

SOCIALIST ORGANISER

FOR WORKERS' LIBERTY EAST AND WEST

BATTLE FOR ORGREAVE

A miner's story of the police riot and the show trial that followed.

*See centre pages.

LABOUR ANTI-UNION LAWS?

Kinnock follows Thatcher



Kinnock: attack

GET RID OF THE QUEEN

By Jack Cleary

Is the Queen one of Mrs Thatcher's biggest critics, albeit a secret one?

Murdoch's scab Sunday Times has published leaks said to come from the highest Buckingham Palace circles which suggest that she is.

Elizabeth II is at loggerheads with Margaret Thatcher over South Africa. As Head of the Commonwealth the Queen finds herself siding with those Commonwealth governments who demand British sanctions against South Africa and against 'Her Majesty's Government'.

More than that, the reports say that the Queen is critical of the Thatcher government all down the line. She thinks the Thatcher government is needlessly divisive.

So the Queen is a Social Democrat, or maybe even a Kinnockite!

Neil Kinnock commented that if Mrs Thatcher disagreed with the Queen it showed she was a woman of 'dubious intelligence'.

Naturally it is good to see the 'Establishment' divided and quarrelling. Anything that helps discredit Thatcher even further is good news.

Yet something more important than gaining an advantage over Thatcher is involved here.

Who is the Queen? She is an unelected, hereditary monarch. Nobody elected her, or her husband or her princely brood.

She is far from being a powerless figurehead. She holds important

More on
the Royals
page 3

BY ERIC HEFFER MP

THE PROPOSALS on new labour legislation which the Labour Party's leaders put to the Party's National Executive Committee last week are very important. They are also very dangerous.

In fact they are very like 'In Place of Strife', the anti-union legislation which Barbara Castle and Harold Wilson tried to bring in back in 1969.

'In Place of Strife' contained some sound proposals, but the main parts of it, like cooling-off periods and state control of the unions, were not acceptable to the labour movement, so we threw it out.

Now when we in the Labour Party are talking about getting rid of the Tories' anti-union legislation, certain leaders want to set up a new tribunal for trade union members and to impose a statutory framework on union balloting. That's direct state interference in the internal affairs of unions. And that's not on.

Disarming

If you say that on all occasions there have got to be ballots before workers take strike action, then you are disarming the workers and the unions by depriving them of the right to respond immediately and vigorously to a given situation. Workers often need to take action immediately.

Actually the new proposals are a step to Thatcherite opinion and a genuflection in the direction of the Tory party. In other words, Mrs Thatcher has moved the ground of the argument on trade union rights far to the right, and some of our people are running to keep up with her.

It's all part of an approach we've

seen and rejected before — Labour leaders try to run capitalism, and therefore the first thing they do is attempt to shackle the unions.

The impression has been given that those of us who are against the new

The Labour Party leadership have produced a new document on trade union law called "New Rights, New Responsibilities". Will Labour end up attacking trade unionists in the way Thatcher and the Tories have? Eric Heffer MP comments.

proposals oppose democracy in the unions. That's untrue. I want to see the widest democracy in the unions, and always have done. I believe that we should elect our trade union officials and that they should not be appointed.

But the method of election has to be determined by the particular union — and, more than that, under no conditions can we allow a union to be controlled by the state or integrated into the state.

And that is what's happening. That is what the new proposals amount to. It is a way of disarming workers in the struggle.

The 'good' parts in Labour's proposed trade union legislation are extensions of trade union rights such as the following: more information would have to be made available to workers, and unions would get certain new rights like the right to union time off,



Members of the Royal Ulster Constabulary turn their plastic bullet guns against Orange demonstrators. This Protestant sectarian force is under tremendous pressure as a result of the Anglo-Irish deal and the scandal surrounding the Stalker affair. Fergus Ennis looks at some of those pressures on page 7. Photo: Martin Shakeshaft.

Turn to page 12

A bad tribunal

At last week's Labour Party NEC the proposal for a National Constitutional Appeals Committee came up.

Tony Benn moves that there was no need for such a change in the constitution, and outlined some general principles for democracy within the Party. This was turned down.

I then moved the CLPD proposals for

an Appeals Tribunal which would be dominated by elected CLP representatives. That was voted down.

Then they set up their so-called Appeals Tribunal, but said it was for 'appeals and disciplinary' matters. So it can initiate disciplinary proceedings — it is judge and jury. And because of this it will involve you in exactly the same arguments that the NEC has faced if anybody goes to the courts.

Also it is overweighted. Kinnock moved seven trade union people on it, and only three from the CLPS. There are two women — and, at the moment, they are voted for by the trade unions. We voted against that. Later it was reduced to five from the trade unions, but it is still overweighted to the trade unions — and that means trade union bureaucrats will get more or less who they want on. So we voted against it.

KILLING COVER-UP

Police scandal in Israel

From the bulletin 'The Other Israel'

Are the Prime Minister of Israel and the all-powerful domestic intelligence service (Shin Bet) — a totally independent agency responsible to the Prime Minister and to him alone — bound by the laws of the country or do they stand above them, accountable to no one even when the crime is murder?

Shin Bet director, Avraham Shalom, is suspected of ordering the murder of two Palestinian prisoners in April 1984 and later covering-up his and the Shin Bet's role in the affair.

The coalition government (Peres, Shamir, Rabin, Sharon, etc) are all opposed to an investigation, for fears that it could generate an explosive political scandal.

Labour-Likud and their leaders are believed to be deeply implicated in the affair. The "it would endanger security" argument, used by the government opposed to an inquiry, should therefore not be taken seriously.

Unable by law to veto Attorney General Yitzhak Zamir's request of the police to begin an official probe (in late May), the removal of Zamir became essential to the government bent on stopping the investigation.

Zamir, backed to the hilt by the entire Israeli legal establishment, most of the press and left-of-centre groups and parties, had spearheaded the demand for the inquiry.

The government led by Peres and Shamir replaced him on June 1 — several days before the inquiry was to begin.

On April 12, 1984 four Palestinian youths from Gaza hijacked an Israeli bus. Two of them, together with an Israeli passenger, were killed when troops stormed the vehicle, and the other two were captured alive. Israeli press photographers who were on the scene took pictures of the captives.

Their evidence contradicted the official communique on the following day saying that all four hijackers had been killed during the assault. Yitzhak Shamir was Prime Minister at the time.

In two subsequent official inquiries, lasting 16 months (April 1984-August 1985) Brigadier-General Yitzhak Mordechai emerged as the chief murder suspect. He had been identified in the pictures leading the captured prisoners.

Mordechai was eventually acquitted of all charges in a short military trial lasting several hours, in August 1985.

In October-November 1985, several months after Mordechai's exoneration, three senior Shin Bet officials (comparable in rank to generals in the army) met Prime Minister Peres who as Prime Minister has sole responsibility for the service.

They told him that Shin Bet director Avraham Shalom ordered the prisoners' execution and that he later covered-up his role by falsifying evidence and suborning witnesses at the two official inquiries. Mordechai was to take the rap for the Shin Bet and its Chief, said the officials.



Llin Golding: victorious, but only just. Photo: Nigel Clapp.

All wrong

By Paul Whetton

Everything that Labour could have done wrong in the Newcastle-under-Lyme by-election, it did. The wrong issues, the wrong candidate. Talk about looking after number one, with Llin Golding succeeding John Golding!

Mistakes

With all the mistakes this government has made and with the way it treats people, Labour should be riding on the crest of a wave now, 10 feet tall. But Labour's majority went down. The

Party leaders should be ashamed of themselves!

Bunglers

If I wasn't so committed to Labour I would have said it serves the bloody sods right if they had lost. But we must get rid of the Tories. The Newcastle-under-Lyme by-election shows that unless we can run the general election campaign differently, the right wing bunglers and trimmers could condemn us to another five years of Thatcher's rule. It's alright for them, sat on an MP's salary — they can afford another five years of Tory misrule.

The working class can't.

ACCOUNTABILITY

LP amendments

All too predictably, some 200 of the most progressive CLPs and trade unions have chosen 'energy policy' as the subject of their conference resolution. Of course, nuclear power is an issue of urgent and vital importance.

Swept up in the wave of emotion created by the Chernobyl disaster, however, many comrades seem to forget that the broad demands in these resolutions are already Labour Party policy. The reason the Shadow Cabinet is equivocating over Labour's nuclear policy is the same reason they have equivocated over so many others — they only accept those conference policies with which they happen to agree.

Model

This is why the main priority for conference amendments must be the subject of 'party franchise'. Unless Labour MPs are kept accountable, the present

PLP is unlikely to implement radical policies on any issue. A quick glance at the resolutions submitted show dozens of resolutions on defence policy and on health care, and large numbers on education and on welfare. However key policy issues — such as public ownership — and key constitutional issues — such as reselection — are notable by their almost complete absence from the resolutions booklet.

Franchise

CLPD have produced model amendments on Party Democracy, Public Ownership, a democratic Appeals Tribunal and Women's Organisation, and are circulating one for the reinstatement of Amir Khan and Kevin Scally.

Details from CLPD, 10 Park Drive, London NW11 7SH. Tel: 01-458 1501.

Deadline for amendment for Labour Party conference — 15 August 1986.

[Abridged from the CLPD column in Campaign Group News, July/August issue.



Union rights

Even before the Tories' laws, trade unionists had fewer legal rights in Britain than in many other countries.

Most parliamentary democratic countries have laws establishing the right to strike as a basic civil right — sometimes with many restrictions, but sometimes, as in France and Italy, quite generally. In Spain, compulsory

ballots before strike action are deemed to be unlawful since they may hinder the individual's right to strike.

The International Labour Office, an organisation embracing both trade unions and governments, lays it down as a basic principle of free trade unionism that the government should not decide how unions choose their officials

and make their decisions.

France and Spain have laws compelling employers to recognise trade unions if they have even a minimal membership in a workplace. In the US, there are laws enabling unions to force workplace ballots on union recognition, and compelling employers to negotiate with recognised unions and provide information to them. French law also obliges employers to negotiate.

In Italy and France the law prevents employers sacking strikers. Danish workers have a legal right to refuse to do strikers' work. Finnish workers cannot be dismissed before their full notice is up if they are complaining that the dismissal is unfair.

In most countries these legal rights go together with many restrictions, both legal and informal, on trade union activity. But British workers can and should fight for the positive rights established elsewhere while rejecting the curbs. (Source: Labour Research)

Supreme Court defines what's legal

US sex

"Any sex act involving the sex organs of one person and the mouth or anus of another" is illegal in the state of Georgia, according to a law ratified by the US Supreme Court on 30 June.

19 other states have similar laws to Georgia, and another five have laws banning only homosexual sodomy.

And on 20 June the Justice Department ruled that any body receiving federal funds can sack workers simply because of 'fear of contagion' of AIDS, even if such fear is irrational or not scientifically justified.

In California an extreme right wing group has got enough signatures to force a state referendum on compulsory AIDS testing of all gays and powers to have AIDS victims quarantined and placed under house arrest.

In fact AIDS can be transmitted only through blood or semen, and it is not an exclusively gay disease. But AIDS hysteria has been used to boost an across-the-board right wing moral backlash.

rades, the main destination for white South African emigrants is not Britain but Australia. The biggest concentration is in South Australia, where the inflow from South Africa has already shifted politics perceptibly to the right.

Thousands of whites quit S. Africa Bailing out

Net emigration from South Africa is running at record levels. 4,800 people left the country in the first four months of this year, and only 2,600 came in.

Fortunately for us, but unfortunately for the Australian com-

Tories' shares in apartheid

Profit motive

Tory MPs have a very personal interest for their opposition to sanctions against South Africa.

According to the Labour Research Department, one in every four Tory MPs — 71 in all — has an investment in companies with South African operations.

The 71 Tory MPs, who include one present cabinet member, and three former members of Thatcher cabinets, hold shares, directorships or advisory positions in 85 companies involved in South Africa.

Three Labour MPs, one SDP member and a Liberal have similar investment.

Top Tories making money out of the exploitation of black South African workers are Northern Ireland Secretary Tom King; ex-Party chair Cecil Parkinson; former Cabinet ministers James Prior and Patrick Jenkin; and ex-Prime Minister Edward Heath.

Almost half of all the donations to the Tory Party from companies

last year had a South African connections. No wonder they are so resolute against sanctions!

The Labour MPs are John Cunningham, Roy Mason and Gordon Oakes.

Chinese factory goes bust

In the red

An instruments factory in Shenyang, north-east China, has gone bankrupt — the first factory in China to do so since 1949.

East European states pursuing market-oriented economic reforms, like Yugoslavia and Hungary, have talked a great deal about letting enterprises go bankrupt if the market so dictates, but have always shied away at the crunch. China's move indicates that the changes there are moving faster.

Like a soap opera

By Tracy Williams

Unless you've been living on Mars for the last few months you won't have escaped the debauch of synthetic patriotism and cynically whipped up royal fervour over the engagement of Fergie and Andy. With their 'Royal Wedding' this week we reach the climax, so to speak.

As usual with these gigantically trivial events, the world has once again gone mad — not just slightly but completely mad.

TV AM ran a contest to find a Fergie lookalike. Naturally I entered because Fergie and I have a lot in common — we're both women for a start, we've got red hair and freckles. Apparently I was a favourite to win but I was let down at the last minute by my scouse accent — shame, eh? I sort of knew there was something different about us but I couldn't quite put my finger on it.

A real family occasion — it's a bit like a sick soap opera only more tedious and boring.

So what do the other Royals think about the match made in heaven?

Nazi

I'm sure Princess Michael has scanned Fergie's family tree hoping to find a nazi so she doesn't feel out of place and of course the richest, most privileged pensioner in the world, the Queen Mum, will be pleased because it means she gets a new handbag.

It could console her about the Commonwealth cracking up. "What a pity. Just when the darling blackmoors were beginning to like it", she said, or so the press reported.

So, why all the Royal media hype? It obviously diverts attention from the more important issues, and there's nothing like a bit of good old imperialist patriotism to make us feel good about a country which treats its inhabitants, among many others, like dirt. And also because it makes money, and lots of it.

Anyway I'm sure you are all really fascinated to know the vital issues behind the royals and because of my connections with the world of television I rang up a few people and got an interview with none other than the princess-to-be. Honest!

"Oh Fergie, you're so lucky" I said, to which she replied: "Lucky? Listen, love, I've been trying for near 15 years to get noticed by that spoilt brat. I've worked damned hard. Luck had nothing to do with it."

We're taking a summer break next week
No. 278 will be dated 7 August.



The YS must be transformed into a lively mass youth movement. Photo: Martin Shakeshaft.

Defend Labour's youth

THE LABOUR Party Young Socialists certainly need reforming. But it is the job of the youth to reform it.

New proposals for the YS launched through the Labour Party's youth sub-committee at its meeting of 15 July include:

- YS age limit to be reduced from 26 to 21.
- Regional YS conferences to be turned into rallies.
- YS conference will no longer elect the youth representative on the Labour Party National Executive (NEC). The NEC member will be selected jointly by the YS and the National Organisation of Labour Students and trade union youth sections.

All this is not an attempt to free the YS from its sectarian, bureaucratic and undemocratic practices. The NEC are not concerned to build an active, campaigning, critical thinking YS. Instead the NEC are attacking the YS as part of their witch-hunt on the whole left in the Party.

Militant are receiving the biggest hammering in this witch-hunt. They are the most visible left group and an easy target. The NEC are using Militant and now the YS, as a chopping block to get rid of some of them, but primarily to create an atmosphere where dissenters are fearful to speak out and too terrified to organise.

Co-existed

The YS is not under this serious threat because it is a real danger to Kinnock and the rest of the Party's hierarchy and bureaucracy. In fact the YS has co-existed more or less amicably with the bureaucracy for the last 15 years. The YS national committee has never gone out, organised new youth and brought them into the Party. Such youth could provide the energy, drive and politics to transform the Party into one which seriously

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fighters for the interests of all the working class.

Instead, under Militant leadership, the YS lives in a self-created ghetto — a sterile environment which guarantees new comers do not come into contact with different political ideas and as a by-product guarantees that the YS is not much of a problem for the Party bureaucrats.

New YS members are not taken into Labour Party branches as a matter of course.

This is why the fight against this part of the witch-hunt is going to be difficult: the YS is not fully integrated into the Party; in some areas YS members are well respected as individual activists,

but as a whole the YS has not earned itself a good reputation with serious Party members.

Uncritical support for Flash Harry in Liverpool, the redundancy notices and the use of the courts to settle labour movement disputes has not endeared the YS to the Party's left. The YS's political hostility to the black sections and feminism and its aloofness to youth movements like the Anti-Nazi League and Youth CND means there is no love lost between the YS and the rest of the Labour left.

But many of these serious activists will defend the YS from the NEC: they recognise a witch-hunt when they see one.

The YS will lose the potential to develop a large body of experienced and independent youth activists if the age limit is axed to 21. And the NEC may plan to give more than just a consultative voice in the YS conference to the (not at all democratic, not very left) 'Democratic Left' who run Labour

Students and to the largely non-existent trade union youth sections, which may well amount to no more than appointees of the union bureaucracy. We need to link up with all those Party activists who refuse to accept such undemocratic changes.

We need a campaign in the run up to Party conference in the CLPs and unions for a no-vote, and pledges that Constituency Parties will still recognise delegates from YS branches who are aged between 21 and 26.

And we must run the campaign honestly.

Very few people will be fooled by assertions that all is well with the YS. We must say loudly and clearly that Militant's stranglehold must be broken — on the basis of drawing new people into the YS — and that the YS structures must be democratised.

This is a job for the youth, not the Party powers-that-be; and we'll call on the left of the Party to help us as and when the youth see fit.

MI5 above the law

Britain's secret police, MI5, can have legal protection when it breaks the law.

A High Court Judge ruled last week that The Observer and The Guardian newspapers should be prevented from reporting on the activities engaged in by MI5.

If these activities were not covered up, said the judge, MI5 would become a 'laughing stock', and other security services might refuse to cooperate with it.

MI5, therefore, is not merely above the law: it is officially and "legally" above the law.

The Observer on 22 June, and the Guardian on 23 June, reported government attempts to prevent publication of the memoirs of a former MI5 officer, Mr Peter Wright, who now lives in Tasmania, has made several allegations.

Plotted

MI5, he says, plotted against the Labour government of Harold Wilson in 1974-6, and used its resources to investigate left-wing groups.

It bugged the French, West German, Greek and Indonesian embassies. It bugged diplomatic conferences at Lancaster House, including the Zimbabwe independence negotiations in 1979.

MI5 plotted to assassinate the Egyptian President Nasser during the 'Suez crisis' of 1956, when Britain, France and Israel invaded Egypt in retaliation for Nasser's nationalisation of the Suez Canal.

This gag on the freedom of the press is as ridiculous as it is outrageous. The allegations have been freely repeated in Australia. The basis for the gag on

the two papers is not even the common invocation of the Official Secrets Act. 'Breach of confidence' is the charge.

What is MI5 for? Official mythology has it that the security 'services' are there to protect British democracy. A secret 'service' is an essential weapon in the defence of freedom.

Yet it is a curious freedom that has to be further eroded in order to be better defended. This latest High Court ruling gives MI5 the right simply to ignore democratic restrictions on its operations.

Last year it hit the headlines with news that it provided the BBC with 'briefs' on industrial disputes and trade union 'subversives'. And, of course, it tried to stop the showing of the 'Real Lives' programme about Northern Ireland.

No doubt this is only the tip of the iceberg. MI5 has plenty to hide. It needs its official secrecy to pursue its essential activities — what it calls the investigation of 'subversives'. Checking up on trade union militants and socialists is the stock-in-trade of the security 'service'.

And this is the secret that MI5 wants to keep. To keep it, it needs the collusion of the government and the legal system. Peter Wright's disclosures show that MI5 often operates against ministerial guidelines.

But what is a public guideline, and what is acknowledged unofficial practice, may not be the same thing. In reality, MI5 is a weapon of the government — and through it of the ruling class — against activists and the labour and other democratic movements.

The High Court judge might well be concerned that MI5 be made a

'laughing stock'. He himself has made a laughing stock of the claim that British law is reliably fair and just.

When the Tories pass anti-working class trade union laws; when they legally penalise local authorities and local councillors; when militants argue for action that takes them outside of the Tory law; what do the Tories say? Obey the law! Law and order must be preserved. It's one law for the working class and another for MI5 and those it serves.

When trade unionists protest at anti-union propaganda in the newspapers and refuse to print it, what do the Tories say? There must be freedom of the press.

The press must be free — so long as it doesn't print the ruling class's dirty secrets.

We have a right to know what MI5 is up to, and what it is really there for.

The labour movement must demand an end to the gag on the press, and a public inquiry into MI5.

SOCIALIST ORGANISER PAMPHLETS

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

'Liverpool: What Went Wrong?' 20p.

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

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

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

trike, 75p.
'Where We Stand', 20p.
'The Broad Lefts: What they Are And What They Must Become', 35p.
'The Fight For Trade Union Democracy', 20p.
'Labour Democracy and the Fight for a Workers' Government', 40p.
'Afghanistan: USSR troops out!', Socialist Forum No. 3, 50p.
'Ireland 1969-85': Socialist Forum No. 2, 50p.
'Labour's misspent Youth': Account of the history of Labour's youth movement, 10p.

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GRAFFITI

Fascists active on Orange parade

Nazis in Ulster

"THE BRITISH Revolution will start in Ulster... The situation in Ulster is fast becoming revolutionary".

No, not some over-romantic leftist, but the fascist National Front.

These Nazis have a fake-left new look, and as part of that they are campaigning for British withdrawal from Ireland... and an independent Ulster.

30 sellers of NF literature turned up on the Orange parade in Belfast on 12 July, advocating an independent Northern Ireland and all out war against Republicans.

The NF have been trying to link up with Loyal-

ists for some years, but so far the leaders of the main Protestant paramilitary group, the UDA, have rebuffed them. The mobilisation

against the Anglo-Irish deal gives the Nazis more water to fish in.

(Information: 'Searchlight', Belfast Newsletter).

Hatton cleared on corruption

No charges

DEREK HATTON — the deputy leader of Liverpool City Council, who has been expelled from the Labour Party for supporting 'Militant' — has been cleared on charges of fiddling his council expenses.

After long investigations into the expenses, which on Hatton's own

account total some £10,000 a year, the Director of Public Prosecutions decided to make no charges.

The Tory press, which gleefully broadcast the news of the investigation, has given no such publicity to the decision to clear Hatton.

Telecom boss doubles his pay

Hive-off and pay-off

PRIVATISATION of British Telecom has meant higher phone charges for most customers. But it has paid off for some.

BT chair George Jefferson has had his pay doubled since 1983-4, from £84,000 to £172,000.

Other bosses of privatised enterprises have also done well. Cable & Wireless boss Eric Sharp has had a rise from £11,000 to £239,000.

Britoil chief Philip Shelbourne has seen his money swell from £65,000 to £106,000. And Jaguar chair John Egan has gone up from £86,000 to £173,000.



Phone engineers demand 35 hour week

Labour for the Stuart Restoration?

King and parliament

"IT WAS a squalid affair, nothing more than the ousting of the lawful king by religious prejudice".

Thus Lord Glenamara speaking in the House of Lords against government plans to support celebrations of the 300th anniversary of England's 'Glorious Revolution' of 1688.

The 'Glorious Revolution' was called 'glorious' mainly because it was not much of a revolution. The ousting of the Stuart dynasty, with its pretensions to absolute rule, and the installation of a new monarchy effectively controlled by parliament,

was engineered by the City merchants without all the business of executing the king, rousing up radicals, Diggers, Levellers, and Ranters, which had come with England's major revolution 40 years before.

Still, it was the die-hard royalists and reactionaries who saw it as 'the ousting of the lawful king by religious prejudice'. Little wonder that their views are repeated 298 years later in the House of Lords, one of the last bastions of feudal mumbo-jumbo?

Maybe — except that Lord Glenamara is Edward Short, a former Labour minister!

Child barred from school

Hard soap

SIX YEAR old Tony Kime had a bar of soap pushed into his mouth by his teacher — and the end result is not any action against the teacher, but Tony being barred from school.

According to the Daily Mirror of 15 July, teacher Elsie Sherratt got angry with Tony after he spat on the classroom floor. Afterwards, Tony's father Norman visited the school to talk to Mrs Sherratt.

Mrs Sherratt tried to leave the room, and Mr Kime fitted a bar of soap into her mouth.

Now Mr Kime has been convicted of assault (though conditionally discharged), and teachers are refusing to have Tony back in school.

More babies outside marriage

ONE BABY in three is conceived outside marriage in Britain today. Often the parents marry before the baby is born, but 19% of babies are born to unmarried parents. The number of 'illegitimate' births has doubled since 1975. Marriage is still as

widespread as ever. But about a third of marriages now end in divorce.

Single parents, however, remain second-class citizens in a society where jobs and state benefits are organised round the 'norm' of the married couple with children.



Solihull schoolkids demo against selective education, 1983. Photo: John Harris

Education debate

THATCHERISM has marked a breakdown of the post-war Labour-Tory consensus on the management of the economy and the old welfare state.

And in education, too, the framework of basic common ground uniting the parties is breaking down.

Two major signs of this have been the encouragement given by the government to fee paying private schools, and the push towards vocationalism.

The state schools are being systematically starved of resources. The result been a growing number of middle class people queuing up for fee paying education.

(TVEI), and other related schemes. This new style of vocationalism is being fostered at a time when massive youth unemployment exposes its futility, but the savage irony won't shame the Tories.

Stimulate

The Tory offensive on these fronts has begun to stimulate thinking on the left as to the future pattern of education. There is increasingly critical scrutiny of the limitations of what has been achieved by successive Labour governments.

Debates on a whole range of matters — gender equality, anti-racism, peace

studies, the schools as campaigning bodies within local communities, the necessity of an integrated educational service, the democratisation of hierarchical institutions, the resourcing of the service, the pay and conditions of teachers — all testify to a renewed interest in education amongst socialists.

Hopefully supporters of Socialist Organiser will regard the paper as a forum in which such issues can be debated as they will certainly become more prominent political issues in the run-up to the general election and beyond.

IAN McCALMAN
Glasgow

Charity

At the same time, there has been a process of differentiation in the comprehensive schools with charity funding helping widen the gap between schools in predominantly middle class areas and those in mainly working class districts.

For working class young people the Tories propose more vocationalism — that is working class kids need to know little more than will prepare them for various sorts of manual work. This is largely implemented through the Manpower Services Commission by means of Youth Training Schemes and Technical, Vocational Education Initiative

Divorce and cash

Last week Fergus Ennis pointed out that the Irish Catholic Church based much of its successful campaign against divorce in the 26 counties on its likely social consequences — on the financial problems of divorced women, for example.

It reminded me of those on the left who argue that alimony is a sort of positive discrimination on behalf of women, which it is right that a divorced man should pay even if it is so financially crippling as to make remarriage or starting a new family impossible

for him.

Some socialists — in the pages of Socialist Organiser, for example — argue that this helps to redress the social balance in favour of women. Personal rights and individual injustice are seen as less important than that.

That may be fine for the rich. But for poor or modestly prosperous people it amounts to a massive bias against divorce and in practice it limits divorce.

Those socialists and feminists are illogical who support the right to divorce but argue that it should be so hemmed around with financial conditions that in effect it is only partial divorce, with much of the economic side of the dead marriage continuing.

Yours,

JOHN THORNE,
Middlesbrough

Were we unfair?

I bought Socialist Organiser for the first time at the West Midlands LPYS Regional Conference some time ago, and had a very interesting talk on the problems of Ireland with the comrade who sold it to me.

Taking part in a very 'lively' debate on Northern Ireland in the conference, I was astounded and disgusted at the position taken by certain 'comrades' towards the Irish question.

In particular I am thinking of those supporting Youth Action.

One of their comrades actually said that he was proud of the fact that the Nationalist movement in Ireland had more power than the labour movement! This I find very hard to take from a 'socialist'.

I am writing because I think Socialist

Organiser is unfair to Militant on Ireland. Militant has never been for an Ulster trade union defence force. Militant has consistently argued for cross-border trade unionism to oppose the sectarian bigots, Green and Orange.

Also, as far as I personally know, a trade union defence force' has never been Militant's "answer to the war", as Marxists realise that only class, cross-border unity against the real class enemy, capitalism — Irish and British — and the victory of socialism, will solve the national question in Ireland. The trade union defence force would be a way of countering capitalist-backed sectarian reprisals.

STEVE REVINS
Stafford

Some months ago SO reported that Mildred Gordon has been selected as Prospective Parliamentary Candidate for Ian Mikardo's East London seat. The report said that Mildred Gordon was deported from the USA during the McCarthyite witch-hunts of the early '50s. Mildred asks us to say that in fact she wasn't deported; she was refused re-entry.

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

What kind of action against apartheid?

Last week Bob Fine looked at the history of the demand for government sanctions against South Africa. While we should support sanctions, he argued, other forms of solidarity can be more effective. This week he looks at the views of South African workers on the issue.

Many international companies are now looking for more secure hunting grounds, but they can clothe this business decision in the respectable garb of abhorrence for apartheid.

As the multinationals leave, so the South African monopolies tend to buy them up at cut-price rates. Thus Anglo-American, the gold-mining giant, bought up most of Ford's and Mazda's car works, and is building its own car industry.

One of the effects of economic crisis and disinvestment has been the concentration of manufacturing industry and the further integration of manufacturing, mining and finance. But this is another story.

For all the huffing and puffing about sanctions, Both's reign of terror has gone unsanctioned by most Western governments. But suppose something could be effectively imposed: what are the arguments for them?

The oft-repeated argument is that black people in South Africa call for sanctions and that we should respond to their call. The ANC has long made this call on behalf of black people in South Africa; but the ANC in my view have shown little regard for black workers.

Blacks have suffered so much, the ANC often argue, that any further suffering caused by sanctions will be of no consequence.

The only significant question is whether sanctions would or would not shorten the life-expectancy of the regime.

Now, it is true that in any strike or political protest, people have to suffer to win. But to what extent have black workers discussed the sanctions issue? The answer, I think, is very little. The ANC is speaking 'on behalf' of black workers, but without any substantial mandate.

Starve

Second, the ANC's call is accompanied by glib rhetoric to the effect that the workers are prepared to starve for a hundred years to overthrow apartheid. The further you are from the factory floor and the wage packet, the easier it is to make this presumption.

But the issue is not only one of suffering, but also of political effectiveness. If the workers starve, then they will never overthrow apartheid. Disinvestment will hit the manufacturing sector hardest, and this is precisely where the main strength of organised labour lies.

There needs to be some perspective as to what black workers are to do when the notice on the factory gate saying: 'factory closed. Capital against apartheid — moved to the Philippines'.

One of the problems is that it has never been spelt out just how sanctions will work. It has, indeed, been defined in quite different ways.

*Are they to pressurise the existing government into reform to avoid civil war and revolution?

*Are they to force the government to negotiate with the ANC for a transfer of power?

*Are they to weaken the government and the state and thus make it easier to



We should link up with the black workers' movement: Transport and General AGM in Soweto

overthrow it from within? Different political forces can all favour sanctions, since they understand the function of sanctions in different

...Glib rhetoric to the effect that the workers are prepared to starve for a hundred years to overthrow apartheid...

erent ways. What is the view of black workers on the front line?

At the Congress of South African Trade Unions' inaugural conference, a resolution was passed giving general support to the disinvestment campaign. It is worth looking carefully at the resolution. It reads as follows:

"This conference believes that all forms of international pressure on the South African government, including disinvestment or the threat of disinvestment is an essential and effective form of pressure on the South Africa regime and we support it.

"Further believes that if this government remains intransigent in its racist, anti-democratic and anti-worker practice, then this pressure will have to increase as an act of solidarity with our struggle for liberation...

"Commits ourselves to ensure that the social wealth of South Africa remains the property of the people of South Africa for the benefit of all, and further commits ourselves to the principle of international working class solidarity action as the most powerful form of solidarity action..."

We see here three main elements:
*Support by the unions for international sanctions as a particular form of pressure on the regime, though the unions fall short of calling for sanctions.

A commitment to the wealth of the multinationals remaining in South Africa.

*A commitment to working class

solidarity as the most powerful form of solidarity.

Pertinent also was the resolution on unemployment which committed COSATU to "defend all jobs threatened by retrenchments" (redundancies) and "fight the closing of the factories in attempts to rationalise production".

Clause 6 of COSATU's constitution calls for COSATU to reinforce and encourage "progressive and international worker contacts".

Alec Erwin, education officer of one of COSATU's forerunners, FOSATU, argued cogently that all the assets of foreign companies belong to the South African workers whose labour has produced and reproduced them. As far as the unions are concerned, the multinationals have no right to withdraw these assets. Erwin seems to support the withdrawal of foreign companies, but not of their assets.

What is to be done with these assets? They could be sold to South African monopolies — as is already happening (though Bishop Tutu has a rather hairbrained scheme to set up a trust to buy up foreign companies).

A further option is to place demands on the South African government to nationalise the multinationals: but I've not seen much evidence of the unions pushing in this direction, unsurprisingly in light of the 'civilised labour' policies pursued by many industries already run by the racist state.

Finally, workers could occupy factories threatened with closure and try to run them, under a system of workers' control as happened in Russia in 1917 and in Italy two years later. For this option to work, however, there would have to be major developments in both the economic and political wings of the workers' movement.

The only alternative to these options is yet more unemployment. So the nearer you get to the workers, the harder the disinvestment issue becomes. It's one thing to espouse disinvestment from London or Lusaka, and another to see the notice on the factory gate declaring the factory closed as a protest against apartheid.

Discussed

It appears from reports in the South African Labour Bulletin that the disinvestment issue was never widely discussed by workers before the COSATU conference.

The resolution was adopted partly due to ANC pressures via the United Democratic Front and its affiliated unions; and partly, I think, simply because the unions had not thought much about the question and were ready to adopt the only political programme at hand — that of the ANC.

Partly this was because the left wing metal union, MAWU, supported disinvestment on the basis of their terrible experience of the British company, BTR, and its anti-labour policies at Sarmacol (where it fired the entire workforce for striking for union recognition). The general feeling was that if this was how foreign companies behaved, better to do without them.

Since then, I've heard, MAWU — recognising the problem of redundancies — has called for a revision of the COSATU resolution, in order to prioritise the clauses on international working class solidarity and opposition to factory closures, before those on sanctions and disinvestment.

As I understand it this was ruled out of order by the COSATU executive, and will have to wait until the next conference.

Hunger

Buthelezi has been mobilising against both the ANC and COSATU on an anti-disinvestment position. 'Jobs not hunger' is Buthelezi's slogan, implying that a vote for COSATU is a vote for unemployment. How much resonance this line has among workers is hard to gauge. Certainly Buthelezi's intention is to lay the blame for unemployment at least in part on the sanctions campaign and the support it gets from the ANC and COSATU.

The main appeal of the sanctions campaign lies in the idea that *something* must be done in the face of apartheid terror. But the fact that sanctions appear to be the only weapon available and that they seem to be exclusive of other forms of action is a tribute to years of lack of imagination and lack of working class perspective induced by

by the ANC and the Anti-Apartheid Movement.

Sanctions have their place, but as a tactic not a fetish. The central problem with sanctions is that in place of pursuing an attack on *capital* initiated by the trade union movement in South Africa, it focuses the attack on apartheid alone, looking on the multinationals almost as potential allies.

The demand is on capital to *disinvest* — rather than grant trade union rights, pay a living wage, or provide liveable conditions. Instead of calling for the socialisation of the ownership of the means of production, it calls for their withdrawal.

The old EEC code of conduct for firms in South Africa is now discredited. Its content was weak, falling a long way short of union demands in South Africa and there was little attempt to enforce it or to punish violators.

However, the code has certain virtues. What if the labour movement here fought for a new code with much tougher provisions generated from the South African unions themselves?

What if the labour movement here liaised with unions in South Africa on the inspection and enforcement of this new labour code?

What if the labour movement pressured the government to adopt and enforce it and to impose sanctions on any company which refused to abide by its conditions?

Links

What if the labour movement here committed itself to active support for unions in South Africa fighting such companies?

These are things we could do beyond putting all our eggs in the sanctions basket.

There are other ways of attacking apartheid than by appealing to capital to do it for you. The great wave of popular solidarity with the struggle against apartheid may be wasted if all its energies are directed into the sanctions campaign. The sanctions campaign is unlikely ever to be effective — given that it is capitalists and capitalist states who are going to have to enforce it.

If it is effective in seriously damaging the South African economy, the political consequences are uncertain in the extreme, unless it is closely linked to the struggle for power in South Africa and to the needs of the black workers' movement.

The sanctions campaign is no substitute for direct links and positive acts of solidarity, including workers' sanctions, with the struggles of workers, women, students and other activists in South Africa. Solidarity with those in struggle must come first.

More on South Africa

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

WORKERS' LIBERTY

Breaking the chains



Black workers and the struggle for liberation in South Africa

The battle of Orgreave

In May and June 1984, the miners' mass pickets outside the Orgreave coking plant were attacked by riot police. The *Battle for Orgreave*, written by striking miner Bernard Jackson, tells the story of those pickets, of the police violence against them and the attempt by the state to frame-up 15 miners on charges of riot.

The review is by Rob Dawber.

Bernard Jackson was one of the first group of miners to stand trial on the charge of riot at Orgreave. The charge carries a possible life sentence.

"The Battle for Orgreave" is his account of what led up to that day — 18 June 1984 — and the trial a year later. During that trial the prosecution's case was exposed as such blatant lying that it was abandoned after 48 days.

What I liked best about Bernard Jackson's book is the way in which many of the lessons to be learned from the strike crop up as part of the narrative rather than as part of a lecture to the reader about the nature of the state, of justice, etc. It is refreshing to see much of what we understand as Marxism expressed in everyday working class language.

Bernard Jackson begins with the prosecution's address on the opening day of the trial: "Members of the jury, the objects I have around me here — this axe, ball bearings, nails, a wooden mallet, this metal bar...". The Prosecutor went on to paint a picture of a beleaguered and battered, but patient and constrained police force facing thousands of miners intent on doing as much damage and violence as possible: "They tore down walls and lamp posts, fences and paving stones. Spears and Molotov cocktails and nail obstacles were used..."

It was all the police could do to try to stop their lines being broken to clear the field at the top side of the plant.

Jackson comments bitterly:

"At the age of 43 I became a rioter — overnight. A bully boy, a thug, a mindless hooligan and an enemy of my own country. I wasn't really aware of the change, in fact I thought I was quite happy as a craftsman miner, as President of Wath NUM and as a governor of two schools with a fourteen year old boy to bring up."

Bernard then goes on to tell something of the strike itself, of picketing at Orgreave and the events of that day, his time in prison, and the restrictions of his bail conditions, designed to keep him from actively participating in the strike.

The strike was three weeks old in



parts of South Yorkshire before it became a national dispute. Management had tried to force changes in meal break times in the pits that make up the Manvers complex, of which Wath is a part, so as to get round the overtime ban. When they tried to implement it at Manvers the men walked out and Wath (whose coal comes out at Manvers) were sent home without pay.

They went for support to the Panels (made up of delegates from each pit in the area) and to the pits themselves. Support was mixed with some ready to go and others hesitant.

Canteen

Notably at Cortonwood the branch secretary threw them out of the canteen to stop them talking to the men! I was told many a time at Wath: "Cortonwood didn't start this strike — but don't print it just yet. It'll all come out after".

Then when the NCB announced the closure of Cortonwood, which had promised nine years of life a few months earlier, no one had any doubts about the scale of pit closures threatened.

Picketing was successful at first: At Creswell in Derbyshire they came out to a man and other teams of pickets had similar results. That was peaceful picketing. There's over a thousand men at Creswell and they were all out, persuaded not by intimidation and violence but by a twenty man picket. But once out they were subjected to the



Orgreave, June 1984. Photo: John Harris.

right-wing undermining of their own leadership and gradually drifted back. So we went back and explained the case again and out they came again."

So the police put a stop to it. "No one will ever know how many police were drafted into the coalfields but the official figure is about fourteen thousand. If anyone has ever had any doubt about the real role of the police the fact that, at the drop of a hat, so many could be removed from their normal duties should have answered them.

Fourteen thousand police taken away from preventing crime and detecting criminals. A striking miner was considered a greater threat to the state than the most ruthless villain. But whose state?"

Picketing became better organised to get round the police roadblocks. The police became more and more vicious.

"The nastiest incident I recall was at Creswell and it will live with me for a long time. Police lifted a very slightly built young lad and searched him. They found what little money he had on him and tore the notes up in front of his face, the small change was flung away into the fields. They then set about him.

"An oldish lady immediately came running out of a nearby house shouting at the top of her voice: 'Leave him alone, he's done nowt.' She had her hand inside her coat and was holding something which looked like a camera.

There was no hesitation. She received a fist straight in the face and went flying backwards over a privet hedge. What she had tried to make look like a camera was a tin of food. She picked herself up and with tears rolling down her face ran back indoors."

On the day of the "riot" itself Bernard was with a small group who stood by a wall as the police charged forward in a three stage manoeuvre to clear the field and force all the miners over a narrow bridge.

Smashed

Bernard was smashed in the face with a riot shield and then dragged by the neck back through police lines. They lashed out as he passed through. A friend was brought in with whom Bernard had been chatting, drinking lemonade and eating biscuits a few minutes earlier. "Now he was bleeding, bruised and in obvious pain."

Apart from the pain his overwhelming feeling was anger. At the media, at the state and also "anger at the men

who should have been supporting us, the Kinnocks and Willises, pompously condemning picket line violence when they had never been on or near a picket line, when openly and arrogantly the state was intent on smashing working class organisations. How dare they pretend to represent, to speak for the working class? History will judge them and it will not forgive easily."

After a long and frustrating wait in police cells Bernard Jackson was remanded to Armley Jail for one week for terrifying Her Majesty's subjects — charged with riot — and breaking his bail conditions of an earlier arrest. The fact that his bail conditions did not bar

involvement because a realisation had dawned on me — the thing I missed most, after my family, was picketing. I was now a non-combattant. I had been removed from the fight."

And Bernard says he learnt a few things: "I'd never met many black or Asian people before, but there were plenty of them in Armley, and they were at the bottom of the pecking order, particularly for the screws. I found them as friendly and supportive as the other men in there, and the question of prejudice took on a new perspective for men.

the problem faced by blacks, inside and outside prison, is one of class not

"Bernard was smashed in the face with a riot shield and then dragged by the neck back through police lines."

him from Orgreave, which was BSC property, was not considered relevant.

He describes the experience of jail, the treatment by the warders, the lousy food, the cold. The only people who showed any warmth on learning he was a miner were the other inmates. "It reminded me of a demonstration which had taken place outside Leicester Police Station when some of the first miners were locked up. The union area leadership asked us to stop the demonstration because of a warning they'd received that the blokes inside would be victimised by the other inmates. I found it hard to believe because the men in Armley made it clear to me that if I wanted them to 'rag-up' they would do so. It would have involved stamping, shouting and banging their mugs on the walls of their cells as a form of protest — about the only form of protest they have."

He describes the desolation, after a visit from a friend: "Although the visit itself was distressing the feeling of emptiness and solitude following it was even more so. I went back to my cell and wrote to Sue, to say the things I couldn't say in the artificial surroundings of a prison visiting room. I wrote to the lads at Wath to maintain my

race. The struggle against racialism and the struggle for socialism are one and the same — of that I'm now convinced.

"And these are the people for whom the government is set on providing more and more prisons. As their policies increasingly produce a society of haves and have-nots, a way has to be found to control the have-nots. It is the prison which does it. For the first time in my life I saw with utter clarity the true role of prisons — they are class institutions."

Out of prison Bernard was free except for the fact that he had to report to the local police station every day before 11 am, stay at home between 10 pm and 8 am and not set foot on NCB, BSC, BR or Dock Board premises. Free?

"What these stringent conditions also meant was that I couldn't go away or take Mark on holiday, even for a weekend. We had to sit in Wombwell and watch the glorious summer slip away, not even sure that it might be the last one I would see for a few years as a free man."

He was only allowed to visit his own pit. He picketed there one night because of false reports that scabs were to be brought in. The police,



Read this book

Written by Bernard Jackson with Tony Wardle. Price £3.95. Available from the Labour Party bookshop, 150 Walworth Road, London SE17.

Orgreave



abused listened to Mr Walsh in his affected accent announce that he had taken instructions.

"Had he taken instructions in how to say 'Hair we gew, hair we gew, hair we gew'?" When he first said that in court I had visions of a thousand miners singing it the way he spoke. I nearly laughed out loud. But then his interests and ours were not and never will be the same. No, he had taken instructions and although the evidence was strong he asked for a verdict of not guilty to be returned."

And all of these, along with the rest of the 150 who followed and had their cases dismissed, had to suffer imprisonment, bail conditions, arrests and beatings and the anguish of a long wait with a possible life sentence at the end before being found not guilty.

Tony Wardle, at the beginning of the book, makes the point that trial by jury is a major civil liberty in this country, and one that is being seriously eroded by stealth. He says we should defend it and the Orgreave trial shows why.

Charges

At the end he asks why the charges were brought against the Orgreave miners and who was responsible for it — noting Thatcher's statements and Home Secretary Leon Brittan's call for life sentences for riot. And how is it that not a single police officer has been charged or disciplined for acts of violence at Orgreave?

And how is it that police tactics, training and decision making for riot squads has been proceeding on a basis that is unlawful?

e know why, and we know that the capitalist state is run for the capitalists, but that doesn't mean we should ignore and not take up these issues.

This book has not been allowed advertising space in the Yorkshire Miner and Jack Taylor blocked Bernard Jackson's attempts to publicise it. The book does condemn Taylor for his apologising for scabs at a critical point in November 1984 on television, saying he could understand why they were now going back.

Jack Taylor would not doubt like to forget such episodes but working class militants can't afford to forget.

The Battle for Orgreave, available from Vanson Wardle Productions Ltd., 69 Cobden Road, Brighton, BN2 2TJ, price £3.95 plus post and packing.

Their arresting officers (they had decided to have two for each to make them look more believable) contradicted each other, and as the charge of riot began to look more and more ludicrous the whole thing collapsed.

"Bryan Moreland, his life and health shattered. Arthur Critchlow, two weeks in prison and a further two weeks in hospital having fluid drained from his head in a most painful way through the base of his spine. Bill Greenaway, the oldest one amongst us and a man who would be honoured by any civilised society. One look at his hands is enough to tell you how he spent his life — in hard, honest labour, not as a criminal. His reward? A broken wrist and criminalisation! David Bell, barely twenty, but clear in his mind that if his job goes in Scotland he's on the scrap heap. These and all the others who had been beaten and

however, gave everyone they could find another beating before arrest.

In the van the police had great fun: "Then they started on me: 'Look at this old fucker. I bet your kids aren't getting nowt for Christmas. Bet you'd like £18 an hour, wouldn't you. They pulled my hair and every time I turned to look at the number of the copper next to me, the arresting officer, I received a gloved finger in the eye, covered in coal dust.

"We were taken from there to another van: 'Don't sit on the seats, you bastards. On the floor, like dogs. That's where you belong.' The one who had arrested me rolled up his trouser leg and looked at a graze on his shin. I thought to myself: 'You didn't miss that bloody tree but I'm going to cop for that one'. And I did. But I'd learnt the rules and throughout all this I said nothing.

He was released the next day and later found not guilty of obstructing the highway, assaulting a police officer and criminal damage.

Eventually the trial for riot began, three months after the miners had returned to work. And the prosecution made its case of general stories about stoning, missiles, mayhem but very little specifics relating to each defendant.

Bernard makes the point that the police had their own paid photographers present on that and every day while for their evidence the defence had to scour the country to find people who had cameras with them.

Not one photograph could be found of an injured policeman while those of police violence and injured miners were everywhere, showing the police to be liars.

Trial

Much of this wasn't shown as the trial was abandoned too soon.

What is also striking is the way the police and prosecuting barristers conducted themselves with pomp and self-importance as guardians of civilised society against "rioters" and even when shown to be lying through their teeth the mask doesn't slip.

What also emerged in the trial was the existence of the hitherto secret police manual on how precisely to incapacitate "rioters", none of this subject to public scrutiny, and the fact that statements of "arresting officers" had been dictated to them by CID officers.

There was little evidence against each of the individual defendants.



Orgreave, June 1984. Photo: John Harris

Crisis in N Ireland Stalker scandal exposes RUC

THE ANGLO-Irish agreement signed last November set up the so-called inter-governmental Conference to supervise the running of the Six Counties.

In effect it was a sort of international power-sharing between Britain and the 26 Counties, agreed to in a solemn treaty registered with the UN.

But, international power-sharing or not, Britain retained exclusive control in Northern Ireland. The Anglo-Irish agreement produced few real changes in the way Northern Ireland is run. On the ground in Northern Ireland, the Protestant Royal Ulster Constabulary (RUC) had a great weight in deciding what happened.

Now the agreement has run into its worst crisis yet because on 12 July Protestant bigots were allowed to march through a Catholic area in Portadown.

The Dublin government has publicly attacked this decision.

The British Secretary of State for Northern Ireland, Tom King, says the decision was entirely the RUC's. Dublin is understandably not satisfied, and the weak coalition government there is under increased pressure from the Fianna Fail opposition.

Crisis

From this crisis the Anglo-Irish agreement will either begin to collapse — the Orange leaders claim that it has already — or else Britain will begin to try more energetically to reform the RUC and other Northern Ireland institutions. It is unlikely that either Dublin or London will abandon the agreement just yet.

The affair of John Stalker — the deputy Chief Constable framed up and discredited because he refused to do a cover-up job for the RUC, and wanted senior Six Counties policemen prosecuted for complicity in murder — is piling up new difficulties for the rulers in Northern Ireland.

Stalker's revelations must further undermine the morale of the RUC, already battered by the hostility of their own Protestant community to the Anglo-Irish deal; on the other hand, the Stalker affair may be used by the British government as the signal for a serious purge and reorganisation of the Six Counties police, in line with the requirements of the Anglo-Irish agreement.

Fergus Ennis reports.

PERHAPS the biggest question thrown up by the Stalker affair is, how did an honest cop like John Stalker ever get to be so high in the police hierarchy?

As more and more details emerge about how and why his colleagues attempted to frame up and discredit Stalker, the deputy Chief Constable of Manchester, the picture you get of the upper ranks of the police force is that of a gangster-like world of manoeuvre,

intrigue, and the sudden deadly double cross.

Stalker was appointed to head a police team sent to investigate a spate of killings of unarmed Republican suspects by the Royal Ulster Constabulary (RUC). At least six unarmed men were killed by the RUC in late 1982, one of them, Michael Tighe, 17 years old.

The facts suggested that the RUC was conducting a campaign of assassinations of Republican suspects, and that Tighe at least was murdered in cold blood by the RUC.

Stalker's task was to do a cover-up job for the RUC. That's what he was expected to do. But for reasons that are not yet clear, he did not.

An in-depth investigation in last Sunday's Observer suggests that Stalker might well have been prepared to cover for the RUC's killing of unarmed Republicans who were believed by the police to be members of the IRA or INLA. But Stalker found that the RUC had lured two youths to a barn and opened fire on them, killing Michael Tighe and desperately wounding Martin McCauley.

Tighe had nothing to do with the Republican movement. He was just an unfortunate victim of policemen acting as prosecutor, judge, jury and executioner.

On the basis of his own investigations, and those of forensic scientists he called in, Stalker found that in court the police had given an impossible and therefore lying account of the events in the barn.

More than that, he found that there was a full and precise record of the events in the barn.

The police — or MI5 — had had a microphone in the barn, and a tape recording existed of the killing of Tighe. Stalker found it impossible to get hold of it. He was refused access by the Chief Constable of the RUC, Sir John Hermon. Stalker kept on insisting.

The RUC found that instead of a complaisant cover-up man, they now had someone roaming around Northern Ireland conducting a serious official investigation into the largely sectarian Protestant RUC.

First they tried to thwart and block the investigation, and procrastinate — then, like the gangsters they are, they tried to destroy Stalker.

Avenue

Stalker's friend Kevin Taylor, a rich businessman and a former chair of the Manchester Conservatives, was to be the avenue of attack.

Taylor had no criminal convictions. But because of his friendship with Taylor, Stalker was accused of having criminal connections. On the eve of yet another visit to Belfast, Stalker was taken off the case and later suspended.

A police judgment on the Stalker case is expected in August. But it is probably already too late for the Establishment to put the lid on the affair.

Reports say that Stalker wants as many as 30 RUC men charged. RUC chief John Hermon may well be a casualty as the Stalker affair continues to rumble.

It seems that Stalker wanted to interview Hermon formally in conditions where the regular warning had first been given him: 'Anything you say may be taken down and used in evidence against you'.

Though it looks increasingly as if those who tried to eliminate Stalker have fouled their own nest, the labour movement cannot trust any part of the police and civil service establishment to come clean.

An independent labour movement inquiry should be launched.

Miners' petition

We the undersigned wish to remind the Labour Party leadership of the motion passed at the 1985 Labour Party conference which called for:

1. The reinstatement of all victimised miners.
2. A review to be carried out by a future Labour government into the cases of jailed miners.
3. Reimbursement of all union funds, sequestered under the Tory anti-union legislation.

We believe that the Labour Party should actively campaign for the above rightful demands in the run-up to the next General Election.

The Socialist Campaign for a Labour Victory is fighting to remind the leadership of conference policy. Already, SCLV supporters have collected over 400 signatures in the



Free the jailed miners! Photo: Andrew Moore.

North East. Many signed at the Durham Miners' Gala, both on the march and at the SCLV stall. The petition is now being circulated nationally, and will be presented to Party leaders at this year's Labour Party conference.

For copies, contact 'SCLV Petition', G. Scott, 34 Newcastle Avenue, Horden, Peterlee, Co. Durham, or John Bloxam, PO Box 823, London SE15.

Activists' DIARY

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

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

THURSDAY 24 JULY. Nicaragua Solidarity Campaign press launch for book by Nicaragua's leading political cartoonist. 12-2. ICA, the Mall, London SW1.

CONFERENCE AGAINST THE WITCH-HUNT. Campaign meeting. Monday July 21. Open to representatives from Labour Party and trade union organisations. 7.30 pm. (room booked by Jeremy Corbyn).

NATIONAL JUSTICE FOR MINEWORKERS CAMPAIGN
The South-East Region Steering Committee has just

opened a London Office, where sacked miners will be based for campaigns, meetings, etc. The office is at Hammersmith Unemployed Centre, 190 Shepherds Bush Road, London W6. Tel: 01-603 1831.

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

SATURDAY 26 JULY. Viraj Mendis Campaign Social. Hampden Community Centre, 150 Ossulston St., NW1 (near Camden Library).

THURSDAY 11 SEPTEMBER. Campaign Group News rally, 'Campaigning for Socialism'. Speakers include Tony Benn, Eric Heffer, Joan Maynard, Eddie Newman. 7.30pm, Free Trade Hall, Peter St., Manchester.

CAMPAIGN GROUP NEWS. July/August issue now out, concentrating on 'Preparing Party Conference'. Articles from CLPD, WAC, etc. Also, Eric Heffer and Dennis Skinner on 'NEC retreats on union rights'. 30p. Contact: The Campaign Group of Labour MPs, c/o Alan Meale (Secretary), House of Commons, London SW1A 0AA.

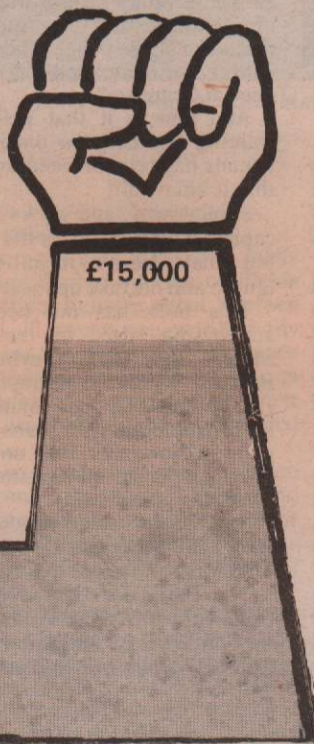
82% so far

THIS WEEK we meet the people from whom we're buying new typesetting equipment to finalise arrangements. The equipment is being financed by individual loans from SO supporters, and we'll have to repay about £500 a month — so we'll

need fund income to balance that.

Thanks to: Sue Rossiter, £10; Sarah Cotterill, £20; Jean Lane, £12; Mick O'Sullivan, £54.25.

Total to date: £12,371.91, or 82% of our £15,000 target. Send donations to SO, PO Box 823, London SE15 4NA.



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

Socialism can never be built in one country alone. The workers in every country have more in common with workers in other countries than with their own capitalist or Stalinist rulers. We support national liberation struggles and workers' struggles world wide, including the struggle of workers and oppressed nationalities in the Stalinist states against their anti-socialist bureaucracies.

We stand:

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

Against racism, and against deportations and all immigration controls.

For equality for lesbians and gays.

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

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

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

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



Les Hearn's SCIENCE COLUMN

Asbestos will kill 30 000

Asbestos is being phased out of use but even so, the number of deaths from asbestos diseases is rising and will continue to do so till the turn of the century. This is because cancers caused by asbestos can take up to 40 years to develop.

However, it is no excuse for employers to say they didn't know about these risks when they were exposing their workers to it. The danger was pointed out 80 years ago and nearly 60 years ago a government survey showed up to 80% of asbestos workers to be suffering from asbestosis, a disease like miner's lung.

Mesothelioma

Nearly 50 years ago, the link with lung cancer was first recorded and this was confirmed 30 years ago by famous cancer researcher Richard Doll. Over 20 years ago, mesothelioma was confirmed in asbestos workers. This rare cancer of the lining of the lung, is found almost exclusively in people exposed to asbestos — workers and their close families.

In the 18 years 1957-75, some 2000 people died of mesothelioma. Last week, the Health and Safety Executive revealed that 2000 had died in the last six years, three times the previous rate.

Many of those dying had been exposed to asbestos after the link had been established. 10 of the victims were under 24, including a child of 8.

Total deaths from asbestos are at least 2000 per year and by the end of the century at least 30,000 will have died. Even if all asbestos was removed from the environment today, it would be well into the next century before deaths ceased.

NEW VISION CLOUDS OVER
Two months ago, Labour's *New vision for Health* was revealed.

Drawn up by a team of doctors and trades unionists chosen by Shadow Social Services Secretary Michael Meacher, it amounted to a promise to turn the NHS from a sickness service into a true health service.

Most exciting were the proposals for tackling the greatest scourge on health — smoking.

A tobacco commission would take over the power to tax tobacco. Penal taxes would discourage smokers and the revenue would be transferred direct to the NHS or to a fund to diversify tobacco firms and retrain workers.

Advertising and sponsorship would be outlawed and anyone "making any mention of tobacco products for commercial reasons" could be prosecuted.

Tobacco sales would be restricted to a few outlets, imports and exports and smoking in public places would be banned.

Interpreting health policy in a wide sense, the advertisers suggested that health considerations should affect decisions on nuclear power and that, if it should prove impossible to safely dispose of radioactive waste, a non-nuclear energy policy should be favoured.

Commenting on these and many other proposals, Guardian health correspondent Andrew Veitch remarked that positive action for health meant "confronting forces ranging from the Treasury to the nuclear industry, whether Messrs. Kinnock and Hattersley will accept that the health gains will be worth the political hassle remains to be seen."

How prophetic these remarks were! In Labour's *Health for All* charter, virtually all serious proposals for tackling smoking, as well as for a non-nuclear energy policy, have been dropped. What's left is fairly uncontroversial — even a non-Thatcherite Tory could support it! Even so, it will cost some £3.6 billion and Hattersley is resisting the making of any firm pledges.



Spraying asbestos

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Hannah (Mia Farrow) and sisters Lee (Barbara Hershey) and Holly (Dianne Wiest)

A family message

Woody Allen's "Hannah and her Sisters" is a funny, but deeply conservative movie. It glorifies marriage and the family as the ultimate refuge from the uncertainties of life.

Deceit

Never mind that the refuge is based on deceit — Hannah's husband is having it off with her sister Lee — nor that Hannah's parents bicker constantly, while the three sisters have strong sibling jealousies — it's "all in the family".

Patrick Duhig reviews Woody Allen's new film, 'Hannah and Her Sisters'

Hannah, the family paragon, played by Mia Farrow, is a successful actress raising four children with her financial-adviser husband (Michael Caine). Her sisters Lee (Barbara Hershey) and Holly (Dianne Wiest) lack her stability, and drift between unsatisfactory men and meaningless work. They doubt they'll ever reach Hannah's enviable (to

them) level of emotional security and professional success.

Yet Hannah deprecates her acting successes, putting it all down to "luck". She's glad she's achieved it, so now she can get back to what really "counts" — husband and family.

Tinkering

Allen plays Hannah's ex-husband Mickey, a severely hypochondriacal TV producer/writer. Allen is still tinkering with his usual concerns — the meaning of life, psychoanalysis — but he resolves them differently here.

By marrying Hannah's sister Holly, he returns to the family circle around

Hannah, and like Holly, (and Lee, who also marries) finds true fulfilment in marriage.

Talk

The film, despite its nods to modernity, (Holly is a reformed cocaine addict) seems old fashioned. The sisters talk about getting and keeping a man — it's as if the women's movement had never happened.

Allen and Michael Caine, who simply can't resist having his cake and eating it too, provide enough laughs to keep the story ticking over.

So enjoy it — just don't buy the message.

How it all started

"It is not the woman who begets the one who is called the child: she is merely the nurse of the germ she has conceived. The one who begets is the male; like a foreigner she preserves the young shoot". So speaks Apollo in Aeschylus's Eumenides.

Rather extreme! As an attack on women, it reflects the fantasies of a male community (Ancient Greece) which knows it needs women for child-rearing, but which dreams of doing without them.

How male dominance came to the point of denying women's role in child-bearing is examined in a new book, 'Women's work, men's property: the origins of gender and class', a collection of five articles edited by Stephanie Coontz and Peta Henderson.

Oppressed

Feminists today know we are oppressed. But many disagree on why. Is it human nature, in which case not much can be done about it? Or something about the way society is organised? But each society in recorded history has inherited and adapted women's oppression from the society before it. So how did it all start?

The authors emphatically reject biological or "natural" explanations — male hormones make men more aggressive; women are smaller and weaker, etc.

The authors believe that the causes of women's oppression can be found in

Belinda Weaver reviews 'Women's Work, Men's Property', edited by Stephanie Coontz and Peta Henderson (Verso, £6.95).

the development of social production and exchange.

The role of women in *production* — what work they did and for whose benefit — is the basis for sex stratification rather than women's powers of *reproduction*.

Women were downtrodden before the emergence of private property and the state. Male domination of women was a foundation for traditional class society.

The authors do have some differences. Chevillard and Leconte, for example, consider the way in which women's work became men's property in the earliest societies to be *class* oppression; Coontz and Henderson call it *sex* oppression.

Chevillard and Leconte assert that male domination occurred as a violent break with the past; Coontz and Henderson state that it evolved gradually.

Leibowitz's study of early humans shows how an informal division of labour, i.e., men hunting, women gathering food and caring for young, became rigid and codified once products began to be exchanged between groups.

Since people were exchanged (in marriages) between groups as well as goods being exchanged, the skills of those exchanged had to be similar from group to group. Men had to be skilled hunters, while women had to be able

cook and process hides, for example.

This does not *explain* male domination since both sets of skills were necessary and valued.

Coontz and Henderson argue that the system of patrilocality, where women join their husbands' kin group after marriage, led to the oppression of women. When the woman joins the husband's kin group, she enters it as a producer, but not as an owner.

The goods produced by in-marrying women are usurped by male group leaders for use and exchange. To increase goods available for exchange, women are pressured to produce more.

Patrilocal systems were more efficient economically than earlier matrilineal groups (for rather complicated reasons), so they spread by example.

Chevillard and Leconte assert that patrilocality appeared as a violent break from the past. Matrilineal systems (where men joined their wives' kin groups, and where women, not men, controlled the surplus products) must have been overthrown by wars in which men came out on top and were thus able to establish a new form, patrilocality.

Some evidence for an earlier overthrow of female power by men appeared in Greek plays and myths. Sabine's study of primitive and ancient Greece shows that women had no accepted

their socially inferior status, and that they were angry and rebellious.

Euripides's Medea, who murdered her children in revenge for her husband's taking another, younger wife, shows that men were aware that women could react violently to their forced subjugation.

Women's position in slave societies like Ancient Greece was like slavery. Female slaves were often worse off than male slaves, whose children could at least be born free. So-called "free" women were excluded from public life, could not own property and were forced to live secluded in the home, where they shared some tasks with slaves.

Revolt

In lineage societies, women must provide for themselves, their husbands and children. Women do all the work (including agriculture) but can own nothing. Men expropriate the fruits of women's labour and busy themselves with warfare and ceremonies, and in the dry season "to overcome their boredom...men make tools, armaments or do their hair".

Women are forbidden to bear arms which suggests that men fear female revolt.

History shows that women were finally forced to accept a secondary position in society. Myths and religion sought to establish this as "natural".

Women today are fighting back. Books like this help to combat the view that women's oppression is inevitable or natural.

Is boxing fun?

Have you heard this one? "That bloke that beat Bruno got stabbed after the match". "What, Witherspoon?" "No, with a knife".

I'm certainly no boxing expert but I did know that both men had got an impressive history of fights behind them. Bruno had boxed 29 times and won 28, and Witherspoon had fought 28 and won 26. The perfect match.

Witherspoon has proved to be durable. He has never been knocked down, he'd fought against the best, and knows exactly what fighting at this level is all about.

But Bruno, the Hammersmith boy, was the bookies' favourite — everybody was convinced "our boy Bruno" would win, he even went so far as to say "I'm ready to die for the title". Die? Well not quite, but bruised, cut and fractured, yes!

Poor Bruno! His first words after the fight were "I've let down my fans, family and country".

Bruno had previously said in an interview with Terry Wogan that he started boxing because as a black

on the



By Tracy Williams

working class lad he had little other chance of making any money.

So what he has got to be patriotic about I will never understand. This glorious Britain has done as much for working class blacks as Victoria Gillick has done for women's liberation. Nothing.

The American Trotskyist James P. Cannon once compared boxing to a poisonous weed that grows on the dung heap of capitalist society.

Despite what people claim about other sports being just as dangerous or worse than boxing in terms of injuries and accident related deaths, there is no other sport which is as brutal and vulgar. It upsets me and sickens me.

At the end of the day it is basically about two people beating the shit out of each other for as long and as hard as they can take it. Yes, of course there is skill and judgement involved like in any sport, and like other sports the ultimate aim is to win.

But it's how you win. In boxing you get the applause, prestige and millions by hurting, disfiguring and knocking the sense out of someone you admire for their own skills. God only know what they do to their enemies!

Now don't get me wrong, I'm not a pacifist or anything like that.

I am in favour of the working class defending themselves from the state, but boxing seems to me like violence for the fun of it — some sense of fun, I'll say!

Unfortunately the violence didn't stop in the ring.

Some 40,000 people were at the ring-side at Wembley Stadium to watch the biggest single sporting event in European history.

After the match, angry fans hurled chairs at Witherspoon when he was leaving the stadium.

Worse still, a bloke who went and went to see Bruno defeated told me about Millwall and West Ham fans fighting amongst themselves.

Does violence breed violence — I'm sorry, viewers, I just don't know the answer. But I do want to know why the violence happened.

How we need to organise

By Martin
Thomas

"PRACTICAL MEN, who believe themselves to be quite exempt from any intellectual influence, are usually the slaves of some defunct economist".

So wrote the great Liberal economist J M Keynes, exasperated at the way in which many business people and politicians dismissed his novel ideas as theoretical fancies.

Something similar describes the relations in the labour movement between the 'non-aligned' activists and the 'left groups'. Those who most loudly insist that they won't tie themselves to a particular newspaper or group are usually all the more uncritical or thoughtless followers of some long-discarded policy line of one group or another.

Logical

And that is logical. The element of original thinking in most of us is extremely limited, and even the most original thinkers need the structure and assistance of a collective to develop their insights into theories. Karl Marx, after all, wrote the Communist Manifesto as a member of a 'left group' — the Communist League — and much of what is in the Manifesto he learned from the League and the tradition of organised socialist politics that it came from.

The ideas-people of the capitalist class have a framework of universities, journals and newspapers to work within. And they work more or less with the grain of society — even the boldest and most original thinkers among them, like Keynes.

The working class has no equivalent except its own parties and movements. And such is the pressure of capitalist society on the working class that most of the big parties and movements become 'schools' for ideas that soothe and control the working class, rather than ideas for its self-liberation.

The basic ideas of socialism are constantly watered down and diluted. Some workers always want to challenge that dilution. But how? Unless they organise in a 'left group' or around a paper, all they can do is react knee-jerk fashion against the right wing and pick up whatever left-seeming alternatives are to hand. That's why Stalinism has been able to divert so many revolutionary-minded workers.

Guarantee

We need to **organise** if we are to uphold, spread, and develop the ideas of real working-class socialism. Being organised does not, of course, **guarantee** clear ideas. Many left groups and papers have ignorant, confused, misleading ideas. But then the answer is to have a **better** group or paper.

The debates between left groups may look like mindless point-scoring. No doubt they do in fact contain a good proportion of folly. But they are the workshop in which revolutionary ideas backed by organisation will, or will not, be developed. And that makes them crucial.

A woman's experience on a demolition job pt.6

'A bad indictment of this society'

I had always, up till this time, fancied myself as being pretty sharp when it came to dealing with sexism. I had the reputation in the Post Office of being "hard".

During my years as a socialist and of being in the women's movement I have spoken about sexual harassment and talked with other women about it, feeling subconsciously pretty confident that if it ever happened to me I could handle it. Ha! Such ignorance!

I had never dreamed of the crushing effects that it has upon you, both mentally and physically — but especially physically. Because it is not just words. A bit of clever repartee can deal with mere words. It's a whole attitude and outlook of men who want to put women in "their place" and are prepared to act on it.

Isolated

And if you are isolated amongst a lot of men who basically think the same, it is very difficult to combat.

As far as Alan was concerned, I had a "fanny" and my place was either at home with the kids or putting it out to men like him. It was definitely not in a builders' yard, and he was going to let me know it.

The hardest thing about dealing with it was the isolation. If there had been even one other woman to just raise an eyebrow to when Alan started, as if to say, "here he goes again", I could have kept it in perspective. But there was no-one. The other men either enjoyed it or kept quiet.

And, being on your own, you start to wonder if it's you — if you're the one who's acting weird. "Maybe I'm imagining things." "Maybe I'm taking this too seriously". Alan's behaviour at times was so childish it would have been laughable — if there had been someone to laugh with.

It finally came to a head one day when we were sitting in the tea-hut. I, as usual, was reading my paper, keeping my head down and talking to no-one. Alan, as usual, was talking filth. I can't remember the actual words anymore. Thank god. But take it from me, it was vile, insulting stuff and all designed for my discomfort.

After a while Dippo, who enjoyed Alan's behaviour immensely because it kept the pressure off him, the usual scapegoat, asked Alan if he'd seen the latest Unipart Calendar, and was he going to bring it in. That was enough!

Putting up with his talk and his dirty behaviour was bad enough. I was not going to have pictures on the wall that he could bounce comments off all day long.

"If he does bring it in, it's not going up", I said. Alan smiled — at last, a fight! "Why not?" "Because I find it offensive," I said. "I find you and your filthy mouth offensive and I think you have a problem and should see a doctor".

All the while I was saying this, I was reddening and stammering and shaking. It was part of a great speech I'd worked out in my mind one sleepless night when the pills wouldn't work. But, of course, it never comes out right when you need it.

Alan beamed. "If you're going to do a man's job you'll have to take what comes with it." It was the first time he'd actually come out straight with what he was up to.

I got furious. I grabbed his lapel and shouted into his face, "This is not a man's job. This is *my* job. And if you can't take my being here, *you* leave."

Another part of a great speech...but after all the weeks of putting up with his innuendos, being alone and losing confidence, I blushed, stammered and



Jean Lane continues her account of her experiences as a woman worker on a male-dominated demolition job. This week she tells the story of how low-level jokes and comments led up to a concerted attempt by one man to drive her off the job, and how he was defeated.

became inarticulate. Alan went out of the hut with his mates, laughing and joking — the hero of the day.

I started to cry. There was one man left in the room, Dave the brickie, and I was mortified letting him see me cry.

Dave was older than most of the others, married with four kids. He didn't like Alan or his behaviour. Mainly, I think, because he didn't think you should act like that in front of women rather than because it was offensive in itself. But by that time support on any basis was good enough.

Startled

We started to talk about it. When I called what was happening 'sexual harassment' he looked startled and suggested that I was exaggerating. He'd heard of it before but didn't recognise it in Alan's behaviour. He thought of it as bum-pinching and sexual favours for promotion — that kind of thing. But he accepted what I

said eventually.

I then told him that if you take verbal harassment, physical sexual assault and rape altogether, then I did not know of any woman who hasn't suffered it in one form or another at some time in her life. He again looked startled.

Finally he said: "That means that out of my wife and three daughters one of them is quite likely to suffer it in its worst form at some time?" I said "Yes". He sat down and became visibly distressed. "That's a pretty bad indictment of this society isn't it?"

We spent the rest of the afternoon working together and talking about various aspects of the same subject. He had also thought that rape was committed by sex-starved old men in dark alleys. But he was open-minded enough to accept my facts and figures about rape being carried out in the most part by husbands, boyfriends, fathers, etc., at home.

As luck would have it, Dave spoke to

his wife that night about what had happened and she backed me up. Also, that very night, there was a film on TV about sexual harassment at work — a slightly romanticised but nevertheless pretty accurate portrayal of a working class woman whose job and livelihood was threatened by it, and its effects on her private and social life. This drove the lesson even further home.

That same night I again lay sleepless in bed and then finally decided that I needed to get help. I was prepared to go to my gaffer and to the council next day to report it. Going to the union was going to be a non-starter as the bloke there was as sexist as the rest and would certainly not take it seriously.

Just getting that one supporter had made all the difference in the world and I realised that I had been stupid in trying to deal with it alone.

The next morning I told the gaffer that I had been having problems with one of the men and may want to take it through the grievance procedure.

I wanted to see if Alan was going to bring his calendar in and carry on where he'd left off. But Alan was off work that day and Dave and I continued our discussions. The previous evening Dave had persuaded his eldest daughter to take self-defence classes!

The next day Dave and I came into the tea-hut to hear Alan saying to one of the other blokes how disgusting it was that a judge should be caught kerb-crawling. (There was an article on it in the Mirror that day). I said "I thought kerb-crawling would be right up your street, Alan". To which he replied, "I would never go to a prostitute." "Alan," I said, "a prostitute with any sense would never come to you". "No, because I wouldn't pay her I don't have to pay for mine."

"She'd have bigger and better reasons than that," I said, and waited for the backlash.

But to my surprise the backlash never came. He just looked crushed and embarrassed.

Threatened

I later found out that Dave had talked to a couple of the other blokes about Alan's behaviour and, deciding that enough was enough, they had taken him out and threatened him with a beating up if he didn't pack it in.

Dave had also gone to the gaffer, quite independently from me, and told him that if I raised any complaint of any kind, he would back my statements up.

Alan left soon afterwards having found a full-time job — night security man in a police training centre! Not many openings for harassing women there.

Unfortunately Dave left not long after that, fortunately he'd also got a job.

From the day Alan was threatened with a beating my working conditions immediately got better. It might not have been a very orderly way of dealing with the problem and it might not have been for the best of motives (I think it was still on the basis that you don't behave like that in front of women) but it was heaven for me.

I went back to enjoying my work — lifting great slabs of sandstone, knocking out chimney breasts and driving my pick-up truck!

The pay was abysmal, but at least I could sleep at night.

I was constantly aware, however, that it would only take another Alan to turn up (and there are plenty of them about) for the whole process to begin again. Except that next time I would be wiser about dealing with it.

The final part of Jean Lane's series will appear in next week's Socialist Organiser.

CPSA: call a special conference!



Macreadie outside the High Court. Photo: Andrew Wiard, Report.

By Mike Grayson

In the recent CPSA elections, John Macreadie, the Broad Left candidate, narrowly defeated right winger John Ellis. But the right wing-dominated NEC has refused to let Macreadie take office until the Electoral Reform Society has looked into allegations that the left cheated.

Last week the right wing scored a double victory when the High Court stopped Macreadie taking up the post he was elected to, that of General Secretary of the CPSA, the largest civil service union.

They scored a material victory by keeping Macreadie away from the levers of control in the union.

And they scored a big propaganda victory because the High Court seemed to add its authority to the stories that the left cheated in the election.

Instead of launching a rank and file

campaign that would take the issue to the membership, Militant supporter Macreadie decided instead to try and get the court to rule in his favour.

These days you sometimes get the impression that for the supporters of Militant legal action in the bosses' courts has replaced the class struggle!

The Broad Left is now faced with raising approximately £10,000 for Macreadie's legal costs, while Marion Chambers, the right wing President, has sent out a gloating letter to every single CPSA member, telling them of the court's decision.

This decision will doubtless make any campaign harder, but the Broad Left is now attempting to force a Special Conference over the issue. Under CPSA rules, branches which represent a quarter of the total membership can summon a Special Delegate Conference at any time.

Now is the time for the left to unite against the undemocratic actions of the right wing. But let's hope that certain individuals and factions have learnt a lesson about hawking the affairs of the labour movement around the bourgeois law courts.

SOCIALIST STUDENTS INNOVATIONS

Democratic secular state is no answer

Second part of a SSiN leaflet put out at Glasgow University. Part 3 next issue.

The second assumption which needs debunking is the patently crazy idea that the 'democratic secular state' formula bears the seeds of a solution to the chronic national antagonisms in the Middle East. You can see what's absurd about this formula if you focus on the word 'secular'. This implies that the Israeli Jews are a religious group and not a nation (indeed, this is its meaning within Arab-nationalist parlance). Now it is a fact that the Palestinian Jews started to crystallise as a Hebrew-speaking nation in the Yishuv from the early 1920s onwards. For sure, they constitute a nation today, and most of them were born there.

They therefore have, as a nation, the irreducible right to self-determination. They do not have to exercise that right in a Zionist state. However, in general, whether a national group has a 'good' or 'bad' history has nothing whatsoever to do with its right to self-determination.

Given the existence of these two mutually antagonistic nations — the Palestinian Arabs and the Palestinian Jews — the democratic secular state slogan is not so much a wrong answer as no answer at all. For what it signifies is a state which both nations regard as 'theirs' and under whose aegis they would both happily con-mingle. It therefore signifies a utopian absurdity.

Unitary

This slogan can, however, have another meaning: a unitary Arab state in which Jews would have (if they were lucky) individual citizenship rights but which would have to be created by the invasion and subjugation of Israel by the armies of the combined Arab states. Socialists could not support such an 'option', which is not likely to be realised anyway.

We would ask sincere advocates of this slogan to look at it carefully from the Palestinian-Arab point of view. In order to get such a state, they need to rely on either the Israeli Jews purging themselves of every scintilla of nationalism or on allies such as Jordan (!), Syria (!) or Iraq (!!!).

It is no wonder that the chosen representatives of the Palestinian Arabs, the PLO have chosen the option of a West Bank/Gaza Strip state. (Or perhaps the PLO are 'Zionists' too?).

ISLINGTON

Home helps

By Nik Barstow, (chair, Islington Joint TU Committee, in personal capacity).

Islington Council have backed down in their four month old dispute with their Home Helps. After losing the vote in the Labour Group the Council increased their pay offer for changes in Home Helps' jobs, by 25% — 20p an hour.

NUPE steward Pat Ritley told Socialist Organiser: "It was our sheer persistence, we just stuck it out until we got 20p. We got 19p off them immediately, but we'll have to wait until January for the 20th penny. That was just so the councillors could save face, and that's bloody stupid."

The Council's climb-down was a victory for united trade union action. All council trade unionists — white collar workers and craft and manual workers alike — had voted at mass meetings for a council-wide strike this week if an offer wasn't made...AND THE Council caved in.

Pat told us: "The councillors realis-



Pat Ritley occupying the Town Hall during the dispute.

ed that the whole workforce was supporting us. It wasn't going to do the other people any good directly — they would have all lost money on the day — but they were doing it for us. It was marvellous, it really surprised us that everybody was supporting us."

Islington Council's Joint Trade Union Committee is now planning to take forward the cause of all low-paid workers in the Borough. We must build on this success.

WAPPING

Morale sagging

By a SOGAT member

Only 200 turned up to a mass meeting of News International strikers last Saturday (19 July). This was only a quarter of those who had attended the previous meeting three weeks earlier.

It was a clear indication of how low the strikers' morale is and how little faith they have in their leadership.

Only four days earlier, Brenda Dean, washed her hands of the whole dispute, when she handed the running of the dispute over to the striking FoCs/MoCs committee. The national and London branch leaders were too busy fighting writs!

And on Saturday, Chris Robbins, branch secretary of the London Clericals, rammed home that message. "Certain organisations (i.e. the branches and the NEC) will have to take a back seat but the dispute will continue."

But if the leaders have thrown in the towel, the strikers haven't. The striking clerical chapels put forward two resolutions to the mass meeting. The first, carried unanimously, called for the equalisation of the rates of strike pay. Recently, the clericals have had their strike pay cut to £6.

The second proposed the formation of a strike committee, elected by and of

the strikers, to be accountable to the mass meeting. This, it was argued, was necessary because of the lack of leadership shown by the London branch officials.

If we don't have a strike committee to put pressure on the NEC and the branches, argued the proposer, striking Sun/News of the World FoC George Hall, then the strike won't go forward. A strike committee could give the fresh impetus that the dispute urgently needs, mount a fighting campaign against the vicious Tory anti-union laws, and build for the mass pickets at Wapping that are vital to win this dispute.

Furthermore, George argued, the strike committee could organise a proper assault on Fleet Street, going into the chapels and arguing for them to come out in solidarity with their colleagues, to black the Bemrose pre-prints, to step up the picketing of the Press Association which handles scab copy to and from Wapping.

Those seconding the resolution also pointed out that Dean's new realism wasn't working — it had landed the leadership in court, the strikers were still without jobs, there was no union recognition in Wapping and thousands of jobs had been lost in Fleet Street with more to come if the whole union wasn't mobilised to fight back. The only people capable and motivated to lead the dispute, it was said, were the strikers themselves — they had everything to gain and nothing to lose.

The motion was defeated two-to-one, but nearly half the hall did not vote.

The dissatisfaction with the London leadership must be built on; the debate on Saturday at least opened up the possibility that there was an alternative, that the dispute can, with proper leadership, be won.

COLCHESTER

Paxmans still locked out

By Margaret Bulaitis

The lock-out of over 600 workers for refusing to lift an overtime ban at Paxman's Diesels in Colchester is now a month old..

Despite the setback experienced this week through the vote to return to work by 150 TASS members, the other striking unions — members of the AEU engineering, the EETPU electricians, GMBATU general workers and TGWU transport workers — are still as determined as ever not to return to work on management terms.

Paxman Diesels is a subsidiary of the giant GEC and for work not to be transferred it is necessary for the dispute to continue to grow.

A 24-hour picket is still being

maintained and much support is coming in locally, for example Colchester LPYS have organised collections in the town.

Please send donations and messages of support to: Secretary, Paxman's JSSC, 77 Artillery St., Colchester, Essex CO1 2JQ.

OLDHAM DEMONSTRATION

Anti-fascists face life charges

Following the Oldham anti-fascist demonstration a minibus load from Bradford were all arrested after an incident with a gang of NF skin-heads.

Those arrested were initially told that they would be charged with breach of the peace. But now some of them are also being charged with affray and malicious wounding.

These charges carry a maximum sentence of life.

A defence campaign is being organised which will run until the High Court appearances which are presumed to be in February.

Contact them urgently c/o Bradford Resource Centre, Manor Row, Bradford 1.

There was a mass turn-out in Oldham on 19 July against a demonstration by the National Front to 'celebrate' the release from prison of NF leader and fire-bomber Joe Pearce.

The Broad Lefts

What they are and what they must become

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SOCIALIST ORGANISER

FOR WORKERS' LIBERTY EAST AND WEST

STOP BEATING CHILDREN!

There is a simple way to achieve discipline, develop character and prepare youth for the rigours of society. Beat the living daylight out of them.

That is the view of the Tory government. As we go to press, (Tuesday, 22 July) the House of Commons is debating an Education Bill that allows British schools to retain corporal punishment, unless individual parents specifically refuse to let their children be beaten.

No other European country now permits caning. It is prohibited by the European Court of Human Rights. Only in a Britain misruled by the Tory bar-

barians can children legally be beaten and physically terrorised.

Do the Tories want to reintroduce public flogging to deter petty criminals? Or bring back the stocks? Some of them do, but the government won't do what they want. This sort of violence is now reserved exclusively for children!

The true measure of the state of civilisation in any society is how it treats the weak, the helpless, and the young. This Education Bill is an indictment of British society in 1986.

School teachers should not be given licence to inflict physical pain on school students. Ban corporal punishment!

SOUTH AFRICA

WORKERS' ACTION AGAINST BOTHA!

ARMED South African soldiers 'escorted' leaders of British trade unions from Alexandra township, near Johannesburg, last week. Norman Willis and other trade union leaders were held at gunpoint before being removed from the area.

What was no doubt a fright and a shock for Norman Willis is everyday

Bob Fine writes on the politics of sanctions — see page 5

life for the people of Alexandra and the other townships in South Africa. The brutal presence of the police and army, with their gas and whips and bullets, has only increased with the current State of Emergency.

The TUC tops were shocked by conditions in Alexandra — Norman Willis described the homes as 'kennels fit for animals'. Now the TUC must act in solidarity with the oppressed people of



Workers demonstrate and strike for the release of jailed trade unionist Moses Mayekiso in March this year.

Photo: IDAF, South Africa.

TUC chair Ken Gill told a rally at Tolpuddle last week that British workers who refuse to handle South African goods will be backed 'all the way' — even if the action is illegal.

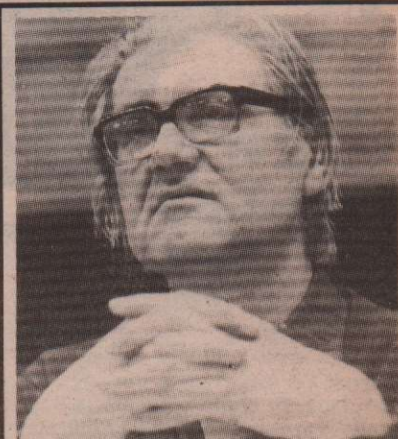
Trade union action against apartheid

will be the most effective form of solidarity with the workers in South Africa suffering under Botha's clampdown. There must be a boycott of South African trade by British unions.

Workers in Britain can take up the demands of their brothers and sisters

in South Africa: End the State of Emergency! Free jailed trade unionists and all political prisoners!

The workers and oppressed people in South Africa desperately need the solidarity of the labour movement in Britain. Act now against apartheid!



Vladimir Derer

Left link-up

By Vladimir Derer, secretary, Labour Left Liaison

The Party's socialist commitment, and recently won democratic reforms, are in jeopardy. The Labour left at present has no organisation capable of defending them. The left is weak because in recent years it was unable to agree on a strategy to meet the new situation created by Labour's electoral defeat in 1979.

One consequence has been to give the parliamentary leadership a relatively free hand for headlong retreat from socialist policies and for a witch-hunt against any socialist in the party whom it finds inconvenient.

In June several left Labour organisations met together to form Labour Left Liaison (LLL). At its first meeting the following organisations agreed to participate: the Campaign for Labour Party Democracy, the Labour Women's Action Committee, the Labour Party Black Section, Labour Women for Ireland, and supporters of Socialist Action, Socialist Organiser and Labour Briefing, Labour CND, the Labour Committee on Ireland and the Labour Campaign for Lesbian and Gay Rights have agreed to send an observer.

These organisations have agreed to campaign jointly on issues where there is full agreement — the immediate task being to focus campaigning at Labour Party annual conference.

Work undertaken so far may seem unspectacular but it has demonstrated the potential benefits of coordinated activity. This potential would be immensely strengthened were it to encompass a closer liaison with the Campaign Group in parliament and were it to be extended to trade unions.

The suggested campaign forum would greatly facilitate the existing work of coordination and be a major step towards a genuine realignment of the left. It would contribute significantly to the efforts to make the party, and the next Labour government a force for socialist change.

Abridged from Campaign Group News.

LABOUR PARTY

From page 1.

rights to organise, meeting rights, etc. On behalf of the left, I put forward a whole series of positive amendments. They were all voted down except for one.

- The use of legislation to force employers to negotiate with unions and recognise them — voted down.

- That the International Labour Office convention about non-interference in the internal affairs of unions should be written into the document — voted down.

- That there should be a whole series of rights written into the document — the right to strike, the right to organise, the right to picket peacefully, and the right to demonstrate peacefully — they were all voted down.

The argument was that they are in fact being covered. But they are not. Non-interference in unions certainly was not mentioned, and no doubt that's the clue as to why my amend-

Kinnock follows Thatcher

ments were rejected.

They accepted my first amendment about the importance of collective bargaining. But that's a general principle, and it was undercut and lost by the rest of it.

Tom Sawyer, deputy general secretary of NUPE, moved that the proposed industrial tribunal should not be established, and everyone voted for that.

Then the leader immediately came back with a demand to call it a 'statutory framework', and it was carried. Sawyer voted against it, but some of the same people who had voted for him then voted for the same thing in different words!

The proposals were carried by the NEC.

NORTHERN IRELAND

SUPERGRASS BLOW

Both the Diplock Courts and the system of 'supergrasses' were dealt a fatal blow this week.

The conviction of 18 men who had been found guilty on the evidence of an IRA informer, Christopher Black, were quashed in the Appeal Court in Belfast.

The men had served five years in jail, and 15 had finished their sentences. The original judge had trusted too much to Black's evidence, it was decided.

The no-jury Diplock Courts are to be abolished, and replaced with a new

system this autumn. The new system will employ three judges, and will be for the trial of 'terrorist' crimes.

This is one of several reforms in a package agreed by British and Irish government officials. Others include a code of conduct for the Royal Ulster Constabulary, and the repeal of the Flags and Emblems Act, thereby allowing the display of the Irish tricolour.

Also residents of Northern Ireland who were born in the Republic will be allowed to vote in the Westminster elections.

Campaign for jailed miners!

Some people think that the miners' strike is a dead issue. But there are 500 sacked miners and over a dozen miners lying in jail who think differently.

It is up to us to take up their case and make it a burning issue around which the labour movement campaigns in the run up to the general election and, if necessary beyond it.

Last week I helped set up the National Justice for Mineworkers London office, which will coordinate things in the London area and the South East Region. We got fantastic support from London during the dispute.

We want Labour Parties and trade unions to request sacked miners to come and speak at their meetings. We hope also to raise money. But the main object is to raise the political argument.

We hope that people in the London area will listen to what sacked miners have to say and help us take the arguments forward to the TUC and Labour Party conferences. We must generate massive and irresistible pressure for the reinstatement of sacked and victimised miners.

Paul Whetton is secretary of Bevercotes NUM, Notts.



When the South Wales miners last week voted for an overtime ban because of the Coal Board's attitude on pay, you could see people picking themselves up once more and beginning to fight back. I was sorry, though, that action isn't being coordinated nationally.

I welcome any initiative from any area, but we still need a national campaign. I don't know why there hasn't been one.

I saw last week's media story about a plot against Arthur Scargill. I don't know whether there is any truth in it. But if Neil Kinnock and some leaders of the NUM are planning to do a knife-job on Arthur Scargill, then they had better watch out! They may very well be grabbing the tiger by the tail, because Arthur Scargill has got a damn good following among the rank and file miners.