

Socialist Organiser

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STRANGLE MURDOCH!

"We beat strike thugs" screamed the first high-tech low-quality Sun to come rolling off the presses at Rupert Murdoch's fortified print plant in Wapping, East London.

But the fact that Murdoch has been able to get out reduced numbers of the Sun, News of the World, Times and Sunday Times of sub-standard print quality does not mean that he has beaten the print unions.

No. The print unions can still defeat Murdoch if they concentrate on shutting down operations at Wapping. The key to doing that is solidarity action from other trade unionists.

Already SOGAT members at the Express buildings in Manchester have denied News International two million copies of the News of the World by refusing to print them last Saturday night.

Throughout the country SOGAT members in newspaper wholesale have refused to handle scab editions of News International titles printed by EETPU members behind the barbed wire and fortifications at Wapping.

This action must be spread.

Power

The power of organised labour must be used to strangle Murdoch's operations.

Fortress Wapping must be deprived of water, post, electricity, phone lines, paper, ink and news services. Everything that is vital to the production of a newspaper and dependent on trade union labour must be denied to News International.

The first Sunday Times supplement printed at Wapping carried an advertisement from Sheffield's Labour City Council. Such advertising must be stopped. Trade unionists in well-organised companies must force their employers to withdraw advertising from Murdoch's papers.

Even something as small as trade unionists at the BBC and



Murdoch: a whopper

ITV denying the advance information about TV and radio timetables would drastically reduce the saleability of Murdoch's papers and therefore pile the pressure on. Imagine the effect of the dockers stopping paper supplies to News International.

The pickets outside Wapping must be kept going and stepped up, turning them into a focus for building mass support throughout the labour movement for the printers' case.

The TGWU has a major responsibility. TGWU members are driving TNT Carriers' trucks full of scab papers with TGWU approval. It is high time that the TGWU leadership took their duty as trade unionists seriously and explained the print unions' case to their members.

Ron Todd should go down to Wapping himself to argue the point with any recalcitrant drivers.

Brenda Dean, General Secretary of SOGAT is right when she says "this is big, possibly as big as the miners". If Murdoch wins it will be the end of the road for the Fleet Street unions, and the end of the power that has not only won good pay and conditions for print workers, but has been used in solidarity with other workers time and time again.

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EETPU members join the picket outside Wapping. Photo: Andrew Wiard, Report

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THE ELECTRICIANS AND THE TUC

TO EXPEL THE EETPU...

As we go to press the TUC General Council is discussing proposals to suspend the EETPU. Should this right-wing union be expelled? Bruce Robinson says yes.

The union-busting operation in the print is not a one-off operation.

It is part of a drive to impose US or Japanese-style "responsible trade unionism" — two or three year legally binding contracts, no-strike clauses, no independent shopfloor organisation — all policed by the trade union officials.

The EETPU has offered itself to employers as the trade union to deal with to get a deal to impose this type of labour relations — not just to Rupert Murdoch and Eddie Shah, but also in particular to US and Japanese firms seeking to set up new plants in Britain. They have other allies in the public sector, such as the UDM, the EMA and small scab unions in the rail and teaching.

The trade union movement must do everything possible to break this development. Expulsion of the EETPU from the TUC is part of this.

The only objection of principle made to this is that it would lead to the creation of a rival union federation to the TUC, thus destroying one of the historic strengths of the British labour movement.

Logic

The whole logic of the EETPU's position points in this direction whether it is expelled from the TUC or decides to make a break at a convenient moment (as would have been the case if the TUC had pressed the issue of state funding for ballots).

The alternative to this split — given the EETPU's total unwillingness to come to a compromise with the TUC — are both unlikely. Firstly, the TUC could allow the EETPU to rampage on with impunity — this would eventually run up against the interests of the other union bureaucrats in maintaining their own organisations. Secondly, the TUC as a whole might move towards the EETPU's view of how to deal with the current weakness of the unions.

This is unlikely given the real conflict of interest in the TUC and from our point of view it would be a major step backwards.

Now is the time when expulsion of the EETPU can be carried out with maximum posi-

tive effect and least damage. It would help draw a line between the labour movement as a whole and company unionism. It would allow the TUC and other unions to go on an offensive campaign to win the rank and file of the EETPU. It would do so at a time when the EETPU is isolated from its other potential allies such as the AUEW.

A number of tactical objections have been raised to the EETPU being expelled. Firstly, that it would be an essentially bureaucratic solution to the problem which would allow the TUC leaders to pretend they had done something to assist the print workers and, at the same time would do nothing to break the EETPU rank and file from Hammond.

This would be a valid criticism if expulsion of the EETPU was all we called on the TUC to do to support the print workers.

The TUC must also call for boycott of all papers produced at Wapping and mass picketing. It must use the time given by suspension of the EETPU (as a first step to expulsion) to rally EETPU members opposed to Hammond — the threat of expulsion might make some EETPU members who have hitherto supported the leadership or been passive think again about where Hammond is leading them and rally those already opposed.

The second objection is that expulsion would merely expose the weakness of the TUC and the unions more generally.

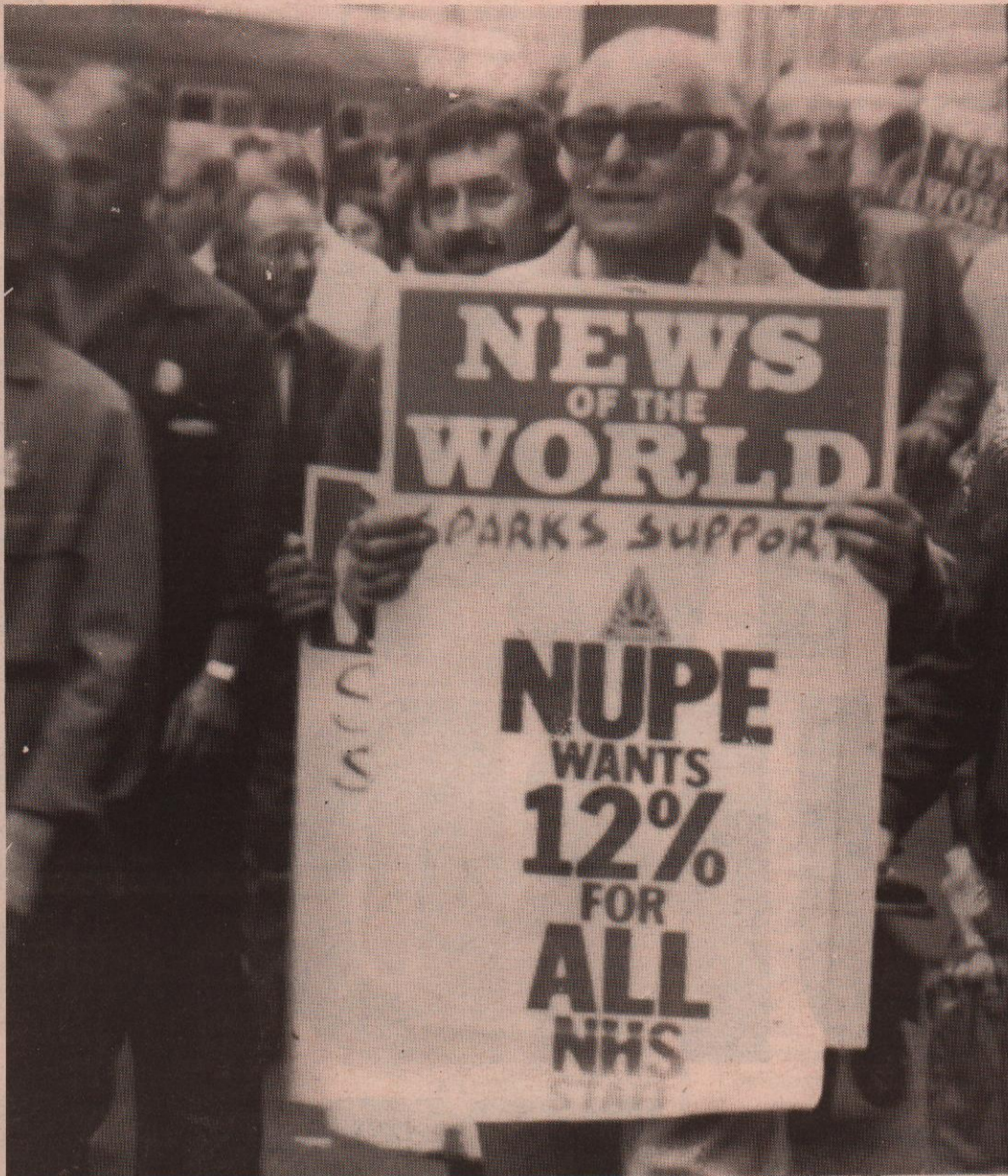
As the miners showed, there are times when a battle becomes inevitable even if it is not on the best terrain — a split now would probably be under better conditions than in the future. The whole logic of the situation makes such a split virtually inevitable — Socialist Organiser's current position may otherwise be overtaken by events.

Our demands on the TUC should be:

*Suspension of the EETPU with a short deadline for them to stop work at Wapping.

*Using the period of suspension to try and organise the EETPU rank and file against Hammond.

*Fighting to win in the print by effective boycotts and mass pickets.



The EETPU includes militant rank and file members as well as right-wing leaders. Photo: Wendy Mustill.

...OR NOT?

Colin Foster argues the view of the SO editorial board — that expulsion could be self-defeating, and we should instead demand of the TUC a campaign aimed at the EETPU rank and file.

would face a difficult fight to win recognition for a new union.

On all historical experience, the main result of a membership war between the TUC and a new right wing federation would be a big increase in non-unionism.

Today is not 1972. The unions are in a relatively weak state. The EETPU's activities as a maverick right-wing union within the TUC are a serious threat to working class organisation. A new right wing union federation would be a much more serious threat. We are playing with fire.

It is argued that this new right wing union centre is certain to develop anyway (and therefore, so the conclusion runs, best make the inevitable break with the EETPU now).

Maybe. And maybe not. Eric Hammond says that he does not want to split because the TUC is moving his way. Obviously a shift by the whole TUC to the policies pushed by the EETPU today would be a way of avoiding a split that gave little comfort to us. But other unions are moving towards no-strike agreements and other sweetheart deals; and expelling the EETPU won't stop that movement.

It would be a hollow victory indeed if the left got the EETPU

In 1972 the TUC was able to suspend 38 unions, including the NGA and the Bakers' Union, for collaboration with the Tory Industrial Relations Act.

Suspending the EETPU now would be different — or certainly expelling it would be different. It would probably launch an alternative TUC into existence.

The EETPU already has links with the UDM and with the mickey-mouse 'no strike' unions in rail and teaching. Maybe not in the short term, but in the medium term, it could hope to pull the EMA (the power engineers' union) and the AUEW out of the TUC with it.

A new right-wing union federation would get huge funds, publicity and patronage from employers, the media and the SDP/Liberal Alliance. The UDM, at present quite isolated apart from its occasional meeting with the EETPU, would get a boost.

The trade union movement is at a low ebb today, after the wholesale destruction of manufacturing jobs in the last six years and the defeat of the miners; and a new right-wing union federation could gain a substantial foothold.

Transfer

The TUC could hit back. Some EETPU members would transfer to TUC unions. But it would not be easy.

In electrical contracting, for example, what would happen? The employers would say that the JIB agreement is with the EETPU and they intend to stick with that. Pro-TUC electricians

but in the low level of working class confidence. And the TUC, within limits, can change that level of confidence. If the TUC organises proper solidarity for the Wapping dispute (and, let's be clear, given the timetables, expulsion of the EETPU can't help the Wapping dispute one bit), then the whole mood in the trade unions can be changed — and the ground can be cut from under Hammond.

That's what we should call on the TUC to do: mobilise to support the print unions. In addition the TUC should go to the ranks of the EETPU, over Hammond's head, and organise the loyal trade unionists — explaining to EETPU members that Hammond is leading them down the road to a split from the TUC. And the TUC should work out a proper concerted strategy for unionising new sites.

Expelling

At the end of such a campaign it might come to expelling the EETPU. But that would be a very different matter from doing it now.

Look at it another way. The EETPU is not just Eric Hammond. It contains some excellent trade unionists, and also the usual number of workers who are not particularly militant and not very political one way or the other. We need to rescue those workers from Hammond's grip. Expelling the EETPU from the TUC is not a very good way to do it.

Of course expulsion will alarm EETPU members. But what can they do about it? Given the authoritarian regime of the EETPU, there is no way that they can turn round Hammond's policy in the relevant time. After expulsion, the best EETPU trade unionists will transfer to TUC unions — and leave the bulk of the EETPU members, who are not great militants but not hardened scabs either, in the hands of Hammond.

The alternative to expelling the EETPU is not laissez-faire, but a campaign directed to the rank and file. In fact the reason why so many left trade union leaders are now pushing for expulsion is that they see the affair purely in terms of bureaucratic alternatives. Either Eric Hammond is convinced by talk in the TUC committee rooms — or if that doesn't work the EETPU is expelled. An approach to the rank and file is not considered as an option.

Some comrades argue that a rank and file campaign might be the best option, but there is no chance that the TUC would do it. The only action the TUC is likely to take are expelling the EETPU or letting it carry on scot free. Of those alternatives we should prefer expulsion.

This argument, I think, misunderstands who we are and what our role is. The function of socialist groups like SO is not to give advice to the TUC between the various options "realistically" on their table. It is to work out and fight for a coherent policy for the whole labour movement. In the first place the rank and file. We do not make demands on the TUC because we think Norman Willis will listen to us, but in order to help rally and educate the rank and file.

The EETPU, like other unions, has lost a lot of members in traditional manufacturing industries and has to look to new sites to recoup. None of the unions are very willing at present to fight big battles for proper union agreements at such new sites. So they try to get recognition by trading off workers' rights.

The EETPU is just more brazen and outspoken about it. If other unions were prepared to run proper unionisation campaigns then the EETPU would be forced into a different policy.

The roots of what's happening lie not in Eric Hammond's head

SOGAT's Brenda Dean.

Photo: Andrew Ward, Report



EETPU's Eric Hammond. Photo: John Harris.

FIGHT 'FLEXIBILITY!'

One of the clauses in the draft agreement which Rupert Murdoch presented to the print unions to operate his Wapping plant reads as follows:

"The employees will respond flexibly to any changes in working practices, working conditions and duties, technology and manning levels. Manning levels will be determined by the employer".

'Flexibility' and the 'flexible firm' are buzz words for the bosses at the moment. They cover a whole series of changed working practices that are designed by management to increase the rate of exploitation and undermine traditional forms of union organisation.

In the jargon of management studies these strategies include:

***NUMERICAL FLEXIBILITY.**

The workforce to be changed at short notice through increasing overtime, changing shift-work patterns and employing temporary or casual workers on a daily, weekly, seasonal or yearly basis.

***MULTI-SKILLING.**

Using new technology to enforce de-skilling, break down demarcation lines and introduce team-working, leading to greater 'mobility' between

By Tom Rigby

jobs.

***PAY FLEXIBILITY.**

Introducing re-grading and payment systems which encourage de-skilling and flexibility between jobs.

As a complement to this management want to replace direct contracts of employment by sub-contracting.

The model for the introduction of 'flexibility' is Japan.

In Japan, militant trade unionism in the big factories was smashed after huge struggles in the '40s and '50s. Since then the Japanese working class has been divided into two parts: a minority who have jobs for life with big employers, and a majority who depend on temporary jobs with short contracts.

Temporary workers are sometimes paid more than permanent workers, but they have practically no rights.

Some British employers are trying to introduce the same system.

At the computer company Control Data, in

South Wales, 700 of the 1100 workers are permanent, and the rest are casual workers on 10 month contracts.

In British Alcan nearly half the workforce are 'permanent temporaries' on renewable six month contracts.

Increasing numbers of teachers, too, are being employed on fixed contracts.

An electronics company in South Wales has 900 permanent workers supplemented by 230 workers on three-month and ten-month contracts.

A West Midlands mechanical engineering company has tried to break up its workforce in a different way. It has turned its skilled workers into self-employed sub-contractors who submit tenders for their old jobs.

Long-term pay deals are also being pushed. According to Incomes Data Services one-third of all pay deals in engineering are now for more than one year. At Borg Warner in Port Talbot, the AUEW has signed a six-year pay deal with a ban on strikes and greatly increased work flexibility.

So 'flexibility' is all around us. It is a very big danger. And we have a choice: either we allow management to successfully set up 'the flexible

firm' as the norm of working practices or we resist.

To give in would mean handing the bosses a major victory over the working class on a plate. It would mean the break up of work-place trade unionism and the imposition of new technology on the bosses' terms.

Joint union

So we must respond and resist. Joint union shop stewards committees should work out and fight for an agreed trade union response to the introduction of new technology and 'flexibility' in each workplace.

The basis of such an agreement should be:

- *no redundancies;
- *no sub-contracting;
- *permanent, full-time contracts.
- *reduction in the working week without loss of pay;
- *trade union control over training and retraining.

(Thanks to Labour Research 'Bargaining Report', December 1985, for information).

What it means in Japan

In a speech on 20 January, Neil Kinnock held up Japan as a model for Britain's industry.

High productivity, rising wages, secure jobs — that's the picture he painted of Japanese factories.

A book published in English translation three years ago, 'Japan in the passing lane', by Satoshi Kamata, gives a different picture.

Kamata is a journalist who worked for six months in a Toyota car factory. That was in the early '70s, but the system has not changed in essentials since then.

Toyota has 41,000 workers. Of these, 3000 are taken on each year as 'probationers' — only 500 of them are eventually made 'regulars' — and 2000 temporary contract workers are employed each year.

The workers are 'flexible' — that is, they are stretched to the limit in Toyota's drive for profit. They can be told to do any job. If one member of a team is absent, the others have to work harder to make up. If the production line stops for any reason the workers must do overtime until the day's quota is completed.

Trade union organisation was crushed in a dispute in 1950, and the Toyota Auto Workers' Union works hand in glove with the company bosses.

Kamata reports: "From the moment a worker passes through the company gate and shows his identification card to the guard, he exists only as a number. He checks his mind and heart in the cloakroom along with his coat. Only when he leaves ten or twelve hours later can he retrieve his identity, individual dignity and personality".



TNT lorries cross the Wapping picket line. Photo: Andrew Wiard, Report.

Strangle Murdoch

From page 1

In 1972 when the 'Pentonville Five' dockers were jailed, print workers helped set in motion the strike wave that led to their release.

In 1982 electricians on the Sun and News of the World defied the Tory anti-union laws to strike in solidarity with the health workers.

During the miners' strike Fleet Street print workers dug deep to keep the pit communities fed and clothes and they stopped the Sun when it tried to slander Arthur Scargill.

It is now time for activists throughout the labour movement to show solidarity for the print workers in their turn.

Defeat for the print workers

would also pave the way for the introduction of 'flexibility' and legally binding deals throughout industry. The result would be massively increased profits for the bosses as they hi-jack the benefits of new technology and redundancies, speed-up and insecurity for working class people.

Scab

There must be a total labour movement boycott of News International scab papers.

This is the most serious industrial class battle since the miners' strike.

This dispute should be run by the rank and file. Many print workers are demoralised because they feel that they don't find out about everything that's

happening. There must be regular chapel meetings with report backs and steps must be taken to draw every union member into activity around the strike.

The stakes are high and not surprisingly the bosses are prepared to use every means at their disposal to wage this battle.

Already News International have brought an injunction out against SOGAT for refusing to print the 'News of the World' and an injunction to stop SOGAT members in newspaper wholesale distribution from disrupting distribution of their newspapers.

In fact almost any kind of action to strangle the Wapping operation is 'illegal' and 'secondary'. Under the Tories' anti-union laws even the six person 'official' picket at Wapping is secondary action as the Wapping plant is owned by News Group Ltd., a separate company from News International.

So there is no alternative to illegality for the print unions, already dazed and shaken after the experience of the TUC betrayal of the NGA in the Stockport Messenger dispute. As soon as the courts try and get their hands on the print unions' funds the TUC must come to their aid. The print industry committee at the TUC should be prepared to pull out the whole of Fleet Street.

The print unions can win.

ASSERTING OURSELVES

By Angi Driver

Women Socialist Organiser supporters met in London last weekend for two days of lively debate and a spot of socialising.

We discussed pornography, positive discrimination, the future of Women's Fightback, took an historical look at women and socialism, and of the women's movement from the 1970s to the present day.

We also had a chance to practise our speech-writing and delivery of the same. This sounded daunting, but was to only small groups of four or five, for which some of the more reluctant orators were grateful.

The weekend was interesting, often amusing, with a friendly, comfortable atmosphere. One question we considered was why women were in a minority among SO supporters.

Of course, women are under-represented in all aspects of politics, and the Labour Party, the unions and the Left are no exceptions. But shouldn't SO be different? It is probably not because of the group's political positions — unlike Militant, for example, which tends to see women's oppression as secondary to the struggle for socialism, rather than central to it.

Overall in society, women's socialisation may be an obstacle to political involvement, but

perhaps SO fails to involve women already politically aware and looking for opportunities to take part.

Half the women at the meeting felt that SO men had simply overlooked them, or failed to make time to ask women if they wanted to join in. Despite fine words and stands against sexism, the personal behaviour of many of the men in SO is off-putting. Some are aggressive, pedantic or are overly fond of the sound of their own voices.

Some women dealt with these problems by taking on the men at their own games, but others felt that this was not their style. What's needed is assertiveness training for our women comrades and training to help men to be able to use their assertiveness appropriately.

Women's Fightback was discussed and we decided it made sense for the younger women to try their hand at its production. Apart from 'Outwrite', there is no monthly paper aimed at socialist women involved in class and feminist struggle, so there is a real need to get it back on the streets. If you would like to write for, help produce or distribute Women's Fightback contact us c/o PO Box 823, London SE15 8NA.



'MANNING LEVELS WILL BE DETERMINED BY THE EMPLOYER'

Cartoon by Phil Evans, from the printworkers' paper 'Link-Up'

Up to 30p

From next week the price of Socialist Organiser will go up to 30p (15p unwaged).

That was the decision taken, with regret, by representatives from local SO groups across the country at a National Editorial Board meeting last weekend.

SO has been at 25p since February 1982; but given inflation 25p in 1982 is equivalent to 30p now.

We have to pay our bills, and therefore we have no alternative but to raise our price in line with

increased costs.

The price rise is given special urgency by our move to new premises, which will mean more to pay in rent, rates, electricity and phone bills.

The National Editorial Board, as well as discussing current political issues and the coverage of the paper, also set our Annual General Meeting for 26-7 April and scheduled this year's Socialist Organiser summer school for 4-7 July.



Of no benefit

Poorest

According to a Child Poverty Action Group report, Northern Ireland, Catholic and Protestant, is the poorest region in the EEC after Calabria in southern Italy.

32% of households have an income of less than £75 a week. 20% of the workforce is unemployed, with the Catholic jobless

rate being twice the Protestant rate. More than 75% of households surveyed are in debt, and an investigation of the unemployed in Derry showed that 15% of men and 25% of women were getting treatment for an illness related to their economic circumstances.



Militant's Ted Grant

Front

Sinn Fein's approach to the SDLP for a Catholic common front in the recent Northern Ireland elections has received support from an unlikely quarter — or at least what should be an unlikely quarter.

No. 2 of 'International', 'a journal of Marxism in the Labour Party' produced by comrades who recently split away from Socialist Action, argues that "the approach to the SDLP for unity against the loyalists...marks a heightened political response to the situation", a step in Sinn Fein's "development towards a serious political party, willing and able to represent the Irish working class."

'International' seems to see Sinn Fein's approach to the SDLP as something like the Marxist policy of the united front, where revolutionary parties try to win the ear of workers who follow reformist leaders by proposing to those leaders joint action on issues of common concern.

But the Marxist policy is about working class united fronts. Sinn Fein's appeal to the SDLP was about a 'united front' of Catholics of all classes against Protestants of all classes. Sinn Fein argued it in terms of 'overall nationalist interests' — i.e. some supposed overriding interest in seeing Catholics of whatever political stripe elected in place of Protestants.

To underline the point: the main issue in the election was the Anglo-Irish deal. The SDLP supports the deal, Sinn Fein opposes it. They have opposite views. A common front could only be formed on the basis of sectarian pan-Catholic solidarity. The acute national and communal issues in Ireland make it futile to preach working-class unity in the abstract without regard to those national and communal issues. But social classes do exist in Ireland. And for sure the national and communal issues will not be solved by trying to rally people on a straight Catholic versus Protestant basis.

When 'International' talks of Sinn Fein becoming a party which represents the Irish working class, how do they think Sinn Fein is going to come to represent the Protestant 25% of that class? Or don't the Protestants count as workers?

The view expressed by 'International' is all too similar to — though less feverish in tone than — the vicarious Catholic nationalism pushed by Socialist Action.



The happiest place in the world

A market research organisation, however, reckons that the Irish are the happiest people in the world.

A survey based on opinion polls shows Southern and Northern Ireland neck-and-neck with a higher 'happiness index' than any of 17 other countries.

People were asked whether they are 'very happy', 'fairly happy' or 'not very happy', and

the results show Britain no. 3 after the two parts of Ireland.

Mexico — earthquakes, corruption, mass malnutrition and all — comes next, and prosperous, relatively placid West Germany and Finland are at the bottom of the table.

What all this tells us about different countries, I don't know. But perhaps it tells us something about opinion polls.

New ideas

Economists are floating ideas for the next stage of the Tories' and the employers' assault on trade unions.

In Lloyds Bank Review Christopher Dow argues for stopping strikes which affect a whole industry, or the whole economy, rather than just one employer. His case is that such strikes create inflation and harm the general public, but the essence of it could be summed up in one phrase: divide and rule.

In the private sector Dow suggests that unions should be

confined to single companies (as is the case in Japan and some other countries). In the public sector it would be more difficult, but nationalised industries could be broken up into a multitude of companies, each with its own union and its own negotiations.

Echoing an idea already pushed by the Economist magazine, Dow says that the coal industry is a prime candidate for being broken up into different units (maybe through privatisation).

"The principle of a cross-Channel link is not necessarily a bad idea. However...in a capitalist economy the Channel Tunnel would be of no benefit to the working class."

With this argument last week's Militant concludes that socialists should oppose the Channel Tunnel in favour of a "socialist international alternative" (not defined).

A number of the demands raised by Militant are useful: guaranteed jobs and retraining for workers who will lose their present jobs when the tunnel opens, a reduced working week with no loss of pay in the affected marine industries, etc.

The basic idea behind the demand to nationalise the Channel Tunnel Group and the major contractors also seems sound, though it is not clear which government, British or French, they want to do the nationalising, and surely some joint British-French arrangement would be a better form of public ownership.

But what has all this got to do with opposing the tunnel itself? Microelectronic technology, for example, threatens jobs, displaces old industries, etc; but socialists do not follow the short-sighted narrow trade-unionist approach of simply opposing new technology. We welcome new technology but argue for measures of workers' control to win benefits from it for the workers rather than the bosses.

Why not the same approach to the Channel Tunnel? Of course the groups bidding to build the tunnel were motivated only by a "mad scramble for increased profits", as Militant puts it. But then the development of the steam engine and the electric light, the telephone and the print technology that Militant itself is produced by, were motivated (and shaped) by that very same profit drive. Does Militant oppose all those?

Slow

It does not make much sense to condemn Channel Tunnels because, under capitalism, they are capitalist.

It would make more sense to condemn capitalism for being so slow to get round to building the tunnel.

Despite all the claims of its ideologists, competitive capitalism is not very good at developing modern technology. A remarkable example is the computer industry.

The development of a new computer technology is so huge a job that it is crazy for even the biggest companies to try to do it competitively. So the big companies have their own version of socialism: they pool resources in cooperative research ventures, leaving competition to the sphere of commercial development.

Japanese firms have been doing this since 1981 through an institute called ICOT. Big US computer firms (not including IBM) came together in 1983 to set up a joint Microelectronics and Computer Technology Corporation. And in Britain there is the Alvey directorate, also set up in 1983, pooling the work of some 60 companies and of universities and polytechnics.



'We reject witch hunts'

From the new 'Liverpool Rank and File' group

We believe the District Labour Party should be made more representative along the following lines:

a) No councillor to hold an officership of the DLP.

b) A special body to be set up to validate delegations.

c) All aggregates to be held separate from business meetings.

d) The supplementary panel to be discontinued.

We reject witch-hunts. We believe that the Militant Tendency in particular will not be defeated by expulsions. Such episodes merely afford the Militant Tendency a means of mass propaganda at the Party's expense. Rather we believe the Militant Tendency should be taken on politically, for only by defeating the Militant Tendency politically can we strengthen the Party as a whole.

We believe that the National Executive Committee enquiry will serve no useful purpose except to benefit our enemies. This asinine episode can be viewed as an extension of the senile battle which now continues between the Militant Tendency and the national leadership, in which both partners have demeaned the Labour Party by indulging in a propaganda war in the capitalist media.

The object of the Militant Tendency is simply to enhance their following. The national leadership holds the perverse belief that such action is necessary to gain victory at the next election. There are strong grounds for the analysis that both the Militant Tendency and the national leadership are prepared to let Liverpool sink to further their own political ends.

Both protagonists in this Punch and Judy type pantomime must be told firmly that their capers have inflicted enough damage on the Party. We must resolve to rebuild the Party on a solid political foundation which will put the people of Liverpool first.

We believe it was criminal to inform the class we were taking the Tories on in battle only to twice opt out of the fight.

We believe the campaign to recruit money back from the government was a correct one. However the deal of 22 November has fundamentally set back the future of such a campaign. But the needs of the Labour Party demand that such a policy be continually pursued.

Where it is reasonable and practical, the resources of the Council should be used to expand services. This should not be done at the expense of a rent increase. Any rate increase should be only in line with inflation.

We are firmly of the opinion that the present race policy of the Council has been disastrous for the Party and the Black Community. We believe a new policy must be sought which is of benefit to the Black Community and to the Party. This can only be achieved through extensive discussion with all interested parties and this must begin with the readvertisement of the post of principal race relations advisor.

We recognise that the Tories have devastated large areas of Britain and we demand that a future Labour government must be committed to a national programme of public works. We believe that the North-West and Liverpool in particular requires urgent attention, having some of the worst unemployment and housing conditions in Western Europe.

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'Labour as a party of class struggle'

This document sets out the aims and objectives of Chesterfield Labour Party. It has been submitted to the NEC for discussion and Chesterfield MP Tony Benn has asked us to publish it as a contribution to the debate within the movement.

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

We are an integral part of the British Labour Party, and accept its constitution and policy, as laid down at its annual conference.

We work for the election of Labour candidates, in all local and national elections, on the basis of the political programmes put before the electors.

We believe that the Chesterfield party has a duty to defend working people and their families, and to campaign actively for policies that will help them.

This statement of our aims and objectives has been prepared to provide a focus for political discussion and education within the party; to allow those who join the party to understand the policies for which we stand; and to be the basis of our long-term political work.

WE BELIEVE:

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

*The right to life, free from fear, oppression, ignorance, preventable ill-health or poverty.

*The right to useful and satisfying work, balanced with leisure, to meet the needs of society.

*The right of everyone to receive an income sufficient to maintain a decent standard of living.

*The right to a good home for all in which to live, bring up children and care for all dependents.

*The right to receive the best possible medical care, free, and at the moment of need.

*The right of access, throughout life, to the full range of human knowledge, through education at school, in college and afterwards.

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

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

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

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

*The right of free speech and assembly, the entrenchment of civil liberties and human rights and the right to



Tony Benn after his election as MP for Chesterfield

organise voluntary associations and free trade unions for the purpose of protecting and improving the prospects for those who belong to them, and in particular, the right to withdraw labour as a means of securing justice.

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

—IN DEMOCRACY

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

—IN SOCIALISM

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

—IN INTERNATIONALISM

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

—IN THE RIGHTS OF SELF-DETERMINATION

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

—IN SOLIDARITY

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

—THAT CONSCIENCE MUST BE ABOVE THE LAW

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

—IN THE RIGHTS OF ALL TO THEIR BELIEFS

We believe that socialist ideas which have been evolved in this country and abroad, over the centuries, have given us a rich inheritance; but we do not believe that truth can be captured in any one creed to which all must subscribe under threat of expulsion or exclusion; and we respect the rights of all members of the party to hold their own views, and to organise, within the party to promote them, being convinced that diversity of opinion adds strength to our cause.

—IN PROGRESS THROUGH COLLECTIVE ACTION

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

—THAT WE ARE SERVANTS OF THE COMMUNITY

We see Chesterfield Labour Party, and all its representatives, as servants of those who live and work in the area, and with that in mind we have helped to establish the Chesterfield and District Community Defence Campaign to work in co-operation with others who share that same approach.

—IN MORE DEMOCRACY IN THE

LABOUR PARTY

We want to see the Labour Party made into a more democratic and representative body, with equal rights for women and the ethnic minorities and we would welcome the affiliation of other groups. We also believe that the Parliamentary Labour Party and Labour groups should be more closely linked with the membership and that the shadow cabinet and cabinet should be elected by the electoral college, with similar arrangements made in respect of local government.

THE POLICIES WE WANT:

—FOR CHESTERFIELD AND DERBYSHIRE

*The provision of jobs for all those who live in the Town and the County and in particular the development of mining, engineering and manufacturing industry, and the provision of public services to make that possible.

*The pursuance of a big house-building programme to meet the needs of all those, including the elderly.

*The establishment of a fully comprehensive educational system for all students, and the right of all to continuing education and training.

*The establishment of full and free health care for all.

*The accountability of all managers in the public sector to the elected local authorities, who should have the power to require their replacement if they do not meet the needs of the people in the area.

*The granting of comprehensive general powers to the Derbyshire County, and Chesterfield Borough Councils, to do whatever is necessary in the interests of their communities, from from administration by Whitehall.

*The banning of all bloodsports on land owned by Derbyshire County Council and Chesterfield Borough Council, and also whatever is possible to seek to abolish blood-sports altogether, and the enforcement of all exist-

ing legislation relating to animal abuse.

—FOR BRITAIN

*The return to full employment and the adoption of the means necessary for that purpose by, among other things, the common ownership, under democratic control and management, of the commanding heights of the economy, including the banks and finance houses, the land and all the companies which dominate our industrial system, and the development of new forms of social ownership.

*A shorter working week and earlier retirement.

*The establishment, as of right, of a comprehensive welfare system which will safeguard the living standards of our people.

*The elimination of all discrimination and injustice.

*The introduction of a system of taxation which will radically reduce the present gross inequalities of wealth and income.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

—IN INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

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

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

AN APPEAL TO THE PEOPLE OF CHESTERFIELD

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

No change from Zia

On 30 December last year General Zia declared that martial law had been lifted in Pakistan. It was an abject lie.

Since martial law was installed in Pakistan in July 1977 it has sought ways and means of stabilising itself. Every attempt possible was made to bury the workers' and peasants' movement under a hail of bullets. No device of state coercion was left unused in order to subdue the resentment of the Pakistani people.

And yet no amount of oppression was sufficient to quell the heroic struggle of the people. The dictatorship of General Zia, representing the interests of the imperialists, the bourgeois, the feudal landlords and the upper strata of the middle classes, became even more desperate to stabilise its rule.

At first this desperation was

By Ali Asgar

signified by a number of public declarations by General Zia that the holding of general elections was imminent. Needless to say these promises were never carried out. The dictatorship then sought to supplement its military rule with a civilian face and came up with the ruse of a 'National Advisory Council', a collection of the most reliable supporters of the Zia regime.

The masses refused to be appeased and continued to struggle against the dictatorship. The dictatorship came up with the even more desperate measure of holding a referendum to seek approval for Zia's policy of Islamisation.

A low turnout at the polls not only supposedly approved this

policy but also elected Zia as 'President'.

Zia then continued to combine the posts of Comander-in-Chief, Chief Martial Law Administrator, and unelected President into one. The sham was not complete. The 1973 constitution was amended beyond recognition by presidential decree and elections for national and provincial assemblies were held.

Banned

Of course all political parties were banned, rallies and the right of assembly were denied. Not only that, but the candidates had to be Zia's own approved men.

The national and provincial assemblies proved to be compliant supporters of Zia. One of their first acts was to pass the

Indemnity Act, which cleared the army of all the crimes committed in its eight years of rule.

Zia feels now that his hand is sufficiently strong to declare a formal lifting of martial law. But the reality is that all of the institutions of the state and 'elected bodies' are now even more firmly under the control of Zia's stooges than at any time during the last eight years of his rule.

The civil judiciary will continue to be supplemented by special tribunals. Political prisoners will not be released, press freedom will not be resumed and all political activities will be banned until 1984.

However even a formal declaration of the lifting of martial law will result in an intensification of the class struggle to rid the country of martial law and General Zia.

Forced labour in SA

Some 238,000 people — 650 a day — were arrested in 1984 under South Africa's pass laws or related legislation.

Thousands were put to work for white farmers under "what is described as parole but in essence is closer to a system of forced labour", according to a new report from Amnesty International.

Whether in prison or working on farms, the victims were often subject to systematic beatings and humiliation, and were then liable to be exiled to the "homelands" — the 12 percent of South African territory where the majority black population are allowed to live without special permission.

The laws require black people over 15 — and only black people — to carry pass books showing where they are permitted to live and work. Regular spot checks are carried out in the streets and sometimes in the form of raids which result in the rounding up of convict labour for farms.

If their pass books are not in order the victims can be imprisoned for up to three months or fined. Many of those fined are imprisoned because they are unable to pay.

Pass-law convicts given short prison terms, of weeks rather than months, are sometimes assigned the menial work of cleaning police stations, where a number of former prisoners said they were beaten regularly. Many longer-term prisoners are "sold" or "rented" to white farmers.

The report cites a stream of examples of prisoners regularly beaten after being assigned such "parole".

The South African government has talked of replacing the pass laws with uniform identity documents which all South Africans would have to carry.

The report points out that such a system has been introduced in Namibia but that these documents contain the same information as the pass books and are used in a discriminatory way.



British soldiers in Aden before 1967

Factions in Yemen

By Clive Bradley

The immediate background to the current civil war in the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen (PDRY), or South Yemen, is obscure.

The figureheads in the conflict are Ali Nasser Muhamed, president of the Republic, and rebel leader Abdul Fattah Ismail, a former president who was in exile in the USSR until a year ago.

Nasser is backed by Moscow who consider Abdul Fattah to be a dangerous extremist.

But these two figures represent only different factions in the ruling Yemen Socialist Party formerly known as the National Liberation Front. Abdul Fattah, after his return to Yemen, led a minority faction. In the revolt against the Aden government, Abdul Fattah has enlisted the support of tribal leader Colonel Ali Antar.

So somewhat obscure political conflicts are further confused by the mobilisation of tribal loyalties.

South Yemen is the poorest Arab country. It suffered 129 years of British occupation, culminating in a bloody colonial war from 1963 to 1967. Eventually the British were defeated, and South Yemen won its independence.

The capital, Aden, had developed under British rule as a service port, having little contact with the surrounding economy. Its economy was linked into British trade (via Suez), with little productive base.

The economy inherited by the NLF was small and weak, worsened by the effects of war and the closing of the Suez Canal in June 1967.

The revolt, led by middle class guerrillas, was based on the urban workers in Aden and landless labourers and subsistence farmers in the countryside. It went on to break up the rural ruling class — landowners, including Sultans and tribal chiefs — and the urban ruling class, primarily the commercial bourgeoisie and upper sections of the colonial administration.

The revolution in South Yemen was to prove more thorough and radical than any other in the Arab world. Private 'national' capital, already very weak, was subordinated to the state sector, which was increasingly planned on the Soviet model.

In Egypt, Syria, or Libya, state-run economies had also been introduced, but under the

control of the existing army or sections of it. In South Yemen the top state officials were not drawn from the army but from the revolutionary movement.

And the PDRY pursued a radical and uncompromising policy in Arab politics; though with little real influence. Both politically and economically, the Republic drew closer to the USSR over the course of the 1970s.

Social reforms of some significance were introduced. There has been significant secularisation, an improvement in the position of women (in employment, for example), and an attempt to control tribal conflicts.

A crisis in the summer of 1978 lies behind the fighting now. A harder line 'Marxist-Leninist' (i.e. pro-Moscow) faction came to power in the NLF, leading to armed clashes in which the president was killed. Tension between Abdul Fattah and Ali Nasser date back to this period. It is not clear how much analogy there is between the present conflict and the Amin/Karmal clash in Afghanistan or the Coard/Bishop confrontation in Grenada, where 'more-Stalinist-than-Moscow' factions tried for power.

A GOOD LONDON

Martin Thomas looks at the outcome of the poll on 23 January

The by-elections in Northern Ireland last Thursday, 23 January, brought in a good result for the London and Dublin governments.

The Unionists are now openly divided over what to do next. Harold McCusker and Peter Robinson say that they will boycott Westminster; other Unionists like John Taylor say they won't.

The London and Dublin governments are beginning moves to set up the Anglo-Irish joint parliamentary body provided for in last November's Thatcher-Fitzgerald deal. According to the Irish Times, they hope that its first meeting might be "before the end of the year".

The Unionists increased their vote over 1983, not surprisingly considering the intense pressure they put on Protestants to turn out. But the increase was smaller than they hoped. They got 420,000 votes in all, not the half million they aimed for. And they lost a seat in Newry and Armagh.

The Irish Times reported: "Traditionally a City Hall (Belfast) count is a welter of Unionist triumphalism. Yesterday was different... (There were) nothing like the numbers usually present for City Hall counts..."

London and Dublin were most pleased by the shift from Sinn Fein to the SDLP among Catholic voters. In the four seats which both contested, Sinn Fein's score went down 24% and the SDLP's up 19%.

In Newry and Armagh, won by the SDLP from the Official Unionists, tactical voting may have been part of the shift. But there was just as big a shift in Fermanagh and South Tyrone, where Sinn Fein started well ahead of the SDLP.

Evidently Catholics saw the Anglo-Irish deal as proof that constitutional nationalism had at last produced some results. Opinion polls indicate that even some 30% of Sinn Fein supporters back the deal.

The by-elections also showed heightened polarisation between the communities in Northern Ireland. The very middle-class Alliance Party, which represents liberal, non-sectarian Unionism, lost votes to the 'Ulster Says No' candidates. The Workers' Party with the slogan 'Workers Unite' (and strange neo-Stalinist politics), mostly lost votes except where it was the only opposition to the Unionists.

Sinn Fein has talked more and more in recent years about socialism, and not always insincerely; but its election campaign was on a crude Catholic versus Protestant basis.

Softening its initial denunciation of the Anglo-Irish deal, it produced the slogan 'Keep up the Pressure' — which could not conceivably gain the ear of Protestant workers. And it based much of its campaign against the SDLP on the SDLP's refusal to agree an election pact for "overall nationalist interests".

Such a pact could not have had any principled political basis; it would just mean removing politics entirely from the by-elections and turning them into straight Catholic versus Protestant sectarian head-counts.

For a united Ireland to be possible — let alone democratic or socialist — a movement has to be built which can offer the Protestants guarantees of their rights in that united Ireland, and which can at least to some extent win Protestant workers away from Paisley. Sinn Fein is not even trying to do that.

What now? The British government hopes that the Unionists will continue to fragment, and some of them will take up the Anglo-Irish deal's offer of Six County home rule on a power-sharing basis. The Unionists hope that their agitation will continue after the election campaign and build up to a crescendo which forces London to abandon the deal.

Long way

For certain the Unionist campaign will continue; but it looks as if it will take a long time, or assistance from new events, before it comes near shaking the Westminster government. However, it will also be a long way from the first rifts in Unionist solidarity to any participation in the mechanisms of the Anglo-Irish deal.

The deal, moulded by a typical policeman's or bureaucrat's view of the world, has an inbuilt contradiction. It tells the Catholic minority in the Six Counties that their legitimate demands can be satisfied only by an arrangement involving the other 26 Counties of Ireland; and thus, whatever the personal intentions of Thatcher, it lays down tracks towards a united Ireland. At the same time it can only increase the chief obstacle to a united Ireland — the Protestants' resistance. It can only increase their paranoia about being 'sold out' by London and Washington to Dublin tyranny.

What's needed is not a deal between Thatcher and Fitzerald but a 'deal' between the different sections of the Irish people, to run their country free of the British military presence which has tortured it for centuries.

D RESULT FOR N AND DUBLIN



Ian Paisley at a Unionist rally. Photo: Derek Spiers, Report

echo the sentiments of the British government when he talks of putting Irish unity on the backburner and King can continue to repeat parrot-like that there will never be a united Ireland. With more conviction and with absolute justification Sinn Fein say 'There will be a united Ireland'.

Sinn Fein represents over forty percent of nationalist voters and enjoys some sympathy even among SDLP grassroots supporters. We believe that the SDLP leadership shares with the Dublin and London governments a desire to see us not just defeated at the polls but repressed.

Had the SDLP leadership been interested in overall nationalist interests they would have consulted their grassroots about our offer of a boycott of these elections or of coming to an arrangement so that anti-Unionist gains could have been maximised thereby leaving the loyalists with eleven seats instead of fifteen. There has also been a guilty silence on the ongoing harassment of our campaign workers...

Concessions

The loyalist reaction to the agreement was entirely predictable and at our party's Ard Fheis in November I warned that the unionist outcry would be utilised to exaggerate whatever concessions are produced. As I said at that time the British could afford to offend the loyalists because there would be no constitutional changes and for all their protestations the loyalists have failed to deliver to their British masters a stable six county statelet.

The spectacle of the current loyalist/British confrontation on the Hillsbor-

ough accord must not obscure the hypocrisy of those who support an agreement for which there is no loyalist consent, but who continually lecture republicans that the breaking of the British connection cannot come about without that same unionist consent.

We do not believe that the Hillsborough Agreement will work. It certainly will not deliver Irish unity and without Irish unity and independence there can be no stability, whether social, economic or political, on this island or in the relationship between Britain and Ireland.

By attempting to stabilise the six county statelet, supporters of the agreement are actually undermining Irish reunification. Already the British government is claiming internationally that it is not engaged in a colonial situation here but is an arbiter, a 'peacemaker', with the consent of the SDLP and the Dublin government.

As I have stated earlier, Sinn Fein is contesting this election on republican policies. Our demands remain unchanged.

*Rejection of the loyalist veto.

*Disbandment of the RUC and UDR, and withdrawal of the British Army.

*Release of all political prisoners.

*An end to partition.
*National self-determination for the Irish people.

Our electoral successes underline, clearly and internationally, the demand of the Irish people for freedom and independence. We appeal to the nationalist people to keep up the pressure. They will go this on January 23 by voting for Owen Carron, Frank McDowell, Danny Morrison and Jim McAllister.



Belfast Protestants rally against the Anglo-Irish deal. Photo: Derek Spiers, Report.

Sinn Fein's view

Although it has been Unionist resignations in protest at the Hillsborough Agreement which has caused the 15 by-elections, that agreement and the Dublin Forum report of May 1984 were unquestionably responses to the political rise of Sinn Fein as expressed in electoral terms after the 1981 hunger strikes...

The republican position on loyalism is well defined. The loyalists are a national minority who have not, and never have had, any right to be in a position of privilege and dominance. They are entitled, like the rest of us, to full equality, civil and religious liberty, in a national democracy. They are entitled and indeed that democracy would require that they use their political bargaining power to shape it.

Beginning

They have no right to forestall it and should be confronted on that issue. Sectarianism in the six-counties will only be slowly eradicated and the beginning of that process will be Irish reunification.

Our attitude to all these issues is clear and unambiguous, and it differs to that of all the other parties contesting these by-elections as it is based on the democratic principle that no government has the right to sovereignty over

Gerry Adams, president of Sinn Fein, opened his party's campaign for the 23 January by-elections with the following speech. He put Sinn Fein's analysis of the Anglo-Irish deal and its case for Irish self-determination.

He defined the Protestants as "a national minority" entitled to full rights in a united Ireland, but went on to define Sinn Fein as a movement appealing only to "the nationalist people".

any country other than its own. Thus Irish sovereignty rests with the Irish people, not the British government.

The British connection and its colonial institutions and policies and their consequences are undemocratic. Any resolution of the current conflict must be based, therefore, upon a strategy of decolonisation, and of restoring the right of national self-determination to the Irish people. It is within this context that we base our attitude to the Hillsborough Agreement.

This agreement is a response to the electoral success of Sinn Fein. This is conceded by all sections of the media, by the British and Dublin governments and by all political parties. These successes were especially threatening to the establishment because they came after 15 years of struggle and demon-

strated a remarkable resilience among republican supporters, after this lengthy period.

More importantly from the establishment's viewpoint they indicated that those engaged in struggle were developing an ability to produce and apply flexible strategies which have a potential for advancing republicanism as an attractive and relevant philosophy for hitherto unorganised but disaffected sections of Irish society.

Carrot and stick

Thus the agreement contains a number of strategies aimed at isolating republicans and building support around establishment parties. It is a carrot and stick agreement, a mixture of repression and appeasements...

Republicans are well used

to repression and will continue to defy any efforts to subdue us by coercive means. Equally we will not be wooed by any concessions.

On the contrary if they contain meaningful improvements in the lifestyles of nationalist people, we will welcome them as the result of the soundness of our supporters. They will not come, if they come at all, out of any concern on the part of the Thatcher government for Irish nationalists but as an attempt to undermine the political base of Sinn Fein, to neutralise all opposition to participation and to defeat the IRA.

More importantly the agreement institutionalises the British presence. It seeks to legitimise it and to insulate the British government from international criticism of their involvement in Irish affairs. No Irish institution, government or otherwise, has the right to sign any treaty with the British which encroaches, as does the Hillsborough Agreement, on any aspect of Irish sovereignty.

The 1916 Proclamation speaks of the inalienable rights of the Irish people, yet after 70 years of constitutionalism Dublin ministers now describe the Hillsborough Agreement as a great step forward.

Garret Fitzgerald may

Bloody Sunday Demonstration & Rally London 2nd Feb

BRITISH WITHDRAWAL FROM IRELAND

PEACE THROUGH SELF DETERMINATION

FRANCIE MOLLOY - Sinn Fein Councillor
JACK COLLINS - Kent NUM
UNMESH DESAI - Newham 7
and speakers from
Women Against Pit Closures
Irish Republican Socialist Party
The withdrawal movement
Irish in Britain
creche facilities

ASSEMBLE
1pm SPEAKERS CORNER

JOIN US ON 2ND FEB

To the eve of liberation

While the Greek Resistance Army – ELAS – was involved in liberating 80% of Greek territory from German occupation, Churchill and the British were planning how to impose their own political settlement on Greece when the war ended. In the second of five articles, Ian Swindale describes developments up to the eve of liberation.

Unlike ELAS, which captured most of its weapons from the enemy, Napoleon Zervas and his much smaller partisan army EDES was completely dependent on the British for arms and supplies. Zervas decided the time was right to throw in his lot politically with the British. Ignoring the views of EDES members, including its second-in-command, the republican Pyromaglou, he secretly sent a telegram to London informing the British government that he would not oppose the return of the King, with or without the agreement of the Greek people.

The significance of this telegram lay in the fact that not only the whole of the Resistance but also most of the politicians who had fled to Egypt and were now vying for positions in the Greek government in exile were opposed to the return of the King before a referendum on the issue — a referendum which all sides knew would result in a massive vote against the King. The Royalists were now politically isolated because of their support for the Metaxas dictatorship.

Even the rival partisan armies being promoted by the British to counteract ELAS's influence were all republican — a problem the British decided would have to be confronted at a later stage, after they had dealt with ELAS. The secret declaration of support for the monarchy from Zervas might prove useful at that stage.

One of the rival partisan groups, the Liberation Struggle (AAA) was led by a group of former army officers and republicans of whom the most important was Sarafis, a long-standing republican who had been exiled by Metaxas.

Sarafis proposed that the resistance should be organised in National Bands rather than around political groupings. The British eagerly seized on the idea. They wanted to form the National Bands out of the non-ELAS partisan groups — i.e. the bourgeois republicans — as a "non-political" partisan force and then invite ELAS to join them in what they felt certain would be a subordinate position.

However, a conflict broke out between an AAA group and an ELAS detachment which led to a meeting between Sarafis and the local ELAS leadership in an attempt to resolve it. On arriving in ELAS territory Sarafis was arrested and sent to ELAS HQ where he met Aris Velouchiotis, the chief guerilla leader and Andreas Tzimas of the KKE leadership and the only one prepared to give full backing to the partisan struggle. Sarafis was so impressed by what he saw on his journey through the ELAS-controlled areas — a reality which conflicted totally with the lies and rumours circulating in Athens — that he was invited to join ELAS as its commanding officer. He accepted.



Within weeks of the liberation of Athens British soldiers were to take the place of Germans in rounding up members of the Resistance.

AAA was finished and, to their dismay, the British plans to subordinate ELAS in "non-political" National Bands was wrecked.

The Athens bourgeoisie refused to believe that the defection of Sarafis had been voluntary and even KKE leader Siantos sent repeated telegrams to ELAS HQ demanding the release of Sarafis who finally had to go to Athens in person to convince the KKE leadership that he was not a prisoner of Aris.

Unable

The Central Committee of KKE met on 2 May 1943 and appointed a High Command for ELAS consisting of Aris (Partisans and Supplies), Sarafis (Military commander of all ELAS forces) and Tzimas (political chief). But the Mountain, having gone to Athens, was unable to persuade the Athens leadership to come to the Mountain. Consequently they remained unable to assess the importance of the partisan struggle at first hand and continued to fall prey to the lies and rumours circulating in Athens about ELAS.

During the spring and summer of 1943 ELAS grew from 5,000 to 40,000-strong. From the beginning it had been willing to unite with EDES, even offering Zervas overall command. These approaches had been rejected and EDES even engaged in military provocations against ELAS.

In June, EDES, ELAS and the British met for a conference. Zervas promptly offered to put EDES under British command. Tzimas, on behalf of ELAS, proposed a joint partisan command of ELAS 3; EDES 1; EKKA (another small resistance group) 1; and the British Mission 1. This was very favourable to the other groups since at the time of the conference ELAS numbered 12,500; EDES 1,300 and EKKA only 300. But Zervas knew he could take a hard line without losing British support and refused the offer.

Meanwhile the KKE leadership, pursuing their goal of respectability in the eyes of the bourgeoisie, wanted Tzimas to secure official recognition from the British at any price. Tzimas continued to stall as this would inevitably mean putting ELAS under Allied command.

Fortunately for him, at that moment Tito's envoy Vukmano-

vic (General Tempo) arrived on the scene to propose the establishment of a joint Balkan Resistance HQ. Although the KKE leadership in Athens were to reject the proposal, Myers and Woodhouse were so worried by Tempo's arrival on the scene that they agreed to attach British Mission officers to EAM/ELAS in a liaison capacity only.

The Allied landings in Sicily took place on 11 July 1943. Churchill's plan to solve the "Greek problem" by a landing in the Balkans had been rejected. He now put his mind to alternative preparations. "The arrangements to prevent anarchy had to be considered," he wrote. His problems were considerable. ELAS was by far the largest of the partisan armies in Greece. The Greek politicians in Cairo represented nobody but themselves, and the 20,000 strong Greek army in North Africa was strongly republican. Churchill needed a political leadership, no matter how isolated, and a military force, no matter how small, loyal to the King in whose support the British troops could intervene in Greece when the Germans finally withdrew.

First the Greek army had to be dealt with. In an indication of things to come, Churchill used the conflict between the Royalist and Metaxist officers who were extremely reluctant to fight the Germans in North Africa and the rank and file who were anxious to fight, to isolate the republican officers and break up and disband militant anti-fascist army units.

After two mutinies, a lot of manoeuvring and finally a clear threat to turn British guns on the anti-fascist units of the Greek army, thousands of Greek soldiers, many of whom had escaped from occupied Greece in order to enlist in the fight against Germany, now found themselves in British prison camps in the Middle East. The Metaxist officers and the purged remnants of the army were reorganised into a new Brigade and sent to fight on the Rimini front.

On 8 September, Italy surrendered. In Greece, the Germans and ELAS were locked in a desperate race to be the first to disarm Italian units. Woodhouse was instructed to ensure that ELAS got as little as possible, and proposed that the weapons be shared out between the resistance groups. But ELAS had

decided to abandon its attempts to unite the Resistance and Aris went all-out to capture Italian weapons. The Italians were surrendering to the first-comer, so Woodhouse had to look on helplessly as ELAS picked up huge quantities of arms. The result was a fresh rift with the British.

Siantos, together with the guardian of party orthodoxy Ioannidis, now decided to move to the Mountain to take charge of ELAS and bring it under their direct control. The kapetanios (guerilla leaders) found themselves subject to the control of political commissars and Aris and Tzimas were gradually stripped of more and more power to act on their own initiative. Yet, the party leadership which was extending its control in this way did not include among its number a single guerilla leader and it continued to regard the partisan struggle as a sideshow which would have to be subordinated to the KKE's political objective of ministerial posts in the post-war bourgeois government. The consequences were to be disastrous.

Pressure

On 18 April 1944, in an effort to increase its pressure on the bourgeois politicians, EAM established a provisional government — PEEA — in the liberated areas. Because KKE's policy was to build a broad-based movement and to avoid frightening away the bourgeoisie, the resistance struggle had been prevented from taking on a class-struggle character. No KKE propaganda was allowed to circulate in ELAS or EAM and members of the KKE were even instructed to conceal their membership.

Nevertheless Woodhouse himself gives testimony to the achievements of ELAS in liberated Greece:

"Having acquired control of almost the whole country, except the principal communications used by the Germans, they had given it things it had never known before. Communications in the mountains, by wireless, courier and telephone, have never been so good before or since; even motor roads were mended and used by EAM-ELAS. Their communications, including wireless, extended as far as Crete and Samos, where guerillas were already in the

field. The benefits of civilization and culture trickled into the mountains for the first time. Schools, local government, law courts and public utilities which the war had ended worked again. Theatres, factories, parliamentary assemblies began for the first time... Followed at a distance by the minor organisations, EAM-ELAS set the pace in the creation of something that Governments of Greece had neglected: an organised state in the Greek mountains."

It should be added that the level of democratic participation of the peasants in the running of their villages reached a level unknown before or since. Illiterate peasants were elected to adjudicate in disputes over such things as the ownership of land or minor criminal trials, while women were able to play a full part in village life instead of being confined, as in the past, to their traditional roles.

EAM/ELAS even organised a clandestine election in which over a million Greeks including many living in Athens and other occupied towns had their votes recorded!

While EAM was submitting its provisional government to the verdict of a million Greeks, Churchill was appointing his own Prime Minister for Greece. His choice was George Papandreou — father of the present prime minister of Greece, who was regarded as being on the social-democratic wing of liberal bourgeois republicanism. Papandreou had remained in Athens after the occupation and Sarafis had tried to persuade him to join EAM. But he decided his future lay elsewhere and was lifted by the British and taken to Cairo from where he notified Churchill of his own view of the needs of post-war Greece:

"For the first time in history there is an absolute identification of Greek and British interests... Today, a new antagonism is taking shape. Two world-wide ideologies are being born: Pan-Slavic Communism and Anglo-Saxon Liberalism..."

In the next phase of World History every nation, even our present enemies after Italian Fascism and Hitlerian Pan-Germanism have been suppressed, will be natural allies of Anglo-Saxon Liberalism in its struggle against Pan-Slavic Communism...

Greece and Turkey are destined to be allies of the British, as they are natural opponents of

Pan-Slavic expansion in the Balkans and the natural sentiments of the gateway to the Mediterranean."

The sweeping advances made by the Red Army in Europe and the setbacks to British policy in Yugoslavia led the British to try a new angle in Greece. A conference was convened for the establishment of a Government of National Union and EAM was invited to participate.

The EAM/PEEA/KKE delegation to the Lebanon Conference — of whom only one, Sarafis, was from the Mountain — had been instructed by the KKE to secure agreement at any price.

The conference was rigged by the British from the start. The 12 representatives of the guerilla groups included two generals who represented imaginary resistance forces. On the other side of the table sat 12 pre-war politicians who also represented nobody but themselves. This did not stop them abusing the EAM delegation in the most insulting way. Papandreou even went so far as to call them "the enemy within".

The agreement offered EAM five minor government posts in exchange for a commitment to the dissolution of ELAS "unified under the orders and discipline of a coalition government".

The EAM/KKE/PEEA delegation signed. The underground repudiated its negotiators and a furious row broke out in ELAS and the KKE. Several attempts were made to revise the agreement in EAM's favour, but Churchill, as always, took a hard line and the agreement was ratified by EAM as it stood.

Trap

The Lebanon Conference had been a trap set by the British and the KKE walked right into it. It wasn't to be the last trap set by the British and KKE failed to learn from this experience to avoid the future traps.

From May 1944 onwards the British and USSR governments started negotiating a settlement for Eastern Europe. Despite US opposition to a "spheres of influence" policy, they came to a secret agreement over the long-term division of East Europe into spheres of influence. Publicly they claimed that only a temporary agreement, pending the final defeat of Germany, had been agreed and the US government acquiesced.

Although this agreement was subsequently undermined by the US on the one hand and Tito on the other, it was carried through in relation to Greece. Stalin agreed that Greece should be in the British sphere of influence and promised not to interfere.

He kept this promise to the letter. At a later stage, when US public opinion turned sharply against British policy in Greece and American newspapers were carrying critical articles, the USSR press remained silent.

Now free to act in Greece, Churchill persuaded the United States to lay on the transport that would enable British troops to be rushed to Greece as soon as the Germans started to withdraw.

On 26 August 1944 German troops were ordered to withdraw from Greece. Four-fifths of the country was in the hands of ELAS. The Germans controlled their own exit roads and the major cities — Athens and Salonika. But who would control them when the Germans left?

Next week: The victors are disarmed.

'We will expose your leftist posturing'

I read with interest your report on the recent NUS Conference and wish to take the opportunity to answer some of the points raised within it.

On the South Africa debate, with the political dishonesty worthy of Socialist Organiser, you sought to claim that Socialist Students in NOLS argued for solidarity with all forces fighting apartheid. In reality, your 'support' saw little role for these forces except under the leadership of the "collective strength of black workers." NOLS contended that this analysis, if put into practice, would narrow the existing struggle.

The duplicity of your 'support' for the ANC is shown by the fact that at YS Summer Camp one of your supporters

was claiming that the ANC was a thoroughly bourgeois nationalist organisation. Unlike yours, our support for the ANC, as the national liberation movement of the South African people is unconditional. The only redeeming fact of your contribution to the debate was Simon Pottinger's honest speech, stating quite clearly that SSIN was not willing to follow the line of the ANC.

Areas

On the Areas debate, SSIN as the main protagonists in defeating our motion, should be of serious concern for your supporters. Our plan would have contributed in developing all areas, not just those in the metropolitan areas, such as Man-

chester and Tyne Tees areas. This would have assisted NUS in developing its alliances with the trade union movement and Labour local authorities; SSIN's proposal maintained the status quo and effectively turned its back on a developed and professional area's network, capable of running local campaigns, and developing the FE section.

Such a position will have a negative effect on NOLS' ability to secure the youth vote for Labour, all for the political expediency of SSIN maintaining its control over two areas.

In conclusion, the only point I agree with is that SSIN has now become a left opposition in NUS. Whether this position is justified in view of the fact that your candidates can only muster a few votes at the last NOLS con-

ference is open to argument. However, this does highlight your contempt for democratic structures of NOLS and reveals your opportunism, when you are prepared to align yourselves with Liberals and Euro-Communists to defeat our policy positions.

Consensus

NOLS strategy within NUS has shifted the political consensus substantially leftwards. In turn this has placed new responsibilities on us to expose your leftist posturing. A task we will set to with renewed vigour at the Easter conference.

Yours in comradeship,
COLIN ADKINS
NOLS National Committee

Is thinking original sin?

Michele Carlisle, who wrote the conference report in Socialist Organiser, replies

Colin Adkins clearly finds difficulty in understanding the position of Socialist Students in NOLS (SSIN) on South Africa.

"Unlike yours," he writes, "our support for the ANC... is unconditional." Unlike ours? What does he mean?

Colin's understanding of what is meant by 'support for the ANC' is very revealing: he complains that SSIN is "not willing to follow the line of the ANC".

He cannot imagine how we can support anyone while maintaining our own right to think. This is not surprising. As the founder of a Morning Star Supporters Group at Essex University, Colin must be used to accepting a line from above, without thinking, without questions.

Someone like Colin, notorious for the Stalin t-shirts he likes to wear, will have long since given up any attempt to think for himself.

For our part, we are not prepared blindly to "follow the line" of anybody, no matter how heroic they are, or how just their cause.

But Colin is being extremely dishonest. He confuses and lumps together a number of different issues. We will have to spell them out.

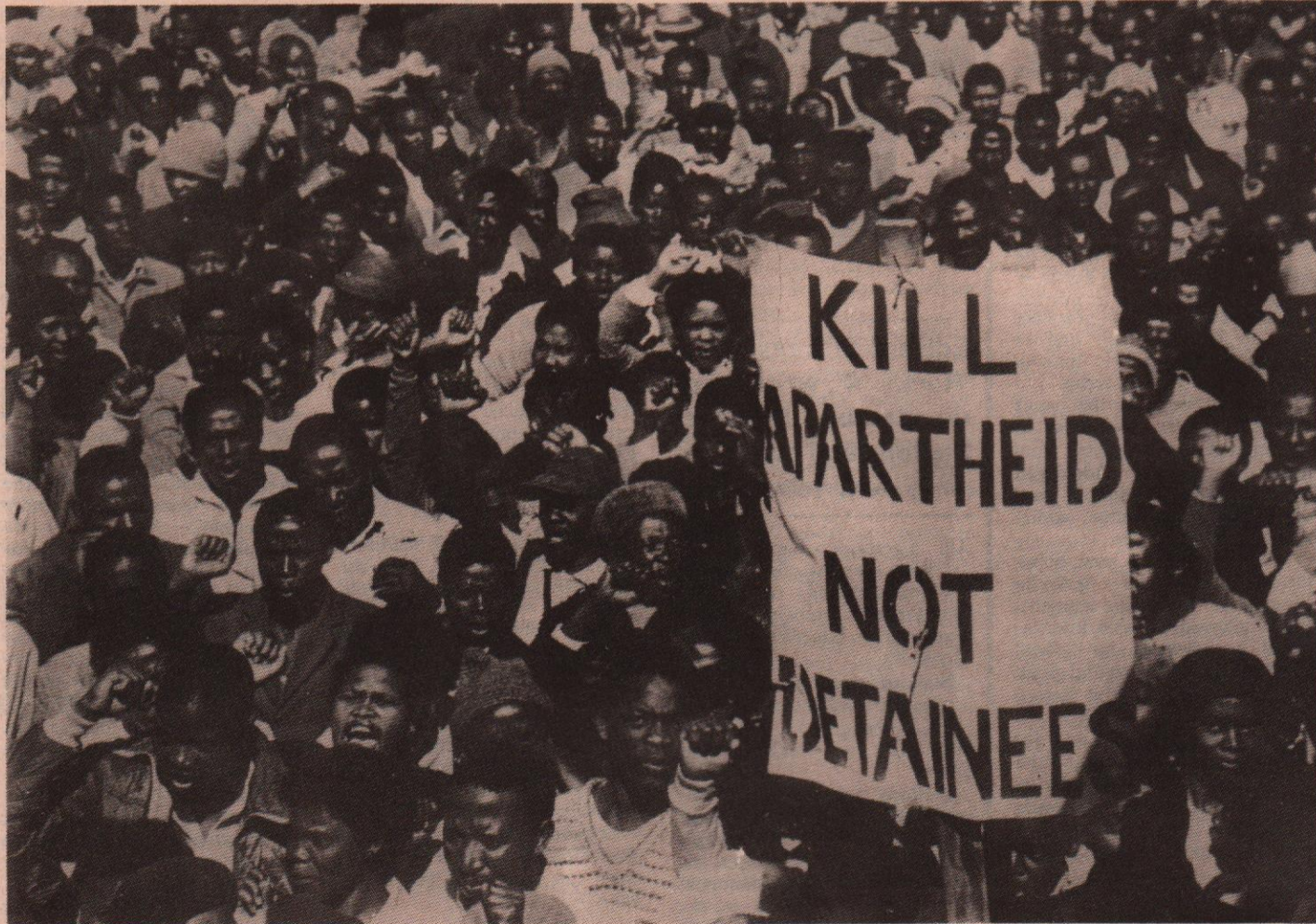
Implicitly, Colin objects that we have no right to disagree with the ANC - we are living in Britain, mostly white, and should not tell the ANC how to conduct their own struggle.

Colin can argue this because for him the ANC, and the ANC alone, is "the national liberation movement of the South African people."

Of course, the ANC is the major, and most well-known political force in the liberation movement. But it is not the only one. Unfortunately for Colin Adkins, it is not only SSIN who will not merely "follow the line" of the ANC. There are plenty of people in South Africa who have differences - greater or smaller - with what the ANC say.

The entire Black Consciousness Movement disagree with ANC over such issues as the Freedom Charter, the strategy for liberation, and over day-to-day tactics.

Many in the independent, non-



racial trade unions have differences with the ANC over these issues, and others - like the question of workers' control, whether or not to support Solidarnosc, and so on.

Most of the trade unions have chosen not to work through the United Democratic Front.

But Colin and his comrades in-



the so-called Democratic Left acknowledge none of this. And Colin gives the game away. "NOLS contended this analysis

(our emphasis) would narrow the existing struggle".

So Colin objects to what he supposes to be our analysis and counterposes a different analysis. But if SSIN is wrong to have our opinion about South Africa, what gives Colin the right to have an analysis?

In fact, Colin doesn't merely "follow the line" of the ANC because it is virtuous to do so. He agrees with it. And he doesn't agree with those in South Africa who won't "follow the line".

He and the Democratic Left say nothing about other forces than the ANC, because they believe these forces to be politically wrong.

This is the real disagreement between SSIN and the Democratic Left. We say: support all forces genuinely fighting apartheid:

ANC, UDF, BCM, the independent unions like COSATU. We say: support them whether we agree with everything they say or not.

Colin Adkins and the Democratic Left say: support only those forces who in our opinion have the correct political line, i.e. the line of the ANC.

Steve Biko

But what about members of the Black Consciousness Movement who are being killed, in prison, on the front line? What about people like Steve Biko, a Black Consciousness student leader killed in detention in 1976? What about members of the Pan Africanist Congress in jail? What about trade unionists who disagree with the Freedom Charter? Do they deserve our

support or not?

The Democratic Left are criminally sectarian - picking and choosing who to support. SSIN rejects and condemns their 'posturing'.

Incidentally SSIN does not have a position on whether or not the ANC is 'bourgeois nationalist'. Most of us, as far as I know, don't think that is an accurate description. Even if it was, we would still support them against Botha, because their cause is one we support.

Presumably, if Colin could be persuaded that the "line of the ANC" is - even a little bit - wrong, he would stop supporting them. Our support is on firmer ground, we think.

Colin's complaints about the debate on NUS Areas are deeply dishonest, too.

He alleges that we aligned ourselves with Liberals and Euro-Communists to defeat NOLS policy. This is nonsense. SSIN policy on Areas was passed through Durham University last May - five months before anyone else started to discuss it.

Liberals and Eurocommunists later came to agree with us. But that is hardly our fault: we can't speak for them. It was our policy.

What was the issue? The Democratic Left wanted to centralise NUS areas. They say this presented no threat to the autonomy of the areas.

Yet Colin claims our policy was motivated by "the political expediency of SSIN maintaining control over two areas". That "control" is represented by the fact that people in Manchester and Tyne Tees Areas support SSIN. In other words, it represents precisely the areas' autonomy.

Choose

If SSIN would 'lose control' of two areas, that could only be because those areas had lost their autonomy. In other words, local colleges would no longer control their own areas - they could no longer choose whether or not to vote for SSIN people.

The Democratic Left's proposals would have given NUS Executive control over the allocation of a development fund. Our plan also centres on helping less developed areas, by developing political confidence and guaranteeing a level of funding. Bureaucratic juggling is no substitute for that!

And our plan was not only for 'metropolitan areas', as Colin's jibe would have it. Nor was our policy supported only by metropolitan areas: Kent, Sussex, Devon and Somerset, North Yorkshire, Stoke and the North West (outside of Manchester and Liverpool) also backed it.

And Colin's claim that we have harmed "NOLS's ability to secure the youth vote for Labour" is a bit rich: he organised against our proposal that NUS call for a Labour vote!

We are glad that Colin accepts that we are the left opposition to the Democratic Left in NUS: to the Democratic Left, not to NOLS.

SSIN doesn't run against NOLS. Where we do run we prevent an electoral challenge to NOLS from the left.

And the Democratic Left choose always to leave a full-time post open for the 'Liberals and Eurocommunists'. This year, the NUS treasurer is a Liberal. Unless Colin is intending to do away with this time-honoured tradition he should stop carping.

Colin's dark mutterings that he intends to 'expose our left posturing' are frankly amusing. The Democratic Left recently turned down the opportunity to debate with SSIN at Sussex University Labour Club, saying 'debates are not the priority in the current period'.

True, the Democratic Left tend to do rather badly in debates with SSIN, exposing their own lack of ideas rather than us. But if we are not to be 'exposed' through debate, then how?

Colin's threats, we conclude, amount to a promise of more of the same: muck, lies and slander.

However, if Colin would like a debate, we would be more than delighted to oblige him. Anytime, anyplace, anywhere - you name it, Colin.

THE NEW WAY TO GET CANCER

By Les Hearn

An interesting development in the world of tobacco abuse has been the revival of tobacco chewing or sucking ("snuff dipping"). This frequently involves placing snuff (finely ground tobacco) in the mouth.

"Just a pinch between cheek 'n' gum", as the retired football star advises, in one advert.

The brand on sale in Britain comes in a sachet like a tea-bag.

Just as in cigar and pipe smoking, the nicotine is absorbed through the mouth lining — more slowly than when smoke is inhaled, but ultimately as effectively.

At first sight, this seems a boon to smokers and non-smokers alike. Non-smokers are freed of the nuisance and danger of tobacco air pollution while smokers can avoid the risks of lung cancer and, perhaps, heart attack.

However, "snuff dipping" is not free of danger. SNUFFIN' NEW

Tobacco sucking and chewing, with their accompanying paraphernalia of cuspidors (spittoons), were originally widespread in the US. The associated practice of uninhibited spitting gained a bad press when it was shown that the ubiquitous sputum harboured the TB bacterium. Mass production of cigarettes from 1913 rapidly relegated the practices to rural areas (and baseball players!).

Worry

Now, it is making a comeback — and with it a serious worry. Out of 10 million American "dippers", 3 million are under 21. A significant proportion of school students from as young as six years have tried it.

Tobacco companies obviously see this young population as the key to improving sales, hit in the adult market by the more and more undeniable evidence of smoking's dangers.

THE BIG SPIT

Snuff dipping adverts feature professional athletes while companies sponsor baseball, rodeos, motor racing and even "spitting contests". Not surprisingly, dippers have an image of being rugged, self-reliant and athletic.

Dipping may be safer than smoking, but how safe is it? Studies on animals provide little evidence of danger but these have been criticised on several grounds. For one, it is impossible to give the "normal" massive doses since this just kills the animals, nicotine being a powerful nerve poison.

Snuff certainly contains carcinogens aplenty — namely polycyclic aromatic hydrocar-



Science

bons and nitrosamines. The latter are thought responsible for stomach cancers, known to be more common among smokers. If dippers swallow the tobacco juice, it might be expected that they would develop stomach cancers more frequently.

Evidence

Studies on humans provide worrying evidence. The most widely-known study shows women dippers to have a four times chance of contracting mouth cancer.

Particularly striking was the number of cases where the cancer started at the place on the cheek or gum where the snuff was usually placed. This included a farmer who had put snuff in his ear for 42 years!

The longer the habit, the worse the risk. At 25 years the risk was some thirteen times greater and at 50 years it was 50 times greater.

Furthermore, the cancers tend to be malignant and to spread more easily, making them more difficult to treat.

It seems therefore that snuff dipping merely succeeds in shifting the risks of cancer from lungs to mouth. Additional health risks include gum diseases and, of course, addiction and dependence.

Snuff dipping is now being introduced to Britain — with the connivance of the government. It has allowed Tobacco International to advertise its "Skool Bandits" on television and given money to help it build a factory in Scotland.

On the other hand, it has got the company to agree that "the marketing of Skool Bandits is not directed at young people under 18 and non-smokers" — a deal described by the British Medical Association as "farcical".

The Irish government has just banned the import of Skool Bandits. Snuff said?



Stallone as Rocky: 'not human'.

'Rocky 4'

Edward Ellis reviews 'Rocky 4', written and directed by Sylvester Stallone and now on general release.

"Uh...I gotta do what I gotta do..." With these words Sylvester Stallone expounds one of the complex and interwoven moral themes of his latest blockbuster, 'Rocky 4'.

Stallone is not a good actor: he is a great actor. How many could claim to be able to convey so little with so much physical effort?

Stallone has a bewilderingly minimalist range of facial expressions. There is the empty public lavatory look: vacant, but with possible unpleasantness lurking within. There is the scolded Labrador puppy look, suggesting he has made a mess in the corner. And there is the most mysterious look of all, engineered by the shield boxers put over their teeth: less of an expression and more of a facial grunt.

In Rocky 4, Stallone has managed to dispense with all the conventions of modern cinema. Script, plot, character — all are sacrificed to the higher artistic goal: to portray directly, in a series of disconnected images, the essential moral virtue of contemporary America.

And in what is this moral virtue expressed, if not in the raw energy of two men with overdeveloped bodies beating hell out of each other?

Many might be misled into believing that Rocky 4 is a

parody. But this is merely its form.

True the Russians are all comic-book villains. There are the stone-faced KGB agents vainly attempting to follow our hero across the snow-covered steppes of Siberia as he prepares for the greatest fight of his life.

There is the General Secretary of the CPSU himself, with the ringside seat and the cold mouth.

There is the sinister, prim ice-maiden who doubles as wife and voice-box for the Russian champion.

And there is the 'Siberian Express' himself: Drago, played by the absurdly named Dolph Lundgren (who apparently possesses more intellectual energy in a single brain cell than Stallone would be able to expend over the course of his entire life).

Human

And true, America and Americans are their opposite: fun-loving, caring for friends and family, sophisticated, and (within the limits of such rigidly minimalist art) human.

But Rocky 4 is far more than mere parody. Stallone has skillfully popularised his epochal subject matter by creating what on one level is merely a series of pop videos.

Dialogue is cut to its barest essentials. Lest Stallone have to remember more than six words at any given moment, his emotions — or what we presume to be his emotions (can we ever really know?) — are conveyed by raunchy rock songs that hold together extended sequences in

which nobody says anything at all.

'Is it East against West, or man against man?' one song inquires cryptically as Rocky arrives in Moscow to do battle with arch-enemy Drago. It is subtle dramatic irony. We, the audience, know it is far more than either.

Rocky needs to avenge his friend — ex-world champion Apollo Creed, pulverised to death by the Great Russian Tank in less time than it takes to say God Bless America — and thereby avenge the honour of his country.

And how much honour has been lost! Not only has Drago beaten their ex-champ to death, but worse, he has done so only moments after Stallone's most daring cinematographic feat: a live performance at the ringside of 'Living in America'...

Worse still, the Russians have called into question America's moral and spiritual integrity. 'You think you're so much better than us', Drago's coach complains.

What all-American hero could resist the challenge to prove that, indeed, Americans are so much better than them?

Drago is Russia. He is the personification of the centralised state. Where Rocky trains for the conflict alone, immersed in nature, subjecting his body to the rigour of the elements, Drago is the product of base technology (and drugs — the Russians, of course, cheat) — given power by artificial methods to the extent that he might as well be a machine himself.

Of course, the self-made individual must triumph over

the state-manufactured 'ultimate athlete'.

And in a yet more profound and direct sense, it is more than merely East against West or man against man.

No mere man could withstand the enormous blows delivered to head and body by the truly gigantic Russian. As Drago himself comments, unnerved: 'He is not human. He is like a piece of iron'.

'The American is small and weak', the 'seconds' (I am told they are called) reassure him.

But no: Rocky has conquered pain, transcended the limitation of the human body. Rocky is America.

God

And America is not merely all powerful. It is all forgiving. It is God.

Rocky wins the hostile crowd to his side. At the end they are cheering him, amazed at his perseverance and courage. Even the perplexed General Secretary feels compelled to give him an ovation.

And Rocky bestows forgiveness on them. 'Uh...if I can change, so can you', he tells the delirious crowd.

And this is Stallone's greatest triumph. Many might have expected a pure 'cold war' ideological message. Stallone subverts our prejudices. Instead of a cold war message, we are given far more.

True to the new art form Stallone has made his own, the message of Rocky 4 is completely nonsensical.

Rocky 4 is a masterpiece — a whole new experience. Ignore it at your peril.

SKOAL BANDITS

The new way to enjoy tobacco-Skoal Bandits.

Skool Bandits is a new flavored tobacco in a new presentation pouch. You don't chew it, you just inhale the nicotine. It's a new way to get great tobacco pleasure without lighting up.

Try Skool Bandits. The little pouch of tobacco pleasure.

The 1985 Formula 1 race car.

Skool Bandits is a new flavored tobacco in a new presentation pouch. You don't chew it, you just inhale the nicotine. It's a new way to get great tobacco pleasure without lighting up.

Try Skool Bandits. The little pouch of tobacco pleasure.

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Safer than smoking?

Students fight expulsions

By Jane Ashworth

An occupation of Manchester University administration block became the focus for a campaign against politically-motivated expulsions last week.

The expulsions were threatened after scuffles broke out during a visit by David Waddington, Tory Immigration minister, to the students union.

Throughout the campaign the students union has made it clear that what happens in its own buildings is its own affair. So not only are the university wrong to consider expelling a student for throwing a punch, but they have no right to interfere in the union's business.

Tactic

The occupation was only one tactic during the defence campaign and when the vote was taken to come out, after being made 'unofficial' at the union general meeting, the mood was clearly that the 450 people who had voted to support the occupation would be ready to take part in future activities.

The occupation served as

a base of attraction and as an organising centre for canvassing, writing leaflets and making posters, but there were problems with it.

Supporters of Socialist Students in NOLS felt that the campaign would be unlikely to win unless it won the support of hundreds of students and at least a majority of campus trade unions.

Occupations always cause hassle for college workers, and keeping good relations between the student union and the campus unions has to be a high priority when considering an occupation.

Unfortunately at Manchester the majority of the unions were not very sympathetic, although support was forthcoming from the small EETPU and a section of ASTMS.

The campus unions committee even threatened that if the students didn't leave they would consider themselves locked out and let management resolve the issue.

The student union offered to accommodate concerns over working conditions, but the unions were not satisfied.

Unfortunately the SWP refused to take this potentially dire situation seriously and when SSIN supporters tried to argue back they created an atmosphere of searching for 'the enemy within'.

They were not prepared to accept that an inter-union dispute could happen or that if it did, it would knock this and any other campaign on the head for a good while to come.

Mistaken

SSIN probably mistakenly proposed ending the occupation on Friday. But the SWP disgracefully rammed through without discussion, a proposal not to consider leaving the occupation until Monday night.

This was both undemocratic and foolish. The occupation had not had a discussion about relations with campus unions or the way forward for our own campaign.

As it was, the general meeting on Monday was lost

by only 70 votes. The right wing Labour students and members of the union executive, clearly breaking their mandates, had tried to mobilise the right wing and centre students to come to the general meeting to defeat the occupation.

It is quite likely that if the occupation had come out on Monday lunchtime, that the campus unions would not have spoken out against the occupation at the general meeting, and that the left would have won the general meeting with its proposals for action in the future, including going back into occupation nearer the time of the disciplinary hearing.

Meetings are taking place on Monday to discuss the future of the campaign which will involve lobbies, demonstrations and taking the campaign into the community, for example, black groups, to make clear that this is not just a case of politically motivated expulsions in the university, but also about the right of people to protest against the racist Waddington.

We'll stand beside the printers

The vote in Leicestershire to stay with the NUM underlined what we've been saying all along - the UDM have already peaked and from now on NUM membership is going to continue to climb and there is only one way for the UDM to go and that is downwards.

The number of Leicestershire miners who worked throughout the dispute might have indicated a different result, but it was my view that even those who did not lose a single shift throughout the dispute realise that the only credible way to go forward is to remain in one national union.

The UDM won't make much headway there now. They might just pull the odd individual or perhaps the odd branch. As far as I am concerned the end is now in sight for the UDM.

because if there is another recession and Westland is hit by it, jobs will be lost. There is only one way to secure jobs there and that is for the British government to take it over.

Kidney

And while people may protest that it is a war industry, it is also the case that in many parts of that industry workers have put forward plans for alternative production, like kidney machines and so on. If we just write Westlands off then that alternative employment will not be there for any of those workers. So I think the government should step in and take Westlands over on behalf of the British people.

Then we can consider the alternative uses the factories can be put to.

But with the government rocking on its heels, I am saddened and dismayed to see the Labour leadership letting them off the hook, the way they did in the Commons debate. Much as I hate to admit it I thought that Doctor Death put a much more credible case than Kinnock.

If Labour had gone at Thatcher with all guns blazing and coordinated that with a TUC campaign against the Wapping print works, then I think we could have put the skids under this government and got rid of them, and replaced them with a Labour government pledged to socialist policies. But the leadership of both wings of the Labour and trade union movement have let us down very very badly.

After its defeat in Leicestershire the UDM got another blow this week when the Mineworkers' International Federation refused it recognition.

The UDM's chances had unfortunately been raised by Arthur Scargill's move to take the NUM out of the MIF group of mining unions and instead to set up a new international centre, based largely on the government-run 'unions' of the Eastern bloc.

The MIF, however, says that it will not recognise the UDM until the British trade union movement recognises it.

Murdoch

I am sure I speak for all Notts NUM members when I say that we are quite prepared to stand beside the print workers. The union-busting methods of Murdoch must not be allowed to succeed. We said, during our own dispute, that if the miners went down to defeat, it would be other workers next. That is clearly demonstrated by what is happening in the print at the present time.

I'm sure we will see NUM members on the picket lines fighting along with print workers for their right to belong to a union and negotiate on pay and conditions.

Neil Kinnock's performance in the Commons debate last Monday was absolutely abysmal. It's not very often that I find myself agreeing with Heseltine, but Kinnock's attempt to attack the government was pathetic.

I find it incredible that Margaret Thatcher is able to declare war over a piece of rock in the South Atlantic, to send hundreds of British servicemen to their deaths and people cheered her as a heroine and great national leader. And here we have a relatively minor issue and the government is rocking.

Looking at Westlands from the point of view of jobs, it won't make much difference which option wins in the end

CPSA plans pay strike

By Mike Grayson

As expected, the CPSA's special pay conference on 23 January threw out the government proposals for a system of settling Civil Service pay. This "system" would have done nothing to tackle the basic problem of very low pay levels throughout most of the Civil Service; did not allow the unions unilateral access to arbitration; and permitted the government to suspend the agreement in "exceptional" circumstances.

Despite these and other faults, CPSA general secretary Alistair Graham argued passionately for conference to accept the Treasury's proposals.

Mr New Realism showed his talent for bold and resolute leadership by reminding conference that the union had a lot of non-members in its grades, and the record of the miners' strike showed that strike action didn't work. Also, he told us, groups like the police do quite well out of a settled pay system - so perhaps we would too!

Conference was so swayed by these powerful arguments that, on a card vote, it gave them the boot by 95,000 to 36,000. It went on to demand a 1986 pay claim with the following elements: introduction of a minimum wage of £110 per week; an increase of £9 per week "in line with increases for other workers over the past 12 months" plus "an additional cash down payment of at least £6 per week in recognition of earnings lost since 1980; a 35 hour week and 30 days annual leave.

These last two aspects of the claim are long-standing CPSA policy, but the soft left grouping Broad Left 84 opposed them being included in a pay claim. They asserted that "members will not respond in any positive manner" to a "shopping basket type of claim". However, they were unable to answer the question of when the union should fight for these demands if not during a pay campaign.

It is unrealistic to suppose

that the membership, after a long fight over pay, would then come out on strike again over hours and leave: and even more unrealistic to think that the Tories will sit down and quietly let us convince them to reduce our work-time. The Broad Left was thus able to swing conference behind the inclusion of these demands, against the opposition of Broad Left 84 and the right wing.

It was a weakness of the special one-day conference that only 25 minutes of debating time was given to discussion of the campaign necessary to win the claim. Only one motion was heard (and carried).

This called on the NEC to make preparations for an all-out strike "by no later than the end of April", with "some preliminary strike and disruptive action prior to the ballot on all-out strike".

The usefulness of any kind of selective or disruptive action is debated by many CPSA activists, but the main problem militants must now face up to is the lack of leadership we are likely to get from a general secretary and executive committee who were ready to throw in the towel before round one of the fight.

DHSS workers fight cuts

Have you ever spent all day at the DHSS waiting to find out that your papers are not in the files or your giro's in the post. Have you ever had to phone half a dozen times before getting a reply?

Experiences like this are widespread for claimants. The DHSS system is crumbling DHSS workers are under great pressure.

Some pack up work and go on the dole, some work hours of overtime (against union policy), but a lot are planning a fight-back.

The largest union in the DHSS, the CPSA, has had a staffing campaign running for six years. In 1982 workers in Birmingham and Oxford struck

in defence of the claimants, for a better service and more staff. The strike never developed into a national strike through sabotage by union officials.

The government have never increased staffing levels. In fact staffing levels have decreased. The government has brought in new procedures, claim forms, etc., as a means of cutting staff.

The unions put in a claim for 15,000 extra staff, and the government have finally given their response. They are going to increase staffing by 2005. But they say we have 2000 staff 'over complement' already, so in reality we will get five extra staff across the whole country!

This will increase the anger and resentment of DHSS workers. Most offices in the country have either been involved in one day strikes or are balloting for them at the moment.

However workers in some London DHSS offices cannot survive any longer. If the DHSS section executive of the CPSA balloted members in London for an all-out strike for more staff, there would probably be a positive response. If the executive don't call a ballot the dangers are that the staffing campaign in the union's strongest area could collapse.

If the strikes do go ahead maximum links need to be built between DHSS workers and claimants, as the strike, though obviously hitting the claimants in the short term, would benefit claimants if unions managed to win more staff.

STEVE BATTLEMUCH,
CPSA DHSS S. Notts
Branch, Midlands Region
vice-chair

Teachers sold out

By Cheung Siu Ming

The teachers in England and Wales have been sold out, after the longest pay dispute in recent years. The settlement was 6.9% end loaded to 8.5% from March 1986.

This was agreed at the ACAS talks by the five other teachers'

organisations. The offer gives the classroom teacher little to cheer about, nothing more than what was on offer some months ago.

Although the settlement is about average for the 1985 pay round, it does little to restore ten years' erosion of teachers' pay. The money will have to be found by local councils through cuts, because the dispute has failed to extract new money out of central government.

The largest union, the NUT, boycotted the talks and refused to accept the settlement, but it no longer has an absolute majority of votes on the teachers' side of the pay body, the Burnham Committee.

The only other TUC affiliated union, the NAS/UWT, are not calling a special conference but are balloting their members on the offer. This means that the NAS/UWT leaders are not giving their members the chance to debate the offer in the normal way.

The NUT leaders are going to call off the planned one day national strike, as well as the sustained three-day selective strikes. Only the work-to-rule sanctions remain. But some associations will want to call members out unofficially for their allotted half day strikes for the month of February, where ballots have already gone into schools.

NUT members are angry and determined to put up a real fight over the 1986 claim, which is due to be settled this April...

The main damage caused by the settlement is the willingness of the other unions to discuss pay together with working conditions. Keith Joseph has made it clear that new money is only available for the 1986 pay claim if teachers are prepared to sign new contracts which include covering for absent colleagues, lunch hour supervision and other extra duties.

The NUT has maintained a consistent position of refusing to go down this road, but it is now outvoted by the other teachers' organisations.

The key to next year's battle will be whether rank and file NAS/UWT members can be won over to the NUT, or at least to the NUT's point of view. This task falls on the militant NUT members in the schools and associations.

Get organised

Become a supporter of the Socialist Organiser Alliance - groups are established in most large towns. We ask £5 a month minimum (£1 unwaged) contribution from supporters.

I want to become a Socialist Organiser supporter/I want more information.

Name

Address

Phone no.

Send to Socialist Organiser, PO Box 823, London SE15 4 NA, or phone 01-639 7965.

Socialist Organiser

Fund

Durham is first

This week Durham/North East became the first local group to raise over 100% of its fund target.

They sent £74 from a jumble sale and £8 from raffle tickets.

Aberdeen also goes over its target, with a £42 donation from Martin Donohue and £4 raffle ticket money.

Thanks also to: Birmingham £1 raffle tickets; Glasgow readers £17; Kath Brierley £100; Paul Woolley £30; Manchester Christmas cards £5.10; Sarah Cotterill £35; Matthew Davies £15; Nottingham raffle tickets £4; Nottingham readers 81p; Rob Dawber and Ellen Taylor £100; Richard Bayley £10; Steve Macarthur £60; North London readers £3.50 and raffle tickets £3.

And thanks for loans to Mark

Osborn, Martin Donohue, and Rob Dawber and Ellen Taylor.

North London group started a new fund-raising operation last Sunday, when Bruce Robinson was weighed in at 12 stone 12 pounds for the start of a sponsored slim. Sponsors are being asked to give £1, or as much as they can, for every pound of weight that Bruce loses between now and 23 February.

Manchester plans a sponsored cycle ride, and Sheffield a sponsored swim. Send us news of your local group's plans, and donations, to SO, 214 Sickert Court, London N1 2SY.



Youth protest at Tories' cheap labour schemes. Photo: Martin Shakeshaft.

SWING LABOUR INTO ACTION!

Neil Kinnock once had a great ambition. He was to be Labour's answer to Winston Churchill: an historic Parliamentary leader.

The great Neil Kinnock: a master of rapier-like logic, equipped with virtuosic oratory, merciless in his scorn, panoramic in his lofty vision; this was his ambition.

He would be remembered as the man who saved the Labour Party, made it and his country great again, a flighting force in the last years of

the twentieth century.

Neil Kinnock must be very depressed.

His response to the greatest crisis the Tory government have faced has been pathetic. Faced with a Falklands Factor in reverse, Kinnock has managed only to make a fool of himself.

Muddling Westland and Heseltine - "... [the government was] privately partisan about the bids for Heseltine" - Kinnock reduced the House to gales of laughter.

It is typical of our front-bench leaders.

Instead of a huge campaign against the Tories, seizing on the government's crisis, demanding that it resign and call an election, denouncing the Tories' crimes against the working class and spelling out a clear alternative Labour's leaders are doing... what?

Finding ways of expelling socialists from the Labour Party.

It would be wrong for Labour to take sides on the issue of the Westland deal itself. It should be of no concern to socialists whether our bosses are British, American or European.

And what should Labour do itself with Westland or any other part of the defence industry?

All those industries should be nationalised or renational-

ised, and turned over to the production of socially useful goods in line with workers' alternative plans.

We should do away with the 'share-owners' democracy so lauded by the Tories. This democracy is nothing more than the control over the economy and society by people with money.

The Labour leadership must be called to account. Go onto the offensive against the Tories! Campaign for a Labour victory! Call off the witch-hunt!

The Socialist Campaign for a Labour Victory has produced a four-page A3 broadsheet, 'The Case for Labour', indicting the Tories with detailed facts and figures. Copies 15p for one, 25p for ten, post free, from John Bloxam, C/o PO Box 823, London SE15 4NA.

Local group	Target	So far	Per cent
North London	1600	978.66	61%
Nottingham	1000	898.53	90%
South London	800	701.15	88%
Manchester	1000	534.45	53%
East London	760	495.30	65%
Merseyside	500	475.50	95%
Cardiff	600	404.50	67%
Glasgow/Edinburgh	560	301.00	54%
Durham/North East	200	212.80	106%
West London	500	200.00	40%
York/Harrogate	300	193.90	65%
Coventry	350	175.00	50%
Sheffield	400	174.10	44%
Stoke North	200	132.75	66%
Basingstoke	560	115.47	21%
Stoke South	200	90.00	45%
Birmingham	100	64.00	64%
Aberdeen	20	46.00	230%
Canterbury	90	32.00	36%
Colchester	100	23.80	24%
Leeds	60		
Oxford	40		
Southampton	60		
Central/general	5000	511.50	10%
Total	15,000	6760.41	45%

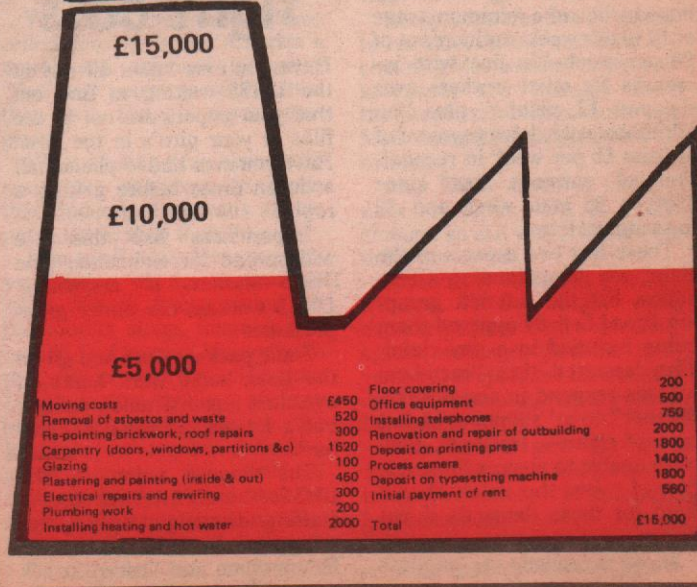
Socialist Organiser premises fund

★ RAFFLE ★

- Prizes: 1 & 2. Radio/cassette recorder
3. Gestetner duplicator
4. £30 worth of books

Winning tickets will be drawn on Tuesday February 18th

For tickets (20p each) or books of 10 on sale or return, write to SO, 214 Sickert Court, London N1 2SY.



Fulham by-election

Fulham Labour Party needs helpers for its by-election campaign. Contact Fulham Labour Party at 861, Fulham Road, London SW8, 01-736 3045 or the London Labour Party, 01-703 6511.