

# Workers Press

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## Fascists rebuffed

ONE HUNDRED anti-fascists prevented the holding of a National Front meeting in Newcastle on Tuesday night.

Members of the Tyne-side & District Anti-Fascist Association and trade unionists, including a WRP contingent, resisted police attempts to break through the crowd outside Canning Street school in Benwell.

Frustrated at the failure of the police, NF

candidate for the Elswick ward, Colin Todd, tried to break through the ranks of anti-fascists.

Along with Ian Anderson, member of NF Directorate and 'guest speaker', Todd was arrested. Both were later released without charge.

Lacking leadership, the other 20 or so bone-heads melted away before the police permitted the anti-fascists to leave the area.

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## WRP Political Committee statement

# FORCE OUT THE THATCHER GOVT!

**THERE IS mounting opposition to the Thatcher government among the working class and wide sections of the middle class.**

The violent police attack on printers and others at Wapping expresses the depth of this opposition and the fear it provokes in the ruling class.

The state terrorism of American imperialism against Libya has provoked considerable revulsion. There is justified fear of nuclear war among the middle class especially.

Imperialism is driven to war against the Soviet Union and the colonial peoples by its insoluble crisis and the resistance to its plans from millions throughout the planet.

The attack on Libya has also aroused great opposition to the siting of military bases in Britain.

A recent poll revealed more people opposed to the siting of US bases in this country than intended to vote Labour.

Trade unionists must demand not only that a future Labour government close the bases.

It must break completely from the NATO military alliance under the auspices of which the bases were built.

The question of the safety of nuclear policy in overcrowded Britain, and the danger to millions that it represents, has also been sharply raised — by the nuclear accident in the Soviet Union.

The government has been caught lying about the reactors here.

The nuclear energy programme in Britain must be halted until its safety has been investigated by the trade union and labour movement.

The labour and trade union bureaucracy is paralysed by this mounting tide of anger against the Thatcher government; so are the centrists and 'left' elements in the trade unions and the Labour Party.

Through the Malvinas war Thatcher, supported by the reformist and Stalinist bureaucracy in the working class, swung the middle class temporarily behind her.

She also won sections of the same class on the basis of her attack against the trade unions.

That situation is now transformed: witness the spontaneous mass demonstrations against the raid on Tripoli and the hostility to Thatcher it created.

For millions the burning question is: How to get rid of the Thatcher government.

The trade union and labour leaders are terrified because they rightly sense that this involves questions which pass beyond the bounds of parliament and elections.

A future Labour government will come into direct conflict with the working class and large sections of the middle class.

We will not place a shred of confidence in such a government. We will give it no support, 'critical' or otherwise.

The urgent task for the Workers Revolutionary Party is to turn decisively to the millions who are engaged in this mounting opposition to the Tory government.

Only in this way can we prepare for the inevitable struggles against a future Labour government.

For years the party, under the leadership of G. Healy, was isolated from the working class.

The expulsion of Healy last October has made possible a break with his previous politics of sectarianism on the one hand and craven opportunism on the other.

The WRP must direct all its efforts to develop

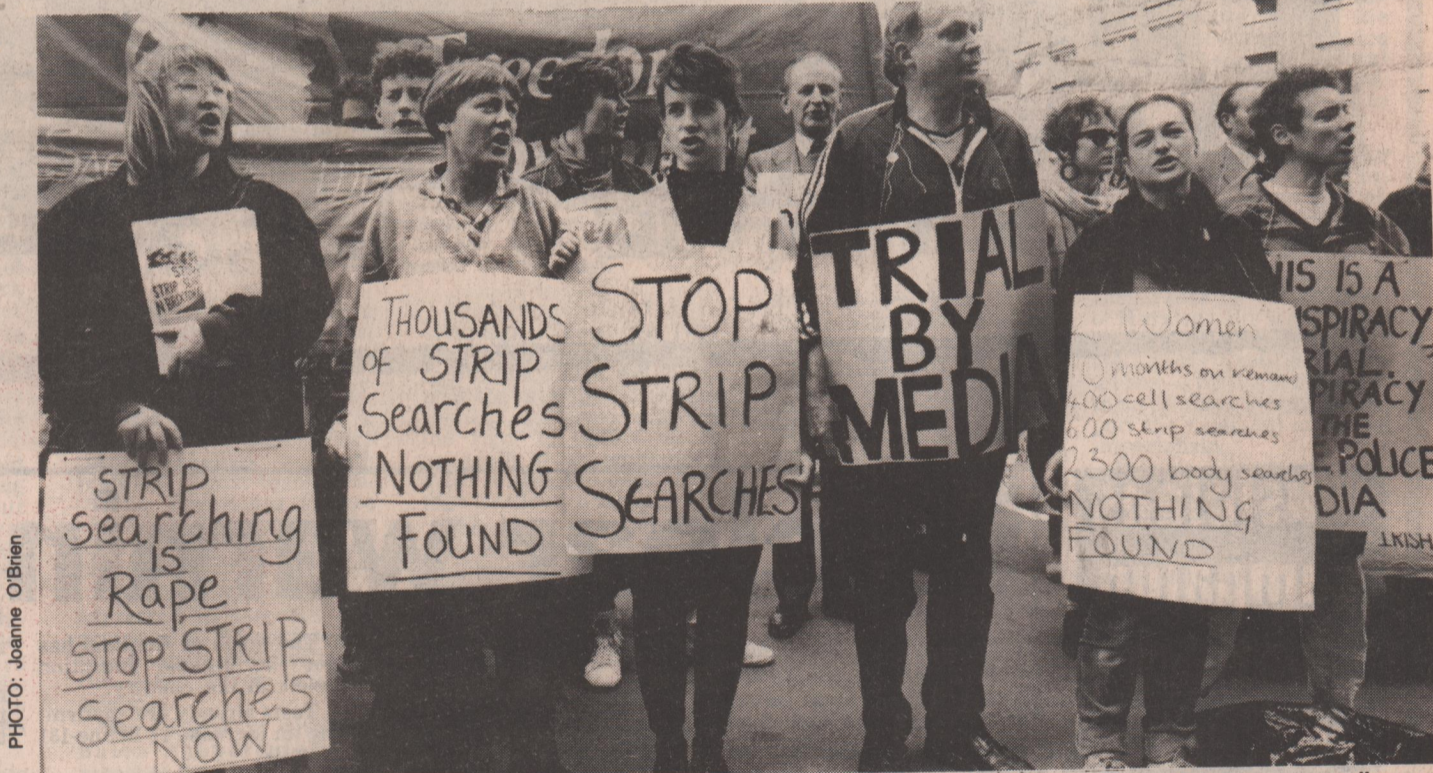


PHOTO: Joanne O'Brien

Pickets outside the Old Bailey as the trial of Ella O'Dwyer and Martina Anderson commenced last week. Within minutes they were dispersed by police. See story page 16

ing a campaigning party, imbued with the determination to lead this movement against the Thatcher government and its reformist and Stalinist allies in the working class.

It must link itself intimately with every possible struggle of the working class.

**Our central demand must be: Force out the Thatcher government.**

The Workers Press must be developed so that it can play a decisive role in this campaign.

The essential attitude of Trotskyism to war or the preparation of war is to turn imperialist war into civil war, to heighten the split without 'own' bourgeoisie and its agents in the labour movement.

Abstract generalisations such as the claim by 'Militant' that the Labour Party could win support for 'Peace and Socialism' campaign avoid the

struggle against the Kinnock leadership of the Labour Party.

The Communist Party 'Euro-Stalinists' actively pave the way for a Kinnock government with their reactionary calls to stay in NATO and just get rid of the bases.

Millions are being moved into action not merely on economic questions but by matters which affect their very future.

Because the crisis is so deep, because millions will be stirred by the most diverse issues, the Workers Revolutionary Party must strive to take up every question affecting the working class, however small it may appear.

On war and nuclear weapons we have nothing in common with pacifism.

Only a mass movement aiming to overthrow imperialism can impose peace and establish socialism.

For the working class, the question is not 'disarmament', but 'who disarms whom?'

The WRP must raise these questions throughout the working class movement: in the trades unions and the Labour Party, through public meetings and in the Workers Press.

At the same time we must conduct the clearest ideological struggle against pacifism, reformism and Stalinism.

In collaboration with members of the labour movement we must begin to work out an international plan for the development of alternatives to nuclear energy and the capitalist ravaging of the environment.

**● Force out the Thatcher government!**

**● Close down all American bases!**

**● Break with NATO!**

## WORKERS REVOLUTIONARY PARTY PUBLIC MEETING

70th anniversary of execution of James Connolly  
5th anniversary of death of Bobby Sands

**Monday May 12, 7.30pm**  
**Anson Hall, Anson Road**  
**Cricklewood, NW2**

### speakers:

- Liz Hill (sister of Paul Hill, 1st person arrested under P.T.A., and one of Guildford Four)
- speaker from Irish Prisoners Appeal
- Gerry Downing (WRP Cen. C'ttee)
- Chair: Sarah Hannigan (Kilburn WRP)

Tickets: 50p



## Challenge to YTS

TRADE UNION support for the two year Youth Training Scheme for school leavers was challenged last Sunday when moves were made to get the clerical union APEX to break totally from YTS cheap labour schemes.

The votes at their Blackpool conference were 37,840 against boycotting YTS, and 32,910 in favour.

The APEX executive council has supported the extension of YTS from one to two years, but a growing feeling of hatred towards the Manpower Services Commission was clearly reflected by this very close vote.

It will shake up trade union bureaucrats like Roy Grantham, the new chairman of the TUC's employment policy committee.

The question of young workers, their safety and conditions of employment is increasingly being raised in the trade union movement

# Shipyard bosses 'bugged union meetings'

By Fiona Nicol

**UNION LEADERS at Tyneside shipyards have claimed that conference rooms used by trade union officials and shop-stewards were 'bugged' by the yard management.**

Bob Glass, chairman of the Tyne and Blyth Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions and GMBATU regional organiser, claimed that Swan Hunter's management had also used 'private detectives' to infiltrate mass meetings and to spy on the workforce for many months before the company was privatised.

'On many occasions, the management were only too

aware of a lot of things that were going on. It is equally obvious that the details they got on those occasions were not just decisions but the business of the meeting and what individuals were saying and doing'.

## Allegations

These allegations came after the release in a local paper of a copy of a report alleged to have been written and sent in April this year by a private detective to the newly-privatised shipyard's management.

The 'detective' had infiltrated the mass meeting of April 3 and names union men

who spoke that he considers to be 'militants'.

The detective — a Mr Howe, who works for a private detective agency based in North Shields called IPCS — posed as a worker from the Neptune shipyard to get into the meeting. His report was addressed to Mr W Hardwicke, chief security officer at Swan Hunter.

The bill included with the report charges: for refreshments £1.40, infiltrating the meeting £40.00, excess parking ticket £3.00 and £10.00 for preparing and presenting the report.

This states: 'The chairman Bob Grant stood up and informed the floor of the re-

commendation which would be put to the brothers at the end of the meeting.

'Immediately there was heckling from the floor and shouts of "sell-out". Then Mr Grant stated that they sided with the men and the district officials would back up any action.

## Spoken

'Contributions were then asked for from the floor and six men said their piece. Of these, three men were fairly militant and had spoken on previous occasions.

'Their names were Andy, Vince and Eric, a cockney electrician. The other three

were moderates. Their view was that there were 2,000 men up the bank just waiting to take their jobs.'

He then described how, during the ballot procedure 'several ballot papers appeared to have been thrown away from the balcony upstairs.

'The men know this is a do-or-die situation. They expect to be laid off or go on strike. It is my own feeling and opinion that there will be a strike whether it affects new orders or not.

'The ballot result was 1,649 in favour of an overtime ban and 300 against.'

Four days later the shipyard workers walked out on strike and within hours the management had put into effect a secret plan for the scab launching of the HMS Coventry in the middle of the night amid tight security.

Investigations are continuing.

## BOBBY SANDS

REPUBLICANS gathered at a vigil in Kilburn last Sunday to commemorate the fifth anniversary of the death of the hunger-striker Bobby Sands MP.

The demonstrators carried black flags and photographs of Bobby Sands and the other nine Irish political prisoners allowed to die by British imperialism.

At the rally after the vigil, Kevin Colfer and Gerry McLoughlin spoke of the continuing heroism in the Irish struggle and of the latest martyr, Seamus McElwaine, shot by the SAS.

The vigil was supported by local republicans, as well as the Troops Out Movement and the Workers Revolutionary Party.



## Musicians campaign against apartheid

A GROWING number of bands and musicians have decided to campaign against the apartheid regime in South Africa.

Artists Against Apartheid is partly organised by Dall Tambo, son of ANC president Oliver Tambo, and includes: Bob Geldof, Ultravox, Scritti Politti, the Pogues, Blancmange, Billy Bragg, Mint Juleps, New Order, David Grant, Strawberry Switchblade, New Academy, Animal Nightlife, the Cane Gang, Brilliant, ASWAD, Jerry Dammers, and Harry Belafonte.

Their aims are supporting concerts and rallies including a Nelson Mandela Freedom Week in Paris on May 31, an anti-apartheid freedom festival on Clapham Common, London, on June 28, and a festival for the poor of South Africa which is at the NEC, Birmingham, on August 2.

They also propose a complete boycott of Sun City as part of a wide-ranging cultural boycott of South Africa

# Nuclear warning delayed

FOLLOWING the Chernobyl disaster the radioactive cloud was over Britain three to four days before any warning to the public was given.

And then warning was issued only because heavy rain over Scotland, north Wales and northern England caused radiation ground levels to rise up to 50 per cent higher than normal.

The highest count according to government was recorded on the Friday yet warnings were not given out

until a television announcement on the following Monday.

While Thatcher and her government scream of a Russian cover-up over the disaster, they themselves have consistently refused to issue advice or give health warnings to the British public.

When the advice finally came, people in the north of England and Scotland were told not to drink fresh rainwater. Checks were hastily begun on milk and fresh vegetables.

The north of England has got the highest radiation levels in the country.

Tests already are confirming an increase of Iodine-131 in milk.

This is particularly dangerous to children under 15, who are three times as likely to develop cancer or the thyroid from inhalation of the isotope than adults.

Mr Irquhart, a risk analysis adviser at Newcastle University, said:

'There was a tangible risk to very young children who drank milk that was

affected.'

Government scientists have admitted that radioactive levels were much higher than they had expected.

Radioactive fall-out over Europe from the Chernobyl plant already exceeds that from all previous nuclear tests. The disaster is already a thousand times worse than the Three Mile Island accident in the US in 1979.

Many parts of Europe have barred cows grazing in open fields and have stopped the sale of fresh milk.

The Netherlands are to im-

pose heavy fines for farmers flouting the ruling.

The Tory minister of agriculture, Michael Jopling, gave a trite dismissal of these measures, saying that the people of the Netherlands are far more health-conscious than the British and that it would be much too expensive to implement such actions here.

Yet again the Tory message is clear — people's health and safety must come second to any interference with farmers' and landowners' profits.

# Tyneside 'doomwatch' plan

SOUTH Tyneside Council are to spend £20,000 on a doomwatch scheme to guard against nuclear pollution.

The money will be used to purchase sophisticated monitoring equipment to check radio-activity levels on local beaches.

South Tyneside Environmental Health Committee chairman, Martin Lightfoot, said: 'The need for monitoring has been given a new urgency by the Soviet nuclear disaster.'

'What is alarming the people of South Tyneside is that a fair distance away on the other side of Europe there has been an explosion and we are feeling the effects in the north east.

'That poses all kinds of questions over the risks which are inherent in this sort of technology.

The risks to Tyneside have already increased with the nuclear power station now at

Hartlepool, the proposed station at Northumberland and the safety record of Sellafield in Cumbria.

The equipment on Tyneside will establish the level of natural radiation in the area then if the proposed nuclear power station at Druridge Bay is built it could immediately be proven if any discharges were coming from it.

The problem in other areas which already have

such power stations is that they did not know beforehand what the background levels were so they do not know how any discharges are affecting them.

It is hoped to get this equipment set up before Druridge Bay comes on-line and then to monitor the levels of radiation being leaked into the North Sea.

Councillor Lightfoot went on to say:

'I think the local authority should have its own independent monitoring of what is safe and what is not as this information is controlled by civil servants and we all know what the OSA is like.' (Indeed we do.)

● Tyneside: Television reports from supermarkets claimed that there was panic buying of mineral water, powdered milk and anti-radiation tablets.

## USDAW conference assessment

# Uneasy shopworkers alliance looks to Labour

By Dot Gibson

**LEADERSHIP and ranks at the USDAW shopworkers' union conference found a kind of unity in their desire for the return of a Labour government.**

The right-wing dominated executive council led by president and former Labour MP, Sid Tierney, and general secretary-elect, D. Garfield Davies, were flushed with the success of the campaign against Sunday trading.

They made the usual promises of 'an equal and just society' under Labour backed up by guest speaker Roy Hattersley, the shadow chancellor.

Naturally no mention was made of the former Labour government which had completely failed to deliver the goods and abandoned all pretence of implementing socialist policy.

The delegates, mainly women from shops, warehouses and distributive trades, gave warm applause every time there was a mention of bringing down Thatcher's Tory government, replacing it with Labour and fighting against the evils of unemployment, low pay and cuts in the health service and social security etc.

Influenced by the miners' strike, which brought forward thousands of women in the communities who joined together in support groups, delegates to the USDAW conference enthusiastically demanded a campaign to recruit part-timers, a campaign against low pay, opposition to 'no strike' deals, a claim for a minimum £110 a week, and more participation in the union.

It was significant that the two defeats inflicted on the leadership arose from demands for membership participation. The demand by the West Kent General branch for all representatives on negotiating bodies to be elected to their positions was carried on a card vote by 130,384 to 105,108.

The Cardiff Central

branch call for the establishment of divisional committees to represent House of Fraser employees was carried on a show of hands.

They see it as a way of breaking down the old relationships in the branches and involving the new members in decision making.

The vast majority of delegates see politics as defeating the Tories and returning Labour. There are many dangers and pitfalls in such a naive and limited view, especially when the broad left is busy trying not to rock the boat with specific demands for socialist policies.

Conference carried a resolution stating that the union might accept government funding for ballots if the TUC agrees and there was an acceptance of an executive statement which calls for an incomes policy (wage cuts) under a Labour government.

A resolution calling for a Labour government to introduce retrospective legislation to reimburse the NUM for sequestration losses, reinstatement of sacked miners and the release of jailed miners was lost.

In the main, USDAW delegates are very new to trade union activity and often start out with a challenge actually to establish the right to organise a trade union in their place of work.

Women represent over 60 per cent of the membership of USDAW and 88 per cent of new recruits to shop work are part-timers. Struggles develop in shops over the refusal of workers to conform to employers' demands about how they should dress — the colour of tights, the length of hair, etc.

There are battles about broken chairs and freezing conditions at check-out points, where girls are expected to work with their feet in a plastic carrier bag for 12 hours.

In conditions of high unemployment, shop-lifting, hold-ups and drunkenness are common, and shop assistants are often expected to act as security guards apprehending offenders.

Refusal to carry out this task has led to victimisation and many disputes in the industry.



Delegates to the USDAW conference enthusiastically demanded a campaign to recruit part-timers, a campaign against low pay, opposition to 'no strike' deals, a claim for a minimum £110 a week, and more participation in the union.

Cut-throat competition rules on the High Streets, where Sainsburys, Tescos and the rest are fighting it out. Unemployment and insecurity cut the ability to buy; while the use of cheap labour schemes — youth training, short-term contracts, flexi-hours (where workers are sent home if the level of profit is falling) and part-time working are rife.

Opposition to all this was expressed in speeches and decisions at the conference, especially on the question of the MSC youth training schemes.

The demand to withdraw union support for the schemes was lost by a narrow 7,560-votes (101,237 voting for the motion, and 108,797 against.)

Conference decided to campaign against the Tory Wages Bill, which sets out to repeal the Truck Acts, restrict the operation of wages councils, and give employers the right to deduct up to one-tenth of an employee's gross wages for cash shortage or stock deficiency.

This Bill, if it becomes law, will affect the wages and conditions of nearly 3 million workers covered by wages councils, and its spin-off effects will lead to the impoverishment of millions more.

Trade union conferences have always expressed views on issues other than those specifically connected with the wages and conditions of members.

Interest in these debates in

the past has been largely confined to political activities.

However USDAW conference revealed that men and women very new to active trade unionism are taking up campaigns on issues which affect the communities.

A fringe meeting during a lunch break on the union's social security campaign attracted more than 100; some 300 attended the meeting on 'Women in USDAW'.

There was a high level of participation in debates on resolutions calling for action on child welfare and social services, child care facilities,

ties, drug addiction, health care, inner-city problems, police powers, nuclear energy, use of plastic bullets and water cannon.

The debate on Libya brought out the nationalist nature of the right-wing 'opposition' to the US attack which they considered would 'cause rather than reduce terrorist activity'.

The mood of the delegates in opposition to this imperialist attack was the content of the decision taken. The emergency resolution called for the closing of nuclear bases and demanded that the US be told that no F1-11s or any other plane will attack Libya from the UK.

Conference ended up carrying a resolution giving 'unqualified support to the Labour leadership to ensure that at the next General Election a Labour government would be returned to office'.

A resolution appealing for unity and opposition to 'expulsions of any more socialists from the Party' was lost.

Winding up the debate, Davies made an impassioned plea for the rejection of Marxism. His speech summed up social democracy in the Labour Party and trade unions — they will do everything in their power to support the capitalist state and imperialism.

Members of USDAW and all workers should take warning that the return of a Labour government will not bring an end to unemployment and war.

Only when the working class dismantles the capitalist state and carries through a policy to nationalise the banks — and all industries — will that be possible.

## Open letter to new USDAW secretary

Dear Bro Garfield Davies,

Winding up the debate on Labour Party organisation, on behalf of the Executive Council, you made the following point.

'There is a particular brand of Marxism that Trotskyism represents which was opposed by Lenin and Stalin.'

This point was made to prove that any socialist who defends Trotsky is 'beyond the pale'.

● It is historically wrong to equate Lenin with Stalin.

● Lenin and Trotsky — not Stalin — were the co-leaders of the Russian revolution.

● When Lenin died he left a 'last testament' which warned against Stalin and called for his removal as Party general secretary.

● Stalin organised the Moscow Trials, the elimination of those who had been members of the Bolshevik Party Central Committee under Lenin — including the murderer of Trotsky — and

thousands of revolutionary fighters.

In making the point, not only were you factually wrong but you took the side of Stalin and his crimes in your witch-hunt against Marxists in the Labour Party.

Would you like to see them eliminated in the same way as Stalin eliminated the opposition to him?

You have associated yourself and the Executive Committee of USDAW with Stalinism including its crimes in Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Poland.

Members of the union should be warned that this is where witch-hunts inevitably lead.

Yours fraternally

Dorothy Gibson (delegate, South West London branch)

Dany Jenkins (delegate, Booksellers and Stationers branch)

In a personal capacity.

April 29, 1986

## Marcel Liebman

MARCEL LIEBMAN, who died last week at the early age of 56, will be missed by many people in the Belgian and international labour movement, by socialist academics and by friends both in the Jewish community and amongst Palestinians.

A professor at the Free University of Brussels, Paris-born Liebman wrote on the history and theory of Bolshevism. His best-known book is 'Leninism Under Lenin' analysing the problems of the first workers' state.

The book studies the effects of isolation on the Russian Revolution and Lenin's struggle to stop the bureaucratic degeneration of the Soviet state and party which resulted in Sta-

linism.

Liebman also wrote a moving personal account of the Nazi holocaust, 'Born Jewish: A Family during the War.'

A leading member of the Union of Belgian-Jewish Progressives, which seeks to continue traditions of the Jewish workers' movement and the Resistance, Marcel Liebman was also for a time chairman of the Belgian-Palestinian Association.

He was a friend and co-worker of Naim Khader, the PLO envoy in Brussels assassinated in 1978. He helped him spread understanding of the Palestinian struggle among Jewish people and the Belgian labour movement.

Charlie Pottins

## Healy's rump

FOLLOWING the scurrilous anti-working class attack on Comrade Phil Penn in the 'News Line', paper of the Healyite rump, this group of degenerates are now turning their frustration on the working class.

Irish republican circles in Kilburn are furious at the latest outrage. On a 'News Line' pub sale, Chris Anglin had an altercation with a leading republican, Kevin, and a group of supporters.

In the course of the argument Kevin invited Anglin to participate in the vigil to be held in Kilburn Square for the fifth anniversary of Bobby Sands' death on hunger strike (see picture opposite).

Anglin refused, saying 'We do not support individual ter-

rorism'. This outraged the listeners, as you might imagine, but worse was to come.

Getting no change from Kevin, who proffered his support for Workers Press, Anglin revealed his true politics.

Kevin recounts that as he lifted his glass to drink Anglin noticed his rough working-class hands (Kevin is a manual worker). 'Who are you anyway?' asked our 'revolutionary socialist'. 'You are no socialist, you are only a navy.'

Kevin had to escort Anglin from the pub to protect him because, as he says, he would never allow anyone to be attacked while he had newspapers and a collecting box.



## MAY DAY CELEBRATIONS

1986

# Liverpool rally highlights anti-apartheid struggle

**LIVERPOOL** — A meeting held on May 2 highlighted the struggle against apartheid as part of an international May Day rally.

Liverpool city councillor John Hamilton explained that the meeting was 'part of an international demonstration of working class solidarity and the fight for socialism. Thatcher's attitude to workers here is a type of apartheid,' he said.

He went on: 'Our city council has put a ban on South African goods and set up a monitoring system to ensure this is done.'

'Nelson Mandela was put away because he refused to betray his people or his beliefs.'

Irish T&GWU member Karen Gearon, who was sacked from Dunne's store in Dublin for refusing to handle South African goods, said:

'A motion was passed at our union to refuse to handle South African goods. We decided to put it into practice. That was in July of 1984.'

'We've suffered police harassment on the picket line and one member has been arrested. The union leadership took nine months officially to support our strike.'

'We were denied entrance into Johannesburg, South Africa, where we were to meet Desmond Tutu and trade unionists, by the South African authorities and British embassy officials.'

She went on: 'We were detained at the airport in South Africa for eight hours after being escorted off the plane by armed police. When we realised we would not be getting into Johannesburg we began to sing rebel songs.'

'The Irish government has promised a ban on South African goods so the trade union has called off the official picket.'

'We are still on strike and we are refusing to go back and handle food that is prepared by prison labour even if we lose our jobs because others in South Africa are losing their lives.'

Dennis Goldberg, who spent 22 years in prison with Nelson Mandela, told the rally: 'Thatcher's government avoided economic sanctions against South Africa, claiming it would hurt the ones

By John Owen

they are trying to help. She didn't specify who she meant.

'The apartheid regime is responsible for the death before the age of five of half of black-born babies.'

He then said: 'We were arrested in 1963 as the armed struggle of the ANC had only just begun. We have been released because of the strength of the armed liberation movement. The youth in South Africa are fighting against segregated education. Their resistance grows stronger as the brutalities are increased.'

'Racists in Britain draw strength from the South African regime. The Thatcher government won't introduce sanctions because it will affect their £12,000m investment there. The fight is for a non-racial democratic South Africa with all cultures allowed to exist.'



A lively delegation from the Workers Revolutionary Party participated in the SERTUC (South-East Region TUC) and May Day Co-ordinating committee march held in London on Saturday May 3



Members of the Polmaise and Stirling Womens' Committee on a May Day March in Stirling



Colourful teachers' union banners were dominant on the May Day march in Glasgow. The Lanarkshire EIS banner (above) commemorating Robert Owen and John McLean was particularly appropriate to this, the 100th May Day

## Quarrymen lead Bangor march

By Susan Gwyer

**OVER 350 people marched through Bangor on Saturday in support of International Labour Day organised by Bangor and District Trades Council.**

The Llanberis silver band led the march and was followed by people carrying banners representing the Ffestiniog quarrymen, the Bangor and Caernarvon Trades Council, the Labour Party, CND, Arfon Socialist Society, UCATT, NALGO and NUPE.

Anti-Thatcher slogans were the main chant. There was loud booing as the march passed the Conservative lunch-time drinkers standing outside the Con-

servative club in Bangor High Street.

In the rally at St Mary's Church Hall there was an impressive platform of speakers.

The chair, Paul Stroud, secretary of Bangor and District Trades Council, opened the rally by attacking the American and British intervention in Libya.

He pronounced the theme of the rally as being one of struggle and promptly introduced Linda Tengwern, a representative from the Blaenau Ffestiniog quarrymen support group.

She thanked the people of Bangor for their support and underlined the unity between the miners and the quarrymen during the strike.

There was a stall at the rally selling and records and cassettes made by the strikers during their fight.

The next speaker was Heather Smith representing the Silentnight strikers. She explained that the 500 sacked workers were getting nothing but small financial help from their union, FTAT. The strikers wished this to be known in the wider labour movement.

Betty Williams, Labour candidate for Aberconway, spoke next. When questioned as to what the Labour Party would do about jailed and sacked miners, she refused to reply.

She said the Labour Party had the leadership for the next government. This was

met with groans from the floor and placards reading 'Release the Jailed Miners' were held aloft.

A representative of the Chilean Solidarity campaign from Merseyside gave a very moving account of a recent trip she had made to Chile.

Angela Thew organised a meeting with women agricultural workers in the open fields. They were set upon by Pinochet's military with teargas and water cannons firing sewer water.

She also described a Chilean State hospital she visited as a British midwife.

In appalling conditions, Chilean women stood up in the last stages of labour or lay on bin-liners on the floor due to lack of bed space. In

private hospitals women paid the equivalent of £2,000 to give birth in luxury.

The final speaker was Dennis Goldberg, a representative from the ANC. He is a white South African who had been jailed for 22 years for carrying out activities for the banned ANC.

He spoke at length on the conditions facing black workers who, despite having no rights, were able to organise the general strike on May 1.

Dennis went on to explain how the abolition of the pass laws was another desperate ploy by the Botha regime to stave off the imminent collapse of the apartheid regime. He called for all people to boycott South African

goods and give total support to the ANC.

'The British government is the major supporter, along with the USA, in propping up the Apartheid regime.'

Dennis brought the audience to a standing ovation with the whole hall chanting 'Victory to the ANC' and 'Victory to SWAPO in Namibia'

The rally finished with an anarchist taking the microphone and attacking Betty Williams for not answering the most important question: the question of releasing the jailed political prisoners.

He denounced Neil Kinnock for not turning up on the picket lines until ten months into the miners' strike.



# WORLD NEWS

## SOUTH KOREA:

# ECONOMIC MIRACLE TURNS SOUR

By CHRIS DIXON

**THOUSANDS** of demonstrators clashing with riot police, economy feeling the recession, young people carrying effigies of Reagan and wanting US bases out: Mrs Thatcher must have felt almost at home when she stopped off in South Korea en route for the Tokyo capitalist summit.

Encouraged by the overthrow of Marcos in the Philippines, thousands of Koreans have taken to the streets in the past few months against the right-wing dictator Chun Doo Wan.

Demands are being voiced for constitutional reform and presidential elections in a country where every previous government since 'independence' in 1948 has ended in assassination or coup.

Massive student demonstrations have spearheaded the campaign and hundreds of student leaders have been jailed.

The government has been using its controls on the

riens were arrested after clashes with the ruling DJP party in December last year, when the government rail-roaded their budget Bill through in two minutes while the opposition were outside and the doors were locked.

press systematically to discredit and criminalise the New Korean Democratic Party, the main parliamentary opposition.

Seven NKDP parliamenta-

## RIOT POLICE CAN'T SAVE REGIME



**KWANGJU, Korea, May 1980: Riot police form a human barricade to block the way of anti-government demonstrators during protests. 65 were killed**

In the last few weeks there have been demonstrations in Seoul, the capital, in the industrial city of Pusan, in Taegu and the port of Incheon. Perhaps the biggest, with 50,000 people, was in Kwangju. This was where General Chun Doo Wan's troops killed hundreds of people opposing his coup in May 1980. (See picture)

Efforts by the regime's riot police to intimidate demonstrators have only resulted in angry youth fighting back and adopting more militant policies.

Four days later, after 40,000 people had rallied in Taegu to demand direct elections, some 5,000 students marched through the city with effigies of Chun and Reagan, denouncing the regime and its US backers.

The NKDP has gained in numbers but has become increasingly nervous as the demonstrations gather strength and voice more and more far-reaching demands. The leaders are now asking the students to stay out of the campaign for a civilian, democratic constitution.

Now the students have begun to demand an end to compulsory military service

and to the Korean-US security treaty.

America has nuclear weapons and 40,000 troops based in Korea. US Defence Secretary Caspar Weinberger arrived in Seoul on April 1 (appropriately?) for three days of talks with South Korean military top brass.

Last week, US Secretary of State George Schultz passed through Seoul on his way to the Philippines. His visit reflects growing US anxiety about the future of South Korea and of the Aquino regime in the Philippines which are both of critical strategic importance.

### Recession

International recession is fueling the political crisis in South Korea. From 1965 until 1980, the Korean economy had the most spectacular and sustained growth rates in the world.

This 'Korean miracle' meant exports increased in value by over 37 per cent every year. The annual growth rate for GDP was 9 per cent.

The 1980s brought this to an end. Both the US and the EEC markets for Korean

goods slumped; now they are closing their doors to imports from Korea. The desperate search is on for new markets in Eastern Europe and China.

A new departure has been the creation of 'barter deals' involving, for example, the exchange of Korean-built ships for a wide range of Malaysian raw materials, most notably oil, tin and rubber.

In addition major Korean companies have opened branch plants in other Asian countries that have unfulfilled quotas for the EEC and American markets.

None of these measures is sufficient. Korea's international debt has soared to 46.7 billion dollars, and only debt re-scheduling and IMF rescue operations have staved off collapse.

The increasingly frenetic US top-level trips to Korea reflect not only the country's importance in Pentagon global strategy but also the importance of the economic 'miracle' as a show piece for the superiority of western capitalism.

They blame the Korean economic crisis not on the international recession but on the build up of state in-

volvement in the economy.

The sell-off of state companies, the removal of subsidies and protectionist measures and the dismantling of welfare programmes and wage controls — what the IMF calls removing the distortions to the market — are confidently expected to result in a rebirth of the Korean 'miracle'.

The price for the IMF bailout has been paid by the Korean workers, as food subsidies have been cut, wages held back, and welfare and social spending pruned.

### Restricted

Trade has been restricted and state investment in the economy cut back.

These policies have also hurt Korean business, and the 1986 budget had to back-track and help out a large number of firms that were in trouble.

The problem is, the IMF wants more stringent conditions, but has to overlook the Koreans' failure to comply with them — because public resistance and the vested interests of big business threaten the security of a pro-US government.

**Workers Revolutionary Party**

**SCOTTISH AREA  
DAY SCHOOL**

**The History of the  
Fourth International**

**Saturday May 25, 11 - 5pm**

**Central Hotel  
next to Central Station  
Gordon Street  
Glasgow**

**Speaker: Bill Hunter (WRP Central Committee)**

**Followed by Discussion in which all are  
welcome to take part**

## PARAGUAY'S DICTATOR NEXT TO GO?

**SOUTH AMERICA'S** longest-lasting tyrant is starting to look a bit shaky. After 22 years in power, Paraguay's General Alfredo Stroessner is facing a wave of opposition that could send him down the road with 'Baby Doc' and Marcos.

Striking hospital workers were joined by hundreds of students in a march through Asuncion, the capital, which police attacked with tear gas, clubs and water cannon.

A West German TV crew filming the demonstration was beaten up by the police.

Last weekend, a goon-squad

of Stroessner supporters smashed up the premises of the opposition Liberal party.

Stroessner took power in a military coup in 1954 and has been backed with massive US aid ever since.

His regime opened up Paraguay to foreign capital, selling off much of the best land to US and Brazilian companies and keeping unions and workers' wages firmly down.

The huge Itaipu dam, largest hydro-electric project in the world, only put the country deeper in debt — and provided cheap power for neighbouring Brazil.

Once the dam was complete, there were no new jobs coming, and inflation has been rising, sparking the pay struggle now.

Stroessner has said there will be no 'new opening' of democratic rights, and the regime 'won't give an inch'.

But with military juntas having fallen in big neighbours Argentina and Brazil, the Paraguayan regime is looking more isolated and the people are getting more confident.

'People are losing their fear', said doctors' union leader Carlos Filizzola. 'The system is weak.'



**Stroessner — next to go?**

## AUSSIE TORIES POLL SHOCK

**LOUD-MOUTHED** union-bashing Queensland premier Sir John Bjelke-Petersen was upset this week by an opinion poll showing a near ten per cent drop in his popularity.

With elections due in October, the Morgan-Gallop poll showed 47 per cent of Queenslanders surveyed now disapprove of Bjelke's premiership, whose National Party (Tories) has run the state for 18 years.

His attacks on democratic rights,

minorities and trade unionists have made him hated both by the labour movement and the Aborigines. He has banned demonstrations and jailed power strikers.

Some commentators blame a controversial money-spinning tourist project, now cancelled, for the latest slump in his support. Conservationists warned the project would damage the Great Barrier Reef.

Blustery as ever, Bjelke-Petersen said the poll was taken in an 'emotional situa-

tion', adding: 'These things are up and down like the tide.'

Eyeing the National Party's present ten-seat lead in the state parliament, opposition leaders said the survey showed Labour, now with 33 seats, was on target to win in October.

The 'Bulletin' magazine, publishers of the poll, said: 'The end of the Bjelke-Petersen era is looming with a rapidity and degree of subtlety likely to catch Australians — and Queenslanders — by surprise.'



1916  
1986

# IRA — FIGHTING THE CH

## THEY KILLED JAMES CONNOLLY

IT IS NOW 70 years since the Irish revolutionary James Connolly was executed by British imperialism. Connolly, military commander of the forces of the 1916 Easter Rising, was already a dying man when he was carried on a chair to face the firing squad on May 12 1916.

It was a mark of the vindictive ferocity that characterised the occupation forces in Ireland — then and now — that a mortally wounded man could be executed.

Connolly knew when he marched out on Easter Monday that they had no chance of victory. Yet he was determined to strike the blow against Britain's domination of Ireland while the majority of the forces of the oppressor nation were engaged in the battles of World War I.

'What is our programme now?' Connolly asked in 1916, and he answered:

'We believe that in times of peace we should work along the lines of peace to strengthen the nation, and we believe that whatever strengthens and elevates the working class strengthens the nation. But we also believe that in times of war we should act as in war. . .

'Mark well our programme. While the war lasts and Ireland is still a subject nation we shall continue to urge her to fight for her freedom. . .

### Patriots

'We will be no party to leading our Irish patriots to meet the might of an England at peace. The moment peace is in the air we shall strictly confine ourselves, and lend all our influence to the work of turning the thought of labour in Ireland to the work of peaceful reconstruction.'

His small forces were those of the Irish Citizen's Army, born of workers' defence squads which had provided protection from the police-protected armed gangs of the employers during the 1913 Dublin lock-out.

The lock-out had brought almost the entire industry of Dublin to a standstill as the unions responded to the provocative actions of the employers, inspired and organised by William Martin Murphy, newspaper owner, tramway boss and international shareholder (shades of Murdoch!)

Among the British working class, the response from the rank and file was immediate — food ships were arriving, thousands of pounds collected and blacking action started.

But the TUC leaders combined after 6 months of the strike to condemn James Larkin (Irish Transport Workers Union leader) and deny support for the locked-out strikers.

The strike dragged on for another two months, when hunger finally drove the workers back; but not before

the trade union bureaucracy had wound up the strike fund and ordered all sympathetic action stopped.

Within months of the end of the lock-out battle, Connolly was involved in a new and decisive struggle that was to claim his life — against imperialist war and for national self-determination in Ireland.

Just before he was executed, Connolly remarked to his daughter that his former comrades in the Scottish Socialist Federation and ILP would not understand why he had become involved in the rising.

He had been a leading figure in the socialist movement in his home town of Edinburgh for 15 years before moving to Ireland where he founded the Irish Republican Socialist Party in 1896.

As a member of the Second International, Connolly was in complete support of Lenin's stand on internationalist opposition to World War I — only the Russians and the Serbs among the European socialist parties took the same stand as the Irish.



James Connolly: Born 1868, shot by British Imperialism May 12 1916 — wounded and unable to stand, he was executed sitting in a chair

He explained his position in an article which appeared in 'International Socialist Review' in March 1915:

'I believe that the socialist proletariat of Europe in all the belligerent countries ought to have refused to march against their brothers across the frontiers, and that such refusal would have prevented the war and all its horrors, even though it might have led to a civil war. Such a civil war would not, could not possibly have resulted in such a loss of socialist life as this international war has entailed. . .

In the 'Irish Worker', Connolly wrote:

'Should the working class of Europe rather than slaughter each other for the benefit of kings and financiers proceed tomorrow to erect barricades all over Europe, to break up bridges and destroy the transport service that war might be abolished, we should be perfectly justified in following such a glorious example, and contributing our aid to the final dethronement of the vulture classes that rule and rob the world.'

He proposed that the labour movement prevent profiteering by stopping the export of foodstuffs, if necessary by 'armed battling in the streets'; he campaigned

THE KILLING of Seamus McElwaine on April 26 by undercover thugs from the British Army, and the subsequent brutality of the Royal Ulster Constabulary, provoked a wave of anger from the Republican community, especially in the border counties.

Workers Press sends its deepest sympathies to Seamus' family. He died as he lived — a fighter for Irish freedom in a war of national liberation.

We are grateful to An Phoblacht/Republican News for permitting us to publish the story of the incident by their reporter JACK MADDEN, extracts from a powerful account of the funeral by ANNE BERRY and for their generous loan of photographs.

At the same time, our correspondent SARAH HANNIGAN reviews the life and achievements of James Connolly on this the seventieth anniversary of his execution by British imperialism.

vigorously against conscription.

He replied to the war budget by demanding higher wages — and won. Coal carters, shipyard workers and boatmen all won concessions.

Connolly's allies in 1916 were those sections of the Irish Volunteers loyal to the Irish Republican Brotherhood. Their leaders were Padraig Pearse, Tom Clarke, Sam MacDermott and Thomas MacDonagh.

Together the Citizen's Army and IRB formed the Irish Republican Army. It has long been a source of criticism of Connolly that he allied himself with a group of primarily petty-bourgeois nationalists in the struggle for Irish self-determination.

He himself raised the issue when a few weeks before the Rising he addressed the Citizen Army: 'In the event of victory, hold on to your rifles, as those with whom we are fighting may stop before our goal is reached. We are out for economic as well as political liberty.'

### Speech

When Connolly made that speech, he was still under the impression that the bourgeois nationalist leaders of the Irish Volunteers would be taking part in the Rising. In the event Eoin MacNeil was so horrified when he discovered that a real revolt was to take place, he countermanded the order for manoeuvres on Easter Sunday by inserting advertisements in the newspapers.

Connolly's pact with the left-wing of the Irish Republican Brotherhood depended on his concept of a military struggle arising out of the political and economic struggle of the working class, not as a thing-in-itself. He envisaged a popular insurrection, under the leadership of the working class, with the trade union movement providing the basis for popular support.

The fact that sections of the Irish Volunteer leadership were opponents of the trade unions worried him greatly.

The IRB leaders' strategy was for a conspiratorial-type insurrection, which would be carried forward from pre-planned drilling and manoeuvres, on an agreed date.

This plan was born of the experiences of the Irish national movement of infiltration, repeated provocations and arrests by the British forces and their web of spies, informers and assassins who had strangled many another revolt at inception.

The question which had concerned the entire Second International — the nature and type of working class party required to take political power — was answered

by Lenin and the Bolsheviks. It was one which Connolly had been unable to answer in the conditions that prevailed in Ireland.

His previous experience with the syndicalist leadership of the Socialist Labour Party and the International Workers of the World ('Wobblies') in America, had left its mark.

Connolly was mistakenly convinced that a religious belief was in harmony with socialist ideals.

### Conditions

The material conditions that prevailed in Ireland, a mainly agricultural and peasant-dominated country, with only pockets of big industrial development in Belfast and Dublin, did not give rise to a stable and well-organised trade union movement.

The onset of World War I had weakened the forces of the unions, coming as it did in the wake of the betrayal of the lock-out.

Divisions were being deliberately created among the working class in the north of Ireland by the conspiracy of Unionist and British capitalist forces in the negotiations over the Liberal Party's Home Rule Bill, and Orange Storm-troopers were allowed to roam the streets attacking and killing, burning Catholic homes and driving thousands from their jobs.

These are issues which can only be touched on in an article such as this. They require a thorough examination and analysis because they are the central themes which have dominated the workers' movement in Ireland and Britain in the 70 years since Connolly's execution.

### Inspiration

His inspiration for the present generation lies in his active and decisive leadership in the Easter Rising; his understanding of the interconnection between the realisation of national self-determination and the social revolution, not as separate stages but as a continuous process.

Throughout his life, Connolly was a tireless and dedicated socialist and workers' organiser; he was a self-taught working class intellectual.

His weaknesses and strengths were a reflection of the stage of development of the international socialist movement as it fought to understand the new conditions created by imperialist war on the one hand, and an increasingly reformist bureaucracy subservient to capitalist state rule on the other.

## THEY KILLED BR

THERE WAS a stunned reaction in counties along the border and amongst republicans everywhere on Saturday, April 26th, when news reports filtered through that IRA Volunteer Seamus McElwaine had been shot dead and that a second man, Sean Lynch, was seriously wounded by British soldiers in the townland of Mullaghtglass near Roslea, County Fermanagh, early that morning.

Within days of the tragic events, Sean Lynch, the second man who was injured but survived, revealed that the denim-clad undercover British soldiers involved in the Roslea shooting had captured McElwaine after he was injured by an initial burst of gunfire. For up to half an hour they interrogated the young IRA Volunteer before firing

another three shots, two of which struck McElwaine's head, killing him.

The coffin, preceded by two pipers, was then lifted onto the shoulders of Seamus's father, James, and other close relatives for his last journey down that hill to Scotstown. His mother, brothers and sisters walked behind them, followed by relatives and friends, a contingent of Fianna marched beside them.

The crowd of mourners swelled to several thousand, filling the roadway. They walked in silence for the most part, occasionally swapping quiet stories about the young man that many of them had known personally.

### BLACK FLAGS

Black flags hung down from windows and poles in the village of Scotstown and a Tricolor flew at half-mast in the village square.

Workers in factories and shops stopped work and stood along the roadway in tribute to McElwaine. Here the first few gardai were visible, but reports had already reached the crowd of the hundreds of riot-clad

### REPUBLICAN PRISONERS OF WAR

#### LONG LARTIN

HM Prison Long Lartin, S Littleton, Evesham Worcs, WR11 5TZ

LIAM BAKER: 20-year sentence, 464984.

JAMES BENNETT: 20-year sentence, 464989.

ROBERT CUNNINGHAM: 20-year sentence, 131877.

GERRY CUNNINGHAM: 20-year sentence, 132016.

RICHARD GLENHOLMES: 10-year sentence, B32955.

JOHN McCOMB: 17-year sentence, B51715.

ANDY MULRYAN: 20-year sentence, 461576.

PATRICK MULRYAN: 20-year sentence, 461575.

#### PARKHURST

HM Prison Parkhurst, Newport, Isle of Wight, PO30 5NX

EDDIE BUTLER: Life sentence, 338637.

HUGH DOHERTY: Life sentence, 338636.

HARRY DUGGAN: Life sentence, 338638.

PATRICK HACKETT: 20-year sentence, 342603.

STEPHEN NORDONE: Life sentence 758663.

ROY WALSH: Life sentence 119083.

#### WAKEFIELD

HM Prison Wakefield, W Yorks. WF2 9AG

ANTHONY CLARKE: 14-year sentence, 726381.

SEAN KINSELLA: Life sentence, 758661.

CON McFADDEN: 20-year sentence, 130662.

PAUL NORNEY: Life sentence, 863532.

NATALINO VELLA: 15-year sentence, B71644.

#### ALBANY

HM Prison Albany, Newport, Isle of Wight, PO30 5RS

WILLIAM ARMSTRONG: Life sentence, 119085.

SEAN HAYES: 20-year sentence, 341418.

TOMMY QUIGLEY: Life sentence, 69204.

#### GARTREE

HM Prison Gartree, Leicestershire, Market Harborough, Leics, LE16 7RP

ROBERT CAMPBELL: 10-

year sentence, B32954. PAUL KAVANAGH: Life sentence, 1888.

RONNIE McCARTNEY: Life sentence, 463799.

#### FRANKLAND

HM Prison Finchale Ave, Brasside, Durham

VINCE DONNELLY: Life sentence, 274064.

PAUL HOLMES: Life sentence, 119034.

EDDIE O'NEILL: 20-year sentence, 135722.

#### LEICESTER

HM Prison Welford Rd, Leicester, LE2 7AJ

BRENDAN DOWD: Life sentence, 758662.

BRIAN KEENAN: 21-year sentence, B26380.

JOE O'CONNELL: Life sentence, 338635.

#### HULL

HM Prison Hedon Rd, Hull, Humberside

MARTIN BRADY: Life sentence, 119087.

#### WORMWOOD SCRUB

HM Prison Wormwood Scrubs, PO Box 757, Du Cane Rd, London W12 0AE

NOEL GIBSON: Life sentence, 879225.

#### REMAND PRISONERS-BRITTON

HM Prison Brixton, PO Box 369, Jebb Ave, London SW2 5XF

MARTINA ANDERSON

ELLA O'DWYER

GERRY McDONNELL

PETER SHERRY

PAT McGEE

#### INNOCENT MEN AND WOMEN FRAMED BY THE BRITISH POLICE:

CAROLE RICHARDSON

PATRICK ARMSTRONG

GERARD CONLON, PAUL HILL,

JUDITH WARD, HUGH CALLAGHAN, JOHN WALKER,

BILLY POWER, GERARD HUNTER, RICHARD McILKENNY,

PADDY HILL.

They are all serving life and the case of Carole Richardson indefinite detention.



# AINS OF IMPERIALISM

1916  
1986

## AVE McELWAINÉ

gardai and Special Branch in the graveyard and church grounds at Urbleshanny.

The coffin was carried most of the half-mile from the village to the church, firstly by members of Seamus's family, then by friends and comrades. Two rows of mourners formed a human chain round the cortege and the guard of honour, determined that the gardai would not break through. There was a palpable feeling of contained anger as the huge crowds walked slowly past the lines of gardai.

At the church, about 50 gardai stood close by the door, the riot-visors of their blue helmets pulled down.

Inside, the guard of honour stood by the coffin as the mourners crowded into the church which could hold only a fraction of the crowd. During the funeral Mass, the uniformed IRA Volunteers quietly slipped away to change into their civilian clothes and melt away into the crowd.

At the graveside, Paul Corrigan, Sinn Féin chairperson of Fermanagh County Council, chaired the ceremony. He spoke of Seamus McElwaine as 'clearly loved by all. A big-hearted man — big in stature, big in courage and big in principle.'

After a lone bugler sounded 'The Last Post' wreaths were laid by the McElwaine family followed by laurel wreaths laid on behalf of the Irish Republican Army and his comrades in the Fermanagh and Tyrone Brigades. The tributes that followed were too numerous for individual mention, but they included other areas as well as from Sinn Féin cumainn and comhairli ceantair in Fermanagh, Dublin, Down, Monaghan, Tyrone and Donegal. There was a multitude of personal tributes, some from as far away as the USA.

### WE LOVED HIM

In his oration at the graveside, Martin McGuinness told the crowd that Seamus McElwaine was an IRA Volunteer, a freedom fighter and a patriot. Extending the sympathy of the Republican Movement to his parents, brothers, and sisters, he said:

'You loved him, and we loved him too. We will all miss him. In prison yards all over Ireland and in Britain they remember him. He was a brave, intelligent soldier, a young man who willingly gave up his youth to fight for the freedom of his country.'

'He was an exceptional soldier, who, after he escaped from Long Kesh, immediately returned to active service with the support of his family. In doing so he incurred the wrath of the British and Irish establishment, but the admiration of all others. He will be remembered in the towns and villages of Fermanagh and Monaghan; his name will live forever.'

'What happened on Saturday morning was that an IRA Volunteer was murdered by British terrorists and it was terrorists who sent them. The sort of people who drop bombs on children in Libya — terrorists such as Thatcher and Reagan.'

### SOLIDARITY AND STRENGTH

Calling for sorrow and sadness to be translated into renewed solidarity and strength, McGuinness paid tribute to the McElwaine family's courage and dignity in their tragic loss.

He ended by asking those present to remember Seamus's comrade, Sean Lynch, who lies seriously injured, a prisoner of the British government, in a Belfast hospital.



SCOTSTOWN, Co. Monaghan: The funeral cortege of Seamus McElwaine approaches the church. Watched by Gardai and Special Branch from inside the graveyard, his family carry the coffin

## CHAIN OF DEFIANCE

THOUSANDS of people made their way on foot up the steep, winding road which leads to the McElwaine family home at Knockatallon, above Scotstown, to stand in solemn silence outside the farmhouse and wait to pay their last respects to the eldest son of the house, IRA Volunteer Seamus McElwaine.

The coffin rested on chairs outside the house, flanked by a nine-strong

guard of honour of uniformed IRA Volunteers. Three Volunteers stepped out from the crowd and, raising hand-guns, fired a final volley of shots over the Tricolour-draped coffin of their fallen comrade.

This account confirms early reports of the shooting by people in the Roslea area who said that they heard a burst of sustained gunfire followed some time later by a series of single shots.

Shortly after the summary execution of McElwaine, regular British soldiers arrived and the undercover

soldiers left the area in cars. A few hundred yards away, Sean Lynch of Baltreagh, Lisnaskea, lay seriously wounded but concealed in undergrowth. Since he had already lost a lot of blood, Lynch was easily detected by a British soldier and his tracker-dog.

While that soldier was administering first aid to Lynch, two local members of the RUC's Divisional Mobile Support Unit (DMSU) came running hysterically up to the wounded man and dragged him down to where the dead body of McElwaine lay.

Lynch says that he was beaten by the DMSU for up to an hour and they would have shot him dead but for the intervention of the British soldier who had discovered him. At one stage the DMSU forced Lynch to lie face down on the ground. Then, despite (or because of), serious wounds to his stomach, they walked up and down along his back.

Regular British soldiers at the scene protested at the exhibition of RUC sadism and, eventually, when the DMSU refused to allow an ambulance into the area to ferry Lynch away for medical aid, they summoned a helicopter which air-lifted both Sean Lynch and the body of Seamus McElwaine to the Erne Hospital.

It was 9am, four hours after the initial shooting, that the body of Volunteer Seamus McElwaine and the injured Sean Lynch arrived at Erne Hospital in Enniskillen. There, a large force of RUC personnel (between 40 and 50 car-loads) saturated the hospital precincts (including the morgue), many of them laughing and singing with delight.

### ATTEMPTED HIJACK

Later that evening, an attempt was made by the RUC to hijack the remains of Seamus McElwaine, but family friends and Fermanagh republicans successfully prevented this and escorted the hearse carrying his coffin across the border. Along the way, however, loyalists and RUC members

in the Maguiresbridge area blocked the roadway and attempted to interfere with the funeral procession.

The three-quarter-hour journey from Enniskillen to the border at Clontivrin, outside Clones, County Monaghan took nearly three hours, but this did not deter the hundreds of people who waited at the border along with members of the McElwaine family, to pay tribute to a hero.

Before the huge cortege crossed the border it was joined by the family and the waiting crowd, including eight uniformed members of an IRA guard of honour. These led a slow march into and through the streets of Clones where hundreds of people lined the route, and again through the village of Smithboro. At Scotstown, a few miles from the McElwaine family home, the coffin was carried by relatives and friends of the deceased Volunteer while locals stood to attention along the roadway.

### VOLLEY OF SHOTS

When the cortege arrived at the McElwaine home it was joined by a further six IRA Volunteers, three of whom stepped forward with automatic rifles and fired defiant volleys of shots over the coffin of their comrade. Gardai, no doubt aware of the depth of local feeling, were nowhere to be seen either at the McElwaine home or indeed throughout the long journey from the border at Clones.

Flanked by IRA Volunteers who formed a round-the-clock guard of honour, Seamus McElwaine lay in state from the very early hours of Sunday morning until the funeral on Monday afternoon. Throughout this time, hundreds — if not thousands — of people from far and wide, but particularly from Monaghan and Fermanagh, arrived to pay their last respects to a brave soldier of Ireland who had become a legend in his own time amidst the drumlins and mountainous countryside where he fought and died.



Seamus' family pay their final respects



## COMMENT

By Cyril Smith

Smooth Words  
— but the rifts remain

At the end of the Tokyo Summit, US Treasury Secretary James A Baker III expressed his delight. The agreement reached by the seven biggest capitalist governments, he declared, represented, 'a development we have not seen the likes of in thirty years'. He was referring to the 1973 collapse of the 1944 Bretton Woods Agreement which initiated a system of controlling the world money, dealt its death blow by Nixon in 1971.

Behind Baker's exaltation and the bland words of the final communique, however, stands a real world facing desperate economic problems, starvation, war and revolution.

Overshadowing the sunshine talk is the huge and growing United States deficit running at 14 billion dollars a month. The Americans have been demanding that the Germans and Japanese take immediate measures to stimulate their economies, so they would import more from the USA.

They are supposed to accomplish this by means of lower rates of interest and tax concessions. Not surprisingly, none of them is going to oblige.

Last September, finance ministers of the 'big five' — the United States, United Kingdom, West Germany, France and Japan — met at the Plaza Hotel in New York, and agreed to co-operate in lowering the value of the dollar. The result was a 40 per cent drop, far more than the Germans or Japanese wanted. The corresponding rise in the yen is quite unacceptable for an economy almost entirely geared to export.

'The open multi-ratio trading system is one of the keys to efficiency and expansion of the world economy,' said the Tokyo communique. 'We reaffirm our commitment to halting and reversing protectionism, and to reducing and dismantling trade restriction.'

In reality the capitalist powers stand on the brink of all-out trade war — what a State Department spokesman recently called 'a subsidies war'. The US car, steel and textile industries are facing powerful competition from Japanese and European competitors, especially in the American market itself.

No one can say that the imperialist leaders at Tokyo ignored the problem of food. 'We note with concern', they said, 'that a situation of global structural surplus exists for some important agricultural products, arising partly from technological improvements, partly from changes in the world market situation, and partly from long standing policies of domestic subsidies and protection of agriculture in all our countries.'

'This harms the economies of certain developing countries and is likely to aggravate the risks of wider protection methods.'

Behind this pious statement lies a difficult problem for Reagan and company, as November's mid-term elections approach: the situation in US agriculture is desperate.

American farmers are going bankrupt at a record rate. The United States farm credit bank system has once more been brought to the point of collapse by the inability of small farmers to repay their loans.

Reagan's answer is to step up state support to agriculture. But this will imply the wrecking of several economies. For example, US rice and cotton subsidies will badly hit the exports of Thailand and Pakistan. The lowering of the export price of American soya beans — a major component of United States exports — means disaster for Brazil.

The American government is now determined to retaliate against European restrictions on the import of US grain and animal feed. The entry of Spain and Portugal into the common market has threatened lucrative markets for US farming exports.

For 15 years the Workers Revolutionary Party and International Committee substituted fantasy about 'imminent collapse' for an objective analysis of the development of capitalist economy. When we broke with Healy and his devotees last October, we accepted the obligation to correct these idealist errors.

This work is still only in its early stages, of course. But we are by no means led to the conclusion that the capitalist system is finding new forms of stability. On the contrary, the Tokyo communique is a feeble effort at covering up the intensely revolutionary contradictions of imperialism, on the eve of the outbreak of vicious trade warfare.

## 60 YEARS AGO

Lessons of the  
General Strike

BY GEOFF PILLING

MAY 1986 marks the 60th anniversary of the General Strike, one of the most celebrated events in the history of the British working class movement.

The details of the strike can be briefly told. For nine days in May 1926 the British ruling class was shaken from stem to stern by a general strike in support of the miners who were facing savage wage cuts and worsening conditions at the hands of the coal owners.

The strike was conducted not merely against the coalowners but also against the state, represented by the Conservative government headed by Stanley Baldwin. It engulfed every section of the working class. Several areas of the country fell under the direct control of the strikers.

A situation of embryonic dual power existed in many industrial areas. Despite every effort on the part of the trade union and labour leadership, the strike grew throughout the nine days.

Contrary to the lies which were subsequently spread, there were more workers out on strike on the ninth than on the opening day of the struggle.

It was precisely this determination on the part of millions of workers to confront the capitalist state and defend the miners by every possible means which terrified the reformist leaders.

Behind the backs of the miners, the TUC, by unanimous vote, (including that of the 'lefts') called off the strike and left the miners to face defeat alone.

The victory of the ruling class in the strike opened the way for a general attack on the living standards and conditions of millions of workers.

Trade union membership fell drastically, wages were cut in many industries and hours lengthened. The trade union

bureaucracy, greatly strengthened by the defeat it had itself engineered, entered into a series of corporatist deals with the employers and the state (the Mond-Turner agreements) which tied the working class closer to their capitalist masters.

It took the working class many years to recover from the consequences of the 1926 defeat. In some respects one can say that the working class only fully regained its strength after the long period of slump throughout the 1930's and the conclusion of a second imperialist war in 1945.

## Answer

What are the lessons of this great event in the history of the British working class movement? An answer to this question is decisive for the working class today, for despite the fact that the details of the strike may be well known, this does not in any way mean that its real significance has been automatically understood in the working class 60 years on.

Quite the contrary. Revolutionary consciousness does not arise spontaneously in the working class movement.

The development of such consciousness, which involves an understanding of the inter-relationship of all classes to the capitalist state, is the specific responsibility of a Party based on the scientific principles of Marxism.



A J Cook

For years after the end of the strike many miners for instance believed that it had been defeated 'because the engineers let us down'. For others, 1926 proved that no leadership could ever again be trusted.

Here was an expression of that syndicalism or 'rank and fileism' propounded today by groups such as the Socialist Workers Party. The reformist trade union and labour leaders on the other hand concluded 'Never Again'.

The General Strike for them merely confirmed their prejudice that 'industrial' matters should be kept completely separate from 'political' issues and that the capitalist state should never again be challenged.

As J.H. Thomas, one of the leading right-wingers of the period, said in the House of Commons the day following the ignominious calling off of the strike by the TUC General Council

'What I dreaded about this strike more than anything else was this: If by any chance it should have got out of the hands of those who would be able to exercise some control, every sane man knows what would have happened.'

'I thank God it never did. That is why I believe that the decision yesterday was such a big decision, and that is why that danger, and that fear, was always in our minds, because we wanted at least, even in this struggle, to

direct a disciplined army.'

The TUC had first 'led' and then called off the strike for the same reason: because they feared it might be successful if it got out of their hands.

They superintended the defeat of the strike and left the miners to be starved back to work.

But the real issue of 1926 was not the betrayal of the reformist trade union and Labour Party leaders. That betrayal was certainly clear enough.

## Enemy

Reformism as a whole, in every major capitalist country, had revealed its class role on the outbreak of imperialist war in 1914: it had become the open agent of the class enemy.

Its role in the General Strike was but a continuation of this sordid function. In this respect 1926 proved nothing new.

What 1926 in fact deepened in the most concrete manner was the understanding that without revolutionary leadership the working class is unable to carry its struggle forward to victory, a victory which involves the smashing of the capitalist state and the removal of the capitalist system.

Without a revolutionary party based on the theory of Marxism and enjoying the support of the most class-conscious elements in the working class, victory over the capitalist class will be impossible, no matter how heroic the struggle of the working class.

More important than this however was the understanding that the British General Strike marked a decisive moment in the history of the Communist International, or to be more precise in its degeneration under the leadership of Stalin and his supporters.

Despite the best intentions of the leaders of the Communist Party of Great Britain and even of the Stalinist leadership of the Communist International they did actually become a brake on the developing revolution in Britain.

Any consideration of the lessons of the events of 60 years ago must therefore concentrate specifically on the role of revolutionary leadership in the strike and in particular on the role of the Communist Party.

The CPGB had been brought into being as a direct consequence of the establishment of the Third (Communist) International following the victory of the 1917 Russian revolution and the previous collapse of the Second International in 1914.

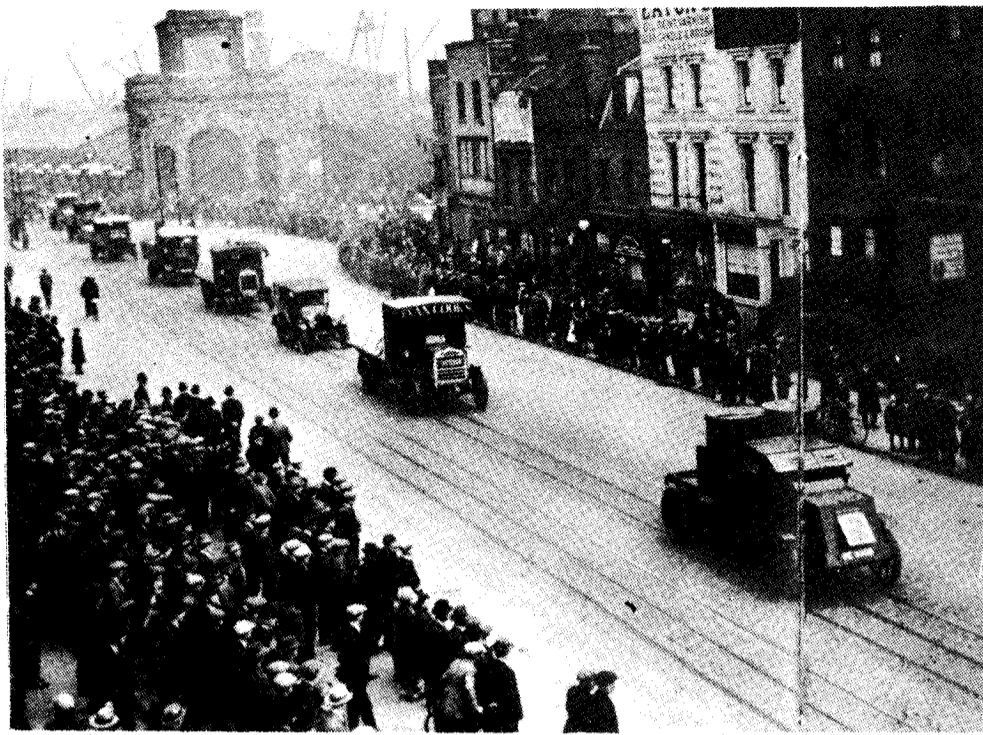
The subsequent development of the Party and the role it was to play in the 1926 strike can be understood only in the context of developments within the Communist International as a whole.

The line followed by the Party in the period leading up to the strike as well as its conceptions, programme and slogans during the strike itself were not the product of specifically British conditions. Nor can they be understood in terms of the indi-



Ernest Bevin and Walter Citrine





Armoured cars and scab buses on the streets during the nine-day strike



vidual weaknesses of the Party's leading members.

Despite the fact that many of the members who founded the Party and struggled to build it in its early years inevitably carried with them the weaknesses of the Marxist groups from which they came — a tendency towards both opportunism and sectarianism — there is no doubt that the CPGB attracted into its ranks the best fighters in the British working class movement.

This was still the case in 1926. The most active and self-sacrificing elements in the strike, those who took the initiative in organising it at local level, were very often Party members, a thousand of whom were arrested during the course of the strike.

This was certainly the case and no doubt the hacks who head the Communist Party today (on both its wings) will attempt to obscure the real role of Stalinism in the strike by recalling these facts.

But by 1926 the Party was being seriously affected by the opportunist policies pursued by the Communist International under the leadership of Stalin and his supporters.

In the period immediately prior to the strike the political independence and integrity of the Party was being undermined in particular by the activities of a body called the Anglo-Russian Trade Union Committee which had been set up at the end of 1924 following complex negotiations between leaders of the TUC and the International.

As far as the TUC leaders were concerned, they saw this Committee providing a left cover against the rising tide of militancy in the working class which was to come to a head in the strike itself.

Trotsky and his supporters in the Left Opposition were leading the fight against the emerging Stalinist bureaucracy. They were not opposed in principle to the creation of the Committee.

For them it would be useful to the extent that it exposed the cowardice of those 'lefts' on the TUC General Council who were prepared to make

radical noises on international matters especially (always their line of least resistance as Trotsky pointed out) but who were quite incapable of leading the working class to power.

But Trotsky increasingly warned that in Stalin's impatient hands the Committee was in danger of becoming something else: a substitute for the Communist Party itself.

The CPGB was still numerically weak. Perhaps a short cut could be made by winning the 'lefts' in the leadership of the TUC to the side of the Communist International on a series of specific questions.

Such became Stalin's thinking. The impatience, the attempt to jump over the many complex problems of building an independent revolutionary party based on Marxist principles was itself an expression of Stalin's narrow-mindedness and contempt for revolutionary theory.

## Party

This is a matter which deserves serious thought by all those in the working class today who are struggling to build the revolutionary party.

This is especially so for those in the Workers Revolutionary Party who have gone through the expulsion of Healy and have been presented with a number of complicated, contradictory political, organisational and theoretical problems.

It is important to note that Stalin's impatience with the difficult questions involved in building a revolutionary party was an attitude which chimed in easily with the traditional disdain for theory in the British working class movement — which in turn went hand in hand with an inclination to deal exclusively with what seemed to be 'concrete' and 'practical' matters.

The Communist Party in Britain was undoubtedly, after only some six years since its foundation, still raw and inexperienced, still small and commanding but slender human and material resources.

But unlike Stalin, for Trotsky there could be no substitute in Britain or anywhere else for the

building of a revolutionary party on the basis of Marxist theory.

And the only place to start was with the cadre who had rallied to the call of October. For there was no other cadre, except in the imagination of the idealist.

This was a standpoint from which Trotsky never departed. It is the adherence to this principle — the need for a revolutionary party based on Marxism as the instrument to resolve the crisis of revolutionary leadership in the working class — which has always marked off Trotskyists from all others in the movement.

A section of the trade union bureaucracy, however left, could never, under any circumstances, be a substitute for such a party. To take this course was to degenerate into opportunism. Thus it was in 1926 and so it is today.

This sliding into opportunism is precisely what happened to the Communist Party. Thus while the Party took the lead during the months prior to May in warning about the coming struggle, as a result of Stalin's international policy it found itself increasingly tied to the TUC lefts such as Albert Purcell (an ex-member of the party and in charge of the organising committee of the TUC during the strike) and Hicks who were the backbone of the Anglo-Russian Committee.

All the correct warnings which the party had made about the unpreparedness and perfidy of the TUC leaders were nul-

lified by the slogan of the party 'All power to the General Council'.

Here was an explicit vote of confidence in those left leaders who were in the event to betray the strike. This line had arisen directly from the policies which Stalin had imposed on the CPGB in subordinating it to the Anglo-Russian Committee. As is well-known the Committee was wound up by the TUC in 1927 when it suited its anti-communist purposes.

It is true that the Party did criticise the weaknesses of Purcell and others in the strike. But the real roots of the Party's crisis, its lack of political and ideological independence and the connection of these facts with the process of degeneration within the Communist International, were never examined.

The responsibility for that theoretical task rested with Trotsky and his comrades in Moscow. It must be stressed that Trotsky did not blame the Party for the defeat of the strike. This was not the issue.

In fact such an attitude would have avoided the real problem. The Party was small, and although it made significant gains during the course of the strike and in its aftermath, especially among miners, it still constituted only a relatively tiny minority within a working class, which at that stage remained predominantly under the influence and leadership of the reformists.

Even with a correct policy and programme and a principled attitude

to the lefts on the TUC General Council it still could not necessarily have ensured victory for the strike.

But at least it would have been able to establish the real lessons of the strike and point the way ahead for the most class-conscious sections of the working class: that a left element in the bureaucracy is no substitute for a revolutionary party.

Under these conditions there is no doubt that the best layers in the working class could have been rallied to the Party, solid preparations for the next stage of the struggle made and a leap by the Party in its theoretical and political work accomplished.

The growing opportunism of Stalin's leadership of the International precluded that possibility: the real lessons of 1926 could not be drawn by the Party, its mistakes corrected and its work put on a proper road.

Within a short space of time, following the betrayal of the Chinese revolution hard on the heels of the defeat of the General Strike, Stalin made a violent and panic-stricken swing to the left.

Thus by 1928/29 the social democrats, relatively uncriticised friends of yesteryear, were being denounced as 'social fascists'.

It was this Third Period sectarianism which had such disastrous consequences especially in Germany with the coming to power of Hitler in 1933.

The leaders of the Party in Britain slavishly followed these empirical

zig-zags of the bureaucracy (the CPGB was for Stalin a 'model party' within the International) and it degenerated along with the International as a whole.

The General Strike thus marked a decisive turning point not simply in the history of the British working class movement but in that of the Communist International.

Its real lesson — that it marked an important stage in the degeneration of that International — was a lesson learned not in Britain directly but only as part of the developing struggle within the communist movement on a world scale and especially in the course of Trotsky's unremitting fight to build the Left Opposition and later, following the German catastrophe, to establish the Fourth International.

It was only within our movement, the Trotskyist movement, that the true significance of the events of 1926 were grasped and preserved for future generations, including that of today.

## Trotskyism

The Stalinists, the reformists, those advocates of syndicalism as well as those who have abandoned Trotskyism (some of them it must be said in the name of Trotskyism) cannot draw the real lessons of the events of 60 years ago.

We repeat: those lessons were not a specifically British question.

The theoretical and political continuity of the movement is preserved always in a highly contradictory manner.

Those who look for the mechanical continuity of the revolutionary movement as something which passes from hand to hand in an uninterrupted crisis-free manner are looking in vain.

The struggle of the Left Opposition, maintained by a relatively tiny handful of individuals on a world scale, enabled those lessons to be returned to the British working class at a later stage — partly through the work of the early Trotskyist movement, represented by among others the Balham group which came into conflict

with the sectarian Third Period policies of Stalinism in the early 1930s.

Expressed here is a concrete example of the relationship of theory to practice. Theory does not grow directly out of the experiences of the working class.

The lessons of the General Strike were not grasped by those who participated in the struggle of 60 years ago.

This experience had to be worked over consciously by the Left Opposition as part of its struggle against the emerging Stalinist bureaucracy. Only then could it provide the basis for the development of the Trotskyist movement in this country.

1986 marks the continuation and deepening of the struggle within the Workers Revolutionary Party against the political consequences of the corrupt leadership of Gerry Healy and his supporters.

They were expelled from the Party last October. One expression of this mis-leadership was the policy pursued by the Party in the course of the miners' strike which combined a thoroughly uncritical attitude to the leadership of Arthur Scargill with a sectarian position in relation to those thousands of miners in struggle against the capitalist state.

A manifestation of this sectarian and opportunist policy was the repeated and quite abstract demand for a 'General Strike Now'.

But our expulsion of Healy and the fight to grasp the lessons of his misleadership and its ultra-left sloganing does not mean the working class will not face revolutionary struggles in the coming period.

The evolution of the Labour and trade union leaders is clear for all to see. A head-on clash between the working class and a future Labour government, sustained by the trade union bureaucracy aided and abetted by counter-revolutionary Stalinism is inevitable.

To draw the real lessons of the strike of 60 years ago is a vital question in the theoretical and political preparation for these struggles.

# THE BRITISH WORKER

## OFFICIAL STRIKE NEWS BULLETIN

Published by The General Council of the Trades Union Congress

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<p><b>WORKERS CALM AND STEADY</b></p> <p>Firmer and Firmer Every Day of Strike</p> <p><b>BLACKLEGS FAIL</b></p>	<p><b>LABOUR'S REPLY TO THE PREMIER</b></p> <p>General Council's Conditions for Reopening Discussions</p>	<p><b>HOW THE "B.W." CAME OUT</b></p> <p>A Sudden Police Raid — and After</p> <p><b>AMAZING SCENES</b></p> <p>Eight o'clock last night.</p>
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## A Workers Press industrial feature

# TORIES' WATER PIRACY

**WATER** is a basic necessity. In this article, industrial correspondent BERNARD FRANKS reports on a recent conference organised by the water unions in London. It discussed how the water supply in Britain — arguably the most efficient water utility in the world — is threatened by the privatisation plans of the Tory government. Its historical problems are now becoming acute — precisely as government plans endanger jobs, capital investment, safety and standards of hygiene.

**PRIVATISATION** of the water industry proposed by the Tory government threatens jobs, the environment and recreation facilities. The price, provision and safety of the water supply to domestic consumers is also in danger. A series of speakers at a recent conference expanded on the subject.

It was made clear that improvements to Britain's collapsing sewerage system and many campaigns to end river and beach pollution are seriously at risk.

Delegates attended from eighty organisations including trades unions, consumer groups, local authorities, conservation bodies, wildlife societies, angling clubs and organisations for pensioners and the disabled.

They met in London on April 24 to discuss the full implications of the plan to sell off the ten water authorities which cover England and Wales.

No-one disputed the view, put by a City financial consultant, that the government's only concern is to make a few quick billions on the sale now that oil money is running out — with no concern for the consequences to the community.

Speakers from unions representing fifty thousand workers in the industry detailed the vital importance of

By Bernard Franks

this major public service which so many take for granted.

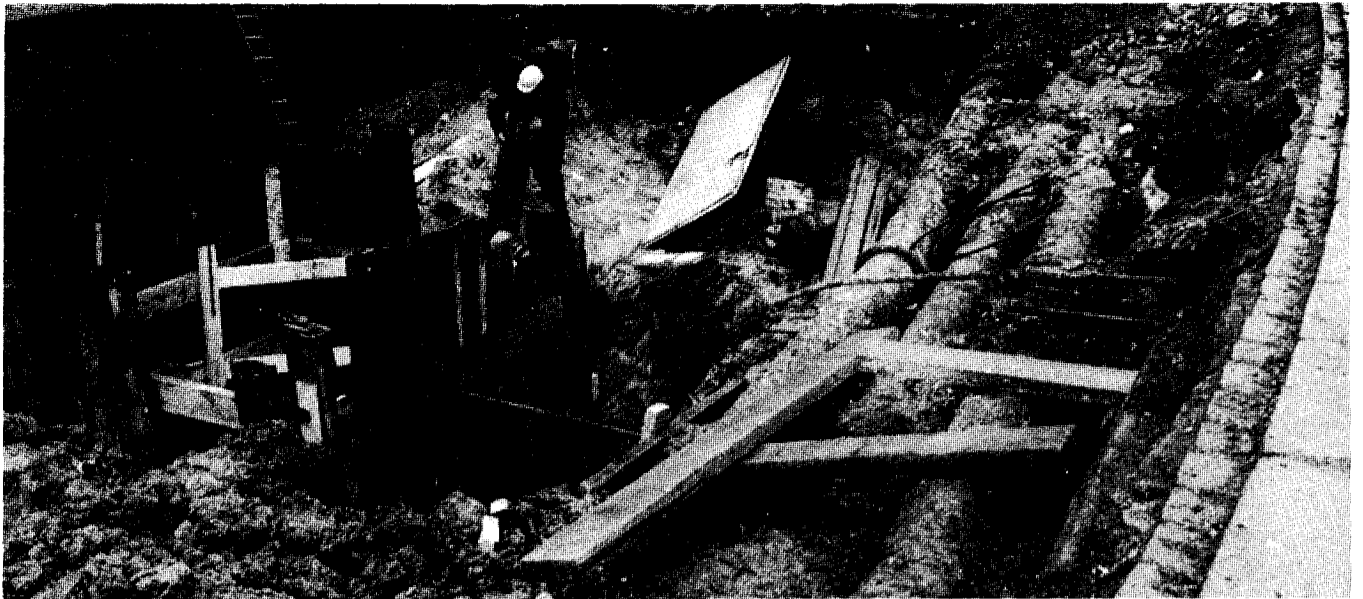
For example, 99 per cent of households in England and Wales are attached to the public supply, the highest level of population cover in the world (US 75 per cent, West Germany 86 per cent).

The safety level in terms of water free from bacterial infection is second to none.

The water authorities also deal with sewage disposal, land drainage, flood protection and sea defences.

They are responsible for setting water quality standards and checking pollution levels by continuous monitoring.

In fact, the water authorities are involved at every



THERE are 5,000 sewerage collapses, like this one, every year in Britain.

stage of the water cycle from the moment rain has fallen to the return of used or treated effluent to rivers and the sea.

However, most of these roles are a dead loss in profit-making terms. They are therefore greatly endangered by a sale of water authorities to private companies which will then expect to keep capital spending in these areas to a minimum and even eliminate it altogether.

Industry takes vast quantities of water. Twenty gallons are needed to refine every gallon of petrol, 44 gallons to make one pint of beer, 10,000 gallons to manufacture one motor car and 44,000 gallons to make one ton of steel.

These industries will all now be looking to privatisation to switch the burden of cost to the domestic user.

### Sell-off

Speakers stressed that the existing situation was far from ideal. Enormous problems and dangers are already evident, reflecting adverse government policy in a nationalised sector that is being made ready for sell-off.

For example, major work needs to be done on the sewerage systems. Currently, five thousand sewers collapse each year and there are sixty thousand cases a year of domestic premises being flooded with raw sewage.

Vast extension of pollution control is needed to deal with increasing pesticides, herbicides, nitrates (from heavy use of fertilizers on farm

land), nitrites, aluminium and lead contamination in rivers.

Major renovation and replacement of water pipes is also required. One-third of water is lost between the reservoir and the tap due to leaky pipe work.

New investment is needed to ensure supplies to areas which lose out in drought conditions. Incredibly, South Wales is one of these: part of a region where reservoirs have been heavily concentrated.

Government policy is to withhold funding and block borrowing so that the authorities do not run up debts and make themselves unattractive concerns for purchase.

If they were to undertake these improvements they would have to raise charges to cover the work. They also have to find money to pay all past debts — mainly to the government — and to pay what amounts to a government surcharge imposed in recent years.

It is, of course, impossible for the authorities concerned to save up, in advance, the billions needed for this important work, even from the huge increases in water rates in recent years — which were far higher than the rate of inflation.

Measures have been taken at administrative level to weaken the public service orientation of the industry. The 1983 Water Act abolished representation of local authorities on water boards and took away the legal right of the press and the public to attend water authority meetings: nine of the ten authorities now meet in secret.

It also abolished the National Water Council which had co-ordinated policy for the industry.

A policy of recent years has brought in managers from commerce and industry who are well versed in methods of raising efficiency and ensuring profitability at the expense of services and jobs.

Far from solving any of these problems, privatisation will make them a thousand times worse. Economists at the meeting warned that flotation of the water authorities would probably cost £250 million at a conservative estimate.

The government, they thought, would push up charges yet again to make shareholding more attractive. Once sold, whatever the alleged restrictions on institutional ownership, they foresaw control eventually falling to the great conglomerates and financial houses such as Lonrho, Trafalgar House, United Biscuits or the Prudential.

Will these organisations worry about renewing rotting pipework or crumbling sea walls? The economists thought not.

Their duty to their shareholders will be to maximise profits by cutting back on jobs and capital spending in "uneconomic" areas.

An example of this is seen in the recent decision by British Telecom to charge for quick repairs to the 999 Emergency Service, previously carried out free of charge.

It was also argued that the government is unlikely to

worry about under-valuation of saleable assets any more than it did in the case of British Telecom.

Current belief is that the water authorities' assets can be valued at something like £27 billion, but that the government will aim to raise no more than £6 billion from their sale.

Even more worried than those who foresaw a vast public rip-off were the conservationists, who warned of enormous dangers to public health and to the environment.

Would the new owners, they asked, be concerned at the rising incidence of pollution, particularly if they happened to be chemical companies? Would the research and monitoring units be allowed to continue?

### Research

According to 'Laboratory News' (April 11, 1986) there is already a question mark over funding of the Water Research Centre, which is eighty per cent financed by the water authorities and provides a broad range of research services to the industry as a whole.

One speaker raised the question of close links being forged between privatised water authorities and property developers. Vast acreages of prime land are involved in the sale, much of it in highly desirable rural settings.

No doubt the Tory government would be willing to de-regulate Green Belt building and allow lucrative residential housing development.



The lobby outside Guy's last week

## LONDON HOSPITALS

## NHS ST

By Pam Rodell

SEVERAL hundred Guys and Lewisham hospital workers lobbied their District Health Authority (DHA) on Monday April 28, to protest against Tory privatisation mania and the underhand methods that local management is using to prepare for it.

Last year the unions twice forced back a vote on the issue. This time, a vote to organise a 'specification of services' — so they could submit an 'in-house' tender for the workforce in competition with commercial contractors — was passed by 11-8.

Since last November domestic staff have received individual letters from management telling them that their hours are to be reviewed (cut).

Two orderlies who clean the operating theatres at Lewisham were told that there was no place for them in the new scheme of organisation.

Jenny has been doing her job for 20

years and June for 15. They were asked if they would join a scrubbing team during the day, an evening team at weekends, or go to another hospital. When they refused, they were told there was no job for them.

Management are trying to con workers into believing that this is an exercise in cutting down their hours. It is in fact a change in their contract.

Long service workers like Jenny and June would lose all benefits like redundancy pay, holiday and sickness pay. None of this was explained to them.

The workers found out that management wanted to clean the four operating theatres using only one inexperienced worker. Previously this was done by four experienced staff.

Another orderly, who has worked in intensive care for 15 years, told Workers Press:

'They want all those with ten years and over — out. Then they don't have to pay so much redundancy money'.

The unions stopped all interviews.

Management agreed to withdraw the letters but then began putting pressure on individuals. Two workers have now entered into grievance procedures.

Mr Blaise Plant, COHSE branch chairman at Lewisham, said:

'Last year middle and lower management were under the threat of redundancy. Now the attack is on the hours of the domestics in preparation for privatisation.'

'The letters propose cuts to 36 or 21 hours from a previous possible 56 hours. This would devastate the already low wages of the domestic workers'.

Behind these moves is the introduction of new cleaning machines, one of which would do the job of 12 workers.

Elaine Evans, a NUPE shop steward at Guys from the Central Sterile Supplies Department said:

'Four people and one half-timer have





Watercourses are in urgent need of improvement.

Enclosure of reservoirs and riverside acreages would enable the commercialisation of angling, swimming and boating facilities. Possibly the battles over public access would have to be fought all over again.

Unfortunately the concern of the economists and environmentalists at the conference was not matched by that of the trades union leaders present.

One speaker said that, as labour costs only comprised 45 per cent of total spending and as major economies had been made in the last six years, further activity was unlikely in this direction.

This view is extremely dangerous. It is true that thousands of jobs have been eliminated in a series of giant 're-organisations' with widespread introduction of work study methods and automation.

But it is ludicrous to think that this ends the possibility of more of the same to follow.

Relevant again in this context is the example of British Telecom. Before privatisation, 16,000 jobs disappeared in the run-up to sell-off.

Now the plan is to destroy a further 45,000 to 60,000 jobs. Apprenticeships have already been reduced from 3,000 taken on each year to just sixty.

On the basis of past experience, workers in the water industry can expect attempts to replace collective bargaining with imposed wage settlements and conditions, vastly increased use of outside contractors for maintenance, transport,

office and even operational work and a general onslaught on jobs.

Domestic consumers may face the introduction of water meters and a continual rise in unit price as in the case of gas and electricity.

One speaker reminded the audience that once water ceases to be a public utility and becomes a commodity it is likely to be subject to VAT.

The water industry in Britain developed over hundreds of years. From the earliest days there were conflicts between the private companies out to make quick profits by piping water to the rich, and public authorities which realised that there was a need to improve health generally by making clean water available everywhere.

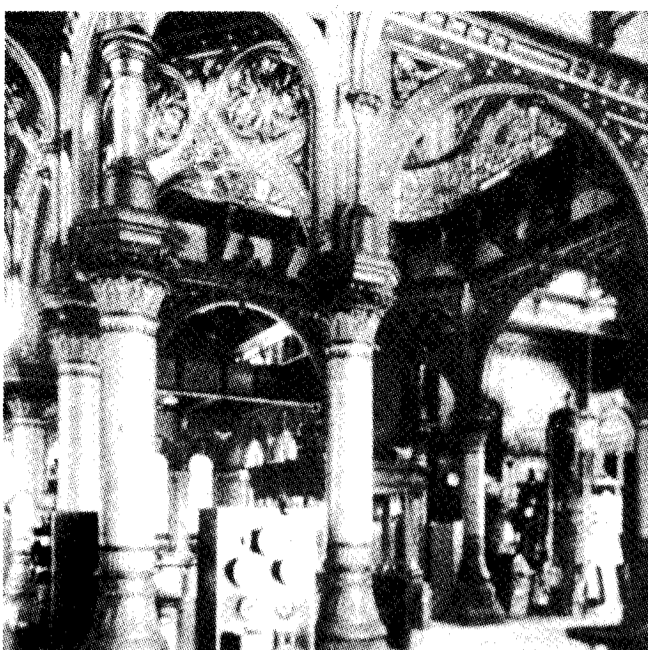
In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, municipalities at Plymouth, Hull and Gloucester were seeking powers to guarantee supplies.

By the time of the Industrial Revolution and the rise of the great towns, private water authorities were vying with each other street by street and even house by house to supply customers.

London alone had nine rival companies all contriving to dislocate their competitors' pipework and lay their own. Supplies were often limited to one or two hours a day as provision was extended to more and more households.

The poor continued to rely on wells, springs, pumps, rain water and watercarts, all open to serious contamination.

Initially the government



The Abbey Mills, London, pumping station (above) had the original 1868 pumping engines replaced by 1933. Capital expenditure on new plant will vanish on privatisation as owners seek quick profits and the 'public service' tradition of the water authorities becomes a thing of the past.

had backed the private water companies, which had a powerful parliamentary presence. However, severe cholera, dysentery and typhoid outbreaks in the nineteenth century brought parliament's backing for local authorities seeking control, and in Birmingham's case outright takeover, of private water operations.

In fact, many other capitalists had backed this municipalisation of the water supply. They were rewarded with reduced fire risks, lower industrial costs, higher property values and healthier workers.

## Refuse

Equally great struggles were needed to build sewerage systems and clear away the appalling filth, debris, putrefaction and refuse of the towns found in every street and waterway.

Legislation was needed to enable town councils to raise money and open public subscriptions for the work as well as to control the outpourings of awful residues from slaughterhouses, bleach works, tanneries and chemical factories.

Here too, disease was a factor, in particular the great cholera outbreak of 1849 which mainly affected the poor, but did not totally respect class barriers.

Towns still spew half-treated and untreated sewage into rivers and the sea in the vicinity of holiday beaches.

In the last few days, clearly worried at the strength of feeling against privatisation,

the government has promised tough new measures to control pollution and to protect the environment once sell-off has been achieved.

This is a total fraud designed to allay fears and head off opposition. It will do nothing of the sort.

Without a huge enforcement agency, an inspectorate of hundreds of members, and without compulsion to force water authorities to do the £16 billion worth of repairs to the sewers, (needed according to a NEDO report) all rules and codes of practice are worthless.

The government has consistently failed to follow up European Community concern over specific pollutants and has granted ten-year delays against implementation of EEC water hygiene directives.

Who believes they will be keen to apply the promised controls? Only 27 beaches in Britain are required to keep to the EEC rules.

Now water itself is to be given over to exactly the same process. Water workers, consumers, environmentalists, wildlife defenders, water sports enthusiasts and localities threatened by flooding should fight the privatisation plans. At risk are jobs, the environment, important public facilities and a public service which is as vital to the health and well-being of the entire population as the Health Service itself.

Workers Press invites correspondence on this and related environmental issues from our readers.

# AFF IN JOBS SALE FIGHT

gone, so five of us have to do twice as much work.

'This is especially bad when we've got sickness and holidays. We just try our best'.

Dave Osborne, NUPE branch secretary at Guys said:

'They are trying to save £2.7 million by hitting those least able to protect themselves: by going for the ancillaries.'

The discussion at the meeting centered on whether or not the workforce should go for an in-service tender themselves.

Arguments that they could successfully compete with contractors were demolished by Labour councillors who pointed out that the purpose of contracting out was to cut costs by lowering wages, cutting hours and destroying the existing conditions of service.

The most forceful points came from one Labour councillor:

'Conservative MPs have shares in private companies. There is money to be made behind these cuts which they will ensure will go to private industry. We should debate the real issue of cuts.'

'You cannot write into specifications the caring for people. Therefore we are facing unfair competition and there is no point in going through the charade of specification.'

After the meeting, COHSE nursing shop steward Ros Sewell told Workers Press:

'The purpose behind the letters is to prepare the way for a cheaper in-house tender. When they have used the domestics enough they will bring in privatisation anyway.'

Some lessons must be learnt if health service workers want to fight privatisation and the destruction of the NHS.

The April issue of the COHSE newspaper justifies calling off the strike against privatisation in Addenbrooke's

Hospital in Cambridge. Ninety-six staff have been on strike for 17 months with wide support but the COHSE executive decided that, 'No further concessions could be won'.

A small group of strikers are still fighting on for NHS pay and conditions, insisting that the dispute is a spearhead for the fight against privatisation. NUPE has also called off the strike.

Health service workers must demand a national campaign instead of allowing each area to be picked off and isolated.

The strength of the TUC must be mobilised against privatisation.

This cannot be done by pressuring the Thatcher government but only by building a genuine socialist leadership in the unions with no confidence in capitalism which can make a turn to a socialist reorganisation of services.

Demand the nationalisation under workers control of all the firms and drug companies supplying the NHS.

# TORY BILL PROPOSES DISASTROUS SCHOOL MEAL CUT

By Liz Leicester

ONE OF THE most vicious measures in the Tory's Social Security Bill is the proposed abolition of free and subsidised school meals.

Government figures show that an estimated 500,000 children will lose a free meal at dinner time.

Under the Bill, only children in receipt of income support will be entitled to free meals.

Low wage families who will receive 'family credit' will have no right to meals. Instead, the credit will be paid through the wage packet — which will not guarantee that it is used for the children's food.

In Lancashire alone, 6,300 meals a day will disappear overnight. The impact on some areas will be disastrous.

In Blackburn and Pendle, over half the school meals are at present free. In Burnley and Preston the proportion receiving free meals is over 45 per cent.

Local councils will also lose their power to charge less for dinner in special schools. In the Inner London Education Authority area, for example, pupils with special needs or handicaps pay

20p as opposed to 35p in other schools.

Parents of handicapped children have a lot of extra expense to cope with already. Jane Streater, from the Local Government Information Unit, commented:

'The school lunch in such schools, particularly for the severely mentally handicapped, is an essential part of the training and education programme.'

In 1980 the government removed nutritional standards and price controls on school meals.

Children's diet was monitored during that debate, and though the DHSS was very reluctant to publish the report's findings, it is now available.

It shows that school children eat more crisps, chips, biscuits and cakes than any other food. Four out of five children in the survey ate too much fat and their intake of essential nutrients was 10 per cent below recommended levels. Children most at risk are those not eating school dinner.

This latest Tory attack will mean a dramatic worsening in the diet and long-term health of the families of unemployed workers, and low wage earners.

In addition, fewer children eating school meals will mean redundancies in the school meals service.

## DEFEND WAGES COUNCILS

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# YOUTH VITALITY

## ESSENTIAL TO STRUGGLE

### Further perspectives for the W.R.P.

**TWO QUESTIONS** must be dealt with along with the very important ones raised by Jolyon Ralph last week. Firstly, what is the role of youth in the struggles of the working class? Second, how does the communist movement develop its policy and programme on youth?

We certainly gained a lot of experience in trying to tackle the question of youth work throughout the great upheaval in the party.

It is true though that, on the whole, this discussion was put further back, but only because more fundamentally basic questions were being forced to the fore.

It is now however possible and necessary that the many differences that were thrown up are dealt with in more detail as we begin to develop our programme on youth.

### Struggle

In my opinion, a major feature of both the Healy rump and the Hyland minority was that they idealised youth to the extent that it became a fetish for them.

It has to be stated though that young workers and women have come in for particular hardship and oppression under decaying capitalism.

To my first question, I believe it necessary emphatically to state that youth and young people are not a force or an entity somehow separate from the working class able apart from the working class to lead a successful struggle for power.

This assertion is, of course, as absurd as the thought that a successful struggle for power by the working class could be achieved without its most ardent, determined and able fighters, the youth.

Past struggles have undoubtedly shown these qualities: South Africa, the miners' strike and the Wapping dispute where gangs (yes, say it loud and clear) join with printers on the picket line to use any means at hand to push back the police, such is their hatred of capitalist law and order.

Young people have an aggressive spirit, a determined approach and are free from the responsibility of yesterday.

They will readily take up a fight free from outmoded procedures, etc.

### Unions

These assets to working class struggles should be welded together to batter and drive out all the right-wing collaborators within the trade union and labour movement.

Trade unions must become a focal point, not to dull that sharp fighting edge but to carve up the apparatus and to give young people, many of whom are thrown onto the dole straight from school, a class conception of the fight they find themselves in.

This last point is important. We must demand:

- Open trade unions to the youth.

- Trade Union branch youth sections.

- Reduced subscription rates.

and, of course, a clear and consistent fight on the Youth Training Schemes.

On the second question, care must be taken. The markers of selective quotations will have rich pickings unless we state what we mean.

Within the working class lie different layers of workers at varying levels of consciousness and class awareness.

This also applies to the youth. At different stages in history, advanced sections of workers have thrown some light onto what can at times be a very dark path.

This, of course, must be utilised by the Trotskyist movement to drive forward those sections lagging behind.

Under the Healy leadership we went not to the most advanced layers of youth but to some of the most backward and lumpen.

Decaying capitalism is fertile ground for those ideas that seek to attack the workers' cause, especially in decisive battles.

### Students

A clear and decisive class perspective must be fought for. Thus the collaborators within the labour and trade union bureaucracy can at times be the sower of the seeds.

Students on occasions have embarrassed and exposed the reformist leadership for what it is: the



Young fighters at Bint Jball, Lebanon



It is clearly youth who are at the forefront of revolutionary struggles round the world. Here marchers protest the death of comrades in Guguletu, South Africa, in 1985

One of the most serious questions facing us at this time is the need to build a revolutionary youth movement in Britain. The discussion which must take place around this question is continued this week with two contributions: Matt Hanlon from the WRP looks at the role of youth in working class struggle and asks how the communist movement develops strategies for work. We also welcome a contribution from outside our ranks: Aly Mir: from the Red Youth Group proposes work in the LPYS.

campaign against Patrick Harrington at the North London Polytechnic, Bristol University against Sun columnist John Vincent, student grants, etc.

Universities, colleges, Anti-apartheid and factories/trades where apprenticeships are still continued must be, for us, important areas of work, but not the sum total.

Because large numbers of youth are either forced onto a YTS scheme or go straight onto the dole, and therefore never experience working alongside other workers and being part of a common struggle, developing all

other areas of youth work must be paid attention as well.

Educating youth in history and theory are an essential part of youth work for they are the leaders of the future. Those within and around us must gain the knowledge and experiences of the older comrades.

We must also never lose sight of our task of raising the general level of consciousness amongst young workers. This, though, is a far more complex task. Lectures on major events with questions should be organised, e.g. against religious ideas, the rise of fascism in Germany, etc.

## Israeli banks in trouble

**ISRAEL'S** main banks are facing an unprecedented crisis after a government commission recommended six senior bank chiefs be sacked if they do not resign first.

They were given thirty days to comply.

So far, only the managing director of the Histadrut-owned Bank Hapoalim has stepped down.

The governor of the Bank of Israel, Dr Moshe Mandelbaum, appeared ready to follow, but has reportedly been having second thoughts.

While others wait, legal moves by aggrieved customers could threaten the banks' future.

The commission headed by Supreme Court justice Moshe Bejski censured 16 bank officials over the 1983 bank stock crash.

Bejski's report said banks had effectively manipulated the stock market by trading in their own shares. It blamed Bank of Israel governor Mandelbaum for not interfering.

The trouble began with soaring inflation in the late 1970s, reaching over 100 per cent. Investors were persuaded to buy bank stocks as a hedge against inflation.

The banks themselves systematically bought their own shares on the Tel Aviv market to boost stock prices.

They also extended credit to share-buyers, accepting the shares as collateral.

By such means, the price of bank stocks had by October 1983 reached hugely inflated — and completely false — levels. Many small savers had been encouraged to buy shares. Then the bubble burst.

Incoming prime minister Shamir justified fears of devaluation of the shekel due to continued inflation.

At the same time his laissez-faire government allowed citizens to amass foreign currency, specifically the dollar. (It was even suggested the US dollar could be legal tender.)

Investors rushed to sell their stocks to buy up US dollars and bank stocks fell by one half. Soon they became a non-seller, and the government had to bail out the banks, buying up stock worth ½6.9 million.

Whether or not the remaining bank chiefs named by Bejski resign, or are sacked, the Israeli banks face more serious threats to their confidence.

A citizen whose shares lost 57 per cent value in 1983 has sued his bank for damages. There could be more cases.

Besides the economic effect of such an unprecedented crisis on the banks' fortunes, the revelation of major bank chiefs behaving like petty-comers is bound to have a political effect in terms of lost illusions for the middle class.



## LETTERS

# Work in the Labour Party youth movement

LAST week's article by Jolyon Ralph, 'Towards a discussion of youth perspectives' raised key questions for the future not only of the WRP's youth work but of the work of the Party as a whole.

It asked three questions. 1. Why did our youth 'movement' collapse? 2. What sort of youth movement do we need (ie what is a communist youth movement)? 3. How do we build this youth movement?

The first question cannot be dealt with without a full assessment of the SLL, which is not possible here (See the 'Red Youth' article 'WRP must break with Healyism').

Nevertheless it can be said that a key reason the SLL/WRP's youth movement degenerated was because of its sectarian turn away from the Labour Party in the 1964-65 period.

Obviously the 'Keep Left' was expelled by Wilson for its revolutionary activity. The error of the SLL was its failure to send fresh forces back into the Labour Party and its youth wing and so continue the battle against reformism amongst and alongside left-reformist workers and youth.

Instead, at the 1965 LPYS Conference, the SLL were reduced to parading outside the Conference and therefore outside of the main fight.

Subsequently the SLL/YS was, as Comrade Ralph says 'used just to sell papers and raise money'. Most of the valuable youth won from this battle against reformism were soon frittered away.

The dilution and exhaustion of this cadre and its replacement by 'raw youth', maybe recruited after a paper sale or a demo or two, was a major factor in allowing Healy to drag the SLL/YS in an ultra-left direction.

'The Newsletter' boasted 'We have been able to keep the youth and win them away from the Labour Party' (June 4, 1966).

In reality most youth still looked to the Labour Party. The drift of the SLL away from the Labour Party allowed the 'Militant' sect to take control of the LPYS and grow into a significant force.

At the discussion on the Fourth International on April 30 at Conway Hall, I tried to shed some light on the reasons why this happened. In his opening con-

tribution, Comrade Slaughter correctly criticised the Pabloites for looking to objective processes to build 'revolutionary' movements — and the liquidation of the Transitional Programme this led to if other forces 'could lead the way'.

However, the SLL from the mid-1960s also looked to an objective process — the ending of the economic boom and the betrayals of the Wilson Government inevitably discrediting Labourism in the eyes of workers.

In its 1968 Perspectives, the SLL said 'The very conditions of life — big cuts in real wages, the threat of unemployment, brutal attacks on living standards and trade union organisation by the Labour Government) will break millions of workers from any attachment to reformism in the immediate future.'

'An alternative revolutionary party, a clear programme for workers' control of production and workers' power, a daily communist newspaper — these will have a direct appeal to large numbers of workers' (emphasis added).

This perspective was false. The result of this looking to an objective process breaking workers *en masse* from reformism was that the SLL down played the importance of the subjective factor — the SLL's fight for the Transitional Programme and its intervention in the Labour Party actually to break workers from reformism.

The SLL abandoned its transitional programme and substituted for it an increasingly maximum programme suitable to a revolutionary situation or one where workers had been broken from reformism.

This was, in the end, no less liquidationary than the Pabloites — because forces are evaluated primarily according to the programme they actually fight on, not on what they claim at 'party' rallies.

Comrade Ralph looks to the future youth work of the WRP. If it is to build effectively amongst working-class youth it must go to where those youth are.

Of course the LPYS is not a mass organisation, but it does represent a significant layer of political working-class youth.

Last year it called a national schools strike that was responded to by over 200,000 youth. The WRP should intervene in the LPYS.

Red Youth is of modest size, but our strength is the programme we fight for. We have made a significant impact in the LPYS.

If the WRP re-assessed its perspectives regarding the Labour Party and decided to work in it, then joint work in the LPYS between the WRP

and Red Youth should be possible (the only other youth papers in the LPYS are the Pabloites' 'Youth Action' and the rightward-moving 'Socialist Organiser' — led by 'Youth Fightback').

Such work would be directed towards turning the LPYS out to struggles and building it on a revolutionary basis — which means combatting 'Militant's reformism.

Work around YTS is very important. In the past the WRP used to say 'Smash YTS, call a general strike'. This could mobilise no-one.

It would be better to fight for the unionisation of YTS

trainees and for full trade union rates of pay.

Comrade Ralph suggests that the WRP consider producing a youth paper, or a 24-page A4 magazine. Red Youth has produced six issues of this type of paper.

WRP youth comrades should look at it to see what they think. A real youth paper and its organisation must give youth every chance to work out their own politics, not bombard them with formulae and slogans.

Above all it must turn to working-class youth. Red Youth is presently limited by its size and favours joint work with others wherever

possible.

However, anything more than joint work must be stronger political foundations. Some Red Youth members were in the WSL and have first hand experience of unprincipled mergers in the WSL/I-CL fusion which only led to splits later.

Lenin once said 'He who has the youth has the future. It follows that those who have no youth and fail to win any have no future.'

Yours fraternally

Aly Mir

(London Red Youth)

(This letter has been slightly edited.)

## Workers Revolutionary Party

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#### The Trotskyist movement in World War II

May 16 — Bill Hunter

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5th anniversary

JAMES CONNOLLY



MAY 12th 1916  
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MUSIC - VIDEOS  
BOOKSTALLS

Speakers include

Jim McAllister

Sinn Féin elected  
representative, South Armagh

Bob Doyle

Irish veteran of the International Brigade

Other speakers from Irish community and black, labour and trade union movement

### WE SHALL RISE AGAIN!

(James Connolly, 1916)

## RELEASE THE JAILED MINERS

### SOUTH WALES

**DEAN HANCOCK:** Oakdale — Eight year sentence. Gartree maximum security prison, nr Market Harborough, Leicester.

**RUSSELL SHANKLAND:** Taff Merthyr — Eight year sentence. Gartree maximum security prison, nr Market Harborough, Leicester.

**TERRY FRENCH:** Betteshanger — Four year sentence from January 1985. B73383, Weald Wing, Maidstone jail, Kent.

**CHRIS TAZEY:** Betteshanger — Three year sentence from January 1985. A29398, Youth Detention Centre, Springfield Road, Chelmsford.

### DURHAM

**JOHN MATTERSON:** Murton — Two years and three months youth custody from December 1985.

**JOHN HEMINGWAY:** Murton — One year and three months from December 1985.

**JOHN ROBSON:** Murton — One year and three months from December 1985.

**ROBERT HOWE:** 22 — Affray, attempted not guilty (judge refused to allow change of plea) 21 months.

**ANTHONY RUTHERFORD:** 24 — Affray, attempted not guilty, 18 months.

**JOHN ROBINSON:** 21 — Affray, attempted not guilty, 18 months.

**GARY BLACKMORE:** 19 — Affray, attempted not guilty, 2 years Youth Custody.

**ANTHONY HOWE:** 19 — Affray, attempted not guilty, 2 years Youth Custody.

**WILLIAM BELL:** 20 — Affray, attempted not guilty, 18 months Youth Custody.

### YORKSHIRE

**MARTIN HODGSON:** Wakefield — Three year sentence from November 1985. Armley Jail, Leeds.

**NIGEL HODGSON:** Wakefield — Three year sentence from November 1985. Armley Jail, Leeds.

**PAUL WRIGHT:** Saville — 18 month sentence. G76424, Kirkham Jail, Freckleton road, Preston Lancs.

**CLIVE THOMPSON:** Frickley — Three year sentence from April 1985. G79348, Ackington Jail, Morpeth, Northumberland, NE65 9XF.

### N. DERBYSHIRE

**DAVID GAUNT:** Shirebrook — 2 1/2-year sentence from December 1984. E71037, A Wing, Millers Park Youth Custody Centre, Doddington Road, Wellingborough.

## Lambeth film

'COUNCILS for the Defence' is a video about rate-capping produced by Yvette Vanson for the Lambeth Joint Trade Unions. Her previous work includes the memorable television film 'Battle for Orgreave'.

Focussing on the disqualification of the 31 Labour councillors, 'Councils for the Defence' progresses through interviews with local trade unionists, members of the community, unemployed sleeping rough, disabled and voluntary workers.

Among all sections of the community is an extraordi-

narily articulate and reasoned response to the legislative straitjacket of the Tories.

'Services are being cut and streamlined to get them ready for privatisation.'

'Local authority workers are the last large organised body of workers after the steelworkers, miners and printworkers that the Tories have to take on.'

The video (20 minutes long) costs £10 and is available from Lambeth Workers Joint Trade Union Committee, 17 Porden Road, Brixton, London SW2 1RW.



## BOOK REVIEWS

# Nazi policy towards Palestine

**The Third Reich and the Palestine Question.** By Francis R. Nicosia. I.B.Tauris & Co. £24.50

**FEBRUARY 1937, Adolf Eichmann and Gestapo officials entertained a visitor from Palestine — Feivel Polkes of the Zionist Hagannah. He offered intelligence and other help for Nazi aims if they would assist Zionism.**

The previous month, Fritz Grobba, Nazi German ambassador in Baghdad, had been approached by representatives of the Grand Mufti of Jerusalem, Haj Amin el-Husseini, voicing support for Nazism and seeking arms for the Palestinian national struggle.

The attempts by some Arab nationalists and reactionaries to solicit Nazi support (the Mufti during World War II helped recruit Moslems for Nazi units) was long used by Zionist propaganda to depict Arab nationalism as inherently reactionary and to pretend a continuity between Nazi anti-semitism and anti-Zionism.

The facts about Nazi/Zionist collaboration have been exposed, much to the fury of Zionism's defenders, by writers like Lenni Brenner ('Zionism in the Age of the Dictators'). Whether or not one is satisfied with their conclusions, the evidence is irrefutable.

What Francis R. Nicosia adds to the discussion is an analysis of the Third Reich's policy on the Palestine issue, and what interests and ideological outlooks were involved.

There were contradictions at all levels. The Nazi race ideologist Rosenberg, although chiefly motivated by hatred of 'Jewish Bolshevism', could not admit any distinction between Jews — Zionists had to be just another facet of the 'world conspiracy'.

There was enough of imperialist racial outlook and German 'Volkische' nationalism unconsciously absorbed in the Zionist leaders' outlook for them to contemplate seeking common ground with the Nazis, be-

BY CHARLIE POTTINS

sides Herzl's adage that 'the anti-semites will be our best allies'. But Hitler was not just like the Polish colonels or other antisemites they had negotiated with, interested in removing Jews.

Nazi ideology not only insisted Jews could not be Germans. It could not accept them as simply another people either, since it required them to be an 'eternal enemy', forever conspiring against the 'Aryan race', a Satanic force.

Hitler refused to accept that the Zionists might create a national state: hence the inevitable conclusion of Nazi racism — not just segregation, but mass murder.

What is often forgotten, and what was overlooked by pro-Axis elements among Arab nationalists, was that Nazi racism, in keeping with its imperialist origins, was against all 'Semites'.

## Naive

Those Arab parties and leaders who sought Nazi backing were variously influenced by naive admiration for National Socialism and the traditional notion that, in fighting the British and French, 'my enemy's enemy is my friend'.

But the Nazis were contemptuous of Arab nationalism, suspected it of being Soviet-inspired, and — in 1936 at least — would not support these 'racial inferiors' against European colonialism.

What counted all along were material interests, of course. Anti-semitism served the Nazis in taking power. Conspiracy theory gave the mob a 'hidden enemy' against which the 'Volk' must unite under its Fuhrer. All excesses were justified.

This helped Hitler smash the German workers' movement, on behalf of his big capitalist backers, and prepare for world war.

## Programme

But the paranoid theories and violent slogans which excited village cranks, desperate petty-bourgeois and lumpen thugs could not provide the programme the industrialists needed.

Hitler faced the question of expanding German exports, gaining raw materials, and re-armament. Unbridled anti-semitic violence and mass Jewish flight would disrupt the economy at this stage. What is more, Jewish and labour organisations abroad had replied to Nazi atrocities with a boycott campaign against German goods. Nazi paranoia about 'Jewish control' may have led them to over-estimate its effectiveness.

In the Zionist movement, with which the German

Foreign Office had relations going back before the Balfour Declaration, the Nazis found what they needed.

In return for Nazi backing, the Zionists would organise Jewish emigration, discourage Jewish opposition and help promote German interests.

The Ha'avara agreement provided that Jewish refugees whose capital was blocked in Germany could obtain part of it to meet British-imposed immigration charges, settle in Palestine, and in return purchase German goods. The Zionist movement undertook to promote German goods in Palestine and throughout the Middle East.

The Nazis profited hugely by this deal, both commercially and politically. A huge wedge had been driven through protectionism and boycotts, the exchange terms were rigged to give Nazi banks and officials a tidy rip-off and Nazi racism could be prettified as support for Zionism!

As for the Arab leadership, Heinrich Wolff, German vice-consul in Jerusalem, had found them hopeful that German opposition to the

post-World War I settlements and Anglo-French dominance might make for an alliance.

The Mufti voiced approval for anti-Jewish policies in Germany, trying to fit Arab opposition to Zionism into a global anti-Jewish view. Wolff considered the Arabs 'too politically naive to recognise and fully accept the link between German Jewish policy and their problems in Palestine.'

In 1936, the Nazis were reluctant to throw their backing behind the Arab revolt. Besides wanting to push Jewish immigrants to Palestine, there were other considerations.

## Allies

Nazi foreign policy envisaged the possibility of an alliance with Britain, rather than Italy, with whom there was rivalry in Europe.

While Mussolini was turning from the Zionists to gain Arab allies as a diversion from what Italian fascism was doing in Ethiopia, Nazi Germany was cautious about upsetting British interests.

Within a couple of years, further shifts took place, as the Nazis gained confidence from appeasement and war loomed nearer.

In 1938, the Nazis both stepped up violent anti-semitism and assisted Zionist immigration schemes defying British restrictions. Nazi intelligence began encouraging Arab nationalists to believe they could count on support against the British, and Hitler cited British repression in Palestine to say they had no right to criticise him.

Although willing to use trouble in the Middle East to harass and pressure the British on other issues, Nazi Germany could not have a consistent policy.

General Halder blamed Hitler's lack of interest in 'the political and psychological currents prevalent in the Arab world' for failing to prepare a real threat to British strategic interests.

Working through the different leaders and their priorities were real objective contradictions in what Nazism was trying to do.

Supporting Arab national aspirations to disrupt their colonial oppressors would

not only threaten short-term deals with these rival imperialists, but — as Britain had found out after World War I — impede the longer-term aim of stepping into their shoes.

What's more, despite such backward leaders as the Mufti, the Arabs were not stupid, and were beginning to see that Nazism was their enemy too, both in the way its anti-Jewish policy strengthened Zionism, and in what it had in mind for Arabs eventually.

## Colonists

Nicosia throws a fascinating sidelight on an otherwise little-known corner in describing Nazi activity among German colonists in Palestine, as well as illuminating his main subject-area, Nazi foreign policy, with all its contradictions and ideological hang-ups.

Whether his book fully supports the claim made that it 'revises current thinking' would require some discussion. It is certainly well researched, and provide valuable material for an assessment of this period and the forces at work.

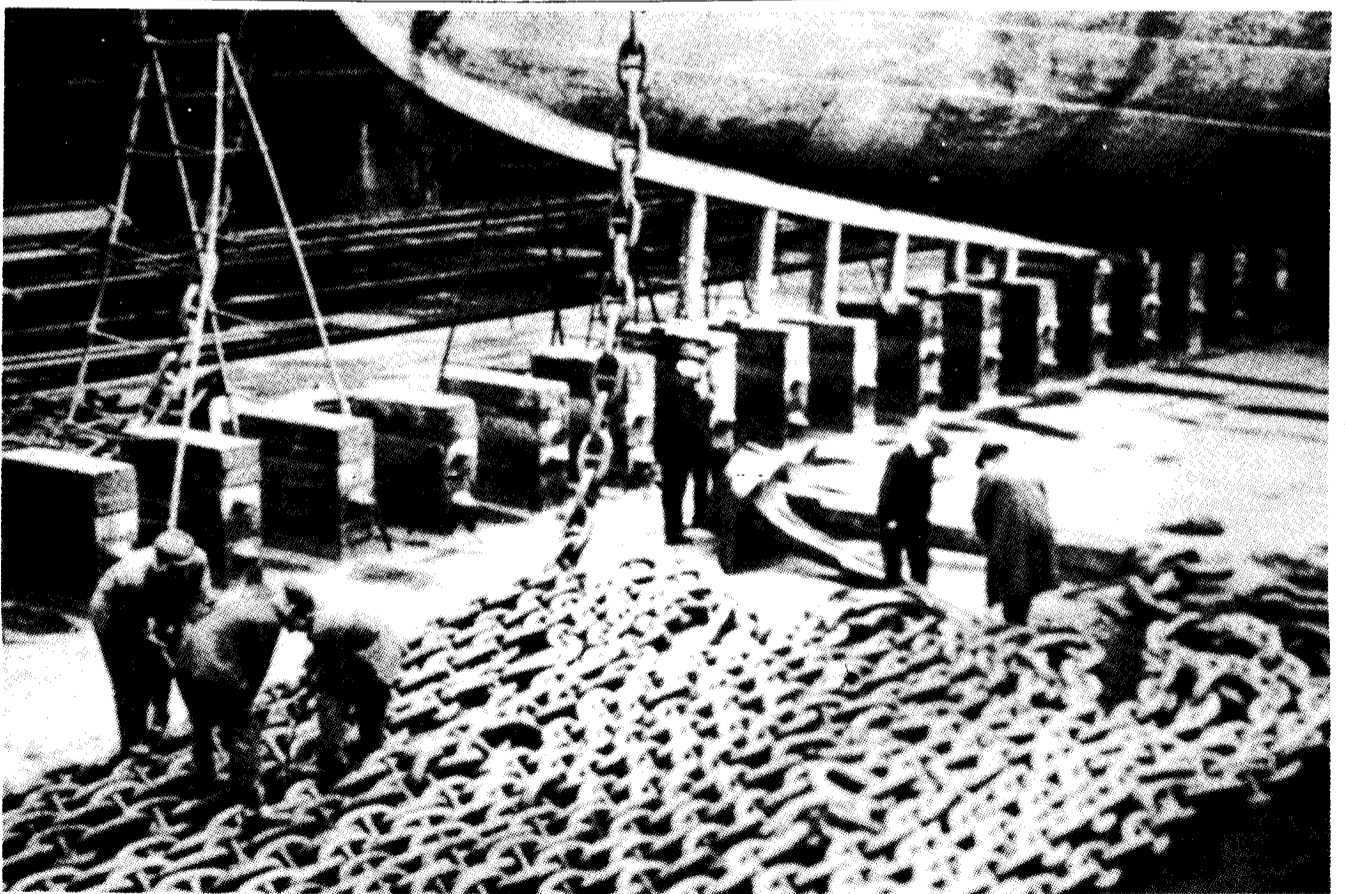
For those seeking a more complete historical understanding of the Middle East conflict, or looking at the Middle East as an aspect of imperialist history, it is well worth reading. Mind you, at this price, you're likely to have to try a good reference library for it!

## LISTINGS

**IRISH PRISONERS APPEAL**, fund-raising socials at the Old White Horse, Brixton Road/Loughborough Road, London Sunday 11 May, **women only — with traditional Irish women musicians.** Doors open 7.30 pm. £2, £1 concessions.

**DEFENDING PALESTINIAN PRISONERS — meeting with Leah Tzemel**, Israeli lawyer, socialist, and fighter for Palestinian rights. Wednesday 14 May. 7.30 pm. Friends International Centre, Byng Place, Torrington Place, London WC1 (near ULU, nearest tube Goodge St). Organised jointly by Jewish Socialists' Group and London Friends of Palestine.

**EL SALVADOR MOTHERS' DAY MEETING** and reception for **Azuena Quinteros**, international representative of the **El Salvador Women's Association (AMES)**. Saturday 10 May, 7.30 pm. London School of Economics, Houghton Street, London WC2. Organised by El Salvador Solidarity Campaign.



Mending anchor cable in the pre-1939 George V dry dock, East London

**Dockland: An Illustrated Historical Survey of Life and Work in East London.** Published by North East London Polytechnic in conjunction with the GLC. Distributed by Thames and Hudson, £9.95.

THE DOCKLANDS Historical Survey has produced a superbly illustrated book which both records the growth and decline of the docks along the river Thames and makes a firm statement of opposition to the policies of the London Docklands Development Corporation.

The authors include a docker, a lighterman, social and marine historians, engineers and industrial archaeologists, all writing with enthusiasm about the area.

There are maps and detailed references to make this a standard work for historians or those interested in the area, but it is more than that.

In the introduction, George Nicholson, who chaired the GLC Planning Committee until the council was wound up and who

also, as a ship's engineer, sailed from the docks, sums up:

'Anyone who regards as a success story the systematic attacks by the LDDC on local and strategic planning, and on local accountability, the confiscation of practically all the housing land in the Dockland part of Newham, Southwark and Tower Hamlets, the loss of thousands of jobs traditional to the area, the madcap schemes for an airport, luxury housing, and huge office developments,

cannot be said to have the interests of the residents of Docklands at heart.

'The truth is that dockland is up for sale to the highest bidder.'

The book is thus not just a memorial to the past nor even simply an illustrated catalogue of what is being demolished to make way for speculative building — it is a sensitive attempt to interpret the past and campaign for participation in the movement to revitalise the dockland area for the community.



## REVIEWS

# Ideology of the English Revolution

**Puritanism and Revolution.** Christopher Hill. Peregrine Books, £4.95.

**Society and Puritanism in Pre-revolutionary England.** Christopher Hill. Peregrine Books, £5.95.

**Puritanism and Liberty.** Edited by A S P Woodhouse. Everyman, £5.95.

SOME roots of the degeneration of postwar British Trotskyism may well originate in the puritan sectarianism of the English bourgeois revolution. We should study the period.

As Trotsky observed: 'The advanced British workers will have to rediscover the English revolution and find within its ecclesiastical shell the mighty struggle of social forces.'

No historian has shed a greater light on these amazing decades than Christopher Hill. Two of his earlier books have just been reprinted by Peregrine Books, with corrections and new prefaces. They are well worth our attention.

'Puritanism and Revolution' is a collection of essays, first published in 1958, two years after Hill left the Communist party. He opposed the influential nineteenth century historian, Gardiner, who characterised the civil war as a 'puritan revolution'.

Although the revolutionaries were puritan, says Hill, it was a bourgeois revolution.

BY PAUL THOMPSON

The 1640s and 1650s marked the end of medieval and Tudor England in government, agriculture, commerce, colonial and foreign policy, industry, finance, religion and ideas.

Cromwell's New Model Army seized political power from the feudal aristocracy and cleared the path for three centuries of untrammelled capitalist development.

Puritanism was an ideology within this social movement which served the economic requirements of the bourgeoisie by bringing the individual into a direct relationship with god.

Very broadly speaking, the ideology was based on the democratising priesthood of all believers (Luther) and an iron doctrine of predestination (Calvin).

Hill's other reprinted volume, 'Society and Puritanism' (1964), looks at some of the non-theological reasons which led protestants to oppose Archbishop Laud's unpopular and ritualistic 'Anglo-Catholic tyranny' in pre-revolutionary England.

He shows how religious individualism expressed the ideological requirements of capitalist production.

Medieval Catholicism, with its communal ceremonies and priests mediating between god and man —

a compulsory, all-inclusive state religion which expressed the fixed social hierarchy — was supplanted after the Reformation by a protestantism that stressed salvation by individual effort.

The development of early capitalist economy had turned a hierarchy of feudal communities towards a competitive system of individualist communal voluntarism.

This Marxist view of Puritanism is not shared by A S P Woodhouse, the editor in 1938 of an inspiring collection of documentary material, 'Puritanism and Liberty' — now also reprinted — promoting the Gardiner view of the civil war as essentially a struggle by puritans for religious and political liberty.

The historical incompleteness of this model in no way detracts from the transcribed power of the remarkable Putney Debates of 1647 and the 1648 Whitehall Debates on religious toleration for which most radicals claimed to be fighting.

Some extracts from the writings of these radicals as well as from Calvin and Luther on religious liberty 'illuminate' the main texts.

Trotsky's repeated insistence on the importance for British revolutionaries of studying the ecclesiastical controversies of the bourgeois revolution will be well served today by a practical consideration of any of these important reprinted volumes.

# TROTSKY'S DAUGHTER — A MOVING STORY

By Roy Battersby

ZINA — directed by Ken McMullen, Gate Cinema, Notting Hill, London and selected cinemas.

KEN McMULLEN's film Zina is a fine and moving account of the last years of Zina, Trotsky's daughter by his first marriage, who committed suicide in Berlin in the year Hitler came to power

It dares to explore some of the interconnections between politics and personal psychology and does it without sacrificing either; a unique and important achievement.

It creates Trotsky in exile on the island near Prinkipo, doing everything in his power to prevent the triumph of fascism which he could see looming over the German working class and the world.

It also creates Zina, alone in that Germany of the early 1930s, surrounded and finally overwhelmed in the moment to moment reality of growing barbarism.

Zina had lost her father when she was only two. In exile in Siberia before the 1905 revolution, Trotsky was persuaded by his wife that he must escape and continue his work, even though it meant leaving her and his two daughters. It was Zina who discovered the dummy figure left in her father's bed to fool the police, a memory that returns during psychoanalysis in Berlin.

Her first words to the analyst are, 'I am just the shadow of a famous parent... the good for nothing daughter of the most important man of our time. I wish I could be rid of myself.'

She is crucified by her longing for the private love of her father, for him 'to step down to my illness', to listen to her once in thirty years with attention and patience.

But at the same time she is also crucified by her determination to be his eyes and ears in the German maelstrom (as Antigone was to the tragic Oedipus) and not to leave it to her brother.

But McMullen's Trotsky is no dummy. This is not one of those philistine attempts to justify passivity and the status quo by one-sidedly playing on the cost to men and women of daring to try and make their own history.

This Trotsky hears his daughter's letters, feels her pain, has arranged as best he can from exile without a visa, for her analysis. But he is also Trotsky, Zina's one guide, 'as you are for generations to come,' and he must bear the hideous price of his historical stature, responsibility and isolation.

We know that all his children, most of his personal staff and almost all his closest comrades from the Russian Revolution were killed or died tragically during his exile and undying struggle against Stalinism.

All this is recorded as history. We know his hair turned white during the three days he and Natalya spent alone in their room at Coyoacan on learning of the murder of Leon Sedov, their son.

We know from their grief-



Zinaida Volkov (Zina) photographed in Prinkipo, 1931

filled noble tribute to him (Son, Friend, Fighter) something of their magnificent courage and indomitable revolutionary will in the face of such loss. But the full meaning of this will can be the matter of art as well as history.

McMullen renders something of this between Trotsky and Zina and her analyst Professor Kronfeld, drawing on letters from the Harvard archives and records of the analysis as well as invention and imagination.

He reveals the unity and clash of historical and psychic forces in the protagonists. 'Zina' has tragic ambitions as a film and often achieves them without any petty pessimism.

Splendid casting and performances and fine photography all contribute to the powerful emotional logic of the film. It's form is not that of naturalism nor conventional narrative, but its underlying movement is sure and irresistible.

It's an important step too for the film-maker who has almost completely superseded the self-conscious image making of earlier work, except in one or two moments.

'Zina' will also be showing in selected cinemas outside London. Everyone hurt from trying to face up to and to hand on our own true history will draw from the film. Don't miss it.

## TV CHOICE

### Saturday May 10

1.10 pm, Channel 4. **That's Alice.** Dr Alice Stewart, who gave the warning 30 years ago that x-raying pregnant women was causing cancer in their unborn children, is today convinced that even small doses of radiation cause cancer and death.

7.30 pm, Channel 4. **Africa: Caravans of Gold.** The story of the camel-caravans which brought gold from the fabulous empire of Mali across the Sahara to the merchant bankers of medieval Europe. This is the third of Basil Davidson's superb African history series.

### Sunday May 11

11 am, Central TV. **Link.** The DHSS mobility allowance is being withdrawn from deaf/blind, severely mentally-handicapped and autistic people. If they can be persuaded to put one foot in front of another by 'the promise of reward or the threat of punishment' they are deemed able to walk and no longer eligible.

### Monday May 12

12.30 pm, ITV. **Baby & Co.** Film of a baby gymnastics class from the Balaskas Active Birth Centre in Hampstead. Its best to start early if you want to be fit.

10.30 pm, ITV. **Society, Science and Sex: Made in a Lab.** Patrick Steptoe, Robert Winston and Enoch Powell talk about



Reconstructing the head of Pete Marsh — Wednesday, 9.30 pm BBC1

test-tube babies.

### Tuesday May 13

10.30 pm, ITV. **Society, Science and Sex: Cash on Delivery.** Some of the private American agents who locate surrogate mothers meet Lady Warnock.

### Wednesday May 14

9.30 pm, BBC1. **QED: The Body out of the Bog.** Follow-up to last week's post-mortem on the body preserved in the Cheshire peat. What did he look like, and why was he murdered?

10.30 pm, ITV. **Society, Science and Sex: AIDS.** Discussion of the risks attached to the twentieth century version of the Black Death.

10.55 pm, Channel 4. **A State of Siege** (1978) Based on the novel of the same name by the New Zealand author Janet Frame, this is a rare chance to see part of the 'new wave' of New Zealand film-making.

### Friday May 16

2.30 pm, Channel 4. **Blues in the Afternoon.** Two hour-long films which trace the development of the blues from the earliest blues sounds

10.30 pm, Channel 4. **Life's Cycle.** First of a new series of programmes on health topics for women. This is on premenstrual syndrome

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**BOOKS**



## POLICE BAN TRIAL PICKET

POLICE prevented 52 people from peacefully demonstrating in the vicinity of the Old Bailey where the trial of two Irish women and five Irish men on conspiracy charges

opened last Tuesday. An Inspector told demonstrators (after the media had left) that the assistant commissioner of City of London police had ruled that anyone demonstrating near the

Old Bailey would be arrested. He refused to give a reason and gave demonstrators five minutes to move.

'We were demonstrating against

show trials, conspiracy between police and courts and against the torture of the prisoners by strip searching while on remand,' said a statement issued later by Irish Prison-

ers Appeal. 'Our attempts to highlight these facts via the press and the High Court action to stop strip-searching has been met by a wall of silence. We have now been de-

nied the right to demonstrate peacefully.

'How can there be a fair trial for Irish prisoners in Britain when any critical voice is silenced?'

# WAPPING: THE WAY FORWARD

## Call out Fleet St!

**AFTER** the demonstration by printworkers and their supporters at Wapping on Saturday, the question has to be asked: where do printworkers go from here?

Sacked SOGAT, NGA and AUEW members who marched from Glasgow and Newcastle to Wapping were greeted en route by entire factories that stopped work in support of the strike.

### BY FLEET STREET PRINTWORKERS

After nearly a month on the road, morale was high and thousands greeted them in London on Saturday in a show of solidarity.

Then came some of the worse police violence since the beginning of the dispute three months ago. It resulted in more than one hundred demonstrators being seriously injured by the police.

Demands from union leaders and MPs who were present, for a public enquiry, have of course been ignored.

Police wearing full riot gear waded into demonstrators and further injuries followed when people were clubbed to the ground during numerous cavalry charges onto the crowded pavements.

Almost a hundred people were arrested and eye witnesses allege that although they left Wapping in good shape, many of those arrested arrived at central London police stations bloodied and badly beaten.

They were thrown into a cell, denied medical treatment and finally charged with threatening behaviour.

One 50-year-old NGA man who works for the 'Daily Telegraph' said that he is sure that the only reason that he was arrested is because he is quite tall and stood out from the crowd.

### Ordeal

He was grabbed and dragged to a police bus where he had to run a gauntlet of police boots. His ordeal did not end when he fell to the floor, they just kicked him until he got up again.

Now trades unionists must ask: Why wasn't Fleet Street called out to support what was billed as 'the march to stop Wapping'? Why was part of the march containing sacked printers kept away from Fleet Street altogether?

Wapping last Saturday exposed a sharp contradiction between the mood and determination of the sacked News International workers and their supporters, and the cynicism of the trade union leaders who, behind the cover of calls for a boycott of Murdoch's titles, have been manoeuvring to wind down the dispute.

The SOGAT executive



An impressive SOGAT 82 banner on the London May Day march — here photographed near Wapping

met on April 21 to discuss the question of SOGAT purging its contempt in order to release funds and to approach the Murdoch battleground more 'realistically'.

There was much opposition from printworkers, some of whom lobbied the meeting, so a decision was postponed until last Tuesday when they agreed to purge their contempt and lift the instruction to wholesale distributors blacking Murdoch's titles.

So we now have a situation where SOGAT members will be instructed to distribute Murdoch's papers while at the same time being levied money, some of which will go towards paying for glossy brochures asking the public not to buy them.

In the May issue of 'SOGAT Journal', the union's general secretary Brenda Dean gives credibility to Murdoch's offer of the Grays Inn Road plant as settlement of the dispute.

Implying that it could be used to print a labour

rival to the popular dailies she said: 'This could be a labour publication — but we would have to insist on a management that managed, and editors that edit, and not something run by a committee or TUC carthorse.'

In actual fact the part of the plant which is being offered to the unions is practically derelict, but Dean is giving it the big build up because she sees it as a possible face-saving device which could be presented to the 6000 sacked as a great prize when the time comes to abandon them.

### Technology

The issues that arise from Wapping are issues facing the entire working class. New technology is used to throw thousands out of work and is wielded by the capitalist employers to drive down wages and attack conditions of employment.

'Scab unionism' in the shape of the EETPU, and tolerated by the TUC leadership, helped Mur-

doch set up at Wapping.

The NGA and SOGAT leaderships never set out to stop Murdoch. Having reconciled themselves to the TUC betrayal of the fight against the anti-union laws, starting at Warrington, they backed down all along the line.

They begun talks with Murdoch and had started signing deals on Wapping: the EETPU sabotaged negotiations which they wanted to keep going.

Rank-and-file printworkers, who believe that the only way to win the dispute and save the union is to bring out Fleet Street, are beginning to build their own support unit.

In order to draw the lessons of the way the dispute has been handled so far and plan effective action the various support units should urgently call a national conference of supporters from every section of the working class.

At the same time our fire must be concentrated

on the cowardly TUC leaders and the 'left' who go along with them. In preparation for a knock government, they have abandoned any pretence of opposition to anti union laws.

### NUJ

They have accepted organisation of scabs by the EETPU, no mention the TGW acceptance of their orders at TNT crossing picket lines.

The NUJ conference in Sheffield last week called for the expulsion of Wapping scabs under the union's disciplinary rules. If the usually moderate journalists can take principled stand against scabbing, why not the TUC?

Resolutions must be passed and a campaign built up for the EETPU to be expelled, and a re-orientation to the stance of 'no collaboration with anti-union laws' fought for courageously by miners.

### UNION OF PRINTWORKERS SUPPORT GROUPS

Delegates and observers are invited from all local and TU support groups to attend our

### NEXT MEETING

Thursday 15 May, 7pm  
Council Chamber  
Camden Town Hall  
Judd St, NW1

### FLEET ST SUPPORT UNIT

PRINTWORKERS MEETING  
St Brides Institute  
Bride Lane, Fleet Street  
Tuesday 13 May, 7pm

ALL PRINT UNIONS — RANK & FILE