

# A Socialist ACTION

BUILDING AN ALLIANCE FOR SOCIALISM

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# SOUTH AFRICAN UNIONS

'BRITAIN IS the only country that is standing between us and our total freedom. If Britain were to agree with the proposals to go ahead with sanctions we are sure that a lot of pressure would be put on the South African regime and apartheid could start crumbling.'

'The message that we have for the British labour movement is that their support in our struggle for liberation is important. And by support we don't mean only verbal support. We don't only mean words. We mean sanctions.'

With these words, made in a speech to this week's NUM conference, Cyril Ramaphosa, general secretary of the South African National Union of Miners, smashed to pieces all Thatcher's arguments against sanctions.

He went on: 'Sanctions will never hurt us. Because today we are nothing. We have nothing to lose.'

'When we have achieved our liberation we will not forget what Mrs Thatcher is doing. We will not forget what president Reagan is doing. We will always remember.'

When asked by reporters what he replied to Thatcher's claim that sanctions would hurt the black majority Ramaphosa said: 'We cannot deny that there will be hardship. But workers in South Africa are prepared to pay the ultimate price to get their freedom. The slogan that is going around now is "Freedom first." Then the rest will follow.'

'If sanctions are applied, yes, there will be suffering. But the end result far outweighs any other short term benefit that we can get. Many politicians the world over have been at the "diplomatic pressure" game far too long. That has not brought us freedom.'

'We are under no illusions that we will get our freedom through the assistance of western countries or any other countries. We know that we have got to suffer ourselves. But we also believe that any form of pressure against the regime from other countries does contribute to our cause.' When asked what Sir Geoffrey Howe's visit to South Africa would produce, Ramaphosa said: 'Nothing. We've had missions such as the one you contemplate coming to South Africa. And they have achieved virtually nothing.'

'What is even worse with this one is that he is going to South Africa at this time when the struggle has reached the height it has reached. When there is complete violence from the regime. When the people in South Africa see his visit as a supportive act to the government.'

While Ramaphosa was speaking, in South Africa the unions were announcing another round of strikes. The South African National Union of Miners declared that it would start strikes for the release of imprisoned trade union leaders this week.

Meeting in secret session the executive of the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) has also called for strikes to force the release of trade union members. Among those arrested under the State of Emergency is Jay Naidoo, general secretary of COSATU.

The ability of Ramaphosa to leave the country, the ability of COSATU to hold an illegal leadership meeting, the planned strikes, the reports on deaths from around South Africa show the continued, and mounting, resistance to the apartheid regime.

Cyril Ramaphosa spelt out the struggle in South Africa without equivocation. 'We are positive that we will succeed. Our goal is within reach. We can see that we are going to get liberation. And it is not far off.'

On 28 June 250,000 people demonstrated in this country for sanctions. Thatcher still refuses them. The most urgent task that faces the entire labour movement is to get those sanctions imposed.



# DEMAND SANCTIONS

# SOCIALIST ACTION

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## A new agenda for the left

EVENTS ARE now moving very rapidly in the Labour Party. Their driving forces are the continued problems of the Thatcher government, and the huge crisis in South Africa. Their effect is to bring about a rapid reorganisation of the left wing of the party.

The first, and most important, development which has taken place in recent weeks is the rapid arrival at a common agenda for the left of the party. The demand for sanctions against South Africa, the campaign for the removal of all US bases from Britain, successes in the unions on raising the issue of British withdrawal from Ireland, the initiative of the Women's Action Committee for an electoral college to elect the women's places on the NEC, continuing support for Black Sections, the launching of a campaign against the expulsions of Khan and Scally are all important steps forward. They fill out the widespread demand for an end to nuclear power. Without this political agreement it is impossible for the left to go forward.

In the constituencies an important step forward has been taken with the formation of Labour Left Liaison. Supported by the most important campaigns in the party, Labour Left Liaison has the potential to become easily the most powerful organisation in the constituency section of the party.

This will be the most important public meeting of the left since Tony Benn's 1981 deputy leadership campaign.

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Another important development has been the launching of the Labour Youth Campaign Group. Kingsley Abrams, the Black Section candidate for the LPYS NEC place, already helped knit together the left leading to this year's LPYS conference. The Labour Youth Campaign Group can build on this and also take up the struggle for the politics of the Campaign group against the Labour Coordinating Committee's domination of the National Organisation of Labour Students.

In the unions there is undoubtedly a shift to the right and a rallying around Kinnock in the run up to an election. But even here it is possible to gain successes. The vote by the NUR conference this week to support the demands of the Women's Action Committee is one example. The major votes in favour of black self-organisation at the NUT conference, and the victory at the NUJ conference, are other examples. So also is the success of Rail Against Apartheid. Larger meetings than ever before have been held at union conferences on Ireland. It seems clear at least some unions will vote for the demand for US bases out at this year's party conference.

What is also significant is that the launching of Campaign Group News gives the Campaign group, for the first time, a voice with which to begin to actively influence its supporters in the constituencies, the unions, and all sections of the party.

What still remains to be achieved is to fit all these developments together.

It would of course be completely false to present all this in too positive a light. Overall the pressure in the party, particularly in the unions, to rally around the party leadership is strong. The right wing unions are likely to assert themselves very strongly in the election for the NEC at this year's conference.

But what is taking place is a maturing of the left. Not only is the left much socially deeper than previously, based on the most oppressed sections of the working class, but it is getting a much clearer idea of its perspectives. It is not out to oppose anyone. It is presenting a clear and coherent perspective for creating a majority for socialism in Britain.

That left is still the largest part of the CLPs. It is based on major campaigns in the party. It is a minority, but a significant minority in the unions. It is beginning to get itself together — although a higher level of cooperation between its different parts has to be achieved. That new political agenda which is being created for the left is however its key to success.



Photo: ALAN FREEMAN

# New manoeuvres against sanctions

IN FACE OF the growing international pressure against the white minority regime in South Africa, Margaret Thatcher and her government have been forced to do a soft-shoe shuffle on the question of sanctions against apartheid. Of course, the proposal that comes out of last week's EEC meeting is completely useless. But it does reflect the demand for action which is mounting every day — and the fact that the Tories feel increasingly unable publicly to press their hard line. Considering sanctions after three months 'breathing space' is a bit like telling the cops you're going to rob the Bank of England at 10 o'clock next Friday unless the director leaves the pots of gold outside its doors meanwhile. In view of the increasing repression against the black majority, there is not the slightest chance that Botha will 'reconsider'.

But Margaret Thatcher knows that. She is simply employing a sleight of hand, pretending to consider sanctions the better to back Botha's regime in reality.

The point of the EEC decision is to offset pressure to take economic action against the South African racists and to undercut the Commonwealth mini-summit in August. This ruse was unconsciously summed up by the *Guardian* on Tuesday.

## Diplomatic

Of Geoffrey Howe's proposed visit to South Africa to establish a 'framework for dialogue', the diplomatic correspondent wrote: 'He aims to do this in just a little more than a month — a task which escaped the seven-member Commonwealth Eminent Persons Group during more than six months of painstaking work and travel. In effect, the foreign secretary hopes to become a one-man (sic) EPG.' The object of the EPG exercise as far as Thatcher was concerned, was precisely to head off the demand for sanctions.

The same article explained the white minority's response so far. Howe 'is being cold-shouldered by the African leadership and warned by Pretoria

that is in no mood for concessions'. The white regime's foreign secretary Pik Botha has already 'criticised' the so-called object of Howe's visit, to negotiate an end to apartheid.

By Carol Turner

Meanwhile South Africa's white minority are making their own plans to divert international pressure. The regime is stepping up its support for Chief Buthelezi and the Inkatha movement.

Through this puppet, Botha and his thugs aim to cool the international temperature. At the beginning of this week, Buthelezi was reported to be considering joining Botha's proposed 'national council'. It could, Buthelezi said, 'mark the start of the final victory for the black struggle for liberation'.

## Buthelezi

This council has been mooted by the white racists as a means of 'power-sharing' with South Africa's black majority. Until now Buthelezi has remained silent on the proposal.

He chose a weekend meeting in Soweto to make his favourable response to Botha's mock reform.

Buthelezi's Soweto rally is his own attempt to take an initiative to win black support and to reestablish himself as a viable black leader, an image which has been much tarnished as the reactionary role of his Inkatha organisation has been exposed.

Buthelezi arrived in Soweto by helicopter and under tight security by armed Kwazulu police. As the *Guardian* coyly comments of this so-called prayer meeting: 'The granting of permission for Chief Buthelezi's Inkatha to hold the rally contrasted conspicuously with the restrictions imposed on Inkatha's rival black movements, notably the United Democratic Front and the Azanian People's Organisation. In parts of South Africa it is an offence even to possess T-shirts with UDF or AZAPO motifs, let alone propagate their cause.'

## Romantic

Despite such candid front-page reporting, in the same issue the *Guardian* manages to square the circle. The editorial, 'Credibility and the chief', has this to say: '... the largest minority is the Zulu tribe, which alone outnumbers the white by about four to three and accounts for more than a quarter of the African population ...

'Having resisted European conquest more effectively than any other group, they retain a strong tribal tradition and a special, largely sentimental and romantic, regard from the white minority. For all these reasons their leader, Chief Buthelezi, would in any case have a unique role in South African public life.'

His 'principal problem' admits the editorial, is one of credibility. But: 'For more than 15 years Chief Buthelezi has stood firm on his conviction that

he could get a fair deal from the whites, despite their failure to give him a shred of concrete justification for his belief. The chief said in Soweto that "blacks now have the bargaining power which will ensure that negotiations will succeed".'

No doubt some readers will draw the required conclusion, that it is Buthelezi's 'firm conviction' over 15 fruitless years which is finally beginning to bring apartheid to its knees. Perhaps a few will draw a somewhat different conclusion.

Another *Guardian* item relates that 'several more important South African trade union leaders have been arrested', including COSATU general secretary Jay Naidoo and that: 'A spokesman (sic) for COSATU ... warned that the arrest could "spark widespread and spontaneous worker reaction".'

The point is this. Far from Buthelezi's 15 years patient waiting paying off, it is the struggle of the independent trade unions and the activities of black organisations like the ANC, UDF, and others which are responsible for the pressure which is mounting against the apartheid regime. The Zulu leader is simply trying to cash in on this to head off the struggle against the regime.

## Collaborator

Buthelezi's role, as a stooge of Botha, has been simply to help try and head off that inevitable pressure. Neither is it for the 'freedom of his people' that he plays this role. It has earned him a not insignificant personal fortune and 'the regard' of white society. Buthelezi is a thug, a collaborator armed against the black majority. The *Guardian's* support for Buthelezi

speaks worlds about its politics.

Whatever the *Guardian* and those of similar ilk would have us believe, one fact does emerge from this particularly dirty piece of *Guardian* hypocrisy. When it comes to fundamentals, bleeding-heart liberals and Tory hard-liners alike are on the same side. Whether they openly support Botha and Thatcher or prefer to hide behind a pro-sanctions cover, they are all against anything that would represent the real destruction of apartheid and all its works.



Photo: ALAN FREEMAN



# Marching for freedom

**LAST SATURDAY'S** March for Freedom was the largest demonstration ever seen in Britain in solidarity with the struggle against apartheid. **JUDE WOODWARD** looks at the march and concert, and the tasks for the Anti Apartheid Movement now.

The spectacular size of the London March for Freedom in South Africa and Namibia last Saturday reveals beyond any doubt that the majority of the population of Britain is demanding an end to apartheid. A quarter of a million people attended the concert on Clapham Common — Britain's largest ever demonstration against apartheid.

The march and concert were made up overwhelmingly of young people and students. There was a massive participation of young women in the demonstration — at least half of those taking part were women.

## Colours

The four mile demonstration from Hyde Park was participated in by over 100,000. Well over that many again joined at Clapham Common. Taking the day as a whole clearly more than a quarter of a million participated. The stage at Clapham Common was draped with Africa National Congress (ANC) and South West Africa Peoples Organisation (SWAPO) colours, and their speakers were welcomed the most enthusiastically by the audience.

The demonstration, accompanied by the recent opinion polls, shows the massive demand for sanctions and support for the black struggle in South Africa. Had the march taken place during the university and polytechnic term it would clearly have been even bigger.

The whole first half of the march was dominated by banners of the Anti-Apartheid Movement (AAM), with groups represented from all over the country. As well as organising the demonstration, it was clear that it was the AAM which had built the march up and down the country, through its local groups and supporters. Banners represented groups from every corner of the country.

While young people dominated the march, there was also a serious mobilisation from organisations of the labour movement. A large number of London Labour Parties had turned out for the march, and their banners were scattered through the crowd. There were a small number of banners from other parts of the country. However the demonstra-

tion could not be described as a massive mobilisation of the party itself — although undoubtedly many anti-apartheid activists are Labour Party members.

This indicates that while Labour Party conference continually passes solid resolutions against apartheid, and in solidarity with those fighting it in South Africa, the issues posed by the new security laws in South Africa have not hit home in the party. The task between now and Labour Party conference is to generate this understanding in the local parties — through resolutions committing Neil Kinnock to sanctions and breaking all links, through inviting ANC and SWAPO speakers, and by affiliation to the AAM locally.

The debate at the October conference must not go through 'on the nod' but be a serious and substantial discussion that helps mobilise the ranks of the labour movement to fight for sanctions and solidarity.

## Campaign

A fair number of local trade union branches were there, but union activists need to learn the lessons of Rail Against Apartheid in particular. The work of Rail Against Apartheid, a campaign within the NUR affiliated to the AAM nationally, ensured that there was a substantial contingent of rail banners from around the country — and representatives of other areas that had not been able to bring banners.

The work of this kind of trade union campaign, in getting speakers out into the local branches, winning more local affiliation to the AAM, and giving a focus for activity within the union for those individuals looking for a way of expressing their opposition to apartheid, is an important way to fight to turn the paper commitment of national unions into real campaigning activity.

Teachers were well represented, led off by the Inner London Teachers banner — a reflection again of the work of union activists in turning union policy into real activity in the NUT.

Other unions with local or national representation included NALGO, the NCU, EETPU, AUEW and ASTMS. The absence of NUM banners was a pity, given the firm solidarity that the union has extended — particularly to South African mine-workers.

## On the nod

A number of black organisations had mobilised for the event, including the Labour Party Black Section which was well represented. Others there included the Liverpool 8 black organisation. The Camden NALGO black workers group had seriously mobilised for the demonstration.

The composition of the march, while excellent, and a real injection of energy for the ongoing campaign, also revealed where activity has to focus in broadening the campaign. In the organisations of the labour movement — both the Labour Party and the trade unions — while the paper commitment is there, the mobilisation is not.

This is a reflection of two factors. Firstly the Anti Apartheid Movement has to develop its campaign into these areas, copying the example of initiatives like Rail Against Apartheid. This is particularly needed in the Labour Party itself.

Secondly, however, the attitude of the Labour Party in resting on its laurels as far as South Africa is concerned has to be broken through. Labour Party policy is not clear and sharp enough on South Africa. It does not call for breaking all links with apartheid. In particular we need a manifesto commitment to total economic sanctions.

In the unions support for the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) must be canvassed as the TUC tries to avoid the demands of solidarity on the grounds Cosatu has not affiliated to the pro-imperialist international trade union federation the ICFTU.

The very best way of taking the fight forward on all these fronts is to step up local activity over the summer to provide a focus for campaigning across the labour movement, in the black communities, and among youth. Some areas are already planning local activities — Manchester AAM is already planning a local festival for August with financial help from the local Labour council.

The enthusiasm and dynamism generated by the London march has to be the kicking off point for stepped up campaigning activity in every local Labour union, and every Labour Party to build the Anti Apartheid Movement over the summer and prepare for a new wave in the colleges as soon as they re-open in the autumn.

## Biggest ever US anti-apartheid rally

**APPROXIMATELY 100,000** people marched and rallied in New York on 14 June in the largest anti-apartheid protest yet to take place in the United States. The rally demanded an end to all US ties with the apartheid regime and commemorated the tenth anniversary of the Soweto rebellion.

The action was organised by the New York Anti Apartheid Coordinating Council, a broad-based union-led united front of more than 200 organisations formed last September. Many labour organisations in the city endorsed the demonstration.

The timing of the protest was quite significant. It occurred two days after the South African regime banned all protests by declaring nationwide state of emergency.

The action drew people of all ages, but in its majority was young. Marchers funneled in from nine assembly points around the city, converging on the park from both the north and south.

Assembling at the United Nations building, march organisers say, were

40,000 demonstrators, grouped in labour, women's Central American, student, and other contingents. The labour contingent was the largest.

Hundreds of activists involved in Central American solidarity work marched behind banners demanding 'Boycott South Africa, not Nicaragua', 'No aid to contras in Nicaragua or Angola', and 'US out of Central America and southern Africa'.

Many college and school students participated in the protest. Marching behind a banner 'Youth Against Racism' were New York City school students who have set up their own branch affiliated to the French

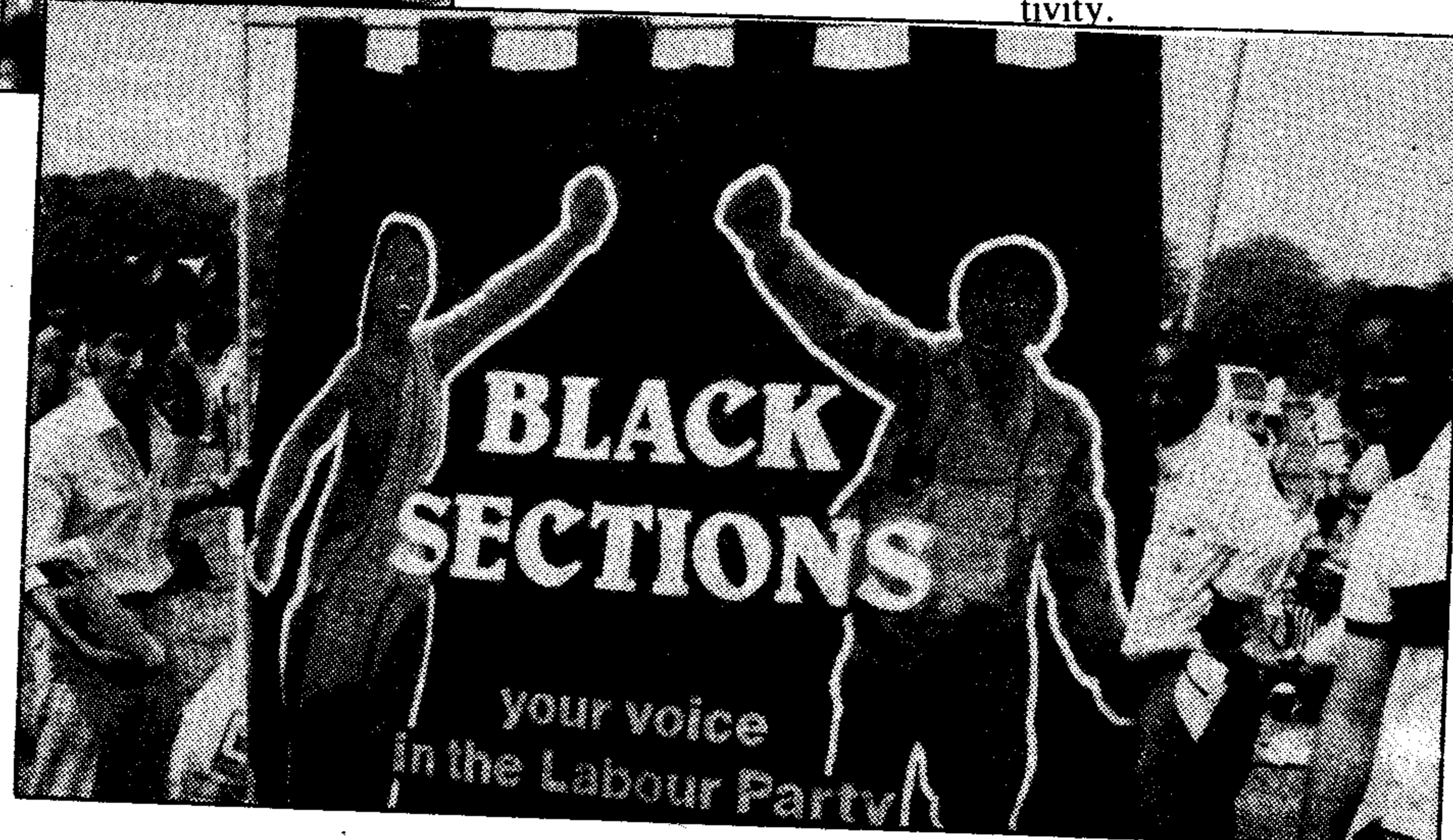
organisation SOS Racism — Hands Off My Buddy.

From Harlem several thousand black people rallied and led a spirited march that linked up with hundreds of Puerto Ricans from East Harlem's 'El Barrio'. Also in this contingent were Dominicans and Salvadorans. Together they marched into the park from the north.

Archbishop Desmond Tutu sent a message to the rally, which was presented by his daughter Mpho Tutu. The featured guest speaker was Alfred Nzo, secretary-general of the African National Congress.

A message of greetings and solidarity from the half-million-strong South African trade union federation COSATU was presented by Amon Msane, a shop steward at the 3M Company in South Africa.

At the end of the rally the anti-apartheid coordinating council vowed to continue organising future protests against apartheid.

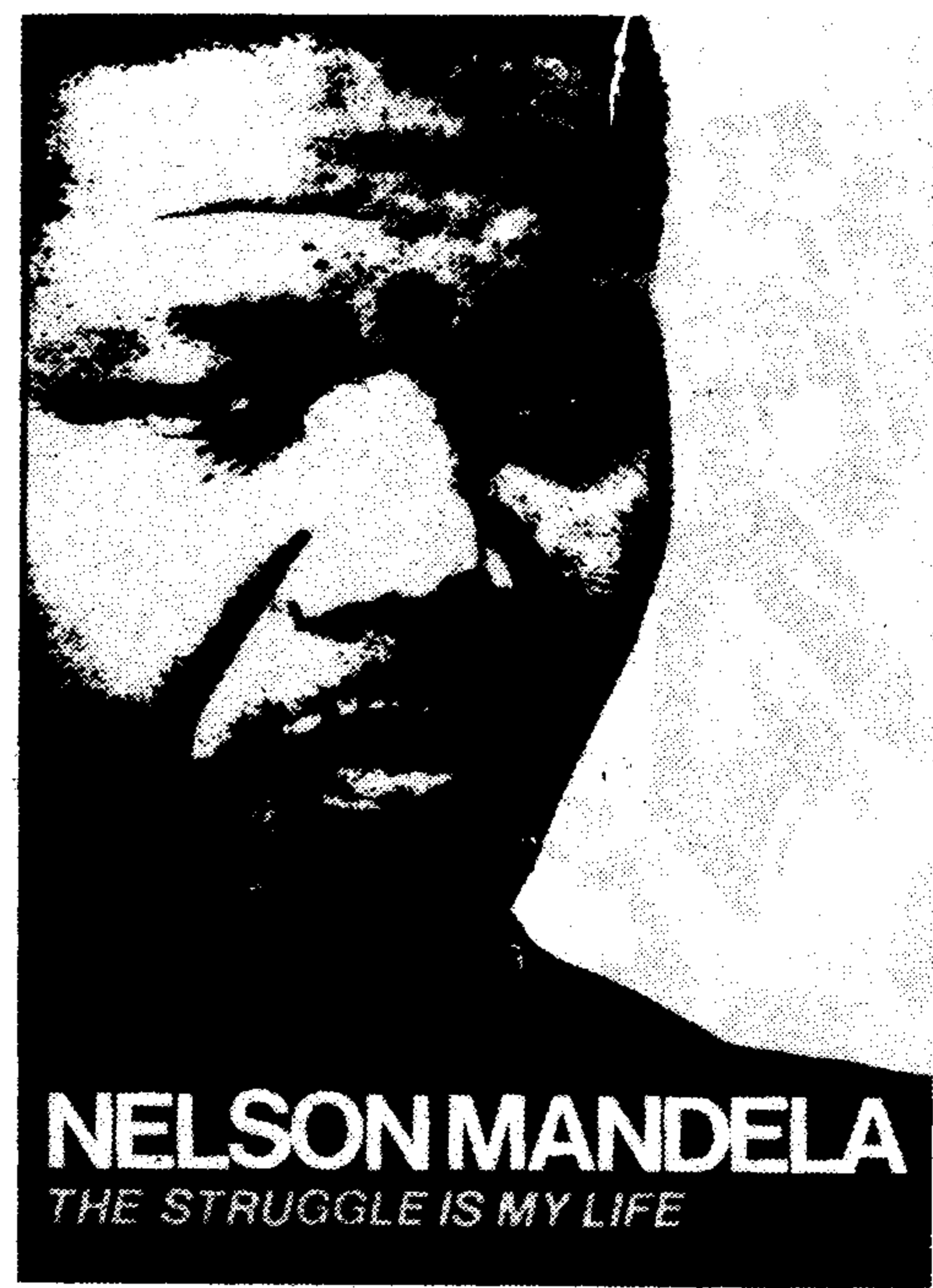


## Other Books

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Greg Adamson, Pathfinder Press  
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Verso 65 pages £1.95 + 18p postage

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Socialist Action 24 pages 50p + 12p postage

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# Campaign Group calls rally

**ON 22 JULY one of the most important meetings of the left for a long time will take place in London. The Campaign Group of MPs, including Margaret Beckett, Tony Benn, Eric Heffer, and Dennis Skinner, are sharing a platform with the Campaign for Labour Party Democracy, the Women's Action Committee, and the Labour Party Black Sections. It is the most important meeting of the left in the party, and the left in parliament, since the Benn deputy leadership campaign of 1981.**

The impetus to the meeting came from developments both in the left outside parliament and from the Campaign group.

The major campaigns in the party in the last months have organised themselves into working collaboration through the Labour Left Liaison (LLL). The LLL includes, as affiliates or observers the Labour Women's Action Committee (WAC), the Labour Party Black Section, Campaign for Labour Party Democracy, (CLPD) Labour CND, the Labour Committee on Ireland, the Labour Campaign for Lesbian and Gay Rights and other organisations.

The LLL clearly has the potential to become the most powerful organisation in the CLPs in the party. It is linking to the Parliamentary Party and the unions for support for the campaigns on which it is based.

The Campaign group of MPs has itself been undergoing an important development. When it was formed in 1982 the Campaign group set as one of its goals to: 'Forge links with the Labour and trade union movement outside parliament.' The first opportunity to practice that on a large scale, which was seized magnificently, was the miners strike.

Since then the Campaign group has undergone a significant development. It, and its leading members, have come out against NATO, the Anglo-Irish Accord, and in favour of Black Sections. Meanwhile it has launched a monthly paper *Campaign Group News*.

It is these political steps which have created the

basis for cooperation between the campaigns in the party and the Campaign group of MPs. All the major campaigns in the party, as well as Labour Left Liaison, have made it clear that they are not interested in the 'politics of style' — a situation where papers, such as *Tribune* or *New Socialist*, attempt to give an image of supporting women or black people, for example, but conceal the fact that they refuse to support their demands within the party.

In a publicity leaflet for *Campaign Group News* Ann Pettifor, member of the WAC executive, and Marc Wadsworth, national chair of the Labour Party Black Section, made almost exactly the same points. That *Campaign Group News* has, and must continue to open its pages to the campaigns in the party to speak in their own words.

Ann Pettifor stated: 'There is virtually no political space for women to occupy within our democracy. *Campaign Group News* offers women a political space which they themselves can control. Women should write for it and read it.'

Marc Wadsworth wrote: 'I welcome as a significant step forward the Campaign group's decision to support constitutionally recognised Black Sections in the Party. *Campaign Group News* provides a lesson for all publications in the labour movement by giving us the opportunity to speak on our own behalf in its columns.'

This is in line with points which campaigns in the party have made on

*Tribune* for example.

Marc Wadsworth, recently pointed out: '*Tribune* have a long record of excluding black people from writing on their own behalf in their pages. Having one column by a black Prospective Parliamentary

Candidate is not how you genuinely reflect a plurality of black political opinion in the party. Black Section is a legitimate voice for all black members of the party — but all black people get from *Tribune* is white people writing about us.'

Wadsworth pointed out: 'How about Black Section having a regular column to write about ourselves? They want to choose which individuals views they carry. We want support for our campaign and our collective demands — as a group and not as individuals.'

The basis on which campaigns in the party have begun to work with the Campaign group on certain issues, is that the Campaign group is the only section of the PLP which supports the demands of these campaigns.

A great deal of hype and rhetoric has been forthcoming from Kinnock and his supporters on the demands of women, black people, on freedom for Ireland, on democracy in the party, and other issues, but so far no actions whatever have been taken by *Tribune*, the *Tribune* group of MPs, etc.

*Campaign Group News* is the monthly paper published by the Campaign Group of Labour MPs. It has recently expanded from four to eight pages. Reports and articles invaluable to every labour movement activist. Price 20p, from Campaign Group c/o Alan Meale, House of Commons, London SW1A 0AA.

The campaigns in the party, are being led to link up with the Campaign group in pursuit of common objectives. The meeting on 22 July when the Campaign group will be sharing a platform with some of the most important campaigns in the party explaining their own demands in their own words will be a logical development of this development.

All this is beginning to create the basis for a major restructuring of the left within the party. The ma-

ajor campaign in the party are able to begin to coordinate their activity, in the CLPs in particular, through the LLL. The Campaign group has developed its own politics and launched a paper which is able to be a platform for these campaigns. The obvious next step is to deepen these ties and to begin to link these developments into the unions.

It is to be hoped that this type of development will begin to come out of the meeting on 22 July.



## U.S. Bases Out Campaign

**MEETING OVER** last weekend, the Labour CND (LCND) executive committee laid plans for the activities at this year's Labour Party conference. The organisation of a joint fringe meeting with Labour Action for Peace, on the theme of All US Bases Out of Britain, is already well underway. That meeting will be held on Monday evening of conference, to allow plenty of time to set the scene for the debate which will take place on Wednesday or Thursday of the conference agenda.

The LCND executive also plans two further events. Labour CND's traditional eve of conference rally and demonstration this year will be held under the slogan of 'Nuclear Free Britain — US Bases Out'. In this way it is hoped to build the maximum support around the two issues most current in the anti-nuclear debate: getting rid of nuclear power and evicting all US bases from this country.

The rally will be held on Sunday 28 September in Blackpool. It is hoped to mobilise large contingents of Labour Parties, trade unions, and CND activists across the

North West of England.

On the Thursday evening of conference, LCND will be holding a second fringe meeting: 'NATO and

By Carol Turner

the problems of making nuclear disarmament stick.' This is intended to provide a forum, after the debate on the floor of conference, from which Labour Party activists can discuss the gains of conference and evaluate what needs to be done in the year ahead.

In order to ensure these debates reach the floor of conference, and that the extensive support which exists among constituency parties for getting rid of all

US bases is expressed, it will be necessary to evaluate the preliminary agenda (published on Monday 21 July, and available from Walworth Road headquarters) and suggest supportive amendments. To consider this, the Bases Out Campaign will be meeting on Wednesday 23 July and the LCND executive on Saturday 26 July.

Readers are encouraged to contact the secretary immediately after that date, on the phone number given below, to discuss amendments.

Labour CND is concerned to keep separate resolutions on evicting the bases and withdrawing from NATO. That is why LCND circulated separate resolutions in May.

Last year a call for the NEC to bring a discussion on NATO membership, including the option of withdrawal, to a future party conference won wide support even though the vote was lost. LCND believes that it is well

within reach to win such a discussion, whereas a full commitment to withdraw from the Atlantic alliance is some years off.

However, the support that already exists for throwing out US bases has been hugely increased as a result of the bombing of Libya in April this year. Winning support for a resolution demanding that Labour commit itself to kicking all the US bases out is an important practical step in raising the whole NATO debate within the party. It is for that reason that the two issues should be kept separate on this year's agenda.

Meanwhile, Labour CND has just produced a June-July issue of the *Labour CND Activists Newsletter*. This newsletter, mailed to all LCND contacts in the Labour Party and CND, is full of up-to-the-minute news of LCND's current activities. It includes information on the Bases Out Campaign, discussion and debate on

the nuclear power issue after Chernobyl, and more.

In the past, these have been free mailings. This year money is tighter.

A CND national council decision at the beginning of this year, to savagely axe LCND finances, has meant the campaign has instituted a subscriptions system (orgs, £4 and individuals, £2). This is designed to cover the cost of activists mailings and ensure that LCND is able to continue all its regular activities.

● Further information about the Bases Out Campaign and Labour CND is available from the secretary: Carol Turner, 29 Stodmarsh House, Cowley Estate, London SW9 6HH (01-254 0261, daytime). The activists newsletter costs 20p to non-subscribers. Anyone wanting a copy of this and other information should enclose a stamped self-addressed envelope and 20p worth of stamps, and write to the address above.

News

# Khan and Scally reinstatement campaign

PREPARATIONS WERE taking place last week to launch a major campaign for the reinstatement of Amir Khan and Kevin Scally in the Labour Party. Khan was expelled for attempting to form a Black Section in the Sparkbrook, Birmingham constituency. Scally was expelled for exposing dubious membership returns in the same constituency.

Ladywood Constituency Labour Party has passed, as its resolution for Labour Party conference, a demand for the reinstatement of Khan and Scally in the party. Broad sponsorship for the reinstatement campaign is being sought.

Campaigns and individuals who have declared their support for a national campaign for the reinstatement of Khan and Scally so far include the Labour Party Black Section, the Campaign for Labour Party Democracy,

Margaret Beckett MP, Tony Benn MP, Dennis Skinner MP, Eric Heffer MP, Joan Maynard MP, Jo Richardson MP — members of the Campaign group, Ken Livingstone — honorary president of the Labour Committee on



Ireland, David Blunkett and Peter Hain. Other sponsorships are still coming in — with Vladimir

Derer, secretary of CLPD, and Paul Sharma, London Organiser of the Labour Party Black Section, acting as secretaries for the campaign at present.

Gul Zarina Khan has agreed to be one of the chairs of the national campaign.

The local committee formed in Birmingham to oppose the Khan and Scally expulsions has agreed to support the national campaign and will participate in its organisation.

The organisers, Vladimir Derer and Paul Sharma, have made it clear that the basis for the campaign is support for the reinstatement of Khan and

Scally in the party. Individuals, and organisations in the party are invited to participate in the campaign regardless of whether they support the demands of the Labour Party Black Section, of which Khan is a member, or the Labour Committee on Ireland, of which Scally is a supporter.

A major drive to win trade union delegations and CLPs to support the demand for reinstatement is planned.

Public announcement of the formation of a national campaign is expected during the next week.

# Victory's the word

A GREAT victory has been scored for lesbians and gays with the dropping this week of the entire action against *Gay's The Word* bookshop in London. On Friday 27 June HM Customs and Excise formally agreed to drop all criminal charges against the bookshop and its nine directors. They have also given an undertaking that in future imported books will be treated in exactly the same way as books published in this country.

This success follows months of lobbying and campaigning by the Defend Gay's The Word Campaign. This effectively exposed the discriminatory use of the present laws governing imports.

The law under which the prosecution of *Gay's The Word* was attempted is the 1876 Customs Consolidation Act. This allows customs to censor the import of printed material in a way that is impossible in relation to material published in Britain. Books which would have a totally free circulation if printed in this country, can be arbitrarily stopped if imported.

One of the key aims of the Defend Gay's The Word Campaign was to have this legislation removed from the statute book. This campaign will have to continue, as the law still exists. Its use could not only affect gay people, but many other sections of society in the future.

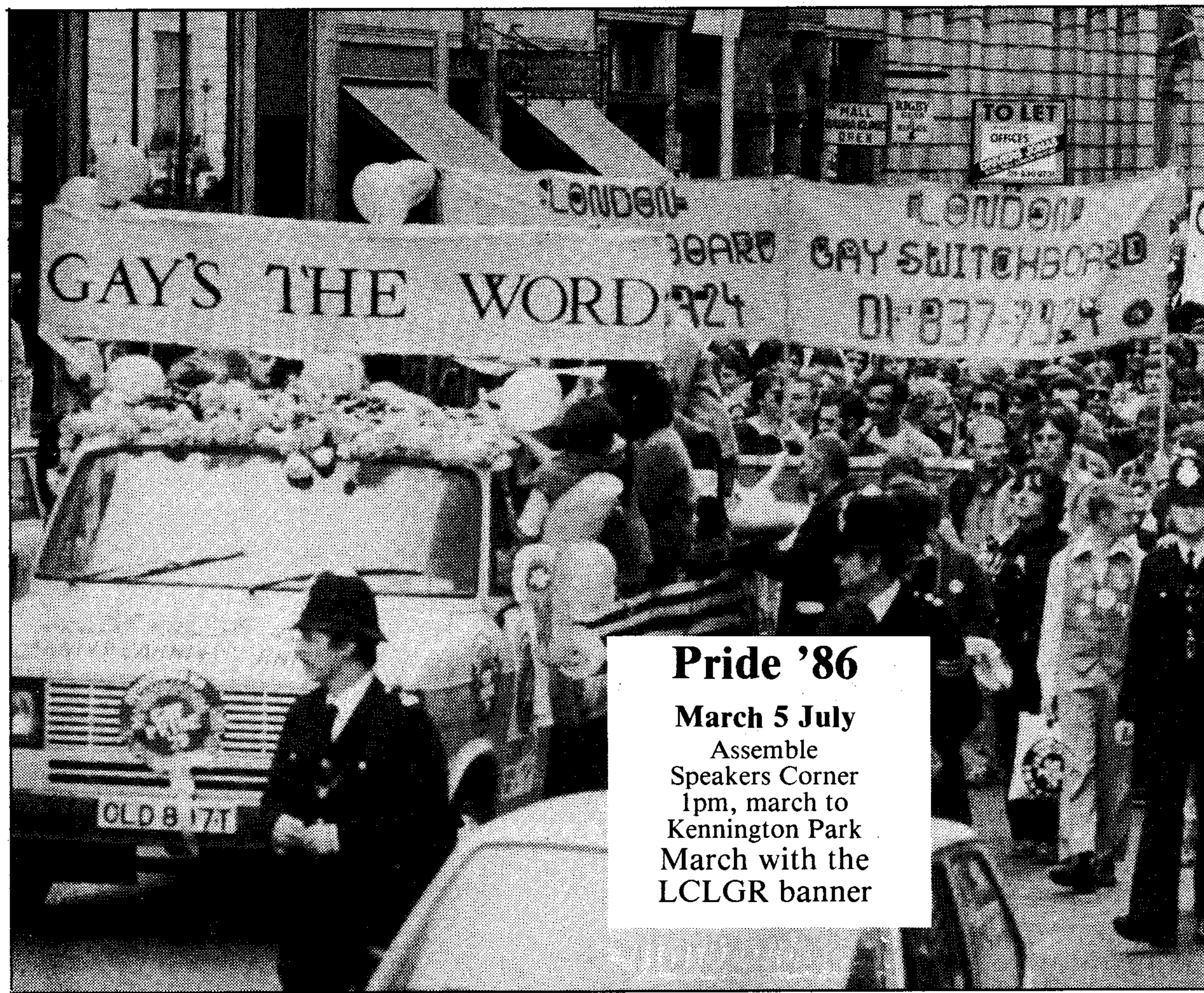
However while this must continue, the campaign to defend *Gay's the Word* has been crowned with success. Customs have promised to notify *Gay's The Word* in ad-

vance of any 'in principle' decision to prevent the import of a particular book. This would allow an opportunity for the ruling to be challenged in the courts before any action is taken.

Moreover customs have agreed that they will

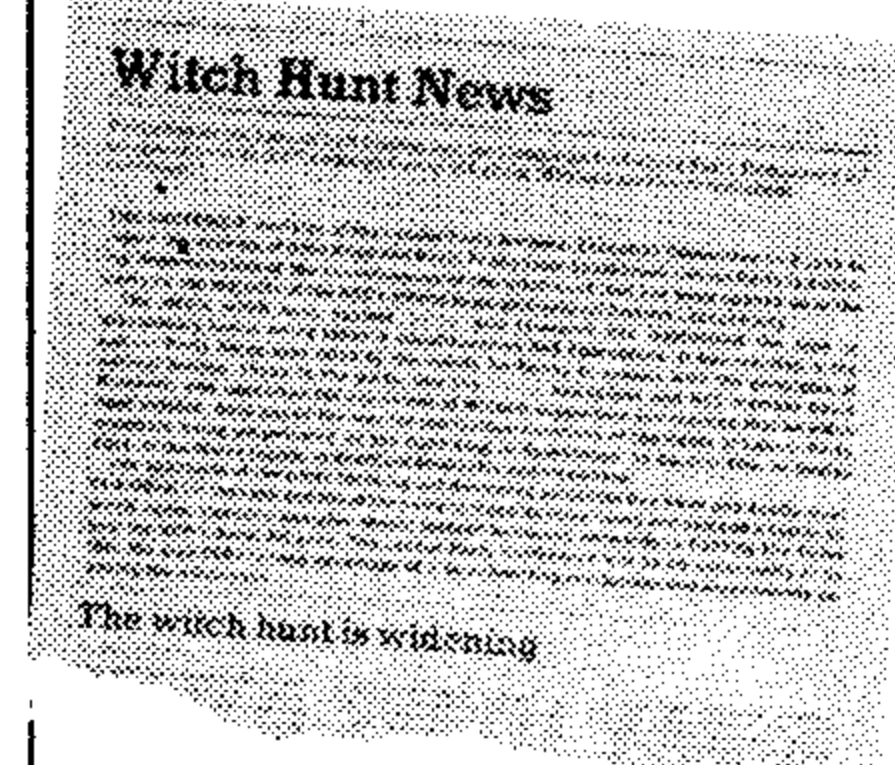
not use the legislation to prevent the import of material that would otherwise be freely available in the country. This will allow a massive increase in the import of previously banned gay and lesbian material, particularly from the USA.

This is a big step to undermining the functioning of the present law, and exposing its contradictory and discriminatory use. However it must still be removed, a position that is supported by the customs officers union, the SCPS.



**Pride '86**  
 March 5 July  
 Assemble  
 Speakers Corner  
 1pm, march to  
 Kennington Park  
 March with the  
 LCLGR banner

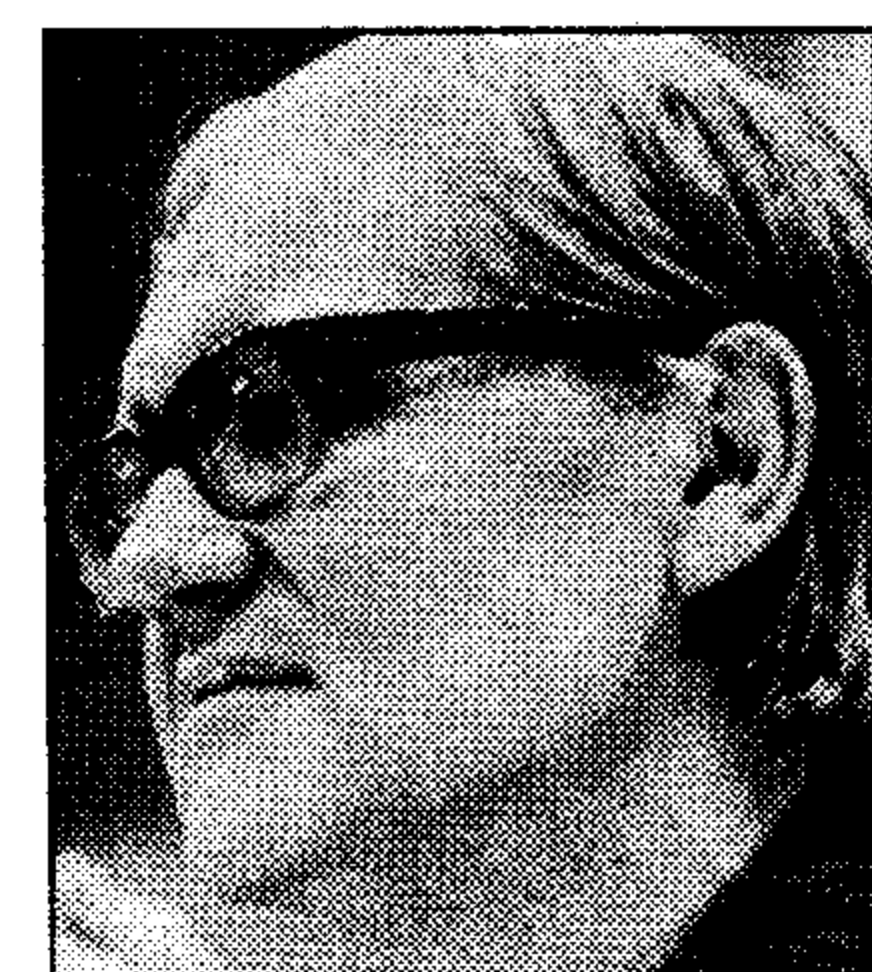
## New issue of Witch Hunt News



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.

# Labour Left Liaison meets

LABOUR LEFT Liaison (LLL) held its second meeting on 24 June. It was attended by representatives from the Labour Women's Action Committee (WAC), the Campaign for Labour Party Democracy (CLPD), the Labour Party Black Section, the Labour Campaign for Lesbian and Gay Rights (LCLGR), Labour CND, Socialist Action Socialist Organiser, and Labour Briefing. The meeting was chaired by



Ann Pettifor from WAC.

The meeting discussed the Black and Asian Advisory Committee. Since the previous meeting both

WAC and CLPD had taken positions opposing the committee. The Black Section reported on further steps in the campaign against this unelected and divisive body.

The LCLGR's resolution to party conference was added to those already adopted by the LLL.

The various campaigns present reported their discussions on the NEC elections. The next meeting of the LLL will decide who to support in these elections.

Other items discussed included the witch hunt in general and the expulsion

of Amir Khan and Kevin Scally in particular. The LLL also discussed the proposal to produce a daily bulletin at party conference.

An affiliation fee of £50 per major organisation has already been agreed for the LLL. A part of this will go to finance the activity of the LLL at party conference.

The next meeting will take place on 14 July.

Labour Left Liaison may be contacted c/o Vladimir Derer (Secretary), 10 Park Avenue, London NW11 7SH.

# IRELAND UNFREE

## Divorce defeat

BY THE time the result of the 26 June divorce referendum in the South of Ireland was announced its outcome was a foregone conclusion. The anti-divorce campaigners won a massive 63 per cent of the poll, with Dublin the only area of the country to return a majority for divorce rights.

This result has to be registered as a serious defeat, both for women and for the Irish national struggle.

One of the reasons for the defeat of the proposed amendment was that it was not accompanied by legislation to cover allocation of property and alimony payments. This allowed anti-divorce campaigners to undermine support for the amendment among women who feared that liberalisation of divorce without this could lead to them being deprived of family support.

The main bogey of the anti-divorce campaigners was that the absence of such legislation would undermine rights of inheritance — the ability to hand on the 'patrimony' intact is of enormous weight given a predominantly agricultural economy, with family wealth existing largely in the form of land.

The weakness of the constitutional divorce amendment allowed this campaign to build up a head of steam. The farming lobby cynically whipped up women's justified concern on alimony as a cover for their aim of maintaining full property rights over their land. Indeed it is striking that even the Catholic Church largely used this economic argument in its campaign against the change, rather than the traditional religious ones.

As a result the defeat on divorce compounds the defeat women suffered in 1983 with the passing of the abortion amendment, outlawing abortion in the Irish constitution.

This will also have a profound impact on the national struggle in the North of Ireland. Every move to shore up the domination of the Catholic Church over secular matters in the South becomes part of the argument against a united Ireland in the North. The Unionists like Paisley are of course total hypocrites, because while they proclaim that this proves the Pope rules Ireland, they also opposed divorce and abortion legislation being extended to the Six Counties.

However the impact will be the same, proving yet again that the Catholic Church in the South is one of the chief props of British rule in the North.

## The Stalker affair

THE MURKY affair of deputy Chief Constable John Stalker is uncovering more and more unpleasant facts about both the operation of the RUC's shoot-to-kill policy in the North of Ireland, and the criminal connections of the police in Britain itself.

To re-cap: Stalker was the top cop put on to investigating the killings of a number of unarmed people by the RUC in 1982. The trial of three RUC men in relation to four such killings had ended in their acquittal, but not before the Dublin government had intervened because the Judge appeared to be condoning their action, and the coroner concerned had resigned due to 'such grave irregularities' in RUC files that he felt unable to continue.

The need for a full inquiry was one of the chief concerns of the Dublin government in the run-up to the Anglo-Irish accord.

John Stalker was taken off the inquiry five days before he was due to go to Belfast to collect important new evidence concerning the RUC killing of 17 year old Micheal Tighe. The evidence was a tape of recordings from an MI5 listening device in the shed where the killing took place.

The Belfast chief constable had refused to release it, until directed to by the Belfast Director of Public Prosecutions. Stalker himself had apparently come under considerable pressure in Britain not to pursue the issue of the tape-recording. His suspension from duty came close on the heels of his decision to ignore this pressure and get hold of the tape.

However, while Stalker was pursuing at least part of the truth in the North of Ireland, he has not shown himself so vigorous in respect of the operations of the police force in Manchester. The Manchester force, under James Anderton, is busy covering up the brutal beatings and intimidation of a number of Manchester students following the violent dispersal of a picket of a visit by Leon Brittan to Manchester University.

Moreover, if it is proved that Stalker had criminal associates — the basis of the charge against him — then it will reflect on more than Stalker as an individual. He can't be the only cop whose 'business' friends have dodgy connections.

**THE BODENSTOWN** speech, the annual commemoration of the great Irish revolutionary Wolfe Tone, is taken as an opportunity for the Republican movement to spell out its current strategic and political thinking.

This year the speech was delivered by **MARTIN McGUINNESS**, Sinn Fein elected representative for Derry. The speech assesses the situation confronting the Republican movement after the Anglo-Irish Accord and the suspension of the Northern Ireland Assembly.

The speech defines Sinn Fein's objective of building a republican socialist political party in the whole of Ireland. It both defends the struggle for national liberation in Ireland, against its 'left-wing' critics, and outlines a strategic goal that is both socialist and internationalist.

We reprint the speech on these pages.

**TODAY WE** honour Theobald Wolfe Tone, that most dangerous and radical of Irish revolutionaries.

I remember the last time I spoke at his graveside, 13 years ago. In the aftermath of Bloody Sunday and following the abolition of Stormont all of us were in no doubt that freedom was but a short push away. Certainly we were innocent and naive to believe that we could quickly seize our country back from foreign occupiers and native seoinins and we did to a considerable extent underestimate Britain's determination to maintain its controlling influence over the administrations in Ireland, North and South. We even believed then that (SDLP leader) John Hume was serious when he said that 'It would be a united Ireland or nothing'.

Like the British, and their Irish collaborators, we have learnt much in the past 14 years. This present resistance struggle has lasted longer than any other in the history of our country. We have experienced and withstood internment, torture, murder and martial law. Our people have shown a dedication, a heroism and a willingness to sacrifice anything in their fight for freedom that has inspired freedom loving peoples throughout the world. Black South Africans, Palestinians, Nicaraguans, Filipinos know all about Bobby Sands and Brighton.

The Irish people have proved that no matter how militarily and technologically superior an oppressor can be, the will for freedom cannot be defeated. And that is why Thatcher and Reagan fear and hate us. Our movement symbolises freedom, and that, of course is unacceptable to the imperialist warmongers.

Britain and America are the two major powers who together oppose freedom in Ireland, oppose sanctions in South Africa and oppose self-determination in Latin America and the Middle East. Their influence, their

### **'Internment as a political option is once again on the cards.'**

military hardware and their vast wealth is used to suppress freedom throughout the world and they can depend on their allies in Ireland — who are only too willing to accept the Thatcher Reagan world view.

In the past year Garret Fitzgerald and Margaret Thatcher, with the support of John Hume and the Catholic hierarchy, have signed the London-Dublin Agreement. In response, the 'hard-men' in the UVF and the UDA have murdered Catholics and protestants and intimidated hundreds of nationalist families across the six counties.

Whilst the establishment media highlighted loyalist attacks on RUC homes, many more nationalist families were forced to see their homes with little or no media exposure of the fact. This summer the carnival of reaction

spoken of by James Connolly could rapidly reach its climax.

Meanwhile, within the nationalist community, John Hume and (South of Ireland foreign minister) Peter Barry are trying to convince us that Britain's intentions are not only honourable, but progressive. We have been promised many reforms but all we have experienced is increased repression. In the North, the RUC, the UDR and the judiciary have historically represented unionist domination and continue to do so. Any cosmetic changes made will only enable those violent institutions to refine, upgrade and modernise their vicious effectiveness. And in the past week after the latest meeting of the inter-governmental conference, Peter Barry, who went into it disappointed with the slow rate of progress, came out predicting once again an announcement on a package of legal reforms for the North.

But Barry ignores reality. The six county state and those institutions which maintain it, are irreformable and corrupt and as such must be confronted and destroyed.

Yet, despite more turns of the repressive screw, John Hume and Peter Barry would have us believe that the Hillsborough Deal (the Anglo-Irish Accord) is achieving reform and change. There may be some change for those willing to accept the British presence. But for the nationalist working class nothing has changed.

In 18 years much has happened, but for the ordinary people of Ireland little has changed. In the short term unionist opposition to the Agreement may well be defeated so that the way will then be cleared for a final assault on Britain's real enemy, the political and military freedom fighters of the Republican movement.

But we will not be intimidated by refined repression. We will not be frightened by shoot-to-kill policies or anything else. This movement will stand its ground. The IRA have said that the war will go on, and this movement will advance the struggle for what is rightfully ours, the freedom of Ireland and the establishment of the Republic.

The London-Dublin Treaty will fail, as all other treaties have failed because they attempt to ignore the principle of self-determination. This is a

right not subject to negotiation, a right that is not a 'gift' from a foreign government, a right that cannot be delayed and a right that cannot be denied in perpetuity.

Internment as a political option is once again on the cards, both North and South, and this time Hume and Mallon and Currie will not be organising rent and rates strikes against it, but explaining and helping to defend its use.

Since the 15 November last year we have watched the SDLP's leadership drop all its demands. No longer do we hear calls for the disbandment of the UDR and the RUC. Indeed, John Hume praised the RUC for their actions in Portadown against loyalists. In Mr Hume's warped thinking the death of Keith White, a protestant, by a plastic bullet suddenly balanced things

# **“NO FR NO PEA**



out and meant that the RUC were in Hume's word 'impartially implementing the law'.

Mr Hume also steadfastly refuses to tell the Irish people exactly where he and his party stand on the whole issue of extradition. At the funeral of Eddie Mc Ateer in Derry, John Hume was asked to sign a petition attacking the proposed extradition of Bik McFarlane and Gerry Kelly from Holland. He refused to do so. And while the SDLP allegedly condemn the use of perjurers or informers in the show trials his party encourages ordinary people to turn informer and inform on IRA freedom fighters.

Informers are still recruited and the 'shoot-to-kill' policy still dominates British military thinking. This policy has presently come under increased scrutiny because of the potential scandal behind the suspension of John Stalker, who, despite being certainly anti-republican, was obstructed from carrying out his inquiries into the Armagh killings. His findings eventually pointed to a conspiracy to prevent the course of justice within the most senior levels of the RUC, MI5 involvement in murder, and RUC surveillance operations in the 26 counties which make a laughing stock of Dublin government claims that they enjoy sovereignty.

The Dublin government which is attempting to rehabilitate the RUC is as embarrassed by the Stalker report as the British government and that is why Peter Barry did not press for the immediate publication of the findings.

In the 26 counties, Fitzgerald, Spring and the entire Free State establishment have tied themselves inextricably to the Hillsborough Accord. The shameful treatment of Evelyn Glenholmes revealed the extent to which the Free State has become, to all intents and purposes, an extension of the British State.

Fitzgerald and the SDLP are so dependent upon US dollars that they cannot find it in themselves to condemn

America's blatant acts of international aggression. While Reagan, aided and abetted by Thatcher, engaged in the mass slaughter of Libyan children, the 26 county coalition was one of the few states that did not criticise this adventurism.

Interestingly, Ireland has been dragged into the global paranoia of America and Britain. In exchange for Thatcher's F1-11 support for Reagan, the US administration is now seeking to link extradition of Irish Republicans to

### **'This summer, the carnival of reaction spoken of by James Connolly could rapidly reach its climax.'**

its Senate's financial aid to Ireland. Should they succeed, the Irish establishment will fully support the three way extradition of Republicans — just as it increasingly attempts to undermine Irish neutrality and shift Ireland towards NATO.

In the past week we have witnessed the 26 county administration in the ridiculous position of having to exert diplomatic pressure on Libya at the British government's behest. The bold Peter Barry is now a mouth piece both in Ireland and abroad for British interests.

It is a truism that the freedom struggle in Ireland has always been betrayed by native collaborators whose economic and political interests coincided with those of the British. British rule depends upon repression and collaboration and the Irish people should recognise that those who collaborate with Britain, in exchange for a slice of the cake, will implement British policy and remain silent when Irish people are murdered and oppressed.

It is they who are responsible for

prolonging the war in Ireland. Without the quislings, without the collaborators, we would already have achieved freedom. In the words of Padraig Pearse: 'After all there are in Ireland two parties; those who stand for the English connection and those who stand against it.'

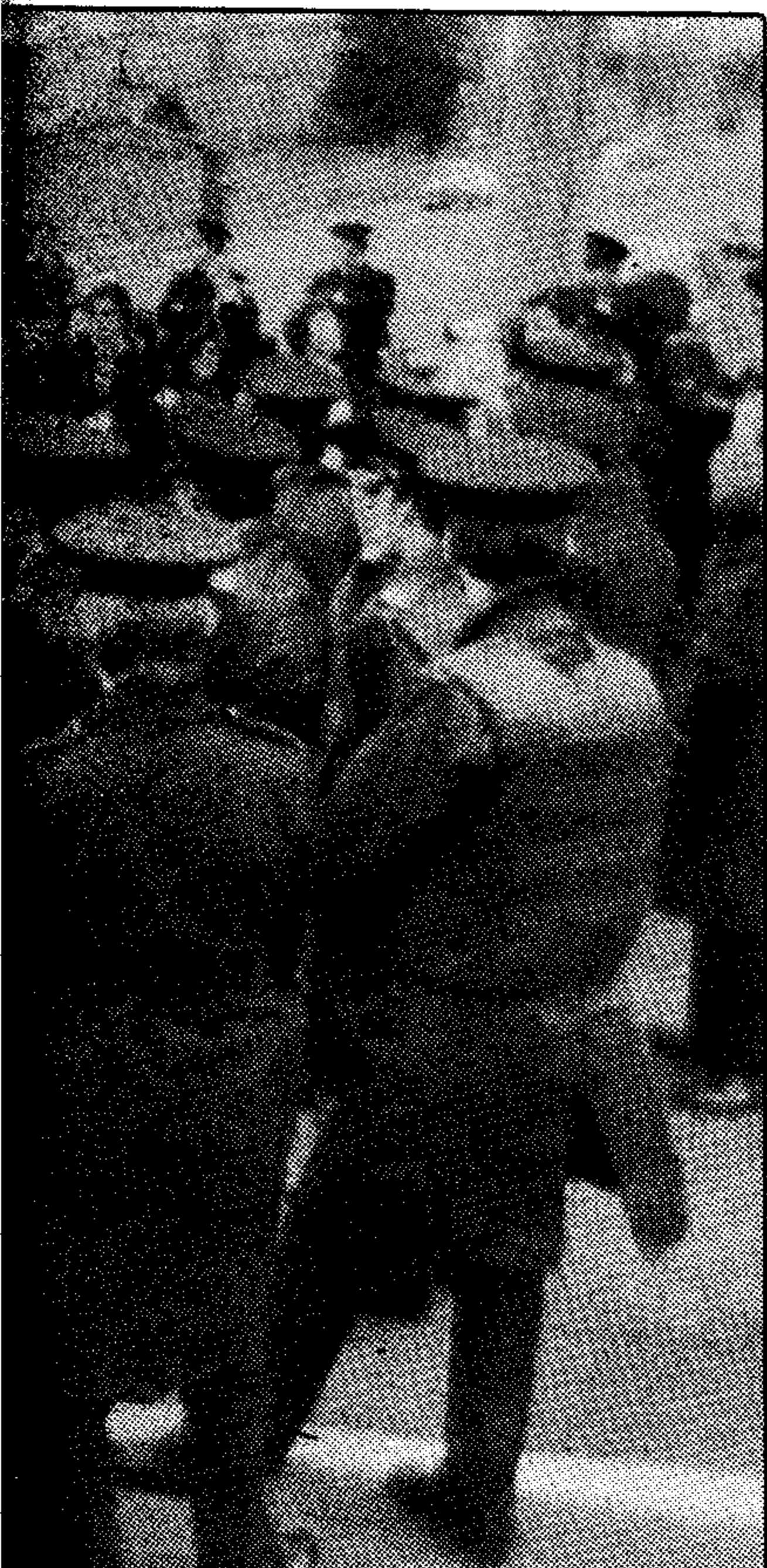
The underlying purpose of the London-Dublin Agreement is the destruction of the Republican movement, and neither the British government nor the 26 county coalition really

care about the cost of repression. While the island of Ireland boasts an unenviable figure of unemployed men and women, millions upon millions of pounds have been, and are being, spent on propping up the border — and increasing the already frightening array of lethal weaponry and technology available to the forces of injustice and occupation.

But the Republican movement has not been destroyed. All the resources, weaponry and technology available to the British government have not been sufficient to defeat our struggle. The men and women volunteer soldiers of the Irish Republican Army have, with courage and determination, continued the fight against numerically superior forces. And I apologise to no-one for saying that we support and admire the freedom fighters of the IRA.

In the North, attacks on the British army, the RUC and the UDR continue. The IRA has shown continued resourcefulness and capability to strike, where and when it wants. Its strategy has caused considerable

# FREEDOM PRICE."



Irish history by west Britons and British propaganda, more and more people are beginning to realise that internal tinkering with the six county statelet solves nothing, and only the achievement of a Socialist Republic, as advocated by Sinn Fein, can end decades of war, injustice and poverty in Ireland.

Sinn Fein has become an increasingly politicised and coherent force but as a movement we have our flaws, and as people who preach revolution we should begin with examining ourselves. James Connolly once remarked that the real danger to Republicanism was that it might become a commemorative organisation that mourned its martyrs, that lamented its heroic defeats.

There is an element of romanticism within our ranks that while not consciously defeatist, continues to look at the past for legitimacy. In 14 years time we will be in the 21st century and the struggle of our past, no matter how heroic, no matter how tragic, will have limited direct relevance. Of course we should remember Irish history. As Republicans we possess a continuity of vision and of action that stretches back to 1798 and beyond.

But the Ireland Wolfe Tone lived in, bears only a historical relationship to the Ireland of today or of tomorrow. Everytime we refuse to consider new options, to engage in revolutionary self-criticism, to examine the politics and the aspirations of the Irish people, we betray reality. And Republicans, of all people, should never be afraid to face the real world.

We know at first hand what the reality of British occupation means. Any nationalist child in the six counties could stand up here today and give a harrowing and graphic account of British murder, barbarism and repression. Any child in the 26 counties who has suffered poverty, experienced the tragedy of unemployment and witnessed the corruption, the cynicism, the greed and the all-pervading mediocrity that passes for politics under the Irish establishment, could stand up here and make an eloquent and convincing plea for justice and socialism. People who claim to be Republicans must seek to create and establish a Republicanism that is alive, vibrant, relevant.

Since the hunger-strike the Republican movement has sought to sponsor discussion, to evaluate where we have been, and where we are going to, and to establish genuinely constructive structures in which every single per-



sonalist. The use of these terms has blurred our objectives and the means whereby we can achieve them and there must be an end to such nonsense.

Certainly we must beware the trendy lefties who would peripheralise and trivialise the movement, but we must equally be wary of those who hamstring us with narrow reactionary conservatism. We are a socialist republican movement, a movement that supports the use of armed struggle in the six counties, and the establishment of a Socialist Republic in the 32 counties of Ireland. In the whole of western Europe there is not a revolutionary nor a socialist organisation that enjoys as much popular support as we do and we must be conscious of that fact and attempt to build on it.

Wolfe Tone's theories scared many Irish people. Fintan Lalor's writings confused many Irish people and James Connolly's teachings and actions were misrepresented by many Irish people. Should we therefore reject what they taught?

## In the whole of Western Europe there is not a revolutionary nor a socialist organisation that enjoys as much popular support as we do ...

son within the movement can express views and opinions. However, one of our political failings and one that still must be combatted, is our apparent readiness to dismiss evaluations of the movement that conflict with our own views.

Not every person who argues new positions is a trendy lefty, and not everyone who advocates orthodox Republicanism is a right-wing tradi-

What our movement is advancing towards today is victory and that also scares many people. Certainly in any insurrectionary or pre-revolutionary situation, there is a time when the radical movement can only offer a leap in the dark to the people. While our struggle continues, it must be our objective to narrow the extent of that leap by developing policies that take into account the interests and aspirations of

the people of this island. We must develop comprehensive, social, political, economic and cultural policies that enable people to see and understand the nature of our struggle, and the ways in which we will eventually change the social order.

Of course there has always been an element in Irish politics that has derided and condemned and mis-represented our socialism. Our attitude to armed struggle is clear and unambiguous and people can either accept it or reject it but they cannot deny it. However, our socialism has left itself open to various interpretations. Republicans have been described variously as left-wing Marxists or right-wing conservatives. There are those who consider armed struggle radical and others who believe it to be reactionary. We are variously called narrow-minded nationalists and part of an internationalist conspiracy.

Our position is perfectly simple. The Irish are a subject people who have the right to be free and have the absolute right to oppose in arms the occupying forces of Britain in the six counties. Many people would claim that the IRA is intent on violent confrontation in the 26 counties. That is a deliberate misrepresentation of the IRA's stated position. Time and again it has stated categorically that it does not contemplate and would not countenance

day of struggle that passes brings closer the day when the Irish define clearly their socialist vision. The revolutionary potential of our native language and culture has been acknowledged within the Hillsborough Accord and the so called concessions in this field, which are meant to undermine that potential, have already been made redundant by the achievements of Sinn Fein cultural activists.

While we honour Wolfe Tone today we honour too all the unsung people who lived and fought and died in the struggle for a free Ireland. We honour all those whose teachings and actions helped advance our struggle and we accept that with each generation new ideas appropriate to the times are developed and it is only through that process that relevance can be maintained. Honouring Wolfe Tone by harking back to distant days does not further our revolution. Eighty seven years ago James Connolly wrote: 'We are told to imitate Wolfe Tone, but the greatness of Wolfe Tone lay in the fact that he imitated nobody. The needs of his time called for a man able to shake from his mind the intellectual fetters of the past and to unite in his own person the hopes of the new revolutionary faith and the ancient aspirations of an oppressed people.'

## 'The Irish are a subject people who have the right to be free and have the absolute right to oppose in arms the occupying forces of Britain ...'

such action and even those most opposed to the IRA will accept that its statements are always factual and honest. We are out to establish a society in which no one is oppressed nor exploited, where the young people have hope and where freedom, justice and power rests with the people of Ireland.

Next Thursday the divorce referendum will take place in the 26 counties and all republicans should support the provision of this basic human right. We want a society free from multi-national profiteering and foreign influence. We want a society that is truly non-aligned, that is not a pawn in power bloc politics.

Many English politicians have warned of the dangers of an Irish Cuba off Britain's coast. A socialist Ireland is a threat to England only in so far as our success may spur English radicals to press more actively for political and social changes in their own country. Despite our relative lack of a comprehensive social and economic policy where-by we can convince the uncommitted that a united socialist Ireland is in their own interests, we are attempting to define and articulate a Republican socialism that is relevant to Ireland.

Connolly admitted that even he had failed to define Irish socialism. We are still following in his foot-steps and each

Our aim is not to provide poets and song-writers with more ballads of defeat but to build a real revolutionary organisation that will change Irish society for the betterment of the oppressed, the deprived and the unemployed men and women of this country.

Revolutionary Ireland throughout the generations has seen many great Irishmen and women. Wolfe Tone was indeed a remarkable person, an Irish revolutionary who believed, as we here believe, in the strength and ability of an oppressed and freedom hungry people to free ourselves of our chains.

Tragically for Ireland, Britain's continuing interference here means that freedom can only be gained at the point of an IRA rifle. Pearse put it in a nutshell: 'Ireland unarmed will attain just as much freedom as it is convenient for England to give her. Ireland armed will attain ultimately just as much freedom as she wants.'

Finally, we have learned over the years that the British government takes a keen interest on occasions like this. Tomorrow morning their political and military experts at the Ministry of Defence in London will study the contents of this speech. I'll make it simple for them:

No freedom, no peace. We do not fear you. The struggle continues. We are going to win.



**SOUTH AFRICA'S apartheid regime is in its deepest ever crisis. The present movement against the regime started in 1984 with the fight against the new constitution, and with the creation of the United Democratic Front (UDF). A new peak was reached on 1 December last year when the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) was formed.**

On 5-6 March this year COSATU held a formal meeting with the African National Congress (ANC). The immediate outcome of the col-

By John Ross

laboration between the ANC and COSATU were the general strikes of 1 May and 16 June — the greatest mass strikes in South African history.

The attempt of the apartheid regime to stem this movement, through the reimposition of a State of Emergency, has led to the greatest repression in South African history. But despite this, and despite the press censorship, it is clear that the repression has failed to stem the tide of revolt inside South Africa.

## Solidarity

The international solidarity movement with South Africa, in turn, has never been at a higher level — and the apartheid regime has never been more isolated.

It is therefore almost incredible to find mounting disorientation regarding the situation in South Africa in important parts of the British left. Instead of seeing, and welcoming, the huge steps forward that are being made, a part of the left sees the situation in South Africa as wracked by a disastrous crisis of misleadership.

According to *Socialist Worker*, for example, the resistance to apartheid is now disastrously divided into two dead end currents — the 'workerists' and the 'populists'.

Thus for example *Socialist Worker* for 28 June declared: 'In the unions people have been broadly split into two groups, the "workerists" and the "populists".' It argues that 'the populists have ... managed to gain the ascendancy in the unions.' *Socialist Worker* makes it clear that it regards the 'populists' as being the supporters of the ANC. These populists are allegedly leading the movement to disaster because they believe: 'the movement can win by pressuring the state into negotiations.' (*Socialist Worker* 19 June)

## Attack

*Socialist Organiser* launched an even more virulent attack on the politics of COSATU claiming in its 19 June issue: 'The situation right now is starting to look like a repeat of the fifties when the non-racial trade union federation, the South African Congress of Trade Unions, was used as a stage army by the populist leadership of the ANC.'

This question is of decisive importance. COSATU is today playing a more and more dominant role in South African politics. Together with the ANC it is one of the two most powerful organisations in the struggle against apartheid.

If the leadership of COSATU has now succumbed to 'populism', and its only opponents are dead end 'workerists' then the political situation is very grave.

But that then raises another question. Is the backwardness in the situation really that of the political currents in South Africa? Or is it the politics of those who make such analyses in Britain? To answer that it is necessary to look at the development of the politics of COSATU.

An excellent starting point is the speech made by Joe Foster, general secretary of the Federation of South African Trades Unions (FOSATU), in April 1982. This is undoubtedly one of the most important speeches made by a South African Trade Union leader. It was important not only because it was adopted as union policy by FOSATU, and widely circulated internationally, including through the book *Power*, but because



# The political development of COSATU

it addressed one of the most fundamental of all questions of the South African revolution — that of the independence of the working class.

The strength of Foster's speech was its totally unequivocal commitment to the independent organisation and politics of the working class. Foster stated: 'We have no intention of becoming self-satisfied trade unionists incapable of giving political direction to the workers struggle.' He concluded: 'It is, therefore, essential that workers must strive to build their own powerful and effective organisation even whilst they are part of the wider popular struggle.' Foster noted: 'Giving leadership to the working class requires an organisational base.'

While setting out this unequivocal commitment to working class independence Foster simultaneously outlined relations with the ANC. Foster stated: 'The ANC had to overcome racial division so as to rise above the divisive racism of the oppressors. They had to deal with opportunistic tribal leadership, to organise thousands upon thousands of people and they had to do all this in the face of harsh repression by the state. In achieving this there is little wonder that the ANC rose to become one of the great liberation movements in Africa.'

Foster outlined that stressing independent working class organisation and politics did not mean opposition to the ANC. He states: 'FOSATU as a trade union will clearly not constitute the working class movement nor would this place FOSATU in opposition to the wider political struggle or its major liberation movement.'

The very fact that Foster talked of independent working class organisation, while stating that the working class 'are part of the wider popular struggle,' left posed the question of working class organisations coopera-

ting with a body such as the ANC. This policy was dramatically put into effect in November 1984 in the Transvaal general strike, which was called as a united action between the United Democratic Front (UDF) and FOSATU. This strike was the high point of the mass actions in South Africa prior to the general strikes of 1 May and 16 June this year.

But if the tremendous strength of Foster's position was its insistence on working class organisational and political independence its weakness, and therefore that of FOSATU at that time, was on *why* such independence was necessary even before the apartheid regime was overthrown in South Africa. An error in the way Foster argued this led to the danger of a narrowing of the perspective of working class independence today.

## Class

Foster argued, in particular, that the working class had to be organised independently to protect itself against the type of regime that would exist *after* apartheid had been overthrown. Foster stated: 'All the great and successful popular movements have had as their aim the overthrow of the oppressive — most often colonial — regimes. But these movements cannot and have not in themselves been able to deal with the particular and fundamental problem of workers. Their task is to remove regimes that are regarded as illegitimate and unacceptable by the majority.'

It is, therefore, essential that workers must strive to build their own powerful and effective organisation even whilst they are part of the wider popular struggle. This organisation necessary to protect and further worker interests and to ensure that the popular movement is not hijacked by elements who will in the end have no option but to turn against their workers supporters.'

While undoubtedly elements who

participate in the struggle against apartheid will turn against the working class after the regime's overthrow this way of posing things is not adequate. Because the decisive problem today is not *what will follow* the apartheid regime, but *how to overthrow* the apartheid regime. A formulation such as Foster's speech declares as already resolved precisely the chief problem which has to be solved today.

The real point is that the working class has to lead the *present* struggle to overthrow apartheid. This will give the deepest scope to the struggle against apartheid. It will also leave the working class in the strongest position to deal with anyone who turns against it either before or after the overthrow of apartheid.

Foster's formulations genuinely contained elements of what Lenin termed 'economism' — and which have led to the accusation of 'workerism'. That is they seemed to suggest that the working class would get on with the trade union struggle while other bourgeois forces waged the political struggle against apartheid — exactly the type of combination the 'economists' had argued for in Russia. Foster's correct stress on working class politics and independence had not yet been wedded to a correct understanding of the strategy and alliances necessary to fight apartheid today.

## Speech

A measure of the development of the thinking of the currents coming out of COSATU is therefore the speech given by Jay Naidoo, general secretary of COSATU, at the University of Natal on 18 March this year. Naidoo was previously a leader of FOSATU.

Naidoo stated the goals of COSATU in the broadest possible terms and in relation to the present, as well as the future, struggles in South Africa. He said: 'we see ourselves as part and parcel of the broad struggle against apartheid and racism. We see ourselves as full participants in the fight for democracy, justice, and peace in South Africa.'

Naidoo combined the assertion of independent working class organisation, politics and leadership, the great strength of Foster's position, with an understanding of the necessary alliances the working class has to make in struggle. He argued: 'We are not fighting for freedom which sees the bulk of workers continuing to suffer as they do today. We therefore see it as our duty to promote working-class politics. A politics where workers' interests are paramount in the struggle.'

'At the same time we recognise that no struggle has ever involved one social force acting alone. We therefore have to look carefully at our society to see who are our allies.'

Naidoo concluded: 'our experience has taught us, firstly, to avoid isolating ourselves as workers and defining our friends and allies too narrowly, ie the danger of workerism; and secondly, to avoid subsuming ourselves in an incoherent mass mood or populist desire for an ill defined "freedom".'

## Independent

In their talks with the ANC Naidoo stressed: 'It was recognised that COSATU, as a representative of the working class, is seized with the task of engaging the general democratic struggle, both as an independent organisation and as an essential component of the democratic forces of our country.'

In short Naidoo retained all the stress and strength of Foster's position on the development of independent working class organisation and politics but at the same time stressed the alliances that the working class must make in the struggle against apartheid. Far from representing step backwards to populism, Naidoo's position registers a massive step forward in the thinking of the COSATU leadership.

A Marxist might, of course, want to give a more 'classical' formulation than Naidoo. It could be put as the

leading role of the working class in both a national democratic and socialist revolution. But on the essence of the matter Naidoo is entirely correct — the necessity of the independent politics and organisation of the working class, and at the same time the necessity for the working class to enter into alliances to gain the goals of its struggle.

Naidoo's position, however, poses a still more important question. The ANC is a *revolutionary nationalist* organisation. It does not, nor should it, attempt to convert itself into a revolutionary working class party. It includes, and should, all those dedicated to the revolutionary overthrow of the apartheid regime. Its programme, the Freedom Charter, is a revolutionary democratic programme.

But all this evidently poses the question of the construction of a *revolutionary working class party* in South Africa. A party which would not be antagonistic to the revolutionary democratic programme of the ANC, but which would enter into united action with the ANC precisely in order to realise this programme — while at the same time seeking to go beyond this to a socialist revolution in South Africa.

Naidoo however points out that the destruction of apartheid involves more than just securing political liberty — massive step forward as that would be. He states: 'Justice for us is not simply a beautiful phrase. It also means social justice, economic justice, and political justice. It means freedom from hunger and poverty, the right to work, the right to proper housing, decent medical facilities, and a meaningful education system that would develop the human potential of our people.'

'It is our experience that apartheid racism has gone hand in hand with our exploitation and suffering at the hands of the bosses. Free enterprise has not been something separate and hostile to racism. Despite the desperate attempts by organised business to distance themselves from the present discredited regime, we have learnt one important lesson, that the root and fruit of the apartheid tree is the exploitation of workers in South Africa.'

He noted: 'We see it as our duty to make sure that freedom does not merely change the skin colour of our oppressors.' Naidoo concluded: 'It is clear in the specific conditions of our country, it is inconceivable that political emancipation can be separated from economic emancipation.'

This is fundamental. The national democratic revolution in South Africa, the destruction of apartheid, itself involves a gigantic social revolution — the taking of the land by the black population, the formation of a single non-racial nation, the desegregation of the country, the creation of the base for political liberty. All historical experience, and any examination of the social reality of South Africa, shows that if the revolution in South Africa remains confined within the framework of a capitalist state even the national democratic tasks will be aborted — as the examples of India, Algeria, Zimbabwe, and many other shows.

A capitalist state is incapable of carrying through the destruction of apartheid racism in South Africa. Only if the capitalist state is destroyed, if the revolution in South Africa establishes the dictatorship of the proletariat, will the national democratic tasks of the revolution themselves be carried through to their conclusion — as they were in Russia, China, or Vietnam. Socialism in South Africa will grow out of the struggle against apartheid — not by bypassing it.

Jay Naidoo's views, which combine independent working class politics with the necessary alliances to fight apartheid, which seek unity in action with the ANC, which poses the question of what type of regime will come out of the revolution in South Africa, do not represent a step backwards. They represent an immense stride forward for the struggle in South Africa.



International

# New attack on Nicaragua

LAST FRIDAY, the International Court of Justice ruled that the United States is in breach of international law in its efforts to destabilise the Sandinista government in Nicaragua. Anticipating such a result, the US announced that it no longer recognised the court's jurisdiction. Nicaraguan Foreign Minister Miguel d'Escoto deplored the US stance as an expression of an international policy based on the 'law of the jungle'.

Reagan's campaigns against 'international lawlessness' and terrorism stand exposed. Guns and dollars speak louder than legal formulas — which are useful in so far as they defend the Pax Americana, but as disposable as old MacDonald's wrappers when they don't.

On Wednesday 25 June, the US House of Representatives seriously escalated US aggression against Nicaragua. In a display of a new found 'bipartisan politics', as Reagan put it, they voted \$100 million aid to the contra armies — who are currently dug in and licking their wounds along Nicaragua's borders. Significantly, \$70 million of this is for direct military aid.

\$40 million is for light equipment, to be delivered in September, and the remaining \$30 million for heavy high tech weaponry such as ground to air missiles which is to go through next February. All this amounts to three times the previous level of such aid.

Reagan's rhetoric about 'freedom fighters' aside, US policy is becoming more openly cynical. No one in the Pentagon believes that the contras have either the military capacity or the popular support to hold a single Nicaraguan village let alone topple the Sandinistas — whose leadership of the country was endorsed with a thumping two thirds majority of popular votes in Nicaraguas first free election only eighteen months ago.

Indeed there has been a sharp debate in the US

press that the contras command structure is so corrupt, politically dubious and inefficient, that it is incapable of absorbing the amount of aid being offered. At the same time there has been widespread publicity for contra atrocities in Nicaragua and criminal activity across the region.

Revelations that the contra commandantes have been running some of the principal cocaine

By Paul Atkin

routes from Columbia to the US, and various rackets in Miami, have helped keep a majority of US opinion hostile to further intervention but they have not cooled the ardour of the administration. Indeed, there has been direct obstruction from the White House of attempts by the General Accounting Office to subpoena contra bank accounts in Miami.

The solution to the conundrum of how to make force feeding the contras with high tech weaponry both possible and politically acceptable has been to put the CIA directly in charge of fund allocation. On the one side Reagan establishes a 'provisional government in exile' made up of contra leaders. On the other, the American state takes direct charge of running the war.

The 'government in exile' is window dressing for a war by proxy in which the US arms, finances and directs an army of mercenaries to do its dirty work for it. The tall, white, blue eyed boys in the green berets will give the orders. The little brown men in blue fatigues will fight, murder



and die at their command.

United States control of the war is now open and proclaimed by the US administration itself.

The United States' immediate aim is to punish Nicaragua. Well equipped contras can do great damage to the Nicaraguan economy. The US decision means that people will starve, go without medicine, live in fear.

It bears some resemblance to the last phase of the Vietnam war. When the US knew that they had lost, they spent several years and billions of dollars trying to bomb Vietnam flat. Not to 'win' the war but to try to cripple the victor, as a warning to anyone else of the terrible consequences of breaking with and defying US imperialism. The United States wants to turn Nicaragua's 'threat of a good example' to the rest of Latin America into a warning.

But there is a fundamental difference with Vietnam. The intervention into Nicaragua is escal-

ating. Speculation in Washington centres on Reagan's desire to overthrow the Sandinistas before he leaves office in 1988. Wholesale commitment of US military forces is on the agenda.

In Nicaragua, the response has been swift. The pro-Reagan newspaper, *La Prensa*, which greeted the contra aid vote by plastering a big picture of Reagan waving the victory salute all over its front page, has been closed. 'What country in time of war allows the enemy to openly publish newspapers in its capital', asked the Ministry of Interior.

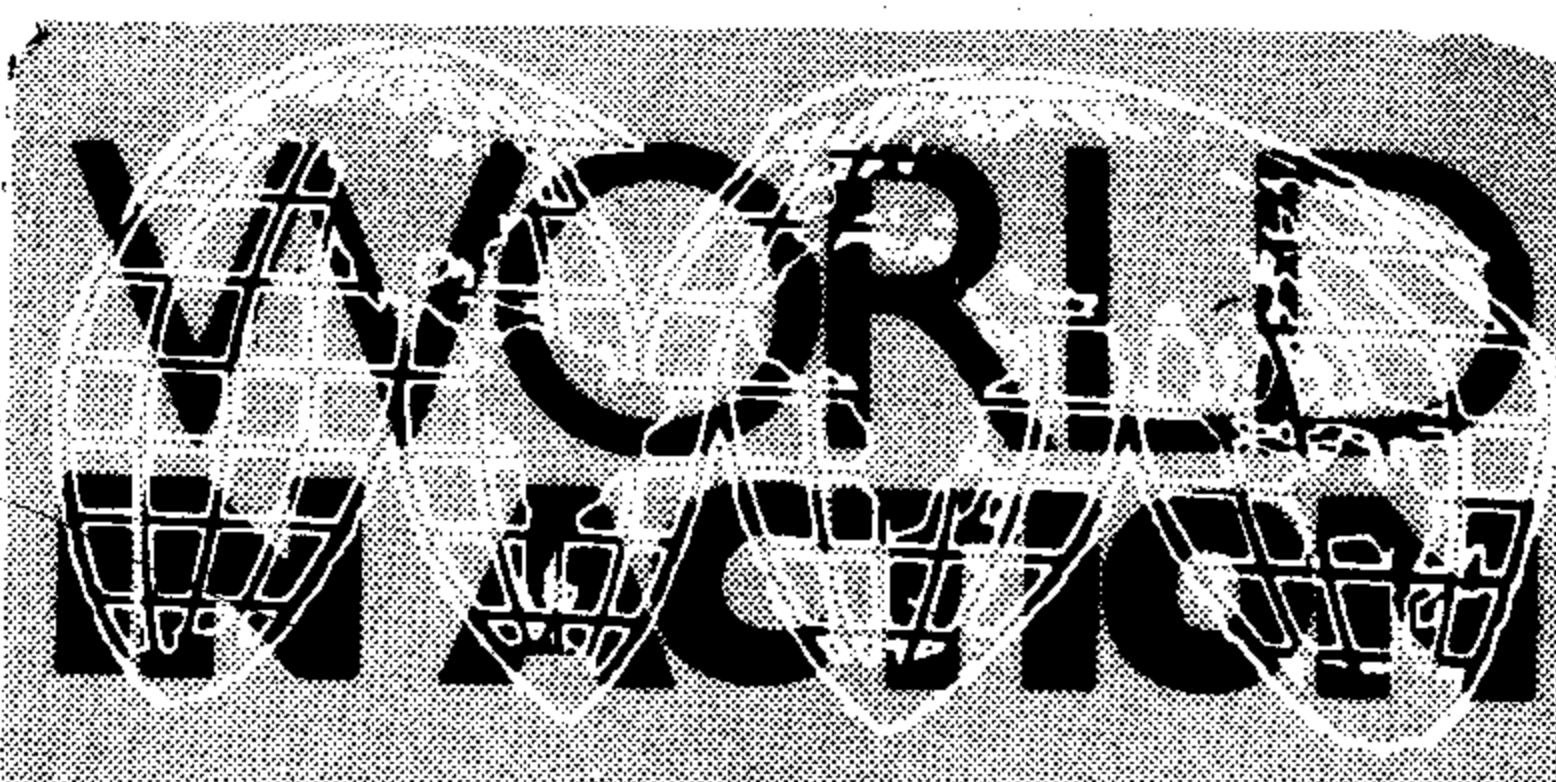
Physically and politically life will get harder in Nicaragua. The Sandinistas will do what is necessary to defend the revolution. That cannot help but involve the repression of forces who support the US aggression. Supporters of the US will try to pass this off as 'repression of human rights'. But it is the United States which is responsible for the war and for any

measures required to deal with it. There is no 'right' to be a fifth columnist.

International solidarity now is even more crucial. US pressure is designed to diplomatically and politically isolate Nicaragua, as well as materially drain her. In this country, the observers from the US embassy mingling with crowds at the Anti-Apartheid demonstration last Saturday must have been forcibly struck by the large numbers wearing pro-Sandinista T shirts.

The sentiment for Nicaragua is large in this country. The policies of the Labour Party, and many unions are positive. Now is the time for loud and sharp public retorts against US policy as part of a sustained campaign for Nicaragua.

● The Nicaragua Solidarity Campaign has a petition and leaflet against Contra aid. To order them or get speakers on the situation in Nicaragua contact NSC, 20-21 Compton Terrace, London N1.



## Peru

British delegates returning from the Second International congress in Lima, Peru have some explaining to do. As many as 400 Sendero Luminoso guerillas are now believed massacred since Wednesday 18 June when president Alan Garcia ordered the army and navy to crush a revolt in the country's three strongest jails. At least 70 were killed after they surrendered, and in two of the prisons not a single guerilla was left alive. This action will rank with the most barbarous atrocities of Latin American history.

The Second International, meeting for the first time in Latin America, under the banner 'Peace and Freedom', greeted it with a terse declaration. It expressed concern at 'excesses' but spent most of its time explaining that 'democracy has the right to defend itself against terrorists'. Excuse us: defend what against whom?

The 'threat' was not an army in the field but captives. As Peruvian writer Mario Vargas has charged, it involved 'settling accounts with an enemy' and had nothing to do with 'establishing order'. The prisoners, who could not possibly defend themselves, were massacred to intimidate guerillas in the field which the army could not deal with. Garcia knew perfectly well what the armed forces wanted to do. They had been straining at the leash for six months. His own navy minister, Admiral Julio Pacheco, had just stated that 'irrecoverable people have to be eliminated from society'.

The brutal fact is that the Second International and all its parties, eager for the pickings of resistance to US imperialism in Latin America but frightened of losing new-found allies like Garcia, not merely stood by but congratulated the president on his action. A fitting warning to the people of Latin America of what they can expect from European 'democracy': barbarism and cowardice excused by naked greed.

We repeat: defend what against whom? We hope the British delegates have an answer.

## Philippines

President Cory Aquino is starting negotiations with the New People's Army and the Philippines Communist Party. Since she came to office the army has redoubled its attacks on the resistance. Over 1000 have died since February. Under Marcos, the annual average was 3000. But the armed forces have been unable to break the resistance. The move has provoked dissent in her cabinet, and rumours are rife of disagreements and even preemptive coups by defence minister Juan Ponce Enrile.

The USA, which has recently granted \$2 million in aid to the Philippines, has officially denied that this is 'rent' for its bases, whose lease is up for renewal in 1991.

## South Pacific

The US has openly opposed a pact soon to be signed by 13 South Pacific countries which would turn the South East Pacific into a nuclear free zone. It is also pressing New Zealand to modify its non-nuclear policy so that US nuclear ships can use New Zealand ports.

To this end, Reagan has threatened to 'remove the nuclear umbrella' from New Zealand. Prime minister Lange says New Zealand will be a lot safer without it and is considering breaking from the ANZUS defence pact.

## Anniversary of the Nicaraguan Revolution Saturday 19 July

Nicaragua Solidarity Campaign Day school and Rally

Nelson Mandela Hall, Kings College Student Union, Surrey Street, London WC2

Speakers include: Nicaraguan embassy, FDR FMLN of El Salvador, ANC, SWAPO, CND, and more.

The day school will be followed by films, videos and a disco

Further details from: NSC, 20-21 Compton Terrace, London N1 (01-359 8982)

# More US terrorism: Bury my heart at Big Mountain

ON 6 JULY the United States government plans to forcibly evict 10,000 Navajo and Hopi American Indians from their ancestral homelands at Big Mountain, Arizona. The decision by the Reagan administration is a result of lobbying by mining companies, most notably Peabody Coal, who want to get their hands — and their bank accounts — on the uranium beneath the surface.

Big Mountain, at the centre of the Colorado Plateau, is amongst the most energy and mineral-rich land in the world. A number of studies show that this land is also essential to maintain the climatic balance which regulates global weather patterns.

Not only is the planned 'relocation' an infringement of the rights of the oppressed American Indian nations, but its results could have serious repercussions on ecological balance.

The Navajo and Hopi trace their occupancy of this area back for centuries. For that long, the two peoples have shared these lands, peacefully, raising

livestock.

By Carol Turner

They are in complete opposition to the eviction. Since 1977, they have resisted removal, including by armed confrontation.

The main instrument for organising this eviction has been the Navajo-Hopi Indian Relocation Commission, which has so far spent \$50 million in this attempt. Since 1984 several investigations have exposed the corruption of land dealers, implicating the Commission itself.

In an attempt to drive the Navajo and Hopi peoples off Big Mountain,



the government has confiscated their livestock over a long period. One example is the woman who applied for a permit to graze her sheep, together with a cow and a horse. She was granted grazing rights for one sheep, one horse and one cow — and 10 days to appeal within a

complicated legal system of which she had little understanding — and no lawyer to act on her behalf.

For the American Indians of Big Mountain, 'relocation' is a polite word for genocide. Interestingly, there is no word for 'relocation' in

the Navajo language: the nearest approximation means to disappear never to be seen again.

Protest against this latest act of US barbarism is now beginning to spread. A Big Mountain Support Campaign was launched recently in Britain, and has already held a successful press conference. Publicity, finances and action are urgently needed.

In the wake of Chernobyl, and given the clear links which this campaign has with the issue of nuclear power and weapons, it is not surprising that Greenham women have been in the forefront of raising Big Mountain in Britain.

● Further information is available from: Big Mountain Support Committee, c/o 19 Shipton House, Prince of Wales Road, London NW5 3ND (phone: 01-241 5626 or 01-485 1085)

# Censorship and anti-zionism

AT THIS April's NUS conference Dave King, president of Lancashire Polytechnic and Labour Prospective Parliamentary Candidate for Ribbles Valley made a speech opposing the policies of the state of Israel. This speech was immediately attacked in the *Jewish Chronicle* and the *Guardian* as anti-semitic. A similar attack was made in *Socialist Organiser*.

The *Jewish Chronicle*, the *Guardian* and *Socialist Organiser* have refused to print any reply by Dave King. This tactic of claiming any opposition to Zionism is 'anti-Jewish', and then refusing to print any reply, is a typical tactic of publications which attempt to equate opposition to the state of Israel with anti-semitism. Dave King explains here his views on the state of Israel and the Palestinian struggle.

I WOULD like to thank Socialist Action for providing me with this platform. In recent weeks, myself and others have been continually attacked in the press for daring to raise for national debate within the National Union of Students (NUS) the issue of Israeli atrocities towards the Palestinians and, in particular, towards Palestinian students.

It is a matter of historical fact that NUS has consistently avoided debating the Middle East and the role that Israel plays, and now the reason for this has become abundantly clear.

## Victims

The student movement has always been to the fore in defending the victims of racism and fascism, both nationally and internationally. In the face of repeated governmental threats, NUS continues to operate its 'No Platform for Racists and Fascists'. NUS has been the major prominent national organisation in urging the economic and social isolation of apartheid South Africa. To its credit, NUS was the first mass organisation to call for troops out of Ireland. Students have bravely combatted the National Front particularly in isolating Harrington at the Polytechnic of North London (albeit with little NEC support).

When Reagan bombed Libya, the student movement rose and condemned this act of terrorism with one single united voice. Therefore, it can be said that on the issues of

racism, fascism and imperialism, that NUS has a record of solidarity with freedom movements throughout the world.

However, there is one alarming exception to this — the outrageous and totally indefensible racist actions of the state of Israel upon the Palestinian people. It is a fact that the Union of Jewish Students (UJS), many of whom act as apologists for the state of Israel, have continually strived and been successful in ensuring that criticisms of Israel are never expressed in debates either on individual campuses or at National Conference. Their method is as simple as it is effective. Criticism of Israel equals anti-semitism. Those who dare to condemn Israel as a racist state that operates a policy of international terrorism throughout the Middle East are hounded, intimidated and scurrilously attacked with all the force and venom that UJS and its allies can muster.

Witness what has happened to Georges Johannes of the ANC. In answer to a question on international co-operation between South Africa and Israel, Georges expressed the opinion that the ironic support of Israel for the neo-Nazi regime of Pretoria was in some measure Israel was in some measure continuing policies which most people thought had died in the Berlin bunker! The fact that Georges was speaking as a guest of the National Organisation of Labour Students at a fringe meeting of the National Conference led UJS

to immediately publicise a totally distorted and untruthful account that labled both the ANC and NOLS as anti-semitic movements.

In fact, it was against this background that I made my speech at Conference and I chose the opportunity afforded to me by the fact that speaking time was available during a motion on Soviet Jewry. The abuse, vitriol and harassment that has since been levelled at me for attacking Israeli racism has manifested itself in me being labelled 'anti-semitic' — the *Guardian*; 'evil' UJS; 'a nasty Jew baiter' — *Socialist Organiser* and the 'nastiest manifestation of anti-semitism' — *Jewish Chronicle*. I have had letters of abuse and a member of UJS was actually expelled from the floor of conference for trying to set me up on a charge of sexual harassment.

## Recant

I have had pressure brought upon me to recant false allegations made on my own campus at Lancashire Polytechnic that 'I have terrorised Jewish Students', and this is all because of my criticism (admittedly blunt) of Israel and its actions against the Palestinians.

What exactly did I say and what is my viewpoint with regards to Israel? Firstly, I believe that Jewish people have a right to live in Palestine. They have a right to protect and

defend themselves against the anti-semities who undoubtedly still exist in almost every Western nation, much of Eastern Europe and in the Arab world. However, Israel does not have the right to assert a national identity at the expense of dispossessing and disenfranchising the Palestinians. Israel does not have the right to resort to acts of international terrorism to invade other countries to destabilise the peace of the world.

## Surrogate

Israel today has become a surrogate state of the USA acting as its police force against the Arab world and ensuring that Soviet influence is undermined. This has forced much of the Arab world to look towards the USSR for support, and with both super-powers needing to control the vital assets of the region, the lighted fuse attached to the powder keg of world war gets ever shorter. The rights of Jews to exist in a peaceful and secure environment must be vigorously defended, but when Israel by its actions of state terrorism and racism against the Palestinians undertakes the role of imperialist overseers on behalf of its American masters, then Israel must be condemned.

Much has been said about the use of the term 'Zionism equals racism'. I do not equate all those who adhere to Zionism as racists. However, just as

with some sects of Christianity, ie Southern Baptists and the Dutch Reformists of South Africa, there are those who use their interpretation of Jews as the 'chosen race' as having a God given right to the exclusive use of the 'land of milk and honey', ie Palestine.

Those Zionists are racists to the extreme, and their actions can be rightly compared to the incumbents of Pretoria or even the Nazis in their approach — even if not in the scale of what they have actually been able to 'achieve'.

Furthermore, there are Zionists who utilise the predicament of Soviet Jewry to create an hysterical anti-Soviet backlash designed to detract world attention away from the criminal acts carried out by successive Israeli governments themselves. Many 'refuseniks' having been granted exit visas from the USSR are immediately encouraged to settle in Israel, and proceed to condemn the Soviets in emotional, irrational terms and to display overwhelming gratitude to the fact that they have now arrived 'home'. Of course their settlement has often led to further Palestinians being dispossessed of land that has been theirs for generations.

Having said this, the USSR is indeed open to criticism for its treatment of Jews, and indeed I supported the Soviet Jewry motion debated at Conference. However, there is no excuse for Israel's conduct when it uses the refuseniks as merely a further pawn in their perverted game of gaining exclusive use of Palestine for Jews.

So there we are — I await a continuation of the debate. If nothing else has been achieved, the debate is now in the open. Let it be rational and politised without perverted claims of anti-semitism being levelled at critics of the state of Israel. Surely, if adherents of Zionism believe that they have a justified argument, then they can come forward and argue its case in its merits, and not use anti-semitism as a refuge.



mer. This coming weekend is the Durham miners gala. On 29 July there is the North London anti-racist festival. On 22 July there is the London Campaign group rally. August sees the Notting Hill carnival. Bookstalls and fund raising initiatives can be planned for all such events. Please contact us for any assistance.

Meanwhile our 'Sanctions Now' badge was also a political intervention on the demonstration. It is ex-

traordinary to note that many left wing papers refuse to raise the demand for sanctions against South Africa. Socialist Action has no hesitation in supporting every form of struggle against the apartheid regime — from the armed actions of the ANC, through mass strikes and peaceful demonstrations in South Africa, to every single form of international action against the regime.

We think last week's

demonstration was a tremendous success for the anti-apartheid struggle. We will be working flat out throughout the summer to build the Anti Apartheid Movement. And to do that we need regular contributions from our readers — £250 a week income to bring out a weekly paper.

Please rush your contribution, no matter how large or small, to Socialist Action, PO Box 50, London N1 2XP.



# FUND DRIVE

TWO BADGES produced by Socialist Action sold massively on last weekend's huge anti-apartheid demonstration — 'Isolate Apartheid — Sanctions Now' and 'Smash Apartheid'. Supporters from all over the country were out and about from early morning selling them.

On the day over £700 was handed to the Socialist Action stall. Another £500 or so is in the pipeline.

Thanks all round to the massive effort involved. This was a much needed boost to the paper's coffers.

In addition readers in the North West produced and sold 400 anti-apartheid T-shirts — again the proceeds have been promised for our fund.

It is impossible to tell how many extra Socialist Actions were sold yet, but it was many hundreds. We will try to give details in our next issue.

There are many rallies and festivals over the sum-

# LETTERS

## Broadwater Farm

AS YOU may know as a result of the uprising last year, 66 people have been charged with affray. A further 13 people, including a number of juveniles, have been charged with riotous assembly, 6 of whom have also been charged with murder.

The Defence Campaign has decided to hold a picket of Tottenham Police Station to coincide with the publication of the Inquiry Report on July 8th, from 6-8pm.

Also we will be having a march from Broadwater Farm to Finsbury Park to join up with Haringey's SALSA Anti-Racist festival on July 20th at 11am.

We therefore invite you to participate in these events and show solidarity with the defendants and the struggle against racism in this country.

Broadwater Farm Defence Campaign.

## Black Section

As you probably know the Labour Party launched its Black and Asian Advisory Committee at the end of May. The Committee consists of nominees from the national executive committee of the Labour Party, affiliated trade unions and Labour Party Regions. It is chaired by Jo Richardson MP.

The Labour Party Black Section are adamantly opposed to the Black and Asian Advisory Committee. It represents no one, has no muscle, and is inevitable doomed to failure.

Virendra Sharma, the newly appointed Ethnic Minorities Officer is responsible for servicing the committee. He has written to the trade unions, socialist societies and Constituency Labour Parties requesting invitations to come and explain the role of the Black and Asian Advisory Committee. We advise that invitations to both the Black and Asian Advisory Committee and the Black Section be made simultaneously, so that the issue can be fully debated.

Please publish this letter in your newspaper and circulate to your branches for information.

Yours in comradeship,  
Paul Sharma (For the National Committee Labour Party Black Section)  
Please reply to:  
92 Milton Park  
Highgate  
London N6 5PZ.

## Mexico and the World Cup

WHILST IT is inevitable that the bourgeois press can set the agenda for what makes news, it is the duty of the left to set the terms of the debate itself. The article 'Victory to Argentina!' (27 June) failed to tackle the political issues behind the World Cup.

The real story behind the World Cup — ignored by the world's media (and Socialist Action) — is the way that the Mexican government has used it to divert attention from its savage austerity policies and increasing repression.

So important did the Mexican government consider the exercise that one of its first declarations after the earthquake last September was to affirm that the World Cup would go ahead — and the first grants were given to the hotel industry. Meanwhile the Committee of the Disaster Victims is the object of a government-inspired slander campaign.

The minimum wage has been reduced by 40 per cent in real terms in the last ten years. Prices of basic foods have been deregulated and unemployment has risen sharply.

These policies have led to strikes and demonstrations by workers' and peasants' organisations which have been brutally repressed by the police. 'Disappearances' and arbitrary detentions are increasing.

The people in the shanty town surrounding the Neza stadium don't even have running water and electricity. They are refusing to pay for the decorations carried out by the government to prettify the area for tourists, and are mobilising around the slogan 'We don't want football, we want food!'

Socialists should be using the occasion of the World Cup to highlight their campaign and that of the National Front Against Repression (FNCR) for the return of the 'disappeared', amnesty for the detainees, and the campaign to award the Nobel Peace Prize to Rosario Ibarra de la Piedra, chairperson of FNCR.

Ali Wasti

# NUM in conference: Scargill warns 'we can surrender or fight back'

**'UNLESS THIS union is prepared to take positive action, up to 42 more pits will close or merge, with 60,000 more jobs wiped out in the next few years', NUM president Arthur Scargill told miners delegates meeting at Tenby on their first day of conference last Monday. He bluntly spelt out the strategic choices facing miners. 'This is the reality we face,' he said. 'To accommodate or attempt to placate is to surrender. We can surrender or fight back. There is no middle ground.'**

Against those who attacked the strike, and against calls from Scotland and elsewhere for 'unity' between the NUM and Lynk's scab UDM, Scargill reminded conference: 'It is a testimony to the courage and determination of our membership, to the wonderful women's support groups and our allies that the NUM has not only survived but is recognised as a focal point of resistance against attempts to destroy British industry.' Pointing to the closure of Gartcosh steelworks in Scotland Scargill attacked the disaster of 'new realism'.

He called instead for a 'revival' of basic trade union principles. The National Union of Mineworkers, he said, would need to take industrial action 'sooner rather than later' to prevent further pit decimation.

'Only direct action which carries economic impact can halt the policies and terrible slide to complete disaster which faces Britain today,' he explained. 'That is the key lesson learned over the course of the past few years.'

Against the calls for unity, through 'conciliation' with the breakaway UDM, Scargill demanded the Labour Party leadership to take action against Notts MPs who backed up 'this company outfit'. A resolution from the Scottish area proposed to 'ensure national unity is achieved by calling on the TUC and the Labour Party to assist in reuniting Britain's mining unionists'.

Scargill's speech set the tone for the conference and the differences that are unfolding within the union. Today national industrial action is not an immediate or realistic project. But the issue is how the NUM is to be able to get back into the position where it is.

The path being pursued by the Scottish leadership around Mick McGahey in essence is to abandon the fighting line of the NUM and seek reconciliation with the UDM. Evidently this would be at the expense of the removal of the present leadership of the NUM and a reversal of its policies.

It is clear that this would not save a single job. Policies of complete collaboration with manag-



ement, as pursued by the ISTC in the steel industry for example, resulted in even greater slaughter of jobs than in the mines. Such an abandonment of the NUM's policies would break up all the political gains of the strike and make the union a police force over its own members.

The task which exists is to smash the UDM. Discussion is about to do that, and not how to carry out a 'reconciliation'. The strategic choice taken on

that issue will decide the whole future of the NUM.

Conference reaffirmed its commitment to fight for the reinstatement of the 480 miners still sacked. A resolution from the Kent area called on the union meanwhile to continue to provide financial assistance for those sacked.

On Tuesday delegates were treated to a surprise and raptuously greeted appearance by two South African miners leaders, including Cyril Ramaphosa,

general secretary of the NUM, who addressed conference. Delegates will debate a resolution from Scotland opposing 'the evil of apartheid' and calling, among other things, for the imposition of the UN arms embargo and mandatory economic sanctions including an oil embargo. The resolution also proposes affiliation to the Anti Apartheid Movement.

But it is the decision on how to fight the UDM which will determine the future of the miners.

## NUR supports WAC

**Monday at Weston-super-Mare.** Seventy seven NUR delegates debated government cash for ballots and firmly rejected the idea. But conference turned down a demand that the next Labour government should repeal Tory anti-union laws. Speaking against the resolution general secretary Jimmy Knapp said that the Labour government must be given 'flexibility'.

Against the advice of the platform however, conference passed a resolution in support of the Labour Women's Action Committee demand that women should elect the women's places on Labour's NEC. The motion was passed with a four to three majority.

**super-Mare.** The whole of the morning debate, over two hours, was taken up by a resolution opposing the witch hunt in the Labour Party. A wteeking amendment calling on the union to take a stand against Militant's policies 'at every level' of the Labour Party was passed. In a skillful and carefully prepared half-hour response Knapp opposed the resolution and called for support for the amendment.

During the day, the chair announced a Rail Against Apartheid fringe meeting on Tuesday evening. This looks set to be a big and successful event. Railworkers will hear that as they met in session today, the South African NUM addressed the British mineworkers.

Tuesday at Weston-

## Make the links, break the chain

**ONE important by-product of the disaster at the Chernobyl power station in the USSR was the formation of the Links campaign.**

By Carol Turner

Links has brought together a variety of anti-nuclear and other groups to ensure that the nuclear power programme of this country is scrapped once and for all.

A delegate conference which met in Durham over the weekend of 10-11 May decided to take public action. Groups involved include Women Against Pit Closures, Tyneside CND, Tyneside Anti Apartheid, SCRAM and others.

The conference called for a national week of action beginning on 7 June. As a result of action across the country they have collected a jumbo petition which was recently handed in at 10 Downing Street, and demands that no new nuclear power stations be built in this country and that existing nuclear power be phased out.

The Links group took action in London last week. Over 30 people from as far afield as Scotland and Wales, and including a contingent of Greenham



**BREAK THE CHAIN**

women, delivered letters to every MP on the subject of the petition.

Four questions are asked on MPs positions on the use of nuclear power — and answers demanded. Links will publish the answers, including a list of MPs who do not respond.

A press statement issued on 25 June says: 'The Links campaign presented a petition against nuclear power signed by 55,000 people today. The petition was collected in the week of 7-14 June 1986, a rate of one signature every 12 seconds.'

Links is now considering a further conference in the autumn.

● The Links campaign can be contacted via: Ann Suddick, c/o Durham Mechanics Office, 26 The Avenue, Durham DH1 4ED.

## Black Section gains at TGWU rules revision conference

**'WE SHOULD be saying we'll give you what you need, not what we think is best for you,' said transport union general secretary Ron Todd talking about black workers in South Africa. Unfortunately when black workers here in Britain want self-organisation they are flatly refused institutional recognition by white trade union and Labour Party bosses.**

Racism and paternalism are alive and kicking in the labour movement. Nowhere was this more widely apparent than at the TGWU rules revision conference in Aberdeen last month (June).

Out of almost 200 delegates representing 1.5 million workers, just two were black. Yet black workers make up 20 per cent of the unions membership, most of them concentrated in the lowest-paid jobs.

Though the TGWU have appointed a black deputy general secretary, there is no room for complacency. The new number two, Bill Morris, discovered when his bid to get on the TUC general council failed, that if you are black you can't build a mass base among an all-white union executive.

That base should be among the most disadvantaged and least represented section of the membership: black workers. And

he should fight for a mechanism within the structure of the union which gives black people a voice. That means supporting black caucuses.

**By Ashley Patel, Black Section, TGWU Organiser**

Women in the TGWU have advisory committees and a full-time national officer. Black members have neither.

Commenting on Bill Morris's rebuff, one of the black delegates said: 'the system does work.' The arrogance of TGWU officials screwing up the leaflets of Labour Party Black Section and saying 'we don't support that', without even giving the text a read, was soul destroying for our new supporters.

One delegate summed up the wall of resistance when he gave his view of black sections that 'Ron Todd speaks for me'.



Needless to say, Todd implacably opposed us.

Looking at things from a positive view, Black Section fringe meeting in Aberdeen was a great success in that it showed that Black Section movement had the organisational ability and practical support to hold a successful fringe meeting hundreds of miles away from its main areas of support at a

hostile union conference. We successfully leafleted all 200 delegates on at least three separate occasions.

We spoke with Bill Morris and Ron Todd at length, and their response will help shape our TGWU strategy in the future. We also made valuable contacts for future action.

Our next step is organising and campaigning for next year's TGWU

biennial delegate conference (BDG). Supporters are being encouraged to pass resolutions through their branches to ensure that several resolutions supporting Black Sections will be on the agenda.

We hope that such resolutions will be thoroughly debated — on the floor of that conference and at a rank and file level.

## Issues for Socialists in the UCW

**An open discussion meeting**

**Saturday 5 July, 11am — 5pm**

'Fighting Racism' speaker Frank Osie-Tutu Executive council

chair Bob Birmingham WDO

'Womens Rights' speakers Jane Loftus Liverpool C&CS

Cheryl Pugh Chesterfield PHQ

chair Billy Hayes Liverpool Amal

'Organising For Change' speaker Stephen Bell Cardiff Uniform

chair Alison Emery Coventy Tels

All speakers in a personal capacity

Small Lecture Theatre 2

Polytechnic of Central London

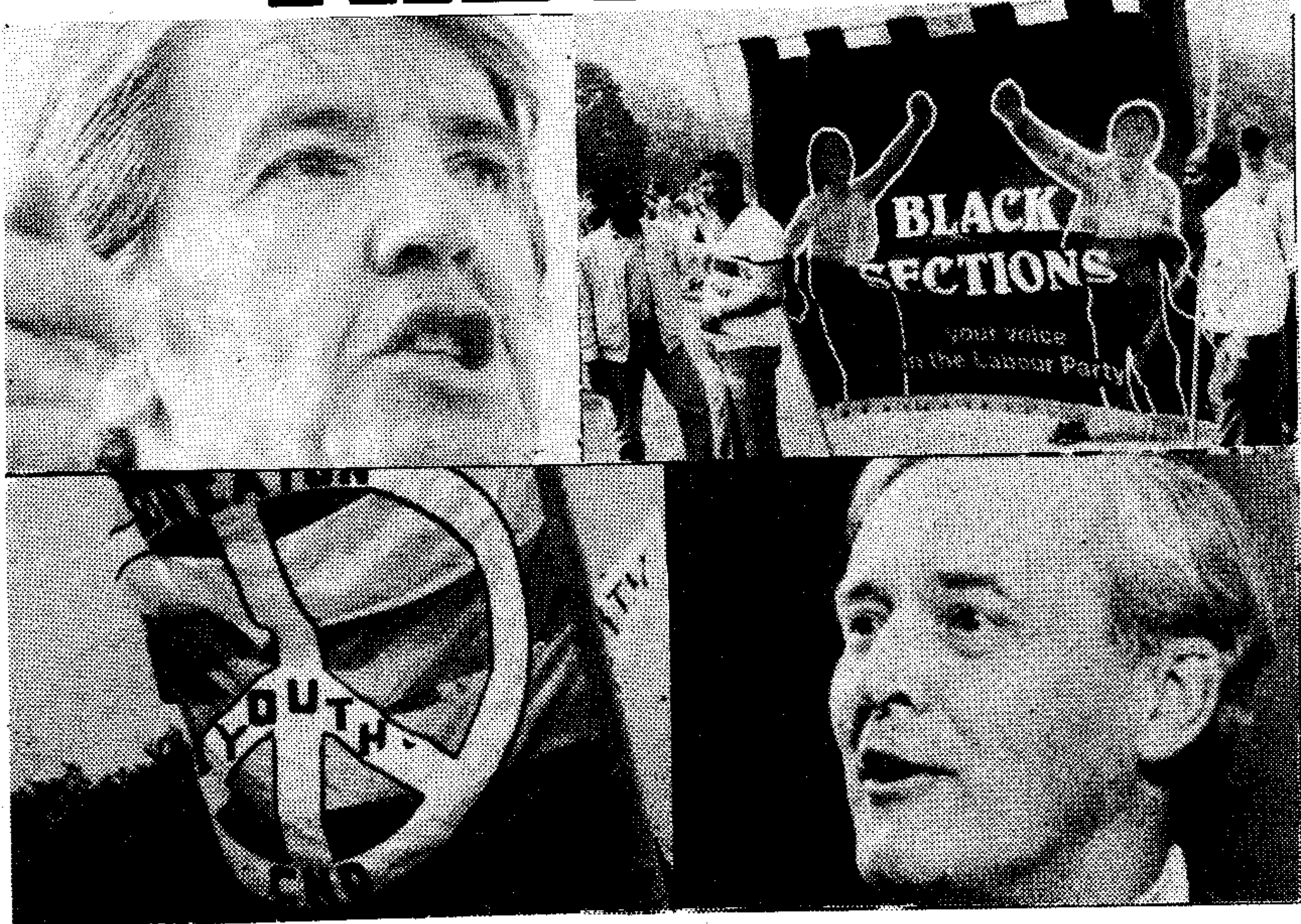
35 Marylebone Rd

Baker Street Tube Station

# A Socialist ACTION

CAMPAIGN GROUP OF LABOUR MPs  
PUBLIC MEETING

## WHICH WAY FOR THE LEFT?



8pm Tuesday 22 July

**SPEAKERS:**  
MARGARET BECKETT MP  
TONY BENN MP

ERIC HEFFER MP  
DENNIS SKINNER MP  
LABOUR PARTY BLACK SECTION  
LABOUR WOMENS' ACTION  
COMMITTEE

CAMPAIGN FOR LABOUR PARTY  
DEMOCRACY  
PHIL TURNER PPC HAMPSTEAD AND  
HIGHGATE

Chair Julie Fitzgerald  
Deputy Leader, Camden Council

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ADMISSION £1

## Wapping

# Printworkers plan next steps



OVER 600 sacked News International print workers held a mass meeting last Saturday 28 June to discuss the next steps in their fight to win re-instatement and union recognition at Wapping. Despite the decisions of the SOGAT national conference, the national leadership of SOGAT, and general secretary Brenda Dean, has done nothing to intensify the fight. It has simply decided upon a relaunch of the consumer boycott campaign. This inactivity of the national union leadership was underlined by the absence of every single London full time branch secretary from the platform of the meeting.

What Brenda Dean had done is to endorse the visit of electricians' leader Eric Hammond to Rupert Murdoch's Los Angeles retreat. Hammond had organised the scab electricians to steal the print workers jobs at Wapping in the first place.

In this light, the meeting decided to demand that any future negotiating team must include the mothers and fathers of the striking chapels. The negotiations opened up by Hammond clearly could not be in the interests of the sacked

printers.

The meeting insisted that the only useful thing

**By Brian Grogan**

that Hammond could do was not galavanting off to the States but instructing his members not to cross the picket line at Wapping. The meeting therefore adopted a further appeal to the electricians for this.

Nonetheless, the meeting considered that Murdoch's intention to re-open negotiations showed that he was under pressure from the strikers. This is despite the fact that the na-

tional union had not geared up the Sogat branches to begin serious solidarity work. It was pointed out that many labour movement bodies were giving greater support than their own union and that a number of them, notably the miners, were not only donating to the odd collection but organising levies.

It was therefore decided to demand that the national union impose a levy for the striking printers as part of the campaign to mobilise the membership in solidarity action.

A key focus of this solidarity should be the boycott of all materials coming out of the scab plant. The Press Association is still syndicating copy from Wapping and the rest of the industry is still handling material from Bemrose in Liverpool — a Murdoch subsidiary which prints the

News of the World colour supplement. A proposal for this boycott was adopted unanimously.

Despite the inactivity of the national leadership, picketing had been dramatically stepped up since the SOGAT conference by the sacked printers themselves. Many more day time pickets have been organised — visibly contributing to the deteriorating morale of those working behind the barbed wire in Murdoch's fortress. The meeting decided to step this up by calling on each of the chapels in turn to organise a day time picket to give the scabs no respite.

Clearly, with the decision of Murdoch to re-open negotiations, the dispute is once more entering a very dangerous phase. It is now important that visible solidarity is re-mobilised — particularly for the Saturday night march and pickets.

## Raising support in Wales

THE NEWS International dispute has entered its 24th week. This makes it a very long strike indeed — a fact that is perhaps disguised by comparison to the year long miners' strike.

Such long strikes need enormous financial support to keep going. From the beginning printworkers have been up and down the country appealing for this kind of support. Last week CARMEL BEDFORD, from the Sogat clerical branch, was in South Wales.

My tour was arranged by South Wales and West Sogat and the South Wales NUM. The NUM paid for my bed and breakfast and I had a car and driver everywhere. We did over 1000 miles of driving. I had a tremendous reception everywhere I went. I spoke at nine pits, and at two or three shifts at each one, to get to everybody. I was invited into the canteens at the pit heads.

The miners are marvellous. Most of them have still not got over the financial effects of their own strike. But they all responded. Some of them have decided on a weekly levy. Where this isn't possible they are organis-

ing a raffle each week on our behalf, or something like that.

They are sending money to Sogat every week. This puts our own union to shame. After 23 weeks, it has still not imposed a national levy.

I spoke at the cokemen's conference in Tenby, and met both South Wales miners president Des Dutfield, and Terry Thomas, the vice president, who set the whole tour up with Sogat locally.

I went to a big coking plant called Phurnacite where there are about 750 workers who have had a levy for us from the beginning of the strike. It's in-



Carmel Bedford

credible.

Wales and the South West Sogat should be held up as a shining light. In addition to this tour, and a similar one next week in central Wales, they are organising pickets of a couple of depots in their area, one in Swindon and one in Llantrisant.

They are now planning a big solidarity rally for Cardiff on 20 July, and are asking for people to bring their banners. They are hoping it will be addressed by Brenda Dean, Tony Dubbins and Gavin Laird

from the engineers. This would be the first time that the AEU has spoken out on our behalf.

This shows what is possible. The rest of the labour movement is wide open to support us. But our leadership is failing to make the appeals or do the business of organising. They have just announced a £150,000 renewed boycott campaign, which I am in favour of. But by itself this is not enough to win our dispute.

Since the ballot we feel we are winning. But this has only been made good through the backing of the rest of the labour movement. Our leadership should get every single branch secretary to invite a striker up for a week, do an itinerary for them and saturate their area. If the leadership won't do it, we should set up our own coordinating committee and do it ourselves. If we could do that we would win the strike within a month.

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