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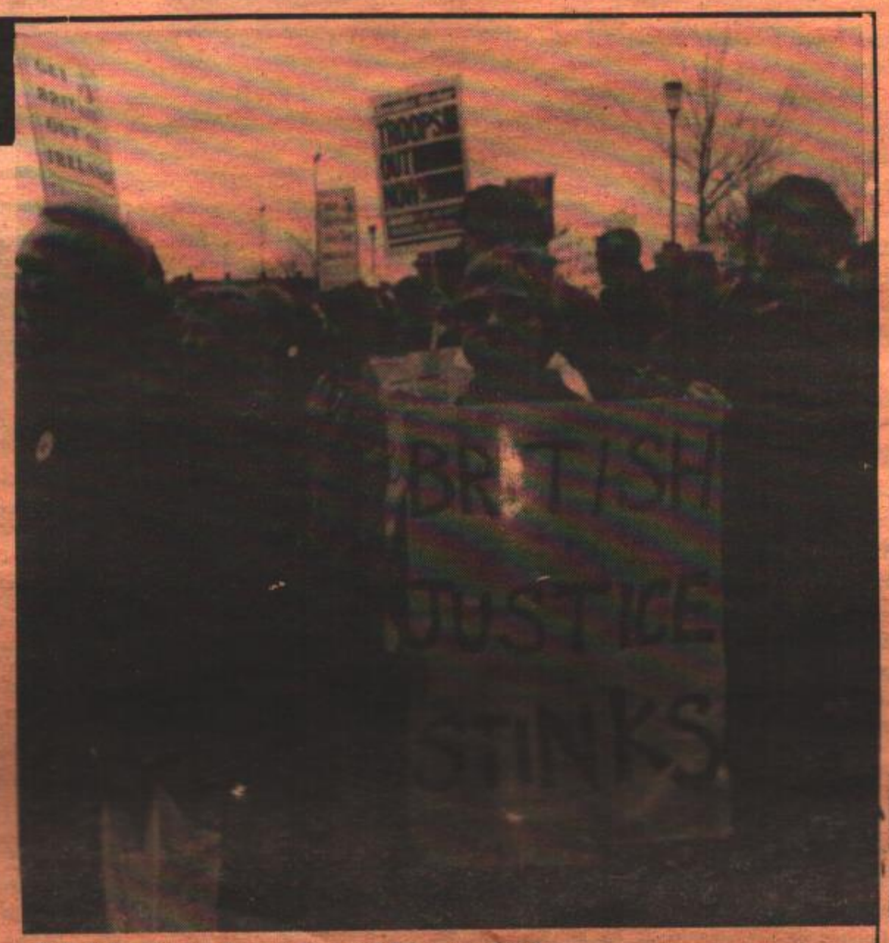
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40p

British Army breaks secret rules

LEAVE IRELAND IN PEACE!



British justice stinks... wherever it is meted out.

Martine Stead

The public is not supposed to know the special rules governing the British Army in the North of Ireland – the "instructions for opening fire".

It is illegal to publish or quote from the so-called "yellow card" detailing these instructions.

The first of these "general rules" reads: "In all situations you are to use the minimum force necessary. Firearms must only be used as a last resort."

The second tells soldiers: "Your weapon must always be made safe. No live round is to be carried in the breach."

Rule three says: "A challenge must be given before opening fire", unless this would "increase the risk of death" to soldiers or unless they had been fired on first.

It is not surprising that publication of the yellow card is "restricted". It is glaringly obvious that these rules have been broken time and time again by the British Army in the North of Ireland.

Already, the inquest into the execution of the IRA volunteers in Gibraltar, where the yellow card also applies, has revealed that the rules were ignored there as well.

For proving that the yellow card was disregarded by the Army in killings in the North, John Stalker was driven from his post as Assistant Chief Constable in Manchester.

Amnesty International has recently published a list of nearly 50 Army operations in the North of Ireland in which it suspects a shoot-to-kill policy operated. That list is far from exhaustive.



Wayne Edginton

Kinnock: "Bloodlust"

Only two British Army soldiers have ever been convicted in a British court for such murders.

In February 1984, Private Robert Davidson was given a 12-month suspended sentence for the manslaughter of a passenger in a car which drove through a checkpoint.

By Geoff Bell,
Hackney N. & Stoke Newington CLP

In November 1984, Private Ian Thain was convicted for murdering a Catholic youth who ran away after a fracas between a group of sunbathing young people and a British Army patrol. Thain was sentenced to life imprisonment. The Home Secretary ordered his release after two years and three months.

Such examples illustrate the contempt of the current British government (and its Labour predecessors) to the civil rights of the Irish – 20 years after the civil rights campaign was launched in the North of Ireland. Then they just baton-charged or water-cannoned opponents of the "lawful authorities". Today they execute them.

Twenty years ago there were courts with juries in the North of Ireland which heard cases arising from the civil rights disturbances. Today the juryless courts are administered by a single judge, who often happens to be a former Unionist politician.

There were no Irish political hostages imprisoned in 1968. Today the Birmingham Six and the Guildford Four remain in jail.

In 1968 Labour politicians, pro-Unionist as they may have been, did try to apply some logical analysis to events in Ireland. Today the increasingly ridiculous Neil Kinnock describes the cause of IRA attacks on the British Army – such as the one in East Tyrone which killed eight soldiers – as "bloodlust".

The 20th anniversary of the civil rights struggle has produced a new slogan in the North of Ireland: "No Civil Rights without National Rights!" Until Britain is driven out of Ireland the civil rights of those who organise, agitate, or argue for such a departure will always be restricted.

It has been that way for hundreds of years. The events of the last few weeks demonstrate that it will remain so – until Britain leaves Ireland in peace.

LABOUR—TAKE THE POWER!

Poll Tax

Labour – take the lead!

By the time this issue of *Briefing* appears we shall be half way through the STUC-sponsored *Week of Action Against the Poll Tax*.

Indications are that this will be less effective than it might have been. Indeed, there are signs that the STUC has been backtracking on its original plans

It has handed direct responsibility for the various local demonstrations on September 10th over to local Trades Councils. In Glasgow, the latter further muddied the water by a sudden change of the previously advertised assembly point.

Similar reluctance to act was shown around the scheduled "eleventh hour" stoppage on Tuesday, September 13th. This was supposed to be the "last chance" to challenge the Poll Tax; an appeal was put out for a stoppage "wherever you are" – at work, driving, shopping, etc. – for 11 minutes at 11 o'clock.

Gesture

This was always going to be little more than a gesture. When the call was accompanied, as in my own teachers union bulletin, by an injunction *not* to leave the classroom, it descends to the level of farce.

At the end of the Week of Action a recall Scottish Labour Party Conference meets in Glasgow to settle the line on payment of the Poll Tax. More than 30 CLPs and the TGWU are calling on the Party to organise for non-payment from April next year. The Executive, (by a narrow vote of 16-13), the Parliamentary leadership, and the Labour-led Stop It campaign are all united in rejecting any illegality. Clearly, a disappointing response to the Week of Action will bolster Donald Dewar, Brian Wilson, et al, in their claim that they've gone as far as possible.

By Tony Southall
Pollok CLP

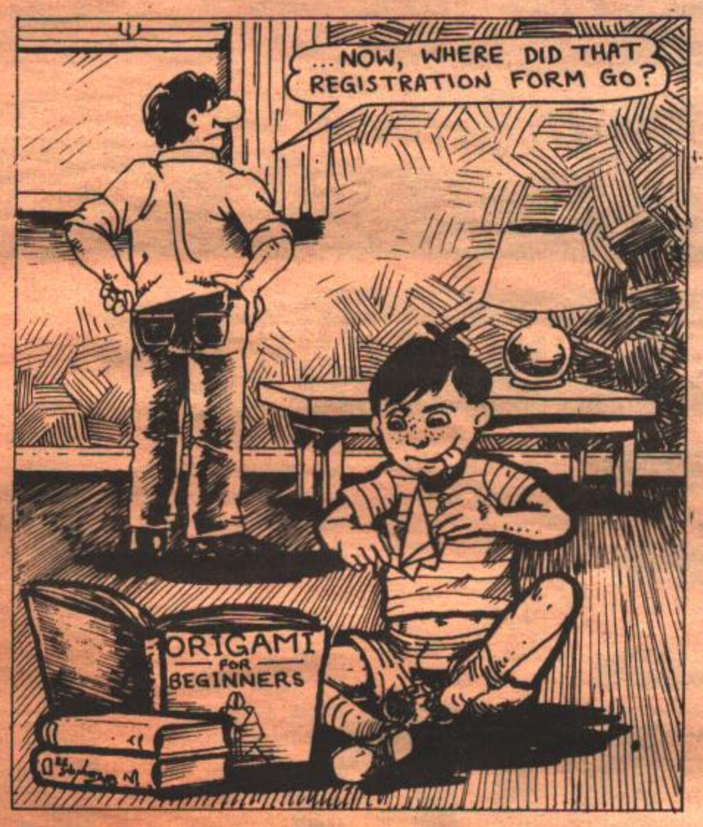
The Leadership is looking for a deal that will reduce the vote for a non-payment campaign. The *Glasgow Herald*, September 6th, reports:

"It now seems there will be a composite that will keep the non-payment door ajar. It will offer support for any such moves by either the STUC or the proposed Committee of 100 Prominent Scots, should they decide to lead such a campaign... The softer composite may attract the slitherers who tend towards non-payment."

Rejected

Such moves must be rejected. Like the vote at Annual Conference six months ago to postpone a decision, it is designed to leave the Executive a free hand... to do nothing!

Meanwhile, the anti-*Militant* witch-hunt provides another means of diverting attention from the campaign against the Tax.



Leadership

Feeble leadership on the questions of the Poll Tax and the demand for a Scottish Assembly have led to the disintegration of the LCC in Scotland. Many of its former leading figures have been instrumental in forming Scottish Labour Action – essentially around these two issues.

An important gauge of the strength of the non-payment campaign will be the SLA rally at the Scottish Labour Party Conference – in the Conference Hall on Friday 16th. If SLA leaders and platform speakers like Maria Fyfe MP and George Galloway MP are prepared to insist that, irrespective of the Conference result, the non-payment campaign must go on, then Scottish Labour will still have the chance to lead the movement against a Tax that's rejected by 85% of the population.

If that chance is wasted, then wait for a revival of the SNP that will outstrip anything seen in the 70s!

Witch-hunters take short cut

At the beginning of June, James Dunnachie, Labour MP for Glasgow Pollok, wrote directly to the NEC asking for an investigation into the activities of Tommy Sheridan, *Militant* supporter and Secretary of the South Pollok Party branch.

In avoiding the normal procedure of going through the CLP and the Scottish Council, Dunnachie had several motives.

1. An attempt orchestrated by CLP Chair Stuart Mclennan (who is also Dunnachie's research officer), to witch-hunt the *Militant*-influenced YS branch had foundered when even his own local branch in Pollokshields failed to back him.

2. *Militant* had made it plain that Sheridan would be challenging in next year's reselection. They had built the South Pollok branch into the largest in the CLP, which obviously poses a threat to Dunnachie.

3. Sheridan has also played a central role in building the local Anti-Poll Tax Union in preparation for non-payment in April 1989.

By Tony Southall
Pollok CLP

Clearly a well-timed anti-*Militant* witch-hunt will help ensure that the "obey the law at all costs" line of Dewar and the Scottish Party Executive wins the day.

Newspaper

Newspaper articles by Brian Wilson and John Maxton, backed up by press leaks, have aided the attempt to paint all non-payment advocates as *Militant* supporters. Unfortunately, that's been assisted by *Militant's* own sectarian tactics in seizing control of the newly-formed Glasgow Federation of Anti-Poll Tax Unions.

Walworth Road ambassador Joyce Gould arrived on August 31st and said she was here solely to investigate Dunnachie's complaint against Sheridan - but then went on to claim that this would spell the end of *Militant* in the West of Scotland.

Moves to oppose the witch-hunt are underway in the embryo Campaign Group in Pollok. We shall be pressing the CLP to renounce the investigation and concentrate on support for the Anti-Poll Tax Campaign, in which it already advocates non-payment.

Scottish CND:

Drawing the line against Kinnock

The Scottish CND Conference, held in Stirling on September 3rd, was a boost for Labour CND.

The opening speech by Marjorie Thompson (Vice Chair of British CND) set the tone with a scathing attack on Neil Kinnock's twisting and turning on disarmament.

The Executive proposed a resolution attacking "statements made recently by leading Labour figures which appear intended to move ... policy away from its principled position of independent British nuclear disarmament to a position where British nuclear disarmament will depend on the success of bilateral or multilateral talks." It was passed unanimously.

By Tony Southall
Secretary, Scottish Labour CND.

This new found willingness to draw the line against Kinnock was reflected in a further resolution that congratulated the Scottish Labour Party on its adoption of the demand for the removal of "all US bases, nuclear and non-nuclear, from Scottish soil and Scottish waters" and urging the Party to "campaign in support of this sound and sensible policy."

Those of us in Labour CND who have argued for years that CND should be harder on Labour Party slippage on unilateralism were encouraged at Stirling. We will now be working all-out to ensure a big labour movement turn-out at Faslane on October 15th.

Disarmament should also be pushed to the forefront in the burgeoning movement for a Scottish convention.



Poll Tax

National Action Conference Against the Poll Tax

(A Socialist Conference initiative)

Newcastle, November 12th

(Open to all those opposed to the Poll Tax)

***Briefing* readers: this is a major political event. We urge all comrades to make every effort to publicise and attend this Conference, which will discuss the organisation of mass demonstrations, civil disobedience, and other actions against the Poll Tax. There is already a proposal for a national demonstration on April 8th, 1989, to coincide with the beginning of Poll Tax payment (or non-payment!) in Scotland and registration in England and Wales.**

London Against the Poll Tax

Day-school on civil disobedience and wrecking the register, Sunday October 16th, 10-5, Conway Hall, Red Lion Square. October 24-28: Week of Action to welcome MPs back to the Commons - and to remind them that they may have been able to bulldoze the Poll Tax through Parliament but that does not mean it has been accepted by the majority of people who will have to pay it. London Against the Poll Tax: 60b St George's Road, London SE1 6ET, 01-219 6566 (day) (also for information about the National Action Campaign).

Labour: The Scottish Assembly, The Poll Tax

New pamphlet published by *Labour Briefing* supporters in Scotland analysing Labour's record in and pointing the way forward for the Campaign against the Poll Tax and for the Assembly.

To be reviewed in the next issue of *Labour Briefing*.

60 pages; 80p. Available for £1 (including post and packing) from Gordon Morgan, 39 Regent Park Square, Glasgow G41.

Campaign Round-up

Campaign for Press and Broadcasting Freedom

Saturday September 24th, 10-5.30, The Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, London WC1.

Aidan White, general secretary of the International Federation of Journalists will be the keynote speaker at this conference to launch a model bill of ownership and control in the media aimed at trade unionists, members of the labour movement and the campaign's supporters. Delegates from organisations 5 each; individuals £2.50 waged, £1.50 unwaged.

Contact Tom O'Malley, CPBF, 9 Poland Street, London W1V 3DG. Tel. 01-437 2795.

Women in Black

The Israeli army, aided by vigilante settlers, is implementing an official state policy of random killings, limb-breaking, beatings, detentions without trials, round-ups and deportations of Palestinians in the Occupied Territories.

Since December 8th 1987 the escalation of Israeli state terrorism has met with an escalation of Palestinian resistance.



Israeli, Palestinian and British women say: Enough is enough! There is a limit!

Out of the Occupied Territories

Stop Israeli State Terrorism now

Boycott Israeli goods

Don't holiday in Israel find the sun somewhere else.

Join us on the picket of the El Al office, Regent's Street, London W1, every Saturday 4-5pm. Take a stand!

We picket dressed in black to remember those who have died at the hands of Israeli forces and to show solidarity with Israeli and Palestinian women who are holding similar protest vigils of *Women in Black* in Jerusalem, Tel Aviv, Haifa, and New York. For details ring 01-249 9718, or write to Women in Black c/o Nira, School of Social Sciences, Thames Polytechnic, London SE18 6PF.

Editorial

BRIEFING

LABOUR — TAKE THE POWER!

Chase away those class-struggle blues!

Briefing took a break over the summer, but of course the class struggle did not. Protests swept Eastern Europe and the largest strike wave since 1981 gripped Poland. Demonstrations reached insurrectionary proportions in Burma. An anonymous historical agent wiped out Pakistan's hated General Zia, most of his staff, and the US Ambassador for good measure.

Nearer home, the war in Ireland heated up, with increasing casualties on both sides and even greater doses of double-talk than usual from mouthpieces of the British ruling class – including some in the Labour Party.

In Britain itself, despite the summer doldrums, the pot has been boiling. Brent's Labour Leaders capitulated to Tory spending controls. The seafarers struggle on, abandoned by their Leaders but still determined to fight for jobs, safety and trade union rights.

Nurses at the Maudsley and elsewhere are taking industrial action against the Tories NHS-funding scam. Cowley car workers try to overcome their Leaders' inertia to resist the plant closure. The justified fury of rank and file postal workers at the liberties taken by privatisation-bent management has caught the media and the UCW Leadership on the hop.

What a time for the British Communist Party to at last decide it has had enough of class struggle and head for the horizon in search of new social forces which can somehow build socialism (slowly, slowly) without the inconvenience of overthrowing capitalism.

In the *Guardian*, Bryan Gould lauded this historic conversion, calling on the Labour Party to follow suit as a way of overcoming its present weakness and isolation. This fashionable retreat from class politics comes in the wake of numerous defeats for the British working class all too familiar to *Briefing* readers. But it's one thing to understand the political lessons of working class retreat, Bryan; it's another to superimpose on them an ideology of defeat – and then claim it as a programme for our times.

The Communist Party's attempt to recast the old dross of class collaborationism quickly ran up against some basic realities, like those on display at the recent TUC Conference. "Good riddance" will be the reaction of most of the left to the long-delayed expulsion of the EETPU.

Even John Edmonds felt obliged to restate the fundamental principle abandoned by the EETPU: trade unions exist to defend and serve their members, not make life easy for their members' employers. Edmonds was acknowledging the fact that unions represent one class, and the employers another, and that the two classes have different interests.

But will Edmonds & Co. follow the logic of that admirable statement of principle? That logic leads inexorably to an all-out war on the EETPU and the business unionism it represents. The EETPU cannot just be left to wither away. Every move it makes to win new members must be vigorously contested by TUC unions, which must also work to win back existing EETPU members.

To do this, the TUC unions will need to show that they represent working people more effectively, more conscientiously, more determinedly, and more democratically than the EETPU. They must *take sides in the class struggle* – with a will and skill notably absent for many years.

Of course, the current Labour Leadership will do exactly the opposite and will respond to the EETPU threat by trying to emulate its alliances with the employers and the state. As we have long argued in *Briefing*, a change in Leadership across the movement is necessary to stop the rot. The Benn-Heffer challenge is part of a long-term process of bringing about that change. Comrades re-entering Labour Party orbit after summer hols need to make a final effort to win maximum support for Benn and Heffer.

They must couple this with a drive to remove the EETPU from the Party. Can we tolerate the grotesque spectacle of a pariah union casting its hefty block vote at our Conference for every right wing fetish, from nuclear weapons and nuclear power to expulsions of socialists and the continued disenfranchisement of women, black people and youth?

Whether the Communist Party, Bryan Gould, and Eric Hammond like it or not, the realities of class and class struggle will keep thrusting themselves to the surface of British politics as they have over the past summer. And *Briefing* supporters will be in the thick of it as usual.

The Economy

Trade Gap Yawns:

No Way Out for British Capital

The balance of payments crisis, long predicted in _Briefing_, is now upon us.

The trade gap – the difference between what we earn in exports and what we pay out on imports – was over £2 billion for July, more than half the annual deficit forecast at the time the budget was set in March.

The present annual rate of deficit is running at around £10 billion and could well go as high as £12 billion.

By Paula Watson, Westminster South CLP

Interest rates have been raised eight times since the budget; they now stand at 12%. Mortgages are set to follow suit, wiping out for most people (except the very rich) the tax gains in the budget.

What's behind the crisis?

In the early 80s, having engineered a slump to create mass unemployment and undermine the unions, the Tories needed growth to produce the profits necessary to keep a capitalist economy going. To achieve this, they created the conditions for a boom in consumption: huge tax cuts for the rich in every budget, a massive switch of resources from public to private, and the removal of all controls on borrowing.

While Thatcher praised the virtue of thrift, in practice people were encouraged as never before to borrow money through mortgages, loans, and credit cards, often way beyond their means. Thatcher, whose slogan has been sound finance, has presided over the slide of a large slice of the electorate into a Micawberish state of chronic indebtedness.

The rise in borrowing led to an increase in the demand for goods, but the credit explosion has not been accompanied by equal growth in the manufacturing base. True, manufacturing investment is up, but the drop during 1980-81 was so great that even if this year's predicted rise of 14% does take place (and it well may not because of the rise in interest rates) it will only bring it back to the level of 1979.

So behind the present crisis is insufficient investment to expand manufacturing fast enough to meet rising demand – created by an uncontrolled increase in private borrowing. The gap is filled by imports; hence the trade deficit and the balance of payments disaster.

Any attempts to solve the problem within a capitalist framework brings with it other troubles. The classic solution, favoured by past Labour Chancellors, is devaluation, which makes exports cheaper and imports dearer, combined with credit and exchange controls and tax increases to damp down demand at home.

But it is impossible to get the balance right. A low pound helps exports but higher import prices can spark inflation. Depressed domestic demand hits those industries supplying the home market, leading to rising unemployment and recession. The resulting fall in tax revenue leads to cuts in government spending, causing further unemployment and deepening the recession.

For ideological reasons, Lawson has rejected this traditional option and gone instead for a rise in interest rates. The logic is that as borrowing becomes more expensive and loans and mortgages become dearer, they also become less attractive. Spending is reduced.

But this does not work either. Experience shows that high interest rates damage investment more than consumption. Rates have to be astronomically high to deter the private borrower (witness the appalling rates charged by stores and credit card companies), but the extra burden on industry can quickly choke off any expansion.

The manufacturing base remains inadequate and every attempt to expand the economy sooner or later runs into the same problem, with demand outstripping supply and an ensuing balance of payments crisis.

Another worry for the Chancellor is the pressure on sterling. Interest rates are rising in other countries and 12% is apparently not enough to offset speculators' fears about our balance of trade. The Bank of England is buying sterling to try to hold the price.

A combination of high interest rates and a falling pound would hit everyone, exporters and home-producers alike, and produce rapid inflation. But if pressure on the pound continues and/or the consumer spending spree shows no sign of slowing, interest rates may have to go still higher, to at least 13%.

The problem here is that very high interest rates not only stop a fall in the pound, they can also push the process into reverse – attracting hot money back into sterling and causing it to rise in value, making exports dearer and imports cheaper, the opposite from devaluation.

In this case, the only way to squeeze demand sufficiently to counter the attractiveness of low-priced imports is to go into deep recession, with rising unemployment, low wages, and falling public expenditure.

There is no permanent capitalist solution to these perennial capitalist problems. Sustained growth is not possible in an economy as weak as Britain's. The Tory "economic miracle" is a mirage.

The only way out is through control and planning. The industrial base needs to be rebuilt by massive public investment. Expansion in demand must match growth in output.

This is impossible in a market economy. The necessary control can only come through public ownership of capital and industry; the essential planning can only succeed with the consent of workers through democratic workers' control. *Ergo* Socialism.



Graham Cookson

The Stock Exchange, heart of British capitalism, looks in vain for a capitalist answer to the economic crisis.

Trade Union Briefing

All-out membership war needed:

Good-bye EETPU!

The EETPU should have been expelled over the Wapping dispute, when they colluded with Murdoch to sack thousands of workers.

I joined the picket at Wapping, but what can you say to workers on strike when your own union helped kick them out of their jobs?

I'm sure that if the EETPU had been expelled then, it would have lost a large number of members.

Expulsion has finally been agreed, but the timing and the crunch issue have been chosen by Hammond.

The crime of poaching members and breaking into other unions' traditional recruiting grounds has little to do with no-strike or single-union deals, which other unions have shown themselves all too ready to sign. The fight against employer-dictated deals of this type is not over with the EETPU's expulsion.

What options now face EETPU members? The first one I rejected was *staying in* the EETPU. My loyalty isn't to a single union bureaucracy but to the workers who elected me as steward for the last nine years and the wider labour movement.

The EETPU has decided to put itself outside the movement in order to be free to attack other unions. Its role outside the TUC will be entirely destructive and I want no part of it.

The second option, backed by "Flashlight", of forming a breakaway EETPU, is impractical. I can't see the TUC recognising a new union in industries where other unions already have recognition and recruitment rights.

I am leaving the EETPU in order to remain *in the TUC* – not to take part in an unrecognised splinter group.

I will therefore join a TUC union, as will many other EETPU stewards in the Electricity Supply Industry. We will not be leaving alone. We will be holding meetings and arguing for an organised transfer into a TUC union.

The EETPU contrived their own expulsion to free themselves of TUC anti-poaching rules, so they could launch a recruiting drive on other unions' membership. I have heard EETPU officials boast about the numbers they could recruit after expulsion.

By Pat Waylett
***former* EETPU steward**

Now outside the TUC, the EETPU will redouble its collusion with employers in selling workers' rights and organising scab labour to break strikes.

We have to give Hammond what he claims already exists: an all-out war against the EETPU. TUC shop stewards throughout the country should recruit EETPU members and should refuse to sit with EETPU stewards in any meeting.

Every CLP should pass resolutions calling for the EETPU's expulsion from the Labour Party and a challenge to its Conference delegation.

It's not easy for me to call for such action against a union in which I have worked for years. But we cannot allow sentiment to prevent effective action.

I leave the EETPU sad that a once-proud fighting union has become an employers' pet, and even sadder that I must spend time and effort working against it. I take no pleasure in it, but it is an absolute necessity.

Within hours of their expulsion from the TUC, the EETPU began strike-breaking activities. In flagrant breach of existing agreements, and without consulting the workers concerned, they agreed with the London Electricity Board that meter readers could start delivering electricity bills normally delivered by post.

The EETPU has ordered its 140 full-time paid staff to leave TUC-affiliated APEX and to become member of the EETPU's own white-collar section, EESA. Of course, the notion that *employers* should dictate which union workers join has been a favourite one with Eric Hammond for some time.

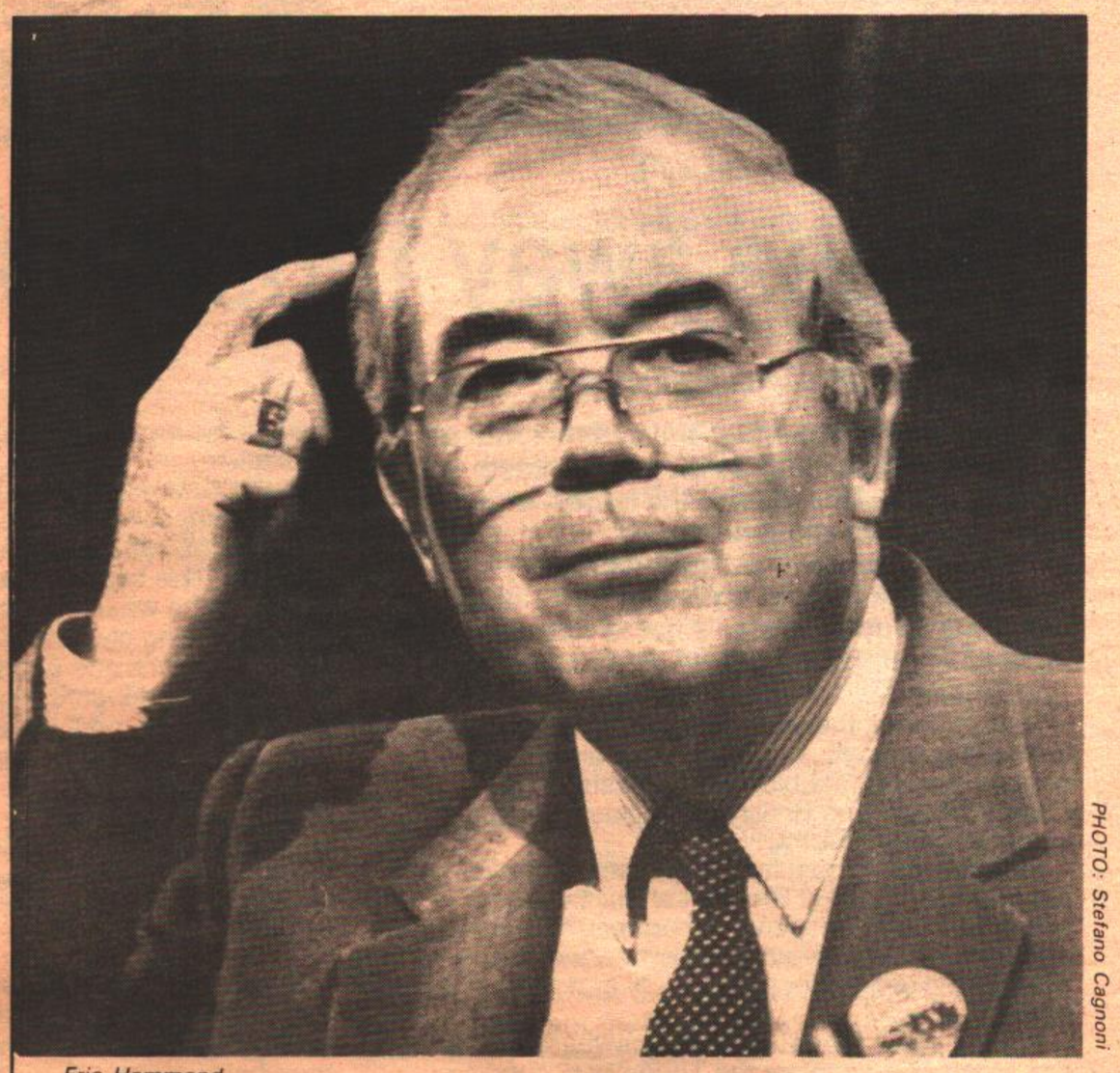


PHOTO: Stefano Cagnoni

Eric Hammond

EETPU Expulsion

Looking at the long term

By Pete Firmin
Brent East CLP

The belated expulsion of the EETPU from the TUC raises new issues for trade union activists in Britain.

Since the founding of the Trades Union Congress in 1868, Britain, unlike many countries, has only ever had one national trade union federation.

Unions have on occasions been suspended from membership and there are smaller unions which have never been part of the TUC. But no rival to the TUC as a national federation has ever emerged.

There is now some speculation about Hammond's intention to form an alternative TUC. His problem is that, without another major union breaking from the TUC, he has to look to such dubious outfits as the Royal College of Nursing, the "Union" of Democratic Mineworkers, and the Professional Association of Teachers for support.

The RCN and PAT are *explicitly* no-strike organisations (unlike the UDM and EETPU, which at least pay lip service to the right to strike) and have never shown much interest in linking up with each other.

The fact that the RCN, UDM, and PAT limit themselves to one particular area of employment means there is little scope for diversification, despite the ambitions of the EETPU itself. Such a project, even if it took off, would be unlikely to attract other TUC unions.

None of this means that the development of an "alternative TUC" should be ruled out. What prevents the AEU from joining the EETPU at present, despite Bill Jordan's inclinations, is both the high level of opposition within the AEU and the sheer uncertainty of such a step.

Hammond has been willing to take the risk, convinced that the EETPU can grow and carve out a niche for itself with employers eager to do business with a compliant "union".

For the EETPU to draw other TUC unions along its path it must demonstrate that it can survive and prosper outside the TUC. This, in turn, depends very much on what the rest of the trade union movement does. An all-out effort to ostracise the EETPU and show the ineffectiveness of its "business unionism" in defending the interests of its members would considerably lessen the chances of other unions following it.

However, the omens here are not good. The TUC will certainly not move to the left with the departure of the EETPU. Indeed, in recent years, it has more often than not followed in the EETPU's footsteps.

No action was ever taken over its "scab-herding" role at Wapping and no principle has been made over the issue of single-union "sweetheart" deals.

Nearly all major TUC unions are involved in single-union deals of one kind or another; the EETPU is being expelled for refusing to follow a TUC ruling in two specific cases, not for making such deals in the first place.

Such deals are attractive to *all* the trade union bureaucrats because they save the bother of having to convince *the workers* of the need to join a union. Instead, they can spend their time trying to convince *the bosses* that their union will be less "troublesome" than others.

They are also thereby spared the bother of having to give the membership active support in struggle. And to the extent that the bureaucrats give up (and sell out) the real fight for their members' interests, workers are attracted to the union able to make the "best" deals with the bosses (or even to non-unionism).

The more concessions that are made to the EETPU and the type of unionism it represents, the stronger it will be and the more likely other unions are to join it (or to win readmission for the EETPU by shifting the TUC even further to the right).

The way to defeat the EETPU and the threat it poses is to build support in the unions for policies which challenge the bosses and the Tories, combined with a drive to force the EETPU out of the Labour Party and off all joint union bodies, and win its members to TUC unions.

Employment & Training

Sink all the Employment Schemes!

By Maggie Arkwright
Trade Unions Against the MSC

The TUC has predictably fudged the issue of opposition to the government's Employment Training Scheme (ETS).

At the TUC, NALGO, NUPE and the T&G argued for non-cooperation. In accordance with a GMB amendment, union withdrawal from the Scheme will be phased in over two years. ETS participants will work full-time for their dole money plus a £10 allowance.

NALGO and the T&G have worked together at national level to ensure that their policy of non-cooperation was brought to the TUC. But don't be fooled! This policy has been vigorously opposed in both unions in favour of total withdrawal from and condemnation of government unemployment policy, and refusal to operate or work with any of the MSC/Training Commission schemes.

The government is engaged in a fundamental restructuring of the labour market, designed to introduce insecurity, low pay, "flexibility", and little or no trade union representation.

This policy is being achieved largely through the operation of Special Employment Measures, particularly YTS, and (over the last six years) the Community Programme (CP), combined with benefit-related policing of unemployed workers, such as the compulsory RESTART interviews and the "work test".

By condemning only the new ETS (and reluctantly, even then), the unions are failing to face the real issue – *unemployment*. In order to challenge the government, trade unions must:

- condemn unequivocally all government training and employment schemes administered through the Training Commission;
- cease to play a collaborative role in the Training Commission, dominated by government and employers;
- recruit unemployed workers into unions and give them full trade union rights – amending constitution and rules if necessary;
- demand the creation of real jobs and the provision of training leading directly to jobs.

NALGO and the T&G are currently peddling a pale reflection of these comprehensive and essential demands – and trying to collect Brownie points for doing so!

NALGO NEC member Rita Donaghy told National Conference that ETS is now the only ground on which we can fight the government. YTS, she proclaimed, belongs to the past.

If only that were true! The YTS is real to thousands of young people now *forced* to take a place or lose their meagre state benefit. The issue of compulsion, so important to Rita, Norrie, and Ron in regard to ETS, is irrelevant, apparently, when it comes to YTS, which is made compulsory in the Employment And Training Act this year.

It is also irrelevant to these stalwarts of trade union myopia that YTS now operates in industries where injuries and deaths are rising at an alarming rate. Young people on Schemes are at risk, with little trade union protection or right to compensation.

The basis of opposition to ETS cannot be a defence of the good old Community Programme with its discriminatory practices, low pay, and job substitution.

In advising the TUC to cooperate with ETS, Neil Kinnock was in effect urging the unions not to raise the real issue of unemployment – in case he might be called upon to come up with a few solutions. The unions' unwillingness to accept his advice is a good sign, but unless pressure is applied, the gaps emerging between Kinnock and the unions will gradually close.

All the "factions" contributing to the debate – Kinnock, Bill Jordan, John Edmonds, Norrie Steel, Ron Todd – are basically on the same side. All are bent on finding ways to make Thatcher's unemployment policies acceptable to unions and to the Labour Party alike as an alternative to demanding real jobs.

It's now up to trade union branches to implement the non-cooperation policies. T&G and NALGO members must demand that their unions stick to the policy of *immediate* non-cooperation with ETS, rather than adopting the TUC two-year withdrawal position.

Branches should impose the policy now and submit appropriate motions to National Conferences.

Trade Unions against the MSC/TC seeks to co-ordinate motions for national trade union conferences. Contact Maggie Arkwright, Secretary, 01-521 4130.

P&O dispute:

The Strike can still be won!

By Gary Osterley
South East
London Seafarers
Support Group

After over seven months on strike, nearly 1,000 sacked seafarers in Dover are still fighting P&O's attacks on working conditions and safety standards on the ferries.

The daily mass picket remains strong. P&O are still able to run only a skeleton service with an absolute minimum of qualified personnel.

However, as the months pass, it becomes ever more clear that the strike will only be won if other workers come out in solidarity.

The first few weeks of August were eventful. First came the arrests of several leading strikers and supporters (including Sue Haines and sacked Kent miner Terry French) in a local pub for alleged public order offences.

They were initially refused bail, even though Sue Haines was due to get married the next day. Sue was eventually bailed on the condition that she stay in her house at night (i.e. on curfew). Terry was released only when he proposed to stay with friends in Scotland (ie in exile).

The national rally on August 6th in Dover drew several thousand strikers and supporters from all over the country.

A number of miners' wives from Yorkshire and South Wales brought exciting stories of Women Against Pit Closures Groups raising hundreds of pounds regularly through street collections for French miners, dockers and seafarers. A delegation of striking French miners joined the march.

Chants of "What do we want? A national strike!" greeted faces peering through the windows of the local Labour Party HQ used by the NUS Dover Port Committee during sequestration.

At the rally, John Prescott gave a radical-sounding speech which avoided any mention of the need to break the law against secondary action. In contrast, Arthur Scargill stressed the need to extend the strike and mocked those who would have us obey the Tories' anti-working class laws.

Finally, McCluskie spoke. Given his capitulation to the courts in first calling off the national strike and then demanding that the mass pickets be abandoned, it was not surprising that he had little to say. He thanked us for coming and then promised that the courts would lift the sequestration within a week. Strikers stood aghast as McCluskie took just half a minute to speak on a strike-battle they had waged for over six months.

McCluskie's speech was followed by demands from strikers to hear Sue Haines. She had originally been billed to appear, but was excluded at the last minute on the pretext that there were too many speakers. This meant not only that no women spoke, but also that there were no NUS voices from the platform openly critical of McCluskie.

As McCluskie predicted, the courts have now returned the union's branch buildings. McCluskie now has nothing to say on how to win the strike.

Direction

Future direction can only come from militant strikers organised through Magness House. The strike can still be won but only through extended strike action and mass mobilisations. There have already been a few (unpublicised) one-day sympathy strikes in other ports around the country.

But to be effective the demand for secondary action must come from an organised body. Given the McCluskie-ite loyalties of the Dover Port Committee, this leading role could only be played by a democratically-elected Strike Committee, constituted through Magness House. The strikers should then spell out what they want from the rest of the labour movement and the left should organise systematically behind their demands.



Nick Hazelwood

Deal Women's Support Group join the seafarers' Dover demonstration last May.

Cowley Car Plant



Workers fight closure plans

By a *Briefing* supporter in the car industry

Mass meetings have now taken place in the two Cowley car plants over the threatened loss of up to 7,000 jobs.

The union Leadership in both plants is determined to keep the campaign at local level and to keep it low key.

At a mass meeting at the Assembly plant the union stewards, Andy Brown and Ivor Braggins, argued that the meeting was for information purposes only and that no decision should be taken.

So the workers were told what they already knew and did not even have a chance to put their hands up in opposition to the plant closures and jobs losses.

In the Body Plant, under pressure, the Leadership at least put a resolution to the vote. It called for opposition to the company's plan and more talks.

But even then, the senior steward, Alec Morton, kept saying how low the redundancy terms were and that if it came to a fight he would be looking for support for the principle of "last in, first out". In other words, acceptance of compulsory redundancy, with the unions arguing only over "who goes".

Braggins, at the Assembly meeting, also brought up the "last in, first out" policy. Both senior stewards refuse to speak at a town meeting against the closures organised by Oxford Trades Council, although both Bill Morris (TGWU Deputy General Secretary) and national negotiator Jack Adams were on the platform. Over 200 people turned up for the meeting, about half of whom were car workers.

The meeting showed there are people who want to make a fight in defence of jobs. Both Morris and Adams pledged TGWU support. These pledges will not be tested unless the decision for action is made in the plants.

The workers realise it will be a difficult struggle – made much harder by a Leadership that is avoiding decisions and weakening workers' resolve.

There are people arguing for decisions *now*. They are arguing for a policy of resistance to compulsory redundancy – by occupying the plants. This action should then be spread to other Austin Rover plants.

The stewards at Longbridge have said that they would campaign for the new AR9 to be built at Cowley. AEU stewards at Swindon have said they will not accept work from the threatened Llannelli plant. None of them however, will be of any use unless the "localisation" policy of the senior Cowley stewards can be broken.

Clinical Regrading in Nursing

Disaster or opportunity?

By Pete Marshall
COHSE

The much-trumpeted "Clinical Grading" system for calculating nurses' pay has been under stress in recent weeks.

The grading system has many good points which nurses' unions have been trying to negotiate for years.

If implemented in its original form, it will mean that nurses will be paid for the job they do, rather than the colour of their uniform.

It could also prevent the continued abuse of untrained nurses and SENs by forcing Health Authorities to pay the appropriate rate for the job.

However, these good things will only come about if the nurses' unions lead a concerted campaign to ensure that the system is fully funded and properly implemented.

Recently managers, panicked by the cost implications of the review, have been doing everything they can to sabotage its implementation at local level. This is creating a climate of despair and anger amongst many nurses.

In some quarters, this despair and anger is being wrongly directed towards calls for an end to the grading system itself. This may be natural but it could also be disastrous.

This atmosphere of distrust is not helped by some trade union officials insisting that everything will be sorted out at appeal stage. The NHS's regional and national appeals mechanism is designed to cope with one or two appeals per DHA a year, not the hundreds which may be lodged in October.

The nurses' unions must launch a major national campaign NOW for full implementation of the award and full funding. This should be linked to a campaign for an interim pay award to all staff whose grades remain in dispute for more than one month from the date of implementation (October 1st).

This campaign should be linked to the overall campaign for full funding for the NHS, the ancillary workers' pay campaign, and most importantly, full backing for industrial action by health workers or others who wish to support them.

COHSE has already asked all branches to consider industrial action over these issues; so far the response from branches has been good. Maudsley nurses in South London went on indefinite strike on September 5th.

However, the other unions, particularly the "scab" RCN, are doing their best to prevent action.

On this issue, the government are on the defensive. Solidarity amongst nurses, linked to a willingness to take action, can definitely win.

The Maudsley dispute needs your support. Send messages and cheques to: The Maudsley Hardship Fund, c/o COHSE, Maudsley Hospital, Denmark Hill, Camberwell, Southwark, London SE5. If you want to come to the picket or need a speaker for your meeting then ring 01-703 6333 and ask to bleep the duty COHSE steward.

Trade Union Briefing

Postal Workers Dispute

The Stakes are rising

By *Briefing* supporters in the UCW

What started as a one-day strike over management's attempt to introduce regional pay in the letter section of the Post Office has escalated.

The strikes in the major sorting and delivery offices in the cities and large towns of England, Scotland, and Wales have been provoked either by the suspension of a colleague for refusing to handle work from a strike-bound office or by the introduction of casuals to clear the backlog from the 24-hour stoppage. The usual method of clearing it is through increase in overtime.

Management, surprised at the size of the one-day strike, has provoked the first national stoppage in the Post Office for over a decade in the hope of inflicting serious defeat on a union whose members are becoming more determined and militant by the day.

Unofficial

Unofficial action has increased dramatically in the past year, as management has tried to impose conditions which have undermined union strength and cut costs to pave the way for privatisation.

Now the fight is on. All international mail has been cancelled, letter boxes are being sealed, and a network for casual labour (including thousands of students) has been set up, and the government looks like lifting the Post Office monopoly to allow private firms to move some of the mail.

All this is being done in an attempt to break the confidence of the workforce and push a majority back to work. With no strike pay postal workers will quickly feel the brunt of a prolonged stoppage.

Tuffin finds himself in a difficult position. Having sold out the postal workers last year through the shorter working week agreement, he is wary of another sell out deal and needs some concessions from management.

He is also beginning to lose control at the base of his union. He will try to stamp his authority on the dispute in order to get all his members back to work at the first viable opportunity.

Both the privatisation of the Post Office and the destruction of the UCW are at stake in this dispute. If it is defeated, management will impose more drastic cost-saving devices and the fightback in the UCW will be harder to organise.

Despite weak national and local union leaderships, members have stayed solid. We must argue for an all-out stoppage to close down all offices, including cleaners, engineers, catering staff, counter staff, etc. We must build the picket-lines and demand accountability from local union leaders, and press them to hold regular and democratic strike meetings.

The organised left in the union is small. Much will depend on the rest of the labour movement raising money and giving support.

Manchester management provoke all-out action

By a Manchester Postal Worker

Within hours of the early staff returning to work after the 24-hour DRAS action, the Newton Street Sorting Office was out again.

It was a defiant response to the ridiculous number of casuals brought in by local management to "help clear the backlog".

This was a clear provocation in Newton Street, where a three-day strike over the issue of casuals had only been settled two weeks previously.

This strike had resulted in victory after spreading to wide areas of Cheshire and Lancashire.

Manchester and the surrounding area are solid, with most of the Sub-Offices out as well as many counter staff. On September 8th Post Office engineers in Manchester, Oldham, and Stockport walked out when two colleagues were suspended for refusing to repair machinery used by casuals at Newton Street.

The number of casuals being used is far greater than the Post Office claim, and there is particular anger at the large payments scabs have been receiving – as well as unusually long breaks and other perks.

No vetting of the new employees seems to have occurred. Allegations of theft are rife and scabs have been caught stealing in Chester and elsewhere.

There have also been instances of scabs throwing missiles, including bottles, out of the windows at pickets below.

On September 6th a rally and march were held in Manchester, attended by about 500 postal workers. This is a clear indication of the strength of feeling – and of the fact that this strike can be won.

Tuffin sells the strikers out

As *Briefing* goes to press, Tuffin has ordered the striking UCW members back to work. A chance has been lost to use the strike which was so well supported (see articles, left, written during the strike) to force major concessions from Post Office management. However, the DRAS issue is not the only threat postal workers face at the moment (see below left).

We cannot tell today what the response of the postal workers will be to Tuffin's "back to work" call. But even if a full return to work is secured, it won't be long before the postal workers face the need to take further industrial action, as a *Briefing* supporter who is a London postal worker explains below in an instant response to the sell-out.

Tuffin has successfully managed to avoid achieving a settlement of the DRAS payment whilst at the same time washing his hands of the 12 day strike by issuing guidelines for a return to work to be negotiated locally office by office.

100,000 postal workers stayed solid for over a week and Tuffin gets management to concede setting any preconditions for the basis of negotiations over difficult recruitment payments.

The guidelines only make the situation worse and fail to deal in any adequate way with the issues thrown up during the dispute. For instance, they specifically say that casuals should be employed and private vans contracted to clear the backlog of mail - the reason many of the offices came out in the first place.

It also says that there should be "reasonable overtime" – whatever that means – and that they want everybody back to work by Friday at the latest. If they're not, management will "consider" issuing the non-strike agreement letters threatening members with suspensions if they do not sign.

The problem is that now Tuffin has given the word to go back, offices that want to fight until issues have been properly won could be left stranded as other areas of the country go back; and local managers can point to the guidelines agreed as justification for the actions.

Everything is up in the air and it is clear that the fight has only just begun. What postalworkers have proved is that if pushed they are prepared to fight and stay solid; and management's intention of inflicting a serious defeat on the union has not been successful.

In a a sense this is only the beginning and strikes will undoubtedly continue. But until the fight is channelled into a fight for the national Leadership of the union, branches will be left to fight alone and the sell-outs – though more sophisticated – will still continue.

Kentucky-fried Post Office?

By BILLY CARRON

Postal Officers and Postal Assistants, the Post Office's counter and administrative staff, are being balloted by the UCW on industrial action to oppose plans to close or regrade up to 750 Crown Offices, half the network.

Crown Offices are the larger Postal Offices, usually found in High Streets and near commercial centres. Staff are represented by the UCW and receive the nationally negotiated salary, holiday entitlement, bonuses, etc.

Smaller

The smaller Sub-Offices, usually family run businesses, doubling as newsagents or dry cleaners, pay the Post Office a franchise fee and rely on cheap labour.

The larger premises of the Crown Offices would be too expensive for aspiring small shopkeepers and it is thought that a more elaborate franchise scheme is planned.

Over the past year, many Crown Offices have been fitted with virtually identical furnishings and decor. The fear is that a franchising system similar to MacDonald's or Kentucky Fried Chicken will be introduced – with inevitable attacks on the workforce. Already a chain of fast photo developers is allowed to rent space in selected offices.

Inadequate

The union's response has been inadequate. The tone of its propaganda has often been that "if management want to destroy the network there are procedures they should follow. They haven't even discussed it with us."

Game

A special issue of the union paper, *The Post*, gives the game away when it declares: "In 18 months, 1,500 jobs were lost. We honoured our part of the bargain." No attempt has been made to link the disputes over regional pay supplements and casualisation with the threat to the Crown Offices.

The union has compartmentalised every action, even when clerical and uniform grades are in the same branch.

The history of the union's recent disputes indicates that a half hearted fight will lead only to a small reduction in the number of Offices scheduled for closure, leaving management's overall strategy intact.

Solidarity Network Conference

Supported by

the Chesterfield Socialist Conference

Saturday 5th November, 9.00-6.00

Leeds Trades Council Club,

Saville Mount, Leeds

The Solidarity Network, set up at a Conference in Leeds last year, seeks to build on the support network organised for the miners and for the printworkers at Wapping. The Network meets regularly and has organised support and publicity for a number of disputes including, this year, the Dover seafarers.

Previously strikers have been left to fight alone and have been defeated. This must not happen to the seafarers. The Network has worked with the Chesterfield Socialist Conference, holding a joint rally in London in support of those in struggle. This conference has been called to extend and develop this work.

Credentials: £2 (waged), £1 (unwaged), strikers free. Creche facilities and overnight accommodation for Friday/Saturday night can be arranged if requested at least a week in advance. Contact: Janet Seymour, 3 Hill Street, Barnoldswick, Colne, Lancs, tel. 0282-812864.

Brighton Council

Labour in Office, Tories in Power

Brighton Council's Labour Leader, Steve Bassam, has asked Larry Whitty to start disciplinary procedures against the seven socialist Councillors.

By Councillor Mark Thompson

These seven (out of 27) refused to break Party policy on three separate votes: a 15% rent rise for Council tenants; a development scheme to sell off scenic Downland to the highest bidder (an electronics company); and restructuring of committees to give more power to Chief Officers.

Recognising the capitalist logic of the first two proposals, the Tories supported Bassam. But even they could see that handing control over to bureaucrats would be a disaster and joined us to defeat the motion.

The clear opposition of the Brighton Party is of no importance to Bassam & Co. For them, policies are decided with the Chief Officers and then announced as unalterable facts.

Such is his penchant for secretiveness that we only found out about the letter to Whitty when the local paper asked us to comment.

The GC voted overwhelmingly to tell Whitty he was not needed in Brighton; any disciplinary measures would be decided locally. Motions calling for Bassam's resignation are now arriving from branches.

More alarming than their disregard for Party members is their contempt for the Council workforce.

A year ago the majority of union leaders agreed to a cuts package "in order to protect jobs and services." Since then, the Council Leadership have appointed a PR officer, despite a NALGO and Labour Party boycott, and have now provoked industrial action by using equal opportunities policies unilaterally to change working practices.

Many Council tenants, the workforce, and ordinary Labour party members can see no difference between this Council and the previous one controlled by the Tories (indeed, neither can the Tories). As a socialist Councillor, I have no intention of betraying these people, whatever disciplinary measures are dreamt up at Walworth Road.

Socialist Conference

A busy year ahead

Since the second national Socialist Conference in Chesterfield in June, the newly-elected Organising Committee has scheduled a wide range of activities over the next six months – national conferences, regional events, and the policy work necessary to halt the ideological drift to the right in the labour movement.

By Davy Jones
Socialist Conference Organising Committee

Current plans include:

•National Conference Against the Poll Tax at Newcastle University on Saturday November 12th – open to all those committed to fighting the Poll Tax.

•National Trade Union Solidarity Network Conference in Leeds on Saturday November 5th.

•Politics and Democracy National Seminar in November.

•Women For Socialism First National Conference of supporters in February 1989.

•Second National Green and Socialist Conference in Spring 1989.

•Two international Conferences are under discussion, including one on Gorbachev, Glasnost and the West to discuss the massive international impact of events in the Soviet Union.

•Support for the Black Agenda national speaking tour organised by Black Sections.

•Regional Conferences planned in almost every area of the country.

•Two dozen policy groups meeting regularly on the state and democracy, the economy, lesbian and gay politics, social services, and many more.

•A fringe meeting at Labour Party Conference, on Wednesday October 5th, with Tony Benn, Martha Osamor, Tom Hart (TGWU Executive), Mandy Moore and John Palmer.

•A major programme of fundraising activities to finance these activities, an office and staff, and a regular information bulletin.

Building the Socialist Conference means (first of all) joining it! Thousands are on the mailing list but many have yet to actually affiliate as individuals and/or through their organisations. *Briefing* supporters who have not yet joined up should fill in the form below as soon as possible.

Regional Round-up

North-East. One day regional conference with national speakers & workshops on Saturday November 5th at Durham University Students Union, from 10-5. Contact Derek Cattell, c/o 2 The Close, Middridge, Newton Aycliffe, Co. Durham (0325 320987).

South West. One day regional conference with national speakers & workshops on Saturday October 22nd at Richard Huish Sixth Form College, South Road, Taunton from 10-5. Contact: Pete Crack, 115a Birchwood Road, Brislington, Bristol (0272 772218).

E Anglia/Essex. One day regional conference with national speakers and workshops on Saturday October 15th from 10-6 at Harlow Town Hall, Harlow. Contact: Hugh Kerr, Baytree Cottage, London Road, Potter St, Harlow (0279 418390).

East Midlands. One day regional conference planned for late November in Leicester. Contact: Paul Barry, 28 Tunstall Green, Brampten, Chesterfield (0246 202982).

North London. One day Conference on Britain & imperialism on Saturday November 26th from 10-5 at Sir William Collins School, behind St Pancras station, Camden. Also series of borough-based public meetings planned for N. London. Contact: Mandy Mudd, 11 Springfield Road, London M15 (01 801 6041).



PHOTO: Leesa Herbert

The Chesterfield Conference

Scotland. Open meeting for all Scottish supporters to plan future activities on Saturday September 24th at Cowane Centre, Stirling, from 11-4. Contact: Margaret Stewart, Top Flat, 36 Queen Street, Stirling (0786 73222).

North West. Open meeting for North West supporters to plan future activities on Saturday October 29th from 2-5pm at Preston Poly Students Union, Fylde Road, Preston. Contact: John Parkinson, 83 Wellington Street, Preston, Lancs. (0772 21814).

Southern/Home Counties. Open meeting for all supporters to plan future activities on Saturday October 22nd from 11-5 at Friends Meeting House, 6 Church Street, Reading. Contact: Tina Deadman, 89 Danley Road, Gravesend, Kent. (0474 324899).

Yorkshire. Regular local meetings in Sheffield and other new groups being set up in Yorkshire. Contact: Annette Taberner, 8 St Ronans Road, Sheffield (0742 583502); Trudy Boen, 19 Riber Avenue, Barnsley (0226 297338), Len Hodgson, 52 Hilten Road, Leeds (0532 622632).

West Midlands. Regional Conference planned for New Year. Contact: Colin Lindsay, Trades Council, Unit 15, The Arches, Spon End, Coventry (0203 714070) and Pauline Purnell, 25 Worlds End Avenue, Quinton, Birmingham (021 422 1366).

Wales. Planning a meeting of all Welsh supporters in January to plan activities. Contact: Colin Sweet, Tanybryn Commins, Llanrhaeady-Ym-Mochnant, via Oswestry, Clwyd (069 189593).

South London. Demonstration planned against the Poll Tax on October 22nd, and other campaigning activities. Contact Greg Tucker, 3 Blades House, Kennington Oval, London SE11 (01 582 2955).

NEC Slate

Why we're backing the Campaign Group Slate

The slate printed below has been agreed by the Campaign Group, Labour Left Liaison, and the Campaign for Labour Party Democracy.

By Mike Marqusee
Labour Briefing National Steering Committee

It has been presented to the left rank and file as a *fait accompli*.

The left can choose to support all of the names or only some of the names (and abstain on the rest), but no alternative candidates are available.

After consulting local groups and supporters, the *Labour Briefing* Steering Committee has voted to support the slate in full – though with many reservations about the undemocratic way in which it was drawn up and the political records of some of the people on it.

Some comrades argued strongly for the deletion of those MPs who actually nominated Kinnock in the leadership contest (Richardson, Beckett) or failed to support Benn (Short, Strang).

Others expressed considerable disquiet at the presence on the slate of Anni Marjoram, because of her role in turning WAC into a toothless bureaucratic clique unable to fight for women's rights in the Party.

Briefing would have welcomed a slate consisting only of people with a clear track record on the Benn-Heffer challenge and of commitment to rank and file participation. However, in the absence of such a slate, and faced with the danger of letting in the likes of Gould, Cook, or Meacher, we believe the most effective use of our franchise is to vote for the full Campaign Group ticket.

The LCC describes Gould and Meacher as "vulnerable" in this year's elections – because of their "identification with the Policy Review". We should make every effort to prove them right.

We should also vigorously oppose the LCC's favourite son, Robin Cook – whose veneer of leftism should be punctured by reminding Party members that he has spent recent months managing the Kinnock-Hattersley leadership campaign.

As for David Blunkett, his record on the NEC includes the following critical votes:

•for redundancies at Labour HQ;

•against "full support for any strike action that may be decided by the nurses";

•for the witch-hunt in Bermondsey.

On a positive note, Martha



Osamor (a member of *Labour Briefing's* Advisory Editorial Board) is standing for the first time in the Women's Section. Martha's record in opposing the cuts in Haringey, her long history of fighting oppressions of every kind in the Council Chamber, the Party, and the wider community, and her commitment to internationalism make her an ideal candidate.

Briefing supporters should make every effort to build her vote.

We should also work flat out to secure Eric Heffer's and Joan Maynard's timely and well-deserved return to the NEC.

Try to move the left slate as a whole to ensure that everyone is supported, not just the "big names".

Next year, we must do better. The undemocratic and politically inconsistent manner in which it was assembled has produced a slate which is weak overall and difficult to back with clear and comprehensible arguments.

NEC Voting:
Leader: Tony Benn
Deputy Leader: Eric Heffer
Treasurer: Gavin Strang
Constituency Section: Diane Abbot, Tony Benn, Eric Heffer, Ken Livingstone, Jo Richardson, Dennis Skinner, Audrey Wise.
Women's Section: Margaret Beckett, Joan Maynard, Clare Short, Anni Marjoram, Martha Osamor.
Conference Arrangements Committee (CLP Section): Pete Wilsman

Birmingham

Whip removed from twenty Labour Councillors

The Birmingham Labour Group meeting at which 20 Councillors were suspended for opposing the closure of Martineau House, a children's holiday home, was later found to be illegal.

Another one had to be convened.

Cllr Stan Yapp said the 20 could state their case in alphabetical order, which took from 6.30pm until midnight.

By Len Mason
Birmingham Labour Briefing

Councillors were then given a chance to say why they should not have the whip withdrawn. John Anderson said he regretted abstaining but did not think he had anything to apologise for.

Bill Gray, the Chief Whip, proposed to remove the whip from John for not more than six months. The vote was 46-29. Roy Benjamin was next, and got six months by a vote of 44-28.

On it went, until Councillor Doug McCarrick's turn. Douglas has been in a bad traffic accident and is still on crutches. Roger Murray asked: "Are you playing for the sympathy vote, Doug?"

McCarrick replied, "I'm frightened if I fall on the floor you'll probably kick me when I'm down." He got six months.

Phil Murphy's turn came next and he got the same six months by a vote of 42-16. Cllr Ray Brittain didn't vote. When asked why, he said, "I wouldn't take the whip off him; I'd put him in prison." This from a Labour magistrate! I couldn't help but think god help the working class.

Phil Rose called the Group and their supporters "Philistines in a desert of incompetence." He got six months (43-15). Sybyl Spence said she voted at the first group meeting to put the whip on but after much soul-searching she had to abstain. Result: six months (44-13).

In the end all 20 Councillors had the whip removed for six months. It's a pity that more observers don't attend Group meetings. That way more members would know what's going on in this Party of ours.

After the trial - Whoops! - meeting, all 20 said they would appeal.

Birmingham Labour Briefing

Re-launch hits the spot

Three months ago Birmingham's "Campaign Briefing Group" split, following the launch by *Socialist Action* supporters of their own "Birmingham Campaign Group" at the end of June.

***Briefing* supporters decided to relaunch a Birmingham *Labour Briefing* Group with our own monthly journal.**

Already, this has led to a widening of *Briefing's* support in Birmingham. We now have comrades involved in Birmingham *Briefing* from virtually every CLP in the city. We have attracted a number of new comrades who were looking for a left political lead, especially on the cuts.

By John Wilton
Secretary
Birmingham Labour Briefing

The first relaunched *Birmingham Labour Briefing* coincided with the Birmingham District Labour Party AGM, where we succeeded in getting a *Briefing* supporter elected as Vice Chair along with the left slate as a whole.

Our relaunched journal proved a great success. Particularly popular was our own version of "Periscope", entitled "*Briefing* Listens". We even received a request for a copy of our journal to be delivered to a senior officer at the City Council House in a plain brown envelope! We have been inundated with gossip and articles, and our second *Birmingham Labour Briefing* had to be expanded to twelve pages.

This is a period of turmoil in Birmingham politics. New cuts are being announced daily. Twenty Labour Councillors have had the whip withdrawn for abstaining on a vote to close a holiday home for children with disabilities.

We've produced leaflets on these issues for meetings throughout the city, explaining our opposition to cuts and calling on the 20 Councillors (and others) to vote against all cuts. The broad left Birmingham Summerfield Group passed our resolution for a public meeting on the cuts, linked to the issue of democracy in the Labour Group and the 20 suspended Councillors.

Our success has stemmed from our decision to take action as a group, and not just be a debating society.

Historically, the Birmingham left has been weak. To build a strong united, democratic left in Birmingham, the aim stated in our relaunched journal, we need action, not just words.

Feature: Education

A SOCIALIST GUIDE T

A Socialist Guide to the Education Reform Act

Building Resistance to Baker

By Ken Jones, Socialist Teachers Association

The Tories have now pushed through Parliament the most radical and wide-ranging education policy reform of the century.

It has emerged in even more reactionary form than it began, with the government accepting amendments from the Tory right on the abolition of ILEA and on religious education.

Opposition has been widespread but ineffective. Nearly every response to the Tories' consultative document was critical; yet, the ILEA issue apart, there was not a sign of any mass campaign. The principles of free, non-selective, locally-controlled state education were rolled aside – and the only protests were on paper!

The weakness of the opposition is almost as bad as the act itself. What explains it? Part of the answer is the battering of the teacher unions, the media attack on anti-racism and "positive images" of lesbians and gays, and the transformation of one-time progressive Councils into union-bashing job-cutters.

There has also been a widespread loss of heart among reformers. They have drunk deeply from the non-stop streams of right-wing polemic, and concluded that its criticisms are not so far wrong after all. The comments of ILEA Leader Neil Fletcher about the failure of modern teaching methods and the virtues of rote learning gave Tory ministers a helping hand.

When these ideas are stirred into a "new realist" distaste for controversial issues and forceful campaigning, the result is – passivity!

Such weaknesses inhibit immediate opposition to the effects of the Act. They also get in the way of developing a genuine, long-term alternative.

The intention of the Act is to take power away from local Councils, and put it in the hands of central government, or else of school governors dominated by parents convinced of the virtues of the Tory programme.

The Tories assume that elections for parent governors, or votes on whether schools should opt out, will go their way. To prove them wrong, union and Labour party activists must throw themselves into campaigns against opting out, and win the support of governors on other issues.

The powers that the Tories have given to governors need to be turned against them: when governors are told that their job is to administer scarce resources, teachers and Labour activists should argue for a campaign to demand more, and should organise action to back it.

The same principle applies on a wider front. Nothing is gained by a policy that tries only to make the best out of the system the Tories have created.

The London Boroughs that will take over education from ILEA will face year after year of cuts; if they don't concentrate on mobilising Londoners to fight them, they will simply be seen as the managers of increasingly sub-standard schools – one more blow against Labour in local government.

These challengers demand a new level of left involvement and activism in education. Part of our response must be to rebuild teacher unionism so that it's capable of defending jobs and conditions. But on its own, that will not be enough. Now it will be essential to win community support for union action.

Alternatives to the Tory programme must be developed and advanced. For years, the Tories have been talking about the content of education. The new right has developed ideas about national culture and national identity – and has taken them into political battle in Brent, Bradford, Dewsbury, and Manchester. Other Tory ideologues have insisted that schools should serve the needs of "the world of work".

Labour's response has been weak, and the unions have been almost silent. it was James Callaghan, after all, who first centred the education debate on the needs of employers, and it is Jack Straw who thinks we need a "common curriculum for a common culture".

Ideas of this sort cannot address the real experiences of black students, or girls, or working class students generally. A national curriculum will lead to new attempts to impose the culture of the dominant groups and to stamp out attempted alternatives.

Critics of the Act are now drifting towards the idea that in practice they can prevent the National Curriculum from being too bad. This relies on the efforts of reformers in the educational establishment to stop the new right getting out of hand. But it accepts the framework of the national curriculum, and will inevitably incorporate some Tory ideas.

Labour needs more than this, and it should take advantage of what space still remains. The left should be arguing for Councils to devise and support initiatives in anti-racism, gender issues, and work-related education that are based on different principles: critical, starting from the experience of the oppressed groups and not the imposed culture of the dominators. If this isn't done, it will be that much more difficult to develop overall alternatives to the Tories.

The Socialist Teachers Alliance has produced an alternative "Charter for Education". For copies, write to Paul Foley, 21 Clapton Square, London E5.



"There will be no incentrive to adopt anti-racist and anti-

Women and Reform Act

By Ronnie Held and Linda Austin, Socialist Teachers Alliance

The new Act is bad news for women!

The national curriculum does nothing for the developments which women have pushed for in teaching.

Attempts to study the important roles played by women in the past and present, the role of black women or working class women, will be discouraged.

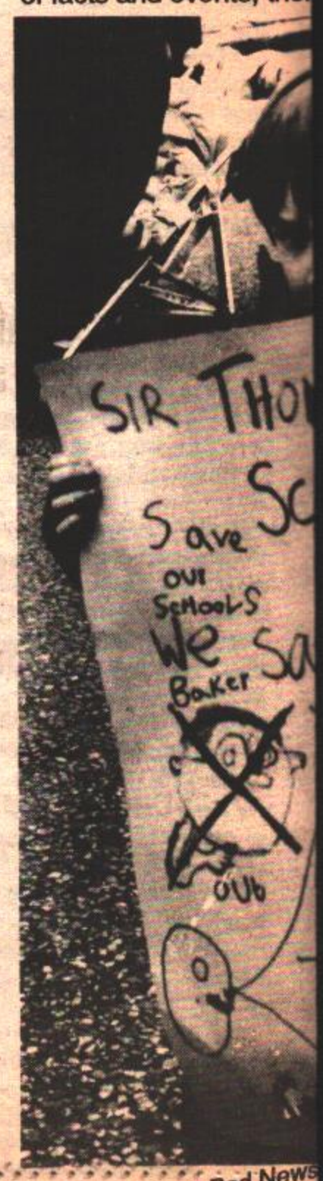
But won't a national curriculum ensure equality in that all students will have to study the same subjects?

The problem is the subjects that are to be taught. Science and technology areas (in which boys traditionally succeeded) are to be studied at the expense of home economics and social sciences (where girls have traditionally done better).

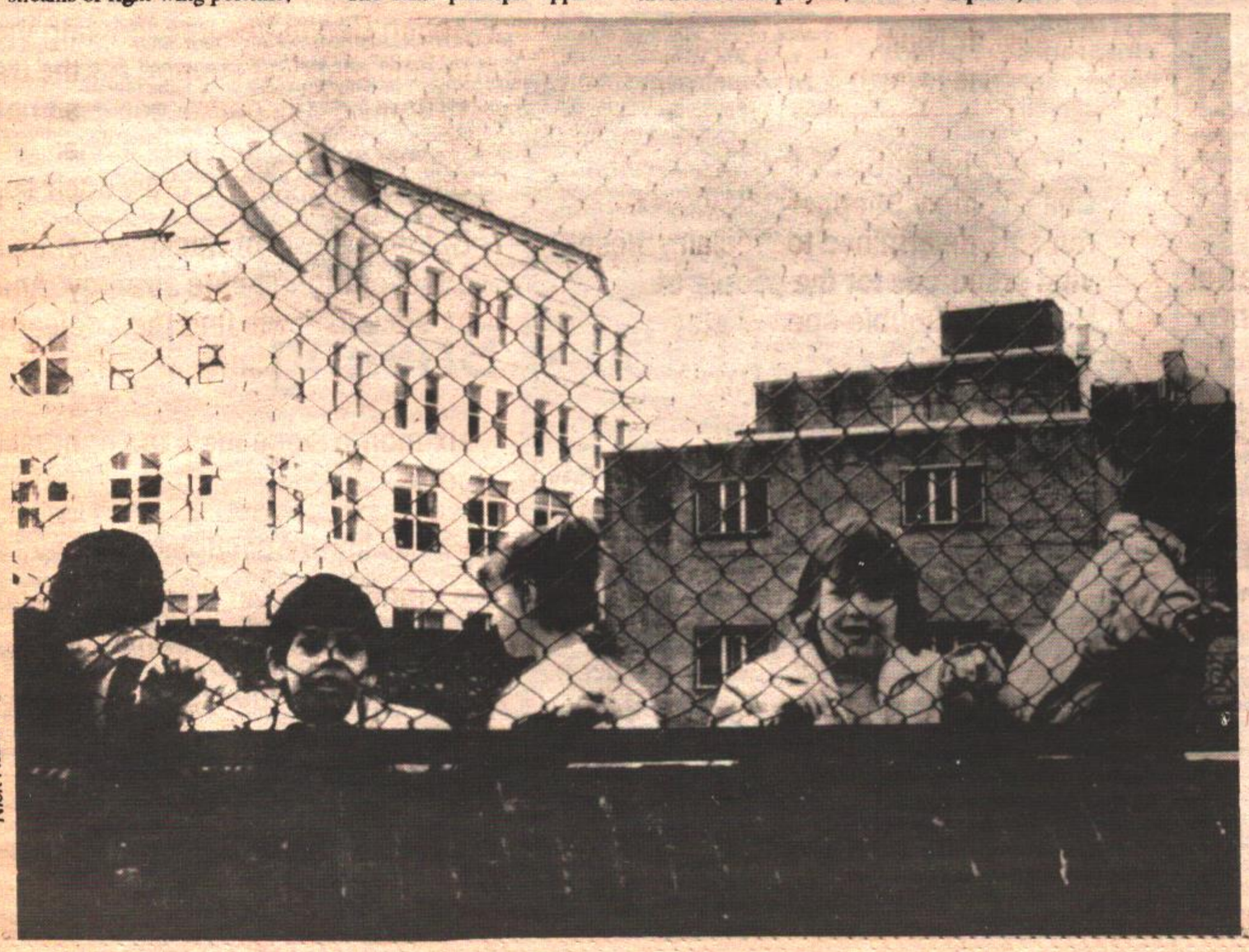
As the NUT has made clear, "subjects seen as 'male' gain status, while female ones are devalued."

Many good courses in the humanities focus on issues such as class, gender, and race in an attempt to deal with oppression and discrimination. With the demise of these subjects it will be difficult for young people at school to disc the role of women or develop strategies for counteracting racism.

If the proposed tests a seven, 11, and 14 beco limited to the rote recita of facts and events, the



Baker: Bad News



Nick Hazelwood

"Nothing is gained by a policy that tries only to make the best out of the system the Tories have created."

TO THE EDUCATION ACT



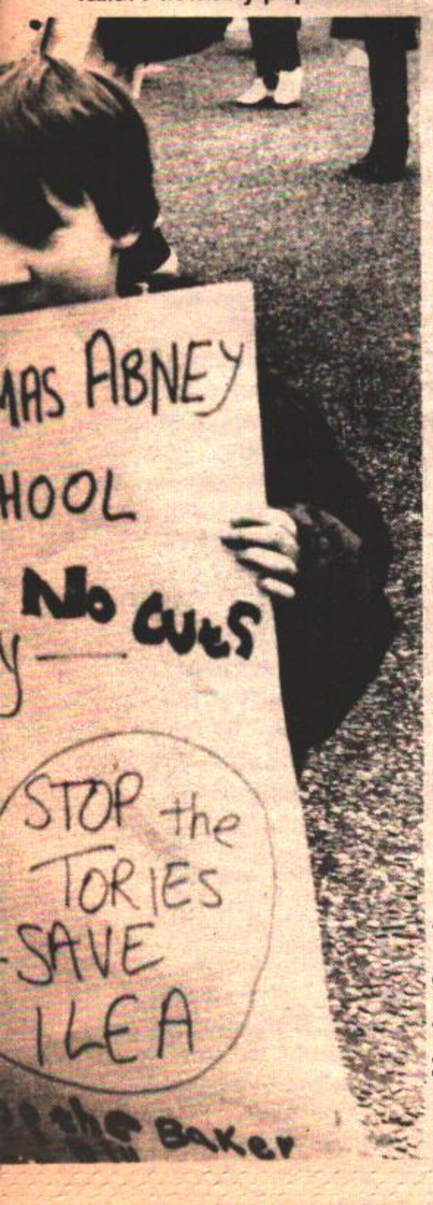
David Hoffman

exist approaches."

the Education

attempts at different pedagogical techniques, particularly suitable for girls, are likely to go out the window.

The NUT says, "Testing and displaying of results will reinforce a sense of failure in many pupils from a very early age. Girls who already suffer from low esteem and lack of confidence about their ability to do well in maths and science will be further disadvantaged."



Martine Stead

Schools which opt out will lose the advice and support of Local Authority advisers on gender and race. There will be no incentive to adopt anti-racist and anti-sexist approaches. There will be no motivation to include equal opportunities issues in training. The gains we have made over years of hard campaigning will vanish.

Who is to say what will happen to promotion procedures in schools which have opted out, where governors will be increasingly involved in the "appraisal" of teacher performance? What would happen to the promotion of women who go on maternity leave?

How "suitable" would black teachers be for upgrading, when promotion will no longer be linked to any kind of positive action policy? What kind of "business" governor will even be interested in such issues?

The Tory proposals to delegate or "devolve" financial management to school governing bodies will only reinforce the current white male hegemony of headships,

Education Reform Act - Major Proposals

By KEN JONES and PAUL FOLEY
Socialist Teachers Alliance

Open Enrolment

Parents will be able to send children to the school of their choice, provided it is not "full". The physical capacity of a school will be determined by the numbers of pupils that attended in 1979.

Open enrolment will pave the way for the introduction of "market forces" into state education. The Tories want to make parents see themselves as "consumers" of education competing against each other to gain entry for their children into the most favoured schools.

One effect of open enrolment will be a return to selection within state education as differences in status, quality, and resources between schools emerge. The Dewsbury case, where white parents won a court battle against sending their children to a predominantly Asian school, shows how the Act will be used to encourage racial discrimination and segregation.

Local Financial Management

Financial responsibility will be delegated from Local Authorities to school governing bodies.

Another key to the introduction of "market forces": in effect, school governing bodies will become boards of directors with the headteacher acting as Chief Executive. A school's income will depend on the number of pupils on roll. This could create an administrative nightmare as school rolls often fluctuate wildly.

We can expect intolerable overcrowding in some schools, whilst others will be forced to close. A big question mark hangs over national agreements on pay and working conditions. Already, the teacher trade unions have lost their negotiating rights. School governing bodies will doubtless be encouraged to tear up national agreements with other trade unions in an effort to cut costs.

Opting Out

Schools with more than 300 pupils can *opt out* of Local Authority control. If the governing body recommends opting out, a secret ballot of parents will be held. For the result to be valid, 50% of the parents must vote. Failing this, opt-out will be decided by a simple majority in a second ballot – no matter how many parents vote. If the parents decide to opt out, then the school will be funded *directly* from central government and the governing body will assume total responsibility for the budget.

This amounts to a charter for any and every reactionary interest group in education. The schools most likely to opt out include grammar schools which refuse to go comprehensive. Already, Tiffin in London and King Edward's in Birmingham are campaigning to opt out on this basis.

It gives the green light to racists, sexists, and heterosexists opposed to Local Authority equal opportunities policies. We can expect more campaigns like the one waged against "Positive Images" in Haringey. Do not be surprised if Local Authorities beat a hasty retreat on equal opportunities policies. After all, the "promotion of homosexuality" in schools is now illegal.

City Technological Colleges

CTCs will be independent of the state system. They will be funded and managed by a partnership between the state and big business.

The first CTC has opened in Solihull, Birmingham. It emphasises science and technology. For the first time in the history of state education, big business has been granted direct access to the running and financing of schools.

The Tories hope that CTCs will become selective centres of vocational education that will draw pupils out of the state system. So far, the plans have been a total flop. Major businesses, like Marks & Spencer and ICI, have refused to participate.

The Tories have been forced to accept sponsorship from British American Tobacco in Middlesborough (will smoking be allowed in class?) and to allow "Fame"-fan Richard Bracken to set up a performing arts college in Croydon.

Despite the private enterprise rhetoric, CTCs will only survive with transfusions of government cash. CTCs will also have no-strike agreements with teachers. Will the EETPU poach members from NUT?

The National Curriculum

All pupils will study three core subjects – maths, science, and English and seven foundation subjects – history, geography, technology, music, art, PE, and a modern language. The content of these courses will be determined by a government-appointed quango.

Central state control will add to the inequalities of "market" distribution of resources. All the documents indicate that the new curriculum will be a nationalist one. Its aim will be to transmit Tory values through the state education system.

It will emphasise the needs of capitalist industry and place uncritical acceptance of the capitalist economy and the "world of work" at the heart of the school curriculum. Subjects like sociology, women's studies, black studies, peace studies, and media studies will disappear.

The National Curriculum will also lead to a drastic change in teaching methods, particularly in primary schools. Formal learning will be favoured over the inquiry, pupil-centred methods used today in many schools.

Pupils, parents, teachers and governing bodies will have no control over what is taught. Types of learning geared to the specific experiences of working class youth, young women, black students, or lesbians and gays will be firmly discouraged.

National Tests

Pupils will be tested on the national curriculum at ages seven, 11, 14 and 16. The tests will be set by state-appointed quangos.

Some details have still to be worked out. How do you test a seven year old? What happens to pupils who fail?

The Tories are imposing the National Curriculum on a reluctant and demoralised teaching force. They need the testing system to ensure that teachers deliver. Testing of pupils will be accompanied by an annual assessment of teacher performance, in which the performance of her/his classes in the national tests will be a major element. Salary and even continued employment will depend on the result of that assessment.

The Tories want to place teachers under tight control. They will be expected to deliver the National Curriculum, not to encourage their pupils to think critically. National tests will also be used for "market" allocation of resources. The Tories want a standard product (the national curriculum) delivered by competing suppliers (schools) with quality control (national test results) to allow consumers (parents) to make the best educational buy (send their children to "the school of their choice").

Religious Education

Religious education is to be compulsory and there has to be a daily act of worship. These are to be "wholly or mainly of a christian character".

The racist objectives of this section are clear. Faced with such blatant institutional racism, it will be hardly surprising if followers of non-christian faiths don't clamour to opt out. Curious that when Church attendance is at an all-time low, christianity is enshrined in education law for the first time in the 20th century. Is god in need of assistance from "earthly powers"?

Abolition of ILEA

ILEA will be abolished in 1990 and responsibility devolved to Inner London boroughs.

Look where new realism gets you, Neil Fletcher! ILEA might be the softest of soft-left pushovers, but it did represent a potential focus for opposition to government policies – something the Tories will not tolerate.

Some idiots in London are saying that abolition represents an opportunity to start afresh, to establish community control over education. *Briefing* supporters should be wary of these false prophets. The Tories will reduce education spending in Inner London by 40% over the next few years. They will be in effective control of all the new Education Authorities. As inner London's schools fall apart, Council Leaders will tell us we must comply, we mustn't break the law... Unless, of course... Come on, *Briefing* supporters, we can do it! Save London's education!

Join the Socialist Teachers Alliance.
Write for details to:
Paul Foley,
21 Clapton Square, London E5

Letters

A response to Peter Tatchell's article on lesbian mothers

In his article about lesbian custody in July's *Briefing*, Peter Tatchell writes:

"perhaps those who have shown such passion and commitment to the rights and commitments of Cleveland parents should now extend their *crusade for justice* (my emphasis) to the many caring lesbian mothers who have been deprived of their children."

The implication is that the Cleveland children were torn from the bosom of their "innocent" families. Even the Butler-Shloss report recognised that the vast majority of the children were victims of sexual abuse. In fact, it appears only 12 of the 121 children involved were free from sexual abuse.

By Sandra Plummer
Camden Labour Briefing

Articles in the *New Statesman* and the *Observer*, make it clear that two of the prominent cases taken up by Stuart Bell in his attempts to prove that men were the innocent victims demonstrate the opposite.

In one case, the father hung himself in prison. Both his children stated he had sexually abused them and their mother believed them. In the second case, the father was banned by the Court from having any access whatsoever to his children.

The majority of men involved were guilty of child sexual abuse. The children were taken into care to protect them from father, uncles, and male family friends.

The pertinent questions are:

What are the causes of child sexual abuse?

How can services be developed to support and protect children and their mothers?

On the first question, much research has been undertaken, in the main by feminists. It points towards male power, the male psyche, and patriarchy as the fundamental causes of child sexual abuse. 99% of all child sexual abuse against both girls and boys is carried out by MEN – 90% by heterosexual men.

While I would agree with the basic findings of this research, I feel that it often misses out the class dynamic.

By this I do not mean whether or not child sexual abuse takes place more frequently within working class families or middle class families. What is important is whether child sexual abuse was as common in pre-industrial societies as it is in industrialised capitalist societies. Is it as common in communist states and the Third World? Whatever the answers, one thing is clear, it mainly takes place *within* the family.

This fact makes Tatchell's analogy even more ridiculous. Lesbian mothers are at the forefront of developing alternative patterns of child care *outside* of the nuclear heterosexual family.

Some Social Service Departments, such as Cleveland, have recognised the magnitude of child sexual abuse. But since the attacks in the media, Cleveland has backtracked.

What is clear from Cleveland is that child sexual abuse is extremely common in our society. The question is: who needs to be made safe? The abuser should be removed from the family home – not the children. Once again, the victims of male violence are punished, rather than the perpetrators.

We need to develop a socialist understanding of child sexual abuse. Like many other areas of oppression the left has ignored and marginalised issues around sexuality. Obviously there is not the space to develop these ideas here, but it should become a priority.

The main reason lesbian mothers lose custody is that the male establishment contends that our children will be confused about their sexuality and be more vulnerable to child sexual abuse. (This is rather a sick joke if you examine the statistics – see above). Many "fathers" take an interest in their children's welfare for the first time when they discover that their "wives" are lesbian. Socialist men, I'm afraid, are no exception.

Lastly, on a personal note, as a lesbian mother, and as a survivor of child physical and sexual abuse, I was deeply shocked to see such an analogy made by someone purporting to support the rights of lesbian mothers. This proves to me that just because you are a member of one oppressed group does not mean that you can presume to speak on behalf of other oppressed groups.

Even if Peter Tatchell's remark was flippant, this is an issue which does need debating in a serious manner. I hope he will withdraw the analogy and that other readers will contribute to the discussion on child sexual abuse, patriarchy, women's oppression, and socialism.

Features

Massacre of innocents: *Who's to blame?*



The recent somewhat mawkish coverage of the mass deaths of seals has obscured the real issue.

By Keith Veness
NUPE, Hackney Officers Branch

The seals dying throughout the Baltic and North Seas are merely the top of a food chain slowly massacred by pollution and poisonous chemicals dumped into the biological equivalent of a garden pond.

Neither the North Sea nor the Baltic are "open ocean" capable of swallowing up and recycling any amount of filth. In fact, the North Sea is on average only 400 feet deep – and in areas like the Dogger Bank it is often less than 40ft!

Much of its current area was actually dry land until its inundation at the end of the last ice-age and it remains a very shallow part of the European continental shelf.

Even more extreme is the case of the Baltic – a shallow, almost landlocked sea into which water flows but virtually none flows out again: a paradox resolved by the fact that inflow is offset by evaporation. Any pollution flowing into the Baltic therefore has nowhere to go and simply becomes part of an ever-increasing chemical porridge.

It is into these shallow and tight-necked stretches of water that big business and feckless municipal authorities dump lethal cocktails of mercury, nitrates, cadmium, and human sewage in a mixture that would have gladdened the heart of any medieval court poisoner. Even the Borgias would have been hard pressed to match some of this gunk.

The first creatures to die are micro-plankton and molluscs – bottom of the food chain. Then fish and crustaceans die, followed by "tertiary consumers" such as seals and dolphins.

The fact that various viruses are found in dead seals – herpes, HIV, and now apparently canine distemper – is sadly besides the point. Most dead seals are already so weakened by pollution and accumulating poisons that almost any virulent bacterium or virus will carry them off.

Industrial pollutants can be blamed on many nation states (Poland, Netherlands, both Germanies). However, only the Thatcher government still allows raw, untreated human sewage to be dumped into the North Sea 5,000,000 gallons of it last year! A DoE spokesperson said to the *Guardian*, "What else do you expect us to do with it?" (Drowning the Cabinet in it would be a better option.)

We cannot ignore this spoiling of our heritage. We may be too late to save much of the present seal population – though there must be a better option than RSPCA inspectors gunning them down behind sight screens – but we can press for a total ban on all sewage and toxic chemical dumping, with stronger penalties than the present derisory fines.

Lastly, we can launch a long-term programme to reverse the current capitalist spoilage of our ecology. The nitrates in the sea are products of a cruel, wasteful and unnecessary system of agro-farming that exploits the Third World and visits unspeakable cruelties on animals. Effective recycling of wastes can only be planned and paid for by national governments and ultimately by an international framework.

Free-market capitalism and gross pollution are two sides of the same coin. The Labour Party Leadership, silent on this issue because it has nothing of consequence to say, is missing a great opportunity to campaign for a system based on care and co-operation.

Industrial capitalism is not just crude and cruel – it is itself a lethal toxin which humanity can no longer afford.

WRITEBACK!

We welcome your letters! Write to Labour Briefing, PO Box 457, London SW2 5UZ.
(Letters over 300 words may be cut for space reasons, unless you state your letter may be published in full or not at all.)



It was never the time to be there, comrades

Dear *Briefing*,

Reading issue no. 66 (July 6th) of *Labour Briefing* (the first time I've read the paper), I gained the strong impression that were it not for Stephanie Grant's welcome article (and one sixth of a sentence in Chris Churchward's!), Ireland would never have darkened your pages. However, there is a welcome coverage on affairs in the world abroad, from Sweden to Colombia, and three pages on Azania/South Africa.

Why should this be? Ireland is much closer (an hour's flying time from London), and British troops are at work there – a bit more direct than Britain's "support for apartheid", for example. Not only that, but British-based progressives are in an infinitely better position to do something about Ireland than they are about Azania; they live and breathe inside the very monster.

This lack of concern for Ireland, so widespread in "the Left" in Britain, does somewhat challenge presumptions of anti-racism and international solidarity – not to mention pretensions of revolutionary socialism. If one refuses to take action against one's own capitalist government and troops, refuses to support the largest ethnic/colonial minority in one's country, and decides not to act in one of the areas *where one has maximum potential for effect* – how genuine can one's principles be? Maybe Azania is a *safer* bet?

Stephanie Grant says "the (Time To Go) Committee was only opened up for participation after the key decisions had been made and the Charter drafted," but it did not appear to be the case at the time. What happened, however, was that decisions kept being made outside the joint meetings, and agreements made in the meetings were being subverted afterwards.

One issue of concern to us was that there was to be no mention of the plight of our community *here*, despite the massive attack on our civil rights (PTA et al) and the racist ridicule of our people *as a direct consequence of* the "800 years' war" in Ireland and the last two decades of that war. However, our position on the Charter was rapidly overtaken by our unwillingness to be manipulated by undemocratic manoeuvring behind the scenes (for a full statement and chronology, contact the IBRG).

Certainly we wish to see the Civil Rights campaign of 20 years ago commemorated, and it is logical that it be used as a focus for immediate and unconditional withdrawal of British imperialism from colony and neo-colony (Eire). Of course, we're more than willing to co-operate with others in doing this. But in view of its history, can we do so under the title "Time To Go"? Can we work with groups who will be promoting their Charter at the joint events? These are serious questions of principle and strategy.

Finally, those who wish to co-operate with us will find that we know of or can provide musicians, singers, performing poets, visual artists, workshop facilitators, good plays, exhibitions, and speakers and videos. Your local branch can be contacted, or the IBRG centrally, and one may also find it useful to purchase the next edition of *An Poball Eirithe/The Risen People* from an IBRG contact.

Fraternally,
Diarmind Breatnach,
Irish in Britain Representation Group (Lewisham Branch)

PS: "Stop the Strip Searches Campaign" also pulled out of "Time To Go" – even before we did!

How *Briefing* co-operates for self-determination

Dear *Briefing*,

The letter of *Labour and Ireland* editor Martin Collins (*Briefing* Summer Special) failed to clarify the role of the LCI, and particularly of *Briefing* comrades in the LCI, in the Year of Action.

Briefing's position is surely clear. It stems from our belief in the right of the Irish, and all other nationalities, to self-determination. The biggest obstacle to the achievement of this self-determination is the presence of the British state in Northern Ireland. Therefore, we work with any organisation which seeks to mobilise support for British withdrawal. Provided, of course, that they are prepared to work with us.

The positive nature of our involvement with the Year of Action has been demonstrated by the goodwill *Briefing* comrades have shown in mediating between groups having different attitudes towards the "Time To Go" Charter. Mr Collins cannot skate over the fact that the undemocratic way in which the Charter was drawn up has alienated many people, notably the Troops Out Movement and the Irish in Britain Representation Group.

The task now is to reunify the disparate forces for withdrawal. This, in practice, will only be achieved by organising on a slightly different basis: where the Charter is useful in attracting new forces, let's use it, but it cannot be central and must never be divisive.

Because *Briefing* really is committed to this movement, it is sad to see Mr Collins resort to caricature. "Wholesale conversion to the aims of the Republican movement" has never been a pre-requisite for combined action. To imply that there are no political differences between Sinn Fein and *Briefing* (or, as Collins puts it, "Republicans and *Briefing*-style socialists") is grotesque. Again, *Briefing* works with such organisations on a principled basis, just as we co-operate with parties and factions having different political programmes in the Socialist Conference.

I wonder what motive Mr Collins can have for diminishing the size of the IBRG March for Justice ("100 strong"). As a participant in that rain-sodden event, I estimated the turnout at over 500 (and have photos).

The LCI, says Collins, has "an open and non-sectarian outlook". At local level this may well be true, and *Briefing* can take some credit for this. But at national level the onus is on Martin Collins and like-minded comrades to prove it.

Finally, I urge socialists of all persuasions to show solidarity with the Irish working class by building the Year of Action. We can deal imperialism a severe blow in 1989. It's up to *us* (my emphasis).

Jim Thain,
East London Irish Year of Action Committee, Hackney LCI

Labour Movement Campaign for Palestine

An Open Letter to Searchlight

Briefing readers will have followed recent exchanges between _Searchlight_, the anti-fascist magazine, and the Labour Movement Campaign for Palestine and Palestine Solidarity Campaign.

Below, Anna Wagstaff of LMCP replies to criticisms made in _Searchlight_ no. 157, reported in _Briefing's_ Summer Special.

1. Whilst we welcome your belated recognition of the PLO's hostility to National Front involvement in pro-Palestinian work, having previously printed allegations that the PLO invited the NF to participate in the 1983 Sabra and Chatilla demonstration, we resent the implication that "some of their (PLO) supporters on the left" are unconcerned with NF infiltration.

We challenge you to provide proof for this assertion or to withdraw it. We have consistently ensured that NF supporters are evicted from Palestinian marches, and on the 1983 march, a member of our organisation and PSC was arrested doing just that.

2. We criticised in particular the front cover of the September 1987 _Searchlight_ "The New Axis" which bracketed together the regimes of Iran and Libya, Farrakhan and the NF, as not merely inaccurate but one-sided and unbalanced, especially as both countries were under attack from US imperialism.

You say, "As evidence of Libya's support for the NF we cite the NF's own journals and the fact that representatives of the Canadian Nazi party were honoured guests in Libya." Fortunately, what the NF print is proof only of what they claim to support and their delusions, otherwise what are we to make of NF claims to support Green and Animal Liberation issues?

Exclusion

According to a Jewish member of the Canadian delegation, who organised the exclusion of the Nazis from the rest of the delegation, the Libyans were unaware of the nature of these "guests" until their arrival. For that they should certainly be criticised, but by itself it hardly constitutes proof of Nazism but rather a political illiteracy of the kind that led them to bankroll the Workers Revolutionary Party.

Both the Iranian and Libyan regimes, to differing degrees, are Islamic chauvinist, which in the middle East is largely a reaction to Zionism and imperialism. Unfortunately, _Searchlight_ continue to attack the reflection rather than the source of racism. Our position is that we condemn ANY links between ANY regime and fascists.

3. At no stage has _Searchlight_ made any criticism of the systematic racism that the Palestinians experience under the Israeli State or the latter's support for repressive,racist, and (yes) fascist regimes throughout the world – South Africa, Guatemala, Chile, the Contras, etc. To state that you called for the banning of Meir Kahane, and this in the context of supporting the actual ban of Farrakhan, is mere tokenism.

We might, for example, have expected _Searchlight_ to make some mention of the recent "anti-racism" law in Israel (which Meir Kahane supported). This Act specifically excludes discrimination sanctioned by Jewish religious law, i.e. the everyday practices of the Israeli State.

Contact

You say you diligently expose all those who have contact with Nazis, yet as the Open Letter explained, you did not mention the dinner in New York given in honour of Le Pen by leading Zionists such as the Executive Director of the World Jewish Congress, Dr Israel Singer (responsible for initiating the campaign over Kurt Waldheim) and Jacques Torczyner, President of the World Union of General Zionists.

While concentrating on Farrakhan, Black Separatism, and Islamic Fundamentalists you have nothing whatsoever to say about racism in Jewish communities: the thousands of French Jews who count themselves among the supporters of Le Pen because of his racist hostility towards Arabs in general and France's North African-Arab immigrant population in particular, or anti-Black racism in the British Jewish community – to say nothing of the attacks by Zionists on Jesse Jackson, which have in part produced their own reflection in the Black community.

It is important that _Searchlight_ should return to the role that Maurice Ludmer envisaged when he founded it. _Searchlight_ should be a paper of the whole anti-fascist and anti-racist movement and not merely a pro-Zionist splinter.

Yours in solidarity,
Anna Wagstaff for the LMCP.

Join the Labour Movement Campaign for Palestine
Individuals £2.50 (waged), £1 (unwaged)
Organisations £5

Name .....

Address .....

.....

CLP .....

Trade Union .....

Send, with cheques made payable to LMCP, to LMCP, Box LMCP, London WC1N 3XX.

Orange March in Exeter

Come and march against the fascists!

This Saturday, September 17th, the Orange Order will be marching through the streets of Exeter.

They will not be alone.

The National Front has pledged to swell the march with supporters from all over the country.

The regional NF organiser has called this event "the opportunity of a life-time" for it will allow them to build and organise in an area of the country where they are virtually non-existent. The tragedy is that part of the responsibility for allowing bigotry and fascism to flourish in this way lies at the door of a Labour-led Council.

This summer, Exeter has hosted a series of events to mark the 300th anniversary of the arrival of William of Orange in Devon. The Council has supported these events to the tune of £62,000.

First, they claimed it was purely an exercise in promoting tourism. Then, when _Briefing_ supporters pointed out the significance of Orangeism and its continuing connection with sectarian bigotry in Ireland, they said William of Orange actually represented the birth of democracy and of our democratic rights!

Ireland, they insisted, had nothing to do with it. But, just to cover themselves, they changed the name from "William of Orange celebrations" to "Anglo-Dutch celebrations".

By Exeter Anti-Fascist Action

But a change in name is not a change in realities. Tony Benn has exposed all the bunk about the "glorious revolution" of 1688 in Parliament. It was neither glorious nor a revolution. It was a coup by one section of the ruling class against another.

Ordinary people were still excluded from any exercise of power. Democracy was not on the agenda. Our rights were won in struggle, not granted to us by monarchs.

Moreover, the victory of the Protestant nobility depended upon crushing the Catholic population in Ireland. To celebrate William while trying to ignore Ireland is like celebrating Mussolini for his contribution to railway efficiency while ignoring fascism.

But the link lies as much in the present as in the past. You cannot support William of Orange without supporting Orangeism. The Labour Leader of Exeter City Council refused to listen.

He called those opposing the celebrations "five stupid bastards" and "the national association of headbangers", even though we were supported by Tony Benn, Eric Heffer, the Labour Group of the European Parliament, and the eminent historian Christopher Hill, amongst many others.

But events have proved us right. When the Orange Order decided to march in the city, it was only a continuation of what the Council had started, although Councillors feigned surprise. They professed to oppose the march, and even called for it to be banned. But they have refused to oppose the march in practice.

Over the past year, Anti-Fascist Action has organised opposition to the celebrations. It has had notable successes, such as the cancellation of a conference at the University in connection with the anniversary, and of a meeting there of the English Orange lodges.

When AFA heard of the march it called a counter-demonstration to make a mass public stand against racism and bigotry. Labour Councillors refused to back the AFA march. They voted to deny it Council facilities.

Some Labour members have gone further. They have argued that the Orange Order and the National Front have a legal right to march and, if there is any violence, it will be the responsibility of AFA!

So, not only is the Labour Group equating anti-fascists with fascists, they are even blaming anti-fascists for violence! It's like blaming the South African liberation movement for violence in South Africa! P.W. Botha might feel at home in the Exeter Labour Party!

The reality is that the Orange celebrations have brought racist intimidation and violence to the streets of Exeter. Already the NF have gone house to house with their leaflets; there has been a resurgence of racist graffiti and threats of racist attacks.

It is essential that the bigots and fascists are heavily outnumbered on September 17th and that Exeter is the scene of a massive rejection of NF politics.

Counter-demonstration leaves Hele Road, Exeter, 12 noon, September 17th
For more information contact Anti-Fascist Action, Box 176, c/o The Flying Post, 1, Parliament Street, Exeter; tel. Exeter 30556

Free the Tottenham Three

We won't forget this injustice!

On a warm Friday night in August, 40 people (with a TV documentary crew in tow) gathered outside Wormwood Scrubs Prison in West London.

By Dave Palmer Haringey Labour Briefing

Inside, Engin Raghip and Winston Silcott, convicted of the murder of PC Blakelock during the Broadwater Farm disturbances, are serving their sentences.

The third man convicted, Mark Braithwaite, is being held in Ashford Remand Centre.

The small crowd, including many of the prisoners' relatives, had come to support the picket called by the Families of Braithwaite, Raghip, and Silcott, the Tottenham Three Campaign, and the Broadwater Farm Defence Campaign. The aim was to show the prisoners, the authorities, and the world that this injustice has not been forgotten.

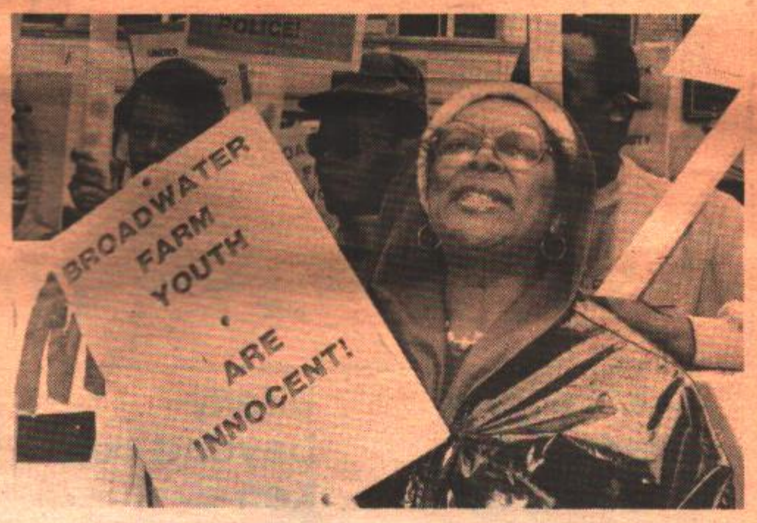
The pickets defied police orders not to stand in front of the prison entrance, before proceeding to march round the huge walls of the prison (closely observed by video cameras). At one point, less than 50 yards from the cell block where Winston and Engin are held, messages of support were shouted – and the prisoners could be heard responding.

The Tottenham Three were convicted on purely confessional evidence which the police obtained by violating the law. The trial judge was fully aware of this – but condemned these three innocent men to rot in jail for life.

Appeal

Leave to appeal on a point of law has already been turned down. Submissions have now been lodged with the Law Lords.

The government has snubbed Amnesty International's damning indictment of the convictions. Nonetheless, the families of the convicted men and their small band of supporters doggedly refuse to let this miscarriage of justice rest.



The campaign for justice continues

Already the Three have been in prison for nearly three years. A television documentary is being made which should help to raise public awareness of the case.

Millions of people in Britain are now convinced of the innocence of the Birmingham Six, despite the appeal debacle. The same sort of consciousness needs to be built around the Tottenham Three.

Briefing supporters should take up the campaign and bring it into the Labour Party and trade unions.

Viraj Mendis Defence Campaign and Sanctuary:
Building Action against Deportations
National Conference

Sat/Sun 24/25th September; Registration 9-10.30am, £10 (delegates), £5 (waged), £2 (unwaged); Accommodation and creche on request.
To register and for further information write to: VMDC, c/o North Hulme Centre, Jackson Crescent, Manchester M15 5AL or phone 061 234 3168.

Cable Street Beat

The musical arm of Anti-Fascist Action will be holding a gig on October 4th at the Electric Ballroom, Camden Town, London to celebrate the Battle of Cable Street with: The Men They Couldn't Hang, Attila the Stockbroker, and other acts.

West Yorkshire Campaign Against Plastic Bullets
March and Rally

Saturday October 8th
Assemble 11am, Standard Fireworks, Crossland Moor, Huddersfield
March to Mandela Corner in the town
Rally at 12.30pm
Contact: WYAPB, PO Box B20, Huddersfield, HD1 1XS

Chinese Against Racist Attacks Group

Conference Against Racist Attacks

Sunday, September 18th, 10-4

Camden Centre, Bidborough Street, London NW1

Contact: 01 836 8291

Building Briefing

100 Editions of "London Labour Briefing"

A balance sheet and potted history



In the spring of 1980 a small group of comrades met at our flat in Green Lanes, North London, to plan a modest new publishing venture.

One of the eight people present had arrived late. A certain Ken Livingstone had foolishly come by the inefficient North London line.

The gist of his first words to us was that someone "ought to do something about the local transport system".

Another comrade - Jeremy Corbyn - had to leave early to get to another meeting. Some things never change.

We were meeting because we were all pissed off about the collapse of the *Socialist Campaign for a Labour Victory* and its rupture as a result of sectarian tactics by *Socialist Organiser*.

The SCLV had been set up in 1979 to rally the left after the disastrous years of Wilson and Callaghan. It caught the wave of rising leftism in the Labour Party and quickly became a sizeable force in London politics.

But the SCLV foundered over the issue of whether socialist Councils should ever put up the rates. Mrs Thatcher has now resolved that dilemma for us but in those far-off days there were many on the sectarian left who did not think running a Council, and possibly having to compromise, was quite the done thing.

By Keith Veness (eye-witness)

In the wreckage, some of us tried to get the left interested in the 1981 GLC elections. Ken Livingstone, Chris Knight, and myself organised an open discussion at County Hall - not a caucus - on the theme of a "Socialist GLC". Ken thought this was a bit optimistic. Chris Knight asked what the initials "GLC" stood for. Nevertheless, we ploughed on.

A stroke of luck! The late, and by me unlamented, General Secretary of the London Labour Party, John Keys, got hold of one of our circulars and promptly wrote to every CLP in London banning them from attending. Obviously, no one was going to miss out on such an important meeting and we were amazed to find over 100 people present, waiting for us to unveil the plot!

It was on the basis of these successful County Hall meetings that the eight of us met to see if we could launch a new regroupment based not on a long-winded programme but on practical action to win power for the left.

The issue of a journal/paper/magazine came up and *London Labour Briefing* was born. I have to admit to being the most sceptical. I felt the left needed another paper like it needed a hole in the head. Nevertheless, a decision was made to launch and, probably as a concession to me, it was agreed to use a magazine format.

We all agreed we didn't want any "line" peddled and that it would be open to any Labour activist. Articles were to focus on news and activity. Organising a left majority for the GLC and ILEA was a first priority.

The rest is history. Andrew McIntosh toppled; Ken swept into office; *Briefing* denounced by Thatcher, Foot, *ad nauseam*.

After County Hall, we set our sights on the Council elections of 1982. We launched Target '82, with the *Briefing* manifesto signed by the candidates who became the Leaders of nine Labour Councils. We also started the shortlived Association of Socialist Councillors, with myself and Jeremy Corbyn as joint secretaries.

The strain of running Councils proved too much for some erstwhile comrades and they vanished into the swamps of bureaucracy never to reappear.

Quite often those comrades who did not get municipal office in 1981/82 failed to appreciate some of the problems we faced. Chris Knight, in one of his more "outre" moods, placed the immortal headline *Rally behind Fortress Islington* over the top of a fairly bland article by Alan Clinton, now a firm "new realist" cutter. It is debatable whether Clinton was more embarrassed then or now about this over-the-top approach. Chris still can't see what was wrong with it.

Gradually, a lot of the groups who were initially sceptical became involved. *Briefing* went nationwide, whilst still keeping its local supplements and regional character - hence the charmingly eccentric numbering system of London and national *Briefings*.

We have always maintained an "open door" to the left and have never scrupled from vitriolic attacks on anyone, including each other.

One prediction I will venture is that *Briefing* will see no. 200 and that by then we will be in the midst of a major upturn. These days I am not at the centre of *Briefing's* frantic activity I am a NUPE Branch Secretary and Jeremy Corbyn's agent and that's quite enough nervous fatigue for one person. But I still support *Briefing's* unique role as platform and organiser.

At present, power seems a long way off, but *Briefing* has helped prepare a layer of militants ready for the next opportunity. It has given us all a training, commitment, and well-developed sense of humour which no revolutionary should be without.

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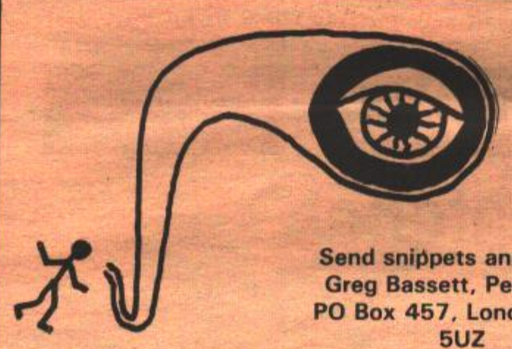
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Taking the words out of our mouths

A recent LCC members' mailing included a letter from two LCCers, Howard Harris and Alan Lipman, irate at the tone and arguments used by LCC Chair Paul Thompson in denouncing Benn and Heffer. Some choice passages include the following:

"Now we don't know about the rest of you, but we can't remember being consulted. And now it's difficult to hold, let alone express contrary views; after all, our National Chair has 'no doubts' as to what most of us think - and who wants to be out of step, 'ideologically backward', 'seldom getting beyond platitudes', 'specialising in sectarian sloganeering'.

Some of us find it increasingly unbearable to shut our mouths while the party dissolves its political purpose in verbiage.

Some of us, members of the LCC, are coming to feel that we are rapidly disappearing up the rectum of our association with Kinnock's labourism".

Utterly beyond our Ken

Are politicians stupid or do they simply believe the rest of us are? Ken Livingstone, interviewed by Dr Anthony Clare on Radio 4's *In the Psychiatrist's Chair*, made us privy to his innermost thoughts.

He described himself as "conniving", "manoeuvring", and "manipulative" and he spoke of his "political competitors". He prefers to work with women because they are "collective and supportive" (easy to dominate?).

He freely admits he wants to be Prime Minister, but says he has no regard for the type of politician who will do anything to get in the papers.

How, then, does he explain some of his own antics? He tells us that everyone is an illogical mass of contradictions, which certainly lets him off the hook.

He's nonetheless fond of universal statements; he says he's proud to be a human being (not something most of us have a lot of control over). Although professing to hate the English ruling class, one of his big heroes is Winston Churchill, "who saved the world from fascism". Another is Pope John XXIII, "one of the greatest human beings since Christ".

Is our Ken happy? You bet. He's "being paid 22,000 per year" to do what (he) wants.

Green "Solution" to Travellers?

The Green Party's libertarian and anti-racist credentials must be somewhat frayed after the recent publication in the Haringey Green newsletter of an attack on travellers which, *inter alia*, labels them "subhuman", "mobile pollution", "an ecological disaster", "uncouth nomads", "scruffy", "undisciplined", "foul-mouthed smelly scrap-dealers"...

"It's up to any member of a minority group not to draw attention to themselves (sic) and thus invite discrimination".

The Green solution to the "travellers' problem"? Simple... "there is no room in our cities, or indeed anywhere else for their anti-social behaviour."

Councillors, such a nuisance

Local Government has found its answer to *Yes, Minister's* Sir Humphrey. Forbes Watson, the new President of the Society of Local Authority Chief Executives, used his Presidential address to argue for *fewer elected members*.

Watson said, Has any Treasurer worked it out? As the role of the Local Authority becomes increasingly concerned with competitive and commercial endeavours, can we effectively employ the services of the 24,000 or so Councillors that are currently in post?

How long must such a visionary wait for his knighthood?

MICROSCOPE

Microscope is our new column, open to socialist women the length and breadth of the land who've got something to say about the socialist men in or near their lives. Send in your complaints, frustrations, indignations...

"Get back in the kitchen, woman"

Spending every evening at meetings or elsewhere working for socialism leaves little time for washing dishes or cooking meals. So when a comrade offered me an old automatic dishwasher and a cumbersome but safe microwave oven for £60, I jumped at the offer.

Surely all three members of our household would benefit from having to spend less time in the kitchen?

My socialist partner was not convinced, arguing that the third member of the household should be told to pull weight and that the labour saving items were unnecessary (and perhaps bad for his street credibility).

The microwave has hardly been used and the dishwasher left unfitted. Now, fed up with being told by women friends "we can never get hold of you... you're always out or your phone is engaged", I decided to buy a telephone answering machine, only to be told it will put up the phone bill!

Polly Flinders

BOOK REVIEW

Black Workers' hidden history

***Black Radicalism and the politics of deindustrialisation: The Hidden History of Indian Foundry Workers*, by Mark Duffield, *Avebury Press*, £24.50.**

This book challenges three myths that have arisen on the left about black workers.

By uncovering the historiography of Indian foundry workers in the West Midlands, Mark Duffield debunks the notion of the passivity of the pioneering first generation migrants.

He also questions the thesis that they did "shit" jobs which white workers would not do; and he shows that unions were not innocent victims of management's divide and rule tactics.

Indeed, under pressure from white workers, unions often combined with management to corral black workers into "unskilled" and low-paid jobs.

Mechanised

During the 50s, Asian workers tended to concentrate in the increasingly mechanised sectors of the foundry industry. Automation and the creation of new jobs forced many of the craft-dominated unions on the defensive. A new hierarchy was created in which white workers were given the choice of "skilled" jobs, while immigrant workers were restricted to the new lower-paid "unskilled" jobs.

Despite the labour shortage, the unions, the industrialists, and the government all looked unfavourably on large-scale black immigration. They adopted a policy of dispersal to avoid the growth of black communities which might place excessive burdens on the welfare state.

By Shahid Tilly
Haringey Labour Briefing

In the West Midlands, however, employers did allow concentrations of Asian labour to occur.

By the early 60s a strong Indian shop-floor movement arose, coinciding with the rise in automation and upswing of production. It politically challenged both unions and management over poor pay and conditions and job demarcations. When they did join unions, their aim was self-representation rather than union mediation.

Rapprochement

The response was a growing rapprochement between unions, management, and the state. This new corporate consensus on race perceived shop-floor agitation as a natural consequence of Asians' supposed ignorance of the British (white) way of life. Conflict was now said to stem from cultural misunderstanding.

This ideological interpretation was underpinned by a set of political measures. These included all-party consensus on control of black immigration, legislation to ban racial discrimination, the Race Relations Board, and, later on, the growth of the race relations industry.

There were new conciliation and grievance procedures combined with equal opportunity measures. Monitoring, training, industrial English classes, upgrading personnel management techniques, and giving shop stewards facilities all helped to dissipate black struggle. Asian workers' militancy was increasingly incorporated into a hierarchical system of consultative committees.

Strategy

The success of this strategy was a major blow to the Indian shop floor movement and, under the impact of the recession of the early 70s, it all but collapsed, paving the way for rationalisation and contraction in the industry.

Mark Duffield has written a provocative and insightful book strong on materialist analysis.

His links and equations between black struggle, changes in industrial management techniques, and the collapse of the liberal wing of the post-war consensus into a more authoritarian one could be used to shed light on other struggles during this period. But, at £24.50, a book definitely for the local or college library.

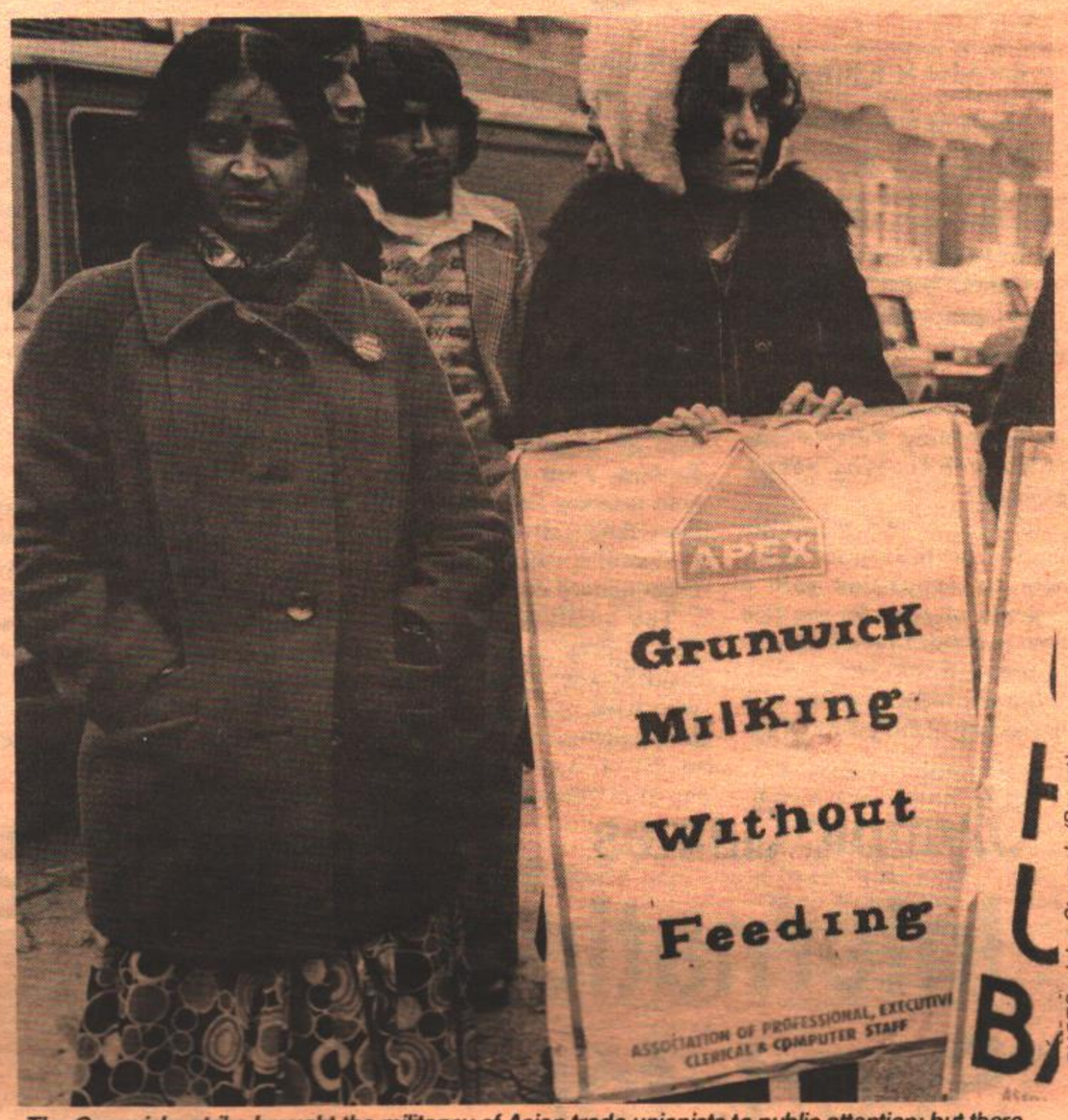


PHOTO: John Sturrock (Report)

The Grunwicks strike brought the militancy of Asian trade unionists to public attention; but there was a long history of black workers' struggle before this.

BOOK REVIEW

How patriarchy catches them young

***There's a good girl - gender stereotyping in the first three years of life: a diary*, by Marianne Grabrucker, translated by Wendy Philipson, *Women's Press*, £4.95.**

Marianne Grabrucker was determined that her daughter, Anneli, would be a "new woman", free of gender stereotyping.

This book is a diary of Anneli's development until the age of three years and five months; a record of the events which formed a "typical girl".

As a scientific work the book falls down, but it raises many questions of about the acquiring of gender roles and provides an interesting insight into the gender stereotyping of one girl and her friends.

By Julie Jeavons
Edgbaston CLP



PHOTO: Photo Co-op/Corry Bevington

Children absorb images of women's role outside the home...

With the growth of the women's movement came the realisation that the key to women's emancipation lay in their own hands and that they perpetuated their own oppression by passing on stereotyped roles to their children.

As these feminists became mothers, they brought up their children in what they considered to be a gender-free way. Still, they produced feminine girls and masculine boys and many began to accept that innate differences did exist.

Ms Grabrucker's book, however, suggests otherwise.

The world external to the family portrays women in one role and men in another. These ubiquitous images are easily absorbed. Anneli makes comments such as "man drive woman", "man kiss woman", "man talk", and "woman nothing on" from her observations outside the home.

Already she sees women in a passive role – and men in an active one – before she is two years old. She also makes an association between being big, being a man, and being able to do things.

Within the home, Marianne calls on her husband to mend the car and the food processer, re-enforcing the idea that technology belongs to men. Daddy is important because he has a job, while Mummy is classed with the children.

Boys and girls are treated differently. Friends and relatives have different expectations. Little girls are admired for their looks, boys for their achievements. Boys are encouraged ("Of course you can do it, you're a boy") and girls consoled ("You're only a girl").

The book also reveals more subtle sexism which comes from the mothers themselves. Even the most ardent feminist has gone through a socialisation process to prepare her for a patriarchal world.

Boys are actively discouraged from behaviour which is classed as "feminine". Women fear their sons will lose their privileged place in society and be outcast for showing any signs of feminine "weakness".

The pressure for change is put on girls while boys are allowed to continue in a patriarchal manner. Not until boys experience the same insecurity as girls will there be any chance of change in our society.

The book offers no answers. It is an observation of children's growth and development into roles developed over centuries. It's compulsory reading for prospective parents, grandparents, and all socialists too!

PLAY REVIEW

Mrs Klein's Nuclear Horror

***Mrs Klein*, a play, currently at the Cottesloe Theatre, South Bank, London.**

The relationship between psychoanalysis and Marxist theory has long been of interest to feminists and Marxists, particularly in France.

Is it possible to combine an understanding of the dialectical nature of the class struggle with a materialist view of the conscious and unconscious patterns which guide human behaviour?

Melanie Klein settled in England in 1934, with a reputation for controversy. Born in Vienna in 1882, she grew up with an ambition to study medicine like her father, hoping to specialise in psychiatry. But, like most women of her time, she found that marriage and children prevented her form realising her dreams.

In 1911, she moved to Budapest, where she became a patient of one of Freud's closest friends, Sandor Fereczi, and underwent psychoanalysis. She became an ardent admirer and follower of Freud and decided to become an analyst herself.

By Ronnie Held
Haringey Labour Briefing

Klein began to subvert the secondary role that child analysis was accorded by largely male analysts, who still regarded it primarily as a job suitable for a woman. (Although the major innovations and controversies of the next few decades would spring from child analysis).

Practise

She began to build up a practice, mainly with the children of colleagues, and slowly established a reputation. Moving to Berlin in 1921, she found that many established male analysts patronised her. She had no academic or medical training and was dismissed as good in practice but feeble in theory.

In 1926, she moved to England and found more interest here in working with children. Klein's work was shocking. Despite Freud, many analysts clung to the sentimental belief that infancy was full of uncomplicated love and idealisation. Klein attempted to show that infants as young as one-year old are racked with hate, rage, and terror, as well as love. She did not paint a rosy picture of the nuclear family.

Characters

The play centres on three characters: Klein, Klein's daughter, and Paula Heimann, one of Klein's most ardent supporters. We witness two hours of intense debate, both viciously personal and theoretical.

Klein's daughter, herself a doctor, was and remained one of her mother's most articulate opponents, whilst Heimann became one of her strongest supporters.

Rigour

It is great to see a play in which there are only women parts and in which so much intellectual rigour, as well as emotional intensity, comes from each actor. The dialogue in itself is enough to make you wonder how anyone survives the trials and tribulations of growing up inside the nuclear family.

Long-term troubles for Roh regime

By Mark Ellingsen
Hornsey & Wood Green CLP

Late last year, after facing well-organised mass protests, South Korea's rulers conceded important democratic reforms.

These culminated in a Presidential election in which the governing Party's candidate, Roh Tae Woo, was triumphant.

In April of this year, elections to the national Assembly saw the opposition gain a majority of seats for the first time in South Korea's 40 year history.

These events, together with the hosting of this year's Olympic Games, have given Roh's government a legitimacy which none of his predecessors enjoyed. However, the government's hope that the Games would unite South Koreans in a show of patriotic fervour has been only partly successful.

The Games have acted as a catalyst which has reopened discussion amongst Koreans of the division of their country after the Second World War. Students seem determined to hold marches to the border to meet their counterparts from the North at Panmunjon in the Demilitarised Zone.

The question of partition strikes deep in the heart of many Koreans, especially those who have not seen or heard from relatives since 1948. The government has therefore been quick to react.

On the one hand, it has suppressed any protest at the government's refusal to co-host the Games with the North; on the other, it has attempted to outflank the students by engaging in high-level talks with Pyongyang with the professed aim of smoothing the path towards reunification.

Regime

But the characters of the two regimes are so dissimilar that it is hard to see where reunification talks could lead. The suspicion is that they are just a piece of theatre, like the Games themselves.

A greater worry for the government is the future of the economy. South Korea industrialised rapidly during the Park era of the 1960s and 70s. The state borrowed heavily to invest in infrastructure and subsidise domestic shipbuilding, steel, and petrochemical companies, as well as encouraging diversification into car manufacturing and consumer electronics.

In this way, South Korea became one of the few Third World capitalist countries in the post-war era to dig itself out of the quagmire of poverty.

The problem with the economy, however, is that it is heavily export-orientated, with 78% of GDP dependent upon exports. 40% of all export trade goes to the USA. Once the US Presidential elections are out of the way, moves will be made to cut the US trade deficit, and the ensuing contraction of the US market would hit the South Koreans especially hard.

The economy has long been dependent on a low-paid labour force. To maintain this, successive governments have harshly repressed attempts at organisation by workers. But the liberalisation of labour law in October 1987 has unleashed union organisation and activity, and a rash of strikes.

In June 1988, 20,000 Hyundai car workers struck for higher pay, in the heart of Korea's industry.

One other problem looms large for Roh's government. While his Presidency is seen as legitimate by many South Koreans, he cannot escape being implicated in the Kwangju massacre of May 1980, in which over 2,000 people died at the hands of government troops — when Roh was head of Defence.

The opposition has called for a full public investigation and Kwangju is remembered every year throughout Korea in meetings and demonstrations.

The period of the Games is likely to be a quiet one for Roh. An important section of the student movement has promised to confine protest to the campuses and the parliamentary opposition is united behind the success of the Olympiad. However, there is a fear that after the Games the government will crack down on the opposition and revert to repression to solve some of the problems facing the country.

Olympic Games

International Sport, for better or worse?

Every four years tens of millions of people around the world turn on the television, put their feet up, and indulge in dreams of athletic prowess, Olympic glory, and xenophobia.

By Craig Brewin
Haringey Councillor

Those who are too busy to watch tend to wonder what the fuss is all about.

This is the biggest Olympiad since 1972, the last Games not to suffer from a major boycott. Virtually everyone has boycotted the Olympics at some time or other, although when the British tried it in Moscow in 1980 a few defiant athletes went anyway, including the present Tory Sports Minister.

The Olympics is anything that you want it to be. Politicians, administrators, spectators, the media, and big business all try to interpret and use international sport according to their needs.

It is often portrayed as a healer, a means of bringing nations together. Conversely, it is also seen as an agent of nationalism, inspiring chauvinist ecstasy. The truth, however, is that sport is politically helpless. It can be used as a weapon by anyone who gets hold of it – but the point to remember is that it is *used*. International sport is not inherently reactionary – or progressive.

Back to the Olympics. They are not the world championships of sport. All major sports now have their own World Championships, including track and field athletics.

They are also not the embodiment of the "amateur sporting ideal". Athletes now have substantial trust funds and even Boris Becker will be playing in Seoul this year.

They are a source of media hype (will Coe go?) and TV ratings (athletics has consistently been the top-rated TV sports event in recent weeks). They are also a major vehicle for advertising and marketing a wide range of products.

Among the goods on sale are the athletes themselves. They need to present an image that will attract the big companies' megabucks for endorsement.

The host city also advertises itself. Birmingham justified the expenditure on its futile Olympic bid (much of it spent on gifts to Olympic Committee members) by stressing the commercial benefits to the city of the high profile it received even without actually winning.

The competing nations try to market their political and economic systems, and this year, the host country, South Korea, is clearly determined to market its democratic legitimacy and economic stability.

But remember, all this depends on *you*. The money will come in from the sponsors only because *you* are watching. Every person watching is a potential consumer and the multinationals will seek to make a fortune out of persuading the world's biggest captive market to buy and buy.

The question of drug use by competitors is being given a higher prominence this year than ever before, partly because of the arrest of former British athlete David Jenkins for steroid smuggling. Jenkins has a vested interest in persuading us that drug-taking is rife in sport, but still his recent comments ring true.

Jenkins maintains that international sport is "no longer a healthy pastime". It is a "war game" in which the pressure to succeed forces athletes into drug-taking. In fact, he says, there are now some sports in which you "cannot succeed unless you take drugs".

As for me, I admit to being hooked. Give my apologies to the next GC; I'll be glued to the telly.



Carl Lewis and Ben Johnson will be racing for 100m Gold in Seoul

Along the Colour Line

Whither the Rainbow?



A personal view of affairs in the USA by Dr Manning Marable

Current indications are that both US presidential hopefuls will indulge in banalities rather than focus on concrete issues.

Reagan's shoddy effort to smear Dukakis on the grounds of mental instability, a falsehood picked up from the far-right LaRouche organisation, was typical of the general level of political discussion.

But in America, where millions turn out to vote but find little to choose between, the politics of polemics and image-making is standard.

But little of this is relevant to what has really been important about the current electoral year. By any criteria, the Jackson campaign's successes of 1988 will weigh far more significantly in the history books than the election of either Bush or Dukakis.

Jesse didn't win the Democratic nomination. But that was never the fundamental purpose of his campaign. The electoral mobilisation represented a political protest against the increasing conservatism and neo-Reaganism of the Democratic Party.

It was an effort to coalesce the broad, progressive forces within the liberal-to-left wing of the Party behind a single candidate. But the Rainbow was also implicitly a critique of the bankruptcy of Americas two-party system, which promises democratic choices but delivers bland clone-like candidates of the same ideological hue.

If we had a system of proportional representation, the Rainbow would not be inside the Democratic Party at all.There would be no reason to compromise with the likes of Sam Nunn and Lloyd Bentsen, since we would control our own organisation, our agenda, and political destinies.

Instead, there are two massive electoral parties largely dominated by corporate interests and upper class elites.

One might call for a political schism from the Democrats, by developing a political organising committee of representatives from minority, feminist, labour, farmer, environmentalist, and other constituencies, and then establish the framework to launch a Third Party from a local and statewide basis. The odds of mounting such a strategy successfully are admittedly slim.

The last Third Party effort which actually led to the formation of a permanent electoral force on the national scene was the founding of the Republican Party back in the 1850s.

Jackson's convention speech was actually *two speeches* with radically different audiences and purposes.

The first speech, Jackson's initial remarks, called for Democratic Party unity between progressive and conservative wings. He accepted Bentsen's vice-Presidential nomination, a "Tory Democrat" who is to the right of Bush in numerous respects.

Necessity

Jackson acknowledged the necessity to close ranks against the Republican foes, and promised his allegiance to Dukakis. These concessions were required if Jackson or his closest political associates were to exercise any future leverage within the Democratic Party's hierarchy.

Jackson's second speech was, of course, his prime message to the grassroots, Rainbow constituency. With telling effect, the moving personal story – "I understand when nobody knows your name or when others call you outcast" – spoke for millions of the poor and oppressed.

But the real challenge for Jackson and the proponents of the Rainbow is whether they will be able to reconcile the aims and objectives of this constituency with the electoral strategy and strategic compromises they have already made with conservatives.

In the last analysis, there will never be peace between these two wings of the Democratic Party. Either the conservatives will purge the left, or the liberals will be transformed into moderates and will disavow their old agendas. In the near future, the Rainbow will be forced to face this hard reality.

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The American political system is unique in that it gives the electorate "selections without choices". The Republican convention in New Orleans was a dreary event, entertaining only in the sense that it showed that thousands of people can dwell in political unreality, espousing dogmatic and dangerous slogans, marching lock-step into the abyss of fear, war, and intolerance.

The Democrats are only superior due to the presence of progressive forces within their ranks, but even the Rainbow's stunning victories last spring do not negate the intellectual and political poverty of the bulk of the Democratic Party's right wing Leaders.

When the two parties compete, personalities rather than issues generally dominate, Seldom is the voter given an opportunity to make a real choice between candidates offering fundamentally distinct policy alternatives.

The current Presidential contest is as good an example as any. Dukakis and Bush have had very different political careers and experiences in public life.

Dukakis is a three-term governor of an eastern state, with considerable administrative experience. Bush is a former Congressman, ambassador, CIA head, etc., a political chameleon whose identification with moderate Republicanism declined as his narrow ambitions for higher office soared.

Dukakis's record on civil rights does not equal Walter Mondale's, and Bush's is at best pathetic. But given the conditions facing Black Americans and working people, farmers, racial minorities, the elderly, and individuals on welfare or other government programmes, the selection between Bush and Dukakis is easy.

Unquestionably, Dukakis is the "better candidate". Without fear of congratulation, we can easily predict that more than 90% of the votes cast by Black people this November will go to Dukakis. The Hispanic vote for Dukakis (excluding the Cuban electorate) should be at least 75%. The unemployed will go for Dukakis by 65 to 75% and union household voters by roughly 60%.

Evangelicals

We also know that at least three-quarters of all Born-Again Christian evangelicals will go for Bush; that 70% of all voters earning over $100,000 annually will support him, as will a substantial majority of home owners and property owners.

In effect,these voters are not selecting one candidate over another. They are voting their social class interests as best as they can perceive them, within the limited and contradictory framework of America's electoral system.

Bush and Dukakis are opponents only in the sense that victory for one means political oblivion for the other. But beyond personality battles resides the heart of politics, the question of power. And whoever wins this coming November, the issue of empowering the poor, minorities, working women, the unemployed and others who experience racism, economic oppression, and discrimination will not appear on the national agenda.

Both major party candidates endorse Reagan's foreign policy of "neo-detente" with the Soviets, although Bush has been forced for tactical reasons temporarily to shelve his real beliefs on this question.

Both favour an East-West, confrontational approach to international policy, rather than espousing a North-South agenda which would focus on uprooting poverty, hunger, and neocolonialism in the Third World.

Both favour limitations on federal intervention to resolve domestic social and economic problems, although Dukakis would undoubtedly be more "humane" within a limited fiscal framework.

Both support the goals of budget management and administrative efficiency. Both oppose radical steps to eliminate unemployment and poverty.

We need to be very clear about what is at stake in the selection of Dukakis vs. Bush. There is clearly a difference between the two candidates. But that difference will not culminate in any fundamentally different policy alternatives in many areas of domestic and foreign affairs which affect Blacks and working people.

International Writeback

We include here a selection of the letters we have received over the summer break in response to various articles in the pages of "International Briefing".

Contradictions on Cardenas?

Dear *Briefing*,

With reference to your article on the recent Mexican elections (*Briefing*, Summer Special), I believe a correction is necessary.

It is not true that the left opposition candidate, Cauahtemoc Cardenas, has refused to back major demonstrations against the electoral fraud of the PRI. The article is contradictory in that it criticises Cardenas yet acknowledges that the FDN, which he helped to organise, *is* calling for demonstrations.

It was the PRT which claimed that Cardenas was backing off and counterposed a series of actions which they were organising. But Cardenas has organised a month of huge rallies and marches all round the country - some even larger than the 210,000 plus rallies sparked off by his Presidential campaign.

The PRT denounce Cardenas because he is not willing to back the PRT's activities. This rivalry is not surprising as the PRT was the only left group to refuse to back the FDN Presidential campaign. It lost its electoral deposit.

The other left forces did eventually all mobilise behind the anti-PRI upsurge represented by Cardenas, including a number of Trotskyist groups. It's important to recognise the role that the MAS has played in the formation of the FDN, the formulation of its radical programme, and in the huge election campaign mobilisations.

The future for revolutionary action will include both left groups such as the PRT and the MAS, and the anti-PRI current of the FDN. It is too early to say in advance how any of these forces will develop as the crisis-ridden ruling class lurches towards a pre-revolutionary situation.

John Calderon,
Haringey

The blurred lens of *"political revolution"*

Dear *Briefing*,

Colin Meade's analysis of "perestroika" ("Gorbachev's good resolutions") is an attempted Trotskyist analysis of recent Soviet developments.

Trotsky said that the Soviet bureaucracy would not be able to lead the Soviet people to a democratic socialist economy and that a "political revolution" by the Soviet working class was needed. Therefore Gorbachev's reforms cannot work, although Mr Meade hopes their failure will lead to a "political revolution".

In spite of Trotsky's heroic and important role in the 1917 Revolution, his major contribution in establishing the Soviet Union and his powerful intellectual legacy, his call for "political revolution" is meaningless in Marxist terms.

Either the Soviet Union established a base of economic relationships that would allow the construction of a socialist society (in which case a revolution would not be needed), or it did not, in which case another class-based, economic revolution would be needed. To compare the USSR to Yugoslavia, a country very different in history and geography, is not useful.

The British left has been scarred by the legacy of the Stalin/Trotsky conflict. I hope the USSR will publicly acknowledge Trotsky's major importance, now they have admitted Stalin's crimes. And then I hope British "Trotskyists" will stop looking at the USSR through the blurred lens of Trotsky's call for "political revolution".

Will Brown,
Bristol.

NACTU and COSATU

Dear *Briefing*,

Your double page spread on South Africa (*Briefing* no 66) was good, but I would like to comment on the article by Steven Potter in order to clarify the position of NACTU in relation to COSATU and the unity talks.

Steve states: "NACTU ... refused to participate in the founding conference of COSATU, using the largely spurious excuse that the COSATU unions were dominated by white cadres."

In fact, joint meetings of all the unions in South Africa were held on June 8-9th, 1985, involving Azactu (Azanian Confederation of Trade Unions), COSA (Council of Unions of South Africa), and what became the COSATU unions.

Following this meeting, letters were sent out to all Azactu affiliates, signed by the Chairperson of the talks, *excluding* Azactu from any subsequent talks. This was later followed by the break-up of the talks between COSA and COSATU affiliates.

Following the formation of COSATU, Azactu and COSA met to discuss future activities. A joint statement was issued explaining the position of COSA and Azactu. This statement contained within it a strong commitment to workers' unity and workers' control, based on the leadership of the working class.

COSA and Azactu later merged to form NACTU (National Congress of Trade Unions) and declared its support for a single union federation. This can only be achieved through a process of unity in struggle and, as Steve Potter points out, important steps have been taken in this direction.

David Lee,
Azania/Namibia Forum

Kitson corrected

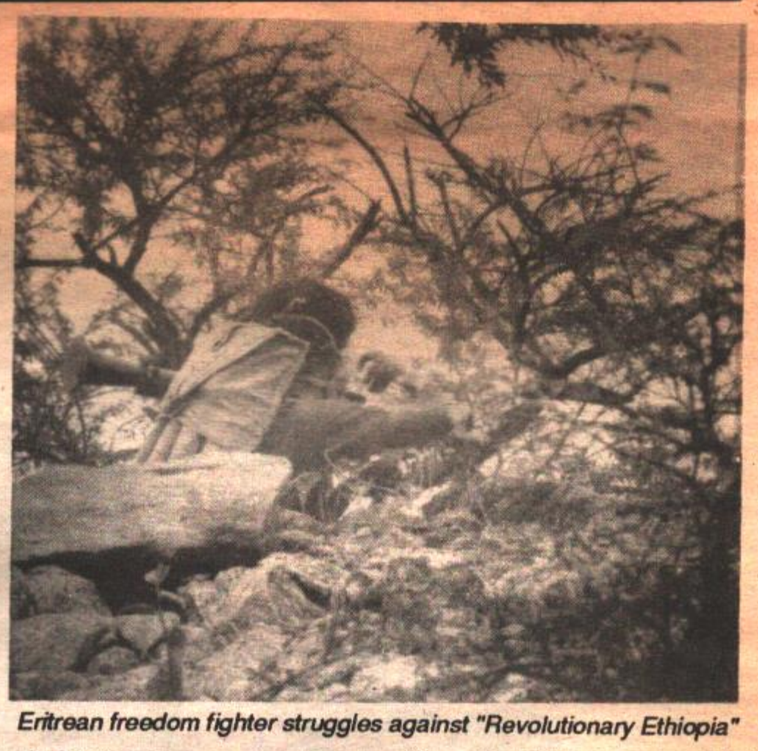
Dear *Briefing*,

I am writing to express my disagreement with some of Dave Kitson's statements on Southern Africa in *Briefing* no. 66.

I think we should avoid the use of the term "Boers" which detracts from the culpability of the *whole* white ruling class in maintaining the racist state. Indeed,the "Anglophone" section of the ruling class is economically dominant, and is showing now that it will defend apartheid against the black working class and its allies.

Comrade Kitson states that "the Soviet Union continues to support liberation," without any qualification. The last 60 years history shows us that the Soviet bureaucracy is more concerned with seeking areas of diplomatic influence within the framework of "peaceful co-existence" with imperialism, than with liberation.

Its support for liberation struggles is always *conditional* on some measure of diplomatic support in return. In South Africa, this is manifested in *exclusive* support for the ANC, and the latter's fulsome praise for Soviet foreign policy (e.g. on "Revolutionary" Ethiopia and against the Eritreans) and the Stalinist system.



Eritrean freedom fighter struggles against "Revolutionary Ethiopia"

In any case, the USSR is now clearly trying to "disengage" from regional conflicts in return for a comprehensive arms deal with imperialism. This has major implications for Southern Africa in the coming years.

David Kitson calls on us to build "in particular" the non-stop picket of the South African Embassy. If people want to be involved in this, fair enough. The solidarity movement should be built as a pluralist and democratic campaign, and the Anti-Apartheid Movement's sectarianism in refusing to endorse the picket should be condemned.

But, the picket itself is basically a publicity stunt which may annoy the British and South African governments, but puts very little, *real, material* pressure on them.

It also has the effect, because of the physical demands placed on its participants, of encouraging a certain intolerant fanaticism amongst its advocates, which is inimical to the development of open, critical debate.

We should argue in the A-AM for support for those who are working to *implement* the A-AM policy of workplace action against Apartheid goods, a major reorientation to the trades unions, and, in the localities, the building of a militant A-AM that focuses on British imperialist collaboration – a movement in the tradition of the Vietnam Solidarity Campaign.

Comradely,
Philip Ward

15 years on...
we still remember and fight on!

March for Chile

Friday 16 September

Assemble 11.30-12noon, Berkeley Mews,
near Marble Arch tube, London

Organised by: The Chilean Youth Co-ordinator UK
Sponsored by: Chile Democratico, Chile Committee
for Human Rights , Chile Solidarity Campaign

LABOUR BRIEFING

Benn-Heffer round-up

Leadership Battle in Scotland

Together, the Benn-Heffer Leadership Campaign and the Campaign Against the Poll Tax have helped to strengthen the left in Scotland.

By Allan Green
Maryhill Labour Party

On Friday August 26th, around 750 people attended the Benn-Heffer rally in Glasgow. The following day around 200 people attended the Campaign Group Scotland's Conference in Dumbarton.

Speaking at the rally, Jimmy Wray, Labour MP for Glasgow Provan, drew attention to the Labour Leadership's weakness in fighting the Poll Tax and argued strongly for "a Scottish campaign of non-compliance non-payment of the Poll Tax".

Some Scottish Labour MPs - among them Robin Cook and George Galloway - while favouring non-payment of the Poll Tax are still backing the Kinnock-Hattersley ticket, dedicated to compliance with the law at all costs.

Eric Heffer paid a warm tribute to Harry McShane, veteran Red Clydsider who died recently. He also chose to state publicly his conversion to support for a Socttish Assembly. Hattersley and Prescott supporters had been using his previous opposition to the Assembly against him.

Jeremy Corbyn MP derided "the pathetic *Labour Listens* exercise" and put forward a socialist alternative to the Policy Review. Ann Pettifor drew attention to the "divide and rule" role of British imperialism in Ireland, and explained the need for Labour to break with the current bipartisan response to the crisis in Ireland.

Closing the rally, Tony Benn argued that the Leadership campaign would help to "rebuld the Party from the bottom".

The boost for the left in Scotland was visible at the Campaign Group Scotland's Alternatives to the Policy Review Conference.

The size of the Conference was impressive, given the past predominance of the LCC on the Scottish left. It was also significant that non-Campaign Group supporters such as Scottish Labour Action (a left wing split from the LCC) participated in comradely fashion. Indeed, Maria Fyfe MP, a Tribune member, played a very positive role in the workshops and the closing plenary session.

Les Robertson, Labour Leader of Dunbarton District Council, and Dennis Canavan MP opened the Conference.

Robertson gave two local poignant reasons for supporting Benn and Heffer's challenge. The local Council is the only District Council in Scotland that was refusing to co-operate with the Poll Tax. The Labour Party HQ was approached for legal advice about how to reply to letters from the assessor. However, no support was forthcoming because of the Leadership's support for obeying the law. Robertson also criticised Kinnock's confused position on nuclear weapons - the Faslane nuclear base is only a few miles from the Conference centre.

Canavan, referring to Labour's best ever general election result in Scotland, said that that Poll Tax question was related to the devolution question. Labour in Scotland would have a credibility problem if it refused to act on its mandate.

Canavan argued that the campaign for a Scottish Assembly should be focussed outside Westminster and that the only way to defeat the Poll Tax was through extra-parliamentary action. A mass non-payment campaign was a real possibility, but Labour Leaders were offering no direction.

These themes were closely examined in the workshops. The need for a woman to be on every reselection shortlist was raised; there is only one woman MP out of Labour's 50 in Scotland.

On the positive side, women now hold key positions in seven out of the 30 Labour-controlled Local Authorities. However, less than a quarter of all District Councillors are women, and only 16% of Regional Councillors are women.

The Conference should help to spur an improvement in the representation of women in the Scottish labour movement.

Tony Benn, speaking at the Conference, claimed the Leadership challenge has helped "put socialism back on the agenda." The potential shown by the attendance and discussions at the Campaign Group Conference certainly give some grounds for optimism.



PHOTO: Andrew Wiard (Report)

Benn-Heffer Diary

September

16th: Manchester Rally with Dennis Skinner

19th: Sheffield Town Hall, 7.30pm, Benn & Heffer

21st: AEU Club, Salford, 7.30pm, Heffer

23rd: London Rally (see box)

October 1st: Eve of Poll Rally, Pembrook Hotel, Blackpool, 7.30pm, Benn, Heffer, Abbot, Skinner, Wise

October 2nd: *Labour Briefing* Conference meeting, 8pm (immediately following the electoral college), at the New Clifton Hotel, Blackpool, with Tony Benn, Eric Heffer, Martha Osamor, Mandy Mudd, Pauline Purnell.

VOTE! VOTE! VOTE!

This month will see crucial branch and GC meetings in CLPs across the country. Our aim must be to secure the biggest possible vote for Benn and Heffer in the Constituency Section of the electoral college. Please notify the *Briefing* office of results in your GCs as soon as possible.

ACTT Ballot result

Political levy-paying members of the ACTT have voted by a slim 811 to 683 to support Kinnock over Tony Benn. The Deputy Leadership vote was Hattersley 626, Heffer 444, and Prescott 415. Little Benn-Heffer campaigning had been undertaken amongst the cinema and television technicians. The result is much better than expected and gives an idea of what could be achieved with a stronger trade union campaign.

Benn and Heffer at the TUC

Following the expulsion of the electricians in the morning, the Benn-Heffer campaign held a fringe meeting in Bournemouth on Monday September 5th. With 200 delegates attending, the meeting was easily the biggest left event at a TUC Conference since 1981.

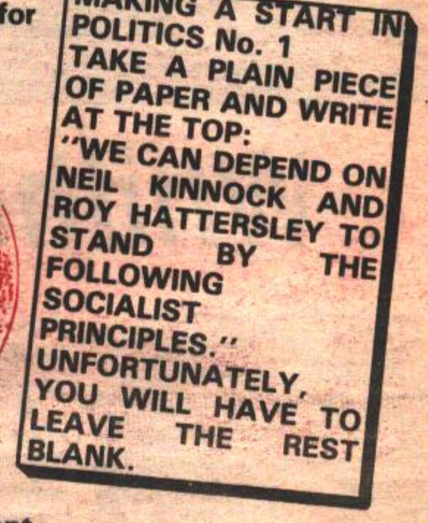
A speaker from Flashlight joined the platform, from which Eric Heffer called for the expulsion of the EETPU from the Labour Party.

Benn-Heffer Badges & Cards

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THE LONDON CAMPAIGN FOR SOCIALISM

CHALLENGING THE LABOUR LEADERSHIP . . .

TONY BENN MP
and
ERIC HEFFER MP
will be speaking at the

CAMDEN CENTRE
Bidborough Street, London NW1 on
FRIDAY 23 SEPTEMBER
at 7.30pm
with

JEREMY CORBYN MP

BETTY HEATHFIELD
Women for Socialism

PETER MARSHALL
COHSE

MARTHA OSAMOR
Haringey Councillor – NEC Candidate

JOAN TWELVES
Lambeth Councillor

Entrance: £1
– free for unwaged.

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