support, as well as a contingent from the Labour Party black sections.

London district NALGO black workers had called for support at their conference two weeks earlier. The conference's executive and mobilised London NALGO branches.

The Camden black workers' group, which includes UCATT, NUPE and AUEW members as well as NALGO members, brought a contingent of 60 with council backing. Councillors had agreed their workers could take unpaid leave to attend.

East Londoners fight racist attacks

Pryce decision angers Newham

AS racist attacks grow in East London, the trial of Eustace Pryce's killer ended in a travesty of justice.

Martin Newhouse, who murdered Eustace in cold blood last year, was convicted of manslaughter. Earlier Gerald, Eustace's brother, was convicted of affray — for defending his brother. Though the Pryce court case is over, black people in Newham will keep on fighting beside others facing racist and state attacks.

Last Thursday 200 people attended a rally in Newham including speakers from Brixton, Broadwater Farm, Handsworth and the Pryce campaign. Everyone said black people had to unite against attack, exposing press myths that there was a conflict between Asian and Afro-Caribbean people.

Kenny Pryce said he never chose to be politically active. Like other black people he had been forced into activity by the attacks on his family.

The Broadwater Farm speaker explained that black people there were now not allowed to own anything. Anyone with a stereo, or a colour television, was accused of looting.

The Farm is still occupied by 400 police who daily harass residents, he said. The post has been stopped and people can't get their benefits. Similar reports came from Handsworth where [illegible] people have so far been arrested.

Anti-racists march in Ilford

ANTI-racist activists demonstrated in Ilford on Saturday when over 500 marched, [illegible] to protest against the killing of Mrs Kassam and her three children in an arson attack last July.

Many different Asian and Afro-Caribbean groups were represented, along with some Labour Party contingents. Speakers included Mr Dhesi on behalf of the Kassam campaign, Colin Prescott from the Institute of Race Relations, [illegible], Labour councillor for Ilford South and [illegible] of the ANL.

[illegible] were summed up by [illegible] from Newham who commented: 'No matter how much [illegible] can't dampen the anger in our hearts. It took them only three days to stitch up a youth for PC Blackelock's death in Tottenham. But it's taken them six months to investigate the Kassam family and still they haven't come up with anything.'

No decision yet on Liverpool's future

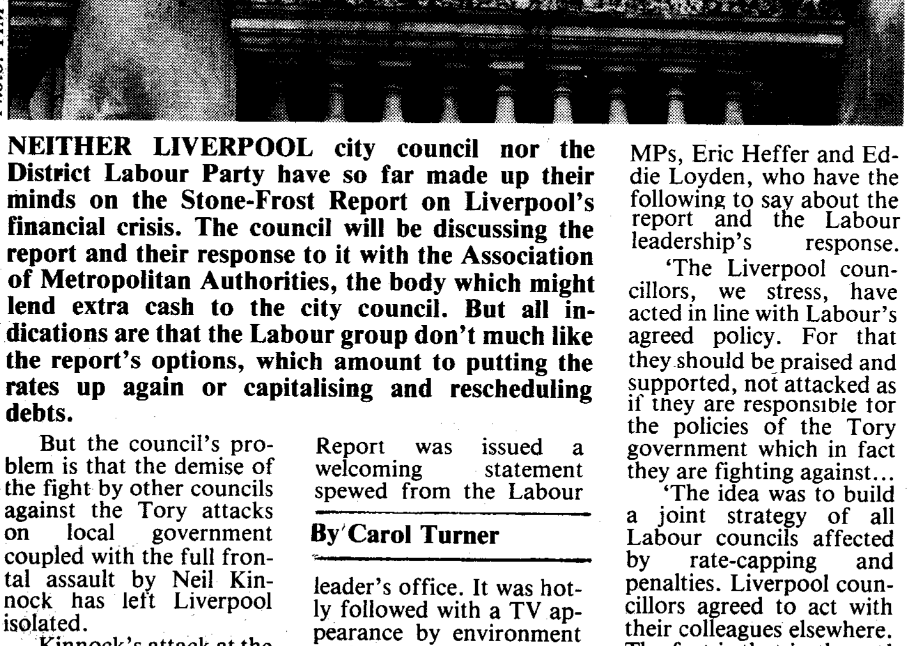


Photo: TIM RIGBY

NEITHER LIVERPOOL city council nor the District Labour Party have so far made up their minds on the Stone-Frost Report on Liverpool's financial crisis. The council will be discussing the report and their response to it with the Association of Metropolitan Authorities, the body which might lend extra cash to the city council. But all indications are that the Labour group don't much like the report's options, which amount to putting the rates up again or capitalising and rescheduling debts.

By Carol Turner

But the council's problem is that the demise of the fight by other councils against the Tory attacks on local government coupled with the full frontal assault by Neil Kinnock has left Liverpool isolated.

Kinnock's attack at the recent Labour Party conference isn't the only intervention he has made into the affairs of Liverpool. After the Stone-Frost Report was issued a welcoming statement spewed from the Labour leader's office. It was hotly followed with a TV appearance by environment spokesperson John Cunningham to the same effect.

Less publicity has been given, however, to a statement from two Liverpool MPs, Eric Heffer and Eddie Loyden, who have the following to say about the report and the Labour leadership's response.

'The Liverpool councillors, we stress, have acted in line with Labour's agreed policy. For that they should be praised and supported, not attacked as if they are responsible for the policies of the Tory government which in fact they are fighting against…

'The idea was to build a joint strategy of all Labour councils affected by rate-capping and penalties. Liverpool councillors agreed to act with their colleagues elsewhere. The fact is that in the end only the Liverpool councillors stood united enough to continue the agreed party policy.

'Others, unfortunately, divided ranks and the agreed strategy in most councils had to be abandoned. Liverpool, for good or ill, decided to continue the struggle in line with party policy…

'It is not true, as has been suggested, that the money has been there all the time. The report, in fact, totally vindicates previous councils and government policy.

'One of the important points made in the report is that some of the various options are available *only because* other local authorities can help to raise additional financial support for the city council… We are sure Liverpool councillors will seriously look at this report in a rational intelligent way.

'They are as keen as anyone to get a sensible solution to Liverpool's problems. But rightly, as far as we understand it, they do not wish to place further burdens on Liverpool workers, rate-payers and industry.

'They need assistance not abuse, and much help should be given by all in the Labour Party based on party decisions at annual conference.'

An Alliance for Socialism

A weekend of debate and discussion

Saturday 16th November

10am-11am Registration: Some tickets will be available on the door, but as seating is limited it is best to buy in advance.

11am-1pm DEBATE:

THE NEXT LABOUR GOVERNMENT

Speakers: **Jeremy Corbyn** MP, Campaign Group of Labour MPs; **Alan Freeman** Editor, *Socialist Action*. **Ken Livingstone** Leader, Greater London Council; **Nigel Williamson** Editor, *Tribune;*

Workshop: **TRADE UNIONS AND THE LAW**
Panel: **Jack Collins** Secretary, Kent Area National Union of Mineworkers; **Roy Butlin** Executive Committee, Traffic Grades NUR, Chairperson L.D.C. Mantle Lane, Leicestershire; **Pam Holmes** Sheffield District Committee AUEW; **Bernard Regan** National Union of Teachers National Executive.

Workshop: **DEFEND GAY RIGHTS**
Panel: **Peter Purton** Treasurer, Labour Campaign for Lesbian and Gay Rights; **Polly Vittorini** Lesbians and Gays Support the Miners.

Workshop: **WOMEN AGAINST PIT CLOSURES**
Panel: **Betty Heathfield** ex-officio member WAPC. national committee; **Pam Oldfield** Notts WAPC; **Ann Jones** South Wales WAPC

1pm-2pm **Lunch**

2pm-4pm PLENARY:

THE LESSONS OF THE MINERS' STRIKE

Platform: **Peter Heathfield** General Secretary NUM; **Betty Heathfield** Women Against Pit Closures; **Marc Wadsworth** Vice-chair Black Section; **Bob Clay** MP, Campaign Group of Labour MPs; **Dodie Weppler** *Socialist Action.*

CRISIS IN CENTRAL AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN
Panel: **Stuart Holland** MP; Nicaragua Solidarity Campaign National Executive; FDR/FMLN of El Salvador; Maurice Bishop Patriotic Movement.

Workshop: **DEFEND LABOUR PARTY Democracy.**
Speakers: **Vladimir Derer** Campaign for Labour Party Democracy

Workshop: **DEFENDING THE NUM**
Panel: **Colin Lenton** Treasurer Bold NUM, Lancs; **Mark Hunter** Secretary Welbeck NUM, Notts.

Evening **Cabaret**

Sunday 17th November

11am-1pm PLENARY:

AN ALLIANCE FOR SOCIALISM

Platform: **Tony Benn** MP; **Diane Abbot** Women's Action Committee Executive; **Narendra Makanji** Black Section National Committee Secretary; **African National Congress; John Ross** *Socialist Action*

1pm-2pm: **Lunch**

2pm-4pm Debate: **WHAT ALLIANCES FOR WOMEN?**
Speakers: **Ann Pettifor** Women's Action Committee National Organiser; **Jude Woodward** WAC Executive and Socialist Action.

Workshop: **SOLIDARITY WITH THE ANTI-APARTHEID STRUGGLE**
Panel: African National Congress; SWAPO (not yet confirmed); Anti-Apartheid Movement; Free South Africa Movement USA.

Workshop: **IRELAND: THE CASE FOR WITHDRAWAL**
Panel: **Martin Collins** Editor, *Labour and Ireland;* **Maire O'Shea** (not yet confirmed); **Jeremy Corbyn** MP.

DEFEND THE BLACK COMMUNITIES
Panel: Haringey Labour Councillor; Handsworth Defence Committee (not yet confirmed); Brixton Defence Committee; Pryce Campaign.

Debate: **YOUTH AND THE LABOUR MOVEMENT**
Panel: LPYS speakers; Black Section Youth Committee; Scottish YCND.

(All speakers in a personal capacity)

REGISTER!

For tickets, creche facilities, details of transport from outside London and overnight accommodation in London, please fill out this form and sent to:
Alliance for Socialism, PO Box 50, London N1.

Name .....
Address .....
.....
.....
Tickets required .....
Creche required for ..... age(s) .....
Accommodation needed for ..... persons, on .....
Details of transport from .....

16 and 17 November

Sir William Collins School
Charrington St
London NW1