

# SANCTIONS



Photo: IDAF

# NOW!

# A Socialist ACTION

BUILDING AN ALLIANCE FOR SOCIALISM

## False problems on South Africa

IN SOUTH Africa one of the greatest revolutions of the twentieth century is taking place.

But that revolution is still massively misunderstood by large sections of the left in Britain. So much so that it is worth devoting an editorial, in the week of the greatest demonstration on South Africa in Britain's history, to spelling out the lessons of that revolution.

According to much of the left, echoed by such papers as *Socialist Worker* or *Socialist Organiser*, progressive politics in South Africa remains locked in a double dead end. On the one side are supposedly 'populists' — by which is meant the African National Congress and its supporters. On the other side are 'workerists' — by which is meant many of the leading forces which created the non-racial trade unions FOSATU (Federation of South African Trade Unions) and now COSATU (Congress of South African Trade Unions).

According to this analysis disastrous political problems exist as, evidently, neither 'populists', nor 'workerists' can lead the working class, or the South African revolution, forward.

Fortunately the masses of South Africa are paying no attention to all this and are getting on, with increasing success, with the job of destroying apartheid. Far from diverging, and blocking the movement, the 'workerists' and 'populists' are more and more converging.

Already the creation of COSATU saw the ANC and the forces from the independent non-racial trade unions converging to create the largest trade union federation in South African history. That coming together reached an even higher level in the general strikes of 1 May and 16 June this year — strikes which have produced the greatest crisis in the history of the apartheid regime.

Forms of organisation going even beyond mass strikes, above all the street committees called for by the ANC and supported by COSATU, have developed. In reality an alternative state power to that of the apartheid regime is embryonically emerging in South Africa.

All the riddles to which analysis of the South African revolution is subjected, all the false counterposition of 'workerists' and 'populists' made both in Britain and by parts of the white left in South Africa, are however resolved once the nature of the revolution South Africa is understood.

The incredible power of the mass movement in South Africa comes from the fact that the black South African working class is increasingly leading the entire mass of the oppressed population against the apartheid regime. It is doing so overwhelmingly on the demands of a national democratic revolution — to distribute the land to the black majority, to forge a non-racial South African nation, to achieve political liberty. Every one of these tasks is blocked by apartheid and its state.

When these tasks are understood then what would constitute real 'populism' and real 'workerism' in South Africa is clear. Real populism is to deny the leading role of the working class in the national democratic revolution — to fail to organise the working class independently and to dissolve it into an amorphous, purely democratic movement. It would mean to abandon COSATU, to fail to seek to build a Marxist party in South Africa. Real workerism is for the working class to refuse to lead the entire oppressed population in the national democratic revolution against apartheid. It would mean to keep COSATU in 'splendid isolation' — to fail to unite with the ANC in the struggle against apartheid.

But it is not what is occurring. Genuinely workerist formulas, that the working class should not seek to lead the revolution to overthrow apartheid, were at one time expressed in FOSATU. But today the COSATU leaders stress, correctly, both the independent organisation of the working class and the alliances it must make to lead the overthrow of apartheid. The ANC is not seeking to dissolve COSATU but more and more closely working with it — and helped to create it. That alliance of the ANC and COSATU explains the depth of the struggle in South Africa in the last two months.

# Sanctions pressure mounts

SPEAKING IN the recent Commons debate on South Africa, foreign secretary Geoffrey Howe expressed 'our complete and absolute condemnation of apartheid'. His own past visit to the Soweto township, he said, had been 'an alarming and deeply moving experience'. This sanctimonious drivel is characteristic of the Tory government's hypocrisy about apartheid. 'Alarmed' Howe might have been — no doubt at the thought of approaching black majority rule. 'Moved' too — by his vision of private profits then disappearing down the drain. But, despite Thatcher's best efforts to the contrary, the pressure for Britain to impose sanctions against the Botha regime is mounting.

'Things cannot go on as they are,' Thatcher told a meeting of Tories in Wales last weekend. The clear proof of that is the cabinet-level meetings which are taking place throughout the week — and the invitation to ANC president Oliver Tambo to meet foreign and Commonwealth minister Lynda Chalker.

But no one should have any illusion that 'measures' imposed by the Thatcher government will be anything other than cosmetic. The farcical goings-on of the Eminent Persons Group show what lengths the Tories and their friends will go to to protect the interests of South Africa's white minority, and with that their own investments.

Margaret Thatcher has consistently adopted the line of PW Botha, namely that 'all violence must cease' before negotiations on apartheid take place. For Botha and Thatcher alike this has meant that the ANC and other black organisations must order the masses to lay down in face of the increasingly ferocious assault by state thugs. That would break up the whole offensive against the apartheid regime.

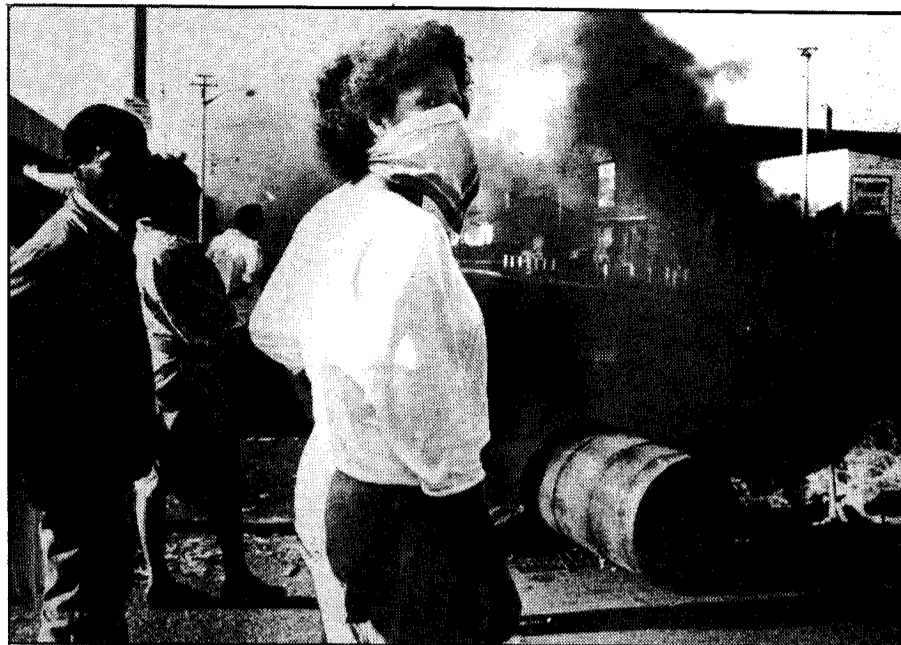
Despite official disclaimers, the significance of the proffered meeting between president Tambo and a Tory minister is that growing pressure has forced Thatcher to back-track in public. Previously she too has refused to meet the ANC until it 'renounced violence'.

By Annie Brady

This is still a long way from useful action against apartheid, of course. The fact that the British prime minister has revived talk of 'positive investment' (that is, EEC money to provide 'educational opportunities' for black South Africans) as a counter to sanctions is proof enough of that.

Speaking at a press conference at the beginning of his visit to Britain, ANC president Oliver Tambo expressed concern that Britain might now try to play a mediating role as a way of buying time for the white minority.

'It is beginning to look as if the Commonwealth report is being elbowed out of the way,' he said, 'and that Britain is taking over the issue.' He drew a parallel with the way in which the US government under Reagan had taken over negotiations on



Namibia.

The racist regime in South Africa was clearly afraid of international sanctions, Tambo pointed out. Botha had made it an offence to encourage them, under the state of emergency.

The Labour Party leadership has called for 'effective measures' against apartheid, and dispatched shadow foreign spokesperson Denis Healey to Pretoria. His statement on arrival, that 'I will respect the laws of the country while I'm here', stands in contrast to his denunciation of the minority regime in his opening speech of the Commons debate.

'We have in South Africa today,' he said then, 'a police state in which the government's agents have a licence to arrest without explanation and to kill without being called to account. South

Africa today suffers from a news blackout (sic) far more complete than any Communist country has ever known.'

His meek compliance to that police state gives no room for confidence that, in power, Labour would act decisively against the apartheid regime. After all when a Labour government, including Denis Healey, last had the chance to impose sanctions on South Africa it did not do so. It is a sad indictment on the party that one of its leaders lacked even the courage of the Archbishop of Canterbury's envoy, Terry Waite in defying the media reporting embargo.

Despite the intransigence of the British government, and the wavering of Labour's parliamentary leadership, sanctions against apartheid must be applied. And there must be

pressure to force this issue.

This pressure will come from the actions of the mass movement. Standing in solidarity with their black sisters and brothers in South Africa, the activities of anti apartheid and labour movement campaigners on the streets of their own cities is the best way to ensure that the growing tide of revulsion against South Africa's white racists becomes an unbearable weight on governments.

The shift by the Thatcher government should be taken as the green light to build the biggest demonstration ever on the streets of London against the rotten system of apartheid. Saturday 28 June is the best practical opportunity for anti apartheid activists in Britain to demand: Sanctions Now! Break All Links With Apartheid!

## 'British government is apartheid's greatest friend'

ON TUESDAY 17 June the House of Commons debated a Labour motion for 'the imposition of effective economic measures against the government of South Africa'. Needless to say, it was lost. Speaking during the debate TONY BANKS, MP for Newham North, put the case for sanctions against the white minority regime. We reproduce below extracts from his speech.

THE government's attitude to South Africa and apartheid is one of breathtaking hypocrisy. The Eminent Persons Group (EPG) of which we have heard so much today, was originally a device designed by the prime minister to try to delay taking any action.

She expected it to come back saying, 'do nothing' or 'do very little'. She certainly did not expect it to come back saying that economic sanctions should be imposed.

Lord Barber is alleged to have said that he would not have become a member of the EPG if he had known at the outset that it would recommend sanctions. In my opinion, it is clear that he was colluding with the prime minister in thinking that the group would be a means of delaying definitive action.

We have heard today from the government the

ritual denunciation of apartheid, but they revealed themselves to be steadfastly opposed to any effective measures to end it. The government are apartheid's greatest friend outside South Africa. They are as much a mainstay of apartheid as the whips and guns of Botha's police.

Whatever twisted justification the prime minister can now devise to prevent effective sanctions, the world knows the truth — when it comes to South Africa, the present British government are unprincipled, hypocritical and racist. They will take no effective action against South Africa because of the profits that British companies are making out of apartheid. That applies especially in regard to the profits being made by their Tory friends in the City.

It is argued that what happens in South Africa is not our business... (but) Britain's direct invest-

ments in South Africa are worth about £3 billion.

I heard the foreign secretary say that South Africa is part of the free world. That also should make what happens there our responsibility.

I do not accept, however, that South Africa is part of the free world. The MP for Perth and Kinross (Fairbairn) should try to tell that to the 24 million blacks who are denied the right to vote or organise. Living in the free world is a pretty sick joke for them.

We also hear that sanctions will seriously damage the interests of blacks in South Africa and the front-line states. That concern comes ill from Conservative members. They have never before shown any interest in the blacks in South Africa.

I prefer to listen to the genuine representatives of black South Africans such as the ANC, and representatives of front-line states such as Kaunda and Nyerere. I should also like to know what damages the interests of blacks most, sanctions or apartheid. It is not surprising that, although they know they will suffer from sanctions, many blacks and their representatives

are prepared to say that they want sanctions now because the evils of apartheid are so much worse.

The third argument is that South Africa has made some progress in dismantling apartheid and that, if we impose sanctions, we will imperil that progress. Whatever miserable concessions have been made, have been made only because of domestic unrest and external pressure.

The people who tell us now not to impose sanctions are the very people who resisted earlier pressure, even the Gleneagles agreement on sporting sanctions.

The truth is that Botha and his government understand only force. They are terrified of that force and look to the Tory government to protect them from it.

In his speech, the foreign secretary made no positive suggestions. He referred only to the need to negotiate. I believe that he deceives himself, and that he deceive himself willingly.

President Botha will not negotiate apartheid out of existence. He has said as much, and the EPG

verifies it. He will concede only when he is faced by force.

The government's amendment to the opposition motion calls for an end to violence on all sides. Apartheid is institutionalised violence.

The black majority is denied a part in the political process of South Africa. It is denied the right to form its own organisations, and it is not allowed to vote. We know that Botha will not negotiate, so what is the black majority to do?

Is it to sit and wait for the Conservative government to introduce a few mild sanctions that will not work and that are designed not to work? What options does the black majority have, other than armed resistance?

The fuse in South Africa has almost burned down. Total economic and political sanctions might — but only just — bring about fundamental change.

I feel that South Africa is now firmly set on a course for civil war. The cause of the coming bloodbath relates entirely to the brutal system of apartheid.

# Eminent Persons Report Thatcher fails to stem the tide

AS BOTHA reintroduced the state of emergency in South Africa, the Commonwealth Eminent Persons Group (EPG) published a report of its failed attempt to negotiate an end to apartheid. The saga of the EPG represents a fascinating insight into the relations between Britain and the apartheid regime.

The stated objective of the October 1985 meeting of Commonwealth leaders, which established the EPG, was the potential threat of increasingly severe sanctions against the white minority regime in order to force the dismantling of the apartheid system.

The real aim, by Margaret Thatcher, was to head off the demand for sanctions. No effective sanctions have been applied. The EPG's six-month tour of South Africa ended in dismal and public failure. The work of the EPG was used — by Botha and by Commonwealth heads of government alike — as the opportunity to diffuse the pressure which has been mounting against South Africa. But despite this even the 'eminent persons' reveal some of the true horror of the apartheid state and the struggle against it. CAROL TURNER reviews the EPG report.

minate the then existing state of emergency; 'immediately and unconditionally' release Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners; lift the ban on the ANC and other political parties; and, 'in the context of a suspension of violence on all sides', initiate a dialogue leading to the establishment of a 'non-racial and representative government'.

The muscle behind this call was supposedly joint action by the Commonwealth countries, including enforcement of the United Nations mandatory arms embargo against South Africa and other 'economic measures'. Among the latter were: a ban on the sale and export of oil to South Africa, unilateral action to stop the import of Krugers, and a ban on sales and exports of military equipment and technology. If, after a six month review, such measures had failed, the Commonwealth heads of government would 'look again' at further and more stringent sanctions against Botha.

Time is up. No effective action was taken by member states. No significant results have been achieved by the EPG.

In fact, while the Botha regime has run rings round the EPG (as chapter 6 of the published report makes clear), Margaret Thatcher and others have used its existence as a means of avoiding the issue of sanctions. The British Tory Party and other Commonwealth governments face an irreconcilable contradiction — that is, the dependence of their own ruling classes on profits generated by the exploitation of the black majority in South Africa and their fear of black majority rule.

For this reason, far from increasing international pressure on Pretoria, the EPG was the occasion for defusing it. The failure of its mission was inevitable.

But the publication of the EPG report is itself a damning indictment of the apartheid system. That is all the more dramatic for the sharp contrast between its 'analysis' and 'conclusions'.

'None of us was prepared for the full reality of apartheid,' says the report. 'As a contrivance of social engineering, it is awesome in its cruelty.'

'It is achieved and sustained only through force, creating human misery and deprivation and blighting the lives of millions ... The living standards of South Africa's white cities and towns must rank with the highest anywhere; those of the black townships which surround them defy description in terms of "living standards". Apartheid creates and separates them; black and white live as strangers in the same land.'

The irreformable nature of apartheid is laid bare in page after page of the EPG report.

'The reserves,' it says, 'were used by the architects of apartheid not only to create the so-called homelands, but as the



Above: A family whose child was born by the roadside after the farm labourer was summarily dismissed from his job  
Below: Headquarters of the Release Nelson Mandela Campaign after it was firebombed

basis of a more formal and enduring division of the country, giving some 86.3 per cent of its land to whites and a meagre 13.7 per cent was to be fragmented into ten "self-governing homelands" for the blacks, each destined to achieve "independence". Thus a predominantly black country becomes predominantly white, and the black becomes an alien in his (sic) own land.'

Elsewhere, it continues: 'It was for this reason ... that nearly seven-eighths of the territory was to be and still is, exclusively for the small white minority (now about 4.8 million people) and the remainder for the overwhelming black majority (now over 24 million people). The implementation of this design over the years, with the government riding rough-shod over the wishes and traditions of the people affected, necessitated coercion by the state in a manner and on a scale which reveal the inherent violence of the system.'

The Crossroads squatter camp outside Cape Town, as described by the report as 'a symbol of apartheid'. 'Its families,' says the EPG, 'were crowded into crude shanties, fashioned from discarded sheets of corrugated iron and lined with cardboard and polythene in an attempt to keep out the cold.'

'The shanties have neither sewage system nor electricity and are serviced only by a few communal water taps. Yet, in a

triumph of the human spirit, the people were clean, the shacks generally tidy. Even in conditions such as these the infant mortality rate, we were told, is barely a quarter of that in the "homelands": a telling commentary on the degree of deprivation there.

'Indeed, the almost total absence of employment opportunities in the "homelands" is one of the factors forcing families into Crossroads. Another is, of course, the possibility of their being together as families, even in these squalid conditions.'

During the EPG tour of South Africa, they discussed with ministers of the minority regime, and leaders of the black organisations such as the ANC and UDF, the possibility of ending apartheid under the five points laid down by the Nassau accord. 'In the ANC's view,' said the report, 'a peaceful resolution of the crisis in South Africa would become possible if the government took immediately the steps elaborated in the Nassau accord. These coincided with what the people of South Africa had been demanding for many years.'

that the main purpose of the EPG group was 'to assist in relieving the pressures on the South African government'.

The discussions with black organisations were summed up: 'Almost without exception, the government was regarded as deceitful and untrustworthy, a past-master of "double-think" and "double-speak". Its word was not to be believed. In any case, the country was now looking for deeds not words.'

This view, of course, is completely vindicated by the EPG account of its discussions with the apartheid regime.

The group put forward proposals to Pretoria, the 'Possible Negotiating Concept', designed to enable negotiations on dismantling apartheid to commence. Despite welcoming the EPG initiative, in practice the South African regime cocked a public snook.

On 19 May, just prior to the EPG's planned meeting with the cabinet constitutional committee in Cape Town, South African broadcasting stations announced that raids had taken place against so-called ANC bases in Zambia, Zimbabwe and Botswana. The ANC commented that the attacks were 'the regime's crystal clear response' to the EPG initiative.

The EPG report accepts that: 'It was all too plain that, while talking to the group about negotiations and peaceful solutions, the government had been planning these armed

attacks.' The Eminent Persons left South Africa

Ten days later, while the preparation of the report was underway, they received a letter from foreign affairs minister Pik Botha. 'The South African government,' it said, 'cannot accept the suggestion that violence should be discontinued only for as long as negotiations take place.' The 'reluctant but unequivocal judgement' of the EPG was that further talks would lead nowhere.

The conclusions in the EPG published report with regard to the five points were as follows:

● **Specific and meaningful action to dismantle apartheid:** 'We have examined the government's "programme of reforms" and have been forced to conclude that at present there is no genuine intention on the part of the South African government to dismantle apartheid.'

● **Termination of the existing state of emergency:** 'Although the state of emergency was technically lifted, the substantive powers remain broadly in force under the ordinary laws of the land which, even now, are being further strengthened in this direction.'

● **Release Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners:** 'Nelson Mandela and other political leaders remain in prison.'

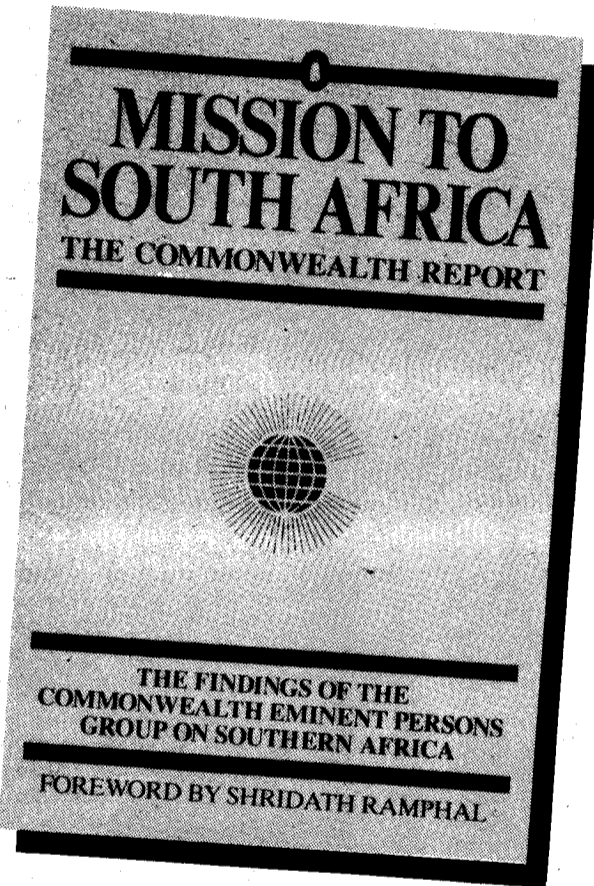
● **Lift the ban on the ANC and other political organisations:** 'Political freedom is far from being established; if anything, it is being more rigorously curtailed. The ANC and other political parties remain banned.'

● **Initiate a dialogue to establish a non-racial and representative government in the context of a suspension of violence on all sides:** 'The cycle of violence and counter-violence has spiralled and there is no present prospect of a progress of dialogue leading to the establishment of a non-racial and representative government.'

As an exercise in peacefully ending apartheid — and an attempt to defuse international pressure — the EPG mission was doomed to failure from the start. But from the point of view of an authoritative and effective exposure of the real character of the white minority state, *Mission to South Africa: The Commonwealth Report* should be read and digested. It can be used by every anti-apartheid activist to help bring pressure to bear for breaking all links with the South African regime.

To try to defuse pressure for sanctions the EPG produced a report which factually helps to reveal the full horror of apartheid and the duplicity and vileness of its government.

● *Mission to South Africa: The Commonwealth Report* is available in Penguin paperback, priced £2.50 for 176 explosive pages.



THE latest introduction of a state of emergency in South Africa, including a ban on media reporting of the actions of the so-called security forces, is intended to hide the intensification of the struggle of the black majority against the apartheid state and the increasingly violent retaliation of the state-paid thugs which accompanies it. Despite the press embargo, it is evident that the 16 June commemoration of the Soweto uprising saw millions of black South Africans take renewed action against the hated apartheid regime.

'There have been waves of protest in the past,' says the EPG report, published only days before the Soweto anniversary, 'invariably put down by the security forces. Today's is without precedent in its scale and immensity ...

'Calls for work stay-aways, consumer boycotts and general strikes achieve a level of solidarity that could not have been dreamt of even five years ago ... The government has now been driven to the point where it is unable to police its own laws in some black and coloured townships, where its policies inevitably lead to systematic repression by

the security forces.'

The objective of the EPG, established at a Commonwealth meeting in Nassau last autumn, quite simply was to try to find a way to head off the revolution which was feared to be approaching more rapidly as each day passed. The means were to be a negotiated end to the apartheid system brought about under the threat of escalating sanctions by member states.

Inevitably, it failed. 'The group's report makes it clear that, in the six months of their efforts, there has been no progress towards the dismantling of apartheid,' Commonwealth secretary Ramphal is forced to admit in his introduction to the published report.

'Sanctions and peace for South Africa have now become one and the same,' he says, '... Those outside who say that sanctions will "hurt the blacks" do not know how intense black suffering already is.'

Under the accord drawn up at the Nassau meeting, Commonwealth leaders agreed to a five-point programme of action on South Africa. They called on the Pretoria regime to: declare it would take 'specific and meaningful' action to dismantle apartheid; ter-

## Campaign group (Scotland) formed

THE CAMPAIGN Group (Scotland) was established at a well attended meeting in Glasgow on 21 June. The meeting was addressed by Eric Clarke, secretary of the Scottish NUM and the union's representative on the Labour Party NEC, and Tam Dalyell MP. Apologies were received from Campaign Group MPs Gavin Strang and Dennis Canavan.

Those at the meeting included members of Strathclyde Regional Council, Dumbarton District Council, the Scottish regional committee of the LPYS, Glasgow Maryhill CLP, Glasgow Pollock CLP, Glasgow Cathcart CLP, Glasgow Central CLP, Glasgow Hillhead CLP, Stirling CLP, Dumbarton CLP, Paisley South CLP, Clydebank and Milngavie CLP, Dundee Trades Council,

the Labour Committee on Ireland, and the Labour Women's Action Committee (Scotland).

The speakers pointed out that the Campaign Group (Scotland) is not about personalities but will concentrate on campaigning for socialist policies. It was reported that efforts will be made to establish Campaign Groups throughout the Scottish labour movement.

The meeting agreed to invite the members of the Campaign Group of Labour MPs in Scotland, and Eric Clarke, member of the Labour Party NEC and member of the Campaign Group, to become the honorary presidents of the Campaign Group (Scotland).

The other officers of Campaign Group (Scotland) are Peter Hogg, member of the Labour Party Scottish executive and Ann Henderson, Scottish organiser of the Labour Women's Action Committee.

The Campaign Group (Scotland) plans to hold a major public rally in early December.



Tam Dalyell

## Labour Youth Campaign Group formed

YOUTH ACTIVISTS of the Labour Party's left campaigns and newspapers are currently forming a coordinating body, the Labour Youth Campaign Group, to strengthen the fight for left policies, democratic change and representation in Labour's youth and student sections.

The campaigns and political issues we want to promote in the LPYS and NOLS are those like the Campaign for Labour Party Democracy, the Labour Women's Action Committee, the Labour Campaign for Lesbian and Gay Rights, and the Labour Party Black Sections.

We believe that many more young people will be attracted to activity in Labour's youth movements if they actively promote the struggles of women, black people and lesbians and gay men against discrimination and oppression as well as

Danny Nicol, Hornsey and Wood Green LPYS, CLPD

all struggles of the working class and youth.

In particular we want to coordinate and publicise speaking tours, meetings and information about other action around colleges. We aim to extend the growing number of Campaign Groups that are now being formed in college and university Labour Clubs, and will promote the sales of publications like Campaign Group News and Witch Hunt News.

In the LPYS it is hoped that the practice of fielding just one left candidate for the LPYS place on the Labour Party NEC will be continued.

The next planning meeting of the LYCG will be on Sunday 29th June at 2pm in the Fabian Society, Dartmouth Street, London. (St James tube). It is open to everyone interested in promoting these campaigns through Labour's youth sections. In particular it will discuss campaigning around the colleges over next term.

The following letter publicising the Labour Youth Campaign Group has been sent out to Labour Party youth organisations.

Dear comrades,

Enclosed is a copy of Campaign Group News, the monthly newspaper of the Campaign Group of Labour MPs.

Campaign Group News provides vital information on the activity of the Parliamentary Labour Party, the National Executive Committee of the Labour Party, the Campaign Group of MPs itself, as well as political discussion and material from Labour Party campaigns like the Women's Action Committee, Labour Party Black Sections, Labour Committee on Ireland, Labour Campaign for Lesbian and Gay Rights and the Campaign for Labour Party Democracy.

The newspaper, which started as four pages, is now eight pages and it is hoped to expand it to twelve pages from Labour Party conference. To make this feasible the newspaper needs to achieve a wide circulation. You can help assist its distribution by placing a regular bulk order for circulation. Bulk orders are sent out monthly, at the rate of twenty pence per copy. Cheques should be made payable to 'Campaign Group News'.

If you are interested in helping with the distribution of Campaign Group News, by taking a bulk order, write to: Campaign Group of Labour MPs, c/o Alan Meale (Secretary), House of Commons, London SW1A 0AA.

Yours in Comradeship,  
Danny Nicol,  
Labour Youth Campaign Group.

CAMPAIGN GROUP  
OF LABOUR MPs  
PUBLIC MEETING

WHICH WAY FOR  
THE LEFT?

8pm Tuesday 22 July

Hampstead Town Hall  
Haverstock Hill (Belsize tube)

ADMISSION 15

## "Liverpool today, others tomorrow"

THE EXPULSIONS by the NEC of the Liverpool party members are an absolute disgrace. In many instances nothing at all has been proved by the national executive trials. In any case, there is no crime in supporting a particular newspaper.

Concerning the so-called malpractices in the Liverpool District Labour Party, the fact is that there is nothing proved there either. But if those charged with malpractice were guilty, then so were the District Labour Party members who were not charged.

The procedures for the NEC trial were also a disgrace. For example, in the case of Tony Mulhearn, material was introduced and referred to during the NEC discussion after he left which was never actually been put to him.

I objected very strongly to this. So did others. It is prejudicial to follow such a practice.

I don't normally agree with people taking the party to court. But under the

circumstances I think Mulhearn is right to do so. Those expelled simply aren't getting a square deal.

By Eric Heffer

After his expulsion, the Garston party has taken a decision to allow Tony Mulhearn to continue to attend the meetings of the party. The fact is that they are now forced to put themselves into difficulty with the rules of the party.

The NEC has decided to send Joyce Gould to Garston to outline the situation. That is against my wishes and those of other members of the executive who are opposed to expulsions.

We have argued that this should be a question of mediation — a question



with the local party. This has been done before. As chair of the party I was involved in such discussions myself.

But in Liverpool the heavy fist is being threatened. I fear that Garston could well find itself disbanded.

This won't apply only to Garston. My own constituency has said that if Felicity Dowling is thrown out they will not recognise

the expulsion.

We could be faced with the same situation — and so could all the other Liverpool constituencies who stand four square with those who have been thrown out by the NEC. We could end up with the situation where most of the constituency parties in Liverpool are disbanded. That is a very serious matter.

What rank and file members don't understand — what's not getting across to the party — is the enormity of what is happening. It isn't just a question of individuals being expelled, serious though that is. It is a matter of whole parties being disbanded, and of individuals then being vetted as to whether they can re-join the party once this has happened.

When you consider that the 'crimes' of the Liverpool District Labour Party were that they discussed questions such as

Nicaragua and South Africa, the party leadership election — all these things are said to be outside the rules of the party! I would put it to every single party member in the country: if parties are not allowed to discuss such matters, what is the point of having organisations like District Labour Parties, what is the point in having coordinating bodies to mobilise the party in the city to carry out the struggle for socialism?

This aspect is being missed in considering the expulsions as just an issue of what is happening to Militant supporters. The witch hunt is far bigger than that issue.

An enormity is taking place in the party at the present moment. If Garston and other parties in Liverpool are threatened with disbandment, the entire Labour Party across the country must mobilise against it. It is Liverpool today but them tomorrow.

## Women's Action Committee WAC's proposed electoral college

THE PROPOSALS put forward by the Labour Women's Action Committee (WAC) to establish an electoral college at women's conference to elect the five women's places of the NEC is a major initiative. Socialist Action asked DIANE ABBOTT, member of the executive of WAC, for her view on the issue.

IN the last four or five years at Labour women's conference we have seen successive gains by women on the left on a whole range of issues, but more specifically around the constitutional demands of the Labour Women's Action Committee (WAC). This year we saw an attempt to roll them back.

Those attempting to do so described themselves as 'trade union women', like Sarah Benton writing in *New Statesman* who described conference as a split between trade unions and the left.

### Gains

That was a wholly false dichotomy. What happened on the Isle of Bute was that a few right wing women attempted to use the cover of the trade unions against gains made by the left.

On the specific issue of

the NUPE resolution, one has to accept that it was a genuine attempt at some kind of compromise. Year after year women's conference unites behind the constitutional demands

### Stalemate

of WAC, and year after year at annual party conference we lose. It was beginning to look like a stalemate and NUPE was attempting conciliation. In retrospect, it would have been better to put down an amendment which would have made their resolution acceptable to us.

WAC is anxious that there shouldn't be any kind of genuine split between women in the unions and women in WAC. We accept the point of involving the trade unions in the decisions of women's conference.

Originally we were in favour of a rules revision



conference which would have looked at the unions' role. Now we would like to discuss the organisation of an electoral college which would give more say to the unions than they presently have at women's conference, on the basis of their female membership.

WAC is proposing a 50-50 college between unions and socialist societies on the one hand and Labour Party women's councils and sections on the other. That seems reasonable to me, but I think it should be open to negotiation.

The problem is who controls the votes cast by the trade unions. WAC supporters in the unions are going to have to work for more control by women union members that they've got at the moment.

### Elected

Take the issue of who is elected onto the Labour Party NEC. Under the present system, basically the trade unions decide who will be on the women's section of the NEC.

The issue of whether the women elected are actually supported by women is missed. Trade union men sit around in hotels on Sunday and do little deals. That's why you get women like Betty Boothroyd elected.

If we are seriously talking about advancing the interests of women then women union members must have some say in how their unions cast their votes. But that requires women activists working within the trade union structures. No one from outside can tell a trade union what to do.

I believe that our interest in trying to find an amicable resolution to the issues raised by the NUPE resolution will bring women in WAC and women in the unions close together, and will have a blow-on effect in the trade unions. That process will generate more involvement in the trade unions by women. Take ACTT. We began having a women's conference four or five years ago. It started very small, but last year 250 women attended.

This has had a galvanising effect on the union. A lot of women, including myself, began by getting involved in women's conference. From there we got more involved in the union as a whole.

### Positive

This has had a very positive effect on a whole range of policies within the union. Now the ACTT executive is half women, for example. Even the hardened misogynists in ACTT accept that women have given a radical cutting edge to the union.

News

# Justice demanded for Khan and Scally

**ANGER WAS rising in the Labour party last week over the NEC's ratification of Sparkbrook Labour Party's expulsion of Amir Khan and Kevin Scally. The vote on the NEC was 13 to 12 in favour of the expulsion.**

What makes the situation still more serious in the case of Khan and Scally is the role played in the affair by Roy Hattersley. Hattersley is MP for Sparkbrook, and therefore deeply involved in the entire Khan/Scally expulsion. Yet, despite being an interested party, Hattersley voted in the appeal on the expulsion — casting his vote against Khan and Scally's appeal.

By John Ross

The same development occurred with NEC member Ken Cure. Cure was part of the NEC team which investigated the expulsions in Sparkbrook. Yet, despite this, Cure voted on the expulsions in both the NEC and the appeals and mediation committee. Cure not merely voted but then used his chair's casting vote to break the 2:2 tied vote to suspend for nine months, rather than expel, Khan and Scally. Cure used his casting vote to ratify the expulsion.

Roy Hattersley, in addition, used his formal right as an officer of the party to be present at the appeals and mediation committee. Hattersley's vote ensured that the appeal against expulsion was rejected by 3 votes to 2. Hattersley then voted on the NEC to reject the

appeals of Khan and Scally.

This procedure whereby someone is both part of the investigating team and sits in judgement — the procedure followed by Cure — has already been ruled out of order by the courts.

The Labour Party Black Section has been taking legal advice over the procedure followed in the expulsion votes. Kevin O'Reilly, a legal adviser to the Campaign for Labour Party Democracy, has also been looking at the matter. Decisions on legal action, for violations of natural justice, are expected in due course.

Amir Khan was expelled for attempting to organise a Black Section in



Kevin Scally



Sparkbrook. In fact he found 300 people to attend a meeting over whether a Black Section should be formed. Roy Hattersley has repeatedly declared himself virulently opposed to the creation of Black Sections. The suspicion held, therefore, is that those responsible for Khan's expulsion saw this as a way of getting rid of a political opponent — utilising the McCarthyite atmosphere created by the national witch hunt to make this easier.

Kevin Scally had been shocked by irregularities which appeared to exist in membership enrolment in the Sparkbrook party. He had been attempting to investigate them.

Scally appeared on television to attempt to bring these suspected irregularities to public attention — and we may point out that appearing on television is scarcely something Hattersley has never done. But instead of setting up an investigation

to ascertain the truth of the evidence brought to light by Scally he was expelled from the party.

The Labour Party Black Section, of which Amir Khan is a member, participants in the Labour Committee on Ireland, of which Kevin Scally is a supporter, have both made it clear that they want the broadest possible defence campaign built for Khan and Scally.

The Campaign Group of MPs, the Black Section, and CLPD responded immediately to the expulsions by calling a press conference at the House of Commons attended by Dennis Skinner, Eric Hefner, Bob Clay of the Campaign Group of MPs, Amir Khan, Paul Sharma of the Black Section, and Kevin O'Reilly of CLPD. However it is hoped that far wider political forces will participate in the defence campaign.

The Labour Coordinating Committee, David Blunkett, Ken Liv-

ingstone (honorary president of the Labour Committee on Ireland) and trade union figures have spoken out against the expulsion of Khan and Scally. It is hoped that all will participate in the campaign and demand Khan and Scally's reinstatement, with no preconditions, in the party.

Marc Wadsworth, national chair of the Labour Party Black Section, has made it clear that while the Black Section will be demanding the immediate reinstatement of Amir Khan they will be giving equal support to Kevin Scally. 'We will defend our people. But on this matter we consider Kevin Scally one of our people, because he has given us unstinting support,' Wadsworth told Socialist Action. He made it clear that the Labour Party Black Section did not make support for Black Sections a basis for participating in any defence campaign for Khan and Scally. He hoped all party members would participate.



Amir Khan

# IRELAND UNFREE

## Divorce referendum

**ON 26 JUNE voters in the 26 Counties go to the polls to vote in a referendum which would amend the 1937 constitution to remove the ban on divorce. Although the establishment parties have steered well clear of the issues involved, concentrating on gaining petty political advantage from each other's embarrassment, the stakes are clear — can the 'traditional' relationship between church and state continue to deny civil liberties and women's rights?**

In the 1983 debate on abortion, the church was used by reactionary Catholic organisations to 'test the water' for a full-scale assault on abortion rights in the United States. Although a woman's right to control her fertility is now denied not just by law but by the constitution as well, the public airing of the issues educated thousands of women previously denied basic information about abortion and contraception. Opinion polls showed that there had been a swing in favour of abortion rights as a result of the referendum.

Each time that an item of civil rights comes before the electorate as a whole the claim of the church that it is entitled to rule on matters of civil as well as moral law is undermined. Mindful of the blow to the Catholic church caused by the Italian divorce referendum, Archbishop of Dublin, Kevin McNamara talked in a recent interview of the 'plague of divorce' which 'like the Chernobyl disaster' knew no national boundaries.

Government coalition partners, Fine Gael and Labour have been careful to present the issue in a way that does not threaten the 'special relationship' between church and state, and stresses the 'compassionate' character of the amendment which will strengthen the family by allowing partners a 'second chance'. Rather than simply deleting all reference to the indissolubility of marriage from the constitution, their amendment introduces a 'right' to divorce after five years of legal separation on the grounds of marriage breakdown. It is stressed that there are 'safeguards' to prevent divorce from being 'too easy'.

They have chosen to introduce such an amendment now, not because it is a basic civil liberty, nor even because it is estimated there are 70,000 spouses in a 'marital breakdown situation' — but because opinion polls show 57 per cent in favour of divorce. They calculate a successful referendum will reinvigorate their 'reforming' image as against the more traditional Fianna Fail opposition.

The Divorce Action Group, which for years has been trying to introduce a change in the law is frustrated by the cynical establishment response to the public debate. Whilst extreme right wing religious organisations like the Knights of Columbus and Opus Dei, under the umbrella of 'Family Solidarity', have been mobilised to visit every home, the government has put virtually no energy into its vote 'yes' campaign. Fianna Fail claimed to be neutral on the referendum, but every major spokesperson has identified with the anti-divorce lobby. It has been left to the labour movement to fight the case for divorce as a civil rights and feminist issue. The Irish Congress of Trade Unions identified itself early in the campaign as in favour of the deletion of an 'undemocratic and sectarian ban on the right to divorce'.

Sinn Fein president, Gerry Adams, accused the forces behind the anti divorce campaign of 'engaging in a subtle form of blackmail to force their own views on society in general. Once again,' he said, 'Sinn Fein is calling for a massive show of support for what is, in fact, a basic civil right.'

## Hypocrisy or idiocy?

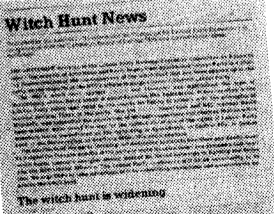
SINN FEIN councillors in Omagh recently presented a plaque to the Irish Anti Apartheid Movement honouring Nelson Mandela. Two months previously they had made him a citizen of the district. In contrast to the stated position of the SDLP leadership, its local councillors objected — claiming that 'no one who failed to renounce violence' could be so honoured!

● From Republican News, 5 June 1986.

## New issue of Witch Hunt News

**THE June/July issue of Witch Hunt News, published by Labour Left Liaison and CLPD in association with the Campaign Group of MPs, has just been published.**

The new issue includes, among other materials, details of the Khan/Scally expulsions; articles on the expulsions of Hatton, Mulhearn and others in Liverpool; material on the extension of the witch hunt into the National Organisation of Labour Students; an article on three new expulsions in Scotland, and the beginning of legal actions in Ipswich.



● Witch Hunt News is available price 20p, including postage from Witch Hunt News, c/o 36 Melbourne Rd, London E17. Bulk orders may be placed at £1 for ten copies, postage included.

# How not to fight the witch hunt

**THE WITCH hunt is a fundamental issue facing every member of the Labour Party. It threatens every single campaigner for women's liberation, against racism, for socialism, for British withdrawal from Ireland, or other issues in the party. As the expulsions of Amir Khan and Kevin Scally have shown any witch hunt, whether launched against Militant or anyone else, inevitably spreads out to affect all sections of the party.**

For that reason it is unfortunate to report that the London conference called against the witch hunt on 21 June was a failure. Not because opposition to the witch hunt is shrinking — on the contrary it is growing. The reason was that both the planning of the conference, and the resolution coming out of it, were ruined by childish ultra-left sectarianism put forward by supporters of Labour Briefing

The first step to wrecking the conference, and which led to its failure, started when the steering committee to prepare the conference, with the vote of Labour Briefing supporters, refused to allow Ken Livingstone to speak at the conference. Whatever other positions Livingstone has expressed, he has spoken out repeatedly against expulsions from the party — including those of Khan and Scally, Militant supporters, and all others.

The sectarian and ultra-left basis on which the conference was built, meant that despite an impressive platform the conference was very small — around 100 people.

The resolution adopted at the conference continued the same path. The resolution presented attempted to lay down a universal tactic that the conference: 'calls on CLPs whose members are "expelled" by the NEC or Regional Executives ... to refuse to accept such decisions! Only at the last moment, after the conference had been built on the original basis, was the resolution correctly changed to being that the conference 'supports' the CLPs that take the path of refusing to recognize expulsions.

Any attempt to impose such a universal tactic, which involves the risk of disbandment of CLPs by the NEC at such a conference is absurd. Earlier proposals by

supporters of Socialist Action to remove these ultra-left sections of the resolution had been voted down.

Proposals to support a Khan-Scally Defence Campaign were also attacked from the floor as 'dividing' the struggle against the witch hunt — failing to realise that a victory in reinstating Khan and Scally would, on the contrary, be a blow against the entire witch hunt.

These antics must have deeply disappointed most of the platform speakers — as well as anyone seeking a serious lead in the struggle against the witch hunt.

Audrey Wise spelt out clearly why she was against Militant's politics. But she also argued convincingly why she was totally against witch hunts in the party and attempts to settle differences by expulsions.

Linda Bellos, vice-chair of the Black Section and leader of the Lambeth council, made exactly the same point from a black perspective. She pointed out that no one had been subjected to greater vilification within the party by Militant than the Black Section, but that the Labour Party Black sections opposed all witch hunts. She pointed out that the logic of them in the frame up expulsion of

Black Section member Amir Khan in Birmingham.

Dave Anderson, speaking from the Durham mechanics, pointed out the dual standards being applied in the witch hunt. People were openly associating with a non-TUC organisation the UDM in the Labour Party in Nottingham, and no action was being taken against them.

Tony Mulhearn's speech also seemed to represent a certain step forward in how Militant were expressing their thinking. He strongly defended the right of the Labour Party Black Section to put forward their ideas in the party — while expressing the normal Militant opposition to Black Sections.

In short there was a lot of fruitful material that was brought out at the conference that could have provided the basis for going forward. But instead the conference was wrecked by the ultra-left and sectarian policies both before the conference and at it

This type of infantile leftist politics is not a joke, it has to be fought against by the left if it is not to suffer unnecessary reverses.

**LAST WEEK** Oliver Tambo, president of the African National Congress, made a speech in Paris which was reported around the world. Speaking in the UNESCO hall Tambo said that South Africa must prepare itself for war. The ANC hoped for a speedy end to the apartheid regime, which could be brought about by international action, but if that were not forthcoming it would take any measures necessary to free South Africa. We are printing OLIVER TAMBO'S speech in full.

**THIS HALL**, situated in the historic city of Paris, evokes in us a feeling of inspiration. We who come from South Africa will always associate it with our struggle. To us, it is a battleground on which many battles have been fought successfully in furtherance of the efforts of the peoples of Namibia and Southern Africa as well as South Africa to free themselves from racial and colonial domination, exploitation and aggression. It stands already as an historic tribute to the resolve of the peoples of Africa, Asia, Europe, the Americas and Australia to maintain their humanity by refusing to accept the subjugation of our people.

As you know, Mr Chairman, we say this because, over the years, we have convened a number of times in this very hall of UNESCO, to consider what should collectively be done to bring to a speedy end the intolerable situation which continues to persist in Southern Africa. From here there have emerged decisions expressing a world point of view which has made an enormous contribution to the process which has brought us to the stage when we can say that although hard battles, bigger battles remain yet to be fought, yet our common victory stands in sight.

We thank the United Nations and in particular, the UN Special Committee Against Apartheid which has enabled us to convene here today especially at this critical time in the struggle to free Namibia and South Africa. We thank UNESCO for hosting this conference.

There have been brought here leading personalities from around the world, well-known opponents of colonialism, racism and apartheid. We have even heard yet again the voice of that great fighter for justice and peace, Olaf Palme. A voice which came through by way of a statement made here by his widow, our sister, Lizabeth Palme. We extend to everyone present here the greeting of the African National Congress and the beleaguered people of South Africa. We salute all our friends in the United States, our supporters in Britain and West Germany as well as in this country. We salute our fellow fighters, the PLO and SWAPO. And to you all we bring the assurance that racism and colonialism in Southern Africa cannot survive our common efforts. It cannot survive much longer.

At the same time, we carry with us the simple message that the times demand of all of us, drawn from all parts of the globe, that we sue for victory now rather than later, today rather than tomorrow. The fact that victory is approaching is no longer open to doubt. The questions that remain unanswered are when and at what



Tambo: 'The fact that victory is approaching is no longer open to doubt'

costs. The answer to the latter question rests entirely with the international community. We shall pay any cost necessary to bring liberation to our country in the shortest possible time. But the time may be protracted by the hesitations of the international community to intervene at our call and on our appeal.

## Gains

In that sense, it is most appropriate that we meet in this hall to continue the endeavours that were born here. It is manifestly imperative that gathered as we are at this conference, we should deliberately build on our successes, and basing ourselves on our gains, move forward in an uninterrupted offensive that will result in the banishment of racism, colonialism, fascism and war in Southern Africa once and for all time.

And what, Mr Chairman, are these gains to which we refer? The result of our common efforts is that today there are few people in the world who do not know what apartheid means, who are not aware of the evil nature of this man hating system. There are today very few people who will not oppose the apartheid monster by word or deed, who are unwilling to do that little more which will bring this monster to its knees. In reality, even the argument in favour of sanctions has been won except on the part of those who, for reasons of racist principle or avaricious self-interest, continue to argue that the Pretoria regime must be treated as an errant child — lovingly kept within the bosom of the family of nations. Occasionally, gently chided and offered sweets as an inducement to mend its wayward behaviour.

It would therefore seem clear to us that from these successes, which are truly significant, we can in fact enhance the isolation of apartheid South Africa, in a meaningful way. Taking advantage of mass, popular sentiment in favour of sanctions, governments that are committed to anti-racism and truly interested to minimise the bloodshed and usher in an era of peace, freedom and justice in Southern Africa, can and must take firm steps towards the imposition of comprehensive sanctions.

Equally, this feeling in favour of meaningful action against the apartheid regime provides the basis for public organisations such as political parties, trade unions, churches, anti-apartheid movements and others to mobilise for the imposition of sanctions by the people themselves.

Surely, it has by now become patently clear to all thinking people that unless the world takes decisive action now, a bloodbath in South and Southern Africa is inevitable.

We met yesterday on the occasion of the 10th anniversary of the Soweto uprising. To honour our youth who were killed ten years ago and to advance the cause for which they perished, the African National Congress and all other democratic forces in our country called for a national general strike, as well as commemorative mass rallies and meetings.

## Massacre

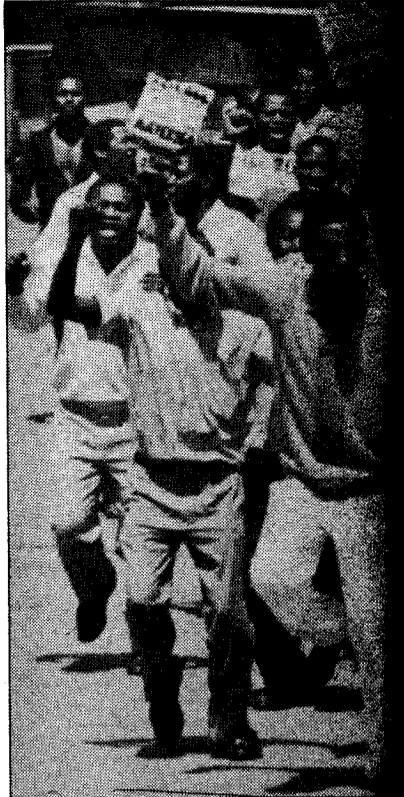
As all of us here know, the apartheid regime, in response, took unprecedented measures to place itself in a position where it could, on that very day, massacre our people in their tens of thousands. Huge numbers of armed soldiers and policemen were deployed and con-

tinued to be deployed in both the black and white areas of our country. The enemy hopes that through sheer use of terror, it can force our people to go to work against their own decision, and having done so, not to engage in mass demonstrations in the centres of towns and cities.

We now know that the strike was a resounding success with millions of people staying away from work. It has perhaps been the greatest national strike in the history of South Africa.

That was an act of defiance of South Africa's military might which as we have said was deployed everywhere across the country. What we do not know and what has not yet come through fully is what did the regime do behind the screen imposed by restrictions against the publication of information. Why was it necessary to cut off from the South African scene the eyes and the ears of the world? What crime was the regime preparing for? The perpetration of which should not be known to the international community.

We have some idea of what has happened, some reports yet to be confirmed point to massive slaughter in South Africa yesterday. Because the people would have gone ahead with their mass demonstrations and rallies. And it appears that they were treated to what may have been monstrous massacres. The Pretoria regime will do everything within its power to conceal the magnitude of that crime. But the crime will be there nonetheless. And exactly because of that crime, the need arises very strongly for the criminals to be liquidated and eliminated. The apartheid system has to be destroyed and put an end to this crime against humanity.



'The enemy hopes that by sheer use of

# 'We our

For death, which has become our daily bread in South Africa, has also become so much a part of our daily lives that it can no longer serve as deterrence discouraging struggle. Indeed, death has become so much a part of our daily lives that the urgent necessity to end the murderous system of apartheid presses on us with the greatest insistence. And therefore, having learnt the lessons that the enemy seeks to teach us today, our people will join the armed offensive in even greater numbers, displaying the same bravery and the same contempt for death that they have shown in the past two years and even before.

We speak not with a sense of satisfaction when we say that the Botha regime is dragging our coun-



'Death, which has become our daily b



Photo: IDAF

terror it can force our people to go to work'

# They should steel themselves for war'

try into the situation which we witness today. The prospect of growing numbers of people killed and injured, be they black or white, does not fill us with any joy. We view it as a sombre prospect and wish it could have been avoided.

However, we have learnt to look reality in the face. That reality demands that in order to win our liberty we must be prepared to make the necessary sacrifices. It also demands that we should steel ourselves for war with all the consequences which that implies. We are certainly not prepared to live as slaves and will therefore continue to intensify our offensive for the victory of the cause of democracy, national liberation and peace in our country.

The certainty of greatly increas-

ed violence is not confined to South Africa. It is a prospect which faces the peoples of Southern Africa, the countries of that region. Already many people have died in our region and enormous destruction has been caused by the aggression of the apartheid regime. Many people are dying and destruction is in process. As the regime grows more desperate, so will it seek to wreak more havoc throughout the region.

## Blame

The major western powers and in particular the United States, Great Britain, the Federal Republic of Germany as well as others, cannot avoid taking the blame for this inevitable and terrible outcome. It is they who have, above all, shield-

ed the apartheid regime from decisive international action. They have aided and abetted this regime in the past and continue to do so today. Current reports confirm that these governments remain determined to persist in their ignoble and dishonourable role as allies of a truly murderous regime.

It has been our fervent hope that these governments would have drawn the necessary conclusions from the report of the Commonwealth Group of Eminent Persons, that to which Sir Shridath Ramphal, secretary general of the Commonwealth referred when he addressed this conference. Moved by what it saw and heard in South Africa, the Group of Eminent Persons has given timely warning about the impending horrendous

bloodbath and called for decisive action by the international community to avert this possibility.

Of necessity this call is directed in the first instance to the principal economic partners of apartheid South Africa, the countries we have already mentioned. It is one of the great tragedies of our epoch that countries which see themselves as the most exemplary democracies of all time should choose to go down in history as the force that blocked the birth of democracy in South Africa and elected instead to appease racism and white minority rule and consequently to see our people perish in their millions.

Time is indeed running out if it has not done so already. If those who have the power and obligation to impose sanctions fail to do so

now, then history will surely judge them as co-conspirators and participants in the commission of a crime of immense dimensions.

The African National Congress and the masses of the people it leads are committed to the victory of the cause of democracy in our country. There should be no doubt whatsoever that with your support, we shall emerge victorious. Already, reports coming out of South Africa today confirm that despite all the extraordinary measures of state terrorism that the Botha regime has adopted, our people as we have said, have moved to demonstrate their determination to bring the regime down.

## Liberation

These masses, and their organisation, the ANC and other democratic forces, would have dearly loved to liberate our country from a racist tyranny by peaceful means, including negotiations. Indeed over many years we tried again and again to achieve this result, to no avail. The Commonwealth Group of Eminent Persons has now added its confirmation that the Botha regime is not prepared to resolve the problems of South Africa by negotiations. It is instead as committed as ever to maintain the system of white minority rule by repression and violence.

This surely must lay to rest the illusion that negotiations are an option available to us and confirms the hollowness and bankruptcy of arguments that decisive action should be avoided in the interests of promoting the chances of a negotiated settlement. The call made on us to renounce violence, as it is called, is nothing but a ruse to render us impotent precisely for the purpose of ensuring the perpetuation of the apartheid system. We shall certainly not fall into that trap.

It is significant who is making this call. It is those who are wielding power and armed force against the people. They who are shooting our people down, they will come to the conference table armed. We must get there empty handed.

## Offensive

To achieve change we must and will continue to intensify our political and military offensive. We owe it to ourselves as a people and to the thousands who've died even in the period since 16 June 1976 not to mention those who died on that date. We owe it to the peoples of Southern Africa, the peoples of Africa and the rest of the world. We, as the representatives within South Africa of the objectives contained in the Charter of the United Nations and the Declaration on Human Rights count on you all to give us all-round support. The obligation to choose to be on the side of the oppressed people of our country and their national liberation movement can no longer be avoided.

On behalf of the African National Congress and the fighting people of South Africa, we greet all participants at this timely world conference on Sanctions Against Racist South Africa. We extend our heartfelt thanks to all who have acted to help end the apartheid system. Over many years you have stood side by side with us because you would not countenance the commission of a crime against humanity. We call on you today, on this important occasion in our history, the 10th anniversary of Soweto, when it is possible that yet more massacres will take place. We call on you to act decisively now for the total isolation of the apartheid regime.

Photo: IDAF

and in South Africa, has also become so much a part of our daily lives that it can no longer serve as deterrence'

# Anti-zionism and anti-semitism

WITH THE US bombing of Libya the world has again been alerted to the potential of the Middle East as a flashpoint for international conflict. Even a Conservative Politician like Edward Heath can recognise that. In order to explain what was happening around Libya he said: 'We need to go back to the root of the Middle East problem, which is the Palestinian problem and the relationship between Israel and the Arab World.'

How much of a coincidence is it then, that when some attention is at last focussed on the plight of the Palestinians, the issue of 'left anti-semitism' is quickly thrust into the limelight by Zionists who, unable to give a convincing defence of their views, seek instead to shift the ground of the debate? It is no accident at all. It is a tactic guaranteed to confuse the liberal conscience and inhibit the analytical mind.

If anti-semitism exists on the 'left', then that is serious and must be dealt with. However, the fight against anti-semitism is not helped by creating in peoples' minds a false connection between anti-semitism and anti-zionism.

By Linda Balfe

Anti-semitism is racism, often of the kind that equates an ethnic group with a particular social function and class and then talks in racial, rather than class, terms. This is what Hugo Young does when he writes in *The Guardian* 27 May 1986 that: 'Insofar as one can generalise, the Jewish ideal elevates such qualities as ambition, purposefulness, material success, and self-help towards self-advancement ... as a moral code for upward mobility, such as Mrs. Thatcher devoutly wishes the country to aspire to, Jewish teaching supplies a valuable model.'

Anti-zionism is something quite different. It is a principled opposition to a political theory, and, hence, the ideology underpinning the realisation of that theory, in the state of Israel. It is not directed against Jewish people, any more than anti-apartheid struggles are directed against white South Africans as such. In both cases it is the political system of the country that is under attack.

Zionism is an ideology which, at the least, accepts the logic of anti-semitism, by agreeing that Jews, because of 'human nature', cannot live in multi-ethnic communities (although the vast majority of Jews do) and thus seeks to set up a separate Jewish 'Homeland'. At worst, certain Zionists actually collaborated with anti-semites, in trying to persuade them to move their 'unwanted Jews' to Palestine.

Zionism is also racist. Not only because it sells out the Jews with a 'false Messiah', but because it could never have been possible to establish a Jewish 'Homeland', the state of Israel to which all Jews in the world have the right to 'return', without destroying Palestine and expelling or subjugating the Palestinians. This was always known but rarely admitted even to this day. Theodor Herzl, founder of the Zionist Organisation, as far back as 1886 however, explicitly envisaged the future Israeli State as: '... part of a wall of defence for Europe in Asia, an outpost of civilisation against barbarism', i.e. a colonial-settler state.

## Reality

The real test of Zionism, of course, is not its intention, but its reality in Palestine. What is the reality for the Palestinians? In November 1947, 1,380,000 Palestinian Arabs were living in Palestine. By 15 May 1948, 960,000 of those Palestinians had become refugees and 78 per cent of Palestine had become 'Israel'. In 1967, Israel occupied what remained of Palestine: the West Bank of the Jordan and the Gaza Strip. As a consequence, a further 500,000 Palestinians became homeless.



The result of this today is that there are now over four million Palestinians: two million of them live completely outside of Occupied Palestine, 1,500,000 live as stateless persons under occupation in the West Bank and Gaza, while a further 750,000 (17 per cent of Israel's population) live as second class citizens in that country, under bantustan-like conditions. None of them lives in Palestine because it no longer exists. It has been wiped off the map.

## Massacre

How did four million people lose, not only their homes, but their country? In 1948, in Der Yassin, a village near Jerusalem, 253 civilians were massacred in cold blood by Menachin Begin's 'Irgun' Gang. The word spread and other Palestinians fled in terror, hoping to return. Most are still waiting and could never return: a total of 385 villages were destroyed, and their inhabitants driven away, by the nascent state of Israel.

As Moshe Dayan, a leading Israeli politician put it: 'Jewish villages were built in the place of Arab villages. You do not even know the names of these Arab villages, and I don't blame you, because those geography books no longer exist; not only do the books not exist, the Arab villages are not there either ... There is not one single place built in this country that did not have a former Arab population.' (*Ha'aretz* 4 April 1969).

The West Bank and Gaza, occupied in 1967, are covered, in scores of illegal Israeli settlements. Similarly, the Syrian Golan Heights, occupied in 1967 and annexed in 1981, has seen the destruction of over 100 Arab villages. Only four remain, cheek by jowl with new Israeli settlements. The Syrian Druze of the Golan have been forced, despite vigorous opposition, to take Israeli citizenship.

## Occupation

In 1982, the whole of south Lebanon was occupied by Israel in a desperate, and ultimately unsuccessful, attempt to destroy the Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO) politically as well as militarily.

It is estimated that at least 12,000 people were killed and 40,000 wounded in this venture. Another 300,000 were made homeless and Beirut was devastated. The war in Lebanon has not yet ended.

It is no coincidence then, given such a past record, that Israel, together with the United States neighbour Canada, was the only country not to condemn the British and American attack on Libya. Only six months earlier, in October 1985, eight US made jet fighters of the Israeli Air Force swept over Tunis and bombed PLO headquarters, leaving 75 dead and 120 wounded. Washington called the action 'legitimate'.

## Adventure

In January of this year, it became clear that the US had another such adventure lined up for her Middle East proxy. *Ma'aviv*, a Hebrew language newspaper, reported on 2 January: 'The world and especially the US is today looking at Libya through a rifle's viewfinder. The Americans are heroically leaning on us to attack and punish Ghaddafi and the terrorists under his protection ...'

Four days later the *Ha'aretz* newspaper informed the Israeli public that: 'Prime Minister Shimon Peres has refused to rule out an Israeli punishment raid on the terrorist camps in Libya.'

Israel's failure to attack Libya, leaving it to Britain and the US, does not signify any new-found passivity on her part. Rather it seems increasingly likely that a war against Syria or Jordan or both is in prospect. Israel's aggression towards both her Arab neighbours and the Palestinians continues unabated.

The prospects for the Palestinians today are not good. But, even as they again come under attack in the refugee camps of South Lebanon, who suffer in the 'Occupied Territories' under the Israeli 'Iron Fist' policy and are the object of hollow 'peace proposals' which seek to deny them their inalienable rights, the Palestinians are steadfast. They continue to resist and their resistance is increasing.

The logic of Zionist expansionism

is the threats of Mier Kahane, a fascist and increasingly popular Knesset member: 'I'm saying what everyone is thinking. There's only one solution. Only one. And it's not a partial solution. Arabs out! Out! That's the solution.'

But the Palestinians continue to reaffirm the words, now 20 years old, of Tawfik Zayyad, mayor of Nazareth:

'... We are the guardians of the shade of orange trees and olive trees  
We sow ideas like yeast in the pastry  
Our nerves are of ice  
But our hearts blaze with fire  
If we are thirsty we shall wring the stones

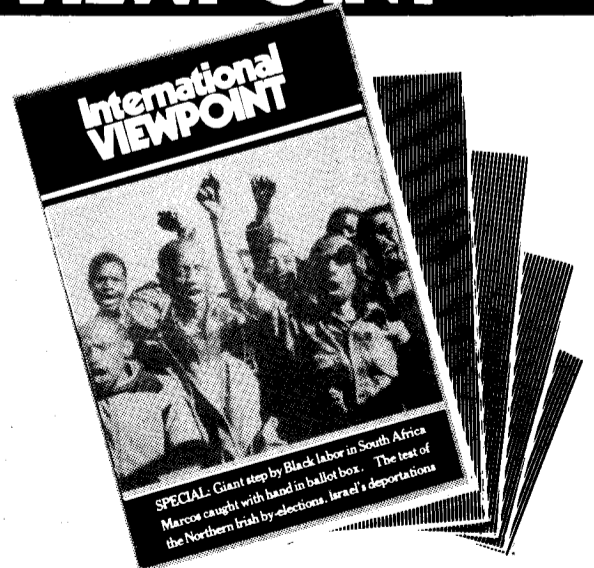
We shall eat dirt if we are hungry  
But we shall never leave  
And we shall never begrudge our blood

Here we have a past  
A present  
Here is our future ...'

The same logic that inspires people to fight against anti-semitism, or against apartheid in South Africa, leads them also to fight against Zionism and the state of Israel.

● Quotations from Israeli press, translated from the Hebrew by *Israeli Mirror*, 21 Collingham Rd, London SW5 0NU.

## International VIEWPOINT



### FORTNIGHTLY NEWS REVIEW

Subscription rates: 6 months £9 (95FF); 1 year £16 (175FF). Payment in French francs if possible. Personal cheques to PEC and mail to: IV, 2 rue Richard Lenoir, 93108 Montreuil.

Postal orders to PEC, CCP Account no. 2-322-42T Paris. Bank transfers to PEC BNP Robespierre, 153 rue de Paris, 93108 Montreuil, France.



## International

# Mass strikes grip Belgium

31 MAY SAW the biggest demonstration in Belgian history. More than 150,000 people marched in Brussels — equivalent to 1.2 million in a country with a population the size of Britain. The march was called by the Belgian labour movement and supported by women's, ecological and other organisations.

The demonstration was called to protest against the austerity policy of the right wing Martens government. This has put forward an austerity plan involving government 'savings' of \$4.4 billion and cutting 28,000 jobs — mainly in education, the civil service, and social services. The demonstration followed weeks of strikes in Belgium.

Demonstrations against the austerity plan started even before it was officially announced. At the beginning of April 18,000 miners in Limbourg, Flanders, went on strike against the threat to 3,000 jobs. On 21 April they started an all out strike.

On 1 May the socialist public sector workers' trade union federation (CGSP) showered the traditional May Day demonstrations with leaflets calling for a strike. This was only one of many actions nationally which prepared a 24 hour general strike on 6 May.

The 6 May strike was successful — with no trains, trams, or buses running. Post, telecommunications, radio and television were also paralysed. The most important development was the establishment of a common front between the CGSP and the two Christian union federations — an historical weakness of the Belgian labour movement is the split between Socialist and Christian union organisations. The Christian media and communication union (SCCC), which includes railway workers, and the federation of public sector unions (CCSP) which includes government employees supported the action.

But united action had not been achieved in the state education sector. Here, the CGSP left it to the regions to decide whether to strike. The result was that only teachers in the Antwerp region joined the 6 May strike.

Among the rank and file workers there was a real determination to

fight. Railworkers at Charleroi organised a cross-sectoral meeting of the Socialist-led Belgian general workers federation

By Hilary Eleanor

(FGTB) which declared: 'we won't wait for the end of the month to act.' A national demonstration against the austerity measures was planned for 31 May. Under pressure the FGTB leadership decided to call a 48 hour strike in the week leading to 31 May.

On 7 May a demonstration of private sector teachers rallied 15,000 people in Brussels. This was a major blow to the politics of austerity, as traditionally private sector teachers support the government.

## Teachers

On 12 May, after the bank holiday weekend, a 24 hour strike was called for 16 May. This time the CSGP teachers built the strike across the whole movement. Even though the Christian CCSP were still reluctant to build united actions with the socialists, the strike was more successful than on 6 May.

On 23 May and 24 May there was a total strike in the public sector in the French speaking part of Belgium. Support in the private sector however was still weak. In the Flemish speaking part of Belgium only a minority of workers joined the strike but they were very militant. Massive pickets were established to try to stop members of the Christian unions from working — this resulted in the police intervening on a number of occasions.



On 27 May the government officially announced its austerity package. The government had been careful not to adopt measures likely to rub the Christian unions up the wrong way and push them towards united action with the Socialist unions.

## Women

Despite this the austerity package was very severe. In addition to job cuts many more people will be expected to pay contributions to health care. Women in particular will be hit by the proposal to severely reduce — or in some cases even abolish — benefits for unemployed people who are cohabiting.

The attacks on benefits also affect workers in the private sector, but these are less evident.

Following the publication of the austerity plan the Christian unions, as foreseen by Martens, backed down. On the railways, the SCCC withdrew the strike call and announced that it would no longer pay strike benefits. As a result the struggle of the railworkers — who constituted the most advanced section of the mass movement — ended. Only the railworkers in Henault province, where the Socialists lead the union, continued to strike.

On 31 May the national demonstration in Brussels which had been

planned for two months by the FGTB and the Socialist parties took place. Even though the national leaderships left it up to the regions and federations to mobilise, over 150,000 people turned out to show their opposition to the austerity plans.

## Watch

The strike wave had undoubted weaknesses — mainly the failure of workers in the private sector to participate in the strikes. But in a situation where mass fightbacks against the capitalist austerity drive are still rare the struggle in Belgium is an important one to watch. From International Viewpoint

# Spanish abortion laws defied

THE ABORTION campaign of the Spanish feminist movement announced on 7 June that the previous week 10 illegal abortions had been carried out in seven different cities. The purpose of the abortions — all performed rapidly and without anaesthetic by feminists using the aspiration method for early abortions — was to highlight the inadequacy of the Spanish abortion law and demand free abortion on demand.

The announcement highlighted the lack of any commitment to improve the abortion laws in the governing Socialist Party (PSOE) election programme.

In its first year of operation, this abortion law has only resolved the situation of 2 or 3 per cent of women wanting abortion. The law only allows of termination of pregnancy when two doctors agree that the woman's life is in danger, or that the foetus is diseased or deformed, or

in the case of rape. The other 97 per cent of

By M Lear

women still have to seek backstreet abortions, with all the accompanying hygiene dangers — or to travel to London if they can afford it.

Last November, for example, the papers publicised the case of Carmen, a 39-year old mother of four, pregnant with a foetus suffering from Down's syndrome. For several weeks she was

unable to obtain an abortion allowed for under the law. She finally had it when 21 weeks pregnant — after every hospital in Greater Barcelona had flatly refused the request of the Ministry of Health to perform the abortion.

The 'conscience' clause in the abortion law is so wide, and the reluctance of the Socialist Party to challenge reactionary hospital administrations and doctors so glaring, that the law can be flouted with impunity.

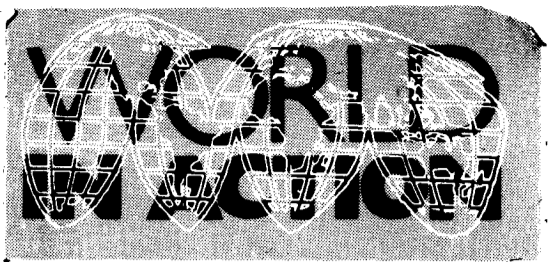
During a conference last November of 4000 women in Barcelona celebrating 10 years of the mass feminist movement, two abortions were performed by women using the Karman aspiration method. In a clear and conscious challenge to the state, over 3000 women signed a statement in-

criminating themselves for performing the abortions. Police investigations resulted in no prosecution, for 'lack of evidence'. The real reason was that women's massive solidarity would have turned any prosecution into a denunciation of the disgraceful lack of abortion provision, and highlighted the government's lack of will even to carry out the extremely limited law.

Such simple, rapid, safe abortions, performed without need of anaesthetic or complicated technology, also challenge the medical profession's control of women's health. By use of the aspiration method, they are showing that the majority of abortions could be carried out by paramedical staff in day clinics.

This campaign by Spanish feminists is receiving strong union and left support. British supporters of a woman's right to choose have a specific responsibility to highlight the plight of Spanish women who travel to London for abortions — usually having to rely on a private medicine system and hostels run strictly for profit not support.

● Messages supporting the women's abortion campaign can be sent to, Abortion Campaign of Women's Movement, Apartado 32125, Barcelona. Messages of protest at the Spanish government's abortion policy can be sent to: Felipe González, Presidente del Gobierno, Palacio de la Moncloa, Madrid, Spain.



## El Salvador

On 19 June the FMLN seized the main barracks in the east of El Salvador at San Miguel. They inflicted 253 casualties on the armed forces and held the barracks for four hours before dispersing.

The FMLN show of force indicates the position of strength they wish to negotiate from in the new round of talks with the government of Napoleon Duarte.

## Peru

As the Socialist International opened its conference in Lima, the Peruvian army crushed a prison revolt led by the Sendero Luminoso guerilla organisation at the cost of at least 160 lives. The prison uprising began last Monday when inmates at Lurigancho, the country's largest jail, overpowered guards and seized two hostages. At El Fronton they took four hostages and in Santa Barbara, a women's prison, the warden and two guards were seized.

Security forces attacked with anti-tank missiles, explosives, rocket-firing helicopters and demolition squads. Senator Armandon Villanueva, a government spokesperson, said the government had acted 'to re-establish order and defend the principles of democracy'.

## Mexico

A US Senator claims that Mexican president Miguel de la Madrid was fraudulently elected in 1982 and that his Institutional Revolutionary Party stole the legislative elections last year. Senator Jesse Helms says de la Madrid got 39.8 per cent of the vote rather than the 71.3 per cent he claimed, a difference of 7.4 million votes, and that it got 48 per cent of the vote for the 1985 Chamber of Deputies instead of the 71.1 per cent claimed — a difference of 5.9 million.

Helms based his claim on secret documents alleged to have been drawn up by the military chief of staff.

Mexico's intensifying debt crisis makes the coming 1988 elections a matter of grave concern to US imperialism, and jockeying has already begun within the PRI for de la Madrid's successor. But the favourite until recently, Finance Minister Jesus Herzog, has just been dismissed because, it is alleged, he tended to favour the international banks in debt negotiations.

## USA

Hard on the heels of his defeat on the abortion issue at the hands of the Supreme Court, Reagan has appointed two further ultra-hardline conservatives to key positions in the Supreme Court. William Hubbs Rehnquist, who was first nominated to the Supreme Court by Richard Nixon, is proposed by Reagan as Chief Justice — the head of the court — following the resignation of Warren E Burger. Judge Antonin Scalia has been nominated as a new member of the court.

Rehnquist, described as 'well to the right of the Reagan administration', is against abortion, for capital punishment, and against positive discrimination quotas — all key issues on which Reagan has been trying to turn back the clock with the Court's assistance. Scalia is probably to the right of Rehnquist.

The nominations have to be confirmed by the Senate, which normally rubber-stamps them, though it recently rebuffed Reagan when he tried to appoint a former Ku Klux Klan member.

## France

France has temporarily lifted its trade sanctions against New Zealand, imposed in retaliation for the arrest, trial and detention of two of its agents who blew up the Rainbow Warrior, killing a Greenpeace photographer, on 10 July last year. The French socialist government imposed a blockade on the import of lamb brains and other meat products shortly after New Zealand sent the two agents to trial.

France, a co-signatory of the recent European declaration opposing 'state terrorism', has still not acceded to New Zealand's request for an apology for the incident.

The new move follows agreement to seek arbitration, to be handled by the United Nations secretary general.

# Support our fighting fund

TO MAINTAIN our weekly schedule, we need £250 per week over and above income from sales. But only £50 is presently coming into our weekly fighting fund. Our thanks go this week to those who helped raise the £45.32 at the Yorkshire miners gala and for the £5 from cde Cottingham. This will all help to keep some of our creditors at bay.

On present evidence, however, we still have to plan to miss a number of issues over the summer. Unless we start hitting our £250 per week target, we will only publish two issues in July, and one in August. This can be changed if the fighting fund money is raised. As our regular readers know, we had planned to miss a number of issues in the past quarter, but through fund raising initiatives by our supporters in Telecoms and Rail, in the event we only had to miss two issues.

We appeal, therefore to every group of supporters and every reader to think about making a donation, no matter how large or small to our fighting fund. Summer is notoriously difficult for

keeping up regular flow of funds so we very much need the money now.

We believe Socialist Action is becoming increasingly indispensable to every labour movement activist. It is the only weekly paper promoting and reporting the activity of the Labour Party Black Section, Women Against Pit Closures, the course pursued by Scargill in the NUM, the Women's Action Committee, the fight against the witch hunt, and many other campaigns.

But these campaigns won't automatically come together — let alone be welded into a common fighting force. Through our work in campaigns such as Justice for



Mineworkers, the Labour Women's Action Committee and Women Against Pit Closures — as well as Labour Left Liaison, we are working with others to lay the basis for the strongest left in the party for years. That is why we believe supporting Socialist Action doesn't cut across but aids every campaign in the party.

There is still a long way to go. A burning necessity is to integrate international perspectives on South Africa, Ireland, Central America and other issues firmly into the left's perspective. Failure to fight imperialism has been the rock on which previous Labour left wings have been de-railed by capitalism. Injecting in the

international dimension is the next task targetted by Socialist Action.

Your support for Socialist Action adds your weight in helping steer the left wing on a class struggle path internationally in Britain. The most urgent, and practical, support you can give us is to contribute to our fund drive.

## Victory to Argentina!

WHEN ENGLAND won the world cup in 1966, most English football fans rejoiced in surprise, Bobby Charlton wept and Harold Wilson claimed the credit. Last Sunday, as England were bundled out of the competition by a far superior Argentinian side no one was surprised.

The decline in 'British sport', and the rise in the sporting achievements of third world countries almost exactly parallels the changing relations between these countries. But with it has come an incredible chauvinistic reaction amongst some of the sports fans in Britain.

'Prima Maradonna' and 'Julius Caesar' instead of Julio Cesar. And where else could you find a selector from Scotland, the team that brought you Souness, calling the

Reviewed by  
**Pete Evans**

Uruguayans 'scum' because of their tackling, without anyone trying to challenge him.

This was the background to England's match against Argentina in the quarter finals. It would have been explosive enough after their 1966 encounter, when the Argentinians were branded as 'animals' by Alf Ramsey. But more recently, and more importantly, we had the Malvinas war. British chauvinism was whipped up to fever pitch at that time, and it seemed as if we were to get a repeat of the same over a football game.



English fans in Mexico were heard to be chanting 'Gotcha, Gotcha Argentina', and singing songs about the Belgrano, whilst back home the scab *Sun* wrote in its leader: 'If all goes well, we'll stuff those Argies on Sunday.'

Well, they didn't. Maradonna played brilliantly and it was England who were 'stuffed'. Now begins the traditional English stiff upper lip method of dealing with defeat... they're blaming the referee.

It would be a shame, however, to allow this

chauvinistic crap to spoil what has been a marvelously entertaining tournament. From Brazil, Denmark, the Soviet Union and France we have seen what football can be like, and in the process a few preconceptions about overseas countries have been torn down.

Quote of the competition so far has got to be Ron Atkinson's 'I just can't believe they (the Soviet Union) are an East European team. I mean, they're being creative!'

The destructive part of the game has also been present, but then after all that the west has done to

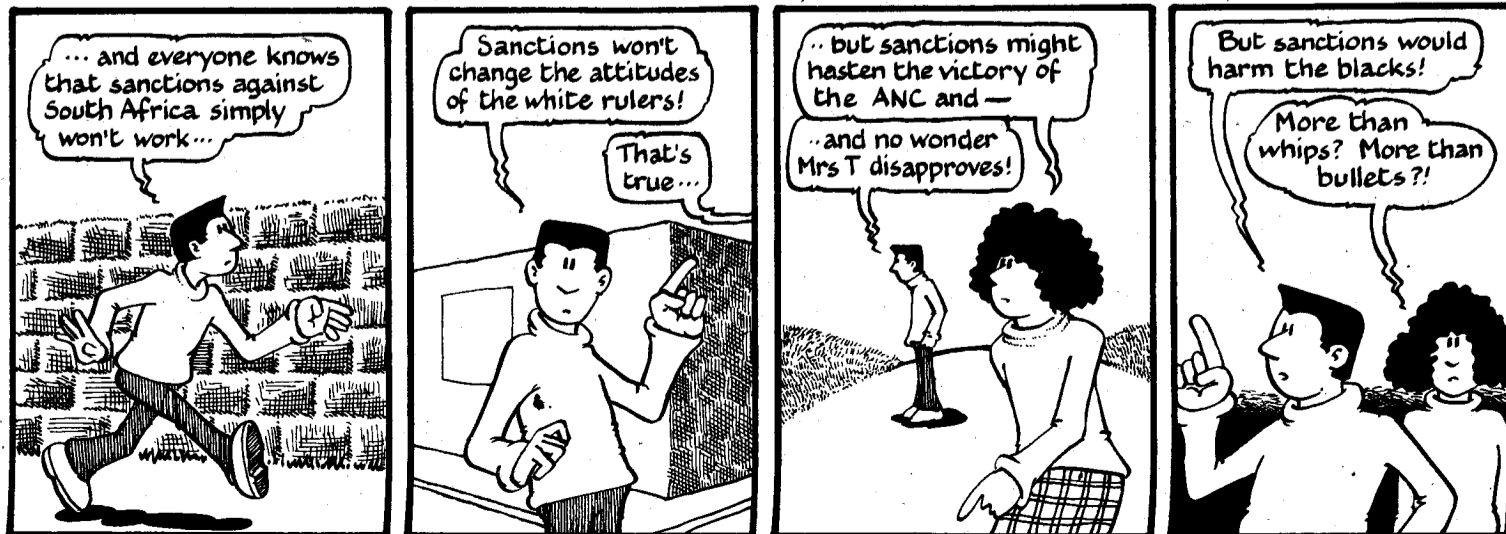
the people of Uruguay, who could deny them a few kicks in return! Such violence and machismo, which ruins so much of professional sport, is not going to disappear overnight. To paraphrase CLR James on cricket: 'If and when society regenerates itself, football will do the same.'

In the meantime, lets cheer France and Argentina on to the final, and watch some real creativity before the boredom of yet another English season begins.

Perhaps England could challenge Argentina at cricket? The way things are going they'd only lose again!

### a piece of the ACTION

©CORMAC

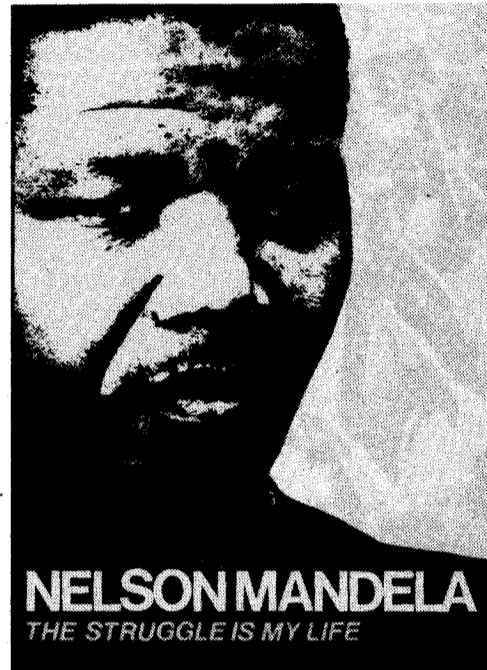


## Other Books

**New! BRUTAL FORCE: THE APARTHEID WAR MACHINE**  
Gavin Cawthra, IDAF  
318 pages £6.00 + 66p postage

**WHIRLWIND BEFORE THE STORM**  
The origins and development of the uprising in Soweto and the rest of South Africa  
June-December 1976  
IDAF 368 pages £4.00 + 66p postage

**THE FREEDOM CHARTER**  
SELECTED WRITINGS ANC  
106 pages £1.95 + 28p postage



**NELSON MANDELA: The Struggle is My Life**

His speeches and writings brought together with historical documents and accounts of Mandela in prison by fellow-prisoners.  
IDAF 250 pages £4.50 + 46p postage

**MALCOLM X SPEAKS**  
Grove Press/distributed Pathfinder  
226 pages £4.25 + 28p postage

**LEON TROTSKY ON BLACK NATIONALISM & SELF-DETERMINATION**  
Pathfinder Press 96 pages  
£2.25 + 22p postage

**WE ALL LIVE ON THREE MILE ISLAND**

The case against nuclear power  
Greg Adamson, Pathfinder Press  
153 pages £3.95 + 34p postage

**IRELAND AFTER BRITAIN**  
Ed. Martin Collins, Pluto Press  
173 pages £3.95 + 22p postage

**NICARAGUA: Speeches by Sandinista leaders**

THE SANDINISTA PEOPLE'S REVOLUTION  
Pathfinder  
412 pages £6.95 + 66p postage

**FIDEL CASTRO SPEECHES 1984-85**  
WAR & CRISIS IN THE AMERICAS  
Pathfinder Press  
249 pages £5.75 + 46p postage

**HUMANISM & SOCIALISM**  
George Novack, Pathfinder Press  
159 pages £4.25 + 28p postage

**SHIFTING HORIZONS: A TESTAMENT TO THE PART PLAYED BY WOMEN IN THE MINERS STRIKE**

Lynn Beaton, Canary Press  
265 pages £5.65 + 46p postage

**JUSTICE. THE MINERS STRIKE 1984-85**  
Campaign Group of Labour MPs  
Verso 65 pages £1.95 + 18p postage

**RAILWORKERS AND MINERS**, The story of Coalville during the Miners Strike. United against the Tories  
Socialist Action 24 pages 50p + 12p postage

These pamphlets and books are available from Other Books, PO Box 50, London N1 2XP (cheques payable to Other Books).

## In the Unions

## Wapping pickets spread

THERE has been an escalation of flying pickets, and bigger mass pickets at Wapping in the struggle against News International. This is the aftermath of the successful outcome of the ballot on Murdoch's offer and the advances made at the Society of Graphical and Allied Trades (Sogat 82) conference. Rupert Murdoch's affidavits to the High Court in his legal action against SOGAT, now postponed, reveal the demoralising impact this picketing is having on the electricians and journalists scabbing in the Wapping plant.

The *Times* and *Sunday Times* journalists are also balloting on taking strike action against the sacking of eight journalists who had refused to move to the scab plant.

But instead of taking advantage of the difficulties Murdoch is facing, and calling for stepped up support and solidarity from the rest of the labour movement, TUC general secretary Norman Willis is chiefly demanding the scabs intercede on behalf of the sacked workers! Willis has asked the EETPU and the NUJ to 'use their best endeavours with their members at Wapping and with the company to bring about a resumption of talks.'

The 'best endeavours' that the electricians and

journalists could make would be to strike in support. This should be the

By Brian Grogan

axis of the TUC's call.

We already saw what the 'best endeavours' of the *Sun* journalists amounted to when, after voting to strike, they were bought off by Murdoch for an extra £2000 a year each. Only appeals based on class solidarity, not on Murdoch's supposed good nature, can deal with such bribery. If Willis didn't know that such principles could be defended before the outcome of the sacked printers ballot he should take that on board now.

An attempt to put together another sell-out package with Willis undoubtedly lies behind Murdoch's decision to

postpone until 7 July his court action against the print unions. In the context of the greater self confidence of the sacked printers such a legal move at present would only stiffen their resolve and bring greater solidarity action from the rest of the movement.

Clearly Murdoch is now relying on the SOGAT conference decision to 'maintain the independence of the union' to mean what Brenda Dean would like — the scaling down of any action to prevent a clash with the courts. For Murdoch rightly reasons that the interpretation the sacked pickets give this resolution is as a *refusal* to back down in front of court orders — as the miners also refused.

The key to preventing any new sell-out deal being accepted is to continue the mass meetings which discuss and decide the conduct of the dispute — together with the liaison committee of representatives of the striking chapels. Building these, together with stepping up the picketing, is the key task in the coming days.

★ Thursday 10 July ★  
**ISLINGTON RALLY**  
FOR THE  
**PRINTWORKERS**

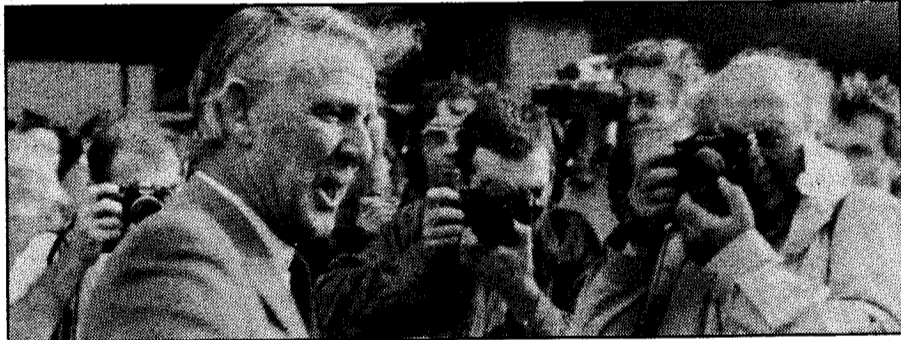
called by Islington Labour Parties  
and Islington NGA Advisory Committee  
7.30 pm **RED ROSE CLUB**  
(Labour Party Social Centre)  
125 Seven Sisters Rd N7

**SPEAKERS ★ Tony Dubbins National Secretary NGA ★ Dennis Skinner MP ★ John Lang Striker Deputy FOC Times Clerical Chapel ★ Ann Lilburn Chair of Women Against Pit Closures ★ Martha Osamore Broadwater Farm Defence Committee, Haringey Councillor**  
Chair **Terry Herbert**, Islington councillor, deputy secretary  
**SOGAT Central London Branch**

Sponsored by Jeremy Corbyn MP, Chris Smith MP, Islington Council Joint TUC SOGAT LCA&EP Branch, Islington North LPS

**MOBILISE THE PICKETS FOR WAPPING**  
Chris Smith MP and Jeremy Corbyn MP will lead an Islington contingent to Wapping 12 July meet Highbury & Islington Tube 7.30pm

## Courts continue to attack NUM



THE TORIES and their courts are still doing everything they can to attack and weaken the National Union of Mineworkers. They are desperate to shore up their crisis ridden organisation — the so-called Union of Democratic Mineworkers (UDM). In refusing, on Monday, an urgent appeal by the NUM for £500,000 the TUC is clearly aiding the Tories work.

The problem is the courts have still not released the NUM's funds which were sequestered during the miners strike. The courts were finally forced to formally lift the sequestration and receivership of the union funds. But, in reality they have used the fact of continuing legal action against the NUM as an excuse to hang onto them.

The TUC has previously refused NUM financial appeals on the grounds of

possible contempt charges. Such problems now no longer exist. Their refusal to respond must be denounced up and down the movement.

The courts also backed British Coal, as it has now been re-named, last week in unilaterally suspending the National Reference Tribunal, which arbitrates on disputes between British Coal and the NUM, unless the NUM agrees to sit down with the UDM.

The courts backed this abrogation of an agreement enshrined in law in the 1946 Coal Nationalisation Act. Meanwhile Tory energy minister Tony Hunt has promised legislation to include the UDM in the tribunals from autumn if this is necessary.

The problem which this creates can be seen in a current case at Armthorpe in South Yorkshire where two miners have been victimised. Miners immediately walked out and then agreed to return to work pending arbitration. British Coal is now refusing to convene the tribunal unless the UDM is involved nationally. British Coal's blackmail is that unless the NUM capitulates the miners re-

main sacked.

The Tories and the courts have reason to step up their attacks on the NUM at present. According to figures registered with the certification officer, the UDM can make claim to little more than 25,000 members. This is despite the fact it elected delegates to its recent conference on the basis of a supposed 34,000 membership. Even this latter figure is down on previous claims. It shows that the UDM has completely failed to break out of its Nottinghamshire base.

The UDM's character as a puppet of British Coal and the government is becoming still clearer. The UDM's 'conference' decided to accept any pit closures that British Coal feels necessary and agreed to two or three year wage deals.

As one miner commented to Socialist Action: 'Roy Link may have been in hospital and David Prendergast on his all-expenses British Coal shindig to the USA. But this wasn't a problem for the UDM conference because their real leaders, Tony Hunt and Ian McGregor were there the whole time

Meanwhile, the NUM is preparing itself once more for the struggles it faces. Scottish miners decided at their conference last week to hold a one day strike of the Scottish coalfield in support of victimised miners.

According to Davy Hamilton from Monktonhall, who moved the successful motion, this would lead to a national protest stoppage.

In the same vein, the Yorkshire area is presently balloting its members to win support for a levy for the national solidarity fund. This is aimed at remobilising the membership and laying the groundwork for a renewed push into the rest of the labour movement.

Finally, the Justice Campaign has announced a Justice for Mineworkers gala to be held at Mansfield in the Nottinghamshire coalfield on 6 September. This will once more take the fight right into the heart of the scab UDM.

All these developments make it more urgent than ever for the labour movement to step up its solidarity with the NUM.

## NALGO debates South Africa

INTERNATIONAL ISSUES provided many of the flashpoints at last week's NALGO conference. Whether to seek direct links with the South African workers organised in COSATU — the Confederation of South African Trade Unions — proved to be one of the biggest discussion points.

Over 1000 delegates welcomed the formation of COSATU and looked forward to extending relations with SACTU, the ANC, the Anti Apartheid Movement and the UDF at all levels of the union.

The conference decided it was impossible to end the oppression of black

people by apartheid through peaceful means alone. However a proposal to donate £15,000 to the ANC to conduct the armed struggle, proposed by the black workers group, was defeated — as were proposals to widen links with other currents in South Africa, such as the

Pan African Congress.

Although a number of measures were agreed, such as speaking tours of South African trade unionists, there was a general feeling that the resolutions were fine but still not concrete enough.

The fringe meeting at which SACTU and the AAM spoke attracted over 300 people.

On the home front the big issue was the union's response to the attacks on local government and local democracy. It was voted to donate £5,000 to the sur-

charged councillors.

Overwhelming support was given to the printworkers in dispute at Wapping with promises to step up the boycott campaign and to call on the TUC to force the electricians out of Wapping.

It was also worth noting the impact of the NALGO black workers group on the conference — especially on the international questions. They, and the lesbian and gay activists, played a significant role in winning a more militant stance on some questions. New gains were

made in developing the union's already comprehensive policy in reply to anti-Aids hysteria.

In addition to South Africa, the NALGO Campaign for a United Ireland drew 150 to its fringe meeting.

A step forward was also registered in the union's position on nuclear power — which previously had reflected the views of members in the power stations.

NALGO now calls for no new nuclear power stations, and to re-look at the existing ones.

## LETTERS

## Getting it wrong on Wapping?

IT IS totally wrong to draw a balance sheet of the SOGAT conference at Scarborough as Brian Grogan did in Socialist Action 20 June 1986. Comrade Brian's idea that a compromise was reached between the sacked printers and the Dean leadership is a fallacy.

The deal was struck by the London leadership who previously manoeuvred to stifle any real debate taking place which would have exposed the Dean leadership's treachery throughout this long-running crucial dispute for trade union recognition and jobs at Wapping being put to conference.

Further, the actual outcome is disastrous. First of all the resolution clearly states that control of the strike is to be in the hands of the national leadership. The acceptance of this moves control away from the London-based militants and gives the NEC even stronger authority over the dispute.

Secondly, comrade Brian should realise that the commitment to negotiate a settlement within the law means that there can be no victory. If the state can set the limit to which we are allowed to go — we've had it.

Far from recent events being on the side of the militant strike leadership, that strike leadership has been in the pocket of Dean and company all along, only breaking from her and her leadership under pressure. The Scarborough conference was a chance missed to change the relationship of forces within the union, take the dispute to the provinces, and clarify the role of the Dean leadership in the dispute.

Even if a call to increase the pressure, including calling for a 24-hour shut-down of Fleet Street would have been lost, it would have created a groundswell which has been effectively quashed by the failure of the London leadership cow-towing to Dean.

George Hall,  
FOC Sun Clerical,  
personal capacity.



## Sexist on Dean?

I WANT to protest, as have other Socialist Action readers in Manchester, regarding the front page of Socialist Action entitled 'Murdoch's Secret Weapon' (6 June).

The image of a man, Rupert Murdoch, holding a bag with a women's head in it was sexist and offensive and this image is not in character with the nature of a paper such as Socialist Action.

We hope in future that more careful thought is given in the preparation of items for the pages of Socialist Action  
Garry Croft

## Rapid action on apartheid

SIX WEEKS ago Tescos opened up a supermarket in Eastfield on the edge of St Pauls, Bristol. The St Pauls Apartheid Free Zone campaign was informed that they were selling South African goods.

A letter was sent to the management asking them to remove the South African goods from their shelves. Not surprisingly they declined.

After only two successful pickets, attended by 30 to 40 people, the regional manager came down to inform the campaign that due to the fact that South African goods weren't selling they would no longer be stocking any South African goods at all.

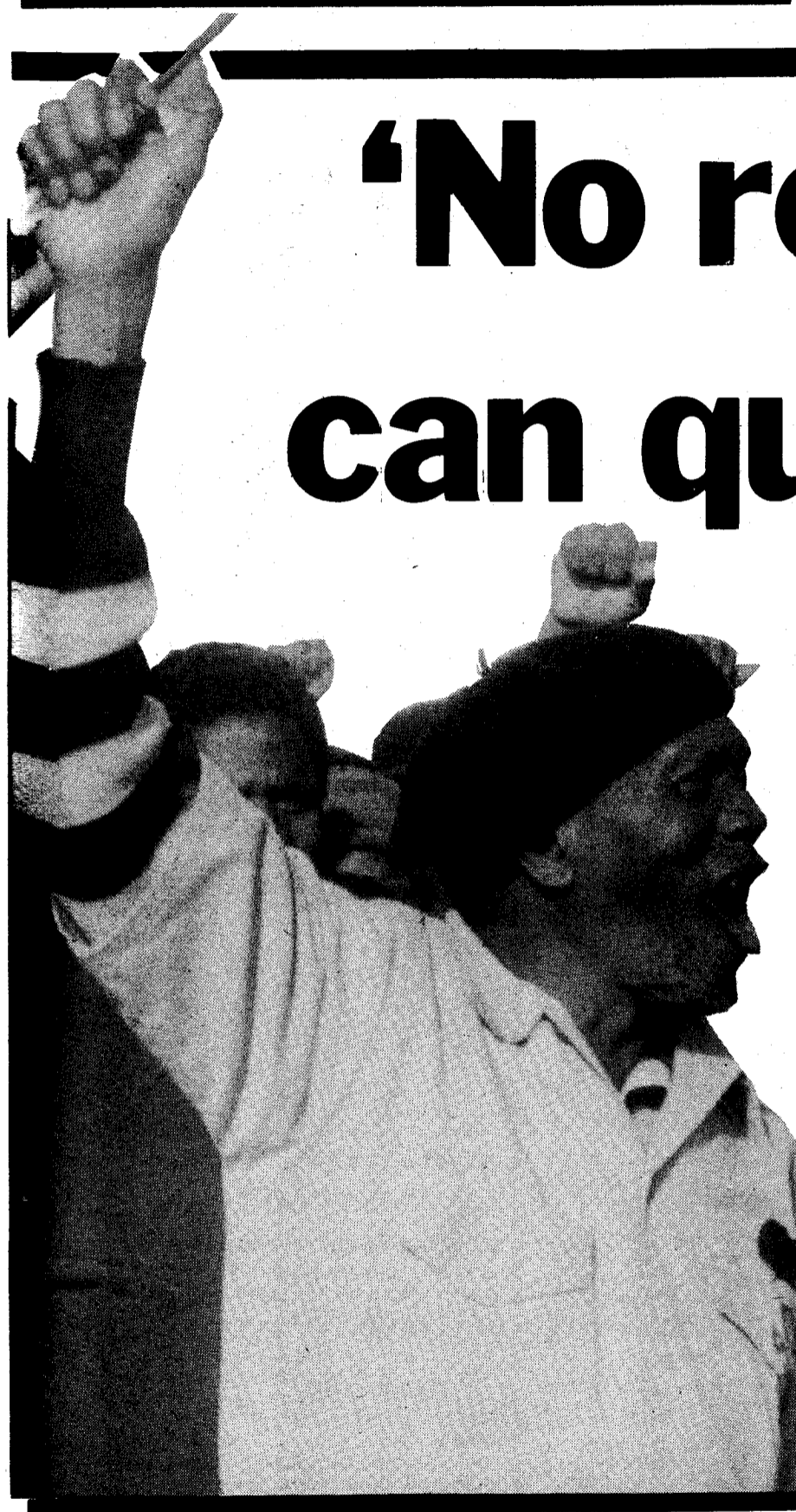
Ann Lemon

● Socialist Action is starting a regular letter column. Readers are urged to write in with their comments. *The Editor*

# A Socialist ACTION

## MARCH FOR FREEDOM IN NAMIBIA & SOUTH AFRICA! SATURDAY JUNE 28

# 'No repression can quell the spirit of freedom!'



**DESPITE THE news embargo imposed by Botha's white minority regime, the success of the protests two weeks ago which marked the tenth anniversary of the Soweto uprising was total. The media ban imposed by the racist regime cannot hide the determination of South Africa's black majority to sweep away the hated apartheid regime. Action against the repression by Botha's state-paid thugs is still going on. ESSOP PAHAD, a long-time activist of the ANC, described for Socialist Action the situation in South Africa today.**

IT IS clear that on the anniversary of Soweto, as on May Day, there was what can only be called a hugely successful general strike by workers through out South Africa. It covered every single major area of the country.

That is not just the propaganda of our side. For example, in the main industrial and commercial area of Johannesburg, and the surrounding areas, even the racist regime and South African business people had to concede that it was very nearly 100 per cent successful.

### Opposition

The situation in the mines is a little more difficult to assess. But Cyril Ramaphosa, the general secretary of the National Union of Mineworkers, had to go in hiding. From the available information that we have there were quite a number of successful strike actions.

What we are facing at the moment in South Africa is a period of the most intense and fierce repression by the regime. The only way to describe it is to say that it is more wholesale in its consequences than that which followed the declaration of the state of emergency after Sharpeville in 1960 and after the Soweto uprising of 1976.

But, because of the total clampdown, it is very difficult to put an exact figure on the number of people arrested. One can say with absolute certainty that the

figures run into thousands. And hundreds if not thousands of activists from mass democratic organisations such as the UDF and the trade union movement have gone into hiding.

### Regime

Because of the news clampdown the fascist political machine of the regime is perpetrating its violence on the people with impunity. It is now opening fire at will. Furthermore, they have gone into educational establishments, including schools and churches, and have just arrested people en masse. In the western Cape — but this applies to the other parts of the country too — they have muzzled and banned about 120 organisations.

You will have noticed in the newspapers and on television, spokespersons of the racist regime claiming that on 16 June the ANC and the South African Communist Party were going to launch their war. This is a monstrous lie.

No respectable organisation, and certainly not the ANC, would ever conceive of putting 10,000 of our people in such mortal danger as to march them on Pretoria. These lies were used by the racist regime to impose the state of emergency.

A whole number of strike actions are still going on, including in

supermarkets in different parts of the country against the arrests of trade union leaders. Strike action by school students is still taking place. And in almost every major township in South Africa, including Soweto — even though the occupation army is there — people are finding different ways of putting up resistance.

No amount of repression at this moment in time can ever quell the spirit of resistance and the fighting quality shown by the masses. That time has gone. The initiative has passed into the hands of the people and their organisations like the ANC.

Historically speaking it is true that after Sharpeville in 1960 there was a short period when there was, to use the words of the racists, 'calm'. After 1976 too for some months the struggle abated.

But in 1986 one can state with absolute confidence that this is not going to happen. The latest bomb blasts in Durban clearly indicate that the armed struggle continues.

One can say that the state of the racist regime is now one of desperation. They really do not have any coherent strategy or solution to the problems in South Africa.

The racist regime is acting on a day-to-day basis in which the military and security forces are taking all of the decisions. It is quite clear that even the political members of the

cabinet are only informed after actions are taken by the security forces and the army. They are thrashing about, using to the fullest extent all of the means of repression and violence at their disposal.

The fantastic pressure on the Thatcher government should be increased ten-fold, a hundred-fold, a thousand-fold — so that even a Conservative government which doesn't want to impose any meaningful sanctions, or measures as she would call them, would be compelled by the pressures from the people of this country to take real action against racist South Africa.

Thatcher on her own would never do anything about South Africa, except make pious declarations that she wants apartheid to go. But we believe that it is possible — and not only possible, but necessary — for the people of the country to show that Margaret Thatcher does not represent the views and the attitudes of the majority of the people who want sanctions to be imposed on racist South Africa.

We want South Africa to be totally isolated in every walk of life. But not the position in which one cosmetic measure is imposed here and another there, so that in the end the British government can say sanctions don't really work.

We want mandatory sanctions on South Africa — and we want them now.

## ANC interview

# SUBSCRIBE

### Free Book Offer!

Take out a years inland subscription and we will send you free one of these books:

**JUSTICE: The Miners Strike 1984-86**  
by the Campaign Group of Labour MPs

**On Afro American History** by Malcolm X

**OR The Struggle is My Life** by Nelson Mandela

**RATES:**  
Inland  
6 months £8;  
12 months £15  
Overseas  
(12 months only)  
Europe £17; Air Mail £24  
(Double these rates for multi-reader institutions)

Name .....

Address .....

Please send me as special offer .....

I enclose cheque/PO payable to Socialist Action for £ .....

Send to: Socialist Action Subs, PO Box 50, London N1 2XP

Photo: IDAF