

## FORD-MAZDA LINK JOBS DANGER

THE LATEST ISSUE of motoring journal 'Car' has revealed Ford's plans to link-up with Mazda and produce models for America and Europe.

Soon, nearly all American small and medium sized cars will be sourced from Mazda after years of failing to make profits on small cars by Ford USA.

In Europe all new models will share parts with Mazda models including chassis items, some

Mazda engines (built in Europe) and other hardware.

Ford and Mazda models will have different exterior styling.

A Fiesta for the American market will be built in Korea. Ford owns 25 per cent of Mazda, a subsidiary of Sumito, the world's biggest company.

Thousands of Ford jobs are threatened. The Bridgend engine plant has already been told that half the workforce must go.

Plant leadership accepted the losses when told the alternative was complete closure. The experience of the Dagenham Foundry shows that the more the unions comply with run down, the greater is the danger of complete closure.

Foundry castings are now imported from South Africa.

Accepting redundancies facilitates the destruction of jobs.

# BUILD MINERS' 'JUSTICE' CAMPAIGN

## Bolton, Clarke compromise with Kinnock

FROM SIMON PIRANI  
IN GLASGOW

THE NATIONAL Justice for Mineworkers Campaign must be built up in the local areas.

Rallies, demonstrations and meetings must be organised in defence of the victimised men.

The defence of these courageous miners, who were jailed and sacked for fighting for their communities, is a central question.

Fears are mounting among trade union activists that their interests will be subordinated by trade union and Labour officialdom to Neil Kinnock's election campaign.

The Communist Party Stalinists are suggesting that getting the cowardly Kinnock — who never fought for the miners anyway — into 10 Downing Street is the main thing.

They are making spurious claims that Kinnock committed himself in speeches at the Scottish Labour Party conference and Scottish TUC, to justice for the victimised men. This is fantasy.

Kinnock has always qualified his remarks by saying that those 'sacked without good reason', or those 'proved by industrial tribunals to have been unfairly dismissed' will be re-instated. As for the jailed miners, he has given no verbal commitment to their release.

Nineteen miners are still locked up. The attempts to run down the national Justice campaign are a matter of concern for all trade unionists and every member and supporter of the WRP.

Until now, the CP-dominated Scottish area have steered clear of the Justice campaign, organising no transport for the big London demonstration and sending only one delegate per pit to the recent Nottingham rally.

It was no coincidence that, as the Scottish area lead-



Eric Clarke



George Bolton

### Meetings

At a meeting of the National Campaign Committee on April 18, attended by 200 delegates from the NUM, womens' groups, trade union organisations and the Labour Party, it was announced that there would be no further open meetings.

In fact no decisions were taken on future campaigns at all — this was left to the Steering Committee.

Since the last meeting, a new position of 'convenor' of the campaign was created, and the address of the secretary, left-wing Labour Party member Ed Fredenburgh, removed from letterheads.

NUM Scottish Area vice-president George Bolton (also national chairman of the Communist Party) and secretary Eric Clarke came to the meeting.

ership moved in, attempts were made to strait-jacket the campaign.

One delegate moved that a letter be sent to Kinnock, urging him to stand by statements he made in Scotland promising re-instatement of victimised men by a future Labour government.

This motion was withdrawn after Bolton challenged it bitterly, saying it

was time we 'built unity' with Kinnock instead of putting demands on him.

This fake 'unity' has led to the Justice campaign being sat on by the Scottish area NUM to the extent that they have never organised a single meeting to build it in Scotland.

Campaigning in the Scottish coalfield, where 165 miners still remain sacked, has been halted completely by the area NUM leadership since a pointless protest to Tory Scottish secretary George Younger last autumn.

Bolton wants to 'unite' with Kinnock at the expense of the jailed men. We must not allow this to happen.

### Links

All readers of Workers Press should fight to get their trade union branches and other organisations affiliated to the National Justice for Mineworkers Campaign. Contact can be made through NUM areas.

It is still necessary to write to the men in jail and their addresses are in Workers Press.

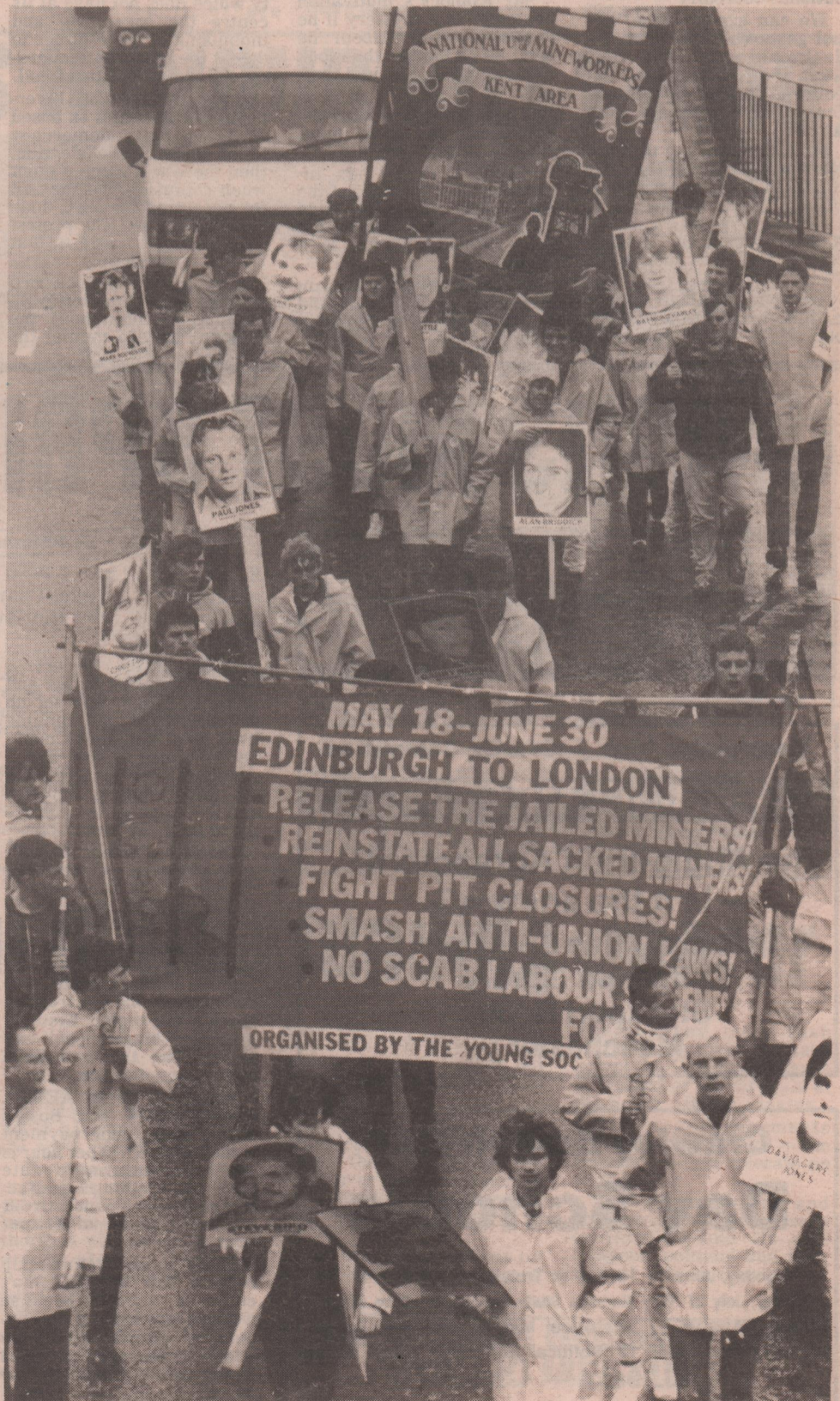
Following the initiative taken by the WRP and the Young Socialists in our national march from Edinburgh to London in defence of the jailed miners last year, we have a special responsibility to take up this fight.

Links must also be built between the campaign to release the jailed miners and the fight for Republican prisoners who are serving jail sentences as a result of their through the NUM areas.

In this way the fact that the British miners and the Irish Republicans face the repression of the same state machine can be stressed.

Let us take up this fight in every area. Without this, we cannot even pretend to stand for the defence of the basic rights of the working class movement.

● See review by Dave Temple of 'Justice', the story of the miners' strike, page 15.



The Young Socialists 'Release the Jailed Miners' march last year — WRP members have a particular responsibility to take forward the fight for the jailed and sacked men

# LIVERPOOL LABOUR SPURNS

## KINNOCK

**GARSTON Constituency Labour Party rejected, 46-2, the NEC's expulsion of Liverpool Councillor Tony Mulhearn at its annual meeting last Tuesday.**

Labour Party National Officer Peter Kilfoyle, sent into the area by the NEC, was debarred from a meeting of the Garston Party Executive Committee just before the constituency meeting.

The main meeting carried a resolution condemning the expulsion of Mulhearn and those of two other Militant supporters, Tony Aitman and Ian Lowes.

Lowes is chairman of the Liverpool council workers Joint Shop Stewards Committee.

The resolution declared 'we will not accept or recognise these expulsions'.

It went on: 'we believe that this insane action by the right-wing-dominated NEC is causing enormous damage to the party and we call for the dropping of all charges and a reversal of the decision to expel'.

Next day the BBC reported the comments of Larry Whitty, un-elected Labour Party national secretary.

We can expect these 'initial gestures of defiance' he declared and added that when the NEC expelled the editorial board of Militant there were similar 'gestures'.

He went on to say that the NEC would meet in ten days time and discuss these reactions to the expulsions — but that the presence of Mulhearn made the meeting of Garston constituency invalid.

Left-wing Labour party members expect that all but one of the six constituency

parties in Liverpool will refuse to accept the expulsions.

Even where it is agreed that they be recognised, they will almost certainly be condemned.

Pictin Ward Labour Party accepted the expulsion of Ian Lowes at its meeting this week but supporters of the decision were forced to declare that they deplored the action and would ask the national conference of the Labour Party to reinstate him in October.

The question arises, 'What is the perspective of the Left and the Militant in this conflict?'

Tony Mulhearn commented after the Garston meeting:

'Mr Kinnock's motivation obviously is a mystery if he wants victory for Labour: he need go no further than look at how it is done in Liverpool.'

● The refusal to accept the expulsions has to be more than 'a defiant gesture'.

Workers Press has insisted that importance of the witch-hunt on Merseyside cannot be understood simply as right-wing versus Militant.

It has to be understood in terms of major class and political developments in Britain.

BY BILL HUNTER

The attacks of Kinnock and the trade union leaders are on the Labour Party organisation, the council and its control by the District Labour Party.

They are attacks on the rank and file of council workers. The context on which this takes place is the cowering of union bureaucracy before the state attacks on the trade unions; a context of preparation, particularly by Kinnock, for a Labour government.

Workers Press has stressed that the very forces which are now lifting the Labour bureaucracy towards governmental power are fundamentally in conflict with it!

This is the case with the movement against imperialist attacks like those on Libya; the opposition to nuclear policy; the anger against attacks on social security, the health service and against the destruction of communities.

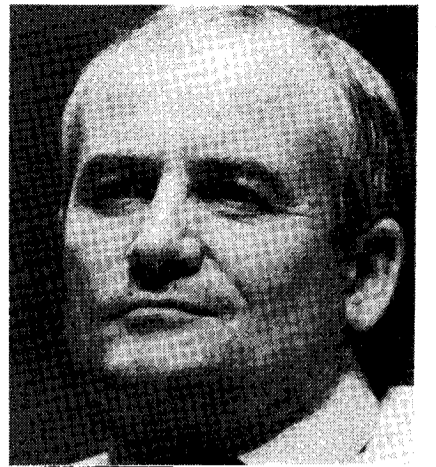
These forces collide with the reformist bureaucracy's policies.

Any strategy against the right-wing in the Labour party which does not have at its centre the organising and mobilising of these forces to defeat the labour bureaucracy will run into a dead end.

If the action of those Liverpool constituencies is based solely on party democracy or on winning the election, then there will come a point when confusion and the call for accepting the NEC decisions will grow. The protest will take the pattern that Whitty is expecting.

A real fight can be carried through only if the left-wing campaigns throughout the Labour Party to counter the

## Lies, damned lies and Stalinist lies



Tony Mulhearn

THE JESUITS claim that if they teach a young child he is theirs for life. Murdoch might feel the same.

News Line's mis-named 'Workers Notebook' is written by St Rupert's-graduate Alex Mitchell and has featured frequent personal and lying abuse of members of the WRP.

Generally this has been unworthy of a reply from those who know him too well to worry — but when it makes scurrilous accusations against members of the Militant tendency at a time like this, enough is enough.

Last Saturday's edition carried the following:

'One of Bemrose's "militants" is none other than Mr Tony Mulhearn, expelled from the Labour Party by the NEC. Is he crossing the picket lines each day? "No", one of the pickets told News Line. "He climbs over the back fence".'

Our disagreements with Militant are open and profound. Precisely to create the conditions for political debate with members of the Militant tendency and with rank-and-file members of the Labour Party, we are therefore pleased to reproduce the following statement from Bro. Ray Williams.

Ray Williams is full-time

secretary of Liverpool Region of the National Graphical Association.

'The statement in the News Line of Saturday May 24 is a lie.

'I can vouch for the fact that Tony Mulhearn just would not cross a picket line and has not done so.

'The picket outside Bemrose consists of the London Machine Branch of SOGAT. The picket is unofficial and spasmodic, yet nevertheless Tony Mulhearn, who is a member of the NGA, has refused to cross whenever the picket was there.

'Some colleagues in SOGAT also joined him.'

betrayals by the Labour leaders of the mounting tide of anti-Tory feeling.

The Labour bureaucracy will proceed to disband and re-organise the parties which still refuse to operate the expulsions: the appeal for 'unity for the election' will be a weapon in the hands of Kinnock.

If lefts and Militant supporters are not basing themselves on an offensive strategy, then it is thoughtless and opportunist to lead these parties into this fight.

On the other hand, if disaffiliated parties opposed to the witch-hunt organise seriously a national campaign, as a preparation for

and a mobilisation of a movement to defeat the betrayals of a Labour government, then it is highly possible that they can throw back the witch-hunt.

What is certain is that they would lay a ground for victory in future conflicts with the Labour bureaucracy in government.

# UNIONS MUST SPRING LOW-PAY TRAP

## STUDY GROUP HITS 'NAIVE' INSPECTORS

By BERNARD FRANKS

EXPLOITATION of West Midlands clothing workers is rife because Wages Councils inspectors are allowing employers to flout the law, says a report by a local voluntary group.

THE AEKPA Project, a clothing industry action and research group, was set up in January 1985 with funding from West Midlands County Council and a brief to investigate developments in the local clothing industry and to campaign to improve the wages and conditions.

The 40,000 strong factory and home-based clothing workforce in the area is almost entirely made up of women in Asian origin.

The rapid growth of the industry over the past ten years is in stark contrast to the decline and destruction of jobs in the region. Clothing is now a bigger local employer than the traditional motor manufacture.

According to the AEKPA project report, 'Bad Bosses off the Hook', underpayment is the norm: £1.79 per hour is the legal minimum rate under the Clothing Manufacturers Wages Council Order but repayments of £1 per hour are typical.

Trade union membership is very low but this may come to a head because workers are looking for support to fight the totally inadequate response of wages inspectors to illegal underpayment.

In the West Midlands there are just ten outdoor wages inspectors whose visiting rate per establishment is about once every twelve years.

Because there is no need to register new businesses, in-

spectors have to find where these have been set up by studying advertisements and telephone directories.

The booklet recognises that the government has launched an attack on legal wages protection and that the Wages Council system is under threat of cut and outright demolition.

However, AEKPA finds that 'The problem is not simply one of limited resources. It is also one of the kid-glove approach of the Wages Inspectorate, its bias towards the employers and its reluctance to prosecute.'

Elsewhere it discusses 'the naive trust in the good intentions of the employers' which is the basis of an inspector's approach.

Although the organisation has revealed examples of deliberate underpayment, there has been no prosecution of any West Midlands employer in this region during the last three years.

The report gives examples of serious deficiencies. Complaint forms are difficult to come by; they have to be requested by phone during working hours with an explanation of why they are needed.

No general advertisement is made of the work of the Councils and leaflets explaining workers rights, which are needed in many languages, are equally difficult to find.

AEKPA also gives exam-

ples of arrears being achieved far below the level of sums claimed. No interviews have been held to see if the workers concerned agree with the payments made.

Most of the time it seems the employers' word is taken for how much is due and little follow-up is done to see if underpayment has ceased permanently or just for the duration of the check-up.

More seriously, the title 'confidentiality', needed to prevent victimisation, has been breached on several occasions.

Where a complaint has been made, inspectors have gone to the firm to check a particular worker's wages, instead of the position generally.

Methods of checking often ensure that the employers will know who has complained, which is especially unfortunate where employers and employees are from the same closed community.

In one case, letters were sent to relatives back home in India, resulting in a threatening visit to elderly parents.

The AEKPA report is concerned that Tory plans to end all Wages Councils cover for under-21s will lead to the going rate for YTS trainees becoming the normal rate for young clothing workers.

'It would seem that the government is trying to create a climate of opinion in which poverty wages are not simply acceptable but somehow laudable.'

The report ends with a call for the strengthening of the Wages Councils, with in-

creased publicity for its operations, more wages inspectors, a strong brief to prosecute offenders, use of interpreters and of inspectors of the same ethnic origins as complainants.

It also calls for registration for all firms, stronger penalties for law-breaking employers and publication of their names.

They recommended that pink forms be made available at Job Centres, Advice Bureaus with strict observance of confidentiality.

The report does not give details of trade union activity in this area but there is evidence to suggest that major recruitment campaigns in traditionally unorganised sweat-shop trades may soon prove fruitful.

This might arise from simultaneous action against exploiting employers and against a Tory government out to destroy every last vestige of legal protection for the lowest paid workers in society.

Close-knit community ties which prove a disadvantage in victimisation could prove an advantage for recruiting factories' work-forces or isolated home-workers into unions.

Success in establishing a strong collective bargaining base through such a struggle would be far more significant for the workers concerned than reliance on the reluctant state agencies applying inadequate laws.

● 'Bad Bosses off the Hook', Price £1.50, AEKPA Project, 346 Soho Road, Birmingham, B21 9SE.

Manchester Irish Solidarity Committee

PUBLIC MEETING

The Anglo-Irish Agreement — Is it the answer?

Tuesday June 3, 7.00pm

Longsight Library

Stockport Road

Manchester

Crawley Branch WRP

Day Schools

Sunday, June 15 'History of Trotskyism' Cyril Smith

Sunday, July 27 'Why Marxists Study Philosophy' Dave Bruce

Sunday, August 17 'Historical Materialism' Bob Archer

Sunday, September 12 'Political Economy' Geoff Pilling

10.30am — 4.30pm

Ifield Community Centre, Ifield Drive, Crawley

Entrance: £1 per day

Creche and refreshments available

# YOUTH LEAD FIGHT AGAINST POLICE VIOLENCE — LABOUR MUST FOLLOW

# JUSTICE NOW FOR STEVEN SHAW!

'NO POLICE harassment, we want justice now!' was the forceful message of last Saturday's (May 24) demonstration through Manchester's crowded city centre.

By MARTIN RALPH

Nearly 400 black and white youth demanded to know 'Whose violence, Whose harassment?' The police, at this point in the proceedings, declined to answer.

The youth replied themselves, 'Police violence, Police harassment!'

The march was entirely disciplined. Manchester University Students Union (MUSU) officers delayed their start to avoid a clash with the Ulster Loyalists.

The police had allowed their presence in the city on the same day. The organisers asked that all police contact be done through the chief steward.

A delegation of 20 from the Bradford Asian Youth Movement led the march with delegations from Manchester University NALGO branch, Moss Side Labour Party and Manchester Irish Solidarity Committee.

In contrast to the unity of the youth who shouted the slogan 'Steven Shaw, Viraj Mendis, one struggle, one fight', only one Labour party and one union branch were present, apart from the students.

The MUSU had had a large mailing list for the labour movement in Manchester and many posters had announced the event.

The questions should be asked in all Labour Party and trade union branches and to all labour movement organisations: 'Why did we not have a delegation on the Steven Shaw march? For or against police harassment and violence?'

One person on a MSC-sponsored course, who did not want to give his name, said:

'We came on this march in an attempt to arouse public awareness of police harassment. The unity of the labour movement is important to fight for justice for Steven Shaw.'

Monika Montsho — Womens' Officer-elect in MUSU spoke about 'Action Against Rape' — an organisation recently formed. She made two points.

'Rape is a problem for students by day time as well as night, in "good" as well as "bad" areas'. She also stressed that 'rape affects men as much as women'.

The shouting intensified as

the march passed by Bootle Street police station — a place not unknown to Steven Shaw.

'Whose violence?' they demanded. The fingers were pointing in only one direction.

A rally followed outside the City Magistrates Court where the speakers showed the implacable hostility of the youth to the police.

Jackie Berkeley's father told how his daughter, while inside Moss Side police station, had been raped.

Jackie had been in a cell with others when she was moved into a cell by herself and then raped. She made a complaint — and was prosecuted for wasting police time.

During the court hearing, the police could not remember who had moved her from one cell to another — and won their case!

A Manchester Labour councillor, Tony McCardell, chair of the Police Monitoring Committee, supporting the march said:

'The City Council will not stand by and see police beat people up — students or anybody else. I believed initially that two or three rogue policemen were responsible.

'The cover up now extends to the Manchester Police and the Avon and Somerset police — who have just gone home.

'The end of this campaign will not be a police report but justice for Steven Shaw!'

As with all class questions, the right-wing of the Labour Party have a different opinion.

The May issue of Campaign Briefing, issued by the Labour Party from Walworth Road, says a Labour government would 'Provide stronger locks and front doors . . . to prevent crime'.

While it mentions limited support for rape victims and battered wives, it makes no criticism of the police.

● All labour movement organisations in Manchester must take up the case of Steven Shaw and all cases of police harassment and violence. They should support any group fighting in these issues.

# 'Gay's the Word' campaigner speaks out: CUSTOMS MEN ARE CENSORS

LAST MONTH, Customs & Excise men raided 'Gay's the Word', London's non-profit making lesbian and gay community bookshop, which ensures that books that other shops might not stock are available.

The case — 142 titles were seized — raises important issues of censorship and democratic rights and highlights the power of the Customs & Excise to censor reading material.

David Northmore is involved with the Defend the GTW Campaign and spoke to BRIAN DEMPSEY about their fight.

'GTW LOOK at the case as a vindictive attack on the gay community by the Customs & Excise but we also see that the case goes beyond that. It affects anyone who would want to choose the type of material they want to read.

'That is reflected strongly in the titles seized which include work of known literary merit by people such as Edmund White, Gore Vidal, Tennessee Williams and Oscar Wilde.

'It is a very far-reaching censorship case which has gay rights, civil rights and human rights implications'.

'Many of the titles seized are published lawfully in this country and do not contradict internal legislation such as the Obscene Publications Act, yet when they are imported they are deemed illegal.

It's outrageous thing is

that many of these titles are quite freely available elsewhere. They are extensively stocked in public libraries throughout Britain.

'They are apparently continuing to be imported by mainstream bookshops, without anyone raising an eyebrow.

This shows the vindictive and malicious approach to this bookshop by the Customs & Excise.'

'The titles seized cover areas from poetry and fiction to academic and medical research.

GTW are positive that none of the titles are

'obscene or indecent'.

GTW has a policy of not stocking books which are racist, sexist, sexually exploitive or present gay or women's liberation negatively.

'One of the titles seized was "The Joy of Gay Sex". The heterosexual version "The Joy of Sex" is freely available from WH Smith and is comparable in style to the seized book.

'The heterosexual version is lawful but, according to Customs & Excise, the gay version is "indecent or obscene".'

'The defence campaign has received support from mainstream publishers and bookshops as well as from MPs, the NCCL and many trade union branches, trades councils and political parties.

'The labour movement has certainly developed in recent years a consciousness of the issues concerning the lesbian and gay community and that has manifested itself in the grass roots support that we have received.

'We have received support from USDAW, TASS, ASTMS, NALGO, NUJ, T&GWU and many others. There has been a wide range

of support and that of the labour and trade union movement has been very apparent.'

'This case is of great importance as it is an attempt by the state to limit what is available to ordinary people.

'In this raid, the Customs & Excise were acting under the Consolidation Act of 1876, which gives no guidance as to what is indecent or obscene and so gives them great power.

'In addition to this, HM Customs & Excise are empowered to enter premises and detain people and property without a warrant under the right of assistance granted by the monarch.

'The books seized are obviously not pornographic and would be offensive only to the Mary Whitehouses of this world.

'Behind the raid is an increasingly open attack on homosexuals and democratic rights.

● Resolutions in support of GTW should be passed at all trade union branches and trades councils and support offered to the defence campaign.

Those wishing to help should contact David on 01-837 9456.

# SCOTS HONOUR BILLY REID



THREE thousand people marched through Glasgow's east end last Saturday to commemorate IRA volunteer BILLY REID, who was killed by the British army on May 15th 1971.

Reid, a member of the IRA's Belfast Brigade, had taken part in ambushing a mobile patrol in Academy Street, Belfast, and died in the ensuing gun battle, in which two British soldiers were also wounded.

Reid, who came from the Carrick Hill area, was 32 when he died. Before joining the IRA he had taken an interest in

organising social functions for the old people of that area, and was also a keen trumpet-player and boxer.

Last Saturday's march was organised by the Republican Bands Alliance. Large numbers of supporters packed the pavements alongside the bands, who were attacked by Loyalists during their last major march in the east end.

A young man carrying the Republican 'Starry Plough' flag was arrested as the march set off from Parkhead.

# National police funding nearer

By MARTIN WESTWOOD

WITHIN the last two weeks the Tories have announced their reaction to the 'bloody good hiding' the police received at the hands of the Tottenham and other youth last year.

What are these plans? Increase expenditure in the inner cities? Better housing?

Job opportunities for the chronic unemployed? Not a bit of it!

The only 'industry' to benefit under these plans is the police — another 4500 will be recruited this year.

On May 19 Home Secretary Douglas Hurd issued a directive to all chief officers of police authorising them to obtain, directly from the Home Office if the local authority refuses them the funds, rubber bullets and CS gas canisters.

These were first made available to the police in 1981 after the riots; during the Tottenham riots the police were given the authority to use plastic baton rounds, which have only been used in the north of Ireland.

The government is clearly concerned, especially after the Labour victories in the local elections, that local authorities will use their powers to prevent the police from having access to these lethal weapons.

The Tories are making it clear — challenge the state and it will use everything at our disposal to crush you.

Hurd's announcement is consistent with his reported intention to proceed with the use of water cannon, apparently against police advice, as well as issuing the police with long staves.

These weapons will not be

used instead of rubber bullets and CS gas as the bourgeois press makes out but in addition to these weapons.

Workers and their communities who have experienced the brutality of the state over the recent period will know its intentions to suppress every opposition to it.

However, they will not be intimidated by these

weapons any more than murder and maiming have halted the Republican cause in Ireland or the struggle of the South African masses.

Hurd's announcements spell out the message — the ruling class will tolerate no compromise.

The working class and youth will, we have every confidence, find its own weapons, political and real, to deal with this state.

## LEICESTER: WORKERS REVOLUTIONARY PARTY PUBLIC MEETING

'Build the alternative leadership'.  
Wednesday June 11, 7.30 pm.  
Highfields Community Centre,  
Melbourne Road, Leicester.

## COLLEGE LECTURERS IN ANNUAL CONFERENCE

# 'ORDER OF THE BOOT' FOR MURDOCH MEN

BY GEOFF BARR

Last weekend college lecturers met in Brighton for their annual conference. They started with a bang by throwing out journalists from the Murdoch press.

These were not from the Sun or the Times, but from the Times Educational Supplement and the Times Higher Education Supplement.

Because neither paper is directly involved in Murdoch's union busting operation, NATFHE national executive argued unsuccessful-

ly that it violated TUC policy to throw them out.

Nevertheless, the hostility to Murdoch's anti-union battle was enough to drive out his journalists.

Most of this year's union conferences have YTS high on their agenda. NATFHE continued with its policy of principled opposition to YTS.

The general secretary, Peter Dawson, was taken to task for a speech he made at the TUC last September in which he had argued:

'We have been firmly committed to the view that without the scheme young people will be at the mercy of indi-

vidual employers. That is why we have said that there should be reform and not abolition.'

The reference back of a paragraph of the annual report was the device used to hammer home members' anger about YTS.

It must be noted that NATFHE is the union which organises YTS instructors and is vital to the whole operation.

The conference has assured that a ballot will be held to win a political fund. This is required if the union is to carry out a wide range of campaigns.

It does not, in itself, mean that NATFHE would be affiliated to the Labour party.

As was expected the conference passed resolutions to fight the government's cuts in further and higher education.

It was particularly concerned with the threat to teacher training on Humber-side and at Portsmouth and Plymouth — and passed an emergency resolution to defend the colleges under attack.

Another emergency resolution was carried telling the national executive com-

mittee to draw up plans for industrial action to stop redundancies in Hereford and Worcester.

The conference backed an emergency resolution to the conference on the Chernobyl nuclear accident. The resolution offered sympathy to the victims and their families.

It went on to say 'conference is appalled by the complacent, "it can't happen here", response of the British government'.

On Sunday afternoon the conference unanimously passed a resolution in opposition to the South Afri-

can regime. It called for a campaign to stop recruitment for jobs in South Africa and for a boycott of South Africa.

The conference called for increased activity throughout the association on this issue.

Immediately after the Sunday afternoon session a powerful fringe meeting was held with a speaker from SACTU (the South African Congress of Trade Unions) outlining the nature of 'Bantu' education in South Africa and the fight of black youth and workers to destroy the whole apartheid system.

# RAIL BOSSES SENSE UNION

## CHIEF'S 'WEAK KNEES'

BY ZBIGNIEW WOJCIK

LATEST developments in the struggle against the recent proposals for cuts and privatisation of the BREL show that the so-called 'unity' of the NUR and the Confed is already being undermined by certain right-wing leaders.

One notorious right winger, Derby AEU Divisional Officer Bill Morgan, newly elected to the union executive, has already stated publicly that the proposed ballot of members will not succeed because of the general apathy of the membership.

The issue being raised is how to fight the Tories' latest attacks.

The general feeling is one of apprehension. No-one is yet sure who will lose their jobs — there is no announcement at local level about

which shops and departments are earmarked for closure.

Since the Tories came to power, the railway industry has been under continuous attack — starting with low pay rises and cuts in Workshops and Railway Yards.

Next, they sold British Road Transport and then the British Rail Hotels — at rockbottom prices. This was followed by selling land from the marshalling yard sites to speculators.

All this was carried out without the unions lifting a finger to defend their members' jobs.

The Tories called this a programme of 'rationalisation' and said that the railways must be placed on a competitive basis.

The reality was something else — even the former British Rail chairman Sir Peter

Parker recognised that the railways were in desperate need of a major and massive overhaul.

The Tories asked for a report, which was duly presented by Serpell.

It proposed several options. Most were drastic but option six called for the railways to be denationalised and sold to vultures in the private enterprise sector.

The latest round of workshop closures and cutbacks is in line with this option. They are in fact worse than the option six forecast.

The way the Railway Board and the Tories are proceeding will mean the destruction of the entire railway industry.

Having seen how little the leadership has done up to now, the Board are going for a confrontation.

Any hesitation on the part

of the union leadership will be seen as a sign of weakness by the Tory enemy.

This again poses the question of the existing leadership within the trade unions; time and time again this leadership sells out the working class.

The only prospect they see is the return of a Labour Government and nothing can or will be done to defend workers' rights before the next election.

The NUR leadership has been forced to issue instructions to local District Councils to call public meetings and mass rallies in an attempt to fight the proposed closures and cutbacks of depots and workshops.

These must be given the maximum support — so that the leadership does not have the excuse that the membership and the communities don't want to fight.



A demonstration against the May 1983 closure of the Shildon works in the north-east. With vicious closures in the offing, it is the British Rail board that wants to play the tune

## 25 years of Amnesty International

# A message from Des Warren

SHREWSBURY picket Des Warren, speaking on radio, has challenged the record of Amnesty International, the organisation currently celebrating its 25th anniversary.

Warren, jailed for three years in 1973 by the notorious conspiracy trials at Shrewsbury, intervened during a Radio Merseyside programme about Amnesty.

Telephoning from his home, Warren gave a detailed account of how — in July 1975 — Amnesty had confirmed in writing that it had adopted Warren as a 'prisoner of conscience', in the same way as political prisoners in other countries.

Three months later, however, it was revealed that Amnesty had secretly cancelled this adoption. Right-wing political pressure had been brought to bear.

Without even informing him or his solicitor, Amnesty dropped him, Warren said on radio. It only emerged when Labour MPs raised questions in the Commons about his continued incarceration by the Labour government.

Dr Shirley Summerskill, under-secretary to Home Secretary Roy Jenkins, arro-

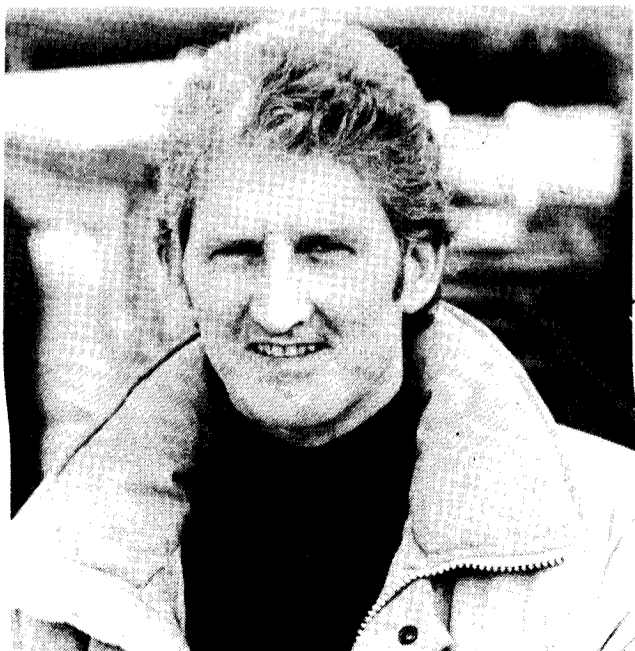
gantly replied in the Commons that it was not the case that Amnesty recognised Warren as a prisoner of conscience.

Warren's solicitor, Campbell Malone, subsequently travelled to London with documents showing that the adoption had in fact been agreed. Among the papers was a letter to Malone from Angela Wright, of Amnesty's London-based West European desk, confirming Warren's adoption.

After his release, Warren went to see Angela Wright, but — like Malone — failed to discover exactly how the adoption had been withdrawn.

'She didn't know what to say. She was embarrassed. I feel she was taking the can for other people,' Warren told the radio presenter.

When the presenter then stated that surely Amnesty consistently fights for the political rights of individuals, Warren replied: 'Do they? They don't do much of a job in this country. The only other case I know of a political prisoner being adopted by Amnesty in this country is Pat Arrowsmith. That makes two adoptions — and one of those was withdrawn.'



Des Warren — betrayed by Amnesty International to spend three years in jail

'The adoption of myself was unequivocal. But then Summerskill made her statement in the Commons. So Amnesty International had been in touch with ministers but not with myself or my solicitor.'

'The trade union and labour movement should look into this. Shrewsbury was one of the biggest trials this century concerning the trade union movement,' Warren said on the programme.

## But silence from London Amnesty

By CHARLIE WALSH

AT ITS recent annual conference held in Dublin, the twenty-six county section of Amnesty International passed a motion condemning strip-searching.

The resolution was adopted by a large majority — 42 votes for the resolution and only 4 votes against, despite the intervention of a representative from the Amnesty executive in London, who advised delegates to vote against.

Since Amnesty International claims to be concerned about torture and ill-treatment of political prisoners, I wonder why its London executive opposed a motion condemning such torture and ill-treatment being perpetrated against Irish political prisoners, particularly against Irish women in Brixton and Maghaberry prisons.

Is it the case, I ask, that the routine and systematic strip-searching of Martina Anderson and Ella O'Dwyer, along with the women in

Maghaberry prison and the strip-searching of some Irish male political prisoners, is acceptable to the London executive of Amnesty?

Does the London executive consider such barbaric practices not to be torture and ill-treatment?

All of those who are campaigning around the question of strip-searching should write to the London executive of Amnesty and ask it to declare its position on this issue.

They should ask why it has been silent on the torture, attempted rape and sexual harassment of Martina Anderson and Ella O'Dwyer, held on remand at Brixton prison since July 1985.

Since then they have been routinely strip-searched, sometimes three to four times a day.

These questions demand answers from a section of an organisation which, I repeat, declares itself concerned with, and committed to fighting against, the torture and ill-treatment of political prisoners.

# GLASGOW RESIDENTS FOIL ARTS FESTIVAL MUZZLE BID

**RESIDENTS** have blocked a plan to turn the renowned Easterhouse Festival Society, which organises arts and cultural events on one of Europe's biggest housing schemes, into a Charitable Limited Company.

The limited company proposal was put forward by full-time workers for the Festival Society.

Fierce resistance came from community activists, who feared it would put financial control of the society into private hands.

The Strathclyde Regional Council also opposed the limited company proposal, and together with Glasgow District Council and the Scottish Arts Council have offered £100,000 to fund the Festival Society.

Many of those who fought the limited company proposal claim it would threaten free expression and free development of cultural activities in Easterhouse.

They are concerned that funding would be sought from right-wing and American-backed 'cultural' and 'charitable' institutions, who would impose their own standards (less community involvement, 'no politics' etc) on the Festival Society.

Fund-raising trips by full-time staff, who went as far afield as London and Chicago, sparked concern in the community. Local people felt more attention should be paid to the unemployed, the youth and the working-class families of the area, and less to private companies whose funding was available only on certain conditions.

As alarm mounted last month about the Festival

Society being subordinated to private interests, 100 people invaded an executive committee meeting.

Although the meetings are open to local people, they were asked to leave by chairman Tam McFall, a transport union official and member of the Communist Party.

Angry demands for information were made, and then a force of 30 police arrived to evict the crowd.

A Special General Meeting called last week to discuss the limited company proposal attracted 350 people, the biggest-ever attendance.

Opponents of the limited company proposal carried placards saying 'People of Easterhouse speak from the heart, not the mike' and 'This is our future, not a festival play'.

The proceedings began with McFall being removed

from the chair and replaced by another CP member, veteran activist Freddie Anderson.

A full-time Festival worker proposed turning the society into a charitable limited company and attacked the alternative plan to accept funding from Strathclyde Region: 'The region have been prepared to use bullies to force us to accept their every request.'

But Festival Society vice-chairman John Whiteside denied this. Supporting the proposal for funding from the region, he said it was offered 'without strings' and condemned the limited company idea.

Most speakers in the heated discussion opposed the limited company.

Former community worker Rab Mathieson said it would mean going 'cap in

hand' to 'the people who sell food for exorbitant rates in the shopping centre, and who go in vans (mobile shops) charging five times the right price'.

Hugh Bell asked what accumulated debts the society had, for which present lay executive members would be liable. This question was not answered.

CP member Sophia Young spoke in favour of the limited company, saying it was 'just a set of standing orders'.

There was great anger that full-time Festival Society workers are suing eleven unemployed community activists, following allegations made against the society in the community newspaper, the 'Voice'.

Matt Kennedy told the meeting of the writs. Mark Campbell told the meeting that this alone should be

cause for people to beware of the limited company proposal.

Those who supported it 'have run to the British court system'. Campbell spoke of 'bureaucratic and elitist methods'.

A ballot had been organised to decide between the limited company proposal and the funding from Strathclyde Region. But there was furious opposition to a secret ballot from the floor, and it was pointed out that the Society's constitution provided for voting by a show of hands.

The chairman put the proposal for a secret ballot to the vote: it was thrown out by a three-to-one majority.

As ballot papers were ripped up and thrown in the area, the limited company proposal was rejected by a similar margin.

## NORTH-EAST ANTI-NUCLEAR CAMPAIGN

### CONFERENCE DRAWS GROUPS TOGETHER

By CHRIS CORRIGAN

**DURHAM** — An anti-nuclear campaign drawing together miners, support groups, anti-dumping groups and other organisations or individuals fighting on different fronts is being stepped up in June.

This follows the first 'Make the Links — Break the Chain' conference held at Durham University three weeks ago.

It attracted participants from other parts of the country, including South Wales, Yorkshire, and Derbyshire.

The conference was jointly organised by the Durham Miners Support Groups (a section of Women Against Pit Closures), Billingham Against Nuclear Dumping, Greenpeace, Anti-Apartheid, members of Parents-Teachers associations and various anti-nuclear groups.

The 'Links' steering committee reports:

'The weekend was spent exposing the links between the decline of the coal industry and the development of the nuclear industry.

'In the aftermath of the miners' strike and the nuclear disaster at Chernobyl, it was the human implications as well as the economic which were foremost in the minds of participants.'

Three main results arose:

1. Establishment of personal and political links between members of the single-issue groups;
- 2) Recognition of the need for a future Links conference;
- 3) A call for a week of action beginning June 7 to raise a mammoth national petition demanding the end of the nuclear power programme by 1995.

A package is available that includes six copies of the petition form for duplication and distribution to other groups and individuals in your area and one copy of a campaign leaflet to assist in speeding up the local campaigns.

During a week of action from June 7 to June 14, pickets of electricity board showrooms or any other suitable local collecting point are being urged throughout the country.

Local groups should liaise through Durham (0385) 61375 on days and at times specified in the package. Otherwise get in touch by writing to: 'Links', 26 The Avenue, Durham City, DH1 4ED.

The plan is to present the completed petition forms later in June to the Prime Minister at 10 Downing Street.

A lobby of ambassadors of nuclear countries, leaders of the main political parties, trade union leaders, etc, will be held in the House of Commons.

'We want all groups active in the campaign to send representatives to the lobby,' says the steering committee.

The demands on the petition are:

'The international disaster at Chernobyl nuclear power station will affect the health of our children and infants for generations to come.

Therefore: We demand that no further nuclear power stations be built in this country. We demand that those at present on stream be phased out by 1995.

We remind the Government and the Central Electricity Generating Board that the cost of the nuclear power programme is being paid in human lives.

We demand urgent and immediate action to implement a sane and safe energy policy based on coal, conservation and renewable energy sources.'

## VULTURES OVER LONDON DOCKS

By MATT ELLARD

**THE FIRST PILES** were driven this month for the construction of London City Airport, the 'Short take-off and landing' airport in the Royal Docks, East London.

Six miles from central London, Stolport is a special project for the Tories, inaugurated by Aviation Minister Michael Spicer.

The runway will be on the quay between the Albert and King George V docks, with a glazed three-storey terminal building.

Mowlem and Brymon Airways are the main beneficiaries of the STOLport scheme.

Mowlem is one of the big contracting engineering and contracting businesses in Britain.

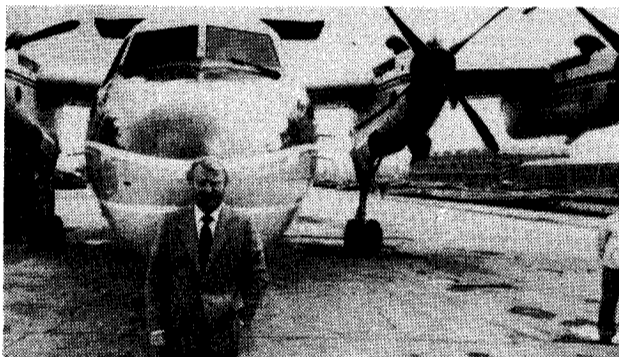
They are putting £18 million into the STOLport, and they have several other projects in the area, including Canary Wharf, a massive office complex planned for the Isle of Dogs, only three miles away.

Canary Wharf will attract businessmen who would use the short-hop flights from STOLport.

Brymon need the project to restore their flagging profitability; they were heavily in the red 18 months ago, but their assets are expected to increase in value from £12 million to £70 million once London City Airport is in operation.

This could now be the middle of 1987.

Already they are advertising the airport on a massive post-



Brymon Airways boss Bill Bryce — the only airline committed to using the STOLport.

er on the road out to Heathrow.

If other European capitals develop similar airports, De Havilland will profit enormously from sales of their Dash 7 aircraft, and there is a potential for massive profits in the building of airports in other cities.

The project was only possible because of the London Docklands Development Corporation, set up by the Tories for their favourite backers, the property speculators.

The LDDC seized the land from its previous owners, mainly the Port of London Authority, but also British Gas, British Rail and the Thames Water Authority.

In the property market, a rapid pace of investment means the speculators believe rents will grow — and thus have high expectations of massive increases in property values.

A project like the STOLport can be just the flip the speculators need to get the property prices moving.

The LDDC claim the project will trigger off developments which will 'ensure that local people benefit as much as possible from expanding employment opportunities on site.'

Mowlem, the developers, argue that there will be 350 jobs on the site at the start of operations, and that another 150 jobs will be generated in cargo-handling and related firms like catering.

The majority of jobs will be low-paid, low-skill jobs; the small number of pilots will not, of course, be employed locally.

The chartered surveyors hired by the LDDC are more honest; they are concerned with the rekindling of 'interest' in a rundown area of docklands — by which they mean property values in the surrounding areas will rise.

Safety is the main concern for local residents. There are many dangers in an urban airport.

There is a school only 60

yards from the terminal, and poor visibility also poses a threat to the many tower blocks — which have a higher density in Newham than anywhere else in Europe.

Airspace over London is operating near its limit, so in the beginning only six flights an hour will be permitted.

One of the consequences of the privatisation of British Airport Authority may be an increase in the 'controlled airspace' — by a reduction of safety standards.

Since the last public enquiry ended, the British Helicopter Authority and aircraft manufacturers Short Bros. of Belfast have both weighed in to support the STOLport, fuelling local anxiety that there will be noisier and more dangerous craft using the airport.

The GLC, Newham Council, the local 'Peoples Plan' team, and a Campaign Against the Airport all voiced opposition to the airport, which forced the government to go through the motions of a long public enquiry.

The airport will stop the kind of development local people want in the area, more houses with gardens, a sports centre and use of the docks for recreation.

Newham Council, although they initially opposed the airport, are now drawing up plans which take into account the noise contours, height restrictions and public safety zones around the flight path.

Traffic noise and congestion will increase, but public transport will not.

## Healyite public meeting collapses

By CRAWLEY WRP

**A VIGOROUS** picket of a rump 'WRP' meeting on the print strike (May 22) in Crawley by members of the Crawley and Croydon branches of the WRP exposed their bogus claim to be 'The Workers Revolutionary Party'.

The meeting was to have been addressed by Corin Redgrave, a 'Young Socialist' speaker and SOGAT members from Biggin Hill.

The rump have made no attempt to join in the activities of the Crawley Print Support Group. It was clear

that the SOGAT delegation were led to believe that they were to address a YS (or LPYS) meeting.

Before the meeting, there was a lively discussion with the stewards (there was no one else for them to talk to).

Two youth, Karl Stewart and John O'Mahoney, denied that Healy's sexual abuses ever took place, to be contradicted by one Graham Fenwick who told a WRP comrade (a grandfather) that Healy 'only coerced the girls'. He then asked if the comrade was 'impotent'.

The disorientated O'Mahoney also pointed out WRP CC member Joe Kearney

and said 'don't touch him, he's got AIDS'.

A disabled WRP comrade, an AEU branch secretary, insisted on being allowed into the meeting and was threatened by Graham Fenwick with being 'put out'.

Fenwick indicated that he would treat WRP members as 'fascists'. (He was dissuaded by O'Mahoney).

Karl Stewart denied the charges against Healy. When challenged on a recent News Line 'satirical' attack on Phil Penn he said he agreed wholeheartedly with this degenerate piece, as did Fenwick.

The SOGAT delegation (Bill Penfold, Len Hall and others) refused to speak but held a lively discussion with WRP members on the need for united action on the print dispute.

The only members of the public were an elderly couple (News Line readers) who were interested to hear of the reasons for Healy's expulsion and listened carefully to our reasons for lobbying.

An hour and a half later, Corin Redgrave, who had been hiding in a back room, called in his minions to wind up the tattered shreds of his 'public meeting'.

# US COURTS ETHIOPIA

**US government officials are hinting at a rapprochement with the so-called 'Marxist' regime in Ethiopia.**

With economic crisis and famine rendering the country desperate for aid, ruler Colonel Mengistu Haile Mariam is seen as highly vulnerable to pressure.

'We would like to see an improvement in relations between us and the United States,' Mengistu recently told foreign journalists.

US charge d'affaires in Addis Ababa, James Cheek, compares US-Ethiopian relations now to those with China before Nixon's thaw in the 1970s.

'Ethiopia is the China of Africa, and to write it off is not in the interest of the United States', he says.

At a time when the rest of the world was reacting to Reagan's bombing of Libya, Mengistu did not mention US imperialism in his May 1 speech this year — the first May Day in years that he's left it out.

The Ethiopian rulers had good relations with Libya for a time while both were in conflict with the pro-imperialist Numeiri regime in Sudan.

Since Numeiri was overthrown, things have changed. Libya has reportedly sent Soviet-built planes to help the new Sudanese government against Ethiopian-backed rebels in the south.

In December, the Ethiopian authorities agreed to pay \$7 million compensation to US companies for property nationalized after the 1974 overthrow of Emperor Haile Selassie.

Chester Crocker, Reagan's Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, revealed in a November 13 speech in Washington that since 1984, the US had been trying for 'discreet, serious and substantive talks' with Mengistu's government.

But he claimed: 'We received nothing but obfuscation'.

During Haile Selassie's 1930-74 reign, the United States became an important influence and backer. It continued backing the military regime — the Derg — until 1977, with millions in military aid.

In 1977, there was a sharp about-turn in relations in this part of Africa. The formerly Soviet-aligned Somali government switched to being pro-US and decided it was time to fight the Ethiopians for the disputed Ogaden area.

The Derg, also trying to suppress Eritrean guerrillas, — as it still is — turned to the Soviet Union for aid.

Whatever the capitalist media say, or the Ethiopian rulers claim, Ethiopia is not a socialist country and its leaders are not 'Marxists'.

There has never been a working-class led revolution

there, nor have the peasants had much say in agrarian reform. Independent left-wing parties were crushed. It is the military who rule.

Since 1977, the Soviet Union has provided \$3 billion in military aid, much of which has been spent in trying to bomb the Eritreans into submission, while Ethiopians starve.

Since 1981, with Reagan's authorization, the CIA has pumped in \$500,000 a year to right-wing groups fighting the regime, like the feudal landlord-backed EDU, which has terrorized peasants taking land, and organised pogroms on minorities such as the Falasha.

Israeli intelligence, on good terms with both Haile Selassie and Mengistu, has also had a hand in backing his right-wing opponents at times.

But it does not want to see a pro-Arab independent Eritrea or to lose Ethiopia's strategic value as a check on Sudan.

Some reports suggest Mengistu is encouraging US overtures now because he wants more leverage with the Soviet bureaucracy. They claim Mengistu was shaken by the January civil war in South Yemen, when the Soviet Union sided with opponents of his ally, President Ali Nasser Mohammed.

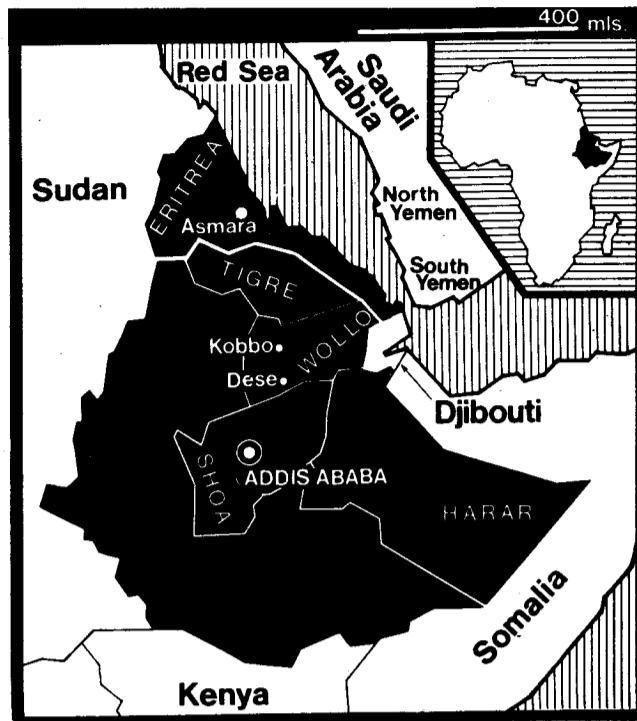
The US imperialists would certainly like to prise Ethiopia away from its Soviet alignment.

Continued Soviet influence in South Yemen and Ethiopia, especially if it was strengthened by a settlement in Eritrea and a possible change in Somalia, could mean imperialism is kept out of the vital Bab el Mandab strait, entrance to the Red Sea.

If Mengistu does move closer towards rapprochement with US imperialism, some of his ministers and officers may oppose this, and get Soviet backing.

But experience elsewhere, from Afghanistan to Grenada, has shown that manoeuvres within ruling cliques are no substitute for genuine revolutions, even for a strategy of defending the Soviet Union.

Nearer to Ethiopia, the way Soviet influence and helpers were thrown out of both Sadat's Egypt in 1973 and Somalia four years later, shows that so-called 'strongman' regimes can be the most fickle allies.



## DIFFERENCE NOT DISCRIMINATION IN NICARAGUA

**The Reagan administration has made much of the differences between the people of eastern Nicaragua and those of the west in its attempts to justify its continued support of Contra attacks.**

A meeting in the Lambeth Town Hall on Tuesday May 20th was addressed by two women from the east coast, one Miskito and one Creole who had a completely different perspective to that presented by Reagan.

The Nicaraguan landmass is bordered on the east by the Atlantic and on the west by the Pacific. The west coast is populated by people of Spanish descent while in the east there are six different ethnic groups with different cultures, different histories, and different languages. Communication between the two coasts has never been very good the meeting was told by Dorotea Wibro and Zoyla Connelly.

The two women are touring England to counter the US claims that the peoples of the Atlantic coast are opposed to the Sandinista Government.

Dorotea Wibro, a representative of the Atlantic coast in the Nicaraguan National Assembly, said that since the July Revolution of 1979 great gains have been made for the Atlantic peoples. Under the Somoza regime the people of the Atlantic suffered discrimination and exploitation, working in mines and in agriculture for multinational companies.

Since the Revolution, Dorotea said, 'We are now able to fight for the historical rights we never had before.'

'Under the dictatorship of Somoza we were very isolated, sometimes food didn't get through. Lots of our people knew nothing about Managua, but now we're trying to build that communication.'

The Sandinista Government has set up an Autonomy Commission, which is responsible for ensuring the cultural backgrounds of each minority group are recognised and their needs are met.

'Autonomy doesn't mean independence from the rest, or separation from the rest, it means that our historical rights are recognised,' Dorotea said, 'We are proud to be Nicaraguan and part of the Nicaraguan Revolution. We have started on the road to freedom and once on that road you cannot turn back.'

She continued: 'It is true that there is some mistrust by the Atlantic peoples of the Spanish sections, but that has nothing to do with the Sandinista, it has a long-standing history.'

'The Revolution was mainly fought in the west and it wasn't until May, June and July of the Triumph in 1979 that most people were even aware of what was happening in the west.'

### Force

'This meant that we had not been through the same experiences of the Revolution but since then the Sandinista have been working with the Atlantic peoples, helping them to benefit from the fruits of the Revolution. At the same time this area has been a main target of the Contra who have raided communities — killing people, burning houses, food, buildings and cars.'

There is only one road across the country which has become very dangerous because of Contra attack, and so attempts to involve the Atlantic people in the rebuilding of Nicaragua and providing essential materials are hindered constantly by the war.

Dorotea said, 'We have accomplished great things since the Revolution but the constant need to defend our

country against Contras has prevented us doing more.'

Before the Revolution the Atlantic peoples had no political leaders and no political representation, now they have both. The Autonomy Commission liaises with the Government to develop these communities.

It has bi-lingual language programmes, to help overcome the difficulties caused by so many languages being spoken in the region. It has a health program — before the Revolution many people suffered from tuberculosis and silicosis from the mines. These diseases are gradually being combatted. The Commission also deals with birth control, and encourages political decision about social organization.

However the terror that has been caused by the Contra has made progress slow. Many villagers have been afraid to cooperate with the Sandinista, knowing that the Contra's are hiding in the jungle watching and that their revenge will be savage.

The US blockade has also caused grave difficulties. Shortages of materials for building programmes, paper and pencils for the bi-lingual program and medical supplies are all very severe. The blockade has also made communication with the west difficult. 'We have two planes which can make the 620 Kilometres between the two coasts much shorter, but they cannot fly at the moment because they both need new parts which we cannot get from America.'

The women said that they believed that Reagan was set on destroying Nicaragua, that he was afraid that the success of their revolution would spread to other countries. They said that the only hope for peace in Nicaragua must come from international solidarity, both in the form of political opposition to Reagan and material support for Nicaragua.



A meeting in Lambeth Town Hall which made it clear that the Contra in Nicaragua are not defending the miskito or any other of the East Nicaraguan people.

**JOIN THE WORKERS REVOLUTIONARY PARTY**

FILL IN THIS FORM AND POST TO:  
The General Secretary  
21B Old Town, Clapham  
London SW4 0JT

NAME \_\_\_\_\_

ADDRESS \_\_\_\_\_

TRADE UNION \_\_\_\_\_ AGE \_\_\_\_\_

DATE SENT \_\_\_\_\_

## WORLD NEWS

## BOTHAS'S PETARD

South Africa's whites will have to face reality and accept Black majority rule, one of the country's leading newspaper editors said last week.

'Cape Times' editor Anthony Heard, who has been charged with infringing South African security laws for publishing an interview with outlawed African National Congress leader Oliver Tambo, said:

'It will not be easy for many whites to settle down to what is their inevitable destiny in a multi-racial country where the country is three-quarters black.

'But it is time that they looked to the advantages of accepting reality.'

Heard was addressing the International Federation of Newspaper Publishers' meeting in Lisbon, Portugal, where he received their Golden Pen of Freedom award for 1986.

Back home his case is still being heard under the security laws, and he faces a possible three year jail sentence.

Just how hard some white South Africans find it to face reality, let alone the inevitable, was shown last week when neo-Nazis of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (Afrikaner Resistance Movement), AWB, stole the platform — and media headlines, at a ruling National Party rally where Foreign Minister R F Botha had been due to speak.

WORLD WIDE media attention focussed last week on the break-up of a meeting in Pietersburg, North Transvaal by the overtly fascist Afrikaner Resistance Movement which was due to be addressed by Foreign Minister R F Botha of the ruling National Party.

In this Workers Press feature, CHARLIE POTTINS examines the background to this event and assesses its importance in the rapidly escalating crisis of the Botha regime.

Fights broke out, and police eventually used tear gas to clear the hall in Pietersburg, north Transvaal.

The white extremists, who had invaded 100-strong, accuse the regime of selling-out by its attempts to deodorise Apartheid for world opinion.

A government minister later accused the police of conniving with the neo-Nazis.

Manpower Minister Pietie du Plessis said police in Pietersburg were either 'not capable, or did not want, to maintain law and order.'

State-run radio reported that 'Law and order' minister Louis Le Grange, who had ordered an investigation of the Pietersburg melee, was cancelling a meeting he was due to speak at in north Transvaal.

Police later denied this, and said they were investigating the false report.

While Le Grange and other National Party leaders were deploring the 'thuggery' of fellow-racists, opponents of the racist regime could not miss the irony.

South African President P W Botha, like predecessors Verwoerd and Vorster, was

a notorious pro-Nazi during World War II.

He rose to office with just the same racist demagoguery as the AWB now stands for.

The Durban 'Sunday Tribune' reminded readers last weekend that Botha was known during the 1940s, when the National Party was fighting for power, 'as a dab hand at breaking up rival political meetings.'

'The poetic justice of it all affords one some malicious satisfaction,' the paper added.

Pro-government papers were lamenting the damage done to white South Africa's 'civilised' image (another case of self-delusion!).

The 'Sunday Times' saw white violence in Pietersburg and the fighting in Black townships as a 'two-flanked attack on reason.'

Although the racist regime has created its own 'Frankenstein' monster now rampaging beneath the swastika-like flag of the AWB, its importance should not be over-rated.

It may suit apologists for the regime, and particularly the Tory media in Britain, to build-up the 'white backlash'

picture, so they can sell Botha's regime as 'not so bad', and say it's standing up to 'extremists' on both sides.

In reality, the white neo-Nazis' have no chance of replacing the crisis-hit Apartheid state with their whiter-than-white utopia.

Their fuhrer Eugene Terr' Blanche says he wants a 'fatherland' for his 'volk'. (Guardian interview May 24).

But he says later 'I am not asking for a 'homeland' for whites — that has strange connotations'.

'Homelands' in South Africa mean of course the Bantustans set up for Black people by the white racists, on land they don't want, as reservations and dumping grounds for black labour they're not currently exploiting.

Obviously, Terr' Blanche does not want that for whites! Like his supporters, he knows white South Africa's prosperity rests on black workers' blood, sweat and tears, and his only difference with Botha is how best to keep it that way.

Terr' Blanche's Nazis show one side of white South Africa's desperation. There are others.

Increasing numbers of white youth are resisting conscription in the racists' army, and South Africa's armed forces chief has expressed concern that 'police duties' in the townships are ruining his men's morale.

Large numbers of whites have begun attending meetings of the opposition United Democratic Front, and there



South Africa's Apartheid premiere

was a motorcade into a black area to solidarise with black people's struggle.

South Africa — or Azania's — future is going to be decided by its masses, that is primarily by the Black workers and farmers, — and those workers include the 'Coloured', Indians and Malays who are in the struggle — with the youth in the vanguard.

If white South Africans want any part in that future they must take part in what

ever way they can in the struggle now to smash the racist regime, and establish democracy and equality in a Socialist Azania.

The only thing the racists can decide is how prolonged or bloody they want their agony to be.

For those who vainly try to maintain the status quo and their comforts, we can have no more sympathy than for any other ruling class that has finally had its day.

## THIRTY FACE BAGHDAD ROPE

EGYPTIAN Foreign Minister Esmat Abdel Maguid is flying to Baghdad to try and persuade the Iraqi government not to execute thirty Egyptian workers for passport offences.

Maguid said his ministry was making urgent contacts with Iraqi officials to stop the executions. Ministry sources said four Egyptians had been hanged in Baghdad earlier this month for similar offences.

Iraq's Ba'athist rulers, the so-called Revolutionary Command Council, recently made the forging of passports or

other official documents 'for financial benefit' an offence punishable by hanging.

Iraqi television recently showed a group of Egyptian workers accused of forging documents so they could send home more earnings than they were legally entitled to their families.

Egypt has been a staunch supporter of the Iraqi government in its war with Iran.

Many workers and professionals leave Egypt's poverty to work in richer Arab oil-producing countries. There are about one million Egyptian workers in Iraq.

## TAMILS PICKET SRI LANKAN DIPLOMATS



SUPPORTERS of the Elam Solidarity Campaign picketed the Sri Lankan High Commission in London on Tuesday.

The picket was held to protest against the recent Sri Lankan governments military attacks on the Jaffna peninsula. The government forces seeking to exploit recent splits between the guerilla forces launched ground and air attacks

on the peninsula, including air strikes against civilian targets in the hospitals.

The government forces met fierce resistance from the Tamil people, who are fighting for a separate Tamil state, but they have failed in their objective of reasserting government control on the peninsula.

IRISH WOMEN PRISONERS ARE STRIP-SEARCHED IN BRITISH JAILS

PLASTIC BULLETS ARE SHOT IN TO CROWDS IN THE NORTH OF IRELAND

THE ANGLO-IRISH AGREEMENT SOLVES NOTHING: IT MEANS MORE ARMED REPRESSION

British workers must take a stand on Ireland

COME TO A

## LABOUR MOVEMENT CONFERENCE ON IRELAND

Saturday June 28th, 10:30 am - 5:00 pm

City Halls, Candleriggs, Glasgow

Speakers invited include: a Sinn Fein representative, a prisoners' relative, an Irish trades unionist, and from the EIS and NUM (in a personal capacity)

Workshops on: 'Irish prisoners', 'Repressive Legislation in Ireland and Britain', 'The Anglo Irish Agreement', 'Withdrawal of Troops', 'The Struggle Continues', 1969-86', and 'The Campaign Against Strip Searching'

A motion will be proposed for the formation of a 'West of Scotland Campaign for a United Ireland'

Creche Available

## UNCLE SAM SHACKLES STUDENTS

ANYONE conned by the Tory idea of student loans to replace grants ought to take a look at what's been happening in the USA.

An increasing number of American students are worried stiff — not just about exams, or even whether they'll get a job, but about whether the job will pay enough to cover their education.

The students are up to their ears in debt, as college fees have soared. In 1975, the average debt among students borrowing for college was \$2,100. Now it's nearer \$8,000.

There has been a shift from social science and arts subjects to more lucrative degrees like business and engineering.

A report from the Carnegie Foundation says this 'has been attributed to a 'new generation' more preoccupied with self than with fellow man.

But this may simply reflect the students' concern about indebtedness and a hard-recognition that the job market is changing.'

Since the 1970s, tuition fees have risen faster than inflation. Many colleges have tended to make loans rather than scholarships, and federal government loan programmes have expanded.

'The high cost of college makes it necessary for students to depend increasingly on outside support, including loans, and there is some evidence that those

with sizeable debts tend to concentrate in fields where they can expect high starting salaries', the report says.

Top graduates from the most prestigious business and law schools can start jobs with \$40,000 a year. Starting salaries for qualified engineers may approach \$30,000. Down the lower end of the scale, a teacher's average starting pay in 1984 was \$15,460.

Last year, a study by the American Council of Education calculated that a student graduating with roughly \$8,000 federal loan debt, repayable at 8 per cent, would owe \$1,192 a year over 10 years.

This would amount to 11 per cent of a beginning en-

gineer's discretionary income, 21 per cent of a beginning nurse's discretionary income, 26 per cent of a beginning social worker's, and 33 per cent of a beginning teacher's.

The Carnegie survey found only a third of students aiming for engineering or computer science jobs said these were the fields that really interested them most.

'With students currently taking on \$7,000 to \$10,000 in loans during their college years, it is not surprising that the percentage of students who say they "worry a great deal" about job prospects after graduation rose from 13 per cent in 1975 to nearly 20 per cent in 1984', the report says.

# COMMENT

by Charlie Walsh

## KINNOCK SHOWS HIS TRUE IMPERIALIST COLOURS

'YOU ARE entitled, of course, to your views. So am I. I must tell you, therefore, that since Brendan McFarlane and Gerard Kelly were convicted for the most serious of offences in the course of the IRA's war on innocent people and, since they are both fugitives following the mass break out from the Maze Prison, there is every good reason for seeking and securing their extradition from Holland.'

So wrote Neil Kinnock, leader of the Labour Party, in a letter to Ken Livingstone, condemning him for remarks which Livingstone made at an anti-imperialist conference in Amsterdam, Holland, two weeks ago.

Livingstone said at the conference that the Netherlands should not extradite the two Republicans back to Britain because they were political refugees from a war with British imperialism.

'They should,' Livingstone said, 'be treated in the same way as Jewish refugees from the Nazis were treated and be given political asylum, or in the same way as Russian dissidents are given political asylum by Western Governments today.'

'If Holland wants to defend its liberal reputation it should not want to be seen propping up Mrs Thatcher's regime in Northern Ireland — the two men should be treated in exactly the same way as Switzerland treated British soldiers who managed to flee from Nazi detention camps during World War Two.'

In contrast to Kinnock it must be said that Livingstone acknowledges the political nature of the struggle in Ireland and sees British withdrawal from Ireland as part of the solution.

Kinnock also said that he saw a very clear distinction between liberation fighters, who resorted to arms when there was no other means of resisting oppression, and terrorists who used violence to pursue causes when other means of making their case were available.

Showing how he views the situation in British-occupied Ireland, Kinnock went on:

'Neither the Provisional IRA or other terrorist groups on either side of the sectarian divide in Ireland are freedom fighters. They are fighters against freedom and must be dealt with on that basis.'

Like all previous Labour Prime Ministers, Kinnock as Prime Minister would maintain the status quo in Ireland.

He would enforce the role of British imperialism although, like all the pro-imperialists in the Labour Party, he will not admit Labour's complicity in the continued partition and occupation of the country.

He sees the problem as relating to two belligerent communities who cannot or will not live peacefully together and therefore — British imperialism must intervene and keep the peace.

Kinnock and his ilk, helped by the capitalist press, lie about the Irish history to hoodwink the British working class into accepting their version of events.

In fact, responsibility for the conflict lies at the feet of British imperialism.

While it continues to try to subdue any part of Ireland and its people, so the struggle to drive out imperialism will continue. This Kinnock cannot accept.

Thousands among the Irish community travelling in and out of Britain have been treated in a racist manner under the Prevention of Terrorism Act.

They have had their rights trampled on and their voices silenced on the raising of political questions relating to Ireland and the British presence.

The PTA was brought in by a Labour Government in November 1974, after an anti-Irish hysteria campaign in the Press following the Birmingham bombings.

It has been renewed every year since its inception.

Even in opposition, many members of the Labour Party have voted to keep the act on the statute book.

The record of previous Labour governments on Ireland are a shocking litany of repression authorised by Wilson, Callaghan, Rees, Mason and Concannon — and their 'colleagues' in the cabinet.

Don Concannon plumbed the depths of indecency when, in 1981, he was sent to Ireland to convey to the Republican movement, to the Nationalist community, to Bobby Sands and the other hunger strikers that he supported Thatcher's policy of refusing to give in to the demands of the hunger strikers.

This was just two days before Bobby Sands died. Concannon was speaking for the entire Labour leadership.

What is inferred in Kinnock's letter to Livingstone is that he will continue to carry out these same imperialist policies and will adopt the same imperial arrogance towards Ireland and the Irish people.

In other words a Labour Prime Minister will be no different in his or her attitude towards the problems created by imperialism than his or her Tory counterpart.

The bi-partisan policy on Ireland will remain.

Remembering the previous Labour record on Ireland it seems likely a future Labour Government, like true servants, will be more loyal to their imperialist masters than would a Tory Government.

Socialists in the Labour Party who believe in withdrawal from Ireland: You have been warned!

If the present line of Kinnock is not changed, they will lose the Irish vote.

There is much discussion at the moment about the Workers Revolutionary Party's attitude to any future Labour Government.

There is every reason for attacking a future Labour Government if it continues the pro-imperialist policy of previous Labour Governments and especially if it adopts the policy as put forward by Kinnock.

Irish people who will be voting in the next general election, along with those in the Labour Party who are concerned with party policy on Ireland, should prepare to put pressure on their Labour candidates, but especially on the shadow cabinet of Kinnock and Hattersley.

# PRINT FIGHT ON

## 'Jobs and unionisation — not compensation' says Fleet Street Support Unit leader

Sacked 'Sunday Times' printworker Larry Hyett, of the London machine branch of SOGAT and the Fleet Street Support Unit, spoke to 'Workers Press':

What do you think about the £50m offer from Murdoch?

The reason we came out was for jobs and unionisation at Wapping — not compensation.

A lot of people feel that compensation was against the principles that we came out for.

Compensation was not the issue and for the leadership to put it to a ballot without recommendation is abdicating their responsibilities.

As far as we — the strikers — are concerned, if they are prepared to make a gap between those on strike and

those allegedly leading then the gap has got to be filled.

Whether that gap be filled by the London district council or the strikers themselves only time will tell.

As far as the deal goes for me personally it is a totally unacceptable offer.

It's the sell-out that we have been predicting for some time through our leaflets in the Print Support Units and the Fleet Street Support Unit. It is not an unexpected outcome at the moment.

This issue of ballots has come up before in the min-

ers' strike. What do you think of them?

As far as I am concerned ballots are another curse that the TUC advocated.

If you are a trade union member, we have always built our traditions on a show of hands at mass meetings — and that's the only ballot we require.

We would abide by majority decisions taken in that way.

Secret ballots I have no confidence in as you cannot argue the facts with people that you cannot identify.

That is the advantage to the show of hands. The secret ballot is a governor's answer to militancy.

Is there a strong feeling to

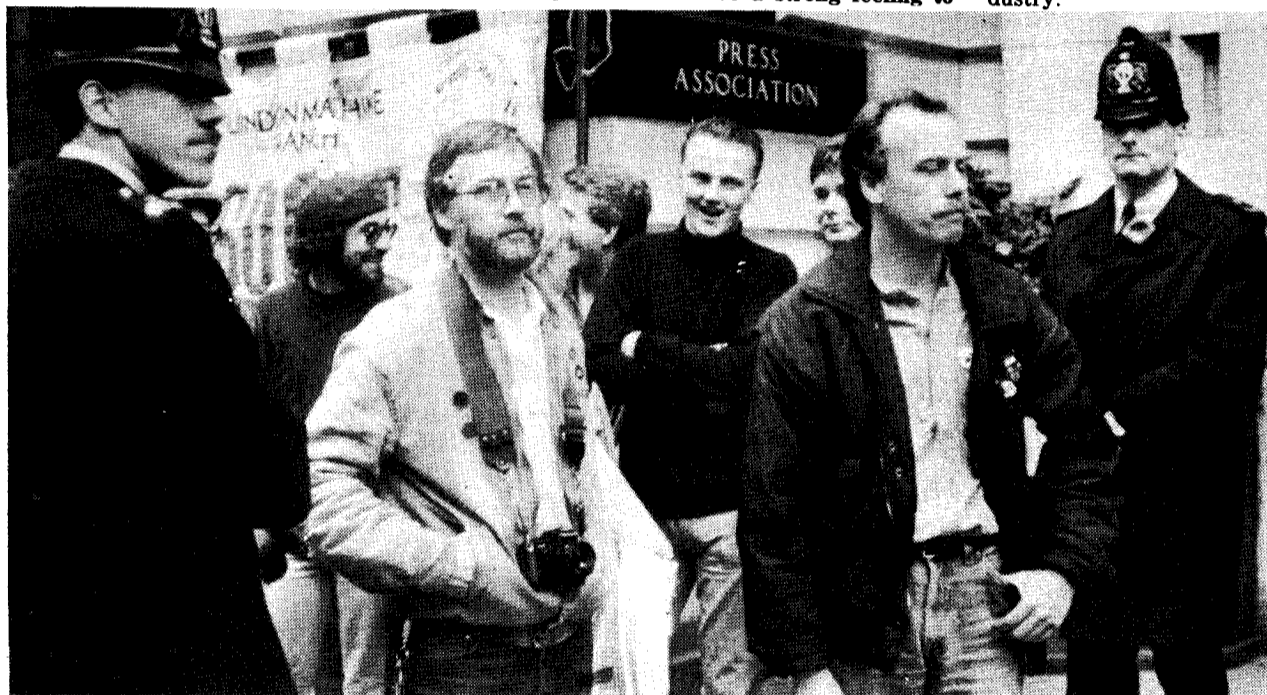
carry on the dispute and picketing?

We shall certainly be considering the dispute through the Fleet Street Support Unit.

When we set up the Fleet Street Support Unit, made up of rank and file strikers and printworkers throughout the industry, including commercial printers, we said that we would be a vehicle for rank and file printers.

It will pursue industrial disputes, whether that be with the leadership or not, regardless if it was the Murdoch dispute, Express or Telegraph.

It will be an ongoing rank and file movement — hopefully nationally for our industry.



Alan Clarke (left) and Larry Hyett (right) of the Fleet Street Support Unit, outside the Press Association last week

# SUPPORT GROUPS CRUCIAL ROLE

## — National Group Secretary Steve Masterson

What is the Union of Printworkers Support Groups?

Lambeth and Camden Printworkers Support Groups, which were among the first to get organised when the dispute began, called a London meeting of support groups.

Delegates came from Leicester, Coventry, Portsmouth and Reading as well as the London boroughs. It was a national body from the first meeting.

Our second meeting, of over 70 delegates, laid the political basis of the UPSG.

Rank and file printworkers involved in support groups wanted the groups to define clearly their position in support of the militant sacked printworkers as opposed to the official leadership.

This support was readily forthcoming. That meeting elected the UPSG officers.

Besides producing leaflets arguing our position of escalating the action and 'Fleet

An interview with Steve Masterson, Secretary of the National Union of Printworkers Support Groups.

Street Out', we have produced badges and meet regularly to hear report-backs from the groups.

Without question our central activity is picketing at Wapping.

Have you formed links with the miners support groups?

Most print support groups were formed on the backs of the old miners' support groups.

What we've managed to achieve with the UPSG is to change the whole concept of what support groups are about.

We have made them much more political with the concentration on direct action, ie, picketing, rather than collecting money and beans.

The UPSG position in support of rank and file printworkers against the leadership has forced political fights in every support

group.

This has brought the central question before all those supporting the print fight and amongst printworkers themselves — Who is going to lead the fight? Who wants to win? How do we win?

The question of leadership comes to the fore and, for Marxists, excellent conditions are created for our intervention.

WRP members, along with Workers Power, are the two groups most involved in the opposition to Dean and Dubbins, in and out of Fleet Street, in the UPSG and the rank and file printworkers body, the Fleet Street Support Unit.

How do you see the present situation?

We've just heard of the '£50 million final offer' without the jobs back or union recognition at Wapping. It is a

disgrace that the leaders don't reject this offer out of hand.

Their statements of having a secret ballot stating categorically that 'this is Murdoch's last offer', really means, 'we agree to losing basic rights of jobs and union recognition.'

Willis is equally disgusting as he, along with Kinnock, want their labour movement paper, off the backs of sacked printworkers.

Last week, Dean got a stormy reception from a mass meeting of sacked printworkers. There is much criticism of the leadership role from the rank and file printers.

The key question is whether the rank and file Fleet Street Unit can effectively build itself in time to stop the sell-out.

The support groups can only be effective on the strength of the rank and file printworkers themselves.



# RAZOR'S EDGE

# WORKERS PRESS INTERVIEWS

# MOBILISE AGAINST SELL-OUT

By ALAN CLARKE

THE 'LAST offer' being put forward by Rupert Murdoch's News International must be rejected by the sacked printers.

It is not absolutely certain, as the Sogat leadership says, that the ballot result will be in favour of accepting the deal of £50 million redundancy money plus the whole of the Gray's Inn Road buildings.

The sacked printworkers are extremely angry at the union leadership for even talking to Murdoch about this deal.

This was shown last week at the Central Halls, Westminster, when nearly 3,000 Sogat printworkers booed and stamped their feet at nearly every word that Brenda Dean spoke.

This dispute has never been about how much money can be wrangled from Murdoch or how many feet of building capacity can be wrung from him.

The printers have seen it only as one of union recognition, the right to belong to a union, the right to organise themselves and take action whenever necessary.

This deal, if accepted, will have very serious repercussions throughout the rest of Fleet Street and eventually throughout the trade union movement.

It is ironic that the only time Norman Willis puts his head round the door is when a dirty deal is being set up.

When it comes to leading the troops into battle against the Tory anti-union laws and the most hated government this country has ever seen, he prefers to hide and wait around for his knighthood just like Murray before him.

The question has to be faced, not just by printworkers but by the rest of the trade union movement and working class generally, that the crisis of leadership is the only thing holding the working class back today.

Brenda Dean arrogantly says that she will not be recommending a vote for or against the offer, showing her inability to lead this fight.

It leaves sacked printworkers to be influenced by family pressures, the rest of the news media and the lack of leadership.

About 100 rank and file printworkers, many of them sacked by Murdoch, others from the rest of Fleet Street, who have been organising and campaigning against any possible sell-out deal made their presence felt on Wednesday when they picketed the Press Association building in Fleet Street.

Larry Hyett, member of Sogat 82, one of the organisers of the picket and chairman of the Union of Printworkers' Support Groups, said the picket was called because the Press Association were sending scab copy to Rupert Murdoch's plant at Wapping.

It was to show the union leadership that the rank file printworkers will not be giving up this dispute against Murdoch.



An impromptu printworkers' march up Fleet St and down Bouverie Street took place last Wednesday.

He also had scathing words for Brenda Dean for not recommending for or against on the ballot paper.

He said 'it just typifies the leadership's position. They

have done nothing and said nothing all the way through this dispute.

The strike will continue regardless of the vote. The ballot is academic, those printworkers who are fight-

ing against Murdoch still want the dispute to continue.

'How can a deal be struck that gives no jobs in Wapping except for scabs and gives no recognition of trade unions?'

'It gives Murdoch all he ever wanted and that is a non-unionised newspaper printing plant which will then give the green light to the rest of Fleet Street to do the same.'

## Fleet Street Support Unit issues statement

A STATEMENT handed out by the Fleet Street Support Unit last Wednesday said:

Concerning the 'so-called' deal between the TUC print leadership and Murdoch, we call upon all News International strikers to vote against the proposals.

These proposals do nothing to further the cause of trade unions but only bring about the destruction of the print unions.

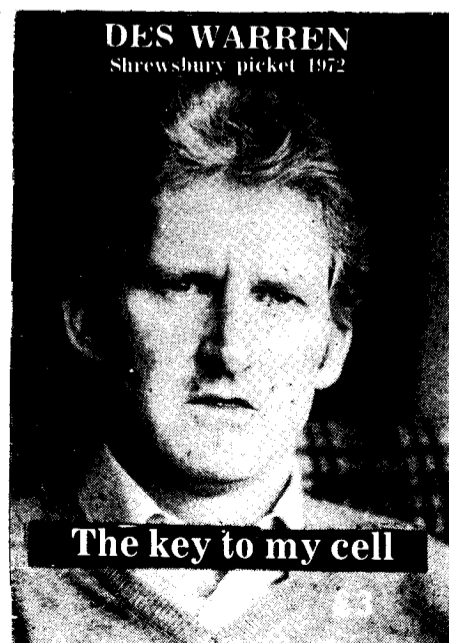
### Demands

We therefore call upon all trade unionists to join us in our struggle at the Wapping picket line. Our demands are:

- Regular mass meetings to place demands on leadership.
- The right to elect a strike committee that is accountable to strikers.
- That we build and organise mass pickets with a direct appeal to the trade union movement.
- The leadership reaf-

firm that we want jobs not compensation.

● Traditional printing unions in Wapping.



DES WARREN  
Shrewsbury picket 1972

The key to my cell

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Last week's Wapping picket saw this banner from SOGAT chapels in the Wales area

# FREE THE GUILDFORD

## Part 3: Solicitor Alistair Logan takes the case



Alistair Logan began by believing in the fairness of the British legal system. Now he says 'It is not the case'.

Four innocent people have been imprisoned for the last twelve years after being framed for bombings they did not do. They were given the longest sentences ever handed out by a British court.

Now a campaign has been launched to free the Guildford Four. In the third of a series of articles on the case, Workers Press presents an edited version of the speech made at the meeting to launch the campaign on May 15 by ALISTAIR LOGAN, the Guildford solicitor who represented one of them.

IT STARTED when a telephone call came through to my office in December 1974 saying would I act for the 'Guildford bombers'!

Already they had been labelled at a time when they had not yet even appeared before a court.

I said no because I thought that a bigger firm would be able to cope with a case of this magnitude.

They told me that no solicitor would take a case relating to the 'Guildford Bombers'. I therefore took the case and I got Patrick Armstrong.

As a solicitor, I believed essentially in the fairness of the British legal system.

I felt that there were checks and balances which would ensure miscarriages of justice did not occur. I supposed if they did occur, they could be righted.

That is not the case. The difficulty in this particular case is trying to right one of the most monumental wrongs ever inflicted by the British legal system.

I went down to Guildford police station at about eleven o'clock in the morning.

The hostility in the place was like a wall. I knew these police officers as I had been working in Guildford for some time, but we were in a whole different ball game.

They took me into a room and showed me a young man of 23, who was so frightened that he could not sit still, who had bruises on his face and who could hardly speak.

They said this was Patrick Armstrong. He had a broad Belfast accent and I confess I could not understand two words out of every three that he spoke.

He told me who he was and where his mother lived and that was about it.

As I was walking down the corridor the detective sergeant escorting me said:

'I think that you will want to use the facilities; the man's got scabies and you've shaken hands with him twice.'

Then I noticed that he was wearing clear plastic gloves.

If you want to prejudice somebody, that's a bloody good way of doing it.

First you say he's infected. He also happens to be Irish, which is another way of prejudicing, and then finally you add to that the offences, five counts of murder, two counts of conspiracy.

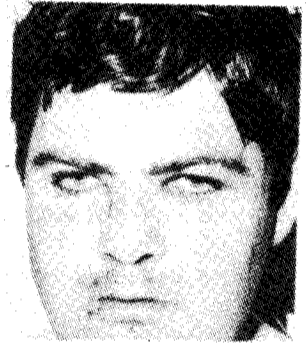
Now, here we get into total mendacity. If you want to achieve something, lie.

When Annie Maguire was charged with five counts of murder, they said they had evidence against her.

They had nothing, not a single thing. She was charged on December 11, 1974, but in February of 1975, the Director of Public Prosecutions had to drop the charges against her, because there was no evidence.

That woman had been held on five murder counts with no evidence.

With her were John McGuinness, and Brian Anderson. Both had been held on no evidence. The



Brendan Dowd: Two and a quarter years in solitary confinement

the police were concerned. The pressure upon them was enormous.

There was not a shred of forensic evidence, no identification evidence, and no visual evidence to connect them with it.

There was nothing except the statements that they themselves had made.

Those statements were taken in police stations in the atmosphere which I have already described to you, with people who were very young — in the case of Carol Richardson under the age of 18.

They were taken without the benefit of legal advice and by a police force that had tremendous pressure upon it.

At the end of the day that was the only evidence upon which these people were tried.

These were statements given by frightened people.

People who testified in court that they had been brutalised, deprived of sleep and abused, that they had been terrified, that they had been threatened with physical injury or death, they had had their families threatened.

The statements were inconsistent. A said something, B said something, C said something and D said something and none of them agreed with each other!

How did the prosecution come to explain this away?

For the prosecution, Sir Michael Havers, distinguished Attorney General, said to the jury:

'Members of the jury, this is a cunning and skilful plot by members of the IRA. These people have been trained in counter-interrogation techniques.

'They tell a lot of lies and one or two grains of truth.'

Sir Michael Havers, endowed no doubt with divine inspiration, was able to find the grains of truth.

He was able to say to the jury 'If you take that sentence from that statement,

### Victims

These people were not randomly picked up, they were picked up for a reason.

An intelligence officer in Northern Ireland had seen a photograph published by the police in the aftermath of the Guildford bombing and had said that it was Paul Hill wearing a wig.

In fact, that Identikit picture was one of the victims killed in the explosion.

So the Surrey Constabulary published two photo-fit pictures of girls they wished to interview in connection with this offence, one of whom was killed in it and the other who was in intensive care.

Later the police said an enterprising journalist stole those photographs and published them.

charges had to be dropped against them.

We don't start out with the Guildford Four — we start out with seven.

For good measure there was a man called Sean Mullin who was charged with conspiracy to cause explosions. No evidence against him either and ultimately the charges are dropped.

It was not a question of whether these people did it, but whether they could prove that someone did it.

In 1974 there had been a large number of explosions, unsolved 'crimes' so far as

### 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 Love Lane, 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, Leicester Rd, 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 in the case of Carole Richardson, indefinite detention.



The Balcombe Street Four: Hugh Dogherty, Martin O'Connell, Edward Butler and Harry Duggan.

# FOUR!



Patrick Armstrong



Carole Richardson



Paul Hill



Gerard Conlon

and that sentence from that statement, and that sentence from that statement, and you put it all together and disregard the remainder of the stuff, they had done it.'

That had one reason — the police knew a certain amount about how that bombing had been carried out.

They knew what the bomb contained, roughly. They knew where it had been placed, nearly exactly. And they knew what the consequences were.

So they had to get the little bits that fitted into their picture and then say to the jury these people are guilty.

The jury, in 1974, asked themselves why on earth somebody would admit to doing something as heinous as this if they hadn't actually done it.

The explanation, in the defendants' words, was: 'We were so frightened we would have confessed to anything.'

Confessions taken from frightened people don't follow a nice neat pattern, they ramble. Things become twisted and that makes it complicated for the prosecution.

It would have been much easier of course if they had just written the statements for them and simply said 'sign here'. They have been doing that in Belfast for years.

## Searched

So these young people were put up before a judge and jury, at the Old Bailey, with the most astonishing publicity, with police officers perhaps for the first time openly carrying arms, and everybody being searched.

If a member of the family, as Paul Hill's family did, went into the public gallery they had to wait, they were quizzed: 'Who are you? — Produce evidence!'

Rough searching, comments, this was the sort of thing they had to face.

Members of the jury were told that if they did not obey the strict rules and regulations they were liable to get shot by the IRA.

You had to have cards issued by the Metropolitan Police to be allowed anywhere near the court.

Everyone was searched — of course not the prosecution barristers, or police officers, they weren't searched.

Certain well known journalists weren't searched but defence lawyers and defence solicitors and members of the family were searched.

It's very difficult to come to an unbiased conclusion in that sort of position.

Sir Michael Havers made absolutely certain the journalists knew what went on in the Guildford case — he gave them the depositions before the trial commenced!

Statements made by people who had not yet given evidence in court were handed out to journalists.

They were not there for the defence or to hear the cross examination.

They did not report the defence. What was important for them was to report what the prosecution said had happened, with all the gory details, just as they have in the current 'Brighton Bombing' case.

Sir Michael Havers' opening speech contained a certain quantity of information which he said he could prove. He never got near

proving a third of it.

A bomb had gone off in a public house in Guildford and an hour later another bomb had gone off in another public house in Guildford. We thought we were talking about an offence.

Then Woolwich came into it so we had another offence. What we did not know was that there was a consistent pattern to this.

And they went down for the longest sentences, courtesy of the Guinness Book of Records, ever handed out by an English court.

● Paul Hill: never to be released except on the grounds of old age and infirmity and, if the judge had his way, not even then.

● Patrick Armstrong: 35 years minimum.

● Gerard Conlon: 30 minimum and Carol Richardson (because she was under the age of 18 at the time of the alleged offence) detained at Her Majesty's pleasure.

Now we come to the truth. Not my truth, the Guildford Four's truth.

I got a message, would I go and see Joseph O'Connell, one of the Balcombe Street Four, who was on remand in Wandsworth prison.

I went thinking that he wanted me to represent him. But he wanted to tell me that he had done the Guildford bombing, with two other men and two girls.

I tried to find somebody independent of the police to obtain statements from them. Eventually I got an ex-Chief Inspector of the Fraud Squad. We took down simultaneous recordings.

We found that: Unlike the Guildford Four, they knew where they had hired their car from.

Unlike the Guildford Four, they knew which car they had driven in.

Unlike the Guildford Four, they could actually drive — but that's only a minor point.

Unlike the Guildford Four, they knew how they had got to Guildford and which car park they had used.

Unlike the Guildford Four, they knew how they could get to the public houses. They had cased the joint beforehand, so they knew which targets they were after.

Unlike the Guildford Four, they knew where they sat.

Unlike the Guildford Four, they knew what the bomb contained, what the detonator was in. They knew the fabric of the bags. They knew where the bombs were placed.

## Witnesses

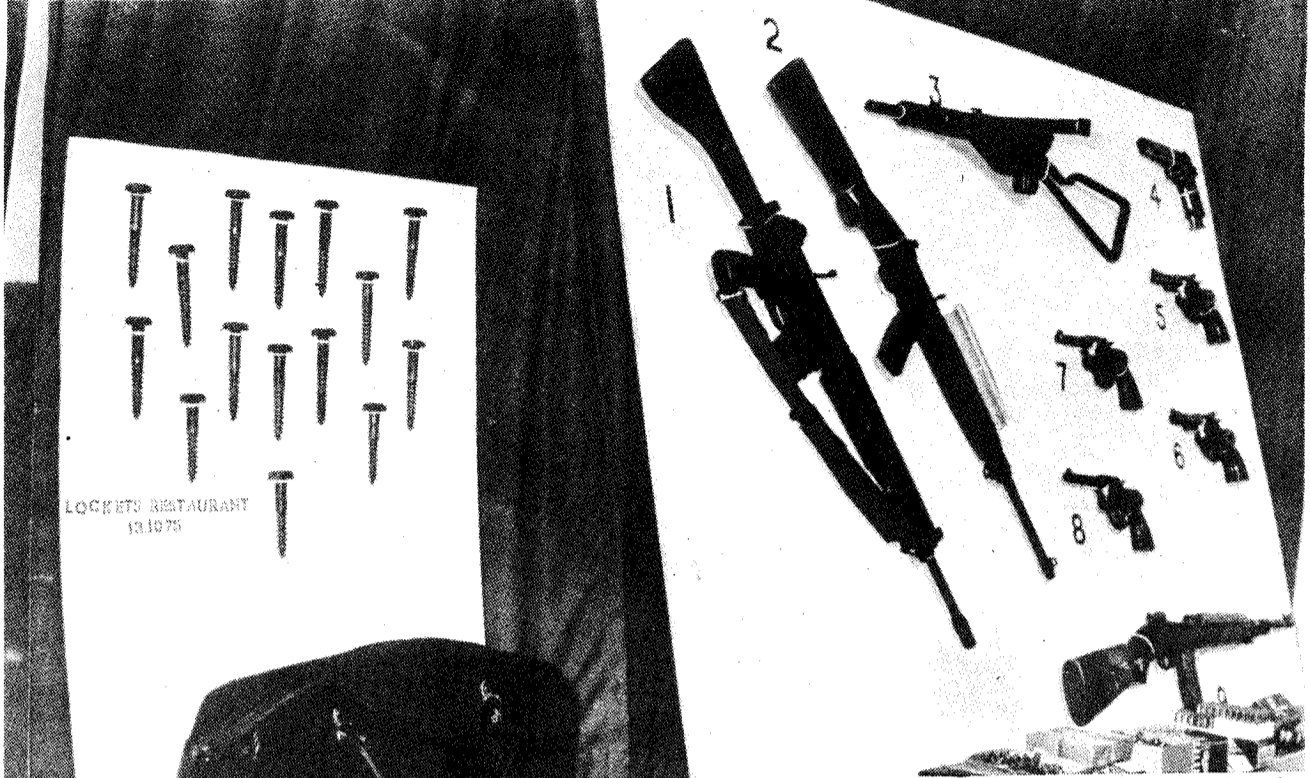
They heard conversations taking place in the pub which were reported by witnesses interviewed by the police within ten days of the bombs going off.

They told the police on their arrest that they had done it. The police said 'Oh, this is serious, we must look into this. Are you prepared to make a statement about it?' But that was the last they ever did.

When examined in the witness box, Commander Neville of the Anti-Terrorist Squad was asked by the defence what he had done when he was told this.

'I reported it to the DPP,' (Director of Public Prosecutions) he said.

The Guildford bombing was part of a consistent campaign carried out by what



Professional weaponry displayed by the Police, said to be that of the Balcombe Street ASU. No weapons were ever found on the Guildford Four

became known as the Balcombe Street Active Service Unit.

They were the most successful ASU ever to operate on this side of the water: three kidnappings, nine shootings, 32 bombings and twelve and a quarter million pounds worth of damage.

They had a *modus operandi*. They made their bombs up in the same way, they planted their bombs in the same way.

The forensic evidence that linked them to the offences with which they were charged, and there were a hundred of them, was identical to the forensic evidence



Leon Brittan

which the police had got from Guildford and Woolwich. This was withheld.

We interviewed Mr Higgs, senior forensic officer at the Woolwich Arsenal, responsible for investigating explosives and an explosives expert in excess of 33 years.

'I was told to take it out of my statement' he said. Who by? 'Well, it was a police officer.'

Which police officer? 'Well, actually it was that one sitting down there.'

The police officer was a detective sergeant in the Anti-Terrorist Squad.

He had gone down to Higgs and said 'Take out of your statement all the forensic links that show that Guildford is linked with all these other offences and just limit it to Guildford.'

When he came to the Balcombe Street case, no doubt the same officer went back to Higgs and said: 'Take out all the forensic links with Guildford because they are

not charged with Guildford.

'We do not want any confusion here, let us just have the offences they are charged with.'

Instead of being a trial with massive publicity on how they had caught the Balcombe Street people and the offences that they had committed, it turned into a trial of prosecution and prosecution witnesses.

You had Higgs saying 'Yes there are links, I have written statements saying that there are links but I did not think that it was important.'

You had Lidstone, his sidekick, another forensic scientist:

'What are the links between Guildford and the other offences committed by the Balcombe Street ASU?'

## Forensic

'Oh, there were forensic links all right, but they were distanced in time.'

The time gap was nine days! That was his reason for not including these forensic links.

They made detailed statements in relation to the Woolwich Bombing, for which Armstrong and Hill were convicted.

'They said that they went down the day before to bomb that public house and there were not enough soldiers in the pub, so they went back home and went back the next day to do the bombing.'

Lord Justice Lawton in the Guildford appeal was to say that he could not possibly imagine anybody carrying a bomb back having gone down to do a bombing.

If they had the guts to carry it down there, could they not carry it back?

After all it had not got a timing device, it had a fuse, and the fuse had not been lit.

Then Lawton said that Dowd was 'confused.' Brendan Dowd (who was part of the same ASU, but had been arrested before the siege of Balcombe street) had been in solitary confinement for two and a quarter years.

Two and a quarter solid years in solitary confinement!

Your mental processes slow down, even the simplest psychiatrist could tell you that.

But according to the Court

of Appeal, when they came to hear the evidence of the Balcombe Street people, 'Dowd was confused' because he did not respond as readily as the others did.

At the end of the day what did the Appeal Court say in the Guildford case?

They said that O'Connell and Dowd were at Guildford, and that O'Connell, Butler and Duggan were at Woolwich.

If Dowd went to Guildford, Dowd was the man who planted the bomb in the Horse and Groom.

That meant Armstrong could not have planted the bomb, which is what the prosecution said he confessed to. Dowd said that he did not know Armstrong, Richardson, Hill or Conlon and O'Connell said the same.

When it came to Woolwich, all four of them, O'Connell, Dowd, Butler and Duggan said 'We did it' and they described how they did it.

They knew the layout absolutely perfectly. They even knew the poor little guy who was sitting in the gas van brewing up his tea, because they had to put a gunman on him in case he jumped out whilst they were doing the job.

After painstaking research, all those forensic links came to light. In the bins of debris were found small fragments of fabric, which fitted exactly what O'Connell and Dowd had said the bombs were contained in at Guildford, Dowd being in one pub and O'Connell being in the other.

But despite all this we had the spectacle in the Court of Appeal of the prosecution

trying to prove that it was not the Balcombe Street men who did it.

These people are entitled to justice. They were wrongly convicted, they have unending sentences.

Carole Richardson has just been refused parole and will not now be eligible for parole until she has served 20 years in prison.

This political decision was taken by Leon Brittan MP, QC, former Home Secretary, that anybody convicted of an offence of that nature will serve a minimum of twenty years.

## Public

So Carole Richardson is not in jail for any other reason than that is what Leon Brittan wants.

To break this case there has to be public support and public knowledge.

People have to understand what went on to get rid of the phobias when they talk about 'terrorism', and 'Irish people' and 'Belfast', and 'bombs' and all those other things. They have to understand the facts.

These people are innocent, totally innocent even of any thoughts involved in this sort of thing because you can be convicted for that as well.

They should not be in prison and they have already served the equivalent of a 17 year fixed prison sentence.

These people are innocent, they deserve support, they need support, they can not talk for themselves.

Examine the facts and if you make the same judgment I made stand up and be counted.

## IRISH SOCIALIST PRESS

Monthly paper of the Irish Socialist League

Available, price 25p from Irish Socialist Press, PO Box 14, Belfast Or from Paperback Centres, Glasgow, Brixton, Upton Park and Charlotte Street in London

**LETTERS**

The Editorial board of Workers Press welcomes letters on any topic from all our readers. Please address them to The Editor, Workers Press, 21b Old Town, London, SW4 0JT. Pressure on space is acute; some letters have been

waiting for publication for weeks, others have simply not made it.

Please try to keep your letters short — they have much more chance of getting printed.

While we try to print letters as they arrive, we reserve the right to edit letters to give everybody a chance. Where letters have been edited, this will be indicated.

# Palestine and Labour— set the record straight

THE LMCP invite us to join them in ensuring 'that the issue of the Palestinians gets raised and discussed in all areas and all levels of the Labour movement.'

If that's all they want, of course we can agree.

So presumably would the Labour Middle East Committee, Trade Union Friends of Palestine, and others.

If there are differences, such as to justify LMCP's separate existence, these need to be explained. So do the reasons why LMCP broke from the Labour Committee on Palestine (LCP).

As one who was involved in the LCP, I cannot accept the LMCP's version of events any more than I accept their elevation of the fight against 'bourgeois nationalism' and what they call 'the right wing of the PLO' as the criteria of solidarity from socialists in Britain.

Labour's record on internationalism and support for national liberation movements is not a proud one, especially with regard to the Middle East. We need only recall the brutality and torture in Aden during Wilson's government.

For many years, Labour 'lefts' were mostly enthusiastic supporters of Zionism and supported Israeli occupation of the Golan, West Bank and Gaza. Palestinian voices, or those of Israelis to the Left of the Zionist labour establishment, could not get a hearing.

In 1982, following the Lebanon war, there was a significant shift. Both the TUC and the Labour Party conference adopted resolutions opposing Israel and supporting the aims of the PLO.

The issue of the Palestinians had been raised by Norwood Labour Party (i.e. supporters of the LCP) among others.

We need to ask how Labour's NEC was able to get away with ignoring the conference decision immediately afterwards and how the LCP was outmanoeuvred at later conferences so the Palestine issue was dropped from the agenda.

It's no good alluding to the 'strength of the Zionist lobby'. After the Lebanon war, it was near-shattered and it has not really recovered.

The Labour Friends of Israel no longer has MPs like Heffer and Tony Benn. Poale Zion has only a small fraction of its previously claimed membership and is in disarray with its youth section. Leading member Reg Freeson, has been deselected by the Brent East constituency.

If the Palestinian cause has not gained the ground it should have done in the British labour movement, has even suffered setbacks, its supporters here must ask ourselves what we've done wrong.

I joined the Labour Committee on Palestine (LCP) in Autumn, 1982. At the time, I was outside the Workers Revolutionary Party. I had first heard of the LCP from comrades in the Jewish Socialists' Group who were active in the Labour Party.

I wrote to then LCP secretary Andrew Hornung, enquiring about membership. I told him I was not a Labour Party member, having been expelled in the 1964 purge of Young Socialists.

He replied (September 15): 'Yes, we do encourage individual membership and no, it is not restricted to individual members of the Labour Party... I know from what you have written that you could be very valuable to us and perhaps your contacts could also assist us.'

As the LMCP letter says, the WRP has a history of committed support for the Palestinian people. So I considered its presence at the LCP founding conference both legitimate and welcome.

Any illusion that this, and Hornung's invite to me, (he was a supporter of Alan Thornett's grouping) might betoken a united campaign overcoming sectarian feuds was soon dispelled — by Hornung.

His opening address skipped over such matters as the war that had just taken place, the massacres at Sabra and Chatila camps, worldwide reaction and the response in the Labour Party and trade unions to concentrate on what was apparently for him a much bigger issue: the startling revelation that there were people present who were not members of the Labour Party!

## Heroic

There was nevertheless a debate on what policy LCP should campaign on. Myself and Mike Heiser (another JSG comrade and now a Labour councillor in Brent) spoke positively of the PLO and how its heroic struggle, coupled with policy initiatives, had helped stimulate the significant mass peace movement in Israel.

Evidently, some sections of conference were not too pleased with our line and wanted the LCP committed to a more 'Rejectionist' policy, condemning the PLO's relations with Arab regimes and denouncing 'Zionism' in every sentence.

Any mention of the Israeli peace camp was to be rejected out of hand, since they too were 'Zionists'.

As the conference grew stormy and acrimonious, Alf

Filer, a Labour Party member from Brent East (and himself victim of a Zionist witch-hunt) appealed for some unity, reminding everyone what the Palestinian people had been going through and asking: 'What would they say if they could see us now?' He was shouted down by supporters of the 'Rejectionist' line.

In the interest of unity, Filer proposed Hornung and his ally, Tony Greenstein (who was denouncing all and sundry as being soft on Zionism and 'in the pay of Arab reaction') for the steering committee. They refused to stand and led a walk-out of about 50 people.

These are presumably the 'majority of independent forces' referred to in the LMCP letter. So far as I could see, they included mostly supporters of 'Socialist Organiser', who objected to having anything to do with the WRP, some 'Rejectionists', etc.

As for Palestinians, most stayed and a representative of the General Union of Palestinian Students (GUPS), Yusuf, took his place on the new Steering Committee.

A piece evidently inspired by the Greenstein-Hornung group appeared in Alan Rusbridger's 'Guardian' gossip-column a few days later. All their obsessive 'anti-Zionist' stuff was forgotten.

Instead, it was all about alleged membership irregularities, Ted Knight, the WRP, Libyan money etc. The Zionists themselves could not have done better.

According to the LMCP letter, in its attempt to 'strangle' this campaign at birth, the WRP had not only turned up at a conference — which LMCP now invites us to do again — but elected a steering committee 'com-



Livingstone

prised of a majority of WRP members and supporters'.

In fact, the steering committee consisted of GLC leader Ken Livingstone; Cllr. Ted Knight; Cllr. Lesley Hammond; Penny Cole; Alf Filer; Mike Heiser; Hugh Lowe; Ros Young; Chris Khamis; Bernard Gibbons; Rupert Sheldon; (all Labour Party members); Yusuf (Palestinian students); Keiko Shirokawa (a documentary film-maker specialising in Palestinian subjects) and myself (at the time an ex-WRP member, active in the Jewish Socialists' Group.)

Mike Davis, another Labour Party member (and I believe supporter of 'Charist') was also elected, but decided to withdraw.

I don't know how many of these people LMCP reckons as 'WRP members and sup-

porters'. To my knowledge, only one of them was possibly in the WRP. At least two were, on the contrary, supporters of 'Socialist Action' (what used to be the IMG). The history of relations between the WRP and IMG was unlikely to predispose them to be best of friends.

Maybe they were prepared to put support for the Palestinians first. They were strongly attacked by Sean Matgamna's 'Socialist Organiser' for this. Now who's the sectarian?

After the conference, I spoke with some Labour Party members who were remarking the line-up between 'Socialist Organiser' supporters and super-'Rejectionists' like Greenstein.

I suggested that perhaps SO's attitude was to oppose

# Was James P. Cannon a Marxist?

IT IS surprising that no mention has yet been made in the debate on the history of the FI of Mike Banda's 1974 obituary of James P. Cannon. It was reprinted by the WRP in pamphlet form in 1975 from articles in 'Workers Press'.

Since this pamphlet actually represents 'IC orthodoxy' on Cannon, we may well wonder why no critique has yet been made of it by those who consider the American SWP leader a Marxist.

Perhaps it has just been overlooked. If so, now is the time to study it.

It clarifies many elementary confusions that have unnecessarily bedeviled the arguments of Banda's various opponents. It also gives a very concise and useful historical background to those unfamiliar with early American Trotskyism.

Arguably it deviates from '27 Reasons' in only one important respect.

Whereas in 1974 Banda saw the foundation of the IC as marking the start of the regeneration of Trotskyism, today he would characterise the 1953 split as opportunistic and unprincipled, Pabloism fighting Pabloism.

It will be argued by Banda's opponents that there is another difference.

In '27 Reasons', Cannon is

portrayed without redeeming features. By contrast, the 1974 obituary shows him as a pioneer radical and Trotskyist with many strengths, 'personifying some of the finest traits of the American working class', worthy of homage and respect.

But is this relevant? If the purpose of '27 Reasons' is to trace the degeneration of the FI, why should Banda need to enumerate Cannon's strengths?

A list of Stalin's strengths would serve little purpose — except for a Stalinist — in an article on the degeneration of the Comintern.

## List

By a similar token, in an article which seeks to identify the source of the FI's degeneration through an explanation of the contradictions between the revolutionary aims of Trotsky and the centrist limitations of the FI leaders, who would expect to find a list of the SWP's positive achievements except Cannonites?

The '27 Reasons' and the 1974 obituary both show how Cannon remained entrapped in empirical and pragmatist methods due to an 'ingrained indifference to dialectical materialism', an indifference which arose historical-



ly, (see 'In Defence of Marxism', New Park, p57).

Trotsky's fight for a philosophical training of the SWP cadre was as much with the Cannon-led majority as against the Burnham-Shachtman opposition.

He believed that, without a leadership trained in dialectical materialist theory and practice, the SWP would degenerate under the ideological pressure of imperialism.

Banda clearly shows the stages in this degeneration. Methodological differences with Trotsky widened in the 1938-40 period.

With the 1946 American Theses at the heart of the disorientation of the world movement, more and more

principled positions were abandoned between Trotsky's assassination in August 1940 and the Third World Congress of 1951. Cannon's political degeneration begins in the period 1951-53.

Today's accusation that Banda is blaming the whole FI degeneration on Cannon is actually true but in a relative sense. In 1974, he also argued that Cannon must bear the main responsibility.

Cannon's theory of American exceptionalism organisationally accommodated Pabloism until 1953.

Essentially, Pabloism was not fought theoretically. That was not Cannon's fault as an individual. It was a class question.

## Pressure

The abandonment of dialectical materialism expressed the pressure of bourgeois ideology on the American working class historically.

When Banda talks today of Cannon's grotesque limitations and appalling cowardice, these are purely relative statements.

It is simplistic to conceive such judgements as absolute ones which exclude political courage, determination and integrity. Read Banda's pamphlet and you will find many examples of Cannon's

positive qualities.

You will quickly solve also such thorny problems as that of 'Cannon's previous disgusting accommodation to Norman Thomas and the US Socialist Party in 1934-35'. This is not a criticism of Trotsky's entry tactic as Banda's opponents would all have us believe.

It is clarified, for example, on p238 of 'History of American Trotskyism' where Cannon himself explains his adaptation to 'the centrist officialdom of the Socialist Party'. Read all about it in Banda's pamphlet (p22-23).

Also read the analysis of the June 1940 discussion between Trotsky and a delegation of SWP leaders. It is most enlightening.

The discussion reveals not only the dialectical subtlety, concreteness and range of Trotsky's thought, but brings out sharply too Cannon's rude pragmatism and anti-dialectical prejudices' (p27).

Throughout the pamphlet, Banda provides overwhelming evidence from many different periods to support the view that Cannon never considered the Stalinists a legitimate part of the American working class.

On the crucial question of Cannon's position at the Minneapolis Trial of 1941, Banda observes:

'Cannon fought back, but not as a Marxist, rather as a semi-defencist, anti-imperialist radical... Instead of using the trial as a forum to denounce US imperialism and to appeal to the most advanced sections of US workers to pursue a revolutionary defeatist line in relation to US imperialism, Cannon turned the trial into a pedagogical and pedestrian exercise in explaining socialism to backward workers', (p30).

## Legal

This is a lucid answer to those who, like George Novack, maintain that, at the Minneapolis Trial, Cannon did not renounce Trotskyist principles but adopted tactics to defend these principles. It also reflects an essential difference between legal Marxism and Leninism.

There are far too many important observations on James P. Cannon in Mike Banda's pamphlet to be satisfactorily encompassed in this short review.

I have only mentioned three of the more controversial issues in the current debate. That is why all members of the WRP and readers of 'Workers Press' should read and study this obituary without delay.

Paul Thompson

# LETTERS

the WRP whatever it did, and ally with anyone against it.

Alf Filer told me it was actually more complicated. He described a complex internal faction-fight going on within the 'Socialist Organiser' alliance, with Sean Matgamna determined to outmanoeuvre his rivals by forcing a conflict with the WRP and 'Labour Herald' on the Middle East issue.

Where solidarity with the Palestinians fitted into this, I don't know. It must have been very low on their agenda. Maybe some people in LMCP, or perhaps Alan Thornett, can throw light on the episode?

Last year, having got rid of Thornett and others, Matgamna announced that, 'after six years of debate', 'Socialist Organiser' had finally decided to support a 'two-state solution' to the Israel-Palestine conflict.

## Israeli

From denouncing the PLO as too moderate because it has been prepared to enter a dialogue with Israelis and from writing-off the Israeli working class and peace movement as 'all Zionist', SO can now just as arrogantly condemn supporters of a secular, democratic state (in all Palestine) for allegedly denying the 'national rights' of Israeli workers.

Policies may change, but whoever is wrong, it's never Sean Matgamna!

A week after the LCP conference, myself and Mike Heiser were giving a report-back to a JSG meeting about the LCP. It was an open meeting and a couple of Poale Zion supporters had turned up to denounce us.

What did they brandish to back wild accusations? Socialist Organiser's attack on the LCP!

Having intervened in LCP's beginning, the Healy-Mitchell former WRP leadership had no perspective for future work. Possibly they only wanted to build a little 'Potemkin village', a facade to impress backers.

Proposals to set up local groups were dismissed by Knight and Cole, who argued



Palestinian fighters — support must be unconditional

it would be a diversion.

That was a possible risk, but not organising in the localities was a weakness as the Zionists regained ground.

In Bristol, where we might have had potential supporters, Michael Cox (whose wife Valerie runs Labour Friends of Israel) defeated Tony Benn (now regarded by the Zionists as an enemy) for a redrawn constituency.

At Labour conference, Cllr. Knight was outmanoeuvred, not by Zionists, but by supposed 'pro-Palestinian' moderates like George Galloway, into dropping a Norwood resolution.

The Palestine issue was too contentious for supporters of the Kinnock-Hattersley 'dream ticket', so they got it out of the way.

I had a literally striking experience of the LCP's weakness in November 1983. A meeting was organised in Lambeth with anti-Zionist writer Lenni Brenner.

Although there had been a strong Zionist campaign against Brenner wherever he spoke, no arrangements were made for stewarding. A gang of right-wing Zionists broke up the meeting.

Myself and Hugh Lowe,

the only two committee members present, ended the evening in Kings College hospital.

As various elements including Socialist Action supporters drifted away from LCP, it did fall under effective WRP-cum-'Labour Herald' control.

Knight and Cole appeared to have little perspective of what to do, other than a visit by Labour councillors to the West Bank which kept being put off.

It was possible to make a comparison between Israeli ousting of elected mayors in the occupied territories and Tory attacks on local government here.

## Publicity

But Ted Knight and Lesley Hammond were increasingly forced to concentrate on their local government and constituency work and could give less time to the LCP.

As for Ken Livingstone, for all the publicity surrounding his clashes with the Zionists, all he'd lent us was his name and use of a room in County Hall.

I only saw him at one steering committee meeting and then for five minutes



The WRP can claim a principled record of support for the Palestinian cause

before he left for a GLC meeting. Whatever made Ken Livingstone run, it wasn't the LCP.

During all these years, Socialist Organiser campaigned against Labour Herald and the WRP with talk of 'Libyan gold' and accusations of 'anti-semitism'.

There was the episode of the BBC Money Programme and the way Matgamna and the Zionists happily quoted each others' material.

It's all very well to talk about Healy's links with Arab regimes and 'capitulation to bourgeois nationalism' but LMCP members ought to have realised by now that it's possible to make such attacks from a right-wing, chauvinist position, as well as from the Left.

It's also possible for opportunists to hide their evasion of principled support for national movements behind 'left'-sounding phrases about these movements being 'bourgeois' etc.

Our condemnation of Healy and Co.'s record is directed specifically at their mercenary character, their attempts to pretend that regimes like that in Iraq are 'socialist' and their support for these regimes against the

working class and other oppressed forces.

We will continue to fight for solidarity with national movements like the PLO. It is for the Palestinians, not Israel, nor any Arab state or super-power, to determine their own leadership and policies.

## Majority

All the indications are that the vast majority, including the Democratic Popular Front which is currently negotiating with the PLO leadership, broadly support Arafat's policy.

LMCP refers proudly to its affiliated union branches, CLPs and sponsoring MPs. Do these all really support LMCP's 'anti-Zionist' line, or are they just in favour of 'raising the issue of the Palestinians'?

How about mobilising for some concrete demands, such as Labour recognition of the PLO and the Palestinian right to self-determination, that is, statehood?

I notice LMCP's letter does not propose any such demands. Their only reference to the PLO is when they criticise the WRP's support for it.

In Brent East CLP last

year, some of LMCP's supporters — around Socialist Viewpoint — raised the issue, not of support for the PLO but of expelling the Zionists.

The local party responded by planning a conference on the Middle East. These anti-Zionists then voted together with Poale Zion supporters to oppose invitations to the Jewish Socialists' Group and the PLO.

Brent East got foisted on it a spokesperson for the then Syrian-backed Palestine Salvation Front and the usual sterile debate between Rejectionists and Zionists.

Since then, not-so-'Red' Ken their prospective MP has accepted an invitation to Israel from the 'Left-Zionist party, Mapam.

If LMCP wants to discuss with the WRP how the Palestinian cause should be advanced in the labour movement, I dare say they'll find WRP comrades willing to oblige.

Some of us would also be interested in discussing where we've gone wrong before — only the 'we' can't be confined to the WRP.

But above all, if we're being invited to join you, we'd like to hear a bit more of the programme.

Charlie Pottins

# Who spins the golden thread?

THE CENTRAL Committee of the WRP invited Tom Kemp to open the Draft Perspectives discussion which appeared in the Workers Press on April 19.

Contained in the article is a false proposition which cannot be allowed to pass unchallenged, the more so since Tom has a long history in the Trotskyist movement. He is known internationally and it may be thought that this particular proposition is shared by the Central Committee.

Despite the degeneration of Healy and his clique there was no other organisation in Britain which preserved the continuity of the Marxist movement in Britain.

'If in a deformed manner, the WRP represented the traditions of Marxist-Leninism, Bolshevism and Trotsky's struggle to build the Fourth International. This is a precious legacy which must be retrieved and developed.'

I have commented elsewhere on this but it needs public repudiation just as much as Banda's '27 Reasons' required repudiation.

It has to be emphatically stated that the WRP did not represent the traditions of Trotsky but quite the opposite.

Was it a 'deformed Trotskyism' (or any shade of Trotskyism) which supported the murder of the Iraqi Communist Party members?

The need to pretend that the WRP carried forward the traditions of Trotskyism despite all that happened, is a reflection among other things of the deep rooted nationalism which gripped the WRP for so long and is designed to preserve the 'British' leadership image today.

## Continuation

The tradition of Trotskyism was continued even in a restricted way by a few people outside of and precisely against the WRP.

What were preserved in the WRP were Trotskyist ideas and aspirations and experiences in struggles but the latter not attuned to building a Trotskyist Party.

These ideas and aspirations conflicted with the anti-Trotskyist traditions revealed consequent upon the Healy revelations. But a party is judged by its deeds!

If we mix up Trotskyism with anti-Trotskyism we cannot move an inch forward. We cannot effect a Trotskyist orientation in to-

day's struggles.

Although the party has been and still is beset with acute and continual problems, the coming to terms theoretically with our past is vital to halt a continued political degeneration.

In this regard, some comrades appear to consider that a lengthy period of theoretical research is required and out of it will come some super theory which will explain how the party degenerated.

In my opinion, in the main essential features the theoretical work has already been done — by others.

I would personally commend for initial study the documentation of the OCI presented in the July 1972 Paris Conference which draw up the balance sheet, consequent upon the gross desertion and betrayal of Internationalism in 1971 by the SLL and satellites.

(In passing I would say, since we have to be internationally re-orientated that it is essential to learn from the Fourth International (CRI) to-day).

From the basis of 1972, analyses have been developed in Britain out of their struggles from the Bulletin Group (now the SLG) in particular.

Then came Thornett's struggles and documentation, well worth study. I must also mention the documentation of a later group, Workers Power.

In conclusion it has been said that we must not study our past purely from contemplation — that is to wait till we 'know' everything — all the answers. That is very true — participation in the class struggle and perspectives for such must be developed.

## Lessons

But the big danger facing the party to-day in my opinion, emanates out of our nationalist tradition (in common parlance 'We are the people'), our reluctance to acknowledge that we have much more to learn from this than we have to teach. And we have to draw the lessons quickly.

Neither the articles in our Press, or our Internal Bulletins have provided in general a confidence that we are doing this, in spite of welcome discussions with other groups.

Comrade Kemp's tenet is an affirmation of this. A. McLarty Glasgow

# Electoral monopoly

I AM writing in response to the article by Bill Hunter in the Workers Press of May 12.

In the twelfth paragraph, Cde Bill says, 'The Labour Party gained one seat in Liverpool; the only seat it lost was Dingle. There the Labour candidate lost by 31 votes; the Communist Party got 44 votes.'

The implication of this is that the Labour Party lost this seat because of the action of the Communist Party.

Is this true?

What Cde Bill does not do is to bring out the issues involved in this, which are:

1. What were the reasons for the Labour Party's position being affected by only 44 votes?
2. What were the policies of both the Labour Party's and the Communist Party's candidates?
3. What was the position of the Communist Party as a whole to the Liverpool elections, especially their policy regarding the seats that they contested.
4. What the position of the WRP is to the Communist Party, or to any other party including our own, with re-

gard to the standing of candidates.

As Cde Bill does not indicate why he is opposed to the Communist Party's action, one can only assume he takes one of two positions.

1. Either he opposes the right of the Communist Party (or any party other than the Labour Party) to contest the election, thus depriving them of the right either to test their support or to make use of a platform from which to pursue their policies (however much we may oppose them, surely this is their right?)

2. Or that their action was either a tactical error on their part because of the Labour weakness (unexplained by BH) or that, bearing in mind the witch-hunt of the City Council, it was a conscious act of sabotage against the Labour Council in Liverpool. In this case, this must be proved and the reasons given.

I hope that Cde Bill and other comrades will continue the discussion in the pages of the paper.

Simon Burgess Crawley

# The Workers Press Youth Page

# SILENCE ON YOUTH RIGHTS

IN A few months time over half a million young people will be leaving school. Many of those leaving will either be coerced on to a YTS scheme or will go straight on to the dole.

As well as a barrage of cuts in benefits for young people a campaign of disinformation and silence is being implemented by the

government on allowances due to school-leavers.

A release by Youthaid last week uncovered an attempt to deny £18.20 a week to 100,000 school-leavers who had gone back to school the previous term for not more than twelve hours a week and were not returning in September.

Although 100,000 are eligible, the Tory government is refusing to inform anyone of their rights and in some

cases are refusing their rights altogether.

Emma Wightman from Sheffield fulfills all the necessary conditions but was refused benefit by her local DHSS office. She is appealing against the decision.

The refusal to make school-leavers aware of their entitlement follows a new round of salvos fired on

By MATT HANLON

young people announced by the Department of Education and contained within the Fowler Review:

- Those under 25 who are unemployed will lose £5.50 a week.

- An estimated 500,000 young workers' wages will be affected by the attack on the Wages Council in July.

- Closure of colleges, schools, polytechnics.

● Students will lose their right to claim all benefits along with grant cuts.

After twelve years of learning, training and education the continued development of our future generations cannot be guaranteed, and is stagnating.

Over 40 per cent of the total jobs are under the age of 25 — 85 per cent of all young workers are on poverty wages.

Apprenticeships are

virtually non-existent and have been replaced with YTS schemes. It is here that the trade union bureaucracy and labour leaders made their intention clear on the fight to defend all that has been gained by the working class.

Any serious attempt to improve these appalling conditions of young workers, and indeed of all workers, must include a campaign to end the YTS schemes.



## DEFEND VIRAJ MENDIS!

### HERE TO FIGHT, HERE TO STAY

ON JULY 5, the first ever anti-racist march across the country will set off from Manchester to demand the right of Viraj Mendis, a victim of racist immigration laws, to stay in this country.

Viraj has lived in this country for over twelve years but is now threatened with deportation to Sri Lanka.

The march will highlight the consequences of these laws, such as racist attacks and the police harassment which has

been the experience of thousands of families.

In February 1986, Home Office Chief Adjudicator M Patey turned down Viraj's application for political asylum stating that 'Sri-Lanka is inherently a democracy where the rule of law applies'.

Viraj is well known for his support for the struggle of oppressed Tamil people and his work as a political activist in

Manchester with the Revolutionary Communist Group, Fight Racism! Fight Imperialism! and many other campaigns.

The march will start on July 5, just two days after Viraj's final appeal to the Immigration Tribunal on July 3 at Thanet House, The Strand, London.

Further information can be got from: VMDC, c/o North Hulme Centre, Jackson Crescent, Hulme, Manchester M15 5AL — or phone 061-795 3870.

## Tories shift on 'short sharp shock'

HOME Secretary Douglas Hurd has given the first hint that the Tories' reactionary 'short, sharp shock' treatment has failed to deal with the growing problem of so-called 'youth crime' — in reality youths' response to mounting unemployment.

Speaking on London Weekend Television's programme 'Once a Thief...' last Sunday, Hurd said that he was 'not going to be an out

and out defender of where we actually are at the present time'.

He confirmed that the government was actively considering adopting the Scottish system of dealing with juvenile crime, thereby rejecting the annual 'hand 'em and flog 'em' hard faces of the Tory conferences.

Does this mean that the Tories have changed their view of the youth?

No, it does not. It is a recognition by a section of the ruling class that new methods of controlling the youth will have to be found.

The riots of last year have shown that the youth will not accept the future that capitalism has planned for it, nor will they accept regimentation from tin-pot ex-army thugs under the 'short, sharp shock' system.

## WRP CONGRESS RESOLUTION

IN expelling Healy for sexual and physical abuse and the slandering of an international comrade, the WRP commenced a break with all the anti-communist practices carried out by Healy and the WRP under his leadership.

This Eighth Congress condemns in particular Healy's use of the courts, slander campaigns and the use of documents and material acquired by illicit and opportunist means from political

opponents in the workers movement.

These anti-communist practices denied the party and the working class the experience and lessons of a political struggle over genuine differences.

No genuinely revolutionary organisation can countenance these methods. The WRP will win its authority in the workers' movement through open and principled

struggle and the recognition of the right of all sections of the workers' movement to participate.

We pledge support for any section of the workers' movement to defence of this right.

Conference instructs the Incoming Central Committee to return to other working class organisations any of their documents which are in the WRP's possession without their agreement.

### LISTINGS

**LEICESTER: WORKERS REVOLUTIONARY PARTY PUBLIC MEETING:** 'Build the alternative leadership'. Wednesday June 11, 7.30 pm. Highfields Community Centre, Melbourne Road, Leicester.

**CAPITAL READING SEMINARS.** Every Friday, 7 pm. First floor, Bloomsbury Tavern, 236 Shaftesbury Ave, London WC2. For details phone 01-354 0668.

**ANTI-APARTHEID MOVEMENT MASS LOBBY FOR SANCTIONS AGAINST APARTHEID.** The mass lobby of parliament on June 17th, is your chance to show your concern about Britain's policy towards South Africa and Namibia. The lobby takes place from 2pm onwards on June 17th 1986. For details of lobby and meeting write to Lobby For South African Sanctions, c/o

CCSA, 2 Eaton Gate, London SW1W 0PI

**LABOUR FRIENDS OF PALESTINE,** inaugural conference, Holborn Library, Saturday June 7; registration 9.30 am.

**STRUGGLE IN SOUTH AFRICA.** JSG Meeting with Ben Turok(ANC). Sunday, June 8, 8pm Friends International Centre, Byng Place, off Torrington Place, WC1.

## 'SELF-AID' CONCERT IN DUBLIN

OVER 30,000 people packed out the Royal Dublin Showgrounds on May 20 to listen to top Irish rock acts U2, Elvis Costello, The Rogues, The Boomtown Rats and Van Morrison.

The concert was called as part of 'Self Aid' to help alleviate some of the hardships of massive unemployment in Ireland. The aim was partly to highlight the problem, but also to raise money for a project to provide jobs.

The concert raised over half a million pounds and as a result over 3,000 new jobs were announced.

But the slogan 'make it work' was an evasion of the real issues of the world capitalist slump and its particular effects on Ireland.

This slogan reduces it to the individual's own will to work — which is what Tory MP Norman Tebbit proclaimed when he told people to 'get on yer bike' to find work — like his father did in

his youth. This policy for youth unemployment is emigration.

The 'Self Aid' extravaganza received virtually no coverage by the British media, who are having enough problems trying to disguise the rate of unemployment in mainland Britain.

The stars who took part, notably Bob Geldof, have all recently been involved with the 'Feed the World' 'Band Aid' project and more recently 'Sports Aid' and 'Run for Africa', which has helped further expose the collaborators who play sport for the South African apartheid regime.

By doing this they give it some kind of credibility and a civilized status.

The chief perpetrators of this are the British, most taking a supposed political stand (meaning they are only doing it for the money), but consciously or unconsciously in practice they support the apartheid regime.

However there has been growing opposition, especially amongst youth, to Zola Budd being allowed to run here and Frank Bruno fighting South African boxer Gerry Coetzee.

The question of mass unemployment in western industrial nations, grinding poverty, famine in Africa and other countries poses the real question of elaborating 'work for Africa', not charity.

All of those problems are not beyond man's ability to solve. The technology developed under capitalism can be put to use under a socialist system.

## YOUTH PERSPECTIVES

I WOULD like to make a few comments about the correspondence written in response to my article 'Towards a Discussion of Youth Perspectives', Matt Hanlon's article and Aly Mir's letter.

Firstly, the article did exactly what it was intended to do — start a discussion.

Comrade Hanlon's article raises important questions. I basically agree with his initial analysis, though this, as does the whole of the youth work, needs careful consideration. I welcome more correspondence on the questions raised.

Comrade Mir, from Red Youth, also raised important questions about entryism into the LPYS.

### Reason

He says that our turn away from the Labour Party was a key reason for our degeneration and that we should intervene in the LPYS.

I believe that work in the LPYS is useful, but we have to remember that the Labour Party is reformist through and through. Our only role inside the LPYS would be to break the youth from reformism.

The LPYS will never be built 'on a revolutionary basis'. The bureaucracy will not allow this to happen.

It will soon sacrifice its youth movement (as it did several times before — see my as-yet unfinished series of articles on the history of the YS) to defeat any revolutionary socialism. It is even

afraid of the reformist-diluted politics of Militant.

It has been said that it was wrong to break with the Labour Party after only a handful of expulsions, yet in many ways it was exactly the thing to do.

We made a principled stand against the bureaucra-

cy and took a large percentage of the youth with us.

The fact that we then abused these comrades and lost them is beside the point.

How about members of the YS from during the 1964 split writing about their experiences for the youth news?

Jolyon Ralph

### Workers Revolutionary Party

#### Public lectures

Friday May 30

Marxism and Imperialism

Geoff Pilling

Friday June 6

No lecture

Friday June 13

Capitalist Development since the 1930s

Geoff Pilling

Friday June 20

27 Reasons why Mike Banda is wrong

Dave Bruce

Friday June 27

Tom Kemp

Friends Meeting House, Euston Road, London, NW1

7.30 pm sharp, Tickets 60p

# BOTHA'S HIDDEN WAR

**SOUTH AFRICA'S Israeli-style raids earlier this month on three of its neighbours reminded the world that the apartheid state fights on two fronts: against seething opposition in the black townships and in a war on nearby states.**

Joseph Hanlon's book deals with this second, external front, which became a 'full-scale war' in the last five years with casualties vastly higher than in the township battles.

Since 1980 the war has cost 100,000 lives, £10,000 million and at least a million homeless.

This undeclared war is obscured by its complexity, combining military, economic and political action, usually termed 'destabilisation'.

Hanlon explains how the post-war Afrikaner Nationalist government outlawed the African National Congress (ANC) and the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC), driving many leaders into exile.

Temporary success at suppressing opposition depended on the three-state white buffer zone — Rhodesia, Angola, Mozambique — between South Africa and independent black Africa.

But Portugal's 1974 revolution and independence the following year for Angola

**Apartheid's Second Front: South Africa's War against its Neighbours.** By Joseph Hanlon. Penguin Special, £2.95.

and Mozambique gave a huge impetus to the gathering strike movement inside South Africa, seen in the 1976 Soweto uprising.

The philosophy of P W Botha's 1978 government was that South Africa faced a 'total Marxist onslaught' orchestrated in Moscow, and requiring a total strategy: moderate reforms at home and economic and military dominance of the neighbouring region.

Botha's plan for an anti-communist grouping of southern African states was blown sky-high by the massive ZANU victory in Zimbabwe in 1980 instead of the expected victory of South African-backed Muzorewa.

The Botha government had to find other ways to dominate the region:

- Pretoria wants to drive the ANC, PAC and Namibia's SWAPO out of all neighbouring states. Apartheid propaganda says the 'happy' blacks are whipped up by communist infiltrators; some in the military actually believe the blacks are not bright enough to plan a sabotage campaign without white communist masters somewhere.

- The existence of prosperous, multiracial, socialist states would belie the argument that majority rule means chaos and would allow these states some free-

dom of manoeuvre. South Africa has either to destabilise them or keep them totally subservient and dependent.

- To maintain its connections with the West, South Africa has to have some semblance of diplomatic relations with neighbouring states, like the fraudulent Nkomati agreement achieved under duress.

Hanlon examines in some detail how these destabilisation policies have been implemented: sabotage and closure of rail links via Angola and Mozambique to ensure dependence on South African Railways for exports and imports; border closure or restrictions; cutting electricity supplies from South Africa and sabotaging power lines within the neighbouring states; manipulating food supplies to cause serious hardship — to mention but a few.

Economic measures are combined with political actions. Hanlon explains South Africa's involvement in the ZANU-ZAPU split in Zimbabwe.

Pretoria had a hand in both the original arms caching and its exposure, which irreparably widened the gulf between the two organisations.

On the military front, commandos have carried out frequent raids into neighbouring states and South African

Defence Force troops have occupied southern Angola more or less continuously since 1980.

But one of the most interesting chapters in the book deals with the use of surrogate armies.

The first was UNITA, which started as a liberation movement to oust the Portuguese but now operates jointly with South Africa, supported by Reagan, to overthrow the MPLA government in Angola.

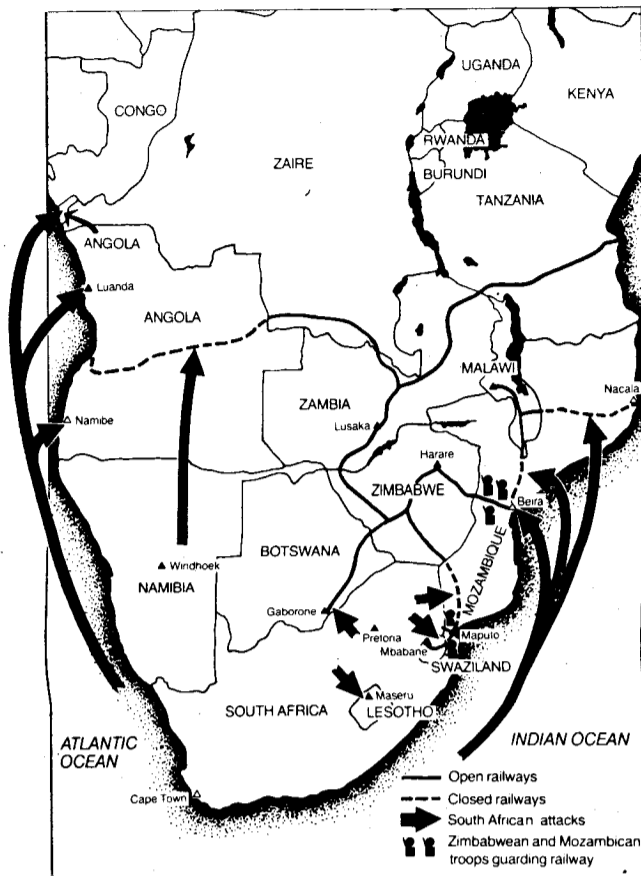
In contrast, the Mozambique National Resistance Movement (MNR or Renamo) was a fifth column set up from scratch by white Rhodesia after Mozambique's independence, based on Portuguese commandos, Mozambican former members of brutal units and prisoners freed by open raids.

With the defeat of Rhodesia, the MNR collapsed until South Africa put it together again, with radio communications and air-lifted supplies.

New recruits were press-ganged or recruited from illegal Mozambican immigrants in South Africa.

As with Unita in Angola, South African support enabled the MNR to spread its activity to more than half the country, plunging the economy into chaos.

So confident is Pretoria of US backing that deputy foreign minister Louis Nel openly visited MNR headquarters inside Mozambique



South African attacks

three times last year. South Africa also has surrogate forces in Lesotho and Zimbabwe.

Hanlon ends his book with a plea for sanctions against South Africa.

This is a very interesting and readable book which makes comprehensible the complexities of South Africa's external war.

SB

## From Spring's euphoria to Winter's hardship, but: 'JUSTICE' PURSUES THE FIGHT

**Justice: The Miners' Strike 1984-85.** Verso, £1.95

THIS CONCISE and sensitive history of the 1984-85 miners' strike is compulsive reading.

It reawakens all the emotions as it takes us from the spring euphoria of 1984 through a glorious summer to the cold realisation that all the hardships of the winter were insufficient for victory.

It explains that the massive state attack was prepared, organised and brutal in its execution.

Even those of us who entered the dispute with some awareness of the relationship between the Tories, judiciary and the police should study again the blatant anti-union acts of the courts throughout the strike.

Now, over a year later, the Official Receiver still ties the union up in court on a daily basis as it prepares to prosecute Scargill and Heathfield for removing the union's funds abroad.

However, for all the state's determination to smash the NUM, the 'Justice' book correctly concludes that the state was unable to prevent the NUM functioning for even one day.

In the preface, Dennis Skinner MP highlights how the Tories try to use 'violence on the picket line' to isolate the NUM leadership and its members.

He points out the qualitative difference between the violence of the state and that of men provoked by the violence of the Tory government in its many forms — unemployment and national health cuts as well as that delivered at the end of a policeman's truncheon.

The Justice Campaign aims to gain justice for all those miners victimised and

jailed in the dispute and to provide the assistance to alleviate the suffering of families deprived of their livelihood.

While no-one had any illusions that the Justice Bill would succeed in the Tory dominated parliament even if it had received total support from the Labour opposition, the campaign does put definite demands on a future Labour government:

- Grant immunity and the necessary retrospective compensation as a matter of principle.
- Review the cases of all miners jailed.
- Reinstate all sacked miners.

A massive campaign is called for in the labour movement. No-one calling himself a revolutionary should stand aside from this campaign on the grounds that it would be utopian to expect that a Kinnoch government would give justice to the victimised and jailed miners.

The Justice Campaign raises the question of the relationship of a Labour government to the state.

In his introduction Dennis Skinner makes the point that 'the leadership of the labour movement and TUC did not deliver the necessary industrial support needed to defeat the Tory government and the National Coal Board.'

He could have very well have gone on to say that they in fact stood with the Tories and the state and attacked the 'violence of the pickets.'

Why? Fundamentally they, the Labour and TUC bureaucracy are pillars of the state.

This state has always been supported by Labour governments. Even the post-war Labour government, incorrectly regarded by many as being socialist, imprisoned

dockers for their trade union activity.

The 1974 Labour government kept Des Warren, a victimised building worker, in jail — and used the army against the firemen.

The 1966 Labour administration sent the British army

into the north of Ireland.

The real lesson of the miners' strike for millions of workers is that the state is not neutral but capitalist.

But while we warn at all times of the treachery of Labour governments' relationship with the state and

explain our aim is the overthrow of the state, it is our duty to support and organise the maximum participation in the Justice Campaign.

Strenuous efforts must be made now that the NUM have officially endorsed the campaign and taken leading

positions to ensure that the traditional aversion of some leading NUM officials in Scotland, Wales and Yorkshire to those in the labour movement with whom they disagree politically does not rob the campaign of its richness and vitality.

Dave Temple

### TV CHOICE



'THE WORLD ABOUT US', BBC-2, Sunday June 1, 7.45 pm, deals with an effort to tackle the appalling problem of blindness and eye disease world-wide. 40 million are blind and nearly 400 million have eye problems that will lead to blindness

**Saturday May 31**

6.30 pm, Channel 4. **Streets Ahead.** A new programme of modern dance, featuring dancer/choreographer team of Claud Paul Henry and Stewart Avon Arnold.

7.30 pm, Channel 4. **Africa: This Magnificent African Cake.** In 1884 the greedy Europeans got together and divided up 'That magnificent African cake'. Basil Davidson explores the brutal exploitation of the wealth of Africa, both human and material.

8.30 pm, Channel 4. **Pottery ladies.** First of a four part series looking at the lives and work of three women who rose to prominence in the pottery industry in Staffordshire, and were major influences in Art Deco between the Wars. Before World War I, pottery ware was decorated by men, afterwards thousands of

13 year-old girls were brought in to work for a few shillings a week. This programme pays tribute to the women who were major artistic influences, as well as the anonymous girls who brought their designs to fruition.

11.30 pm, Channel 4. **Niagara (1953).** The film that confirmed Marilyn Monroe as a major star. A murder thriller, with Monroe as an adulterous wife, whose plot to murder her husband backfires disastrously.

**Sunday June 1**

11 am, ITV. **Getting On.** An attack on the way the media depicts older women, plus Geoffrey Kendal, last of the great actor-managers, talks about his family's years staging Shakespeare and Sheridan through the backblocks of India. 7.45 pm, BBC2. **The World About Us: Into Orbis.** Forty-two

million people in the world are blind. Two thirds of them could be cured. A Texan eye-surgeon has set up a mobile eye hospital in a DC8 airliner which travels the world, liaising with local doctors to demonstrate the latest techniques.

10 pm, Channel 4. **Open the Box: Take the Money and Run.** Third of a six part series investigating the way the medium of television works, the programme takes the lid off TV's role in promoting the grudge match re-run between Mary Decker and Zola Budd. Mary Decker, who won, received £56,000, the infamous Budd, who came fourth, blossomed into a prize of £90,000.

**Wednesday June 4** 6.30 pm, Channel 4. **Flashback: Street Fighting Man 1968.** Examines the effect that

the technological advances in TV news coverage had on the reporting of the massive protest movements of 1968.

**Thursday June 5** 10.30 pm, ITV. **Blade Runner. (1982)** The most exciting sci-fi film ever to hit the screen. Four androids hunted down by a relentless detective trained to tell the difference between androids and humans. But who is the real human after all?

11.25 pm, Channel 4. **Union Maids.** First of a group of five documentaries on key periods in American labour history. 'Union Maids' tells of the fight to form industrial unions through the words of three women. Interviews and rare archive footage of the 1930s intercut to tell the story of sitdowns, scabs, goon squads, unemployment, hunger marches, red-baiting, and the final birth of the CIO.

## WEST STOKES GULF WAR

THE GULF War between Iran and Iraq could have been ended long ago, if 'influential forces in the West' were not interested in prolonging it, the Soviet army daily 'Krasnaya Zvezda' claimed last week.

The six-year old war has

been in neither country's interest, the Soviet paper said.

It accused the US government of pretending to be neutral in the conflict while maintaining efforts to deepen contradictions between the two Gulf powers.

'Certain steps are also being taken to maintain the balance of forces on the Iranian-Iraqi front by manipulating the supplies of arms and military hardware to the warring sides and thereby to ensure the dragging out of the conflict', 'Kras-

naya Zvezda' said.

The paper accused US, British, West German, Israeli, Italian and Japanese arms companies of supplying Iran 'by round-about ways' to make huge profits.

## THATCHER SEES SIGHTS BUT PLO REBUFFS

# Mrs FINCHLEY GOES TO PALESTINE

### THATCHER'S MID-EAST 'SOLUTION'

THE CONSERVATIVE MP for Finchley, Mrs Margaret Thatcher, has just returned from her first visit to Palestine.

After four days, seeing the by now obligatory tourist sights — Yad Vashem memorial (crocodile tears for the camera), Anatoly Scharansky — and chatting with the Israeli government, she was able with all the modesty which British workers know and love, to offer her ideas for a Middle East 'solution'.

In brief, Mrs T. suggests the Israeli Zionists find someone to negotiate with — only not the Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO).

Now why didn't they ever think of that? What, they did?

She explained that the PLO was unacceptable because it has refused to endorse UN Resolution 242, which recognises Israel but not the Palestinians and because it wages an armed struggle against the Zionist state.

You might think that it is not unreasonable for the Palestinians to demand first of all recognition for themselves and their right to a state, before considering recognising their oppressor, the state which is occupying their land.

You might think that anyway, no-one concedes all before negotiations, especially for merely the vague hint that they might be invited.

You might even think this applies to the armed struggle too.

As some Israelis opposed to their government have pointed out logically, this need be no obstacle to talks,

since peace negotiations normally take place between warring sides — otherwise they would not be necessary.

So far, no Israeli government has responded positively to any peaceable gesture from the PLO.

The Likud government's invasion and bombing of Lebanon was designed, in collusion with Washington, precisely to frustrate such moves and if possible destroy the PLO — in which it failed.

The present government illegally deports Palestinian leaders and is considering legislation to stop its citizens having any contact with the PLO, or those it deems PLO supporters.

Labour leader Shimon Peres banned MPs of his own party from attending a Middle East peace conference in Holland, because PLO academics would be there.

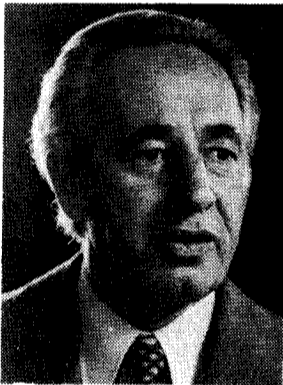
When Thatcher met Palestinians in the Israeli-occupied territories last week, they told her frankly that the PLO was the sole legitimate representative accepted by their people.

These were not 'extremists', but respectable 'mod-

erate' leaders, watched over by the occupying forces. They just told her the truth.

This has not prevented Thatcher from proceeding to say that 'we have to find other Palestinians who truly represent the Palestinian people.

The PLO has rightly denounced Thatcher's intervention, saying she has



Peres

set back the chances for peace in the Middle East.

The Tory leader's hypocrisy and arrogance is in line with British imperialism's traditional attitude to the Arab peoples.

Has nobody told her that

the British army boot no longer rules the Middle East?

Does anyone think a prime minister who provided the bases for Reagan's bombers to kill Libyan children has the right to lecture Palestinians or anyone else about 'terrorism'?

Has the woman who asked us to 'rejoice' after destroying so many lives to regain the Malvinas any right to tell Palestinians they should not fight to regain their own homeland?

Most Arabs will not worry over-much what Thatcher thinks.

There is a tradition of eccentric upper-class English ladies travelling to the Middle East and delivering themselves of judgements, though not all with the delusions of grandeur of Margaret Thatcher.

Besides, everyone knows about her undignified 'special relationship' with a retired Hollywood cowboy.

Palestinians will now share British workers' estimation of Thatcher and sympathise with our plight.

Thatcher's recipe for the Palestinians is one with which working people in Britain are familiar.

If you support a leadership that defies the rulers' wishes, then she refuses to believe that they 'truly represent' you! It's the same arrogance she showed to the miners.

Thatcher also showed her ignorance when she sug-



THATCHER: Off Labour's 'Hit List' — Deed Poll Risk recedes?

gested to the Zionists that elections be held in the occupied West Bank and Gaza so local Palestinians could have a say in their affairs.

Elected mayors have been deposed by the occupying forces in one town after another.

Israeli leaders have freely admitted they don't want any more elections in the territories, because the people will only vote in representatives supporting the PLO!

As a prominent member of the Conservative Friends of Israel, Thatcher might strike many people as not exactly an unbiased visitor to the Middle East.

It is often suggested her enthusiasm for the Zionist

cause is sustained by thoughts of her Finchley constituency, which has many Jewish voters.

If so, it's not doing her that much good.

In the local elections, Labour made sweeping gains in the Finchley area.

Local Labour activists are confident they can render the seat at least marginal by the next election, proving wrong the party's national election planners who lacked the anti-Tory drive to include it on their 'hit list'.

'Mrs. Finchley', as some Tories have dubbed her, might be due for a divorce and name-change.

Tory organisers may have to find her a safer seat, assuming they still want her.

# BOOKS

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28 Charlotte Street, London W1P 1HP  
Tel: 01 636 3532

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321 Hope Street, Glasgow G2 3PT  
Tel: 041 332 8881

# BOOKS

## CLYDESIDe ACTION ON ASBESTOS

By Dave McJimpsey

CLYDESIDe Action on Asbestos held its Annual General Meeting in Glasgow last Saturday with about 40 people attending.

Chairman Bob Crockett opened the meeting, giving the Annual Report.

Several leading campaigners against asbestos then spoke on the fight they had carried out.

Mary Kirkland of the Glenboig Action Group reported on the fight to stop asbestos waste being dumped in her community.

Glasgow University Student Union President Austin Lally spoke on the unity which was built between students and university workers which resulted in a successful campaign to have asbestos removed from several university buildings.

Dr Symington gave the statistics of medical examinations made on the Red Road building workers, who had been traced since the scandal of asbestos blew up last year at the flats which

tower above Petershill. Of the 106 who were examined, 8 had evidence of asbestos revealed by x-ray and 3 definitely had contracted asbestosis.

John Todd, a long-time campaigner against asbestos, and for compensation for victims, said he was sorry to report that the struggle against the use of asbestos was becoming more difficult.

It wasn't helped by the apparent indifference — and in some cases outright hostility — of some trade union leaders.

In fact he had been threatened with expulsion from his own union, the Transport and General Workers Union, for condemning asbestos when making a television appearance.

Joe Mullin Vice Chairman of the Campaign reported on the recent lobby of parliament.

Ann Jordan spoke of the difficulties of obtaining DHSS benefits for victims.

Next Week's WORKERS PRESS will feature an important article on the history of Trotskyism in Vietnam by GERRY DOWNING.

## RELEASE THE JAILED MINERS

### SOUTH WALES

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

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

### KENT

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.

### YORKSHIRE

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.

### WAKEFIELD

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 — 2½-year sentence from December 1984. E71037, A Wing, Millers Park Youth Custody Centre, Dodington Road, Wellingborough.