

tms

the next step

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Duke unites Tories and TUC behind British industry

WOULD YOU BUY A CHANNEL TUNNEL FROM THESE MEN?

BRITISH INDUSTRY PREPARES FOR WAR

The appearance of beleaguered trade secretary Leon Brittan, alongside the Duke of Edinburgh and TUC chief Norman Willis, at last week's launch of Industry Year, struck many people as incongruous. A special feature made for the occasion by Channel 4 — another backer of Industry Year — portrayed Britain's carmakers as 'European coolies ordered about by American cowboys'. Reviving British industry in the face of US domination is a major theme of Industry Year. Yet Brittan is well known to be a staunch supporter of the bid by the US firm Sikorsky to bail out Westland Helicopters. He is widely suspected of leaning on British firms involved in the projected European rescue package.

Brittan's predicament reflects the difficulties facing the British government as a result of the growing divergence between rival strategies for protecting Britain's stake in world affairs and for salvaging what's left of the British economy. The Thatcher government looks to the traditional 'special relationship' between Britain and the USA that has flourished through the close affinity between the prime minister and president Reagan. Since the Second World War the Atlantic alliance has been the central axis of British foreign and military policy.

STAR WARS AND CHUNNELS

However in recent years anti-American and pro-European sentiments have gathered strength within the British establishment. There is a growing trend towards cooperation with EEC countries on economic and defence issues. While some British manufacturers are still hoping to benefit from Reagan's star wars programme, many more are looking to the channel tunnel to revive their fortunes. The European link is now being championed by cabinet renegade Michael Heseltine as part of his wider challenge to the Tory Party leadership. The Labour Party too has taken up the anti-American line as a way of distinguishing itself from the Tories without appearing antagonistic to British interests. The party which once distinguished itself by its chauvinist hostility to the EEC is now trying to prove that it is more patriotic than the Tories by asserting its commitment to Europe.

Brittan's ambivalent position in the Britain versus America controversy reflects the Tories' pragmatic approach. The British establishment has long operated under the wing of the USA but, while it remains tied to Washington, it wants to keep its options open. The decision to go ahead with the Anglo-French channel tunnel project was, after all, Thatcher's. The pro-European camp is equally pragmatic. While every Labour Party politician denounces US nuclear missiles and bases in Britain, this year's party conference voted overwhelmingly in support of the Nato alliance. Both sides proclaim their devotion to the national interest, differing only in their views of the best way of guaranteeing it.

The official labour movement backs Britain against the USA and it is ready to make the sacrifices necessary to make British industry more competitive against all its rivals overseas. But what does this approach offer the working class?

At the Industry Year launch the industrious Prince Phil lambasted 'Marxists' who snipe at industry 'because it is capitalist' and bishops who 'sniff at it because it is materialistic'. Meanwhile TUC

leader Norman Willis declared the unions' willingness to cooperate in the revival of British manufacturing. Willis' role in coordinating the print unions' offer of a no-strike/total flexibility deal at Rupert Murdoch's new Wapping plant indicates the sort of contribution the TUC will be making to Industry Year. Murdoch's humiliating rejection of this deal, in favour of negotiating even more favourable terms through a separate deal with the electricians' union, indicates the likely outcome of the TUC's grovelling approach.

In the controversy over Westland the white collar engineering union Tass has come out forcefully in favour of the European option. According to Tass chief Ken Gill, the Sikorsky offer would mean 'British technology flying across the Atlantic' and reduce Westland workers to 'welding American parts'. Gill's members at Westland are not impressed by his arguments — only one worker voted in support of the European consortium at a mass meeting last week. The vast majority go along with the Westland board view that the American offer presents the best guarantee of job security. Over the past two years the unions at Westland have accepted redundancies, shift working and other deteriorations in working conditions. Whether American or European businessmen take over, the unions will be forced to make further concessions to save the firm.

NOTHING TO CHOOSE

The strife among print unions and the divisions among the unions at Westland are the inevitable outcome of the pursuit of capitalist solutions to the collapse of British industry. Choosing between Thatcherite rationalisation and Tory wet/TUC reflation, Brittan's US package and Heseltine's European consortium, means choosing between different styles of capitalist exploitation. Given the decay of the British capitalist economy no revival strategy can work unless it destroys effective trade unionism and forces workers to work harder for less pay. The Tories have made clear that the offer of jobs on the channel tunnel project depends on acceptance of a no-strike deal.

Taking sides in the wider European-American conflict could lead to even graver consequences. Today the conflicts among the rival Western powers are confined to the spheres of trade, investment and diplomacy. But the pressures unleashed by deepening recession point towards an intensification of these tensions to the point of open warfare. Leaders of the labour movement who today jump to back Britain in its economic battles will tomorrow be ready to lead workers into war on behalf of the British ruling class.

It is time the unions left the Industry Year stunts and the boardroom squabbles to the bosses and insisted that whatever solutions they come up with, jobs and conditions must be preserved. The labour movement should refuse to choose between rival capitalist employers or between rival capitalist nations. For workers there is nothing to choose between working for European or American bosses. Workers have nothing to gain from going to war to fight for the British capitalist establishment. The British working class has gone down the slippery slope that begins with conflicts over trade and investment and ends in world war twice already in this century. As their squabbles intensify we should make sure we don't get fooled again.

TORIES PLAN IRISH ELECTION BAN



KING VOTES FOR VIOLENCE

The British government wants to make local election candidates in Northern Ireland sign an oath renouncing violence to stop Sinn Fein embarrassing the authorities by winning council seats

According to a weekend report written by Chris Ryder, a journalist with close contacts in the security forces, Northern Ireland secretary Tom King wants a 'peace oath' to prevent a repeat of Sinn Fein's success in last May's local elections. Now he is to introduce it alongside a rule that would extend the period of disqualification from office for a candidate with a criminal record, from the present five years to 15 or 20 years.

The planned election ban exposes the hypocrisy of the British establishment. For years it denounced the Irish republican movement as a small clique of gangsters without support, who would not dare stand in elections because they'd get no votes. Since 1981 republicans have thrown that challenge back in the faces of the British authorities, by winning elections to the 'Ulster' Assembly, the house of commons and local councils on a platform supporting the struggle of the IRA.

These victories were a significant propaganda success that proved the republican movement had popular support among nationalists in Northern Ireland. Now, like a spoilt child who wants to take the ball home because he's losing the game, King is out to put a stop to Sinn Fein members sitting on councils.

In the eyes of the authorities, being a 'democratic organisation' in Northern Ireland means declaring loyalty to the British Crown. Republicans who stand up for freedom have always been denied access to the 'democratic process'.

When Britain divided Ireland in 1921 and set up Northern Ireland as a province of the 'United Kingdom', councils that refused to accept the authority of British colonial power were simply disbanded. Last week republican councillor Paul Corrigan told *ins* what happened in Fermanagh: 'When Partition was imposed there was a nationalist-controlled county council, which voted against the Treaty and refused to send its minutes to the government in Stormont. The British disbanded it and sent in commissioners.' And troops, and paramilitary police. The councils where Sinn Fein won

seats in May have already effectively been disbanded by Loyalist councillors, who have suspended them until republicans are banned. Liverpool and Lambeth ain't seen nothing yet.

People who support Sinn Fein are not voting for violence for its own sake. They are voting for peace in Ireland. But they recognise that peace will not come until every violent arm of the British government is forced out of their country. The British authorities are in no position to start lecturing nationalists about voting and violence being incompatible. Which Irish people elected the 30 000 gunmen of the British Army, Ulster Defence Regiment and Royal Ulster Constabulary who rampage around their streets? Who voted to abolish juries and let a judge send republicans to jail on the word of a paid police agent? And where did the security forces get their mandate to torture opponents of British rule?

Britain's latest anti-republican moves show Thatcher's new deal with the Dublin government is all about beating the struggle for Irish freedom.

Loyalist leaders have called this week's by-elections to protest at the Anglo-Irish agreement which, they claim, is the first step on the road to a united Ireland. But the British government's actions since the accord was signed in November prove they are committed to keeping Northern Ireland under their heel. Republicans, not Loyalists, have been rounded up, beaten up and locked up over the last two months. And nobody is asking Loyalists to sign an oath condemning the violence of the security forces. But the British government will find, as all its predecessors did, that it cannot ban the fight for Irish freedom.

Mick Hume

RCP

REVOLUTIONS AREN'T CHEAP

The Revolutionary Communist Party aims to organise the working class to take control of all the wealth in society. But if we are to achieve that aim, we need you to give us enough wealth to produce the propaganda and build the branches that can make revolutionary communism count in British politics. If you want to help workers take power, then take out a standing order or rush a donation to our fighting fund. It's an investment that won't cost you much. But it could cost the capitalists the Earth. Donations to BM RCP, London WC1N 3XX. Cheques payable to RCP Association.

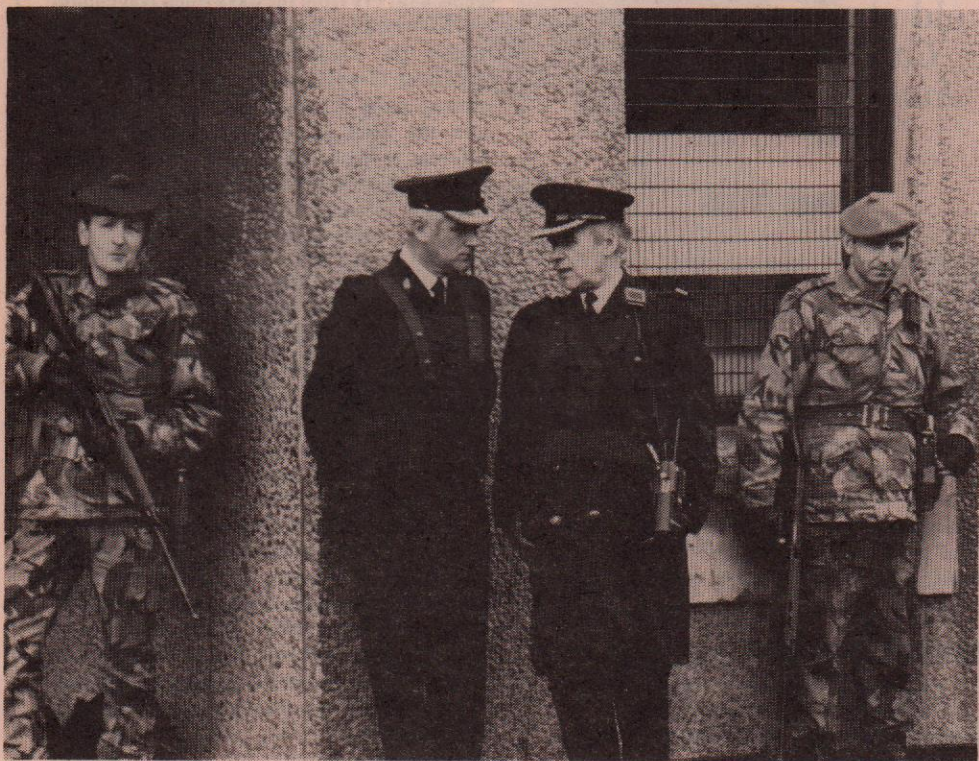
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BRITISH TERRORISTS v IRISH DEMOCRATS

ELECTIONS ARE SUPPOSED TO SHOW THE BRITISH SYSTEM AT ITS MOST CIVILISED. BUT THIS WEEK'S NORTHERN IRELAND BY-ELECTIONS EXPOSE THE BRITISH AUTHORITIES AT THEIR MOST CORRUPT. MICK HUME REPORTS FROM IRELAND



JOE BOATMAN



PAUL CORRIGAN

TONY MAGUIRE

Leon Brittan is not the only establishment figure telling fibs lately. The British commentators covering the Northern Ireland elections, who claim the main conflict is now between the Loyalists and Britain over the Anglo-Irish deal, are just as guilty. I've been down to the Border constituency of Fermanagh/South Tyrone, which is a long way from Fleet Street. And the people there know the real battle is still between Irish republicans who want their country to be free and the British authorities occupying Northern Ireland.

The rolling hills of Fermanagh make it the most 'country' county in Northern Ireland. The winding roads that ring the lakes and farms are dominated by two types of dark green truck: horse boxes carrying cattle and landrovers laden with British troops. Some of the bulls are off to be slaughtered. And some of the bullies in British Army uniforms are butchers. Locals still talk of how troops pitchforked two farmers to death in 1972.

OBSCENE POLICE

As we drove to the county town of Enniskillen on a rainy day last week, the national news was another scare-story about attacks on children. But Irish parents in Enniskillen have to worry about another sort of strange and violent man stalking their streets. The shadowy figure in a plastic mac who stopped us as we approached Enniskillen was a member of the Royal Ulster Constabulary, at the police gunpost that guards the town. And the hand stuck in his waistband gripped a pistol. He was more like Dirty Harry than a dirty old man. But he was a British Crown policeman, holding up Irish men, women and children at gunpoint on Irish streets. And that's what I call obscene.

In the run-up to the by-elections, the British authorities, who rant about rebuilding morality at home, have encouraged the RUC to commit sex crimes to disrupt the republican movement's campaign. Shortly before we arrived police dragged local Sinn Fein worker Anne McDonnell from her

home, locked her in a room and abused her for a week. 'She got a very rough time,' Sinn Fein councillor Paul Corrigan told us in the party's office. 'She was physically and indecently assaulted by Special Branch officers interrogating her.' Those people who think the worse thing our government does is lie about letters, think on.

As we go to press the by-election results are unknown. But the British authorities don't much care who wins elections in Northern Ireland. They rule by the gun. They say they're dealing with 'IRA terrorists' who don't respect democracy. But that lie is older than the Fermanagh hills.

The British government and its occupying forces use terrorism to disrupt democracy in Ireland, holding one corner of the country captive against the wishes of the Irish people. And the Irish republican movement is fighting for real freedom. As Mitchel McLaughlin, Sinn Fein's director of elections for the Six Counties, told us, 'We've fought for democratic demands in these elections: self-determination, British troops out, the release of political prisoners.'

Over the last five years, nationalists in Fermanagh/South Tyrone have voted for those demands and ignored the propaganda put out by Thatcher's friends in Fleet Street. When a couple of republican suspects were arrested in Holland this week, the media branded them 'the two most wanted men in Northern Ireland'. Well, IRA men are certainly wanted by lots of people in Fermanagh/South Tyrone, but not in the way the British mean. In 1981 locals wanted one IRA man so badly that they elected him their MP. His name was Bobby Sands, leader of a hunger-strike by republican prisoners demanding that Britain recognise them as prisoners of war.

Before he died more than 30 000 nationalists voted for Sands and his demand. But the British authorities didn't like that display of Irish democracy, so they refused to recognise it. 'The people gave Bobby Sands a great mandate,' remembered republican councillor Tony Maguire, who

was in jail himself at the time, 'But of course the British government chose to ignore it, as they always choose to ignore electoral victories by republicans. Democracy's OK when it suits them.'

When democracy doesn't suit them the British get out the guns and the jail keys. After Sands died his Westminster seat was won and held for two years by Sinn Fein's Owen Carron. When it became clear that Carron would again be a key figure in this week's elections, the RUC nicked him on gun charges. 'Local people saw that as an act of repression,' says Paul Corrigan. 'They held Owen on a trumped up charge, he was caught with nothing. I think people will rally round him.' After Carron was chosen as Sinn Fein's by-election candidate, the RUC thought the same. So they gave him bail.

VICIOUS ASSAULTS

One look at life in Fermanagh/South Tyrone shows Thatcher's deal with Dublin is another disguise for British terrorism against supporters of Irish freedom.

We found Francie Malloy, Sinn Fein's local director of elections, sitting in a green and white caravan in the nationalist town of Coalisland, County Tyrone. It was surrounded by 'council surveyors', dressed like the Sweeney in anoraks and cloth caps, who absently gazed away from his office. As we entered the caravan they swung their equipment round and 'surveyed' us intensely. The authorities are using every trick they know to tighten the screw on republicans.

'People who ring our office in Dungannon are getting the RUC barracks,' Malloy told us. 'And the vicious assaults on nationalist people are up since the Anglo-Irish deal, we've had two this week in Dungannon, one dislocated shoulder and one damaged neck. The RUC have been given the go-ahead from London to get stuck in.' It was the same story in Enniskillen. Paul Corrigan's house and farm were recently raided by the RUC. 'They took old council minutes, took one of my children's autograph books, took

my wife's family address book, took three broken car aerials and an old car number plate.' To get this damning evidence, eight carloads of armed officers held his family prisoner and ransacked his home. Perhaps they all wanted Carron's autograph.

Republicans laugh bitterly at the idea that the new accord will reform British repression in Northern Ireland. Take the 'reformed' rule that says the RUC will patrol with the Ulster Defence Regiment to keep the infamous Loyalist militia under control. Paul Corrigan told us of three incidents over one recent week in Fermanagh when unaccompanied UDR patrols fired at nationalists. On the first occasion the RUC came along afterwards and stole the victim's car. On the last the police turned up just after the shooting and, said Corrigan, 'Instead of sorting the business out they baton charged the young fellas who'd been shot at.'

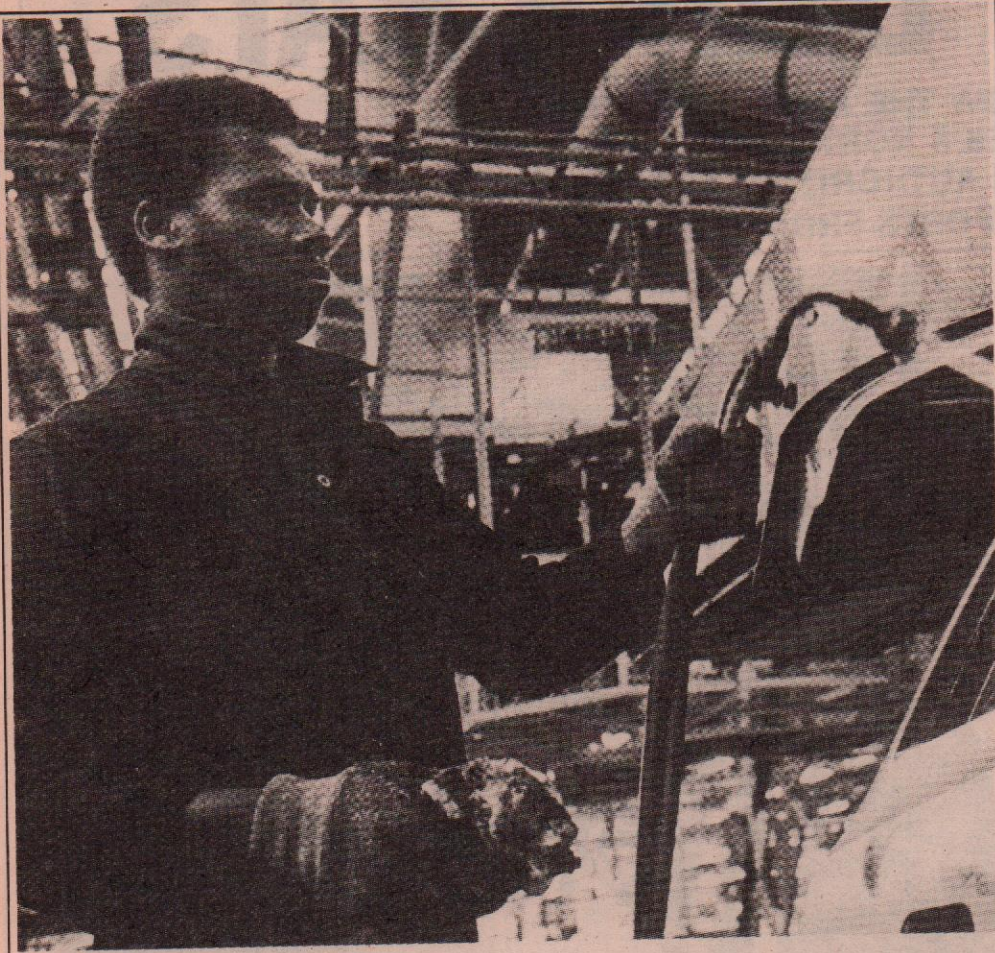
The only change since Thatcher's deal with Dublin has been the arrival of extra troops to rebuild RUC stations wrecked in the latest round of IRA operations. We drove through the village of Ballygawley just as two huge Army truckloads of rubble pulled away from what was left of the police fortress. Nationalists are not sorry to see such torture centres destroyed. 'Local people have suffered so much at the hands of the RUC that the police get very little sympathy when anything happens to them,' said Corrigan. 'Our voters are under no illusions, we've said on many occasions that we support the right of the IRA to take armed action against the forces of occupation.'

'The only way to bring peace is to take the immediate step of removing the British out of our country,' agreed Tony Maguire. 'The British government has brought us nothing but grief. That's what we're saying to the British people, and it's so simple.' That's what we're saying to them too, I assured him. We drove away from Fermanagh as darkness fell on the fields, and the people who voted for an IRA volunteer began another night of looking behind them for British terrorists.

Labour movement

CARWORKERS' JOBS ON THE LINE

FORD: TIME TO GET INTO GEAR



More than 37 000 workers have voted to reject Ford UK's new terms. Now they need to reject their unions' old strategy. *Andrew Calcutt and Keith Jackson report from Dagenham*

out there but we've got to stick it out this time.'

In the past union officials have taken votes to reject the employers' final pay offer as a mandate to organise strike action. But this year they are using the ballot result as a lever to re-open negotiations. When convenor Tony Doyle asked the rank and file 'to put us back round the negotiating table', he was evasive about what they could expect from another round of talks. Doyle's 'vital' priority is to safeguard his negotiating status, regardless of the cost to union members.

PAVING THE WAY

The union officials have made clear the limited extent of their opposition to Ford's proposals. 'Most of the changes will have to be accepted if the UK plants are to compete effectively,' writes Mick Murphy, chair of the national joint negotiating committee: 'That said, I believe the company's attempt to introduce such changes during our wages and conditions negotiations to be wholly unwise and for that reason I believe very strongly that they ought to be rejected.' Murphy's strategy is not based on the need for workers to fight and win, but on the protection of the negotiating process itself — and his stake in it. Workers can get 'displaced' so long as it doesn't disturb the work of Murphy's committee.

The equivocation of union committees has paved the way for management's plans. The proposed level of flexibility is only an extension of current working practices introduced with union backing. One TGWU

member told *tns* how he started at Ford's as a metal finisher. 'Then they took me off that because they wanted to cut down the labour, and put me on door hanging. Then I was off sick for five weeks and when I came back I was put downstairs doing spot welding — they're trying it on all the time.'

Only a few weeks ago the company used a slow-down on the Sierra track-speed to reduce the number of door hangers by 75 per cent. And when lineworkers struck over further job cuts, union officials put management's position and persuaded them to go back. Murphy doesn't deny the unions' policing role. Last October he told management that, 'The absence of a lineworkers' allowance is causing discontent which we are controlling.' Ford's 'no-strike' clause is only an extension of existing union practice.

UNION MANAGERS

The pathetic role played by today's unions seems a far cry from the days when Dagenham was a byword for militancy. But in one crucial respect the Dagenham unions have been consistent throughout the last 20 years. The starting point for their demands has always been the level of company profits. What's different today is the drop in Ford's profits, and consequently its unwillingness to pay out.

This year's wage claim document is a case in point. Drawn up by the trade union section of the national joint negotiating committee, it begins by disagreeing with management over Ford UK's real worth, then protests about the level of car imports into the UK, and defends productivity rates at Dagenham and Halewood. The real requirements of workers at Ford come way down the list of priorities, as if the document was written by a group of junior product managers.

The unions' identification with company interests has enabled Ford to assimilate every wave of workers' anger. The legacy of this process includes thousands of lost jobs — 13 000 since 1982. With defeat came demoralisation. Many of the workers who are left have learnt from bitter experience that the traditional trade union strategy just doesn't work.

TAKING ON THE MACHINE

Most of the unions at Ford's have already signed 'no-strike' deals in other companies. They have discarded militancy, and given up what was left of their independence. Ford workers' outright rejection of the deal demonstrates their willingness to fight. But the officials' readiness to talk on management's terms shows they are only out to defend their own status as negotiators.

To win, rank and file militants must take on the union machine as well as Ford management. We need to control our own struggles for a living wage, and ignore the bosses' problems of profitability. If Ford workers reclaim their unions, they can regain their leading place in the labour movement.

The most provocative part of Ford's offer is the 'no-strike' condition. For 20 years Ford's Dagenham plant was renowned for 'wildcat strikes' and militancy. The latest proposals are designed to kill off this tradition. Under the company's terms the unions would have to promise 'no economic disruption', and would be responsible 'for the automatic re-manning of jobs' during unofficial strikes.

Management proposals for job flexibility are another reason for the defiant mood among Ford workers, who voted 2:1 to reject the offer. The company wants to introduce a new contract for hourly-paid employees. Refusal to carry out any new tasks would result in disciplinary action. For a kick-off this means:

- electricians must do work outside their trade, and learn new skills
- workers in die maintenance, pressline repair and automation must do all three jobs
- workers in the body and assembly plants must be interchangeable with toolroom and shopfloor maintenance
- production operatives must keep work areas clean, identify and repair defective work.

'PICKING US OFF'

At Dagenham Ford's plan is to reduce the number of specified jobs from 500 to 57. Increased job flexibility would allow drastic job cuts and intensify the rate of work for those who remain on a job. On the shopfloor at Dagenham there's no mistaking what 'flexibility' means. One welder told *tns* he would have to do cleaning and point changing in addition to two spot welds, 12 welds, opening and closing the clamps and fitting a panel — on 38 Fiestas an hour. 'Cutting labour', is how one high-bay loader summed up the proposals: 'The offer is dangerous, they might as well pick us off one by one — that's what they're trying to do.'

In return for all this, Ford's claim to have made a 15 per cent pay offer. In fact the offer comprises 3 per cent on the base rate this year and 6 per cent in 1987, with 4 per cent productivity bonus and 2 per cent allowance for lineworkers — those who work on the track. And Ford's offer is binding for two years. In effect, Ford UK hopes to peg down

wages until 1988.

For working four extended night shifts, from 9.30pm to 7.15am, a grade C (semi-skilled) worker carrying out final touch-ups on the body shell now takes home about £125 a week. Welders in the body plant take home around £103 after five day shifts. Under the terms of the current offer they couldn't hope to top £120 before January 1988. This is no recompense for the sweat and boredom of work on the track, or the 100-mile drives some workers make to clock on. Workers require a living wage, not petty compensation for the brutalisation of their lives.

There is a mood of defiance in the Dagenham plant. One worker told *tns* he'd 'fight even if it means they put me outside the gates', and the others on his section felt the same: 'The company knows there's no jobs

SOCIAL TRENDS

WOMEN'S WASTED TIME

Being 'economically active' — according to the official definition — means either being at work or being registered as unemployed, but available for work. The 'economically inactive' include the sick, disabled and retired. They also include an additional category which applies to women only — 'keeping house'.

The proportion of women engaged in 'housekeeping' has declined from 50 per cent of all married women in 1971 to 28 per cent in 1984. However a significant proportion of single women — around 10 per cent — also do full-time unpaid household work. Nearly 3.5 million women work exclusively in their own homes.

Being 'economically inactive' does not mean doing nothing. 'Keeping house' means an average 35 hours hard work a week. But women's work in the home is isolated from the work of the rest of society, and the women who have to do it are isolated from the wider life of society. The fantastic waste

of human resources resulting from the privatisation of household work and its low-tech inefficient character is even greater than the waste resulting from mass unemployment. Yet while the unemployment problem is acknowledged by every politician, trade

According to statistics just published in the official *Social Trends*, 72 per cent of people who are 'economically inactive' in Britain are women, writes *Kate Marshall*

union leader and bishop, women's household burden is accepted as though it were natural.

Social Trends shows that even women who are 'economically active' outside the home are obliged to take a disproportionate share when it comes to 'keeping house'. Women do most of the day-to-day running of the home and childcare. A significant survey finding is the tendency of married men to 'overstate the extent to which they shared housework'.

Although men do more housework now than they did 20 years ago, they still avoid the worst jobs — washing and ironing, cooking, cleaning, shopping. Yet rather than suggest simply that men should do their fair share it is important for women to demand that these jobs are carried out by society — with childcare from birth as the top priority. If women were freed from childcare by the universal provision of nurseries their enforced 'economic inactivity' would end.

EP THOMPSON DOES THE CONTINENTAL



CHRIS BLACK

EP Thompson, the leading force behind European Nuclear Disarmament, summed up at End's packed London meeting last week. His theme: the Westland affair is all about star wars. The American helicopter giant Sikorsky has a stake in star wars technology and its Westland bid is another example of how US defence corporations are 'hoovering up' all Britain's indigenous skills in science, technology and design. Our nation's civilian talents in these areas are now being twisted to military ends, claims Thompson, and in the process British manufacturing industry is being turned into a no-hope assembly operation for American products.

America, Thompson argues, is trying to reduce Britain and Europe to the status of third-rate metal-bashers. End's task, then? To forge alliances with scientists and computer experts hostile to American star wars rip-offs such as Westland. And End's slogans? Not just against star wars and nuclear weapons, but for the proper use of British brains to manufacture socially-useful civilian products. Through trade in such products, Thompson concluded, Britain could form a fresh axis with the third world which could, independently from the militaristic superpowers, take third world peoples out of famine and poverty for good.

DISASTROUS DIRECTION

Thompson's speech was greeted with rapturous applause. But the direction he gives to Britain's peace movement spells disaster for the working class. Thompson might deny it, but his voice is another addition to a growing chorus — Michael Heseltine included — which supports Europe's hi-tech industries against America's. And however it is packaged, such a campaign can only lead to supporting the aggressive measures necessary to protect European capitalism against its rivals.

'Can star wars defend Europe?' is the name of a special GLC symposium to be held next month, entrance fee £7.50. The symposium, which is to be treated to a keynote speech by Labour's foreign affairs heavyweight Denis Healey, will, like Thompson, give this question a resentful and resounding 'NO!' But what does the 'defence' of Europe mean?

The Western European powers are not American satellites. They are rapacious plunderers in their own right, responsible for plundering large sections of the third world. They need to 'defend' themselves against the resistance of those they oppress and against their rivals, such as America and Japan, in the third world power game.

Campaigns to 'defend' such slaveowning

The peace movement is backing Europe against American militarism. And that, argues James Wood, is like saying you'd rather be damned by the devil you know

states serve as a war-cry. In 'defending' Europe, Denis Healey will not only reject Reagan's star wars: he will propose alternatives of his own. We can be sure that the symposium will not discuss the 'defence' of Europe against Ireland, Argentina, Chad and New Caledonia — all of them countries with territory under British and French military occupation. But military occupation of the third world, plus a posture of greater military 'independence' from America, are the only possible results of Healey's efforts to 'defend' Europe.

The discussion on star wars has become a discussion of how best to defend Europe militarily. It shows the increasing convergence between the peace movement (which Thompson admitted has 'failed' to do more than outlive three defence ministers since Cruise arrived), the Greater London Council movement of left-wing careerists (shortly to be abolished) and the Labour Party.

Hilary Wainwright, the final speaker before Thompson at the End rally, drew this out very clearly. The leader of the GLC's 'Popular Planning Unit', Wainwright is a specialist in diverting workers' resistance to redundancies into a futile quest to convert arms factories into factories that turn out socially useful products. Appealing for support to those members of Britain's youth who have been moved by Bob Geldof's Band Aid, she argued that the peace movement had to widen its emphasis from Cruise missiles to 'the arms economy'. American arms technology, she contended, cripples British manufacturing. It had given America and Japan robot factories, but 'wasted the skills of our scientists'. What Britain ought to be doing is developing a different kind of computerised manufacturing, such as that pioneered by consumer products cooperatives in northern Italy.

What the Americans and Japanese do to Europe with cars and video recorders,

Wainwright says, Europe must do back in furniture and clothing. From Britain's Habitat to Italy's Benetton, Europe must defend itself.

This is a most ominous development. Of course, such a 'defence' of Europe is often couched in peaceful terms. EP Thompson himself demurred at the possibility of Heseltine leading Britain into a West European military block. But the radicals in CND make it quite clear nowadays that this is what they have in mind. In the latest issue of CND's *Sanity*, Peter Tatchell of Labour's soft left calls for the countries of Europe to give each other 'the pledge of mutual support and solidarity in the event of any member state being subject to unprovoked aggression'. What is needed is the removal of all American troops and bases from European soil and their replacement with a 'European collective security agreement'.

EUROPEAN STAR WARS

Tatchell, like the Kinnock leadership he supports, looks forward to a Britain and a Europe that are properly defended. He wants a whole new, conventional weapon-based posture drawn up for Europe 'as the divergence of interests between Europe and the United States intensifies and a stronger European identity emerges'. Tatchell need not worry. For all their feuds in the EEC, the Europeans are already preparing to take on all-comers militarily. Collaboration embraces helicopters and every other piece of modern military hardware.

West Germany's chancellor Kohl and France's president Mitterrand will meet in Paris at the end of February to discuss joint manoeuvres, joint officer training and — yes, 'a joint anti-missile defence system'. No, Europe is saying, president Reagan's Strategic Defence Initiative cannot defend Europe. But a European version of star wars — 'anti-missile defence' — can.

There might seem to be a world of difference between Thompson's talk of Europe liberating the third world and the Mitterrand/Kohl plot to equip themselves for foreign wars. But as the rivalry between the USA and Western Europe heats up, the anti-Americanism they share will bring all the forces backing Continental capitalism together against the 'common foe'.

The chain from the platform of London's Conway Hall stretches to Paris and Bonn. The links in the chain are formed by ex-defence secretaries, royal institutions, corporatists, boffins, ecologists, municipal socialists and union officials. A motley lot, it's true. But if the peace movement has its way, many more will sign up as soldiers in the transatlantic battles to come.

THE PROPAGANDA WAR

THE CHUNNEL

The channel tunnel might have been the idea of Napoleon, Emperor of France, but it was one of which the Russian revolutionary Lenin fully approved. Writing in 1913, Lenin observed that London and Paris were the foremost cities of the most civilised countries in the world, yet they were separated by an eight to nine hour journey. He noted that engineers regarded the construction of a tunnel as feasible, that 'the capitalists of Britain and France had mountains of money', and that 'profit from capital invested in such an enterprise would be absolutely certain'.

'What then is holding the matter up?' he inquired. It seems that the same sort of people who oppose the project today on grounds that it might lead to an influx of international terrorists as well as rabid foxes, then feared that a tunnel would 'facilitate the invasion of Britain by enemy troops'.

As Lenin said, 'The madness and blindness of the civilised nations makes astonishing reading.' Observing that 'modern technical devices' could make any tunnel safe against invasion 'within seconds', Lenin commented on the way the British bourgeoisie, 'in order to hoodwink the workers', was 'compelled to frighten the British people with idiotic tales about "invasion"'.

Lenin was amazed how 'a whole group of capitalists' who stood 'to lose "good business" through the digging of the tunnel' were 'doing their utmost to wreck this plan and hold up technical progress'. He concluded that 'the civilised nations' had 'driven themselves into the position of barbarians'.

Have Thatcher and Mitterrand now delivered their 'civilised nations' from Lenin's scathing indictment? Only up to a point. The tunnel will undoubtedly be a triumph of civil engineering and a significant technological advance. It will leave a monument to Thatcher's Tory government in the same way that Livingstone's Labour GLC leaves behind the magnificent Thames barrier. At a time of rising unemployment and growing British insularity the construction of the channel tunnel will provide welcome jobs and strengthen Britain's international connections. It will make overseas travel faster and potentially cheaper and by making contacts between people in Britain and the continent easier it could help to undermine the chauvinism of British society.

Yet just as the decision not to build the tunnel in 1913 was a sign of capitalist barbarism, the decision to build it in 1986 is a sign of capitalist desperation. The British entrepreneurs who did not dare to build the tunnel when they had a global empire, or even when they were flush with cash during the post-war boom, now regard the tunnel as 'good business' at a time when the rest of British manufacturing faces ruin. The only people who can make money in Britain today seem to be musack dispenser Andrew Lloyd Webber and stripped pine and futon king Terence Conran. Meanwhile the men who made Britain the workshop of the world are forced to seek salvation through a massively state-subsidised hole in the ground.

'The Britishers' fear of the tunnel is fear of themselves,' wrote Lenin. If he were alive today he might write that the British capitalists' desire for the tunnel reveals a fear of their own future. 'Capitalist barbarism' was 'stronger than civilisation' in 1913 and it still is. 'But', as Lenin concluded, the new order 'is growing and will emerge stronger in spite of all.'

THE FASCIST MYTH

'W'e believe that the growth in racist violence is not unconnected with developments inside the extreme right-wing fascist organisations, and their attempts to increase their activity in East London.' (Community Alliance for Police Accountability Annual Report, 1985)

'The facts show...the very real correlation between membership of fascist groups and racial crimes.' (*The murderers are amongst us*, Searchlight special publication)

Today the organisations of the far-right are in a feeble state compared to a decade ago. In the mid-seventies the National Front boasted a membership of more than 20 000. Membership was matched by electoral success, especially in the local elections where in some areas of East London the National Front replaced the Liberals as the third party. In the Greater London Council elections in 1977 the NF won 100 000 votes.

By 1979 the established parties had moved to reclaim the ground occupied by the NF. Labour politicians declared their commitment to firm immigration controls and Margaret Thatcher proclaimed her sympathy with those Britons who felt that their national culture was in danger of being 'swamped' by immigrants. In the 1979 election 303 NF candidates got an average of 633 votes each and all lost their deposits. The fascists fared even worse in the 1983 elections. A total of 110 NF and British National Party candidates won an average of 366 votes, barely half the 1979 figure.

The decline of the National Front was accompanied by its organisational disintegration. Party leader John Tyndall, who had tried — rather unsuccessfully — to cultivate a respectable high Tory image, left the party to found the New National Front (later renamed the British National Party). The NF itself dissolved into a series of factions. In 1984 Martin Webster, 'that yob from Peckham' as the more respectable NF leaders dubbed him and the fascists' most successful publicist, was expelled after bitter internal wrangles. A new middle class leadership, including Oxbridge graduates Ian Anderson and Nick Griffin, and North London Poly philosopher Patrick

Harrington, took over. The NF's token proletarian — Joe Pearce — was imprisoned last month for publishing racist material, after he was left to take the rap in court by the leadership.

The new regime has steered the NF in a more populist direction. It now supports green politics and animal rights, and opposes American nuclear weapons, while retaining its traditional racism and anti-semitism and its hostility to the IRA. Yet none of this has halted the decline in membership. By 1980 the combined membership of all the far-right organisations stood at 8000, less than half that of the NF three years previously. By the beginning of 1985 the NF's membership was barely 1000.

It is at the level of street activities that the decline of the far-right has been most evident. In the seventies the NF could guarantee to attract a four-figure attendance on any demonstration. Yet all 17 national marches and rallies in 1980 attracted less than 6000 people in total. Last year only 150 turned up to confront the Bloody Sunday demonstration in Leicester and the 60 who appeared at the Irish Freedom Movement march in August were soon seen off. The joint mobilisation by a number of far-right groups for November's Cenotaph parade was greeted as a triumph when around 800 showed up.

The organisations of the far-right today are tiny, fragmented and have no political coherence. So what is the evidence that the fascists are largely responsible for the racist attacks?

There have been a number of highly publicised convictions of known NF members for racist attacks. In 1980 five known fascists were convicted of racist attacks; last year the figure was seven. Yet, even according to the home office's underestimation, there were more than 7000 racist attacks in 1984, a figure which would certainly have been topped last year.

Other reports show NF convictions make up a tiny proportion of racist attacks and only a small

proportion of the total number of convictions.

Searchlight, the national anti-fascist magazine, recently produced a well-publicised pamphlet, *The murderers are amongst us*. It set out to provide a 'comprehensive picture of the crimes committed by fascists and their allies'. In fact 35 per cent of the convictions listed in the pamphlet are of people who are not members of any fascist organisation. Another 12 per cent is composed of 'sympathisers' or former members of such organisations. Barely half the crimes committed are by members of any fascist organisation or racist group.

There is no doubt that there are a number of committed racists in fascist organisations who are capable of carrying out racist attacks. But the organisational weakness of the fascist groups at a time of mounting racist violence suggests that the vast majority of racist attacks are carried out by people who are not involved in any fascist organisation. This is indeed the experience of Workers Against Racism which has been actively involved in fighting racist attacks in East London and elsewhere over the past five years.

Investigation of even some of the most serious racist incidents last year revealed no NF involvement. In May the Aslam family were burnt out of their home in Walthamstow. Two 17-year old youths living in the same street and unconnected with any far-right organisation have since been charged in relation to the attack. In August the Miah's flat in Electric House, Bow, was destroyed by racist arsonists. Previous arson attempts at Electric House had been by teenagers from local estates. Chandrakant Randerwala's shop in East Ham has been under attack over the past five years by local youths who are not involved in any fascist groups.

The experience of Workers Against Racism confirms that the vast majority of racial harassment, from routine verbal abuse through physical assault to arson, is carried out by ordinary British racists.

WORKERS AGAINST RACISM OR QUANGOS AGAIN?

The consensus that racist attacks are caused by t

- exaggerates the role of fascist
- underestimates the role of racist
- leads to narrow racist

For Workers Against Racism the problem of racist attacks is reduced to the moronic individualism of British politics. The people are the only force that hold sway against the spe

THE REALITY OF RACIST ATTACKS

While the notion of the 'fascist threat' is patently a myth, the rise in racist attacks is very much for real. Official statistics on racist attacks are notoriously unreliable because of the reluctance of many black people to report such incidents to the police. However there is a wealth of information showing the level and ferocity of racist attacks. A poll for London Weekend Television in December found that one in four Asians living in the boroughs of Redbridge, Waltham Forest, Newham and Tower Hamlets had been racially attacked, one in 10 seriously. Nearly two-thirds of the respondents expected to be attacked.

According to the Metropolitan Police commissioner's report there were 1555 racist incidents in London in 1984, compared to 127 in 1983; the first six months of 1985 saw 11 incidents in Tower Hamlets alone. Over the whole year 495 racist incidents were reported to the police monitoring group in Tower Hamlets, 28 per cent up on the previous year. In the first three months of 1985 reported racist attacks i



NF MEMBERSHIP FIGURES SHOW THE MASTER RACE IS AN ENDANGERED SPECIES

RACIST ATTACKS

AGAINST RACISM AGAINST FASCISM?

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ANTI-FASCIST SHADOW BOXING

In recent years many anti-racist activists have been drawn into state-funded community relations bodies, police monitoring groups and other anti-racist quangos. In East London the Community Alliance for Police Accountability in Tower Hamlets and the Newham Monitoring Project are the main official anti-racist organisations. Both receive substantial funds from the GLC and other state agencies and employ several full-time workers. Last year these bodies got together with *Searchlight*, another GLC-sponsored enterprise, to launch Anti-Fascist Action. At a time when the various anti-racist groups were feeling considerable insecurity because of the impending demise of the GLC and lacked a clear focus for activity, they hoped to use a campaign against the NF to rally wider support.

Having chosen an illusory target, the anti-fascist organisation had no choice but to organise artificial activities.

Anti-Fascist Action's main activity in its first six months was to protest against the NF parade at the Cenotaph on Remembrance Day. Apart from this attempt to show that anti-fascists were more patriotic than the 'Nazis', AFA has confined itself to leafleting, providing 'protection' for left-wing meetings (though when the organisers of a women's conference at County Hall requested AFA stewards, they were informed that AFA had no women members and therefore could not oblige), and exposing how the NF candidate in the Newcastle parliamentary by-election forged the signatures of his sponsors.

It sometimes appears that AFA seeks to invent a fascist threat where none exists simply to justify its existence. For example it singles out the antics of a notorious British National Party thug from Dagenham and gives the impression that a few fascists are masterminding all the racist attacks in East London.

Focusing on the fascists allows the anti-racist movement to ignore the real problem of racist

attacks. Every Sunday morning AFA activists in East London leaflet in Brick Lane to protest about the handful of old men who have been selling fascist papers there for decades. Yet the same activists have consistently argued against Elwar's proposals for practical measures to stop racist attacks at Daneford and other schools only a few hundred yards away. And while Elwar has been organising to counter the racists on the surrounding estates, and providing defence for families under attack, the local AFA has been conspicuously absent.

The narrow anti-fascist focus of state-funded anti-racist activity fits in well with the other activities of the anti-racist quangos. The East London anti-racist quangos were established in the early eighties in response to the growing willingness of black people to fight back against racist attacks and the growing success of Elwar's movement for workers' defence. The quangos incorporated local black activists together with middle class professionals into a framework which would keep anti-racist activity under firm establishment control. They work hand in hand with the local Labour Party machine and with other state agencies. 'We work closely with the Labour Party', observes the latest Capa annual report, 'and have close working relationships with officers of the GLC police committee.'

The quangos concentrate on 'casework' with the individual victims of racist attacks and on campaigning for police accountability. While the police are responsible for a large number of racist attacks in East London and turn a blind eye to a great many more, the quangos want to turn them into an anti-racist force. They are often sharply critical of the police, but only within the limits defined by their role as a buffer between the police and the black community. In practice the quangos act as a means of containment and as a source of intelligence for the police and other state agencies.

Quango reports continually stress the fact that 'we are not anti-police'. Capa emphasises that it is 'the responsibility of the police to catch and apprehend the criminals' and calls for the police to put their full technological resources into the fight against racism:

'Sophisticated surveillance equipment could be used to monitor the situation on the estates where Asian families are most under attack. Undercover policing methods and personnel such as the Special Branch could be employed to identify the perpetrators and their sympathisers.'

In a television interview after the Ilford murders in July the head of the Newham Monitoring Project called for the Special Branch to be drafted into the area. As many black people know from bitter experience, the only consequence of inviting more police surveillance and repression will be more intense

harassment of the black community and of anti-racists.

It is a measure of the irrelevance of the quangos that while black people in East London are daily battling for their survival against a very real racist onslaught, the anti-racist groups have been forced to create an imaginary fascist threat to ensure their own political survival. AFA is merely continuing the fine tradition of British liberal 'anti-racism' — ignoring the racists, looking to the state to fight the battles and leaving blacks to fend for themselves.

REAL ANTI- RACIST ACTION

For Workers Against Racism direct working class action is the only really effective way to fight racism. Our objective is to mobilise workers to tackle the racists head on and to create a new climate of opinion which is as hostile to racist behaviour as the current atmosphere of British society is conducive to it.

For example on the Bancroft estate in East London, Workers Against Racism is organising against racist attacks. Working with local tenants, black and white, especially young people, we are beginning to turn the tide against the racists. By patrolling the local areas under attack we have deterred further direct assaults. By challenging racist prejudices in door to door discussions and arguments we are beginning to build up a wider anti-racist sentiment which makes it difficult for the racists to operate.

We are opposed to calls for police action against racists. The police are useless in combating racism. In fact they are worse than useless. Countless Elwar supporters recall how appeals to the police for help have led to hostile interrogations, passport checks and attempts to blame attacks on the victims rather than action to apprehend the offenders. Many others can testify that workers' action organised by Elwar is an effective way of stopping the terror of racist attacks.

The wider political campaign to isolate the racists is just as important as physical defence. Statements by British politicians, press and police constantly reinforce racist prejudices in society. Tory Party chair Norman Tebbit blames blacks for Britain's disintegrating social fabric. Metropolitan Police commissioner Kenneth Newman declares that blacks are 'in need of greater discipline'. Labour leader Neil Kinnock blames 'tribalism'. These are the notions that make racism and racist attacks part of everyday life for black people in this country.

For Workers Against Racism the campaign against immigration controls has been the cutting edge of our counter-offensive against the barrage of racist propaganda.

The Tories and the Labour Party and the Alliance are united in their commitment to regulations that exclude people from Britain on the ground of their racial origin. These racist laws ratify the view that immigration is to blame for problems of unemployment and housing and provide a cover for the systematic repression of black people carried out by the immigration authorities, the police and ordinary British racists. Arguing against immigration controls is central to mobilising resistance to every form of racial discrimination and harassment.

So long as the anti-racist movement concentrates on the idiot fringe of British politics, the racists will continue unchecked. Workers Against Racism has taken on the task of challenging the real racists. It's about time we buried the sham that passes for anti-racism in this country and ensured real solidarity with black people.

Kenan Malik



WORKERS AGAINST RACISM FIGHTS FOR DIRECT ACTION AGAINST RACISTS AT DANEFORD SCHOOL

PERES IN LONDON

THATCHER'S ANSWER TO REAGAN'S GUNBOATS

While US destroyers patrol the Libyan coast to underline Reagan's threat to use armed force in the Middle East, European leaders prefer a more diplomatic approach. After six months of Palestinian hijackings, Israeli raids and US sabre-rattling, European leaders are desperate for peace talks to reduce the tension in the region which threatens their vital oil supplies and export markets.

The Peres visit gives the Tory government a chance to show off its credentials as a 'peacemaker' at a time of turmoil in the Middle East. Thatcher hopes to strengthen her hand in the Middle Eastern diplomacy stakes by persuading Peres to make some conciliatory gesture towards Egyptian president Mubarak's plan for a peaceful settlement to the Palestinian conflict. Whether they use talks like Thatcher, or gunboats like Reagan, Western leaders' objective in the Middle East is always the same — to hang on to their stake in the oppression of the Arab world.

Ever since the USA helped set up the Israeli state on Palestinian soil in 1948, the West has deployed brutal coercion and diplomatic intrigue to frustrate the struggle of the Palestinian people against Israel and to suppress Arab support for the Palestinian cause.

Israel, financed and armed by the USA, has done most of the dirty work, while Western politicians cultivate polite diplomatic relations with Arab leaders to neutralise the hostility aroused by Israel's exploits. Through its diplomatic relations with Arab regimes from Saudi Arabia to Egypt the West has isolated the Palestinian struggle from wider Arab backing and fostered deep divisions among rival Arab rulers.



MUBARAK OF EGYPT

The peace initiative launched by Mubarak and Jordan's King Hussein follows the set pattern. It was prompted by the West's defeats in the region in the early eighties. In 1982 Israel, backed by America, invaded Lebanon to destroy the Palestine Liberation Organisation in its last stronghold in the Middle East and to establish a pro-Israeli regime in Lebanon. The invasion failed against the resistance of the Lebanese Muslim militias. American forces had to beat a hasty retreat after 241 marines were blown to pieces in Beirut in 1983. And Israeli troops completed their withdrawal last May.

The defeat in Lebanon exposed the West's weakness in the Middle East. Israeli defence minister Yitzhak Shamir had promised to impose a 'final solution' to the Palestinian problem, and failed. The debacle in Lebanon showed that even Israel's powerful military machine, backed by US marines and destroyers, cannot cope with the scale of current Arab resistance. The collapse of Lebanon's Christian pro-Western regime in the turmoil unleashed by the invasion was a shock for the West. The question now is which country will crumble next in the climate of crisis hanging over the region.

The latest Western-sponsored peace in-

As Thatcher prepares to play host to Israeli prime minister Shimon Peres this week, Sabena Norton looks at Britain's attempt to play a bigger role in Middle Eastern affairs

initiative represents a feeble attempt to contain Middle Eastern conflict and retrieve some of the ground lost since the early eighties. No serious Western politician believes that the Palestinian-Israeli conflict can be resolved diplomatically. The continuing resistance of the Palestinian people after 40 years of British, American and Israeli terror shows that they are not easily swayed from their fight for freedom. But promises of concessions to the Palestinians do serve a useful purpose for the Western powers.

Peace talks can help shore up shaky Arab rulers like Mubarak and Hussein who face strong opposition at home from those who identify with the Palestinian cause. Talks can deepen existing divisions in the PLO leadership, strengthening the moderates. And they serve to shift the focus of PLO activity from organising action in Israeli-occupied areas to shadow-boxing at Western conference tables.

It costs the West nothing to promise the Earth to the Palestinians. In fact there has been no lack of Western promises to the PLO during almost four decades of Israeli oppression. The problem is the promises have only filled the gap between rounds of anti-Arab terror.

Under the terms of the Camp David Agreement between Israel and Egypt concluded under the aegis of the USA in 1979, the 'final status' of the Israeli-occupied West Bank and Gaza was open for negotiation during a 'five-year transition period'. No negotiations ever took place.

Instead, having neutralised Egypt on its southern flank, Israel began its war-drive against Lebanon in the north and extended its settlements in the occupied territories. The only real effect Western promises have ever had is to provide an excuse for Arab leaders to wash their hands of the Palestinian people and close their eyes to Western terror.

In the current round of peace diplomacy the 'promise' is of some ill-defined Palestinian involvement in running a Jordanian-controlled West Bank at some unspecified date in the future in exchange for Palestinian recognition of the state of Israel now. The West Bank is occupied by Israel — and no Israeli government will cede occupied territory except at the point of a gun. The only merit of the spurious scheme is that it provides the West with a pretext to pressurise the PLO leadership to abandon the armed struggle against Israel. Egypt and Jordan are being used to endow the West's



PERES OF ISRAEL



THATCHER THE DIPLOMAT

scheme with an aura of Arab support.

Britain is well placed to play an important part in these manoeuvres. Britain's low-key role in the Middle East since it was squeezed out by the USA in the late fifties means it does not attract the same hatred from the Arab masses as does the USA. Reagan could never contemplate strolling around a Palestinian refugee camp. But when Thatcher visited West Bank camps last summer her reception, though cool, was relatively calm.

Britain's close relations with some of the key actors in the game are another big plus. Jordan's King Hussein, who has ruled as a British protégé since 1952, is now Britain's most valuable asset in the diplomacy stakes. Through Hussein Britain has been able to put pressure on moderate Palestinian leaders in the occupied West Bank, whose collaboration is indispensable to any sell-out of the Palestinian struggle. Britain has used its influence with Hussein to push for direct negotiations between Jordan, hand-picked Palestinian moderates and Israel about the future of the Palestinian people. This approach aims to outmanoeuvre the official PLO leadership which, despite its conciliatory approach to the peace plan, remains a focus of Palestinian unity that the West wants destroyed for good.

We will have to wait and see what schemes Thatcher and Peres hatch during their meeting in London this week. But one thing is certain: Britain's peace moves are just as lethal as Israel's iron fist and America's war-games.



KING HUSSEIN MEETS THE POWER BEHIND THE THRONE

SOUTH AFRICA

COUP IN LESOTHO

The apartheid regime moved to throttle the tiny mountain kingdom of Lesotho after the spread of guerrilla activity by the African National Congress within South Africa. Since five whites were killed by a landmine near the Lesotho border before Christmas, president Botha has been under pressure to take action and allay the anger of his supporters. With the bravado of a neighbourhood bully, the mighty apartheid state chose to hit the weakest of its neighbours.

The economic blockade was meant to force the Lesotho government to sign a 'peace' treaty outlawing the harbouring of ANC refugees.

The weekend's events mean South Africa's bully-boy tactics seem to have worked. As supplies of food, petrol and spare parts dried up the Lesotho government was plunged into crisis. On Monday Major-General Lekhanye, a long-time opponent of the government's pro-ANC stance, overthrew premier Jonathan

and seized power.

Lesotho has been a haven for ANC refugees since the organisation was banned in 1960. An estimated 11 500 blacks took refuge in Lesotho after the Soweto uprising in 1976. The apartheid regime has launched frequent raids into Lesotho to kill ANC

This week Chief Leabua Jonathan of Lesotho was deposed in a military coup sparked by a South African economic blockade. Charles Longford explains why

refugees. In 1983 more than 40 were shot dead in their beds in a single helicopter night raid and last Christmas nine blacks were gunned down in a similar operation at a Christmas party in the capital of Maseru. These methods have tended to attract a great deal of hostile Western comment. So the South African government wants Lesotho to expel ANC refugees instead.

Lesotho had little choice but to accede to Pretoria's wishes. Although formally independent — as a result of its past role as a British protectorate in South Africa — the country is at the mercy of the apartheid regime. It depends for more than 90 per cent of its trade and supplies on South Africa. In recent years right-wing ruler Leabua Jonathan — who used to rely on the South African police to sort out his enemies at home — attempted to distance his government from the apartheid regime. By projecting a more anti-South African stance and welcoming ANC refugees, Jonathan sought to placate his opponents. His removal by the pro-South African Major-General Lekhanye will facilitate Botha's plans to deprive the ANC of a vital base in the heart of South Africa.

Botha can easily strangle Lesotho. But his attack on his weak neighbour will only provoke still greater hostility and turmoil in the region. Black resistance is now forcing the apartheid state to take ever more brutal steps to secure its survival.

REVIEWS

THE DEBT CRISIS

MONEY CAN'T MAKE THE WORLD GO ROUND

Harold Lever and Christopher Huhne, *Debt and danger: the world financial crisis*, Penguin Special £2.95

Although it is further from the headlines than two years ago, the problem of the third world's unpayable debt still has the power to make international financiers tremble. In 1984 the debt crisis brought the world's money markets to the brink of collapse. The solutions then implemented by the International Monetary Fund are today losing their efficacy.

Debt and danger is a useful addition to the new range of Penguin specials. The authors are Lord Lever of Manchester, formerly a member of Harold Wilson's cabinet, and *Guardian* financial writer Christopher Huhne. They provide a good historical survey of the origins of the debt crisis. They also dismiss some of the more fashionable



AT THE BOTTOM OF THE DEBT MOUNTAIN

arguments which downplay its seriousness. Instead they concentrate on showing how deep-seated the problem is and on the difficulties facing both bankers and debtors. They point out that the rescheduling of payments due around 1982 so that they become due in 1987, the first 'solution' to the crisis, has only postponed the day of reckoning.

At the next round of rescheduling agreement will be almost impossible. The banks have to protect their balance sheets by restricting loans in

order to give the appearance of sensible accounting. The debtors on the other hand need more and more foreign currency, including more loans, just to pay the interest on their debts. The other main source of foreign exchange — export of goods — is increasingly closed off as the US economy slows down and imports fewer goods from abroad.

The workers and peasants of the third world are not prominent in Lever and Huhne's account. But the real danger to the international financial system in its attempts to resolve the debt crisis comes from a revolt by the masses of the third world, particularly in Latin America. Lever and Huhne are well aware that social unrest in the debtor nations is mounting as a result of the austerity policies already imposed by the bankers on third world governments.

Lever and Huhne convey the sense of despair within the establishment about the debt problem. They show that each 'solution' contains the seeds of its own destruction. Whatever the international bankers do can only make matters worse in the end. There are only two possible solutions to the crisis. There is the bankers' solution of making the masses pay or there is our solution — getting rid of the system that has reached the impasse so accurately described by Lever and Huhne.

James Malone

THE MACHINE AGE

THE DEVIL AND ALL HIS WORKS

Humphrey Jennings, *Pandaemonium: the coming of the machine as seen by contemporary observers*, Andre Deutsch £12.95

Reviewing a book which brings together the opinion of the Louvre voiced by Humphrey Davy, inventor of the miners' safety lamp (he thought it a wonderful collection of frames), Samuel Bamford's recollection of the Peterloo massacre, and John Milton's description of the construction of the city of fallen angels — *Pandaemonium* — seems a daunting task.

If like me, you are suspicious of books made up entirely of extracts from other sources, you might expect *Pandaemonium* to be a mish-mash thrown together to make a few pounds for the author and his publishers. But in this case you would be

wrong. *Pandaemonium* is a difficult and flawed work, but above all it is exciting. Its 372 separate short texts demand and repay the reader's close attention.

Humphrey Jennings made his name in the thirties and forties as a documentary film-maker. He was a pioneer of the Mass Observation movement which documented aspects of British social life in the thirties, seeking to discover 'an anthropology of our own people'. Its method was to write reports on any and every aspect of daily life. The documentor gave the content of these reports shape and expression by their association with each other.

Jennings carried over this technique into his film-making and later into his books. In *Pandaemonium*, an attempt to evoke the experience of industrialisation, the texts — or images as he preferred to call them — perform the same function as the Mass Observation reports.

Jennings claimed that his purpose and his choice was 'entirely objective', but that he found a theme emerging from the collection 'almost

spontaneously' — that the coming of the machine was 'destroying something in life'. This assertion indicates the strengths and weaknesses of *Pandaemonium*. On the positive side there is the formal innovation and range of imagery against which have to be counted the methodological chaos and fear of industrialisation which imbues the work.

Whatever Jennings felt about the machine age he was not a slavish admirer of rural idyll and his own images of the railway, industry and the natural forces harnessed by human creativity give a much richer and less one-sided view of industrialisation than he 'objectively' intended. Jennings had about him much of the spirit of the liberal English intellectual born to regret the security that shaped his outlook, but who could not help admiring the rich vein of insight and association he uncovered. Like Milton's vision of the city of *Pandaemonium* Jennings' book glitters with human achievement.

Alan Harding

FILM

KITSCH QUEENS AND MACHO MEN

Kiss of The Spider Woman, Hector Babenco (director)

'I don't explain my movies — it ruins the emotions,' says Molina, setting up one of the oppositions on which this film is based (if you'll pardon the explanation). Warm feeling against cold reason, the sensitive romantic against the hard-nosed politico, the feeble victim against the courageous fighter, the personal against the political, the form against the content; these are the oppositions starkly embodied by the two inmates of a brutal prison in some South American police state. As oppositions they are of course in many ways false. Molina (William Hurt), a gay window dresser serving time for seducing a boy, is an extravagant queen. Valentin (Raul Julia) is a political prisoner, an ex-journalist recently turned revolutionary. Macho and dour, he just wants to keep his mouth shut.

The movies Molina won't explain are those he 'tells' to Valentin in their cell, in particular a Nazi propaganda piece set in war-time France. Deploying his considerable theatrical resources and the depth of his identification with the 'marvellous German officers' and 'cabaret stars of the highest rank' he conjures up a 'divine' fantasy world. He does it in such a captivating way that Valentin, who is repelled by the fascist politics and outraged by Molina's indifference to them, is soon hooked on Molina's performance and urging him on. We too see the films within the film so that we can share the reactions of both men. They are very much the embellished and exaggerated product of Molina's kitsch fancy rather than any real historical films, but as such provide some amusement and also dissipate that claustrophobic effect normally associated with prison cell films.

Kiss of The Spider Woman is based on a novel of that name written in 1978 by Manuel Puig who, like Hector Babenco, is an Argentinian living in Brazil. In the film at least (screenplay by Leonard Schrader) the opposites are resolved as Molina



comes to love Valentin and ultimately to join his fight against the forces which oppress them both, and Valentin comes to appreciate the value of Molina's perceptions and strategies for survival, and to care for him deeply. It is a moving process, but much of the dramatic force of the resolution derives from the initial sleight of hand in setting up the two men as one-dimensional stereotypes. Molina is the limp-wristed inadequate who wants to have a 'husband who is the boss' to come and live with him and his mother. Valentin is the repressed brute who can only mutter 'my life is the struggle' and is scathingly intolerant of those outside the 'noble cause'.

At first Molina is by far the most forceful and sympathetic character, puncturing Valentin's backward assumptions at will. The fact that Molina is played by a non-Latin actor reinforces a rather smug feel to the critique of the South American macho revolutionary, at least as consumed by London audiences. Certainly his observations that if men were more like women there would be less violence in the world and that love always comes before politics had a palpable resonance in the crowd I saw it with. It is very

refreshing then to see the characters develop in a much more even and interesting way as the film wears on. As Valentin gets closer to Molina he repeatedly urges him to fight back and never be humiliated or degraded again. And in the end Molina accepts that his life as he has been living it amounts to 'waiting for nothing' and resolves to get involved.

The film is worth seeing for the performances of William Hurt and Raul Julia. Hurt is brilliant, quickly belying the early caricature and making the most of a rich script (for example his comment one night after the candle is extinguished). What finally won me over though was how in the end (without giving it away) Molina gets to play the role he really identifies with and Valentin gets to star in one of Molina's films. Just right.

Pat Ford

CHANGE CHANNELS

Journalist Stephen Pile sets out to show just how bestial animals are in *Pet hates* (Sunday Channel 4). *Pet hates* was a victim of increased censorship during 1985. Originally scheduled for showing on Christmas day, IBA programmers decided this expose of the real lives of animals, in the wild and as pets, was unsuitable as family viewing. The revelation that all animals do is eat, shit, copulate and occasionally kill each other would have made too many of the clean up TV lobby choke on their Christmas pudding.

Most of the things that Stephen Pile's animals do are done off stage in *Dynasty II: the Colbys* (Friday BBC1) but sufficient reference is made to these activities in the script to hold the viewer's interest. Eating, shitting etc in this second-hand soap opera set in Los Angeles are Charlton Heston (last seen worrying sheep as Moses in *The 10 commandments*) and Barbara Stanwyck — times are obviously hard for movie stars who failed to achieve cult status by dying tragically in a vehicle accident.

Times are also pretty hard for those who still believe in Labourism. *Socialist Worker* television columnist Eamonn McCann looks at the experience of Militant inside the Labour Party in *Diverse Reports* (Wednesday Channel 4).

junius publications



By-election fever

When the results of the Northern Ireland by-elections start coming through this weekend will you be relying on Vincent Hanna's exit poll on *Newsnight*? Will you have to trust the Sunday papers? Or will you be consulting the handy summary of election results and voting patterns in Northern Ireland over the past 20 years contained in *The Irish War*?

The Irish Freedom Movement handbook contains the facts you need to make your own judgements about events in Northern Ireland. You don't need to rely on the British media when you've got *The Irish War*.

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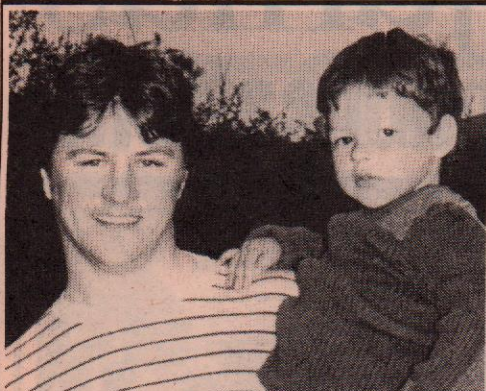
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LETTERS

STEPPING OUT



JOE BOATMAN
REPUBLICAN PEARSE MOORE AND SON MICHAEL DIED IN A DERRY FIRE LAST MONTH

THANKS TO *tns*

I wish to take this opportunity to thank you and your readers for their kind thoughts and support at the tragic loss of my son Patrick Pearse and my grandson Michael. These past few weeks I have thought of the hardships and harassment which Pearse and many other young men and women have had to endure. Your paper and readers were a constant solace to us during the time of his imprisonment under a paid perjurer, and your highlighting of these injustices and the continuing threats on his life by the British forces after his release, give me and my family comfort in knowing that the British people were being given the truth as to what is happening in our country.

It is difficult for me to thank everyone individually so I am grateful to you for allowing me to avail of your paper to express my gratitude to you all.

Is misé
Teresa Moore
Bogside
Derry

ILEA SPELLS LIARS

One hundred Bangladeshi students at Morpeth school in Tower Hamlets, East London, walked out on strike on Monday morning in protest at racist attacks inside their school. On the Friday before two dozen racists from nearby schools attacked Bangladeshi students and a teacher with knives and metal bars. This was the latest of many racist attacks at the school.

When the Inner London Education Authority found out about the pupils' action, it accused East London Workers Against Racism of 'stirring up trouble by distributing leaflets to Asian pupils urging them to take action against racist attacks'. As it happens, the Morpeth pupils are more capable than Ilea in its arrogance gives them credit for. They organised the strike, leafleted for it and voted to return to school on Wednesday when the school authorities gave them assurances that they would stop the assaults. They reserve the right to come out again should Ilea's promises prove to be empty.

The liars in Ilea's press office were so eager to stick the boot into Elwar that they even managed to contradict themselves and their friends in the police. Ilea spokesman: 'There have been attacks at the school and on the way to school.' Ilea and police spokesmen: 'Elwar's accusations of racist attacks are fiction. The school has a very good record.' Ilea's bare-faced lying is nothing new.

Last year Ilea chief Barry Stead poured scorn on stories of 'alleged racist attacks' at Daneford school. Unfortunately for him, leaked private correspondence between Ilea and Daneford's headmaster acknowledged the frequency and severity of racist violence at the school.

The 'anti-racist' bureaucrats of Ilea have all eyes on their re-election prospects. Incapable of confronting racism in the Labour stronghold of East London, they spend their time slugging off those who won't trade the interests of black and white workers for a fat state salary.

Alex Farrell
Elwar

POLICE AGAINST THE LEFT

The police seem to be stepping up harassment of left-wing paper sellers even before the new public order legislation comes into effect. Out selling *tns* in Camden over the past few days, we've been questioned by the police, made to stand away from passers by and even stopped from selling. The police called another left-wing paper seller a 'black bastard' and said if he carried on selling he would be arrested. I've heard that similar things are happening around the country.

This is a serious attack on our civil rights, and it urgently needs to be opposed. If the police find they're successful in this petty harassment it won't be long before they feel more confident to prevent us from selling altogether or arrest us. Last week's *tns* editorial really hit the nail on the head when it made the point that we shouldn't let the police push us around. Wherever left wingers are victimised in this way we should get together to defy the police and stand up for the right to put our views across.

Claire Middleton
London NW5

LABOUR AND THE UDM

Some people say the Labour Party is the party of the working class. But after spending the 12 months of the miners' strike condemning miners for fighting for the right to work, the Labour Party in Nottinghamshire is now siding up to the scab outfit, the Union of Democratic Mineworkers.

Last Saturday I went on a protest organised by the miners' next step campaign outside local Labour MP Frank Haynes' surgery in Kirkby in Ashfield. Far from trying to help build a movement to counter the UDM and build effective opposition to the National Coal Board, Haynes gave up his sponsorship as an MP from the NUM because most of the miners in his constituency joined the UDM.

Predictably Haynes locked himself in for half an hour. Then he tried to placate us by sending out a parish councillor but eventually he spoke to us for 10 minutes. He said that as an MP he had to represent both the interests of the UDM and the NUM. One picket told him quite clearly that one is a scab anti-working class organisation while the other has potential for being a positive union that fights for jobs; and that acceptance of both unions is impossible if you claim to be fighting for the interests of the working class. Needless to say, he didn't resign his post.

The working class can do without representatives like Frank Haynes whose concern is to get elected rather than fight for our interests. I've joined the miners' next step campaign to start building a real working class fighting force.

Richard
Nottingham

ANGER AT COUNTY HALL

Work in the Greater London Council's industry and employment department ground to a virtual standstill last week. Both management and Labour bosses have been thrown into a panic as the smooth running of their plans to get rid of thousands of workers have been thrown into disarray. Following a mass meeting work on department publications was blacked and the joint trade union committee called a halt to all work with the management team and with London boroughs.

This action is the result of widespread frustration at the failure of Labour politicians and their managers to defend jobs or to arrange for future employment. All of the department's 280 workers face the sack on 31 March. The present action is a clear demonstration that despite the

imminent abolition of the GLC we can still mount an effective campaign to save those jobs.

But the outstanding problem remains the reliance of workers on their bosses. In calling on management to 'make a case for the direct transfer of jobs' to the inner London boroughs the department's joint trade union committee has once again given the initiative back to the employers.

Only the *Fight Back* campaign has challenged the councillors and union bureaucrats over their commitment to carry out the sackings. Many rank and file militants, and shop stewards, are still looking to councillors and managers to defend jobs. But the resulting demoralisation and divisions among workers at County Hall has strengthened the employers and the government.

The action of workers in the industry and employment department is a clear indication of a willingness to fight. It confirms the relevance of the *Fight Back* campaign and underlines the urgent need for a strategy to stop the Labour politicians' clampdown on resistance. The priority must be the organisation of maximum disruption based on the demand for jobs for every worker. This remains the only way of extracting significant concessions from the employers and the government.

Don Milligan
County Hall

FIGHTING FOR FREE NURSERIES

I really sympathise with Kim Pepper's position as a single parent student who was unable to attend college because of the lack of free nursery facilities. Unfortunately it's a common situation for women students throughout the country.

At Coventry Polytechnic we launched a campaign for a free nursery which got popular student support. We organised petitions (and got nearly 2000 signatures), held lively protests in the city centre, and had a successful picket of the Labour council. The fight for a free nursery on demand soon became common knowledge throughout the whole city.

Positive stuff, you might say, but the student executive decided to take a different approach. They tried to treat the whole thing like a charity and persuade student societies and musicians to raise money for the nursery. The consequences were disastrous. Firstly, the nursery campaign came to be seen by some students as a pain in the neck rather than something you need to fight for. Secondly, it let the student executive off the hook from campaigning for extra money from the directors and local authorities. The executive even informed us that they'd spent four years campaigning for free nurseries, which was news to most students!

It was by our campaigning methods and the clear political argument for free nurseries on demand that a campaign was formed with the support of most students. We had the advantage that the women's officer and the women's committee support the RCP, so I would advise Kim to ignore the NUS who tell you not to go 'too far — you'll alienate people' and all that sort of tripe, and go straight to the union membership to build an active fighting campaign.

Jo Cartwright
Coventry

Write to

tns

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A sub-plot to the Westland affair developed in Fleet Street this week, concerning the origins of Tory-in-the-doghouse Leon Brittan and his brother Samuel, columnist on the *Financial Times*. The *Guardian* claimed the father of the two free marketeers was a radical who named his sons after Leon Trotsky and the late American union leader Samuel Gompers. Sam has since heatedly denied this, insisting that the brothers Brittan are named after relatives and that his father's most socialist sin was to vote Labour once or twice. I must admit, it seems strange that somebody could connect Leon Trotsky, a leader of the Russian Revolution, with Samuel Gompers, a racist and rabid supporter of US imperialism. But perhaps it's no stranger than an expert on the British economy being related to Leon Brittan.

A few weeks back I reported how 'Dear Deidre' of the Sun's problem page had touted for phone calls from rape victims, posing as a sympathetic friend with whom they could share their 'awful secret'. A fortnight later the Sun ran a shock-horror series on rape cases packed with titillating detail. Now Deidre is back on the phone-line, expressing a wish 'to help mothers and fathers whose sons are homosexuals or daughters are lesbians'. 'Anguished parents' are offered the chance to 'share your experiences with someone who really cares'. This appeal appears next to an article headed 'Pervert pair go to jail', about two men convicted of importuning teenage boys. So now you know the sort of stuff Deidre's after for her next series, get on the phone. And blow a whistle down her ear 'ole.

Deidre's not the only hypocrite in the lobby against sex, violence, pornography etc. After last week's story about how home secretary Douglas Hurd, a Mary Whitehouse fan, was having his dirty book serialised on TV comes a tale of two Brighton policemen. PC Charles Busher and PC Bernard Kelly have been in court charged with stealing two porn films. The PCs pleaded guilty and have been suspended from duty. They purloined the pictures from a crashed car, and one took them home for a private viewing. But he only ran them through on his video machine's 'fast forward' button, so that his wife and children wouldn't have to watch. I think the British police are wonderful.

What's left of the Workers' Revolutionary Party continues slinging mud at its ousted guru Gerry Healy. The great man's former minder says Healy had an unattractive habit of getting as much grub as possible into his mouth and talking loudly enough to spray it all over his victim. He once got an orange caught in his gullet, vomited various fruit remnants everywhere and asked his protector to clean it up for him. Great leaders, as we Marxists say, are born of great upheavals.

Two thoughts for the week; one from the right, one from the left. Comedian Stan Boardman(?) upset stage workers by telling a racist joke during his Liverpool panto. Bigoted Stan was bemused by the fuss: 'I crack gags about everyone — including Germans, Chinese, Irish and Scots. There's no prejudice there.' There's no English there either, Stanley. Meanwhile the ailing *Morning Star* says 'the entire planet could be nuclear free by the year 2001': 'What a vision to inspire and excite the imagination of everyone in the peace movement. Nuclear weapons have no place in civilised society now. They certainly should not hang like the sword of Damocles over the third millenium.' Nukes may well do just that. But we can console ourselves with the thought that the *Morning Star* certainly will not.

EDDIE VEALE

Reports



DAVE ROURKE

BRIXTON POLICE LAUNCH SWAMP '86

South London police have launched operation Swamp '86. Uniformed SPG units have moved into Clapham, and 50 additional plain clothes officers are carrying out 'target and surveillance' in Brixton. The operation will last at least two weeks.

Five years ago a similar police operation, Swamp '81, sparked the first Brixton riots. In response to the riots the British establishment branded all black youth as criminals and got tooled up for the next time, giving new weapons and new powers to the police. North London police are already 'swamping' Tottenham's Broadwater Farm. South London's Swamp '86 is the latest stage in the campaign to criminalise black youth.

Commander Gordon Lloyd, police chief of south London's 'L' district, told the press that the purpose of the operation 'is to reduce street robberies'. For Brixton's black people it was a warning of more dawn raids on their homes, more stop and search on the streets, and more beatings in police cells. They know what to expect. In October there were 60 raids in the Brixton area — nine of them without search warrants. Last year police raids led to the deaths of Cherry Groce and Cynthia Jarrett.

The usual routine goes like this: first they smash down the front door with a sledgehammer, then photograph the occupants and ransack the house — rifling through all the personal papers they can find. The victims of these attacks are often threatened with theft charges if they can't show receipts for their possessions. But charges are rarely brought. The raids are just exercises in intimidation.

CRIMINALISED COMMUNITY

The police don't bother trying to kid black youth about what they're doing. 'They let you know what's going on these days,' said a student from Tulse Hill school. 'They tell you they're going to hit you before you're even in the van.' Terry from Brixton Hill told us how he and his friends were stopped and searched last week: 'All six of us were arrested. They kept me in for seven hours but didn't even tell us what it was about.'

A week before the start of Swamp '86 the trial began of the 32 Lambeth councillors, who face charges arising from the Labour campaign against rate-capping. At a rally for their defence Lambeth council leader Ted Knight strongly condemned the Tory government for criminalising people 'whose only crime was to give up their time to represent the community'. Yet the Labour councillors have failed to campaign against Swamp '86 and the criminalisation of the black community.

Swamp '86 has already begun as we go to press. Lambeth's deputy leader Graham Norwood has told the London *Standard* that 'like everyone else' he is 'delighted to see the crime figures being brought under control', although he wants to see some 'sensitive policing'. Norwood's guarantees of 'sensitive policing' are worthless to Brixton blacks. The council's police committee support unit, set up to monitor and liaise

with police, cannot stop them smashing up people's homes. After October's raids the unit could only 'recommend that the council should write a letter to Commander Lloyd complaining of the insensitivity'.

Lambeth council itself has ordered the use of 'insensitive' police tactics. Last autumn the council sent police into Brixton to evict local people running a day nursery. And in 1984 the council used riot police to evict squatters in Brixton's Effra Parade.

One member of the police committee support unit says Swamp '86 is nothing 'to get terribly worked up about. Actually it's an extension of normal policing.' This admission says a lot about the council and its failure 'to represent the community'. Lambeth council helps to finance 'L' district police, and its police committee contributes to the 'multi-agency' approach of Metropolitan police chief Kenneth Newman. But Brixton's blacks don't want police thugs in their community — and they don't need 'representatives' who submit reports and deliver nothing.

Lambeth council and the police rely on cooked-up statistics and scare stories to stimulate demands for police intervention. Black businessmen provide a false picture of 'community' support. In order to contain the threat from black youth the establishment must first criminalise them to isolate them from wider support.

LET'S GET ORGANISED

Most working class youth hate the police and most contact between working class people and police is hostile. But because establishment law and order propaganda goes unchallenged by Labour, hostility towards the police remains confused and unorganised. Workers Against Racism wants to get it organised.

Instead of increased police action in the lives of working class people we propose workers' defence of working class areas. As an essential first step towards workers' defence we need to expose the truth about police attacks. To this end WAR asks *tns* readers to inform us of all incidents of police harassment, in particular in Brixton and Clapham as Swamp '86 gets under way. We want to mobilise resistance to the drive to criminalise and terrorise the black community.

If you want to get involved in campaigning against police racism, phone Workers Against Racism on 01-729 0414



Deadline for news and reports: Monday 9am

Come along!

TROOPS OUT OF IRELAND!

The Anglo-Irish deal has provoked instability across Northern Ireland, with Loyalists calling parliamentary by-elections and the IRA renewing its campaign along the Border. Yet in Britain the accord has only provoked an unrivalled display of unity among establishment parties, and confusion among many who want to see an end to the Irish War. It is now crucial for supporters of Irish freedom to take a stand against the agreement, and tell British workers that Thatcher's deal with Dublin, like every other British initiative,

can only mean more suffering for the Irish people.

Get involved in the movement to force the British government to take the only step that can bring peace — the immediate withdrawal of its gunmen, judges and jailers from Irish soil.

Leeds

Thursday 23 January 7.30pm
The Three Legs
The Headrow

Pontefract

Thursday 23 January 7.30pm
Red Lion Hotel
Market Square

North London

Friday 24 January 7pm
What is to be done in Britain?
Oxford Arms
Camden High Street/Jamestown Road
(Camden Town tube)

South London

Saturday 25 January 11-4pm
Blow up in Lambeth Peace Gardens!
(Brixton tube)
Join our protest where we'll be releasing hundreds of balloons for Irish freedom

WAITING FOR KINNOCK — OR FIGHTING BACK NOW?

Since the miners' defeat many workers have drawn the conclusion that direct action is ineffective. But we can't afford to rely on the Labour Party to come to our rescue. At this conference we'll be putting forward a strategy to win what the working class needs now, instead of making concessions to the Tories. Come along to hear our point of view and put yours.

Scottish day of discussion and debate

Saturday 8 February 12-5.30pm
McLellan Galleries
Sauchiehall Street
Glasgow
Sessions

- One year after the miners' strike
- Fighting the Tories — a new approach
- Can the Labour Party be changed?
- Fighting back RCP-style in '86

Tickets £1 (50p UB40)
Refreshments and childcare available

YOU'RE NOT RECRUITING US!

The British army is on a drive to recruit students to terrorise the victims of British imperialism. RCP students are protesting against Colonel BJ Smith in Sunderland and at the local barracks in Bradford

Bradford

Thursday 23 January 5pm
Bradford Parachute Regiment
Thornbury Barracks
Pudsey Lane End

Sunderland

Wednesday 29 January 11am-12.30pm
Careers Block
St Mary's Place
Sunderland Polytechnic

STOP THE RACIST SWAMP!

Workers Against Racism will be out on the streets of Brixton again this week to oppose the Swamp '86 police terror operation (see opposite).

Swamp '86 — open meeting

Thursday 23 January 7.30pm
The Voltaire Rooms
Clapham Manor Baths
Clapham Manor Street (off High Street)
(Clapham Common tube)
Speakers: Alex Farrell (War), worker from Thornton Heath dole striking against race checks

Stop Swamp '86 — street protest

Saturday 25 January 2pm
Prince of Wales pub
Brixton centre

FIGHTING OPPRESSION

A course at the London School of Economics on the Marxist approach to winning real freedom, convened by Kate Marshall author of *Moral Panics and Victorian Values*. In the first two discussions:

Kate Marshall asks

Marxism and Feminism — will they ever marry?

Thursday 30 January 6pm
Don Milligan looks at

Gay oppression

Thursday 6 February 6pm
Both meetings in room A40

RCP STUDENTS SOCIETY

Revolutionary communist students are starting the new term as we ended the old, by campaigning against all cuts and raising the political issues that matter most. If you thought student politics was all beer and bureaucrats, try a different approach. Ring Kerry Andrews on 01-729 0414

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tns

Ireland

SPOT THE TERRORIST?

SOMEBODY IN THIS PICTURE IS AN ARMED AND DANGEROUS TERRORIST IN NORTHERN IRELAND. BUT IT'S NONE OF THE BELFAST RESIDENTS STANDING ON THEIR DOORSTEPS. IT'S THE BRITISH SOLDIER CROUCHING IN THEIR GARDEN AT THE BOTTOM OF THE PHOTO.

When he's in Belfast he gets his guns and money from a foreign regime — the British government occupying Northern Ireland. And he's a terrorist because he uses armed might to impose the will of his political paymasters on Irish people who want their country to be united and free from British domination.

Behind all the ballyhoo about 'British democracy' spouted around this week's Northern Ireland by-elections, the gunmen of the British Army and the Royal Ulster Constabulary rule Northern Ireland with an iron fist. Loyalist leaders might have called the elections in protest at the Anglo-Irish agreement. But they're wrong to claim Thatcher's accord with Dublin undermines their status in the 'United Kingdom'.

Deal or no deal, the British government can be relied on to send its terrorist troops rampaging through as many Irish streets and gardens as necessary to keep control of its oldest colony.

Fourteen years ago next week terrorist British paratroopers shot dead 14

unarmed Irish marchers in Derry on Bloody Sunday. Since then the nationalist community in Northern Ireland have had to live through a Bloody Monday to a Bloody Sunday every week of every year. Machine guns, plastic bullets, torture, no-jury trials, super-grasses and CS gas are just some of the 'British initiatives' that have made their lives a misery. Their suffering will only end when every British terrorist is chased out from behind every Irish wall and kicked back across the Irish Sea.

The Irish Freedom Movement is fighting to build a movement in Britain that will support the Irish people in their war against the British authorities. The anniversary of Bloody Sunday is as good a time as any to take sides with those struggling for real freedom in Ireland. Come to our rally and join us on the march. Take a stand against the British gunman at the bottom of this Belfast garden, and the other 30 000 Crown terrorists like him.



JOE BOATMAN

IRELAND

This is the only British solution

TROOPS OUT NOW!

Bloody Sunday demonstration

1pm, Sunday 2 February, Speakers' Corner, Hyde Park, London

IRISH FREEDOM MOVEMENT

Phone 01-729 0414

Rally for Irish freedom

NO BRITISH SOLUTION

Saturday 1 February

6.30pm

Manning Hall

University of London

Union, Malet Street

London WC1

RCP

If you like what you read in *tns* become an RCP supporter. We meet weekly around the country to discuss the issues in the paper and to plan action in the local area. Phone Fenna on 01-729 0414 or fill in the form below.

Name _____

Address _____

Telephone _____

Send to BM RCP, London WC1N 3XX