

A Socialist ACTION

BUILDING AN ALLIANCE FOR SOCIALISM

South Africa's coup in Lesotho

LAST Monday's military coup in Lesotho was directly engineered by South Africa. The basis for the coup was laid over two years ago when the South African government created a new opposition to Chief Jonathon, Lesotho's newly deposed leader.

The apartheid regime brought matters to a head simply by blocking off all traffic into the country — Lesotho is surrounded on all sides by South Africa. A more completely pliant government was then easily installed.

Lesotho is not a South African bantustan, though Pretoria treats it like one. Its origins lie in successful African resistance to Dutch colonists last century. Its people secured a separate territory under a British mandate. It won independence from Britain in 1966. Shortly afterwards Jonathon, at that time backed by Pretoria, took power in a putsch after losing the 1970 election.

Lesotho's formally independent status counts for nothing in Botha's eyes. His government already sent hit-squads into Maseru, Lesotho's capital, last year killing ordinary civilians in alleged hot pursuit of 'ANC terrorists.'

The aim of the coup is clear. It is to cut off any potential base of support in Lesotho for the struggle rising against the South African regime. 'He's a Pik (Botha) boy and he'll toe the line,' is how Brian Branch of the South African Institute of International Affairs described the relation between Lesotho's new leader and the South African foreign minister.

Three days before the coup US secretary of state Schulz publicly lambasted Europe for failing to support sanctions against Libyan 'terrorism and subversion.'

One law for Gadaffi, one for Botha.

TUC must back print unions!

THE RESULT of the NGA and SOGAT ballots on News International is a massive vote by print workers in favour of industrial action to stop Rupert Murdoch's attempt to murder their unions. The AUEW will be balloting its members on strike action at the end of this week.

These votes are a sharp rebuff for Eric Hammond's plan to go along with Murdoch's demand for a legally binding no-strike agreement at the

new Wapping plant. Now it is up to the TUC, backed by the miners and the railworkers who are also in dispute with the EETPU, to ensure that the full force of the trade union movement is brought to bear against Murdoch and the electricians leaders.

Signing the type of deal Murdoch demands would be the beginning of the end for the sort of trade unionism we have known in Britain for over 100 years. The experience of such contracts in other countries is vivid proof of how effectively the law would be

used to destroy the power and strength of the trade union movement.

Signing a no-strike deal with Murdoch, even if it weren't legally binding, would be a toe in the door for every employer in this country and a tremendous blow to the print unions. Other print bosses would follow suit. And the rest of British industry would be hot on their heels. Already the NGA and SOGAT leaderships have moved towards accepting many of Murdoch's demands.

The EETPU has previously delivered no-strike agreements, with Eddie Shah and others. But accepting Murdoch's legally binding, no-strike, or sweetheart deal is a qualitative step. It would herald open season for attacks on every single union, and be the beginning of the end for effective union organisation in the print.

As we go to press, the TUC goes into session with the print unions and with the NUM and NUR. The print unions correctly argue that the EETPU's conduct over the Wapping deal breaks TUC rules: that it is fundamentally against the interests of the trade union movement. The National Union of Mineworkers is arguing a similar case about Hammond's links with the breakaway UDM.

The softly-softly approach of Norman Willis and others to the announcement last year by the electricians and engineers that they would flaunt TUC policy on combatting Thatcher's anti-union laws laid the groundwork for this latest move by Hammond. There can be no downplaying, and no soft-peddling, by the TUC on this issue.

Every single union must maintain pressure on the TUC and scotch Hammond's moves to scab on the whole of the British trade union movement. The print workers must be given total trade union backing in their fight with Murdoch.

● See page 10: 'The future of the print unions'.



Socialist ACTION

More than a storm in a teacup

WITH THE Heseltine crisis scarcely behind her, Thatcher this week faced another series of economic and political problems. On Monday the price of North Sea Oil for the first time ever fell below \$20 a barrel. The result was the rapid slide of the pound on the foreign exchange markets. On Tuesday the Bank of England was acting to prevent interest rates rising to safeguard the pound. The reason was obvious: any new rise in interest rates, the second within a month, would certainly have meant an increase in mortgage rates and a new political crisis for Thatcher. Whether such a rise can still be averted remains to be seen — it will certainly be difficult.

On Monday evening Thatcher was hit with a new row: a Tory backbench rebellion over rates. Thirty-two Tory MPs voted against the government and about another 20 abstained.

Thatcher's credibility continued to be struck by the Westland-Heseltine affair. The first opinion poll after Heseltine's resignation and row between home secretary Leon Brittan and British Aerospace's chief executive Sir Raymond Lygo — carried out for ITN by Harris polls — showed that 70 per cent believed Heseltine had been 'more honest' than Thatcher.

Fifty eight per cent believed Lygo's initial version of events rather than Brittan's, 49 per cent thought Brittan should resign, 64 per cent backed the European bid for Westland, and 54 per cent thought Thatcher should retire before the next election.

The first poll on the state of the parties after Heseltine's resignation showed the Tories in third place with only 29.5 per cent support.

A number of these blows are interrelated. It is clear that a series of Thatcher's economic policies are now being blown substantially off course.

For seven years since its election Thatcher's government has been riding high on the flood of black gold from the North Sea.

British manufacturing industry could shrink when high priced oil was there to plug the gap in the balance of payments. The harshest choices on public spending could be avoided as long as the tax revenues from the North Sea continued to pour in. A high exchange rate of the pound kept down prices for the imported videos, computers, and cars that fed the consumer boom. Tax cuts could be made — financed by oil and privatisation — to buy electoral popularity.

But a decline in the price of oil undermines it all. Inflation edged up over the last two months. Another rise in interest rates would hit the house buyers vote Thatcher has so carefully cultivated. A fall in North Sea tax revenue will force more harsh choices as with that taken on rates. Half Nigel Lawson's room for manoeuvre for a tax cutting budget in March has already gone.

No one should have any illusions but that the Thatcher government is very strong. Labour's opposition under Kinnock is pathetically weak — which is why the Alliance have been big gainers. But more political storms are on the way for Thatcher's government. A government which since the end of the miners strike has seemed overwhelmingly powerful has encountered real problems.

The left must begin to write that clearly into its perspectives and tactics in weeks to come.

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Why Thatcher and Reagan are winning

AFTER HAVING reached a peak on Tuesday and Wednesday of last week, when Leon Brittan came close to being forced to resign, the lid is being put back on the Westland affair.

Brittan has been saved from resignation. British Aerospace is under great pressure to withdraw from leadership of the European consortium bidding for Westland. The two events are tied together in the agreement negotiated between Leon Brittan and Sir Raymond Lygo, British Aerospace's chief executive, that their famous clash was based on a 'misunderstanding'.

There are of course purely immediate reasons why the lid is being pushed back on the affair. If Brittan had been forced to resign it would have been

By Dick Carter

Thatcher's own neck which risked being on the chopping block.



Leon Brittan

Photo: JOHN HARRIS

Furthermore British Aerospace is dependent for its profits on government contracts. If Sir Raymond Lygo had pursued his original course — and most people believe his first letter — then he would not only have brought down the Home Secretary but would have been legitimately worried about some of his future contracts with this government.

But behind these immediate questions lie much more fundamental forces. It is totally wrong to present the struggle between capitalist Europe and America, which lies behind the Westland crisis, as in any sense a struggle between two equivalent capitalist forces. All the decisive cards lie with the United States.

The ability of the United States to exercise relentless pressure on its capitalist allies is not a question of the threat to ban the European airbus from the United States — which Brittan hinted at in his interview on ITV's *Weekend World* on Sunday. Nor is it simply the United States control of the world monetary system, the fact that it possesses a unified state and its west European rivals do not, that US trade unions are much weaker compared to their European counterparts, or that the United States possesses overwhelming military superiority — although all these are fundamental and weighty factors.

What is involved is the entire relation between Western Europe and the United States which has existed for over 70 years. Ever since 1914, and the outbreak of World War I, there is no evidence that capitalist Europe has any economic, social or political equilibrium independent of the United States.

After World War I it proved impossible for the European imperialist states to recreate internal economic equilibrium by themselves. It was not until US economic aid, through the Dawes and Young plans, began to arrive on a large scale after 1923 that economic stability was restored. When US economic aid to Europe was withdrawn following the 1929 crash in the

United States the European capitalist economies collapsed as well.

It was the same after World War II. Despite the successful efforts of the Socialist and Communist Parties to maintain capitalism in Western Europe after 1945. Capitalist Europe did not succeed in reviving itself. It was only when US aid began to flow in with the Marshall plan, that European capital stabilised.

The rapid growth of the West European economies from the late 1940s to the early 1970s was fed by direct American aid, by an inflow of American investment to Europe, and by an

oil price kept low by American pressure. When the US reversed its policy — sharply from 1973 onwards — the growth rates of the west European economies came shuddering down.

This is the fundamental process which works itself through western Europe. Without the relation to the United States, the west European economies are not stable or viable.

This is why no capitalist force can resist the United States in western Europe — and why all the hopes on this matter entertained by journals such as *Marxism Today* or *Tribune* are always dashed.

A capitalist break with the United States would mean raging economic, social and political instability in Europe that would place socialism on the order of the day. Only a western Europe, that had crushed its labour movement, could risk a thorough going break with the United States.

Naturally this fundamental relation of forces does not work itself out mechanically on every issue. It is not impossible that west European capitalists could defeat the US on a limited question such as Westland. But it is impossible for western European capitalists to win on the decisive clash. This underlying relation of forces works itself through even affairs such as Westlands.

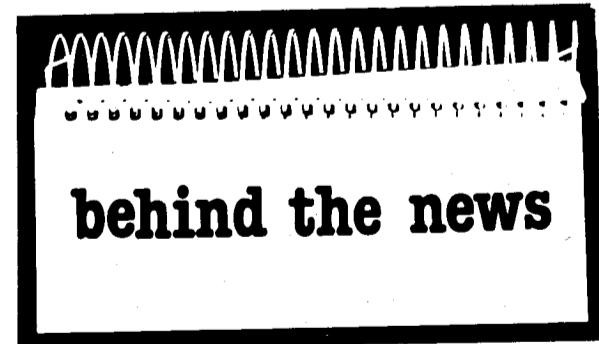
It provides an underlying aid to the pro-American camp of Reagan and Thatcher. The 'Euro-Tories' are by far the weaker of the two contestants within the ruling class.

For finally it is not a capitalist alternative, but only a *working class* one, which can defeat west European and American capital in this continent.



Thatcher

Photo: JOHN HARRIS



You may be wondering how the stitch-up between Sir Raymond Lygo, chief executive of British Aerospace, and Leon Brittan was worked out. Last week's *Sunday Times* contains a blow by blow account which we couldn't possibly improve on. So we are quoting it at length:

'One of the industry secretary's (Leon Brittan's) biggest problems was the conflicting accounts about his meeting with Sir Raymond Lygo.. Lygo said Brittan had told him his company's participation in the

European bid for Westland was "against the national interest" and had pressed him to pull his company out. This would have left the way clear for the rival American bid...'

'Enter Michael Marshall, Tory MP for Arundel, and British Aerospace's parliamentary adviser. Marshall... is part of the network that once prompted the comment that "the Church of England may be the Tory party at prayer, but the aircraft industry is the Tory party at work."'

'Marshall studied the varying accounts of the

confused Brittan-Lygo meeting line by line and concluded that all the discrepancies but one could have arisen from "misunderstandings". The exception was Lygo's claim that Brittan had urged him to withdraw BAe (British Aerospace) from the European consortium.

'Last Wednesday Marshall told Brittan he was "perplexed" by this. Brittan said he had been referring not to a need for BAe to withdraw from the consortium altogether, but to pull back from its high profile in a campaign that appeared to be anti-American. In other words here too there had been a misunderstanding.

'On Thursday the Marshall gloss on the meeting was endorsed by Thatcher in the Commons...

'After this, said Marshall, "we were in business." ... Talks between representatives of the company and the industry department went on at the DTI (Department of Trade and Industry) until

nearly midnight on Thursday and a deal appeared to have been done: Lygo and Brittan would exchange letters putting their differences down to "misunderstandings".

'Marshall almost wrecked the operation by prematurely announcing its success on BBC Breakfast Time on Friday. Lygo was furious and new negotiations had to be started on Friday morning — which in turn prompted Brittan to fly into a rage about Lygo's behaviour. It was after 5pm before the Central Office of Information was able to announce that the admiral and the minister had exchanged letters.

'The damage limitation had succeeded — just.'

AFTER 10 days of confusion the *Morning Star* decided to take its editorial line in charge on Saturday.

Throughout the preceding week the paper had been publicising Ken Gill, and TASS's support

for the 'European option' for Westland.

But on Saturday, sternly remembering that the Soviet leadership is against the EEC and all its works, the *Morning Star* attempted to make a sharp 'clarification.' The paper's editorial carried the headline 'Private enterprise has failed.'

But even then, however, it couldn't help straying back toward the 'European' line. The *Morning Star* noted, after condemning Sikorski-Fiat's American bid, that: 'As for the so-called "European" deal championed by Heseltine, this has at least the merit of keeping the firm within the grip of British based multinationals, though their brand of patriotism has never gone beyond what is best for their own profits.'

Evidently the dreaded 'European option' of *Marxism Today* continues to be a temptation even for the 'anti-revisionists' of the *Morning Star*.

Photo: G. M. COOKSON

The politics of Tarzan

'A MAN WHO has resigned on a matter both of principle and patriotism.' That was how the editorial of the *Daily Mirror* characterised Heseltine's walk-out from the cabinet. Ken Gill of TASS has given public backing to the EEC bid for Westland put together by Heseltine. So has Labour defence spokesperson Denzil Davies. But as Heseltine himself remarked in the House of Commons following his speech last Wednesday: 'I have never been a sluggard when it comes to dealing with the Labour Party.' Does the now-departed minister of defence deserve even one jot of support or credibility from the labour movement? JOHN ROSS answers with a decisive *no!*

MICHAEL Heseltine is an unlikely hero for any section of the labour movement. For a start, he was easily the richest member of Thatcher's cabinet.

He owns Thenford House, officially described as possessing 'monogrammed iron gates.' Set in 400 acres near Banbury in Oxfordshire, Thenford House possesses a lake, blue tinted swimming pool, stables, a private equestrian course, and a restored mosaic Roman floor in the grounds. It is worth around £2 million.

Heseltine also owns a farm at nearby Chacombe, for which he paid £350,000. His company, Haymarket Publishing, paid £500,000 for another farm a mile from Thenford.

CND

The Thenford House mansion however is only one of Heseltine's three homes. The others are a four-storey Georgian house in Belgravia worth around £800,000 and a £250,000 house at Exford, in the middle of the Exmoor National Park.

The base of the Heseltine fortune is the Haymarket Press group. His family owns 50 per cent of a company currently worth more than £50 million.

But if Heseltine's wealth is a key to his politics, more fundamental still is his political career.

Heseltine was appointed minister of defence in January 1983 with a very specific purpose. His assigned goal was to defeat CND in the run-up to the election.

Mersey

Heseltine was well equipped for the dirty tricks brief he was given. During his period as minister for the environment, immediately following the 1979 election, Heseltine had started the attacks on local government and the cutbacks in government rate support grants to local councils.

Despite this however he had deliberately cultivated a 'liberal' image — particularly when appointed minister for Merseyside in 1981 following the Toxteth riot. He made long visits there, and loudly proclaimed his 'anguish' over the state of the city — while continuing to cut back the funding of the big cities.

In short Heseltine, likes to present the image of a 'bleeding heart' liberal while in practice pushing through harsh unrelenting ruling class policies.

This was the policy he continued in the ministry of defence. The *Guardian*

accurately summed up his record on 10 January: 'his public confrontations — usually accompanied by characteristic garments like combat jackets and green wellies — have been directed at traditional Tory targets like Bruce Kent, the Greenham Common women, and the Molesworth demonstrators.'

'It is fair to say that few people in the Tory party — not even those on the loony right — are quicker on the draw when it comes to denouncing CND supporters as undercover Commies or agents of the Kremlin.'

Rob Shepherd, lobby correspondent for Channel 4, also put it accurately in the *New Statesman*: 'His roughing-up of CND went down well with the wets, who tend to be as hardline as any diehard Tory on defence.'

The *Times*, reporting on Heseltine's resignation, noted: 'many of the service chiefs and senior civil servants are sorry to see the departure of a man they came to regard as a pugnacious defender of their interests and a firm believer in the European cooperation they favour.'

Spend

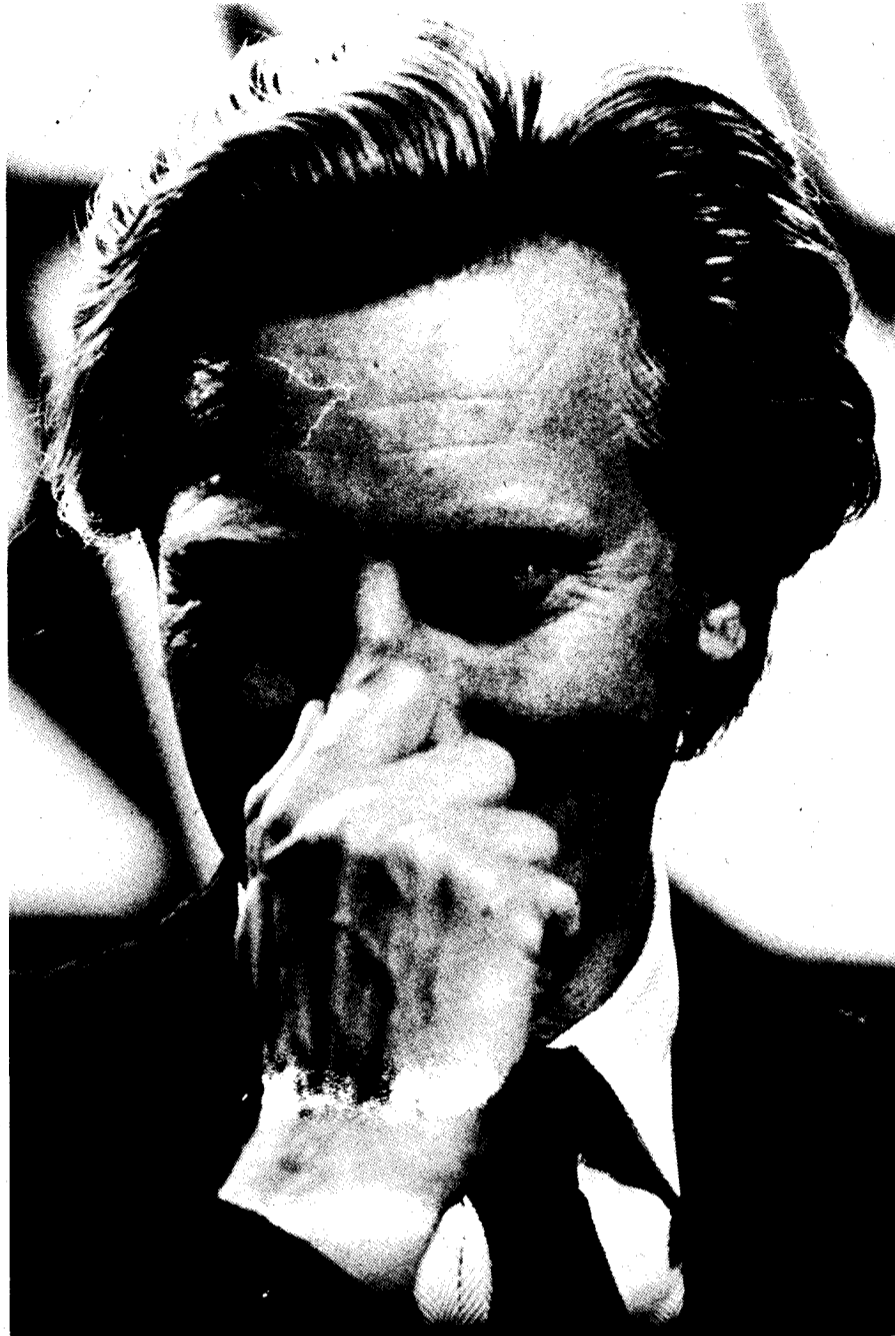
Heseltine was a fanatical supporter of every form of European military cooperation, and advocated high military spending to this end.

He strongly supported the reactivation of the Western European Defence Union, the Independent European Programme Group (the main body for European defence collaboration), and he took Britain back into the European Space Agency. He waged a major battle in the cabinet in order to ensure support for the \$40 billion European fighter project decided on earlier this year.

Heseltine's advocacy of high military spending led the press to accuse him of financial recklessness following his resignation.

In line with his military spending policy Heseltine set about ruthlessly attacking CND on his appointment as minister of defence. He immediately established Defence Secretariat 19, an anti-CND propaganda department staffed by officials of the defence ministry. According to former MI5 officer Cathy Massiter, Heseltine also used information from MI5 about CND for party political purposes. This is in direct violation of MI5's legal charter.

Having achieved its purpose of political campaigning Defence Secretariat 19 was disbanded immediately after the 1983 election. But Heseltine kept up the sustained cam-



paign against CND — including the notorious Molesworth episode when he appeared in a flak jacket to evict the demonstrators. And he saw to it that Sarah Tisdall was prosecuted under the Official Secrets Act for making it known when cruise missiles would arrive in Britain.

As well as his sustained campaign against nuclear disarmament, Heseltine directly organised other aspects of the government's activities in the military field — most notably the cover-up over the sinking of the *Belgrano*. He played a direct role in misleading the House of Commons select committee on the *Belgrano* sinking at the end of the 1984.

Heseltine also insisted on the prosecution of Clive Ponting for his leaks to the press exposing the government cover-up on the *Belgrano*. Ponting was acquitted.

Last Thursday Heseltine staged his second walk out within a week, when he refused to appear on a *Channel 4 News* programme because Ponting was on it. He forced the TV channel to cancel Ponting's appearance that night.

The originator of the attack on local government; the organiser of the dirty tricks brigade against CND; fanatic for high military spending; organiser of the *Belgrano* cover-up — Heseltine is a vicious and ruthless ruling class politician.



A FUTURE THAT WILL WORK



What is needed is a new synthesis, a combination of what are too often wrongly assumed to be incompatible objectives. It is not an easy balance to achieve.

DAVID OWEN

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What the Euro-Tories want

MICHAEL HESELTINE has become the most prominent Tory since Edward Heath to publicly associate himself with a 'European' cause in British politics. But other capitalist political forces have made support for the EEC the basis of their entire politics.

The Liberal Party rebuilt itself from the 1950s onwards as the party which stood for membership of the EEC, and 'modern' west European methods of government, against the 'archaic' Tories who had refused to join the Common Market when it was formed in 1958.

Before they formed the SDP the gang of four — Jenkins, Owen, Williams, and Rogers — were identified as the pro-EEC current inside the Labour Party. Taken together Heath, Heseltine, the SDP, and the Liberals form a group which can be identified as the 'Euro-Tories' — that is capitalist politicians who make a central core of their politics support for the EEC and its policies. Looking at the politics of other parts of this current helps clarify what Heseltine was arguing for around Westland.

Probably the most coherent statements of the Euro-Tory view are the articles written by David Owen. Owen, in his book *A Future That Will Work*, explains his strong support for the EEC, and for European military development. But he makes clear that this does not imply any basic break with the United States.

Owen argues: 'It is not in Europe's interests to set out to design a self-contained European defence structure without the United States.'

Owen calls for the EEC states to have a bigger weight in dealing with the United States. He points out: 'We in Europe now provide 91 per cent of the ground forces, 80 per cent of the main battle tanks and combat aircraft, and two thirds of the major ships in the European area of the (NATO) Alliance.'

Owen argues that because of this: 'It would

be going down a dangerous blind alley to continue into the 1990's without building up at a faster pace than hitherto the capacity to develop a specifically European defence ... policy to work with and influence US policy within NATO.'

Owen argues that the US has been abusing its position not only militarily but also economically. He states: 'Western Europe has tolerated a 10:1 imbalance in transatlantic trade in defence equipment despite the fact that our own manufacturing industry has the skills and capacity to match those of the US. On economic and trading grounds alone, the European community can no longer stand aside from this imbalance.'

Owen is totally in favour of nuclear weapons and gives this as a key reason for the SDP's break with the Labour Party: 'In Britain the post-war all-party consensus over defence went when the Labour Party finally endorsed the full unilateral nuclear disarmament position.'

Alongside nuclear arms however Owen argues for a strong build up of conventional weapons: 'It should be the special British contribution to Western Europe to maintain a strong navy ... (we) have a particular need to grapple with ways of improving our conventional defence.'

Alongside the maintenance of nuclear weapons, and the build up of conventional armaments, Owen advocates a 'social market' economy — the same term used by Thatcher's economic advisers to characterise her economic policies. Owen outdid even Thatcher in his calls for attacks on the miners and for stronger laws against the unions.

Anyone reading Owen's writings will recognise Heseltine's politics immediately. A European defence build up; support for nuclear weapons; a more powerful European military weight but no strategic break with the United States; strong attacks on the working class and trade unions. That is the politics of the Euro-Tories.

The Public Order Bill

IN HIS SPEECH to the House of Commons on the Public Order Bill, home office minister Giles Shaw said this was one of the most significant legislative events in the last decade. Hailed by the Thatcher government as part of their 'law and order' campaign, in fact it won't have any effect at all on rising crime rates.

By Harry Cohen MP

Since November 1979 one million more crimes per year have been recorded. The reality is that crime is on the increase under the Tory government. During the miners strike, the police were used as Thatcher's private army against the labour movement. They have played the same sort of role among the black inner-city communities for years. The police are not accountable to the community. And the community is increasingly alienated by the fact. That is the real background to the Public Order Bill. It has little to do with so-called law and order — and much more to do with inhibiting the freedom of the traditional political processes.

Three significant aspects of the Bill are worth highlighting. First it is intended to make demonstrations a lot more difficult to organise — and dangerous to attend. Freedom of assembly is a basic civil liberty. This Bill means we are going to need permission from the police — and that means the police.

The government can impose conditions on the duration, route and numbers involved in demonstrations. And seven-days' advanced notice of marches is required. This latter requirement is likely to be used to rule out urgent and immediate responses to local grievances — like the protest at Brixton police station against the shooting of Cherry Groce, or at Tottenham against the death of Cynthia Jarrett — or national and international outrages — like some of the protests that have been held at the South African embassy.

The police will have discretion to waive this notice, but that means they will be given an explicitly political role. They will be deciding whether or not they regard a march or a demonstration as politically acceptable. Under this Bill there will be more rights on the public highway for vehicles than for people.

The second aspect of the Bill is that 'disorderly conduct' will be introduced as a criminal offence. This is a catch-all. A police officer can claim it — and there is the devil of a job to prove otherwise. For example, you could appear in court charged with breach of the peace. After you had successfully defended yourself and the charge had been lost, the magistrate could announce that he found you guilty of 'disorderly conduct'. Ergo, you are guilty of something you were never charged with in the first place!

The police already have breach of the peace powers to arrest violent offenders, so what is the purpose of this additional offence? It will be used like the SUS laws.

Third, the Bill purports to deal with racial harassment. It introduces an offence of 'incitement to racial hatred'. While many would welcome any tightening of the law on this, the Public Order Bill does not do that. On behalf of the Campaign group of MPs, I have introduced a racial harassment bill aimed at making racial attacks and harassment a specific criminal offence. That very point is rejected by the Tories and absent from the Public Order Bill.

The famous acquittal of Kingsley Reed — remember 'one down and a million to go?' — showed how thin legislation against racism is. Under the 1965 Public Order Act, the attorney general's permission is needed for a prosecution. The new Bill doesn't tighten up on this. Neither does it extend the existing legislation to cover broadcasting. As far as I am aware it deals only with the distribution of literature. So, you could be stopped from giving out racist leaflets. But you could appear on radio or TV immediately and repeat verbatim whatever was in your printed leaflet.

The intention of the Bill is a political clamp-down. It is aimed at the Greenham Common women, at strikers, and at the black community. And it is intended to enshrine in law what the police are already doing.

'Capitalism gives to each and everyone of us a great opportunity, if only we seize it with both hands.' It wasn't Margaret Thatcher or David Owen who said that — it was Al Capone. And that is what the Public Order Bill is intended for: to ratify by legislation the Al Capone tactics that the state is already using against the British labour movement.

Broadwater Farm: Police lies exposed

'PRE-ARRANGED RIOTS', 'lakes of petrol' and 'major criminal activity' were the main elements of the metropolitan police report issued last week on the events surrounding the Broadwater Farm uprising in October. Reading it, you might be forgiven for not understanding that the death of Cynthia Jarrett was central to those events. The whole thrust of the report, and the media coverage it received, has been to make the case for heavier policing on the Farm — and of all Britain's black communities.

The message is: black people are violent criminals, mobsters. Thousands more police — armed with plastic bullets, CS gas and the provisions of the Public Order Bill — are needed to keep them in line.

The police report claims that the riots were organised in advance, with huge stores of petrol accumulated in garages on the estate. The proof? 'Anonymous' telephone calls and well-known 'rumours' circulating on the Farm in the weeks before 6 October.

The whole report was exposed as blatant lies at a

press conference organised by the Broadwater Farm Defence Campaign last Thursday. Statements there confirmed those of Bernie Grant earlier in the week. Such lies are ominous because they herald more repression for Britain's black people.

By Anne Kane

Stafford Scott for the Defence Broadwater Farm Campaign explained that the report was based on 'unsubstantiated innuendo'. He pointed to the fact that the report itself admits that the death of Mrs Jarrett invoked the distur-

bances. Furthermore, other inquest findings are skipped over to make the case for unprovoked criminal activity.

The inquest established that police officers illegally entered Mrs Jarrett's house. Heavy police reinforcements were in the area before her death, and when local youth attempted to demonstrate at the Tottenham police station they found all exits from the estate sealed.

The petrol lakes were refuted as physically impossible by a council worker present at the Broadwater Farm press conference: there are no enclosed garages in which to store it, and the open parking space which does exist would have required walls constructed to seal off any such 'lakes'.

Pam Heyers, also from the defence campaign, explained that the report was part of 'the criminalisation of oppressed minorities in

this country'. Brutal and racist policing explained the response to Mrs Jarrett's death at the hands of the metropolitan police. The press have ignored the 209 arrests — an average of four a week — which have taken place since the rebellions.

The report has nothing to do with clarifying the facts — and even less to do with justice! It prepares the way for heavier policing and the introduction of techniques and weaponry already refined by their use in against the nationalist population in the North of Ireland.

The real crime of black people in Britain, according to Stafford Scott, is simply 'expecting the same rights as white people'. And he's dead right.

The Broadwater Farm Defence Campaign, Bernie Grant, and the local community have all demanded a full independent public enquiry into

events surrounding the death of Cynthia Jarrett. They are demanding too that charges against all those arrested after the events are dropped and police racism exposed. That is the real context of the anger on Broadwater Farm Estate.

Their campaign against police cover up and repression has met a wall of silence. The Public Order Bill, riot techniques, and more police on the streets will all be used against those sections of society which want to defend their rights in Thatcher's Britain.

The Farm's campaign deserves the greatest possible support throughout the labour movement.

● The Broadwater Farm Defence Campaign can be contacted for more information and speakers at: 79 Tangmere, Willan Road, Broadwater Farm Estate, Tottenham, London N17 (phone: 01-885 3752).



Broadwater Farm Defence Campaign press conference refutes police lies

Brixton: Police round up

COMMUNITY POLICING and closer links between the police and community were part of the Scarman recommendations after the 1981 spate of inner-city black rebellions. They represented no more than a crude attempt to coopt the black community behind police harassment, as the Brixton experience shows. After another uprising in response to the shooting of Cherry Groce this autumn, the Brixton police replied by launching an anti-mugging campaign. CECILIA PROSPER of the Cherry Groce Support Campaign explains.

AS A consequence of Scarman's proposals, Lambeth council implemented initiatives to lessen tensions in police-community relations and to provide a more accountable police force: the Police Consultative Group, and community policing. The PCG met once a fortnight, as a means whereby the public could air their grievances concerning police strategy.

Talk-shop

Five years later, it is still running. This initiative was — and still remains — a talking-shop.

Community leaders question and attack the police, while the police simply reply in their own defence. There is no forum for implementing changes; no system of voting on the issues.

There has been no improvement or advance-

ment in police-community relations. Brixton police claim they have good relations with the black community. But results show differently.

The shooting of Cherry Groce was met with a community protest of 50-strong outside Brixton police station. They were subsequently joined by some 150 other demonstrators.

It was the fact that this sizeable group had been kept waiting by the police and that, once addressed, they were given trite consoling remarks, which raised anger among the crowd and culminated in the disturbances.

Had relations improved at all since 1981, the police would have addressed the crowd immediately and sympathetically. Instead the anguished community appeared to the police to be an unruly black mob needing the

heavy hand of the law. Police poured out of the station, and more were drafted in from other areas armed with riot shields.

Prior to this, Lambeth Police Committee Support Unit had received many reports of armed raids on people's homes. One case which occurred towards the end of August was of a young woman in her mid-20s whose home had been raided by a number of armed SPG officers. She was subjected to physical and verbal abuse and an intimate body search without the presence of a doctor.

Tension

The raid on Mrs Cherry Groce's home had been simply one in a never-ending succession of armed raids. She made the headlines, like many others, because she was 'unfortunately' shot and her community were not silent.

Since the shooting of Cherry Groce there has been no change in police policy concerning the use of firearms. Furthermore, Brixton police have stepped up their 'anti-street crime campaign'.

Launched on 16 December, it has recently been reported to be 'successful'. This so-called

anti-mugging campaign based at Brixton and Clapham North, involves the use of 'stop and search' tactics (the replacement of the old SUS laws) and also the deployment of 50 uniformed patrolling officers.

Five years of so-called community policing has done little to alter the tense situation in Brixton. For many, Brixton police prac-

tice still means malpractice.

● This is an extract of a speech made at the 'Black people, campaigning, and policy' conference called by the Roach Family Support Campaign, Sunday 12 January. More information on the Cherry Groce campaign, c/o 105 Brixton Road, London SW9 (phone: 01-326 1397).

Dirty deals in Haringey?

HARINGEY Labour right winger Vic Butler has proposed a unique road to Labour victory: a pact with the Tories and Alliance.

In a three-hour meeting of their local leaders earlier this month, he said they should make a three-way agreement. This would mean a single anti-Labour candidate — who would be Tory, Alliance or 'Labour independent' — would stand in each Haringey ward so as to unseat leader Bernie Grant.

Butler apparently doesn't have much support. Though the *Standard* and the *Mail* elevated his squalid manoeuvre into a 'plot by rebel Labour

moderates for Bernie's downfall', local party members think it unlikely anyone else is yet involved. Butler doesn't even live in the borough.

His only base is in the Wood Green Labour Club, of which he is secretary. 'The Labour Party has been boycotting the club for over a year because of its racist and sexist practices,' explained Councillor Narendra Makanji. Complaints against the club included its use of strippers, and rules preventing travellers from using the bar.

The Liberals seem to understand the issues. 'Vic Butler has only gone half way,' said a spokesperson. 'He should join the SDP.'



Behind the Anglo-Irish Accord

Six Counties goes to the polls

THIS THURSDAY voters in 15 constituencies in the North of Ireland go to the polls in by-elections created by the unionist parties as a referendum on the Anglo-Irish Accords. They are fielding joint 'Ulster says no' candidates in all 15 constituencies. Sinn Fein and the Social Democratic Labour Party (SDLP) are each standing candidates in four marginal seats.

The massive media attention given the Anglo-Irish agreement certainly ensures it will figure prominently as an election issue. What is less clear is the effect of the different stances towards it taken by Sinn Fein and the SDLP on the nationalist vote. While Sinn Fein has trenchantly rejected the deal as phoney, SDLP leader Hume has abjectly supported its every dot and comma.

He enthusiastically threw himself behind the Thatcher government's attempt to subordinate Irish interests to Britain. And the bourgeois press have acclaimed him as a statesperson for so doing. The SDLP claim that the latest Hillsborough deal shows that Britain has 'no strategic interest in Ireland'. Few nationalists are likely to swallow that claim without a large measure of salt!

Under the slogan 'Keep the pressure on', Sinn Fein launched its election campaign at a press conference in West Belfast a week last Tuesday. Three of its four candidates were there: Danny Morrison (Mid Ulster), Jim McAllister (Newry-Armagh), and Frank McDowell (South Down). Owen Carron, the fourth candidate for Fermanagh-South Tyrone, was represented on the platform by Paul Corrigan, Sinn Fein chair for Fermanagh district.

Gerry Adams opened the conference by explaining: 'Sinn Fein is contesting this election on republican policies. Our demands remain unchanged.' He described the Accords as a 'carrot and stick agreement, a mixture of repression and appeasement'. The deal, he pointed out, was a response to Sinn Fein's growing electoral success.

Competition between Sinn Fein and SDLP candidates, of course, risks splitting the nationalist vote and leaving a path clear for a unionist victory in the four constituencies with nationalist majorities. This would play straight into Margaret Thatcher's hands. The Sinn Fein election address had this to say: Had the SDLP leadership been interested in the overall nationalist interests, they would have consulted their grass roots about our offer of a boycott or of coming to an agreement'. They have kept a 'guilty silence' too, said Adams, on the harassment of Sinn Fein campaign workers.

The British government is clearly hoping that the Accords will eat into Sinn Fein's success and divide the nationalist vote. In the medium and long term this is bound to prove a forlorn hope. Whether it will have any immediate effect on the by-election voting remains to be seen.

The reality of the Anglo-Irish Accord, and its role in reinforcing the partition of Ireland, becomes clearer with each day that goes on. A key feature of the Accord was the involvement of the NATO powers — both the United Kingdom and Western Europe — in seeking a closer political relation between the London and Dublin governments. This was set out in an important document *Britain's Undefended Frontier* drafted by the Institute for European Defence and Strategic Studies.

The following article, taken from the latest issue of *Labour and Ireland*, looks at the crucial international dimension to the London-Dublin deal — and at official British and Irish reaction to it.

STRIPPED if its rhetoric of peace and reconciliation, the Anglo Irish Accord signed in Hillsborough Castle on 15 November recognises in a formal and binding agreement, the subordination of the Irish government to the interests of the British establishment. Forced to the negotiating table by 16 years of unbroken nationalist opposition, Margaret Thatcher has enlisted the Dublin government to help maintain the partition of Ireland upon which both their interests depend.

Security

Speaking 'as a loyalist and a Unionist' the prime minister explained in the House of Commons debate that after 16 years it was 'not enough for the government to rely solely on the security forces, valiant though they are, to contain and resist the tide of violence'.

The thinking of the government which largely acknowledges the implausibility of a military solution rests heavily upon a remarkable document: *Britain's Undefended Frontier*. This 'policy for Ulster' was researched and drawn up by the Institute for European Defence and Strategic Studies — a right wing pro-Nato thinktank.

Whilst its supporters claim the Accord is a 'foot in the door' for Garret FitzGerald, the *Daily Mail* said it gave Dublin 'access to the very roots of power in Ulster'. *Britain's Undefended Frontier* explicitly advocates the involvement of the 26 County government in order to stabilise British rule. Far from being 'Maggie's brave Irish gamble' (*Daily Mail*), the agreement represents a calculated British tactic to use the weakness and dependency of the Dublin government to its own advantage.

Garret FitzGerald's argument with the British government has never been that it maintains an army of occupation in his country, or that it continues to bolster and defend a bigoted sectarian six county state; but that it does so in such a clumsy way.

He is not against the principle of no-jury courts, violent attacks on nationalist demonstrators or emergency legislation; all that goes on in the 26 Counties. But when no-jury courts lead to supergrass show trials, when peaceful demonstrators Sean Downes is

murdered in front of the world's press or the PTA drags in the likes of EEC commissioner Michael O'Kennedy at Birmingham Airport, he is forced to protest. He thinks it would be better if the advocates of a slow process of reform in the North were given some encouragement. He fears social and political upheaval will spread to the South.

As if it were not clear, Margaret Thatcher spells out that the agreement: 'makes abundantly clear that there is no threat whatsoever to Unionists' heartfelt desire to remain part of the United Kingdom.' It provides in a formally binding international Accord: 'a recognition by the Irish government that the status of Northern Ireland will remain unchanged as long as that is the wish of a majority of the people of Northern Ireland... (This is) an explicit recognition of the legitimacy of the Unionist position.'

Haughey

In the Dail, opposition leader Charles Haughey correctly points out that if the Irish government recognised Britain's right to rule the Six Counties, it would abandon the Irish constitution's claim to national sovereignty, and endorse both the loyalist veto and British military and political presence in the North. In exchange for this the British government acknowledges in 'a

practical and strictly defined way the concern which the Irish government has with matters relating to Northern Ireland'.

The Irish government thinks it can, by timely advice help the British government make concessions to nationalists which will reverse the rise of Sinn Fein and boost the constitutionalists of the SDLP who, like them, consider Irish unity to be part of a 'process' in the long term, which takes second place to restoring stability. By this means, they hope the threat to the Dublin government of a further growth of socialist republicanism might be averted.

The option of an inter-governmental conference as a vehicle for such collaboration was one recommended by the Tory strategists of the Institute for European Defence and Strategic Studies'.

Dublin

The *Times* explained British thinking by saying the republican movement 'cannot be seen off, under constraints imposed by liberal democracy, without redressing the civil balance in favour of the Catholic minority... The novel element in the new agreement is the recruitment, or admission, of Dublin as a second guarantor...'

Whilst Dublin highlights the novelty value of its new position of influence, Thatcher underlines its lack of power: 'Yes, we will listen to the views of the Irish government. Yes, we will make a determined effort to resolve any differences. But at the end of the day decisions north of the border will continue to be made by the government of the United Kingdom'.

Whilst Dublin highlights a programme for the conference discussing reform of the legal system, the RUC and UDR, economic and cultural co-

operation, discrimination, and a possible Bill of Rights, Thatcher underlines that whilst the British government is prepared 'in good faith' to listen to Irish proposals it is under no commitment to act upon them. She is however more optimistic about tighter security cooperation.

Policing

The Irish government already spends proportionally far more than the British on policing the border. The new agreement steps up this commitment, promising greater joint work between the Gardai and the RUC, easier extradition, and — what Thatcher calls the really vital element in the programme — fuller and faster exchange of information especially pre-emptive intelligence.

Again to quote Charles Haughey: 'the whole trend of these developments is toward seeking to bolster up the existing political structure which is in itself the cause of the trouble, the source of violence and instability and will be so long as it remains.'

The new conference is designed... to help reconcile the nationalist community with a British administration which they have always seen as alien and oppressive... The government will be led into an impossible situation in which they will find themselves assuming responsibility for actions and becoming involved in situations, particularly in the security field over which they will have no control.'

Alone in the British press, the *Daily Mirror* editorialised under the headline 'Empty promise': 'The only test of the new Ulster agreement is whether it can end or reduce the violence. Unfortunately, there is no reason to believe it can. This is a treaty which has no clothes. It cannot do



what it claims to do or carry out what it promises...

'The Ulster unionists will never yield an inch to the Republic as long as they know that in the last resort, the British army and Westminster parliament are behind them.'

'This is an agreement for politicians, not people. It may help Garret FitzGerald who is a long street behind in the opinion polls. It may help Margaret Thatcher, who is threatened by both Labour and the Alliance. It gives new life to the pernicious Dr Paisley and the Clockwork Orangemen who support him and thus makes the religious divide even wider.'

Thatcher

'Mrs Thatcher has nearly all of Westminster's politicians on her side largely because all parties have failed over Ireland in the past. But they have failed because they refuse to recognise the heart of the problem, which is the British presence in Ireland. We will not take the first step to peace until that is removed.'

Partition is the problem. British presence is the problem. Until these are solved there can be no justice, and only justice will bring peace.

● This article is reproduced from the latest issue of *Labour and Ireland*, out now price 50p, and available from: LCI, BM Box 5355, London WC1N 3XX.

WOMEN!

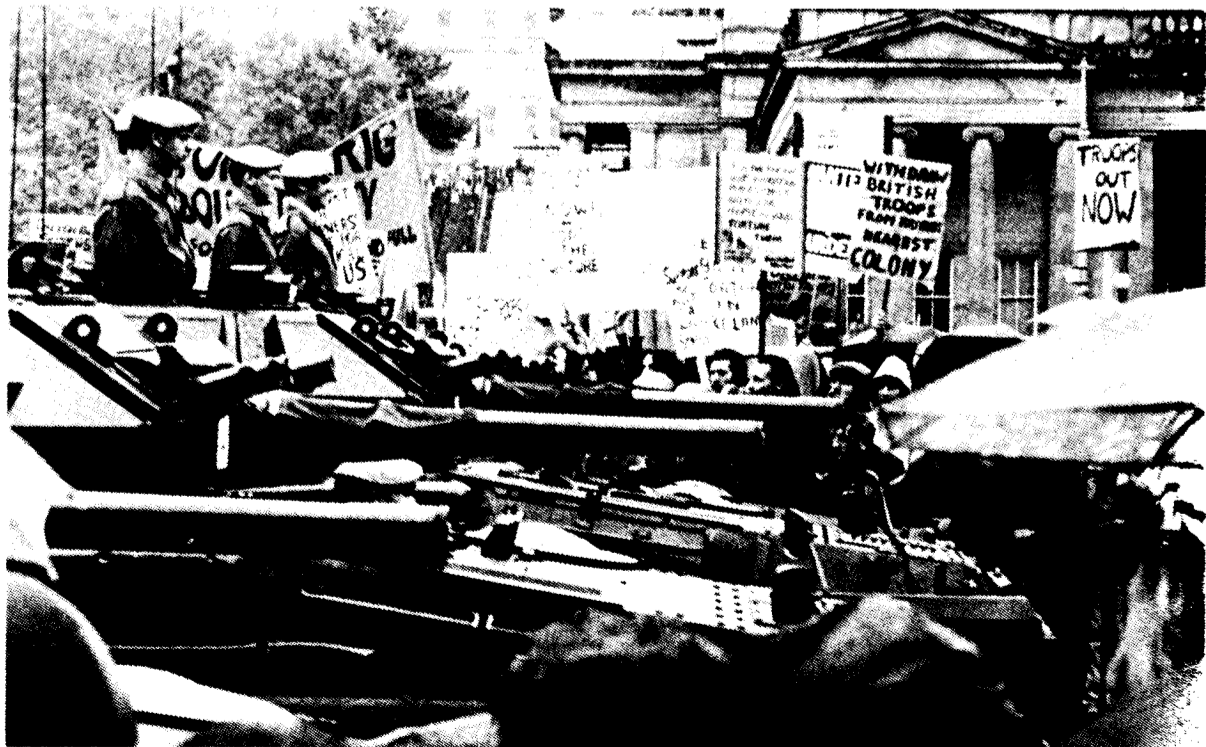
Join us in demanding
**BRITISH WITHDRAWAL
FROM IRELAND!**

'Bloody Sunday' Demo
and rally, London
2nd Feb. 1986

BRING YOUR BANNERS!

Bloody Sunday commemorates the killing of 14 peaceful demonstrators by the British Army on the streets of Derry, 31 January 1972. The struggle for British withdrawal continues. Every day for the past 14 years Irish citizens have had to live with the British army's sacrosanctity of their security.

- with physical, emotional, and social harassment of themselves, their mothers, their sisters, their daughters.
- with humiliating strip searches.
- with imprisonment in the gaols.



The Anglo-Irish agreement, subordinated the Irish government to the interests of the British establishment...

THE LABOUR PARTY

The Chesterfield Manifesto

CHESTERFIELD LABOUR Party, whose MP is Tony Benn, this month adopted a statement of 'aims and objectives', containing both long term aims and immediate policies. This followed several months discussion in the local party. Chesterfield have sent a copy of the document to the NEC and hope that other constituencies will draw up similar statements of policy. Socialist Action is printing the document in full for discussion within the labour movement.

THE Chesterfield Constituency Labour Party is a democratic, socialist and internationalist party, with a growing membership made up of men and women, young and old, who are widely representative of all aspects of life in the town; closely linked to the trade unions, and other affiliated organisations, in pursuit of the historic role of Labour as a non-doctrinaire party of class struggle.

We are an integral part of the British Labour Party, and accept its constitution and policy, as laid down at its annual conference. We work for the election of Labour candidates, in all local and national elections, on the basis of the political programmes put before the electors.

We believe that the Chesterfield party has a duty to defend working people and their families, and to campaign actively for policies that will help them. This statement of our aims and objectives has been prepared to provide a focus for political discussion and education within the party; to allow those who join the party to understand the policies for which we stand; and to be the basis of our long-term political work.

We believe

That there should be certain rights which must be won and maintained

- The right to life, free from fear, oppression, ignorance, preventable ill-health or poverty.
- The right to useful and satisfying work, balanced with leisure, to meet the needs of society.
- The right of everyone to receive an income sufficient to maintain a decent standard of living.
- The right to a good home for all in which to live, bring up children and care for all dependents.
- The right to receive the best possible medical care, free, and at the moment of need.
- The right of access, throughout life, to the full range of human knowledge, through education at

school, in college and afterwards.

- The right to mass media which provide accurate news, free from bias or distortion, and a diversity of views.

- The right to enjoy dignity, and a full life, in retirement in suitable accommodation, free from financial anxieties, with proper medical, and other facilities, including personal care, necessary to make that possible.

- The right to expect that any government in power will work for peace and justice, and will not provoke international conflict or hostility or divert resources from essential purposes to build up the weapons of mass destruction.

- The right to equality of treatment under just laws, free from all discrimination based upon class, sex, race, life-style or beliefs.

- The right of free speech and assembly, the entrenchment of civil liberties and human rights and the right to organise voluntary associations and free trade unions for the purpose of protecting and improving the prospects for those who belong to them, and in particular, the right to withdraw labour as a means of securing justice.

- The right of elected local and national authorities to provide those jobs and services needed by the community.

In democracy

We are deeply committed to the democratic process in the political, economic, social and administrative spheres, and believe that no person should have power over others unless they are accountable to, and removable by, those over whom they exercise that power or by elected representatives of the people.

In socialism

We are socialists because we believe that these rights cannot be fully realised in any society under capitalism, which, as in Britain now, has entrenched by law, the power of capital over labour, and subordinated human values to the demand for profit, at the expense of social justice and peace.



Chesterfield's famous by-election: Tony Benn was returned as MP there in February 1984

In internationalism

We are an internationalist party believing that all people everywhere are entitled to demand the same rights and with this in mind we have set up an international committee of the Chesterfield party to work with those who share our view.

In the rights of self-determination

We believe that the people of every nation have the right to govern themselves and to be free from any form of colonial or imperial domination.

In solidarity

We believe that we have a moral responsibility to defend all those who are attacked for protecting their own democratically gained rights, and with this in mind we are establishing workplace branches so that each can help others more ef-

fectively.

That conscience must be above the law

We assert the right of all people to follow their own conscientious beliefs even if it involves them in breaking the law; and that while there may be a legal obligation to obey the law there is no moral obligation to obey unjust laws; but we also know that those who break the law on moral grounds, may face punishment for their beliefs, and the final verdict on their actions will rest with the public and with history.

In the rights of all to their beliefs

We believe that socialist ideas which have been evolved in this country and abroad, over the centuries have given us a rich inheritance; but we do not believe that truth can be captured in any one creed to which all must

subscribe under threat of expulsion or exclusion; and we respect the rights of all members of the party to hold their own views, and to organise within the party to promote them, being convinced that diversity of opinion adds strength to our cause.

In progress through collective action

We believe, in the light of our own experience, that the only secure basis for social progress must lie in collective action; and that those who have the privilege of representing us, at all levels, must remain accountable for what they say and do, and that no one can demand blind obedience, from us, in the name of loyalty or unity.

That we are servants of the community

We see the Chesterfield Labour

Chesterfield



Photo: GM COOKSON

The policies we want

For Chesterfield and Derbyshire

- ★ The provision of jobs for all those who live in the town and the county and in particular the development of mining, engineering and manufacturing industry, and the provision of public services to make that possible.
- ★ The pursuance of a big house-building programme to meet the needs of all those, including the elderly.
- ★ The establishment of a fully comprehensive educational system for all students, and the right of all to continuing education and training.
- ★ The establishment of full and free health care for all.
- ★ The accountability of all managers in the public sector to the elected local authorities, who should have the power to require their replacement if they do not meet the needs of the people in the area.
- ★ The granting of comprehensive general powers to the Derbyshire county and Chesterfield borough councils, to do whatever is necessary in the interests of their communities, free from administrative control by Whitehall.
- ★ The banning of all blood-sports on land owned by Derbyshire county council and Chesterfield borough council, and also whatever is possible to seek to abolish blood-sports altogether, and the enforcement of all existing legislation relation to animal abuse.

For Britain

- ★ The return to full employment and the adoption of the means necessary for that purpose by, amongst other things, the common ownership, under democratic control and management, of the commanding heights of the economy, including the banks and finance houses, the land and all the companies which dominate our industrial system, and the development of new forms of social ownership.
- ★ A shorter working week and earlier retirement.
- ★ The establishment, as of right, of a comprehensive welfare system which will safeguard the living standards of our people.
- ★ The elimination of all discrimination and injustice.
- ★ The introduction of a system of taxation which will radically reduce the present gross inequalities of wealth and income.

★ The provision of good housing, health and education for all, by absorbing those private facilities that might be necessary to achieve a fully comprehensive system giving real choice to all.

★ The introduction of a major programme for the democratic reform of the apparatus of the state including the abolition of the House of Lords; ending of all patronage in making major public appointments; the democratisation of the magistracy, and lay supervision of the judiciary by the introduction of assessors from all walks of life into the High Court; and the democratic control of the police by elected local authorities.

★ The ending of all nuclear weapons and bases in Britain; and the phasing out of civil nuclear power in favour of coal, conservation and alternative benign sources of energy.

★ The provision of cheap and safe public transport for the use of the public, to protect us from the chaos that would follow from leaving key decisions to unrestricted competition.

★ The protection of the environment so that this, and future generations may enjoy it, free from pollution and exploitation for profit.

★ The proper provision for a leisure and multi-cultural society.

★ The protection of the animal kingdom so that this, and future generations may enjoy the natural wild life of Britain.

★ The upholding and enforcement of existing legislation relating to animal abuse, and efforts to secure the introduction of further legislation making all blood-sports illegal.

In international affairs

★ The adoption by Britain of a non-aligned foreign policy, committed to the United Nations but free of all military alliances, so that this country, with others, could help ease international tensions, reduce arms expenditure and assist the development of the third world.

★ The development of closer economic, industrial, social and political links between working people here and in other countries, free from the control of the Treaty of Rome or NATO.

An appeal to the people of Chesterfield

We appeal to all those in Chesterfield who share these aims, to work with us for to help to realise them and we invite all those who would like to do so, to join us as individual members so as to assist, in a practical way, to make this possible.

Two reasons to demand justice for miners



TERRY FRENCH is a Kent miner serving five years in Maidstone jail on a frame-up charge. He was recently visited by Tony Benn and Jeremy Corbyn, and we reprint below the interview he gave them. SYD WILKIN is a retired miner living in Rotherham, South Yorkshire. He wrote, as 'fifty years a trade unionist', an open letter to Margaret Thatcher and Ian MacGregor which we also print below. Terry and Syd give the two best reasons why every single person in the labour movement should support the national Justice for Mineworkers Campaign.

Terry French

BEING in here it's hard. I want to go home but I feel that, when I do go home and look back, I will, in a way, be thankful for this time because I have had the opportunity of seeing the whole of the class structure of this country, every single aspect of it: from millionaires; from top trade unionists; ordinary working class people that helped us all through that year — and I have met with some of the people that have suffered through that system

And, you know, I think I will be a bit thankful. It's made me a lot more humble. It's made me realise what I am. They have not knocked anything out of me. They have just made me more determined.

Many times during that year of the strike we said: 'this is just the beginning, only one battle', and I hope the miners remember it, because I worry that some will say: 'We've done a year of strike, we've suffered and that's it and I am going to call it a day.' But I don't believe they should do that because they have given everything and when you have got nothing left to do you can't quit.

It's just that they all know it is the beginning. We said all through the strike that, if we got beaten in this battle, they would come out hard and smash us into the ground and they are trying it and the lads can realise it. So we have not to give in.

I think a lot of the staff here understand why I'm here, and what for. But unfortunately they are in the sort of job, where, when they pick up their keys at the gate, they have to leave their consciences there as well.

When you first come into prison you resent it a bit: 'Fancy being able to discard your conscience.' But, after a little while, it becomes self-evident to you that if they didn't leave their consciences at the gate they would soon end up unstable in their own minds, because of what they saw and what goes on.

Don't stop fighting because if you do they have not finished with you yet. Your only chance is to fight. If you lay down they are going to come down and finish you.

I have had letters from all over the world — New Zealand, America — all over Europe, all over England, Scotland and Wales. And they are all saying the same thing: 'You won't be forgotten.' Especially on the Christ-

mas cards, that message comes through time and time again and some of the letters from friends, from my own community, have helped me to have a greater understanding of myself. Because I don't think I have ever really had time to sit down and consider what I am. And these letters that have come from home have shown me that, even as an individual, I matter. I'm important to somebody and that's important to me.



I think that what's important is the trade union movement, the way it's going. And I'm not too pleased at what's going on at the top.

Everyone is trying to help, not just me, but all the miners. I should like to thank all those who have helped us and all I can say is that I will never desert you, because I know who I am and where I come from and where I belong and that's with the working people in this country and they are the finest people in the world.

There was an unemployed Sikh who had £5 left out of his dole money and he walked three miles to hand that £5 in, rather than take the bus and split into it. How can you quit when people do that?

We suffered, I know, but at the time of that suffering we gained something that money, or going to lectures, could never teach you.

I don't know who said it, but there is no substitute for struggle and that really is the truth. You get such an awareness of what is going on and you live history.

I do appreciate what people are doing and hope I can repay it one day.

Syd Wilkin

AT 14 YEARS of age, in 1923, I went to work down the pit. It was soon after the Maltby pit disaster, when 28 men lost their lives. In the first three months I was there, one of the lads I was working with was run over by a tub and was killed; I was the first to find him.

They sent me pony driving with a pony that was wild (a lot of ponies were wild). My pony got killed; it might have killed me. The management did not care two hoots about children or adults safety; they were serving the private owners.

The unions were always fighting to improve safety. But it was not until we had a national union and the pits were nationalised that we saw any improvement in conditions and safety.

I remember Cresford, when 365 miners lost their lives and they put it down to an act of god. There was Markham Main and other cage disasters; there were frequent ac-

cidents on the paddy-mail, often with people losing their lives. Miners deserve better treatment than this.

Throughout the 1984-5 strike they struggled, not for more money, but to preserve jobs — as they had fought all their lives to make the pits safer for all those who work in them, including the management. Those miners who were sacked in the aftermath of the strike also deserve better treatment. They are not criminals.

The miners' leaders who were sacked after the 1926 lock-out did not get their victimisation lifted until 1946. Does the management intend to give these sacked miners the same treatment, in 1986? Most of these miners have only trivial offences against them.

If the managers have any compassion left in them they should reinstate these miners. They have suffered enough. Stop dividing the miners and let us get back peace in the mines.

I WANT to analyse the place that American capitalism assigns to European radicals and Mensheviks, the Social Democracy of Europe... The Social Democracy has been issued an assignment — and I do not at all say this for polemical purposes — to render political aid to American capitalism in placing Europe on ration.

What is the Social Democracy of Germany, of France now actually doing? What are the Socialists throughout Europe doing? Let us study this closely and ponder over it.

They are now educating themselves and they are trying to instill in the working masses the religion of Americanism.

European

They are teaching, or trying to teach, the toiling masses that Europe cannot maintain herself without the pacifying role of American capitalism and its loans. They are leading the opposition to their own bourgeoisie, as, for example, do the German social patriots — an opposition not from the standpoint of the proletarian revolution, nor from the standpoint of some sort of reforms, but from the standpoint of exposing the German bourgeoisie as intemperate, greedy, chauvinistic and incapable of reaching an agreement with the humane, democratic, pacifist capitalism of America.

This is now the central question of the political life of Europe, and especially of Germany. In other words, the European social democracy is becoming, before our very eyes, the political agency of American capitalism.

Is this development expected or unexpected? If we recall — and it is hardly a case that calls for recollection — that the Social Democracy is the agency of the bourgeoisie, it will become clear that the social democracy, by the logic of its political degeneration, is bound to become the agency of the strongest and most powerful bourgeoisie, the bourgeoisie of bourgeoisies. This is the American bourgeoisie.

To the extent that American capitalism undertakes the task of 'unifying' Europe, 'pacifying' Europe and 'educating' Europe how to cope with the questions of reparations, and so on, and to the extent that the purse is in the hands of the American bourgeoisie, to that extent the entire dependence of the German Social Democracy upon the German bourgeoisie, and of the French Social Democracy upon their own bourgeoisie in France is gradually transferred to the chief master.

American

Yes, a great master has come to Europe, American capitalism. And it is only natural that the social democracy should assume a position politically dependent on the master of its masters. This is the basic fact for understanding the present condition and the present policy of the Second International. Those who do not grasp this clearly will fail to understand the events of today and of tomorrow and will keep sliding on the surface, subsisting on generalities.

More than that: one service deserves another! The social democracy prepares the soil for American capitalism; it runs ahead of the chariot, talks of the salutary role of American capitalism, sweeps the road, cleans away the rubbish, bestows blessings. This is not unimportant work!

Imperialism is accustomed to sending missionaries ahead. The savages in the colonies usually shot the priest, and sometimes ate him. Then the warrior was sent to avenge the saintly one, and hard on the heels of the warrior came the merchant and the administrator.

In order to colonise Europe, to transform the latter into an American dominion of a new type, American capitalism has no need of sending priest-missionaries to Europe. On the spot, on the European continent, there is a political party whose entire

Euro-Tories and Euro-Socialists

THE HESELTINE affair has shown the violence with which inter-imperialist competition can affect and reshape ruling class politics. Less clearly understood on the left however is the way in which *working class* politics is shaped by the relation and competition between the imperialist powers.

It has been relations with the United States in particular which have been the key international development shaping the politics of the European social democratic parties. This is perceptively discussed in the following article by Trotsky.

The social democratic parties, Trotsky explains, look to deriving benefits from the imperialist powers. The colossal economic power of the United States after World War I led the European social democratic parties to a pro-American position — counterposing an alliance with the United States to the policy of their own bourgeoisies.

A similar development took place after World War II when the United States pumped aid into Western Europe, through the Marshall Plan and by other means. Social democratic leaders such as Gaitskill looked directly to an alliance with the United States — and US presidents such as Truman, Eisenhower and

Kennedy — in the way that inter-war social democratic leaders such as Renaudel, Blum, Noske looked to US presidents such as Woodrow Wilson and Calvin Coolidge. The US equivalent of Marshall Aid after World War I was the Dawes plan to which Trotsky also refers.

But with the relative decline of the economic power of the United States from the 1960s onwards — its move from aiding European imperialist powers to striking blows against them — so also the politics of the social democrats began to shift.

Kennedy was the last American president to enjoy mass popular support in western Europe. As inter-imperialist competition between the Common Market and the United States intensified, a new series of social democratic leaders — Craxi in Italy, Gonzales in Spain, Kinnock in Britain, and in a more complicated way, Mitterrand in France — began to look towards the EEC, and not the United States, for their base of support.

These leaders found it useful to don a cloak of 'anti-Americanism' to gain popular support. By these means they prepared the increased subordination of the West European working classes to the West European ruling classes. In a number of cases this involved direct coalition with pro-EEC ruling class parties.



Trotsky

The 'Euro-Tories' of the type of Owen, Steel, and others found their equivalent in the 'Euro-socialists' of Craxi or Gonzales.

The following article, from a speech given by Trotsky in 1923 entitled *Perspectives of the European Revolution*, graphically illustrates the mechanisms by which inter-imperialist competition shapes not only ruling class but also working class politics.



task consists in proclaiming to the people the gospel according to Woodrow Wilson, the evangel according to Calvin Coolidge, the holy writings of the New York and Chicago stock markets. This is precisely the mission of present-day Menshevism.

But, I repeat, one service deserves another! The Mensheviks gain not a little thereby. As a matter of fact, the German Social Democracy not so long ago had to assume the direct armed defence of its own bourgeoisie, the same bourgeoisie that marched shoulder to shoulder with the fascists. Noske is, after all, the figure that symbolises the postwar policy of the



Kinnock

Mitterrand

Owen

German Social Democracy.

And today? Today it has a different role. Today the German Social Democracy permits itself the luxury of being in an opposition. It criticises its own bourgeoisie and thereby keeps a certain distance between itself and the parties of capitalism.

How does it criticise its own bourgeoisie? It says: You are self-seeking, dull-witted, cunning, but here is a bourgeoisie on the other side of the Atlantic which is, first of all, rich and powerful; secondly, it is humane, reformist and pacifist, and it has again come to us and wants to give 800 million marks cash in order to restore the currency.

And this sounds very well in Germany — the gold mark! But you, the German bourgeoisie, are obstreperous. After you have pulled our dear fatherland up to its ears in the swamp of poverty, how dare you be so stubborn before the American bourgeoisie? Why, we shall expose you mercilessly in the eyes of the popular masses of Germany!

This is spoken almost in the tones of a revolutionary tribune... in defense of the American bourgeoisie. This is the paradox of the German Social Democratic Party.

The same thing applies to France. Of course, in consonance with the political situation in France, and in consonance with the more respectable reputation of the French franc, everything in this country takes place on the sly and in modulated tones. But essentially the same thing is being done there too. The party of Leon Blum, Renaudel and Jean Longuet bears full responsibility for the Versailles Peace and for the occupation of the Ruhr territory.

After all, as we all know, it is already incontestable today that the Herriot government, supported by the Socialists, stands for maintaining the occupation of the Ruhr. But now the French Socialists are enabled to say to their ally Herriot: 'The Americans are demanding that you clear the Ruhr under such and such conditions; do it... We, too, de-

mand it now.'

They are demanding this not through the will and strength of the French proletariat, but in the name of subjecting the French bourgeoisie to the will of the American bourgeoisie. It ought not to be forgotten that the French bourgeoisie owes 3,700 million dollars to the American bourgeoisie. This means something!

America can topple the French franc any time it so pleases. Of course, the American bourgeoisie will not encroach on the franc. Oh, no! After all, the American bourgeoisie has come to Europe to restore order and not to bring ruin. It will not encroach... but it can encroach, if it so wishes. Everything is in its hands.

For this reason, against the background of this debt of almost four billion dollars, the arguments of Renaudel, Blum and others have a rather convincing ring in the ears of the French bourgeoisie. At the same time the Social Democracy in Germany, France and the other countries is enabled to oppose its own bourgeoisie, to carry on 'oppositionist' policies on some concrete questions, and thereby regain the confidence of a certain section of the working class.

Menshevism

Nor is this all. Certain possibilities of joint 'actions' are opened up for the Menshevik parties of the various countries of Europe. The Social Democracy of Europe already represents a rather harmonious chorus. In some respects this is a new fact. For ten years — since the beginning of the imperialist war — it has had no opportunity for presenting a common front. Now this possibility exists and the Mensheviks have now come forward as a solid chorus, supporting America, supporting her programme, her demands, her pacifism, her great mission. And here we come to the question of the Second International in Europe.

Here is the key and explanation for certain signs of life in this semicorpse. The Second International, like the Amsterdam Trade Union International, is being reestablished. Of course, not in the same form as before the war. The past cannot be resurrected; old strength is gone beyond return. The Communist International cannot be obliterated.

Nonetheless, with this damaged spine, they are seeking to rise on American crutches, straightening themselves up as best they can. The change that is taking place must be appraised to its fullest extent, comrades.

During the imperialist war, the German Social Democracy remained most closely and quite openly tied to its own bourgeoisie, its own military machine. The French Social Democracy, to its own. What kind of International could there be so long as they savagely fought each other? There was no possibility whatever for maintaining a mask of internationalism, or even a shadow of it.

Peace

In the epoch of the drafting of the peace, the same situation existed. The Versailles Peace represented simply the seal set upon the results of the imperialist war on diplomatic paper. Where was there room for solidarity? The situation remained essentially the same in the period of the Ruhr occupation. But now great American capitalism comes to Europe and it says: Here is a plan of reparations for you, Messrs. Mensheviks!

And the Social Democracy accepts this program as the basis for its entire activity. This new program united the Social Democracy of France, Germany, England, Holland and Switzerland.

Once again we see here the same paradox: when American capitalism launches into outright brigandage, it is fully enabled to step to the fore in the guise of an organiser and pacifier, as some sort of humanistic, historical principle. And in passing, it creates a platform for the Social Democracy far superior to the latter's nationalistic platform of yesterday...

International

Gorbachev proposes ban on nukes

LAST WEEK Soviet premier Mikhail Gorbachev proposed, on behalf of the USSR, a concrete plan for the abolition of all nuclear weapons. CAROL TURNER looks at what lies behind this development and the reaction of the United States.

AT the end of the US-Soviet arms talks last November, a statement from both sides promised to speed up the Geneva talks with the aim of 'preventing an arms race in space and to terminate it on earth'. The new proposal from Gorbachev, made on the eve of the reopening of the Geneva talks last week, is a concrete step towards just that.

Gorbachev's statement outlined a three-stage plan to eliminate all nuclear weapons by the year 2000. It also contains proposals to extend the 1963 test ban treaty to include underground tests which are not covered by the Moscow treaty.

Meanwhile, the Soviet Union has announced a three-month extension of its unilateral freeze on nuclear testing, which has been in operation for six months and was due to end at the beginning of this year. Invited to participate, with a view to a bilateral further extension of the freeze, president Reagan declined. He had no option however but to welcome the new USSR proposals as 'a helpful further step'.

But the *Financial Times*' US editor reported last Saturday that the Reagan administration admitted 'confusion' over

the statement. 'They confessed to having been taken aback by the unexpected Soviet move and said that it indicated a new, more active negotiating stance by Mr Gorbachev, to which the US would have to react more imaginatively than in the past.'

The rate at which missiles would be eliminated under the three stages outlined in the Soviet statement is:

Stage one: 'Within the next 5-8 years the USSR and the USA will reduce by one half the nuclear arms that can reach each other's territory. On the remaining delivery vehicles of this kind each side will retain no more than 6000 warheads.'

This stage will also include the adoption and implementation of the decision on complete elimination of intermediate ballistic and cruise missiles as 'a first step towards ridding the European continent of nuclear weapons'.

Stage Two: This would begin no later than 1900 and would last for 5-7 years. The US and USSR reductions agreed under Stage One would continue, while 'other nuclear powers will begin to engage in nuclear disarmament', starting by an



At Geneva: 'a difference in stance'

agreement 'to freeze all their nuclear arms and not to have them in the territories of other countries'.

All nuclear powers would 'eliminate their tactical nuclear arms, namely upto 1000 kilometers'. Additionally, there would be a ban on the development of non-nuclear weapons with comparative destructive capability.

Stage Three: This would begin by 1995, completing the elimination of all remaining nuclear weapons. Delivery weapons would be dismantled and destroyed.

'By the end of 1999 there will be no nuclear weapons on earth. A universal accord will be drawn up that such weapons should never again come into being.' On-site inspections would verify this.

The United States and the Soviet Union have already tabled proposals to reduce their nuclear arsenals by 50 per cent. But while the USSR has been adamant that Star Wars research must also stop, the US is equally determined that it will not.

Even the 50 per cent reduction proposals are not as straight-forward as they might seem. There are different ways of com-

puting the total arsenal and therefore of arriving at a reduction figure.

But, in reality, the Strategic Defence Initiative (SDI) is likely to remain the stumbling block to any real progress to nuclear disarmament in the near future. The new Soviet statement continues to make clear the centrality of Star Wars.

On the Stage One proposals, it says: 'Such a reduction is possible only if the USSR and the USA mutually renounce the development, testing, and deployment of space strike weapons.' While under Stage Two: 'prohibition of space strike weapons would have to become multilateral, with the mandatory participation of major industrial powers in it.'

The same *Financial Times* report suggests that Gorbachev's statement opens 'the possibility of a compromise' on Star Wars. The ban on development, testing and deployment, it suggests, makes no mention of research. As SDI is only in a research phase, there is: 'some optimism in Washington that Mr Gorbachev might have eased the way to an agreement on intermediate-range missiles.'

This position is a con. It has more to do with the

'imaginative' reaction that the *Financial Times* calls on the US to make in response to Gorbachev than it does with real steps towards ridding the world of nuclear death weapons.

But such steps, after all, are not the purpose of United States negotiations. Reagan's determination to press ahead with Star Wars shows that the real object of the US exercise is to gain a decisive nuclear advantage over the Soviet Union. The only deal that Washington is prepared to make is one which meets that objective.

The United States has been responsible for every initiative on the build-up of nuclear weapons since World War II. The Gorbachev proposals, and the US's reaction to them, show once again the difference between their two stances.

Whatever the USSR's leadership's record on other issues, there can be little doubt that they consider the best interests of their economy, and even of the Soviet bureaucracy, are served by the deceleration and eventual elimination of the nuclear arms race. The Gorbachev proposals are to be welcomed as a genuine step towards freeing the world of the threat of nuclear annihilation.



Hiroshima after the bomb

WORLD IN ACTION

Guatemala:

Guatemala's out-going military junta have declared a general amnesty for themselves. Hours before Mr Vinicio Cerezo took over as the country's first civilian president in 16 years last Wednesday, Chief of State General Oscar Humberto Mejia Victores signed a decree authorising: 'a general amnesty for all persons responsible for ... or connected with political or common crimes committed between 23 March 1982 and 14 January 1986.'

Lawyers say that though in theory the amnesty could apply to the guerillas, the decree, which precisely covers the junta's period in power, was 'clearly intended to cover any personnel involved in human rights abuses.'

In his inaugural speech Cerezo hinted that he might disband police death squads but pointedly refrained from saying anything about the army's notorious G-2 unit, considered responsible for a major part of the junta's state terror.

West Germany:

West Germany's cabinet has approved a new anti-strike law, which it wants to pass this year against strong union resistance. The law will withdraw state benefits from workers laid off because of strike action by their union elsewhere in the country.

The government claims it is merely 'clarifying the interpretation' of the existing law, under which I-G Metall members successfully sued the Nuremberg Labour authority during the 1984 35-hour week strike campaign. The authority had tried to withhold benefits from motor industry workers who were laid off after I-G Metall called selective strikes in components factories, successfully shutting down the industry.

Last month around 1 million German workers took part in strikes, illegal under the German constitution, against the proposed law.



Food mountain:

Europe's food mountain trebled during the Ethiopian famine, according to a European Commission report issued last week. By September 1985 European food stores held 17 million tonnes of cereals, 80,000 tonnes of beef and one million tonnes of butter: enough to feed 30 million people for a year.

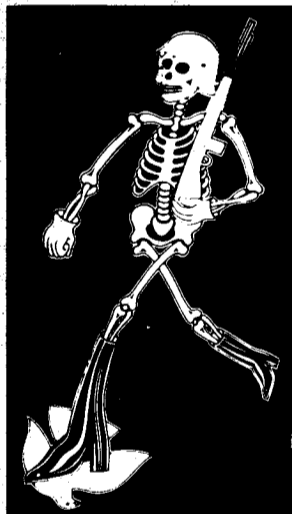
EEC officials expressed concern that the large surpluses will depress market prices.

Denmark:

The Danish minority coalition government thinks it will not win a majority in the Danish parliament for the package of EEC reforms agreed in Luxembourg last month. The country faces a constitutional crisis and the government may be forced to call a referendum on the issue.

The reform package would speed up European integration by introducing majority voting in the EEC Commission, which means that individual countries could, in theory, be prevented from vetoing measures they do not agree with.

The government's problem is that it needs the support of the Social Democrats, who are not in the coalition, to win the parliamentary vote. But the Social Democrats are facing a groundswell of anti-EEC feeling in their membership, and see the anti-EEC and anti-NATO Socialist People's Party as a growing threat on their left. The latter's support has risen from 11 per cent to 15 per cent since 1984.



Europe without the bomb?

A Socialist Action pamphlet which analyses the emergent trends in European defence and the role of the anti-missiles movement during the last half decade. Price 50p (plus 20p postage), the pamphlet is available from PO Box 50, London N1 2XP.

Civil war in Aden

'RETURN OF the great British hero', trumpeted the *Daily Mirror* when ex-copper Peter White, 'a 6ft 3in John Bull figure', escorted evacuees onto the Queen's yacht and out of Aden last week. The fighting in South Yemen has been presented as a crazed blood bath.

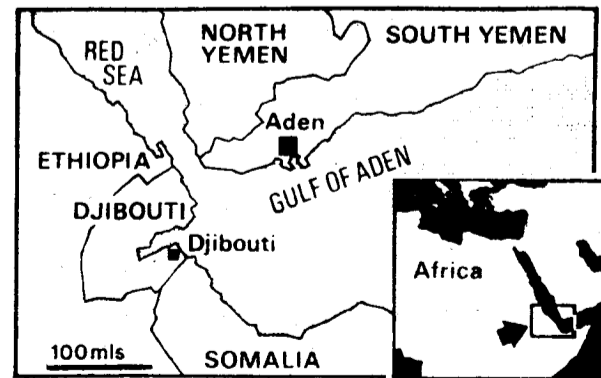
The *Mirror* forgot to mention what Peter White's 'heroic' predecessors did.

Britain seized the territory of South Yemen in the middle of the last century. It carried out an occupation against the local people for 139 years without putting a penny into the country's development. The territory was important because of the strategic situation of the Port of Aden at the entrance to the Red Sea.

During the 1960s Aden became a by-word for torture and British brutality.

When the People's Democratic Republic of South Yemen was finally liberated by the National Liberation Front in 1967, it was one of the poorest countries of the region.

The tensions which led to the open armed struggle, between rival factions led by President Ali Nasser Mohammed and former Socialist Party secretary Abdul Fattah Ismail, were not concerned with foreign policy. Both sides profess loyalty to the USSR, though Ali Nasser leant more towards friendly relations with the



Yemeni Arab Republic to the North, and with the other conservative oil states of the region.

The core of the dispute lies in internal policy. Ismail stood for a hard line against private agriculture. But the issues have spilled over into the structure and

privileges of the state apparatus. Differences came to a head in the debate over the Five Year Plan, due to start this month.

Ali Nasser has been introducing agricultural reforms aimed at increasing the autonomy of the private peasant. The

brakes have been put on forced collectivisation, and peasants are being given individual titles to their land and more control over the sale of their produce.

The reforms have eroded the privileges of those in charge of the co-operatives and who oversee the agricultural programme — strong supporters of Ismail. After five years of soviet exile 'for health reasons', he returned to the country and to the Political Bureau of the Yemeni Socialist Party where he obviously built up a faction among the disaffected layers of the state.

The chaos in South Yemen is a severe blow for the USSR as the South Yemeni government is the Soviet Union's closest ally in the region.

Reviews

Part of my soul

NECESSARILY AN autobiography of Winnie Mandela, whether it be conventional or unconventional, is bound to attract attention. First and foremost because of the role she and her family is occupying in the national liberation struggle of the black people. Secondly because Winnie herself, Winnie the person, has been in the thick of it, giving part of her soul no less than anyone else. Lastly, she is the first black woman to have broken the neck of a policeman singlehanded.

The book is basically about Winnie as she lives the life of an 'adult Bantu female' as the government documents say. It is made up of interviews with Anne Benjamin — who edited the manuscript — the letters from Nelson Mandela to Winnie, the tributes from Winnie's friends, such as Dr Manus Buthezi, Dr Motlana, Rita Ndzanga and others in the struggle.

The first interview is about her forcible eviction from her home in Orlando in Soweto to Brandfort, a small town in the Orange Free State, where apparently the Boer population has yet to realise that we are in the twentieth century and that Paul Kruger has long died. The police did their job first before dumping her there with the hope that she'd forge be forgotten. They told the blacks there that the 'Communist' they were dumping at their doorstep should not be greeted or talked to, let alone have children go to her house.

The exact opposite happened. It did not take long for the blacks to know who she was, what she was all about. They helped her, took part in the schemes she organised to combat malnutrition, and, to crown it all, reported to Winnie what the police were paying those of them who were forced to inform on her.

This, and much more, is vividly explained in the book.

She also speaks about her childhood, the circumstances of her nine-member family which quickly, like so many black families, becomes a single parent family, the things she learned, heard and observed. The way she talks about this life is genuine and real.

'I became aware at an early stage that the whites felt superior to us. And could see how shabby my father looked in comparison to the white teachers. That hurts your pride when you are a child...'

The life itself is ordinary. Her all-round development, finding herself in the ANC and getting married to the nation as she is, is told with true to life passion. Here too the story is ordinary and typical. Ordinary because millions of black women daily live that same life of police harassment, separation, humiliation under apartheid which Winnie so ably talks about.

'Detention means that midnight knock when all about you is quiet. It means those blinding torches shone simultaneously through every window of your house before the door is kicked open. It means the exclusive right

the security branch have to read each and every letter in the house. It means paging through each and every book on your shelves, lifting carpets, looking under beds, lifting sleeping children from mattresses and looking under the sheets. It means tasting your sugar, your meal-meal and every spice on your kitchen shelf. Unpacking all your clothing and going through each in pocket.

BOOKS



'Ultimately it means your seizure at dawn, dragged away from little children screaming and clinging to your skirt, imploring the white man dragging mummy away to leave her alone.'

And yet Winnie Mandela's book must be read by all black women precisely for having nothing out of the ordinary about it. For being a typical life of black women under apartheid.

The South African black woman, whether she is fighting with the police in their mass removal campaign, whether she is protesting her right to sell Magwinya (fat cakes) at the street corner, fighting the so-called madams in their kitchens or their husbands in their factories or their relatives in the farms, in the Bantustans the black woman is forced, like Winnie, to fight back.

Winnie's description of how she grew politically fits lots of women who are daily resisting the Boers who strip them and try to poke their fingers into their genitals. In this way the book merely articulates the experiences of black women. The book is



bound to inspire even more Winnie Mandelas to come forward.

What is out of the ordinary about the book is the extent to which Comrade Nelson Mandela is dedicated to the struggle of the African people. Winnie writes fondly of him, and rightly points out that they have never had a married life together.

Like so many blacks widowed by the hangman, the bullet of the police or the soldier, influx control and the prisons, she knows who is responsible. Reading the letters by Comrade Mandela to Winnie, his children and those for the nation, in comparison, I venture to say the passion, the feeling and bond of affection is the same. He is our man, the man of the nation.

Finally, if this is not a powerful indictment against apartheid, nothing will be.

Winnie Mandela, Part of My Soul, Penguin, London, 1985, £2.95.

Defence of the realm: a dark thriller

AT ONE POINT in this film, *Defence of the Realm*, seasoned hack Neville Bayliss says to the hero reporter: 'It's a free country isn't it?' No answer was the stern reply. The events that follow provide a response to the question in the negative.

'Hero' Nick Mullen is a reporter working for the *Daily Dispatch*. Mullen exposes a sex-spy scandal involving Dennis Markham, a Labour MP and a former defence minister, and a KGB agent named Kleist.

Reviewed by Terry Luke

With only circumstantial evidence and words of warning from Bayliss, Mullen nonetheless determines to probe further. When the story breaks big Markham resigns his seat in parliament.

Bayliss reacts by taking to more drink than usual and hints at a frame-up involving the Special Branch. Shortly afterwards he is found dead in his flat of a 'heart attack'.

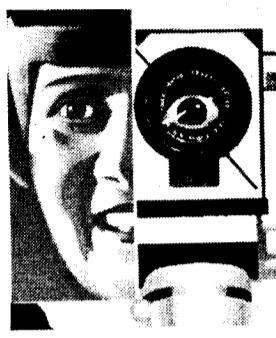
Mullen is motivated to investigate further and enlists the aid of Markham's secretary Nina Hackman. As the investigation proceeds, the truth becomes clearer.

Mullen is lead to the inevitable conclusion that the Markham affair has been used as a cover-up for a major state secret involving, among other things, the nuclear power industry. It also involves the proprietor of his own newspaper.

Despite minor flaws in editing, and a beginning that gives away the fact that there's more to what follows than meets the eye, this is a gripping thriller. In some respects it compares with the brilliant BBC series *The Edge of Darkness*.

Whether it's viewed as a liberal film exposing the worst excesses of a democratic state, or a radical one exposing the state for what it is, the result is very effective.

CINEMA



The performances, from Hackman to the slob reporter, are of the highest standard. Special praise must go for the portrayal of Bayliss — the veteran reporter with a left wing past who 'quit the party in '56' — and to the fine Irish actor Gabriel Byrne as Mullen. (Doubtless as his reputation grows the media will start calling him British!)

It's a dark film in more ways than one. Without wishing to resort to clichés, the terms Orwellian and Kafkaesque apply. One scene in particular, where Mullen is 'interviewed' by three upper-crust state security men is as chilling — without any physical violence — as the Winston Smith-O'Brien encounters in 1984.

Defence of the Realm not only rubbishes the state and the Street of Shame, but with the help of a very good script and cast it does so convincingly. Go and see it.

Defence of the Realm, directed by David Drury, is on London release. At present it is showing at the Odeon Haymarket.

IN THE UNIONS

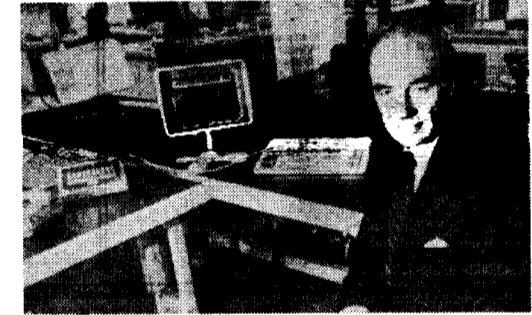
The future of the print unions

WHEN RUPERT Murdoch set New International's £100 million-worth of presses rolling last Saturday he was breaking new ground — for the print industry and the Fleet Street unions, indeed, for the whole trade union movement. He described his decision to open up the Wapping green-field site as: 'a pioneering effort. I have no doubt that others will follow.'

By Annie Brady

Murdoch is a pioneer alright. Many aspects of his ultimatum to the unions are similar to those which other newspaper barons have demanded, and in some cases already forced through. Robert Maxwell's Mirror Group secured a deal at the beginning of this year, creating 2100 redundancies and longer hours and worse conditions for those remaining. He is now carrying through a wave of victimisations. Eddie Shah signed a no-strike deal with the EETPU last July for his new newspaper. He's cut out the print unions altogether.

But Murdoch's demand is a qualitative step which goes beyond any union deal signed in Britain so far. He is attempting to give his no-strike deal the force of law, to make it legally binding. If he is successful not only will unions (and individuals too for that matter) be liable to prosecution if they go into dispute with management, but the implications for every single trade unionist in this country are huge. The EETPU is undermining every trade union by going along with Murdoch.



The production of the *Sunday Times* at Wapping last weekend was the culmination of five years' work and 'intensive negotiations' for Murdoch. Those talks have so far resulted in the employment of a new labour force: electricians on short-term contracts and no involvement of the print unions. But for Murdoch this is the harbinger of the new management-union relationship to come. Already the EETPU is attempting to agree a legally binding no-strike deal for their members, against the pressure of the TUC and the rest of the Fleet Street unions.

Such legal agreements are already in force abroad. The resulting effect on unionisation and trade union power is disastrous. In the US all union contracts are legally enforceable. Most contain elaborate grievance procedures and no-strike clauses of the type the EETPU is prepared to sign. Real wages in the US have not increased since 1966. And the percentage of the workforce which is unionised has dropped from 35 to 19 per cent since the '50s. This compares to almost 50 per cent unionisation here in Britain.

Union agreements are treated in law like civil contracts in France. Here too the percentage unionisation has dropped to almost 19 per cent. In West Germany it is not only illegal to break a union agreement, but also to encourage anyone else to do so. West German unions are the most house-trained in West Europe — and have been since the end of World War II. Now there are new signs of militancy, and new legal sanctions are being devised to match.

To introduce such deals in Britain would fundamentally weaken every union. And that is exactly what Murdoch, with the help of the EETPU leadership, is attempting to do. Even the usually sluggish leadership of the TUC recognises this fact.

Under pressure from the rest of the print unions, and backed up by the miners and railworkers unions, Willis and company are now trying to persuade Hammond to back down.

This is a vital battle for every trade unionist in this country. There must be massive pressure from all unions to stop the Murdoch deal and to support the NGA and SOGAT '82 in their fight. The TUC must back the print unions to the hilt.

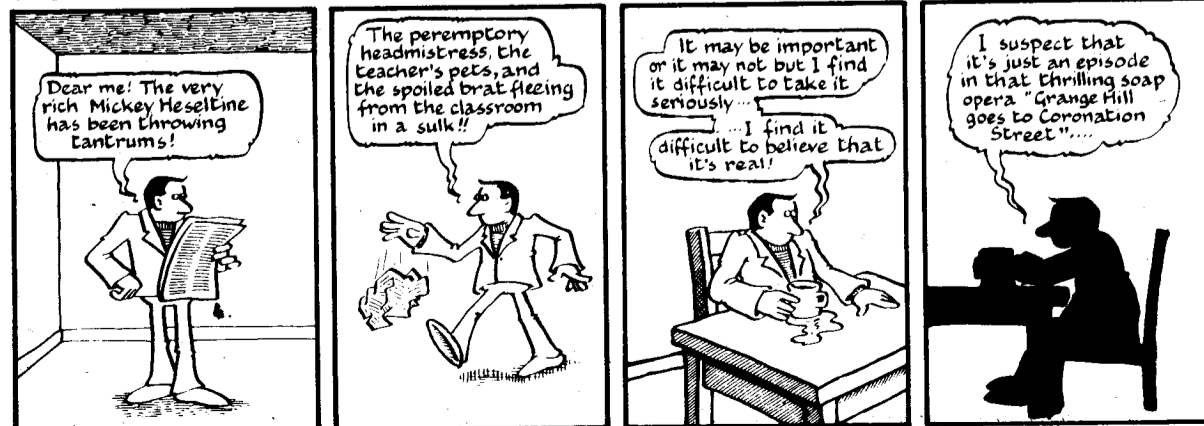
Other Books

The Mandela review is reprinted from Sechaba, the official journal of the African National Congress, December 1985 edition. Single copies, price 50p, annual subscriptions cost £6.00.

Part of My Soul and many other books on South Africa, as well as copies and subscriptions to Sechaba, are available from Other Books. Cheques and postal orders should be made payable to IMRS and sent to PO Box 50, London N1 2XP. If ordering Part of My Soul, an additional 28p should be enclosed to cover postage and packing; payment should be sent with all orders.



A PIECE of the ACTION



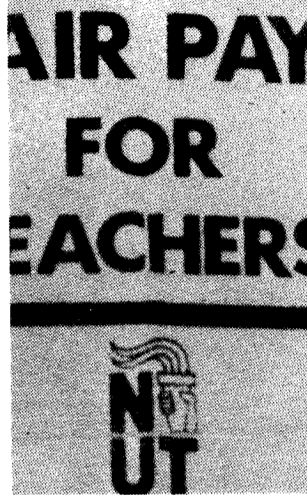
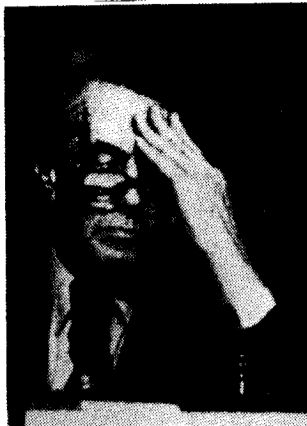
Teachers action on racism

AT THE NUT special conference last weekend, Bradford teachers moved an amendment to the executive motion calling for further strike action over pay.

Bradford teachers are already engaging in unofficial action, ignored by the NUT executive. What the executive haven't chosen to turn a blind eye to, however, is their action in support of the Drummond Parents Action Committee's call for a one-day action against racist head, Mr Honeyford.

Bradford teachers now face NUT disciplinary proceedings over this. This is outrageous. They are supporting a clear NUT policy on racism and multicultural education.

The executive must drop the discipline and give black parents confidence that the NUT will unequivocally support them in their fight against racism and racist attacks in schools.



'Will this never end?'

Support the North Wales slaters

NORTH WALES slate quarry workers are now well into the sixth month of their dispute with the Williams family who own three slate quarries in the Gwynedd area. The workers, TGWU members, struck, refusing to accept a cut in bonus payment, when management introduced computerised cutting equipment and attempted to withdraw the bonus agreement. Their strike is official.

Slate quarries face similar conditions as coal miners. Their work is made hazardous by the possibility of explosions and of landslides, and they are liable to lung complaints caused by dusty conditions. The North Wales workers mine high quality roofing slate. IONA PRICE, secretary of the women's strike support group told JAN WHITEHEAD, herself a member of the Deeside miners support group (personal capacity), what it was all about.

FIFTY-three men at three quarries in Blaenau Ffestiniog came out on strike in August 1985. The dispute started at the Ffestiniog Slate Company when the owner, Mr E Williams, introduced new machinery and a new bonus scheme which effectively meant that although the workers were producing up to 200 slates more per day they were £28.50 worse off at the end of the week.

Slate workers began a work to rule and were soon joined by others from two other more quarries run by the same family. The directors of Cwt-y-Bugail Quarry threatened to lay off the men unless they worked normally. When they refused they were locked out.

Levels of hardship vary from family to family. A toy appeal for Xmas, organised by the women's support group for the strike, was a great success.

Our strike is part of the downward spiral going on across the country. There is a bad unemployment situation in this area. The owners are trying to take advantage of this to impose wage cuts.

They have tried to employ people who are out of work to break the strike. But so far they have failed.

It must be said, however, that nine out of the original 53 strikers

have returned. But the 44 still out are firm.

The most important issue at stake is over 18 sacked men. The owners issued letter of dismissal to those quarrymen in September. The others are refusing to go back until the 18 are reinstated and until loss of bonus payments are sorted out.

The employers have said they will consider, at their discretion, taking them back individually but will not deal with the 18 collectively or on the initiative of the union.

The women's support group held its first meeting in mid-September. One or two of our members have been in a miners support group, but most of the group had never been involved in this way before.

A new layer of people have been drawn into struggle — and the inspiration came from the women's involvement in the miners' strike.

Quarrymen in other parts of North Wales, various branches of the Labour Party and Plaid Cymru, as well as many trade union branches are actively supporting our strike.

The women's support group is appealing for donations. Money and letters of support to, and further information from: Iona Price, 7 Unicorn Terrace, Blaenau Ffestiniog, Gwynedd, Wales.

Teachers call all-out one-day strike

TEACHERS GAVE massive support to the call for a one-day national stoppage and demonstration to be held soon. Almost 2000 delegates at the NUT special conference held at Wembley last Saturday heard Jan Shallice from the Inner London Teachers (ILTA) describe the need for teachers of all unions to show the government that they are serious in their demand for £1200 flat-rate increase in pay and in their struggle to defend state education.

Bernard Reagan from ILTA also spelled out to conference the immediate need to build bridges with

By Pat Tough, Secretary Solihull NUT and delegate to special conference (personal capacity)

other TUC-affiliated unions and unite this campaign.

Keith Joseph, secretary of state for education, who had hoped for an early settlement last November has so far had those hopes dashed due largely to the level of united grass-roots action between members of the two largest unions.

Unlikely

The NUT executive's version of an exodus from the NAS-UWT to the NUT is not only unlikely but would come too late to stop the sell-out they correctly warn us against. Now the NUT is committed to the joint meetings and action with NAS-UWT and NATFHE. As Carole Regan pointed out, the enemy here is Thatcher's government, not Fred Smithies general secretary of the NAS-UWT — although Smithies obviously needs firmly bringing into line with the mood of his membership.

With Conference time allowing just three and a

half hours of debate, only a handful of the 338 amendments to the executive's motion were taken. Of these, not one called for a retreat.

The discussion around an amendment calling for a total boycott of public examinations indicated the mood of many of the delegates. They wanted to step up the action.

Refusal

This amendment was narrowly defeated on the argument that teachers are already too involved in the exam system to be able to create a total boycott. However, the prospect remains of a refusal by NUT members to invigilate summer examinations, when the NUT annual conference in April takes a further debate on the campaign.

Time prevented this debate but certainly the mood again appeared to be in favour of such action.

Amendments on an escalation of unpaid strike action and a regular levy of the membership were lost at conference. Quite clearly these proposals were important in carrying the campaign forward.

Their defeat is a setback. The debate must be continued in the local associations.

Local associations

should put forward motions to executive of this, or consider adopting such action. This will put pressure on the executive to spell out to all members the need to up the action and maintain a strong strike fund.

More than ever alliances must be built. At all levels the union must seek out allies: from within the Labour Party and the trade unions, especially the public sector; and from parents groups, like the All-London Parents Action Group.

Links have to be built on the understanding that the state education service faces a common enemy with a clear vision of what its goals are. Fighting these attacks alone would mean a longer and harder fight.

It's not just teachers in England and Wales who are angry. The Scottish teachers union, EIS, has been engaged in a much longer dispute. Ian McCallman of Glasgow EIS, speaking at a Socialist Teacher fringe meeting at conference, outlined how teachers in Scotland were effectively boycotting curriculum development and examination. Teachers in England, Wales and Scotland are certainly natural allies. They are rapidly developing a clear picture of who their common enemy is.

Labour Party and trade union branches should be urged to pass motions in support of teachers, to invite speakers from local NUT associations to their meetings, and to place demands on Labour councillors to give their total support to the teachers' fight.

UDM defeat in Leicester

THIS FRIDAY Leicester miners will vote in a ballot to decide whether to stay in the National Union of Miners or join the breakaway outfit, the UDM. The vote comes only one week after UDM supporters suffered a severe defeat in the elections for area officials. Pro-NUM candidates won the president and vice president seats by a majority of around 2:1.

Uptil recently the 2200-strong Leicester area has been widely tipped as a UDM strong-hold. In last December's issue of the UDM's paper Terry Hughes, the president

By Carol Turner

defeated in last week's elections, was gloating about the decision to ballot the area membership.

'The choice is obvious,' he said. 'The Union of Democratic Mineworkers is the only way that Leicestershire miners are going to get true democracy and control from the grassroots.'

Judging from the results last week, the choice facing Leicester miners is obvious — and for the same reasons. But it won't be the breakaway they'll be voting for.

The Leicester election results confirm a trend which is now emerging across the coalfields. Far from the swelled ranks that UDM leaders have been trumpeting, support for an organisation so clearly tied to the bosses shirtilails is both limited in numbers and confined to peripheral grades.

For example, in South Derby, the UDM's support comes not from face workers but from the

transport grades. There a majority has already been won back for the National Union of Mineworkers.

In Point of Ayr, North Wales, the UDM vote was derisory: only 68 of the 564 who voted supported the breakaway. After the announcement, the UDM called off an 'inaugural meeting' which was planned to take place a few days after the result was announced.

The NUM won over 88 per cent of the vote in that ballot. A leading NUM spokesperson at the Point of Ayr told Socialist Action: 'It was the biggest turnout ever. And even more encouraging, about 50 more miners have rejoined since the ballot.'

He described the UDM dirty tricks before that ballot: anti-NUM graffiti, anonymous letters, and more. But they didn't work.

'Now we are united,' he said, 'and going forward with a common purpose: to keep the pits open and to dismantle the customs and practices coming from the Coal Board. There's more to join us than divide us.'

These trends are a good omen indeed for the National Union of Mineworkers.

Justice for miners

THE JUSTICE for the Miners Campaign got under way in earnest last week when eight sacked miners arrived at Greenwich Labour Party rooms to start the build-up for the 2 March concert and rally in the Albert Hall.

Geoff Hartnell, a member of the Durham Mechanics from the Tursdale Workshops, himself sacked last May without being allowed to hear the evidence against him, explained: 'There are over 500 of us still sacked and many still in jail. The jailed miners' only crime was defending their jobs and communities.'

'It could have been any of us. They are the heroes and the labour movement should treat them as such.'

Heroes is the title of an LP in aid of the sacked and jailed miners which many well-known groups collaborated to produce. These performers and many supporting acts will be playing at the giant rally and concert to be held on 2

March. Scargill, Benn, Heathfield and Skinner are also speaking.

The miners are working from Greenwich party rooms and staying with local Labour Party members, many of whom put up miners during the strike.

'We are looking for invitations from Labour Party wards and sections, GMCs, trade union branches and anyone who wants to support us or hear our case,' said Geoff. They will be promoting the rally and concert, selling the Heroes LP and raising money for the NUM solidarity fund.

All our readers are urged to arrange for sacked miners to address labour movement meetings between now and 2 March. To contact speakers phone 01: 858 7055 (please note the number has changed from that given before). For the Justice for Miners campaign ring the secretary, Ed Fredenburg, on 01-607 4773, or write to 44 Milner Square, London NI.



Teachers demand more action

Photos: MORNING STAR

Photo: ANDREW WARD (Report)

Socialist Action

Socialist Action needs you

LAST SEPTEMBER, we launched an appeal in Socialist Action for donations to ensure the weekly schedule of our paper. Since then over £8372 has been donated above and beyond our regular income. It has been this generosity from our readers which meant that we were able to maintain weekly publication.

We are now asking our supporters to dig in their pockets once again and help us reach our £15,000 target by Easter. Many supporters have responded to our appeal by donating a weeks wages.

The editorial board led the way on this. Many other supporters have promised this sort of sacrifice, but have not yet taken the plunge.

Most supporters in unions such as the AUEW and NUR have pledged a weeks wages. Where this has not been possible — as with our supporters in the NUM and Women Against Pit Closures — they have thought up money raising schemes.

The supporters of the paper in the NUM have

produced a Socialist Action metal badge for sale as part of their efforts to achieve a £1000 target. If these comrades who had no wages for a year, and some of whom are still victimised can do this, what can our teacher and other supporters raise?

Local supporters groups have been equally imaginative. Some have produced the 'Smash Apartheid' badges, raising so far £1000. Others have produced an anti apartheid T-shirt. Others have produced commemorative Lenin postcards. Our Dumbarton supporters have two gigs coming up for the same purpose.

A regular Socialist Action photographer has donated all his photos for

the duration of the fund drive.

Such initiatives take a lot of collective effort and planning. But it's the sort of thing required if we are to continue our weekly schedule. We are sure all our supporters agree on the role we play in the class struggle.

Socialist Action has tried to draw together the class struggle left that emerged through the miners' strike. Our successful 'Alliance for Socialism' week-end held last November was another step in this. We have helped take the initiative in the fight against the witch-hunt.

Please discuss this appeal. Please organise to raise large sums. And please keep the money coming in.

Money received £

Individuals	4,100.00
Aberdeen	50.00
Birmingham	100.00
Bristol	50.00
Cardiff	150.00
Coventry	0
Edinburgh	0
Glasgow	0
Huddersfield	50.00
Leeds	37.50
Leicester	18.00
Leamington	0
Liverpool	0
Manchester	376.25
Newport	82.00
Nottingham	175.00
Oldham	70.00
Preston	0
S Yorks	545.00
Swansea	0
Swindon	0
E London	1,267.00
N London	661.30
NW London	434.50
OW London	25.00
SE London	45.00
SW London	136.00
TOTAL	8,372.55



The lengths people go to to get a copy of Socialist Action

SUPPORT THE TEACHERS!

NUT demonstration Thursday 23 January

Assemble 1pm Highbury Fields; March to Arsenal football ground

Speakers: Fred Jarvis, NUT General Secretary. June Fisher, NUT Executive member for Inner London



PHOTO: MORNING STAR

Teachers support keeps growing

LAST SATURDAY'S special NUT conference showed the tremendous determination of teachers to fight on for their demands. Voting will start soon in the ballots for two half-day strikes. The special NUT conference voted for a one day all out strike — which will probably take place at the beginning of February.

By Bernard Regan (NUT executive member, personal capacity)

The NUT is rightly boycotting the talks taking place at ACAS where education secretary Sir Keith Joseph is seeking to persuade the other teaching unions to back off from this year's claim. But while the leadership of the National Association of Teachers/Union of Women Teachers are taking part in the ACAS talks, unity in action between NUT and NAS/UWT members has been rising in the campaign. It is vital.

Formation

Another important development in the last week has been the formation of the All London Parents Action Group (ALPAG). This shows continued growing public support for the teachers.



Bernard Regan

The first public meeting of the campaign, on 14 January, was attended by 600 people. It overwhelmingly passed a motion expressing support for the teachers action and criticising the stance taken by the National Confederation of Parent

Teacher Associations (NCPTA).

The NCPTA is composed of bodies that also represent independent private schools. Some Parent Teacher Associations don't belong to the national body while others, like the Cheshire federation have already disassociated themselves from it.

Lockout

The NCPTA threatened to take legal action against teachers. This move echoed Thatcher's call for local authority employers to lock out teachers whose guerrilla strikes were closing schools for long periods.

Front

ALPAG members however took a quite different stance. As one member put it: 'Teachers have been on their own in the front line of defending education for too long. It is time parents entered into the fight against this government's attacks on state education.'

The ALPAG meeting was positive not only in supporting the teachers but also in developing a wider perspective on education itself. Speakers who addressed the meeting included Gus John of the Black Education Movement. Equally positive was the way many parents took up the teachers case at their workplaces and through their own trade unions.

Steps

Teachers in London have already taken steps to link up with the ALPAG, exchanging speakers for their rallies on Thursday 23 January.

It is time that local Labour Party representatives on school governing bodies, and in Education Committees, expressed their support for teachers actions. Contact ALPAG for speakers and information on 01-228 0801 c/o 1st floor, 248 Lavender Hill, London SW11.

● See 'Teachers vote for all out one day strike' p11.

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