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the next step

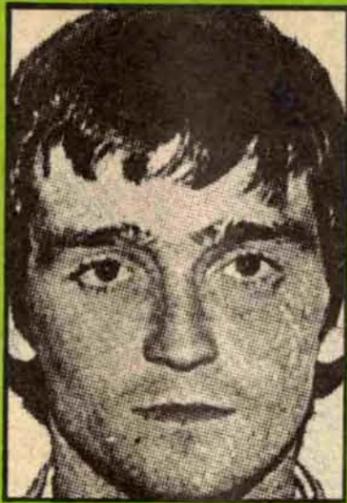
Revolutionary Communist Party • 15 May 1987 • 30p

TORIES, LABOUR, ALLIANCE
BACK THE SAS

THE RED FRONT SUPPORTS
IRISH FREEDOM

Our full election agenda — turn to pages 6 & 7

EIGHT IRISH VICTIMS OF BRITISH DEMOCRACY



Patrick McKearney



Tony Gormley



James Lynagh



Patrick Kelly



Declan Arthurs



Gerard O'Callaghan



Seamus Donnelly



Eugene Kelly

Loughgall and the election

Whoever wins the general election on 11 June, it will make no difference to the eight Irishmen pictured on our front page. They were all shot dead on Friday night, outside the police fortress in Loughgall, County Armagh, by the armed defenders of what passes for British democracy in Ireland.

The massacre at Loughgall was a fitting last entry in the record of the second Thatcher government. It captured the brutality and sheer bloody-mindedness with which the Tories have cracked down on those who oppose their will.

Machine-gunning Irish republicans to death from the cover of ditches is far from being a new British policy in occupied Ireland. Imposing the colonial borders of the 'United Kingdom' against the wishes of Irish people who want their nation to be free and united has always been a violent business. But the calculated way in which the eight IRA volunteers were set up and shot down, and the open gloating by media and government which followed the killings, was sadism of a new order. This is typical of the ruthless style which the British authorities have adopted in the struggles of the eighties, and which Thatcher personifies in such a stonefaced fashion. Loughgall gives us a glimpse of the sort of people and policies we are going to be up against after the election.

The reaction to Loughgall over here should also serve as the sharpest reminder that the major opposition parties are not a lesser evil than Thatcher. The friends and relatives of the fallen Irish republicans can be sure that they would be dead whichever party was in power at Westminster. Every top politician has heaped warm praise on their killers. The unanimous response to Loughgall confirmed that, when it comes to protecting the oppressive power of the British state, all sides of the house of commons unite and act as the political wing of the SAS.

The open all-party support for British death-squads in Ireland reflects the Tories' success in redrawing the British political map. Through the Thatcher years, the Tories have brought the opposition parties over on to their ground by raising the political stakes, and demanding that all those who are loyal to Queen and country give the authorities unequivocal support against their enemies without and enemies within. They have popularised certain political buzz-words, the mention of which is guaranteed to bring Labour and the Alliance running to back the government. 'Picket-line violence' is one such device. 'Terrorism', and especially 'IRA terrorism', is another.

It is now considered acceptable for state agencies to take any repressive steps they think fit against those who are branded as 'IRA terrorists'. Indeed, the opposition parties do not even dare to describe the ferocity of the British security forces in Ireland as 'violence'.

As bullet-riddled Irish bodies lay littered around Loughgall, Labour leader Neil Kinnock could make the incredible comment that the SAS had won 'a significant victory against the men of violence'. The Kinnockite *Daily Mirror* even opined that the massacre would 'cheer all who support the ballot box, not the bullet and the bomb, who want to settle the problem of Northern Ireland by

talking, not terrorism'. Labour accepts the fact that the security forces do their talking out of the barrel of a gun as a legitimate part of the British 'democratic process'.

The Tory/Labour/Alliance pact against Irish republicans is the clearest example of how they all agree that the oppressed and the exploited have no right to fight back. They demand that we accept the authority of the establishment, play by its rules, and confine our involvement in politics to voting once every few years in their general elections.

In the occupied Six Counties of Ireland, this means nationalists can vote in elections to the parliament of a foreign power which organises the oppression of their people. In return for this 'right', they are expected to give up the right to resist the unwanted attentions of 30 000 members of the British security forces. If they refuse to bow to the diktats of imperial British democracy, they are branded as 'terrorists' and can be shot through the head in a muddy field in Armagh.

The British working class does not suffer the naked class violence with which our rulers run their garrison state in Northern Ireland. But here, too, the major parties deny us the right to fight for our interests. They all insist that we should limit our role in running society to choosing between different defenders of the establishment at election time.

The Labour Party is the loudest champion of this passive approach. Kinnock has told one group of trade unionists after another not to embarrass him by going on strike for their rights, but to subordinate everything to the aim of getting Labour elected. He has given those who object the political equivalent of a bullet in the back. On Monday, as civil servants debated whether or not to hold a ballot on all-out strike action in the run-up to the general election, their union leader warned that a 'yes' vote would bring Kinnock down to their HQ 'with a bazooka'. They took the point, and voted 'no' to the strike ballot.

It is time we stopped taking orders from politicians whose idea of defending democracy is to send out assassination squads. Our right to resist state repression and fight for our people cannot be subordinated to the 'sovereignty of parliament', or to the electoral ambitions of any party. Whichever one wins on Thursday 11 June, we will still face the fury of the British authorities and their agents if we dare to challenge the ruling class on Friday 12 June. Irish republicans have learnt this truth the hard way over the long years of their liberation war. They have also proved that it is possible to resist, if we refuse to be bound by the rules laid down in the corridors of capitalist power.

In the general election, we are campaigning for the candidates supporting *The Red Front* — a platform for working class unity (see pages 6 and 7). *The Red Front* is a focus for all those who demand the right to fight for the working class. It upholds our right to struggle for a decent life and for freedom from oppression. The events at Loughgall should convince us of the crying need to unite left-wing people behind the banner of *The Red Front*. The alternative is to support a party which unites with Thatcher in congratulating those who will kill to crush resistance to the rule of tyranny.



THOUSANDS FOLLOWED IRA VOLUNTEER PATRICK KELLY'S COFFIN THROUGH DUNGANNON

DEFIANCE AT IRA FUNERALS

'They will be sorry'

As British paramilitaries, politicians and pressmen gloated over the SAS executions of eight IRA volunteers at Loughgall in Northern Ireland last week, the Irish people buried their war-dead with dignity and defiance

We will remember Tony Gormley. We will remember Loughgall. They will be sorry.' So said Sinn Fein leader Gerry Adams as he stood at the graveside of IRA volunteer Tony Gormley in St Patrick's church in Aughnagar, County Tyrone, on a bleak Monday afternoon this week. Hours earlier, at the funeral of Patrick Kelly from Dungannon, a woman volunteer dressed in a black uniform stepped out of the crowd to deliver a message to the British government: 'We are still here, stronger, more resolute, more determined.' The nationalist people who turned out in their thousands to follow the coffins of the dead republicans did not come to cry, but to carry on the fight for Irish freedom.

All along the long and winding roads of East Tyrone makeshift black flags fluttered from the windows and Tricolours flying at half-mast billowed brightly against the green of the countryside. The people who stood in silence, shoulders set straight against the wind, as a single piper played the last salute, came from miles around to pay tribute to the men who died fighting for the right to run their country free from British interference. As the funeral cortege followed Patrick Kelly's coffin to Edendork cemetery a few miles outside Dungannon, the crowds were swelled by local people coming out of their farms and houses. The parish church at Aughnagar was not big enough to hold the throngs of mourners who spilled out on to the road as Tony Gormley's bullet-ridden body was lowered into the ground.

For the families and friends of the republican volunteers, the funerals were not just an occasion for mourning, they were an

act of defiance against the foreign power that divides their country and shoots their people in ditches.

They refused to entertain an invitation from John Hermon, the chief constable of the Royal Ulster Constabulary, to come to an agreement about the funerals. They have had enough of being denied the right to run their country, without being told how to bury their dead. The families made it clear that they were totally opposed to any police involvement in the arrangements: 'To expect us to negotiate with the very people who murdered our sons is beneath contempt. The RUC and the British Army are not welcome at the funerals and we will not negotiate with them. Friends and comrades of our sons are welcome. If the RUC and the British Army stay away, there will be peace and we can have dignified funerals.' The RUC did not stay away, but they could not stop the volunteers from being buried with full honours.

Ranks of mourners dozens deep linked arms in a protective ring around the gravesides, and on the coffins were placed the flag, beret and gloves of the IRA. They were buried as republican soldiers, killed fighting to liberate their country from British rule. The paramilitary police came in armoured cars, carried guns and stood with smiles on their faces in the bushes and fields around the cemeteries. The sound of the bugle playing the last post was all but drowned by the screams of the police dogs and the noise of the helicopters overhead. The armed men flaunting a foreign uniform in the fields behind the graveyards were a menacing reminder of why we were there.



MARTIN MCGUINNESS HANDS THE TRICOLOUR, GLOVES AND BERET TO PATRICK KELLY'S WIDOW

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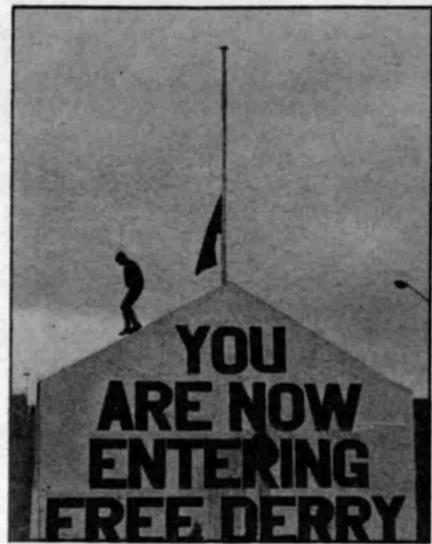
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SAS SHOOT-TO-KILL AT LOUGHGALL

ASSASSINS

Joan Phillips reports from Ireland on the truth behind the SAS shooting spree that left eight IRA volunteers and a civilian dead last Friday



BLACK FLAGS AT HALF-MAST

They say the cartridges were lying about the ground like confetti. They had them covered on all sides. Once they went in, they weren't getting out again.' Nationalists in Northern Ireland had no doubts about what happened outside the Royal Ulster Constabulary base in Loughgall, County Armagh on Friday evening. Nobody gave any credence to British press reports about 'a fierce gun battle' between the two sides. It was clear that the SAS had mounted a pre-planned exercise in mass assassination and turned the village into a shooting range. The British forces surrounded the IRA unit as it approached in a van and a JCB digger carrying explosives, and blasted the republicans away before they had a chance to fire a shot.

The *Sunday Tribune* reported that three of the volunteers were shot dead in the van, three others were gunned down as they were getting out, and the last two died trying to escape. Their bodies were found 20 yards and 100 yards from the police station. The van was riddled with bullet holes. A passing civilian was killed by an SAS shot through the head, and two other civilians narrowly escaped death when their car windows were blown out by British bullets.

FINISHED OFF

The security forces had set a death trap from which they were determined no Irishman, republican or otherwise, would escape alive. The IRA claimed that some of the volunteers had been wounded and then 'finished off' at close range. Patrick Kelly, for instance, had many wounds to his body but none to his face — except for one clean bullet hole, straight through his right temple. This is a dirty tactic which British shoot-to-kill squads have used many times in recent years. It's a cheaper way of dealing with wounded republicans than patching them up for a showtrial and feeding them for years in prison.

Establishment spokesmen from all sides in Northern Ireland were quick to point out that eight of the dead were not innocent civilians, but armed 'terrorists'. 'They deserved all they got, they came with guns and bombs, what can they expect?' was the common theme. Sinn Fein's Danny Morrison gave the republican movement's response to that on Sunday in Belfast, at the march to commemorate the sixth anniversary of the deaths of 10 hunger-strikers, which was turned into a silent black flag protest against Friday's killings.

'The volunteers didn't deserve it. The volunteers live in this country and the people who killed them don't live in this country, don't come from this country and have no claim to this country. They weren't hypocrites about their activities like the British are hypocritical about the murderous acts that they engage in.'

Nobody denies that the IRA men went out to attack the Loughgall RUC base. But the thousands of Irish men and women who marched against the killings insist that the republicans had the right to do so. The fortress was a symbol of foreign power in Ireland, manned by members of a paramilitary police force which bears the name 'Royal' as a badge of British power over Irish nationalists. The British authorities have turned Northern Ireland into a police state, built on modern castles of concrete and steel, concentration camps, no-jury courts and a surveillance system that is the envy of dictators around the world, all held together



TROOPS AND PARAMILITARY POLICE CRACKED DOWN IN NATIONALIST AREAS ACROSS NORTHERN IRELAND LAST WEEKEND

by the violence of 30 000 soldiers and armed policemen.

The weekend which followed the Loughgall killings brought plenty of evidence of how the British government uses this brutal system to drive Irish nationalists off their own streets. The RUC fired plastic bullets into the face of a 14-year old girl in Lurgan and the body of a four-year old boy in Derry. We were in Derry when the British Army occupied the Rossville flats to show who's boss. At 3am on Sunday, soldiers were running up and down the balconies of the building, 'swarming like flies in summer', said the woman watching next to me. When they found some petrol bombs, they threw a few down the stairs to start a fire in the flats. On Sunday the troops emptied the Rossville by saying there was a bomb scare. Then they went in and smashed up people's homes.

MORE DETERMINED

This experience of oppression drives Irish men and women to take up whatever arms they can find, and pit themselves against the might of the British state in a war for freedom. Four of the IRA volunteers shot dead on Friday came from Cappagh in County Tyrone, a place you would miss if you sneezed when driving past it. They came from their tiny village to attack the British Empire, because they would not sit back and see their people suffer.

The defiant response to Loughgall from nationalists across Northern Ireland exposed the oldest lie of all, repeated this week by the British media and government ministers, that the IRA has little or no support.

Days before the shootings, Tory Northern Ireland chief Tom King told the house of commons that republicans were losing support as more nationalists became convinced that the IRA was a cross between a 'Mafia-type organisation' and a 'Marxist terrorist group'. That statement exploded in

his face over the weekend, as hundreds of angry nationalist youth came out to throw petrol bombs at the security forces in towns and cities. Thousands joined black flag protests. In Derry, young boys knocked up black flags from sticks, nails and cloth, and hung them from the top of the Rossville flats and, at half-mast, from the famous wall at Free Derry Corner. When the RUC used armoured cars to try to break up the Derry march on Saturday, the black tax which serve the nationalist community came out to defend the marchers.

The determination of Irish nationalists not to submit to the rule of the RUC or the SAS was summed up for me on Saturday by Catriona Breslin, a 17-year old from Strabane, whose brother Charles was an IRA volunteer gunned down in cold blood by the British shoot-to-kill squads two years ago.

'They've been killing Irishmen like this, shooting them down, since I was born. They were on about that being a victory last night as well, a victory for the security forces. It will never be a victory because the more they kill our people, the more they kill our sons and daughters, we're going to rise up because you just can't take that. You can't take foreign guns and foreign armies coming into your country and shooting you down. It just makes you more determined.'

On Saturday night the British Army was everywhere, stopping vehicles and people. When they pulled us up, a soldier warned us that things were hotting up and we should 'Get back to Britain as soon as possible.' 'Get back to Britain now' is a message we should deliver to the political paymasters of the Crown's assassination squads during the general election.



THEY MARCHED FOR FREEDOM FIGHTERS, NOT 'TERRORISTS' OR 'GANGSTERS'

Irish Freedom Movement Rally
MAKE THE IRISH WAR AN ELECTION ISSUE
 Speakers: Mick Hume; Terry Robson (a Derry activist and supergrass victim)
Tuesday 26 May 7.30pm
Islington Central Library, Fieldway Crescent N5
 (near Highbury and Islington tube)

'YOU'VE GOT TOO MANY KIDS!'

Labour promises to expand nursery provision if elected. But when a single mother asked a Labour council to put this into practice, she got a taste of the party's contempt for women's needs

When single parent Linda Evans asked Wakefield Labour councillor Graham Stokes to provide nursery facilities, he said she should have thought of the problems before she had so many children.

Linda Evans lives on the Warwick estate in Knottingley, near Wakefield. There are no nurseries for children under three, and those over three are eligible for only one two-hour nursery session per day.

For single parents like Evans, this rules out any chance of a job. She is stuck at home on social security.

When Wakefield Labour council promised to improve nursery facilities, Evans and her friend Yvonne Reynolds drew up some proposals. They put forward a scheme to house six single parents, in a building with built-in nursery and a paid nursery worker. The nursery would also be open to married women.

'HEALTH RISK'

Evans and Reynolds got short shrift from councillor Stokes, and from Wakefield housing department. A housing official backed Stokes up, declaring that their scheme would be a waste of time and money, and a possible health risk.

The two women decided to take their story to the local press. But the council worked overtime to stop them getting into print. Last week, Evans received a visit from councillor Stokes, councillor Graham Clark



LINDA EVANS, YVONNE REYNOLDS, AND THE CHILDREN THEY NEED NURSERIES FOR

and the housing official who had told her not to waste council time. They tried to pressurise Evans into retracting her story. The official claimed to have offered a building for the nursery scheme. 'You have never seen me before, have you?' demanded

Stokes. They said they would be back next day, with a posse of reporters to record her retraction.

'They had me in a right state' said Evans. 'They came round to harass me, because I dared to say what the council is like. They

think they can get away with it because I'm on my own.'

But Evans was not alone. The local community rallied round her, together with RCP supporters who were canvassing in Knottingley for local election candidate Danny Lees. Next afternoon, local women formed a reception committee for the Wakefield councillors. They didn't show up. Instead, they told journalists that Evans was making trouble because she was under threat of eviction. This was news to Evans, who knew she couldn't be in arrears. Her rent is paid in housing benefit — by Wakefield Labour council.

'They think women are not worth bothering with' said Yvonne Reynolds. 'But we can't have them threatening people who want to fight back.'

FREE NURSERIES!

In the council election in Knottingley, 103 people voted for Danny Lees and our strategy for fighting back. Many are determined to give the council some bother about its flat refusal to provide adequate nursery facilities. Danny Lees is standing as a *Red Front* candidate for Pontefract and Castleford in the general election. He will be fighting for free 24-hour nursery care that will allow women to get out of places like the Warwick estate and play a full and equal part in society.

Kerry Dean

CIVIL SERVANTS & CLAIMANTS

Striking back

We're striking back. Not only at Thatcher, but also at the Labour council.' Terry was one of 200 unemployed activists who occupied Camden town hall last week after the Labour council refused to make payments to claimants whose giro's were delayed by the civil service strike. Mick Gavan, *Red Front* candidate for Holborn and St Pancras, who works at Camden Unemployment Action Centre, was at the forefront of the occupation.

In Camden and elsewhere, civil service strikers stood shoulder-to-shoulder with claimants demanding emergency payments. But strikers, claimants and town hall workers were all confused by the official line from the civil service and town hall unions, that emergency payments would undermine the pay strike.



RED FRONT CANDIDATE MICK GAVAN

Our supporters argued that non-discretionary emergency payments should be made, but that they must be under the control of trade unionists and claimants, not the council bosses. This would help to overcome the Tory-inspired divide between workers on either side of the dole office counters, and would prevent Labour councils acting as the government's allies in the dispute.

The rows and confusion in town halls last week were a consequence of the misdirection of the civil service strike. Instead of fighting for all-out national action in government departments that could really hit the Tories, the civil servants' leaders have run a token campaign of regional, selective action, concentrating on the unions' militant strongholds in the dole and social security offices. As a result, unemployed people have been put under a lot more pressure than the Tories. The union leaders' no-payments instructions were a cynical manoeuvre to convince strikers that they are serious about beating the government. But the only way to do that in the run-up to the election is to campaign for effective strike action centred on the Tories' most sensitive departments.

LABOUR REGAINS LIVERPOOL

Out of the frying pan...

Labour candidates won 41 out of 59 contested seats in last week's Liverpool council elections, returning the party to power with a majority of three. After all the rows and scandal surrounding the last Militant-led council, which ended with the disqualification of 47 Labour councillors by the law lords, the Liberals were hopeful of regaining control. In the end, working class people could not stomach the Liberals' planned cuts and rate rises.

But the signs are that the city's new-look, more moderate Labour council will soon be implementing Liberal-style policies.

THE LAST RESORT

Led by showman-entrepreneur Sir Trevor Jones, the Liberals tried to capitalise on the anti-Militant backlash against the last Labour council. When the disqualifications left the Liberals in control, they used their caretaker administration to launch election stunts. The Liberals won a big swing of middle class voters from the Tories. But, in a city where the Liberals are still the major establishment party, enough working class voters displayed an instinctive mistrust of Jones' penny-pinching policies to return Labour to power.

'I voted Labour because I couldn't bring myself to vote for any of the others.' In Netherley ward, a bleak housing estate where the post office is the only shop left open, one voter expressed the common view that she supported Labour only as a last resort. The Labour campaign was designed to tap this vein of passive support. Labour canvassers presented a moderate face, distanced themselves from the antics of the previous council and hoped that people's gut anti-Liberal/Tory instincts would get them home.

Labour organised its campaign around a non-controversial manifesto. In Granby, Labour won three seats after a campaign based on attacking Militant. Labour's plans were so moderate that even the *Liverpool Echo* supported it. The *Echo* led the anti-Militant witch-hunt against the last Labour council. The fact that the paper felt able to call for a Labour vote showed that Labour is now considered a reasonably safe bet by the right.

Left wingers failed to challenge Labour's low-key campaign. Instead, they swore their loyalty to party policy, and many of them acknowledged 'some mistakes' resulting from the 'confrontation strategy' of the previous Labour council. The left's heads-down approach confirms that the Labour moderates are in control. There are still seven Militant supporters on the new council, and several more sympathisers. But they have lost control of the council leadership and, with their district Labour Party power-base still suspended by Kinnock, it looks like the Militants will have to sit in the second row of Liverpool's council chamber.

WHITEHALL LAW

The moderate attitude of the new council leadership suggests that there will not be any public confrontations with the Tory government over spending cuts. No doubt we will see the sort of 'creative accountancy' which other Labour councils have used to cover up cuts. But the council has set a course of compromise, which must involve working within the tight limits laid down in Whitehall. The end result for ordinary people in Liverpool will be little different from life under the Liberals.

Much of the responsibility for this grim situation lies with the old left-wing council.

The Militant-run administration certainly made mistakes, but confrontation wasn't one of them. Behind all of the radical rhetoric and exaggerated claims of achievements repeatedly put out by the Derek Hattons and Tony Mulhearns, the council operated along the traditional bureaucratic lines of a local Labour administration. It never tried to mobilise the Liverpool working class for an all-out fight with the Tories.

CYNICAL CITY

The council acted as a hard-nosed employer, and attacked council workers in countless disputes over pay and conditions. Labour council leaders treated the thousands of angry workers who turned out for anti-Tory marches as a stage army, only good for public relations exercises. Their real strategy relied on doing dodgy deals through committee room manipulation behind closed doors. This reached its low point when the council tried to cheat the accountants by issuing 30 000 redundancy notices to its workforce, and then cooked up a scheme to stay in office on terms laid down by a group of Swiss bankers.

The result was growing passivity, disillusionment and cynicism among people in the city. The Militant bosses created a climate which was ready-made for the right to move in. And local left wingers have now accepted that, for the sake of keeping Labour in office, they must go along with the moderate tide.

The declining fortunes of Militant within the Labour Party are unimportant. But the legacy of Militant's failure is significant. Liverpool people are now faced with a Labour administration which shows all the signs of intensifying the useless policies of the last council, without any radical gestures. The workers of Liverpool are paying the price for the way in which the city's former left-wing bosses disgraced the name of socialism.

Andrew Calcutt

AS LABOUR BACKTRACKS ON POSITIVE IMAGES

TORIES GO 'QUEER-BASHING'

The Tories are turning up the heat on lesbians and gays in the election campaign, and the Labour Party is retreating

The positive bringing up of images of lesbianism and homosexuality as if they were equivalent forms of life could bring death in one generation. It is death because it is the end of creation.' This message of doom was delivered in parliament last week by Tory minister Rhodes Boyson, during a debate on a Bill to ban councils from promoting positive images of lesbians and gays in schools. Dame Jill Knight, the Bill's sponsor, accused Labour councils of spreading 'filth on the rates'.

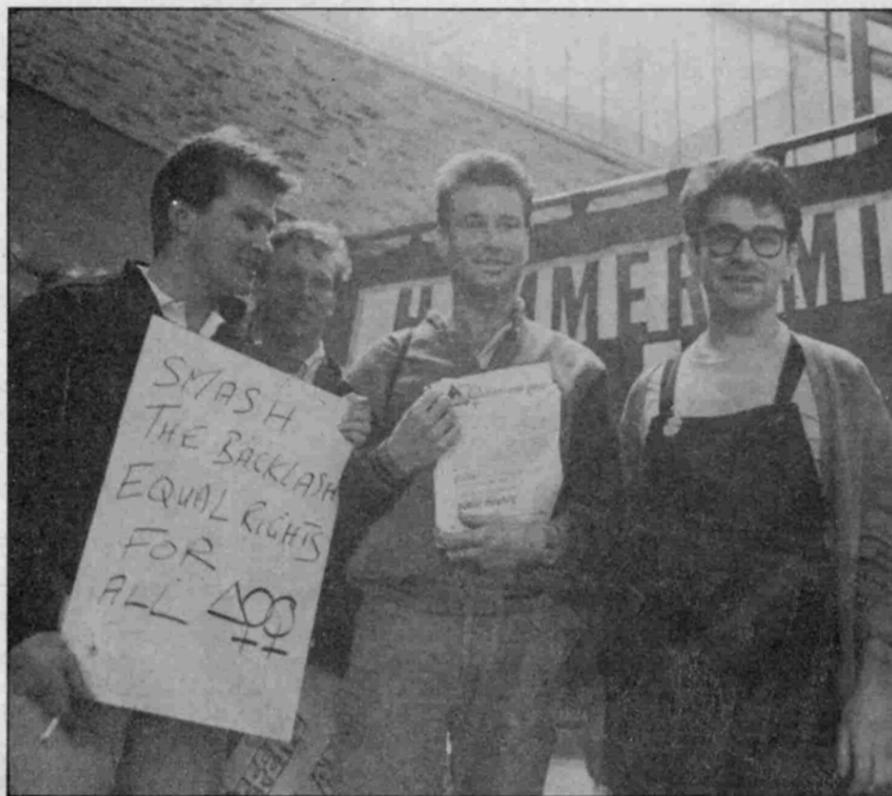
The Bill was held up because not enough MPs were there to make a quorum. The Tories weren't worried about whether it passed or not. Their concern was simply to bring up the subject of 'homosexual propaganda' as a focus for spreading their own brand of filth and bigotry, and to put extra pressure on the Labour Party leadership over the activities of 'loony left' councils.

Several left-wing Labour councils have adopted positive images policies in recent years. They are unexceptional initiatives, intended to counter the spread of old hang-ups among young people by showing that lesbians and gays are not witches or monsters, but women and men who happen to express a sexual preference for others of their own gender. But such simple ideas fly in the face of everything which outdated Tory ogres like Boyson stand for.

Boyson is a former headmaster who takes his support for Victorian values to the rather bizarre lengths of wearing the sideburns and suits of a Dickensian hanging judge. He accuses those who dare to suggest that homosexuals are 'equivalent forms of life' of recruiting children into a conspiracy designed to 'end creation'. A few years back, his would have been a lonely voice crying in the backwoods of British politics. But today, in the nasty and brutish climate of Thatcher's Britain, the *Sun* shines on the forces of darkness and the squalid prejudices of yesteryear are upheld by modern yuppies. Boyson's vicious outburst is now widely acceptable, as the idea that homosexuality is an evil menacing us all becomes common currency.

SPIES, ADDICTS & THUGS

Not a day passes without the press providing further 'proof' that homosexuality is linked with all manner of crime and corruption. Former spy chief Maurice Oldfield has been branded as a dishonest 'poofter' and, therefore, a security risk. Freddie Mercury is the latest pop star 'exposed' as a drug-crazed gay whose friends are all dropping dead from Aids. The gutter press also discovered some deep significance in the fact that one of the Chelsea



HAMMERSMITH NALGO LESBIAN AND GAY CAUCUS CONFRONT THE LABOUR COUNCIL OVER ITS CONCESSIONS TO THE BIGOTS

Headhunters gang of football hooligans, jailed this week, was found in bed with another man when police raided his home.

The message is clear: from *Top of the Pops* to the football terraces, gays trail death, disease and depravity in their wake.

Stirring up this sort of fear and hatred against homosexuals is useful for the establishment. They seek to counterpose the dangers of sexual experimentation and permissiveness to the security of traditional family life. By spreading backward ideas about morality, marriage and monogamy, the authorities can tighten the grip of conservatism and narrow-mindedness over the British way of life. Strengthening such traditions helps to stabilise society under the rule of its 'traditional' masters — the capitalist class. In an immediate sense, it also gives the Tories a powerful boost in the election campaign.

The Tory government can make a lot of mileage out of its offensive against lesbians and gays because the Labour opposition is crumbling under pressure. The Labour Party leadership is so steeped in the conventions of establishment morality that it cannot contend with the Tories on such issues. The letter sent out by Labour

bureaucrat Patricia Hewitt after the Greenwich by-election, blaming the lesbian and gay issue for losing Labour votes, has been taken to heart by left-wing local authorities. They are making damaging concessions by toning down their paper commitment to defending lesbian and gay rights.

Several Labour councils have changed their policy from one of promoting positive images to one of merely ensuring that there are no 'negative images' in schools. This leaves the field free for the reactionaries, whose powerful influence outside the school gates will ensure that negative views of homosexuals are passed on to Britain's youth. Other Labour authorities even boast that they have nothing to do with defending homosexuals.

NO CAVE IN

A recent edition of a local paper set out Hammersmith and Fulham council's defence against the 'loony left' charge. 'Out of a total expenditure last year of £75.5m,' the report proudly announced, 'Hammersmith and Fulham council spent £0.00 on specific initiatives for local lesbians and gays.' The Labour council's press officer, Richard Lee, admitted that councillors had discussed lesbian and gay issues, 'but we are talking about five or 10 minutes here and there'. Labour councils like Hammersmith now admit that lesbian and gay rights are only mentioned during quick tea-breaks at the town hall, which puts the issue on a par with last night's episode of *EastEnders*.

We are not prepared to cave in to the Conservatives' campaign against lesbians and gays. On Sunday, our supporters joined other activists on an angry protest at a Hammersmith council meeting, to oppose Labour's backtracking. As the general election campaign takes off, John Fitzpatrick will be highlighting the issue in his campaign as *The Red Front's* candidate in the constituency.

The fight to defend homosexuals against the rising tide of hysteria is an important plank of *The Red Front* platform.

The Red Front stands not just for promoting positive images of lesbians and gays, but for fighting to change the reality of oppression which homosexual face. That means confronting every instance of discrimination, and exposing the hypocrisy of Tory morality. A vote for *The Red Front* is a vote to break the stifling grip of Boyson and Co over the way ordinary people view the world.

Aids: the truth

The latest figures on Aids in Britain did not get the headline treatment reserved for Freddie Mercury's dead lovers. That is because the statistics are starting to expose the myths behind the Tories' Aids campaign. It is becoming clearer that Aids only represents a real threat to certain high-risk groups — most importantly, gay men — and that the Tories' argument that we're all at risk is a propaganda exercise designed to promote a backlash against permissiveness and homosexuality.

Last month, 15 people died of Aids in Britain and just 16 new cases were reported. Of these latter, 12 were gay men, two were drug users, and another was given an infected blood transfusion abroad. Not a heterosexually infected victim in sight.

Indeed, over the six months in which the Tories have been screaming about the terrifying spread of Aids, the number of

people infected through heterosexual contact in this country has risen from a grand total of four to its present level of five. A department of health spokesman coyly suggested that it is 'too early to say' whether the latest figures should alter our assessment of the disease. But it has never been 'too early' for establishment spokesmen to spread scare stories based on projections about how Aids will have got everybody in the country by the year 2000.

Current trends confirm the analysis set out by Dr Michael Fitzpatrick and Don Milligan in *The Truth about the Aids Panic* (see page 9). Aids is a horrific and deadly disease, the overwhelming majority of whose victims are gay men. Far from aiding the real victims, Tory horror stories about heterosexuals catching the disease only intensify the anti-homosexual climate by blaming gays for bringing 'the plague' down upon us all.

THE PROPAGANDA WAR

SHOPPING THE BUTCHERS

The trial of former Nazi Klaus Barbie is generating as much controversy in France as did the notorious treason trial of Alfred Dreyfus, a Jewish officer in the French army, almost 100 years ago. And just as Dreyfus had Emile Zola to indict fin de siècle French society for anti-Semitism with his famous 'J'accuse', so Barbie's lawyer Jacques Vergès intends to use the trial of Barbie to charge the French establishment with 'crimes against humanity'.

Barbie is called the 'Butcher of Lyons' because he was responsible for the deaths of hundreds of French resistance fighters and Jews, and the deportation of many more from German-occupied Lyons in 1942. After fleeing back to Germany before the advancing Allies in 1944, Barbie was soon employed by the American occupation forces to track down and interrogate communists. When the French caught on, the Americans smuggled Barbie away via the so-called Rat Line to Latin America. There he continued helping his US friends by doing what he liked to call 'a complete job' on the opponents of various dictators. Extradited whilst temporarily out of favour with a Bolivian regime, Barbie was detained by the gleeful French authorities in 1983. Now they are beginning to regret it.

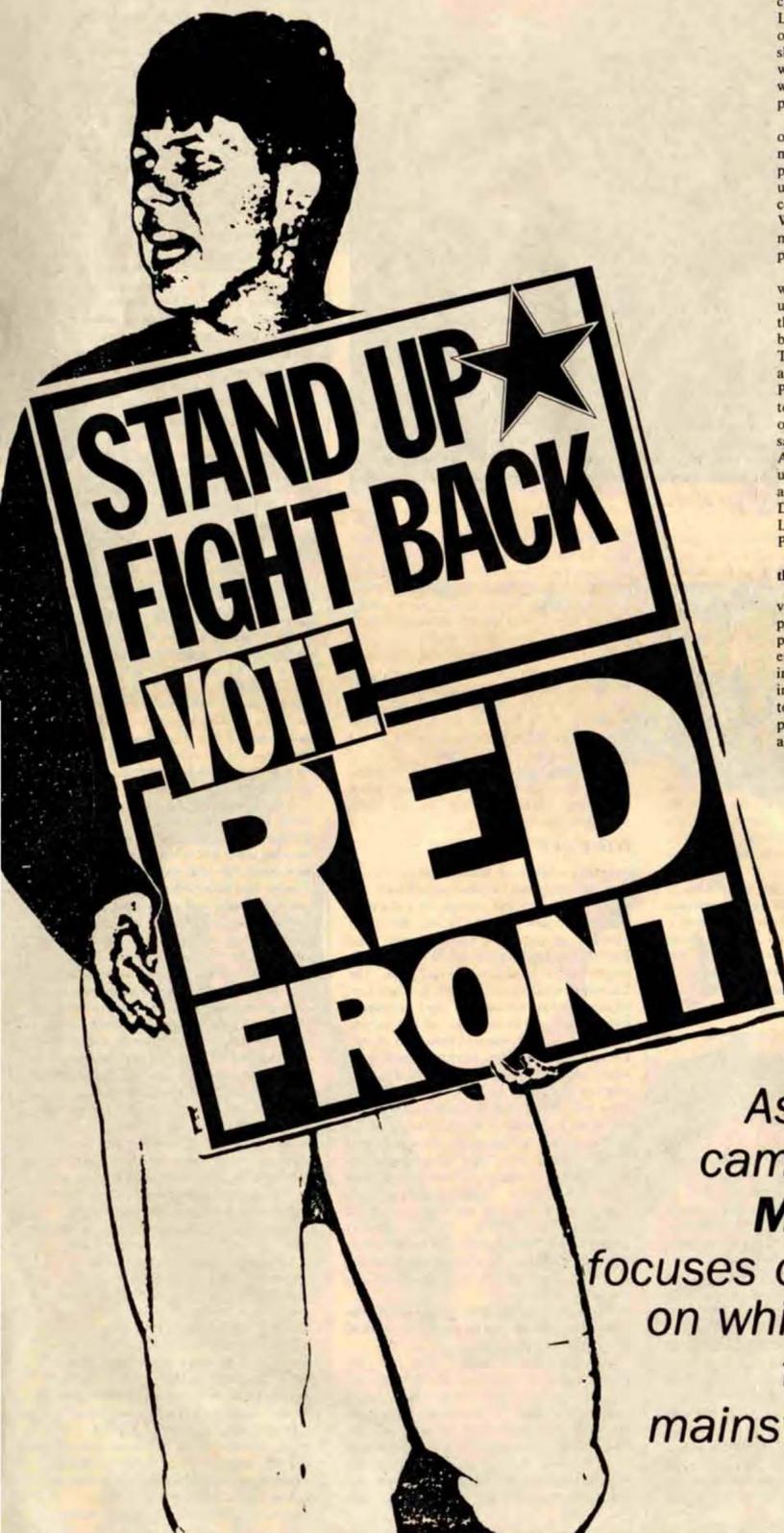
The Barbie affair is already being called the Vergès affair. Jacques Vergès is the former Free French soldier and communist who has decided to defend Barbie. Vergès is well-known for defending 'lost causes' and not charging a fee. He began his legal career by defending Algerian freedom fighters during the war of independence against France in the fifties, and nowadays defends Palestinians and other Arabs who nobody else will touch. Vergès is outrageous, debonair and loves to cock a snook at Parisian high society. He maintains the bizarre notion that Barbie is innocent. But his defence case has stirred up a hornet's nest by centring on the hypocrisy of France's rulers.

Vergès argues that French right wingers inside the resistance betrayed communist partisans to the Gestapo to weaken the working class forces within the liberation movement. He cites the example of Rene Hardy, who informed on the outstanding guerrilla leader and communist Jean Moulin in June 1943, and has also threatened to expose French war heroes as collaborators. Vergès points out that, whereas one French person in every 200 died under the Germans, during France's subsequent colonial war in Algeria former resistance 'heroes' butchered one in every nine Algerians — men, women and children. The implication is that, if Barbie is on trial for 'crimes against humanity', the agents of French imperialism should be, too.

Vergès has hit a raw nerve by suggesting that French barbarism did not end with the reprieve of Dreyfus, and that fascism was not the preserve of a few psychopaths. Barbie's trial is helping to expose the real France behind its civilised veneer. A wave of anti-German, anti-Semitic and general anti-foreign chauvinism now surrounds the courtroom in Lyons.

Last Saturday, the French right organised a march in Lyons to commemorate their patron, Joan of Arc, and to demand the rehabilitation of Marshal Pétain. He headed the pro-Nazi Vichy government in occupied France, which built its own concentration camps where thousands of Jews died. In Paris, 10 000 Front National supporters marched behind Jean-Marie Le Pen — himself a French army torturer in Algeria. The whole charade shows that being a butcher is not only considered, as Barbie's ridiculous daughter says, 'an honourable profession', it is also one in which many French dignitaries served their apprenticeships.

OUR ELECTION AGENDA



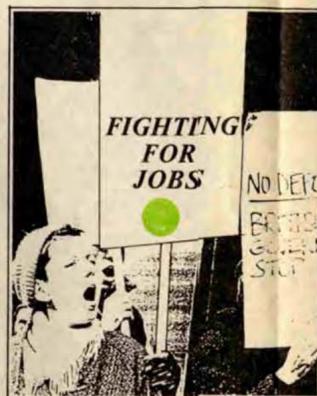
A flop. That was the universal judgement on Hands Across Britain, the protest against unemployment that failed dismally in its project of creating a human chain between Liverpool and London in the form of a giant question mark over the May bank holiday. Fronted by showbiz personalities, Hands Across Britain was an avowedly 'non-political' event. Yet it was supported by all the major opposition parties and trade union leaders.

Far from challenging the Tory government on unemployment, Hands Across Britain merely exposed the failure of the opposition parties, particularly the Labour Party, to make unemployment a political issue. It was 'an act of commitment by the nation' declared Archbishop Worlock. But the unemployed need a commitment to action from the labour movement, not pious expressions of official concern.

The fiasco of Hands Across Britain, only weeks before a general election, underlines the urgency of building support for *The Red Front*, the platform for working class unity launched by the Revolutionary Communist Party. Thousands of people who want to fight back against the Tories have looked to the Labour Party for a lead. But Labour is concerned only to win approval from middle class public opinion. Hence Neil Kinnock has nothing to say either to or on behalf of the working class. All Labour can offer people concerned about unemployment is a place standing in the rain in a broken line somewhere between SDP leader David Owen outside Liverpool cathedral and Labour frontbencher Peter Shore outside St Paul's in London.

Labour also invites people to vote for policies that are little different from those of the Alliance. *The Red Front* aims to give the working class a voice in the general election. Whereas Labour's policies and methods offer only passivity in the present and despair for the future, our platform emphasises a commitment to action for change in the here and now. Above all *The Red Front* insists that building a working class alternative to Labour, beginning from a challenge at the polls next month, is the only way to defend and advance the interests of the working class.

As the election campaign opens, Mike Freeman focuses on the issues on which we will be taking on the mainstream parties



One of the greatest achievements of the Thatcher government has been in establishing a firm consensus that nothing much can be done about unemployment. Unemployment is now widely regarded as some sort of natural disaster which neither governments nor employers, nor even labour movement political parties or trade unions, can combat. Hence the Thatcher regime has managed to avoid taking the blame for presiding over the collapse of British manufacturing and for condemning up to 20 per cent of the working population to compulsory idleness.

Thatcher's success owes nothing to her government's economic policies. From monetarism, through promises to cut public spending to offers to unleash private enterprise by major tax cuts, these policies have either been abandoned or substantially modified. The Tories' much vaunted privatisation schemes have been exposed as crude cash-raising schemes. Thatcher now anticipates a third term, not because of the government's achievements, but partly because Labour has come to share the Tories' fatalistic approach to the crisis of British capitalism.

Before the last election, Labour proclaimed the bold 'alternative economic strategy' drawn up by the left in the seventies. Labour leader Michael Foot offered a return to full employment through a programme of economic expansion promoted by a big increase in public spending and government intervention in industry and services. Under Kinnock, Labour has long abandoned the goal of full employment which had guided the party for half a century. Under pressure to prove his worthiness to administer British capitalism, Kinnock has cut back promises of higher public expenditure and retreated from proposals for nationalisation.

Instead of exposing the failure of Tory policies, Labour has increasingly adopted similar ideas. Kinnock too now accepts that there is little scope for reviving British manufacturing, that mass unemployment is here to stay and that privatisation has a role to play — under the new name of 'social ownership'.

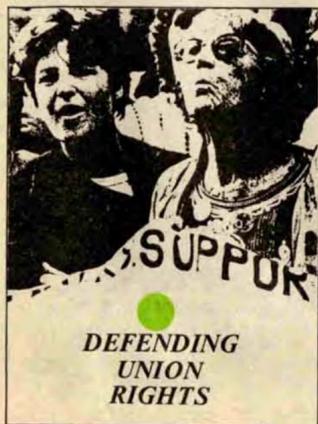
As Labour makes concession after concession, the bosses demand even more. Labour's shadow chancellor Roy Hattersley explains that his party's carefully trimmed commitment to reduce unemployment by one million within two years depends on achieving a 'wider aim' — 'the regeneration of British industry'. However, a recent report produced by the main bosses' organisation, the Confederation of British Industry, concludes that, to maintain its competitiveness, industry needs to shed a further 750 000 jobs over the next three years. As long as Labour puts British industry first, its commitment to jobs will remain an apology for accepting the permanence of mass unemployment.

The Red Front platform refuses to accept that the working class should suffer unemployment and poverty simply because the capitalist economy cannot make enough profit out of our labour.

Our aim is that everybody who is capable of working should be able to do so and that they should receive a living wage. It should be the responsibility of the capitalist state to sustain

those for whom the employers cannot find work, and those who are unable to work. Benefits must be at a similar level to the wages received by those in work. 'Work or full pay' was the slogan of the Unemployed Workers' Movement in the twenties and thirties and it is the slogan of *The Red Front* today.

We recognise that a wide-ranging political struggle against the established order is the only guarantee of achieving our objectives. After 10 years of putting up with the divisive and demoralising consequences of mass unemployment, it is time the labour movement stood up and insisted that we cannot afford to settle for anything less.



There is no distancing between the party and the unions' declared party secretary Larry Whitty during a break in last week's meeting of the executive of Trade Unionists for Labour. Nobody was convinced. For four years the trade union leaders have provided funds and assistance in sorting out Labour's administrative machine, and they have lent their best hatchmen to help Kinnock crush the left. As they contemplate their party's third defeat in a row, the bureaucrats are beginning to ask what sort of return they can expect for their investment.

Before the last election the trade union leaders' campaign was called Trade Unionists for a Labour Victory. Victory is a word that has long disappeared from the official labour movement vocabulary. Then Labour was committed to repealing Tory anti-trade union legislation and to re-admitting the union leaders to top-level consultations with government and the employers. The TUC organised the People's Marches for Jobs to protest about unemployment and tried to popularise Labour's alternative economic strategy through propaganda, rallies and education courses.

Today, the union leaders are concerned only to raise the cash and to turn out the trade union vote for Labour.

In his bid for respectability, Kinnock has been obliged to distance Labour from the unions, long the scapegoats for national decline. Hence he has promised he will maintain Tory legislation interfering in union affairs, and has even proposed further state interference. He has reassured the employers that he will face down wage claims and introduce an incomes policy. Labour spokesmen have urged teachers and civil servants to suspend industrial action lest it embarrass the party's election campaign.

For as long as there was some hope of Labour winning, the union bosses accepted all this with good grace as the price their members must pay for their leaders' return to the corridors of power. But as Labour languishes in the opinion polls and the fateful day draws nearer, the union chiefs are becoming restive.

Grumbling voices are now heard in the unions saying that Labour is neglecting issues of vital concern. Labour's revised job creation programme proposes to find most of its one million jobs in public services and through a major expansion of government training schemes. It now looks little different from the Tories' new Job Training Scheme. This threat

to jobs in local government, the civil service and the health service has already created alarm among the union leaders. It has also given rise to new tensions in the union chiefs' relations with the Manpower Services Commission, one of the few state agencies which still consults them. Like the Tories, Labour spokesmen now talk of 'taking people off the register' rather than creating real jobs.

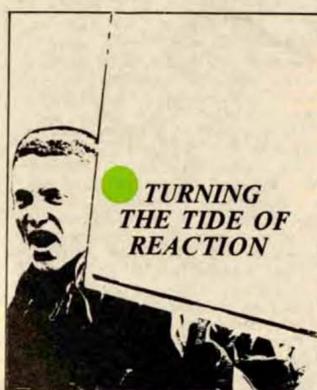
The fact that even the union leaders are now feeling left out by Labour is a measure of how far the party has moved from any attempt to represent the interests of rank and file union members. When it comes to statements on jobs and union affairs, the Kinnock team increasingly replaces the abrasive former trade union official John Prescott with the smooth expert on City affairs, Bryan Gould. Criticism of the latest Tory proposals for undermining the right to strike and the closed shop is left to the band of corrupted former union leaders now assembled in the house of lords. Their main concern seems to be that further punitive legislation could be counter-productive and might strengthen the left.

For *The Red Front*, the fight for union rights will proceed on two levels during the election campaign. Our intervention in the civil service dispute will emphasise the importance of stepping up and spreading the action to bring about a much wider disruption of the state administration. The election is an ideal opportunity to put pressure on the government to concede decent pay and conditions for its employees. For any group of workers in struggle there can be no question of suspending action in the hope that a more sympathetic government will deliver the goods. Direct action is our only effective sanction against the employers.

In the wider election debate *The Red Front* will oppose all state interference in the affairs of the working class.

We are in favour of the most open and immediate methods of voting on strikes and electing representatives. Such methods encourage maximum involvement and accountability. The object of all state-imposed ballots is to delay action and to ensure that workers' decisions are subject to maximum influence and pressure from the employers and their media.

We demand the repeal of all laws that restrict striking, picketing and solidarity action and try to undermine union organisation. At the same time we favour all measures which increase rank and file control over union organisation — such as a return to union-enforced closed shops and the collection of dues by union reps rather than the check-off system. We reject all forms of collaboration with the employers, whether in workplace productivity deals or in national quangos.



The Thatcher years have been a period of mounting prejudice and repression. Police chiefs like Kenneth Newman and James Anderton have become national celebrities. While Tory spokesmen have promoted the cause of law and order, the government has transformed the police into a nationally coordinated paramilitary force of unprecedented repressive power. Victoria Gillick, Enoch

Powell and Mary Whitehouse have captured the popular imagination in the Thatcher era with their message of moral retrenchment.

Thatcher came to power promoting fears that Britain was being 'swamped' by aliens. Her government has manipulated prejudices against immigrants and black people in the inner cities to justify even harsher state regulation of the lives of black people in Britain. The advent of Aids has given the Tories their most powerful propaganda weapon yet, allowing the government to take advantage of a wave of anti-homosexual hysteria to promote a wider return to the values of conventional family morality.

Pointing the finger at establishment homosexuals like former MI6 chief Maurice Oldfield evokes public resentment that gays in high places have betrayed the nation. It gives anti-homosexual hysteria a populist edge that is lacking in Tory prejudices against women or black people.

The consequence of all these prejudices is to strengthen the consensus of support for the forces of reaction and to deepen divisions in the working class.

The demoralising impact of the onward march of bigotry under the Tories has been compounded by the way that Labour and the left have tried to come to terms with the shift to the right. Instead of repudiating reactionary propaganda and challenging the build-up of state repression, Labour has either dodged the issues or attempted to adopt traditional middle class prejudices as its own.

Five years ago, Labour spokesmen criticised episodes of police brutality and called for more 'accountability'. Today Labour promotes dubious crime statistics to accuse the Tories of being soft on law and order and calls for more police on the streets. While the police wade into picket lines in full battle dress as a matter of course and deaths and injuries in police custody have become routine, Labour vies with the Tories to proclaim its loyalty to the force.

On questions of women's rights and the drive to revive Victorian values, Labour has generally tried to keep a low profile. It has virtually ignored the mounting attack on access to abortion and contraception facilities, while often endorsing proposals for firmer censorship of the media. Meanwhile Kinnock has taken to the pages of women's magazines to proclaim that on matters of the family he is 'a reactionary'. These postures aim to win middle class votes. They can only intensify the isolation and oppression of working class women who will still be denied the right to participate in society on equal terms.

The presence in Labour's ranks of prominent black activists such as Bernie Grant has disguised how close Labour has moved to the Tories on immigration policy and policing. Labour used to say that it would repeal the 1971 and the 1981 Immigration Acts, yet Kinnock has made it clear that a Labour government would maintain discriminatory regulations. The Labour leadership's racist response to the revolts against police terror in the inner cities in recent years indicates that a Labour government would change little in Brixton, Handsworth or Liverpool 8.

Labour's response to the anti-homosexual Aids panic — calling for more of the same — and its backtracking on even its token commitments to lesbian and gay rights shows its vulnerability on issues of rights and morality. Such a response gives the Tories propaganda weapons they can use to powerful effect.

The Red Front intends to make issues of civil liberties and democratic rights a central theme in the election.

We oppose all forms of state repression and all propaganda which seeks to give more powers to the police and the courts. We stand for equal rights for women, for black people and for lesbians and gays.

We demand the removal of all discriminatory legislation — such as immigration laws and restrictions on homosexuality. We campaign for resources and facilities — such as nurseries and abortion services — to ensure that legal rights exist in reality. We repudiate establishment attempts to exploit real social problems —

crime, child abuse, drugs, Aids — to strengthen the grip of reaction.



Thatcher returned to power in 1983 on the wave of chauvinist glory following Britain's squalid victory over Argentina a year earlier. Last year she linked up with Reagan in the even more ignominious air-strike on Libya. The government's latest defence estimates insist that, whatever happens in negotiations between the USA and the Soviet Union, Britain must retain its capacity to wage nuclear war against any potential enemy. Britain now spends more than five per cent of its gross domestic product on preparations for war, a proportion second only to the USA in the Nato alliance.

In one respect Britain stands out among the Nato powers — it is the only one at war within its own frontiers. For eight years Thatcher has inflicted British terror on the people of Ireland with all the savagery of a traditional colonial war. In 1981 she shocked the world in callously allowing 10 men to starve to death rather than concede political status to members of a national liberation movement. The suppression of the Stalker report into shoot-to-kill assassinations by the security forces in South Armagh gave the green light for more of the same last week. Conclusive evidence of the innocence of a dozen Irish prisoners in British jails is simply brushed aside.

Since Michael Foot urged Thatcher on to her Falklands exploits it has been downhill all the way for the party that once posed as a force for peace. Kinnock's only objection to the Libya raid was that it exposed Britain's subservience to the USA. He now struts as the spokesman for the army, air force and navy and backs their demands for more conventional weaponry. Long identified with the cause of nuclear disarmament, Kinnock now accepts that Cruise missiles may remain in Britain indefinitely.

When it comes to Ireland, Labour's shameful record in opposition rivals its shameful record in pursuing the Irish War when in government. While Labour's parliamentary spokesmen lose no opportunity to outdo the Tories in their chauvinist condemnations of the Irish freedom fighters, Kinnock has gone out of his way to express contempt for Sinn Fein. For Kinnock the only Irish dimension in the general election is the possibility of doing another deal with the Ulster Unionists in the event of a hung parliament.

The Red Front will use the election campaign to build up opposition to all forms of militarism used by the capitalist powers, especially British militarism.

We will be agitating against Western interference in the third world, especially in Central America, southern Africa and the Middle East, and calling for full support for anti-imperialist movements. Calling for the immediate withdrawal of British troops from Ireland and upholding the right of the Irish people to determine their own future will be at the centre of our platform.

If you want to know more about *The Red Front's* campaign and candidates in the election, ring (01) 729 0414



APARTHEID POLICE CRACKED DOWN ON STUDENT PROTESTS DURING THE CAMPAIGN

WHITES VOTE FOR MORE VIOLENCE

'NO SURRENDER'

The shift to the right in last week's whites-only election confirms that there is no middle ground in the conflict over the future of South Africa

Two million black workers went on strike last week, in protest at the electoral charade in which South Africa's 14 per cent white minority elected the leaders of the apartheid state. The election campaign offered a compelling display of the brutality, filth and hysteria which makes up white South African politics. In a style reminiscent of the 'swaart gevaar' (black danger) propaganda campaign which first brought the National Party to power in 1948, PW Botha's government sought to rally whites behind its drive to defeat the black liberation struggle. It launched a crackdown on the black trade unions and a bombing raid on an African National Congress HQ in neighbouring Zambia.

Presented with a choice between 'an alliance of moderates who want an apartheid-free South Africa' (Progressive Federal Party), and the right's 'No Surrender' warcry, white South Africa opted decisively for the latter. It gave a clear message of support to Botha. Meanwhile, the ultra-right Conservative Party gained 21 seats and is now the leading opposition party in the white parliament. This signals the eclipse of moderate white opposition. It shows that, under the pressure of black revolt and economic recession, white South Africa has closed ranks behind the embattled apartheid state.

IMPOTENT LIBERALS

The Progressive Federal Party, the traditional voice of white middle class guilt and cautious criticism of apartheid, lost more than a third of its vote. It has been consigned to the periphery of South African politics. White liberalism is irrelevant in the context of the current revolt against apartheid. While the security forces are desperately defending the apartheid state in a vicious war against the black masses, white liberals are reduced to impotent handwringing.

The only real debate within the white establishment today is over the tactics needed to contain the threat of revolution.

The government has failed to halt the slide into all-out confrontation. This has provoked a debate about the prospects for reforming apartheid, which was reflected in the emergence of the 'New Nat' rebels who challenged Botha at the polls.

Led by former London ambassador Denis Worrall, the New Nats broke with the National Party leadership over the faltering pace of reform. Despite a hyped-up media campaign, they gained only one seat. But they delivered a credible result in three carefully chosen constituencies. They seized the former PFP stronghold of Randburg in Johannesburg. Worrall nearly ousted Chris Heunis, Botha's minister of constitutional

development, and the New Nats slashed the National Party majority in the Cape wineland constituency of Stellenbosch.

The New Nats are not a progressive alternative to Botha. They are National Party celebrities, who until recently played a key role in formulating and selling apartheid policy. They now argue for speedier reforms to placate the black working class. Their emergence reflects the anxiety aroused by the government's failure to control black resistance. As a pressure group for reform within the framework of the National Party consensus, the New Nats voice the concerns of South African and Western investors that repression alone won't solve the crisis.

But these concerns are already well-appreciated within the Botha regime. The

slow pace of reform is not due to any lack of interest in containing the revolt. The government's problem is that it cannot reform the real basis of apartheid, and 10 years of token reforms have only strengthened the resolve of the black majority to dismantle the whole wretched system. The resulting policy dilemma, which explains the controversy over reform within the establishment, is one that the New Nats will be no more able to resolve than the old ones.

The big white working class turn-out for the Conservatives reflects the flipside of this strategy crisis. Tub-thumping white right-wing politicians used the lingering fear of a sell-out of white privileges to whip up a racist frenzy.

The government now confronts a vocal

right-wing challenge which further limits the scope for conciliatory gestures to the black masses.

This is why the outcome of the elections has aroused profound anxiety among critics of the apartheid regime in South Africa and abroad. It has led to a realisation that a peaceful settlement to the conflict is becoming ever more unlikely, and aroused widespread concern among advocates of reform and conciliation.

'We have now entered the dark ages in the history of our country,' said Bishop Desmond Tutu, the leading black conciliator, after the election. Others have expressed similar fears more bluntly. The British *Financial Times* is not against repression in principle, but it is worried that white intransigence will 'drive black opposition further underground' and thus make a negotiated settlement with 'responsible' black leaders an even remoter prospect.

It is now becoming clear to all sides that the struggle over who controls South Africa will not end until one side prevails decisively over the other. The elections confirmed in the political arena what black people already know from their everyday experience of apartheid: that the oppressive South African system cannot be reformed.

'NEVER ACCEPT'

Black militants who spent hours spread-eagled against the walls of their union HQ in Johannesburg, after the police massacred striking railworkers two weeks ago, know that 'driving opposition underground' is the only way the apartheid regime can respond to their demands. Under the state of emergency all black resistance organisations have been driven underground and more than 28 000 activists interned. The unions are the last outpost of legal black political activity. Activists now wait to see whether the crackdown during the election campaign was a propaganda stunt, or whether the unions too are now to be destroyed.

Two of Botha's ministers have already warned that the government is planning new laws to deal with political strikes. If it carries out this threat the regime will have removed the one real reform introduced in South Africa: the legalisation of black unions in the late seventies.

The black working class will not take it lying down.

As Jay Naidoo, leader of the black union federation Cosatu, said after the attack on railworkers, 'Our members will never accept that management and the government can use guns and sjamboks to crush the legitimate demands of workers.' The signals are set for a new battle in the war over the future of apartheid capitalism.

WEST BERLIN

Riots against Big Brother

While the official May Day celebrations elsewhere in West Germany passed off in the usual uneventful fashion, in West Berlin they ended in the most violent unrest the divided city has seen in years. A street party in the Kreuzberg district, organised by the Alternative Liste — West Berlin's equivalent of the Greens — turned into a pitched battle between youth hurling petrol bombs and police who had to use bulldozers to clear blazing barricades.

The cause of this anti-police outburst is the official census which is due to be held in West Germany from 25 May. The census was supposed to take place three years ago, but has been repeatedly postponed because of widespread opposition. In a country where memories of fascism run deep, and whose state surveillance techniques are already the most sophisticated and daunting on the Continent, the invitation to supply police computers with even more comprehensive information has been given a hostile response.

The census has been the focus of political protest for a year. A boycott campaign is being organised by committees in every town and city. The government has spent a fortune on trying to persuade the public that the census is a harmless and technical exercise. But it has failed to dispel the conviction that the census represents an extension of state interference and a threat to civil liberties.

Over the past two months, the government has sought to stamp on the boycott campaign. Police have raided campaign offices, served writs on radical politicians, and broken up countless meetings. Since the anticipated army of volunteer census helpers failed to materialise, the authorities have resorted to press-ganging public employees into doing the job.

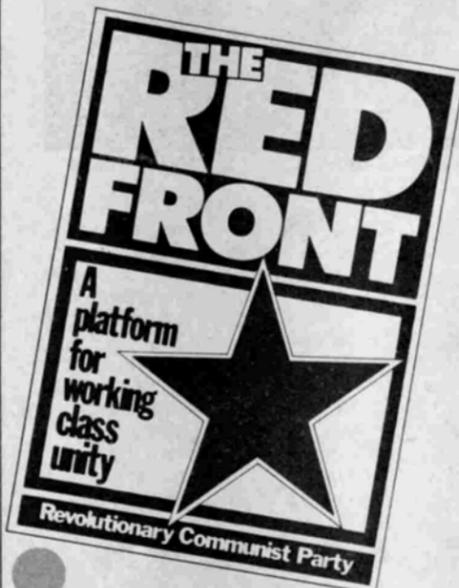
The Kreuzberg riot was a response to a raid on the Berlin boycott campaign office. It was a well-executed act of retaliation. According to a *ims* supporter who witnessed it, 'A telephone tree was activated, so that within half an hour of the first clash with the police more than 400 radicals and youth turned up to get stuck in.' Whatever the political limitations of the West Berlin radical and anarchist scene, fear of physical contact with the forces of law and order is clearly not one of them.

The fact that a census has become a focus of political conflict is a sign of a marked lack of popular identification with the state among West Germans.

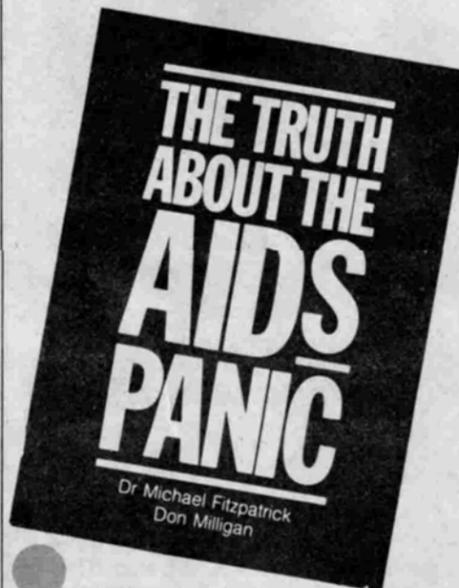
As a result of the trauma of fascism, defeat in the war and the post-war division of Germany, respect for state institutions is far weaker than in other advanced capitalist nations. Not surprisingly this sense of alienation from the state is particularly strong in West Berlin, which still bears the scars of the war and which epitomises the artificial character of the post-war order in Europe.

REVIEWS

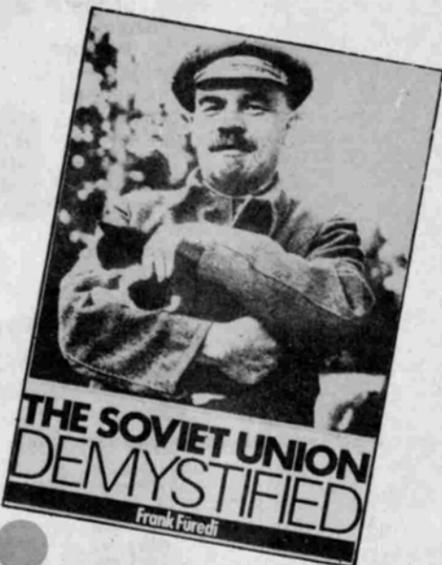
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THE 'FIFTH BEATLE' IN FULL SONG

● 'THE LAST FOOTBALL BOOK'

The beautiful game

Steve Redhead, *Sing When You're Winning*, Pluto Press, £5.95

In court the police reveal how 'Operation Own Goal' infiltrated Chelsea's 'Headhunter' hooligans. On the radio phone-in the patronising DJ asks the working class male 'what team do you support, mate?' On left-wing marches the terrace chants are adapted to the matter in hand. In the papers the latest 'soccer tribe' is woefully revealed as lacking the game's traditional values. As a mass working class pastime football may be in decline, but its followers are the subject of more attention than ever before.

In this entertaining book (well, for anybody interested in football) one of the fans hits back. Steve Redhead is a fan of pop culture too, and *Sing When You're Winning* is a self-styled 'post-punk' survey of the game, and how it fits and doesn't fit into British life. It's all here, Munich '58, Heysel '85, George Best, 'medallion man', Ron Atkinson, Eamon Dunphy, the Casuals, *Foul* (football's alternative newspaper of the seventies), Ted Croker, *Gregory's Girl*, bobble hats, Pat Nevin, the Public Order Act — and it's about as breathless and as jumbled as that. But if you want

to explore 'how football grounds can become a catwalk for Armani, Lacoste, Fiorucci, Lois, Nike, Farah and Pringle at a time when the game itself is condemned as bankrupt and virtually dead' then this is definitely the book for you.

Redhead aspires to making 'connections between soccer and the decline of the nation' and 'to save soccer from its monetarist grave'. But like the manager's grand plan before the match, it doesn't quite happen like that on the pitch. When Redhead gets out there he just hares off after the ball, or the juiciest quote or flashiest reference that comes into his well-stocked head. But like many an opportunistic and intelligent striker, he scores goals. He is capable of seeing more than an inarticulate howl of proletarian rage in the average Saturday crowd, and he avoids dutiful references to capitalism and the class struggle.

Most serious consideration of the football scene comes from obnoxious and reactionary journalists, and so Redhead's perceptions are welcome, even if they don't amount to a coherent overview. The establishment uses football as a vehicle for its moral panics and its anti-working class prejudices. (*The Sunday Times* has described it as a

'slum sport watched by slum people'.) They even have the cheek to complain about the racism of the crowd. Many liberals see the Saturday ritual as proof that the white male worker is the most reactionary force in society.

There is nothing progressive about men getting drunk, shouting racist and sexist abuse for two hours and then fighting each other, but as Redhead shows (with loads of wonderful photographs), football culture has always been more complex and more fertile than that. He deals well too with the myth of the golden age of the fifties, the press hysteria against the hooligans and the Falklands-style chauvinism of the terraces.

Most of all he has a detailed knowledge of and a genuine enthusiasm for those who watch and play the game — and he doesn't wear rose-coloured spectacles. As he says, 'There are no pure elements of football pleasure: joy and strife are two dimensions of the same coin.' Having spent every winter Saturday of the seventies holding a plastic cup of weak Bovril in the rain watching Crystal Palace go up and come down, I can only agree.

Toby Banks

● LIFE AND TIMES OF JOE ORTON

Prick up your ears

THE BOOK

John Lahr, *Prick Up Your Ears: The Biography of Joe Orton*, Penguin, £3.95

Between 1963 and 1967 Joe Orton became a famous and comparatively rich playwright. *The Ruffian on the Stair*, *Loot*, *Erpingham Camp*, *Funeral Games*, *Entertaining Mr Sloane* established his reputation as a witty and savage critic of English manners. In most countries it is not possible to be both poor and respectable, but in England the combination has always been held to be a positive virtue, and never more so than in the immediate post-war period in which he was brought up. The keeping up of appearances, the emotional squalor and the sexual penury of much working class life were the main targets of Orton's work.

DRIVEN

He had no ideas about how to change society but he developed a brilliant capacity to lay bare the need of those in authority to suppress intellectual curiosity and promote conformity and petty snobbery amongst ordinary people. Orton's anarchic and pornographic plays were tightly written to provoke outrage. He used the salacious interest in sex and the indecent fear of sensuality which were the hallmark of the fifties and early sixties to launch his attacks on polite society.

Lahr's biography opens with Orton's brutal murder in August 1967 by his lover Ken Halliwell, who then killed himself. He retraces their lives. For years they were failed actors and unpublished writers, but always driven by ambition for fame and fortune. Orton was never going to fit into family life on a council estate in Leicester, and Halliwell had to do better than his first attempts at drama for an amateur company in Liverpool.

They needed to succeed. They had to escape from the confines and humiliation of routine jobs and a social world they could never be accepted by. Only fame would put sufficient distance between them and the sexual and social conventions that disfigured and threatened to

crush their lives. They met in 1951 at the Royal Academy of Dramatic Art. They became lovers, and not long after leaving college moved into a bedsit in Islington which was to be their home until their deaths 14 years later.

Prick Up Your Ears describes Halliwell's excruciating failure and Orton's glittering success. It was another dreadful trap for them, trapped as they were by their homosexuality and by their room. The trips to Morocco to buy the services of boys, Orton's insistence on cruising parks, public toilets and streets looking for sex — these were the desperate sort of strategies they took refuge in to save their relationship, but they didn't work.

Orton's greatest achievement, his plays, have now become little more than period pieces, stranded by the changing times. They are a source of nostalgia for the days when the Lord Chamberlain censored plays line-by-line, and West End critic Ken Tynan could outrage the establishment by saying 'fuck' on TV. The days when reaction looked absurd as opposed to mortally dangerous.

Lahr has written an excellent book (first published in 1978, now reissued). By drawing on Orton's copious diaries, the memories of the men's friends and by extensive use of their novels and plays, he has drawn out the misery and the energy of both men. This book is not just

about being homosexual in the fifties and sixties, nor is it simply about a disastrous love affair. Lahr's achievement is a portrait of two extremely talented men struggling against a society that simultaneously horrified, enthralled and destroyed them.

Don Milligan

THE FILM

***Prick Up Your Ears*, Stephen Frears (Director)**

Directed by Stephen Frears, scripted by Alan Bennett, Joe Orton played by Gary Oldman, Kenneth Halliwell by Alfred Molina, the literary agent by Vanessa Redgrave, the mum by Julie Walters. A lot of proven talent went into this adaptation of John Lahr's biography, and it shows. The script is witty, the performances are all excellent and the direction is effortlessly tight and claustrophobic (observe the council official looming in the front doorway as the Orton family flap around him).

The film is thoughtfully planned and carefully executed. Bennett introduces John Lahr himself (plus wife) into the story to help Peggy Ramsay, Orton's agent, tell us what happened. Although the rather ingenuous American inquirer portrayed here may do the real Lahr a disservice, he provides a salutary caution against our being too eager or too literal in our search

for the truth of such a past. Mind you, while we are pondering this we are likely to be seduced by a skilful rendering of fifties and sixties England, in vignettes of RADA, the Festival of Britain, the local library, the magistrates court (six months each for defacing the books), the Leicester council house and swinging London.

Orton's plays, and Halliwell's work too for that matter, are left on one side. The focus is firmly on the obsessive relationship of the two men, on the tiny bedsit where they lived and on Orton's constant sexual prowling for trade rough, smooth or whatever. There is much black humour, usually at the expense of those around Orton (including Halliwell with his ridiculous wig), but mostly at the expense of established norms of decent behaviour. In one memorable scene Halliwell mimes the strangling of a cat before a bunch of horrified RADA students.

UNCONVINCING

But somehow the film doesn't quite work. Having chosen to concentrate on the doomed affair, it fails to explore Halliwell's decline, which occurs in an unconvincing rush near the end. One moment he is raving fairly harmlessly in a Hancock-like manner, the next he is beating out his lover's brains with a hammer. Nothing prepares us for the weight of his final lines: 'I loved him. I must have loved him, for I chose him to kill me.'

The film also fails to give us more than a wide boy in Orton himself, albeit a lethally charming one. Perhaps if something of his plays had been included, or even discussed, we could have explored the development of his talent as a writer. Instead whenever he turns to his diary, as he often does, he retreats from our view as effectively as he does from Halliwell's.

If Bennett's main mistake is his narrow focus on the private lives as opposed to the public works and the public world, it is also true that his sensibility is not a match for his subject. Bennett has a much more whimsical, gentle and generous wit than Orton (the landlady here is a typical Bennett character — 'Oooh, it's just one function after another', she sighs innocently). The film doesn't have the wild malice and the subversive anarchy of Orton at his best, it doesn't have the same bite.

Pat Ford



ORTON, KENNETH WILLIAMS AND HALLIWELL

Elton and Harvey

BRIAN DEMPSEY (letter, 1 May) is correct to say that 'gay rights can only be won in the struggle for socialism.' However, this struggle can only be won by rejecting all forms of anti-gay propaganda whoever it is directed against.

The recent spate of attacks on prominent gay men by the media and the state has a much wider significance than the loss of respectability for a few famous individuals. They serve as a means of justifying more attacks on homosexual rights and of creating further divisions. Some left wingers have already used Harvey Proctor's sexuality to try to popularise political opposition to him. This can only have the same devastating effect as did the use of Murdoch's nationality in the Wapping dispute which did nothing but spread chauvinism and obscure the

real political conflict.

There is an urgent need to counter the Tories' pro-family propaganda, not so much to defend Elton John personally, but to defend gay rights generally. People like John and Proctor are anti-working class. But the campaign against them is more of a threat than they ever were.

Jon Austin
Bradford

Racist solidarity?

I WAS very pleased to read the interview with Bob Rayner (*tns*, 8 May). It is refreshing to find white trade unionists standing up for black peoples' rights even if it is at the expense of their own jobs. But there seems to be a contradiction between this excellent example of workers' solidarity and what you propose in relation to the current CPSA dispute.

You suggest that activists

should go to workers in the home office, the ministry of defence, presumably in customs and excise and in immigration to encourage them to take strike action. But are these people not the same as prison warders, when they deport black people, or lock them up in prison ships? You admit that they are often 'reactionary' in their political outlook. But that is not the end of the problem. They perform a directly oppressive role in relation to black people and immigrants that must be compared to the role of the police, prison warders and the army. Just because they happen to be in the same union does not necessarily make them part of our class.

Previously you have argued to get managers out of our unions, even though it could be argued that they could potentially take more effective and disruptive strike action than lower grades. How do you justify your attitude in this case?

Martin Jenkins
Black Nalگو member



HACKNEY CLAIMANTS QUEUE FOR LABOUR COUNCIL FOOD PARCELS

Emergency payments

THE RCP is calling on Nalگو members to pay emergency payments to claimants in the present CPSA strike. Yet the new regulations which enable them to do this (not the ineffective or irrelevant Section 1 or Section 138 payments) has been specifically drafted in order to undermine strike action by DHSS workers. If claimants

are getting their payments despite the strike this means that the action ceases to have any effect and secondly that Nalگو members are being used by the local authorities and the government as strike breakers. Although we would want to have claimants on our side the strategy you propose will ensure that we lose, which will make life worse for them in the long term.

Jane Taylor
CPSA member
London

Workers of Western Europe, Unite!

IT was heartening to read the article by Sabena Norton (*tns*, 24 April) attempting to sketch an overview of the West European situation. Her assessment remains essentially one which views worker responses in terms of the policies of their own ruling class. She sees the West European workers' struggle as an agglomeration of separate struggles whose main reason for enjoying attention in the same article is merely that they are in the same geographical region. I would like to suggest that the struggles are far more integrated than she suggests.

The existence of the European Economic Community, particularly to include Greece, Spain and Portugal are vital indicators of the current and future direction of the European workers' struggle. Even prior to 1981 an important measure of integration already existed particularly with regard to labour migration and national production specialisation. In response to their being squeezed out of the world's markets by the USA and Japan the EEC has to: 1. expand the West European market for its own exclusive use, 2. reduce the cost of

labour locally by reorganising production on a continental scale leading to mass redundancies, 3. reduce the average age of the West European population.

This helps to explain why the EEC has been expanded into low-cost labour zones. This not only implies a general drop in real wages, but also potentially much greater national specialisation. This means that it becomes less possible

for workers in any one country to see their actions in terms of a complete production process. It is becoming more and more a case of European workers rather than 'British', 'Spanish' or 'German workers'. European revolutionary activists should spend a lot more time organising West European workers with that understanding in mind.

A comrade from Africa



IS EUROPE'S STRIKE-WAVE ONE STRUGGLE?

Outlawing oppression

AS you know there is no law at present which makes it illegal for employers to discriminate against lesbians and gay men. Although the sex and race discrimination laws are not up to much, their very existence implies that their oppression is recognised by the

establishment. The Labour Party, despite its general backing off on the issue of homosexual rights, has however made a firm commitment to introduce such legislation during its next term of office. Do you not think that gay people should consider a vote for Labour on these grounds, while of course indicating that it should do a lot more?

Mick Shortland
East London



NOTHING TO SMILE ABOUT

Labour attacks 'appalling' anti-racism

LEWISHAM Action on Policing group has recently produced a number of leaflets and posters attacking the local police campaign to recruit more black people. They have brought out a poster saying 'The State want black recruits to carry out police murders — Don't join the police'. Their leaflet explained: 'We all know why the authorities want black people in uniform. They think they can hide their racism behind a few black faces.' As Workers Against Racism has also been involved in picketing the recruitment

office, you might like to know about the latest developments.

Dave Sullivan, the leader of Lewisham Council, said, 'This appalling leaflet has angered many people in the borough and councillors are no exception. We consider this to be a very serious matter and have therefore called for an urgent investigation into the future of Lewisham Action on Policing.' In other words they are going to conduct an inquiry into the work of LAP and are threatening to cut its funding.

Although it is inevitable that state-funded groups will be attacked every time they speak the truth and take a principled stand, your readers might like to protest to the council and send letters of support to LAP.

Annabel Parry
Lewisham

Vote Labour to expose them

WHAT Frank Richards (*tns*, 8 May) seems to have forgotten in his sweeping generalisations about why 'the left' calls for a Labour victory is that a Labour government makes the class struggle more intense. It becomes clear in those conditions that the working class is fighting the bourgeois Labour Party, not just the bosses. The RCP spends a great deal of time

and space exposing Labour's sell-out in opposition. If they were in power you would have stronger and more compelling examples of their sell-outs. It would be easier to build a revolutionary party in these conditions. Even if you do not think Labour would be any improvement on the Tories in terms of their policies, you must surely prefer that they were in power so that we can draw out the contradiction between workers' loyalty and Labour's anti-working class strategy.

An intensely critical Labour voter
Cardiff

Jeanette

IN response to Jan's letter (1 May) I think she missed the point. In view of the media coverage given to anti-abortion ideas and the pro-family sentiments raging through society at the moment, the case of Jeanette's sterilisation is small beer.

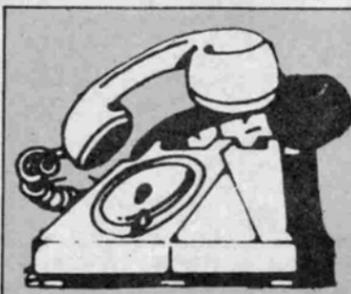
While the bosses need women in the home, providing free cooking and cleaning facilities, replacing the health service with 'community care' etc, we have to campaign for free and safe contraception and abortion on demand and free

24-hour nurseries, to enable women to take an economically and politically independent role in society.

We are opposed to state interference in a woman's ability to reproduce. But

fudging the issue with individual cases is counter-productive and dangerous for the long-term fight for women's rights.

Alison Corrigan
Newcastle



If you would like to respond to any of these points, raise questions or comment on what you have read in the next step you can write to *tns*, BCM JPLTD, London WC1N 3XX. Or phone the letters page over the weekend on (01) 729 3771.

GIVE A DAY'S PAY FOR THE RED FRONT!

Money, as every politician will tell you, makes election campaigns go round. All of the parties have been busy squeezing their supporters for cash since the rumours of a June poll started. Looking at where they get their money from gives us a good indication of whose interests they represent. The Tories have raised around £20m from big business for another Saatchi and Saatchi campaign. The Alliance has got considerably less from more disaffected sections of the establishment. The Labour Party is expected to raise around £4m, thanks to the support of the trade union bureaucracy. We have to rely on you.

The Labour leadership may have shut the trade union leaders out of its policy-making and press conferences, but it can still rely on them to fund its election campaign. The union officials are desperate to get Labour in so that they can get their feet back under the table at Downing Street. No matter how anti-working class Kinnock's policies are, the fat cats in the union head offices will put their money where his mouth is. The sole purpose of most unions' political levy is to fund the Labour Party.

The union leaders also appeal to their members to make contributions to Labour. This month's issue of *Print*, the NGA journal, appeals to members to donate an hour's pay to Labour's election campaign. 'I don't think our members can make a better investment in their own interest' said Tony Dubbins, the general secretary. Print workers might think differently, but the union

officials who helped to undermine the Wapping dispute know where their future lies. Dubbins tells us that £2700 has already been raised from the NGA's full-timers and branch secretaries.

The Revolutionary Communist Party does not have friends in high places to whom we can turn for a hand out. Establishment dignitaries are notoriously unenthusiastic about funding parties which want to bring about a revolution in Britain. The trade union leaders are equally unlikely to support a party which wants to destroy their influence. We have no rich artists, film stars or actors who'll hand over 'conscience money', and the critique of the Soviet Union we published last year has probably scuppered our chances of any Moscow gold. We depend on the hard work of our supporters to keep us financially alive and kicking. That counts double during an election campaign.

Money is our biggest worry in the election. We are fully equipped with the politics to take on whatever issues are thrown up in the course of the campaign. We are confident that our organisers are capable of running effective campaigns — but an election costs a lot. It costs a £500 deposit just to register a candidate, and then there's money for posters, manifestos, phone bills, meeting halls, transport, campaign offices.... We need to repeat this for each of the 14 *Red Front* candidates. And we're also going to increase the size of *tns* to 16 pages during the campaign, to allow us to deal with each

new development in more depth.

This means we need more money from you. There are a number of ways to raise it.

• GIVE US A DAY'S PAY. Tony Dubbins thinks the Labour Party is worth an hour's pay. We think that print workers who remember the lack of support the Wapping strikers got from Kinnock and Co might doubt this. But we reckon *The Red Front* must be worth at least a day's pay. If all our supporters contributed that proportion of their income, we would have enough to finance our entire election campaign.

• DOUBLE YOUR DUES. Most supporters could afford to double their dues for just one month. It would probably mean sacrificing a night out, but what's a few drinks when you weigh up how we could put your money to use in the cause of the working class? Every extra £10 buys us 500 manifestos or 250 posters.

• If you're really too broke to dig into your own pocket, you can help us dig into other people's. When you sell *tns*, ask every buyer to make a donation to the election fund. Harass your friends for money. Organise a sponsored event (rumour has it that some supporters in London are training for the half-marathon!). Organise a fund-raising film show or disco. Whatever you do, please raise money for us. Sponsorship forms for *The Red Front* are available from BM RCP London WC1N 3XX.

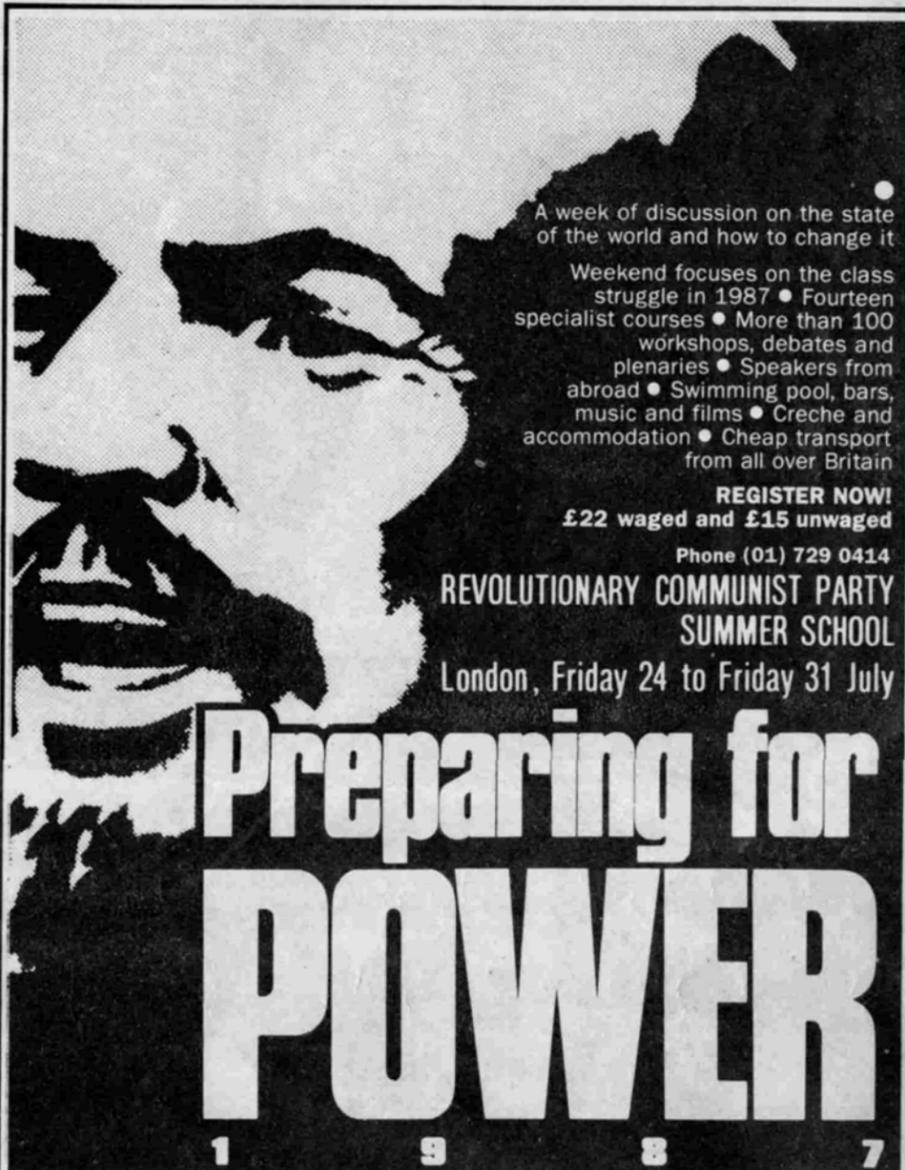
Every little bit helps, but the bigger the bit the better it is.
Anne Burton

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You should be too busy campaigning for *The Red Front* to fit in much reading over the next month, so you'll have a lot of catching up to do after. Don't miss it. REGISTER NOW.

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Diary

BRIXTON: Thursday 21 May, 7.30pm. Public meeting: Labour set for defeat — how do we take on the Tories? St Matthew's Meeting Place, Brixton Hill (opposite Lambeth Town Hall)
CASTLEFORD: Thursday 14 May, 7.30pm. Irish Freedom Movement video show. The

Ship Inn, Aire Street
COVENTRY: Wednesday 20 May, 7.30pm. Public meeting: Labour on the rocks — how can we beat the Tories? Speaker: Frank Richards. West Indian Centre, Spon St
DURHAM: Thursday 14 May, 1.15pm. Public meeting: Moral panics and women's rights.

Committee Room, Students Union, Durham University
LONDON: Saturday 16 May, 1pm-5pm. Commemoration day for Bobby Sands and James Connolly. Rally, exhibitions, videos etc. Organised by Wolfe Tone Society. Admission by programme £1. Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, WC1 (Holborn tube)
OXFORD: Saturday 16 May, 11am. Dayschool for anti-imperialists. Sessions on Western terrorism, the Middle East, Lenin's theory of imperialism. East Oxford Community Centre, Princes St

the next step

VOTE

RED FRONT

*Backing **The Red Front** in the election is your chance to stand up and fight back for the working class*

All the politicians, newspapers and TV pundits are about to have their say on the general election. The party rosettes are blooming all over Britain, the swingometers are swinging into action, the mud-slingers are taking aim. But in all the millions of words being spoken and written about what needs to be done, who is speaking up for the needs of ordinary people?

Who is fighting to defend the millions consigned to the scrapheap of unemployment by capitalist profiteers?

Who is speaking up for working men and women struggling for decent pay, like the teachers and civil servants on strike against tight-fisted Tories?

Who is defending our civil liberties against the censors, the courts or MI5 cover-ups?

Who is championing the cause of the oppressed, be they black people facing racist police violence, Irish republicans facing SAS death squads, or lesbians and gays facing Tory ministers who say they are a threat to humanity?

Neil Kinnock's Labour Party has given up any pretence of challenging the Tories on crucial issues like these. Today Labour agrees that mass unemployment is here to stay, tells strikers to give in, and gives full-blooded support to

riot police, to building up the armed forces, and to the security services. The only candidates speaking out clearly for our class are those standing for *The Red Front* — a platform for working class unity. *The Red Front* has been launched

by the Revolutionary Communist Party as an attempt to build a bloc of left-wing organisations and individuals who hate Thatcher and mistrust Kinnock. Our aim is to give the working class a voice in the general election debate, by breaking through the Tory/Labour/Alliance pact of silence on the issues which count for ordinary people.

If you have had enough of being told to lie down and take it by the Tories, and to shut up and suffer by Labour, then *The Red Front* is the election option for you. But voting for *The Red Front* is not enough. If we are to make the authorities take notice of our voice of defiance, we will have to organise to challenge them on every front. Behind the Tories' apparently triumphant march to the polls, there is a significant minority of people looking for a way to trip them up. *The Red Front* is there to provide a focus for those who want to stand up, shout out and fight back. Join us.

Phone (01) 729 0414 for further details of *The Red Front* campaign.

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Kunle Oluremi • Vauxhall
John Fitzpatrick • Hammersmith
Mick Gavan • Holborn & St Pancras
Yasmin Anwar • Hackney North & Stoke Newington
Pam Lawrence • Manchester Gorton
Sue Connolly • Manchester Wythenshawe
Dave Hallsworth • Knowsley North
Danny Lees • Pontefract & Castleford
Ceri Dingle • Sheffield Central
Kirk Williams • Newcastle Central
Derek Owen • Glasgow Central
Carol Meghji • Bristol South
Pervaiz Khan • Birmingham Sparkbrook
Kenan Malik • Nottingham East

Title: The Next Step, No. 18

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