

LIBRARIES FACE WAGE-CUT

Library staff in the Hamilton, Lanarkshire NALGO branch are urging support for their two-week-old official strike.

The union has balloted all members in the branch on industrial action to back up the librarians, who walked out over a 12½ per cent wage cut.

The dispute began on April 1 with a work to rule: 65 staff

were suddenly told that a shift payment was to be abolished because of a 45-minute cut in the working day.

They would still, however, be required to work unsocial hours — without compensation.

The Labourites of Hamilton district council — faced with an ultimatum from the Scottish Secretary of State — want to make employees bear the brunt

of government spending cuts.

The backdoor wage cut was proposed two years ago by the Tories themselves, with a promise of an improved grant for book stocks. Now the council are doing their dirty work for them — without the spending increase.

Ten libraries in the area are now closed, with daily pickets mounted at the gates.

800 MORE TYNESIDE SACKINGS

SHIPYARDS MASSACRE!

BY HUGHIE NICOL
IN THE NORTH EAST

IN THE wake of the past weeks of wholesale shipyard sackings, the coming months are forecast to deal further devastation in Scotland and the north east of England.

Ten thousand jobs are threatened in the North East alone as the collapse in world oil prices forces cutbacks in development work to defend falling profit margins.

As shop stewards meet on Tyneside to decide how to fight the latest one thousand sackings and closures at Swan Hunters 'privatised' yards and the 'privatised' Tyne ship repair yards, further massive cutbacks and closures are imminent for oil-rig module building yards.

Thousands of jobs will disappear in a wide range of industries which equip and service the oil industry because of the drop in oil prices.

The director of the biggest Tyneside oil-rig module builder, Denis Clarke, has

warned that British module yards could be mothballed because of the sudden halt in development contracts.

'There are twice as many yards in the UK as there is work to go around.

'There is going to be a major downturn.

'Mothballing is the logical conclusion.

'The situation on development work is desperate.

'Every planned oil platform has been put back.

'In regional terms the problem is faced by ten thousand people who rely on new platform development for a living.

'They are in the yards and



SHIPYARD workers — seen here supporting the Morris strikers in Glasgow — are also fighting for their own jobs

the spin-off industry.

'If the work is not here, this is the level of jobs that are at risk.'

Workers employed on oil rigs in the North Sea are also facing cutbacks as com-

panies crew down their operations.

Many workers are now paying their own travelling expenses to the sites.

Wages are under attack on all fronts as wages for home leave, (previously paid) is to be reduced or abolished.

Oil support vessels in the North sea, which supply the rigs with equipment and food, are also involved in cost-cutting exercises to dump the recession onto the backs of the working class.

The General Council of British Shipping wants a 25 per cent saving across the supply vessel industry which employs more than 1,000 British crewmen.

Freeze

Last week the Council's Oil Rig Supply Board's Committee rejected as 'insufficient' a 4.5 per cent cut in costs and a six months wage freeze proposed by the National Union of Seamen

The Council warned that, unless the cuts reached 25 per cent, boats would be laid up, workers sacked and the industry's central negotiating machinery would be abandoned in favour of returning to negotiations with individual companies.

Aberdeen seamen's union branch secretary Harry Bygate said 'We can't really give much more away.

'If we did, we would give up things that have been established for ten years and the value of the job would

go.'

BP has already set in motion a plan to re-register its shipping fleet outside the UK and to scrap its wage agreements with the NUS.

They want to recruit 'third world' labour for their ships in a major drive for profit with a wage cutting exercise.

The deepening recession that grips capitalism allows no room for 'negotiations' over wages or redundancies.

The same problem is this week facing the leaders of the shipyard workers.

The union leaders say they will fight the prospect of compulsory redundancies 'tooth and nail' — but indicate they will accept job losses with 'natural wastage' and volunteers.

The main Swan Hunters investors are the London based Globe Investment Trust, whose chairman, David Hardy (also Swan's chairman), has warned his shareholders that the whole future of the yard is in jeopardy because of the Tory Government's policy on placing Ministry of Defence orders.

Hardy states in his forthcoming annual report that his company played a leading role in the privatisation of Swan Hunters, 'unquestionably one of the leading naval construction companies in the whole world'.

Referring to the recent Ministry of Defence Order to the Belfast shipyards, he warns that he and his invest-

ment company will be deterred from participation in further privatisation plans if future government orders are not allocated to his yard.

Following the national one-day strike of shipyard workers on May 21 and the lobby of Parliament against the plans to axe three and a half thousand jobs, the shipbuilding national committee has no programme to fight the sackings and closures.

The feeling is that each yard is on its own to fight as best it can.

Now a thousand more jobs are to go at the Tyneside privatised naval yards — with a further thousand by the end of the year if no government orders are placed.

Lobby

A delegation of shop stewards from the private sector attended the London demonstration and lobby in solidarity with those employed in the state owned British shipbuilders.

The shipbuilding national committee must be recalled immediately to unite the entire shipbuilding and ship repair industry and put forward a programme to fight these attacks.

- Open the books!
- No sackings!
- End privatisations!
- Workers control of nationalised industries!
- Occupy the shipyards!

- Tuesday's 825 sackings now means less than 10,000 north-east shipbuilders
- 1977 Shipyards nationalised: 31,000 work in the region's shipbuilding
- Labour force at Swan Hunter now 4,500
- 3,500 redundancies just announced at British Shipbuilders on the Tyne, the Wear and the Tees
- Since 1966, 14,000 steel jobs have gone in the area: mining jobs down half to 18,000
- Newcastle City Council report claims city unemployment already 35 per cent in places
- Nearly two fifths of Newcastle unemployed are under 25
- Regional unemployment runs at 20.2 per cent



DID BRENDA DEAN CHUCK IN THE TOWEL LAST WEEK?



Brenda Dean

BY KEN MOXHAM

SOGAT Leader Brenda Dean believes the fight for jobs at Wapping has reached the end of the road and wants to abandon it on the basis of News International's latest offer of redundancy cash and redundant plant.

She made this clear at a meeting called last week in support of the striking printers by the Cambridge branch of SOGAT.

However, sacked printer John Smith told the meeting that he expected the offer to be 'unanimously rejected' in a ballot of SOGAT members, the result of which should be known this weekend.

Rather than putting forward a perspective for developing the strike, Dean conducted a post mortem.

She compared it to the 'tragic' Silentnight dispute, which she evidently thought was finished.

In both cases workers balled before striking, but could still be dismissed under Tory legislation. The Silentnight workers had all lost their case for unfair dismissal.

The striking printers had suffered from a lack of soli-

arity from the electricians, the journalists and their own colleagues in the wholesale trade.

They were now made an offer by Murdoch which he insisted was final — 'he means it'!

The lessons she drew for the future were the need to be assured of solidarity action before entering a dispute and the need to get a Labour government elected to guarantee the right to strike.

Questioned about her conduct of the dispute and the need to fight the Tory laws now if a Labour government were to repeal them in the future, she said:

● She had purged the union's contempt at the mem-

bership's behest in order to prevent the union disintegrating.

● To call out Fleet Street would only enable Murdoch to sell more papers, since it was a proven impossibility to blockade Wapping.

● She had learned the lesson of the miners' strike, that 'bad PR' didn't do anything to help the miners.

Former striking miners had told her: 'For God's sake, don't go down the road we went down... You've got to get the public on your side if you're going to get anywhere.'

● Murdoch produced his improved offer in response to her PR success.

Sacked machine branch FoC John Smith described how he bent over backwards before the strike to try to accommodate Murdoch, even offering to ballot on the closed shop, in search of a deal that would secure his members' jobs for life at Wapping.

But Murdoch had used negotiations as a

smokescreen for his real intention of provoking a strike, to get his Fleet Street workers off the payroll.

As to the conduct of the dispute, Smith was uncritical of Dean's leadership.

He claimed that the consumer boycott campaign was succeeding beyond what Murdoch's figures suggested.

Ron Leighton, SOGAT-sponsored MP for Newham North East and formerly in Smith's union branch, earned jeers for an anti-foreign attack on Murdoch.

He declared that the union-buster was a worse crook for having 'sold out his nationality' by taking up American citizenship.

He was also indignant that Murdoch had gloated at the expense of the print unions and the 'British people' in the pages of an American newspaper.

Of Dean and NGA leader Dubbins the right-wing MP enthused: 'You will not get more measured, responsible, moderate trade union leaders.'

BILL DONOVAN



ON JUNE 3 1984, Comrade Bill Donovan died. He was an active member of the Workers Revolutionary Party in Tower Hamlets from the time he joined in 1978 until shortly before his death.

Bill was a Marxist for most of his adult life and became a fighter for Trotskyism.

He is still greatly missed by the party, particularly in East London.

Workers Revolutionary Party

Public lectures

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

BACKSTAB FOR VETERAN APARTHEID FIGHTER

HAVING spent 20 years in South African jails, Dave Kitson is now being attacked by the leadership of TASS.

Ken Gill, General Secretary of TASS, TUC chairman and 'Morning Star supporter', revealed last week in the 'Daily Mail' that the Union was to cease financial aid to Kitson in July.

Kitson joined TASS in 1942 while working in Britain.

He returned to South Africa in 1959 and in 1964 was jailed as a leader of Umkonto we Sizwe, the ANC armed wing.

In 1969 TASS gave a commitment to support him after his release.

His wife and children had continuously campaigned against his imprisonment.

In 1983 they and the City Group of Anti-Apartheid held a continuous 80-day picket of the South African Embassy in London in which hundreds of youth and trade unionists took part.

Released in May 1984, he came to Britain. After an intensive speaking tour organised by TASS, he took up a scholarship at Ruskin College funded by the union.

Now, after only 18 months, at the age of 65, and with no pension or savings, that funding is to be cut off.

News of this provoked a protest from his fellow students and lecturers, and the No 16 Divisional Council of TASS is now campaigning to reverse the decision.

Ken Gill, in the 'Mail', stated that the reason for TASS's action was Kitson's suspension from the London branch of the ANC for activities which 'challenged the authority of the ANC political committee'.

Actually this was his refusal to condemn the activities of the City Group for which they had been expelled from the Anti-Apartheid movement.

Kitson is not a member of the City Group and has stated his desire to end the rift with the ANC, but will not criticise the City Group to which his family belong.

Whatever Kitson's own differences with the ANC and the TASS leadership, behind the rift is the exploding African social revolution.

This is threatening the attempts of the Communist Party Stalinists in the ANC and TASS to confine the struggle in South Africa to a purely national democratic struggle.

Ever since Stalin's resurrection of the two-stage revolution theory of the Mensheviks, which led to the defeat of the Chinese communists in the twenties, the Moscow bureaucracy has continuously strived to contain the struggles of the colonial people.

In China, Cuba and Vietnam they have suppressed the independent voice of the working class and subordinated it to the peasantry and bourgeois nationalist movement committed only to the establishment of a multi-racial democracy.

But for the millions of urban blacks in the townships, in the Black Consciousness movement and in the new black trade unions, the hopes and aims are going radically beyond this.

The spectacle of Zimbabwe is not lost on many of the youth. Despite the end of white rule, the land and wealth remains white-owned while many who fought in the guerrilla armies are deposed.

Despite the prestige of the ANC and Nelson Mandela, the multi-racial vision will lead the ANC to stifle any political opposition which calls for the independent mobilisation of the working class — to put an end not only to apartheid but also to the capitalist and imperialist hold on South African wealth.

TASS action against Kitson is political censorship and also naive internal union policy subordinate to an outside body's decisions.

In particular the City Group's activities and Kitson's refusal to condemn



DAVID KITSON

them are threatening to embarrass the cosy relationships between the ANC and unions like TASS, which claim a radical stance on South Africa.

This relationship works on the basis of the union leadership upholding the ANC as the only legitimate voice of the blacks.

The ANC in return makes no real demands for action from the unions.

Above all, there is no campaign to follow the lead of the young workers in Dublin who imposed their own boycott on South African goods.

The trade union leaders are content to plead with Thatcher to impose sanctions.

Kitson's actions have obviously threatened this set-up. Whatever his differences with the ANC, the fact is that 20 years of imprisonment has not broken him.

He remains a defiant oppo-

nent of the South African regime, in stark contrast to the TASS leadership who, at the height of the state attack on the miners, went to court to disown the actions of their striking members at Austin Morris to avoid sequestration.

Trade unionists must demand that all the voices of the African revolution are heard — the Stalinists and their reformist allies must not be allowed to stifle any opinion.

● Expose the fakers in the trade union and anti-apartheid movement leaderships by demanding trade union imposed sanctions.

A petition in support of Dave Kitson is being organised by the No 16 Divisional Council. Ring George Hope on 021-632 4551 (Birmingham) for copies and information. Petitions to be sent to Ken Gill by 19th June. Pass resolutions through TASS branches and TU bodies.

Behind a calm Labour facade in Manchester march:

WOMEN LEAD LOW-PAY FIGHT

FOR THE second Saturday running, the shoppers in Manchester City Centre were reminded of the realities of life in Thatcher's Britain.

Last week it was the youth, demanding 'Justice for Steven Shaw' and an end to police violence. This week it was women demanding an end to low pay.

A march of over 1,000 was organised by the North West Labour Women's Committee.

The banners on the march were almost exclusively from Labour Party branches with four trade union banners — COHSE, UCATT, ASTMS and USDAW.

There was also participation outside the 'official' organisations. A delegation from the Abbey Furnishing occupation travelled from Kirkby as had a delegation from the Rygate British Legion in Halewood, who have been on strike for 9 weeks.

The Silentnight strikers were there and a miners' support group, the Midlands Women Against Pit Closures.

The march itself was fairly sedate. The only political

slogan was the rather tired 'Maggie, Maggie — out, out, out'.

It ended with a rally in Crown Square.

The first speaker was Tom Pendry on behalf of North West Labour MPs. He said it was necessary to 'reverse Tory policy' on low pay.

He spoke of the perniciousness of the Wages Bill to remove legal restrictions on minimum rights for young workers and pledged that Labour's manifesto would include a statutory minimum wage.

He was followed by Joan Lester who said that the increased profits of employers were being used not for investment in Britain, but for increased investment abroad.

By PETE MONEY

On the YTS she stated that 'it could be good' but that the Tories were using it to 'keep down the unemployment figures'.

She said that a Labour government would 'bring about a growth in socialist philosophy'.

The speaker from the Transport and General National Women's Committee attacked the trade union leadership, saying the difference between her and the full-timers was that she was elected.

She warned that what was wanted was 'a leadership that would fight'. She had been sacked for joining a trade union, had fought and won.

This line was continued by Margaret Creer from the North West Labour Women's Committee who said that it was necessary 'not just to demonstrate but to organise'.

She said we must win actual struggles against low pay, not rely on the law to protect us.

'We already have equal opportunities legislation but we still have discrimination'.

She also took a swipe at Labour's new law and order stance by saying that what we needed was 'law and order on the bosses'.

'We don't want unelected people running industries'.

The most powerful speech at the rally was delivered by Sylvia Burton, a former domestic supervisor from Addenbrookes Hospital.

Earlier this year, the leaders of COHSE and NUPE withdrew support from the 17 month strike against privatisation.

Sylvia said 'it has taken 45 years to build up (the gains of the NHS) and it is now being taken away at the

stroke of a pen — and we won't get it back.

'But what has the union done? Dumped us after 2 years of struggle'.

She demanded to know where Bickerstaffe was. She said that he was very good at accusing other people of verbal diarrhoea but asked what he was doing now — negotiating £20 per week pay cuts for his members.

She accused him of giving up the fight against privatisation.

At one level the march could be seen as a typical Labour Party day out where people are allowed to express their anger but then everything is left to the MPs.

If one judged by the political content of the slogans on the march the impression would be reinforced.

However, it would be wrong to leave it at that. There was another side to the proceedings.

A number of the speakers clearly not only had little trust in the Labour Party leadership to fight for the rights of the most oppressed in the community — in this case the low paid — but they also had doubts about getting justice purely by the passing of legislation.

It may be right to call for a Labour government but it would not be correct if this were interpreted as meaning that the fight for jobs, wages, basic rights etc. could be watered down in any way.

The truth is that the opposite is the case.

Now is precisely the time when all struggles of workers need to be developed and widened whilst the demand on the Labour and trade union leaders must be that they fight now to force the Tory government out.

● SEE page 13 for an analysis of a recent Labour Research Department report on part-time workers.

Job cuts lurk behind Leeds post strike

Union leaders' retreat risks wages, conditions

By CHARLIE WALSH

A NATIONAL Post Office workers' strike was averted on Tuesday (June 3) when a deal was reached at major sorting offices.

It is without doubt a capitulation by the right wing leadership of the Union of Communications Workers (UCW) who have recommended that it be accepted by the executive.

It will mean new workplace practices and duty times: the main thrust of Post Office plans for speed-up and job cuts.

In return the Post Office have agreed improved meal

breaks and time away from the job and to lift the suspension of union members who had refused to promise to work normally after the 24 hour strike.

The dispute began in Leeds after management tried to fit staff in sorting offices to the 'peaks and troughs' of the work load.

The Post Office has been trying to introduce new work schedules in Leeds for a year. All 2,000 staff began an overtime ban in April when changes were imposed without agreement.

This led to the hiring of 700 casual and part-time staff.

The 24-hour Leeds strike resulted a Post Office demand that men must sign an undertaking to work normally or face suspension.

When the men refused, the dispute spread to other areas.

In Leeds the Post Office has agreed to a 20 minute addition to the 30-40 minute meal break and up to 1½ hours a week to be taken in additional breaks.

This will be funded out of the £60 million which will be saved nationally by the productivity schemes.

It is a job-cutting exercise and an attack on the working

conditions of postal workers. The UCW leadership, in agreeing to this attack on their members' living standards and conditions, is also agreeing to the selling of jobs.

These new measures have all been accepted in return for what appears to be a highly dubious bonus scheme.

The £20 bonus will now be reduced in lieu of the workers being allowed a little more rest time which they will need in order to be able to keep up with and sustain the new speed up measures by management.

In a climate of 4 million

unemployed, the right wing leadership of the UCW are ignoring the job security of its members. The new speed up measures will inevitably lead to sackings.

Like other nationalised industries, the postal service is being groomed for privatisation.

These latest proposals are just the beginning.

No-one has the right to accept such a deal if it means putting another worker on the dole.

These latest proposals must be rejected by the rank and file.

YORKS MINERS DEFEND UNION

By DAVE SMITH
IN DINNINGTON

Men at Dinnington Colliery, South Yorkshire, came out on strike on Monday (June 2) to defend their trade union rights.

Two men were shifted from their regular jobs by management without any consultation with the union: just one more attack on our conditions.

Over the last few months we've had a new manager who has been taking away the rights of union officials.

We used to have 'efficiency visits' once a fortnight

when our officials would check with the men for any complaints: these were stopped.

Every Monday one official used to spend a shift on the surface, sorting out any of the problems that had arisen during the week.

This time has now been cut back, so he has to work most of his shift and only has a couple of hours to attend to his union business.

Officials also spent each Friday shift in a meeting with the manager, to sort out any problems.

Not only has this time been cut back to a couple of hours, but now officials don't meet

with the manager but with lower officials.

What's been happening this week is symptomatic of what's been happening since the new manager arrived.

It's not just happening at Dinnington pit — it's become policy of the NCB to show contempt for the union by shoving back conditions that our union has fought for.

What's happened at Dinnington has shown that any idea that the NUM is a dead duck is rubbish because all the men have stuck together.

● At a meeting on Tuesday night (June 3), management caved in and agreed to all the NUM demands. The Din-

nington men are now back at work.

Cadeby officials have been to see area officials to discuss the NCB's proposed closure of the pit.

The proposed closure of Cadeby raises questions as it has the highest output per man of any pit in the South Yorkshire area and the lowest cost per GigaJoule.

The coal has been coming out without needing to be washed which means it can be sent straight to the power stations.

This would seem to be an economic boon, so we have to ask why such a pit would be closed.

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 con-

cern 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 9BL.

LABOUR FRIENDS OF PALESTINE, inaugural conference, Holborn Library, Theobalds Rd. Saturday June 7; registration 9.30 am.

STRUGGLE IN SOUTH AFRICA. JSG Meeting with Ben Turok(ANC), ex-prisoner.

Sunday, June 8, 8pm Friends International Centre, Byng Place, off Torrington Place, WC1.

JEWISH SOCIALIST magazine, No.5 out now, articles on Israeli Left, Gypsies, Irish Women, Louis Farrakhan and the Chief Rabbi. 85p. or £3.50 p.a., from JSG BM3725 London WC1N 3XX

LAMBETH PRINTWORKERS SUPPORT GROUP. Public meeting. Support the printworkers. Speakers include Betty

Heathfield(Women Against Pit Closures), Carol Hall (Deputy MOC Times Newspapers SOGAT Clerical Chapel), plus speaker invited from S.African NUM. Friday June 13, 8.00 pm, Lambeth Town Hall, Room 119.

THIRD WORLD FIRST. Conference on Third World Aid, Saturday July 12, 10.00 am, University of London Union.

Please send details of your meetings and events to Workers Press, 210 Old Town, London SW4 6UT. To arrive not later than the Monday before publication.

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

RELEASE THE JAILED MINERS

SOUTH WALES

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

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

KENT

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

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

DURHAM

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

YORKSHIRE

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

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

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

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

N. DERBYSHIRE

DAVID GAUNT: Shirebrook — 2½ year sentence from December 1984. E71037. A Wing, Millers Park Youth Custody Centre, Doncaster Road, Doncaster

'SECURITY' HYSTERIA SURROUNDS 'CONSPIRACY' TRIAL

THIS Workers Press feature is by guest contributor TERRY O'HALLORAN, who is a supporter of 'Fight Racism! Fight Imperialism!', NUJ London Freelance Branch chairman and freelance representative on the NUJ ethics committee.

It deals with the 'trial-by-media' accorded to the defendants against the background of the strip-search torture of Ella O'Dwyer and Martina Anderson.

THE OLD BAILEY trial of five Irish men and women — Patrick Magee, Ella O'Dwyer, Martina Anderson, Gerry McDonnell and Peter Sherry — on conspiracy to cause explosions is drawing to a close.

Despite the media labelling of the case as the 'Brighton Bomb Trial', only one defendant, Patrick Magee, is charged in connection with the bombing of the Grand Hotel in October 1984.

He faces five murder charges.

The trial has been a typical example of British 'justice' as directed against the Irish people.

Long before the trial began, the five were found guilty by the media.

Following their arrest in June 1985, all five were immediately described as part an IRA active service unit planning to plant bombs in seaside resorts.

The police were praised for breaking up the 'plot'. For weeks, security scares were launched all over the country.

In fact only one bomb was found — in the Rubens Hotel, London.

Labour leader Neil Kinnock, the policeman's friend, congratulated the police for 'the success they have achieved against the Provisional IRA.'

Kinnock also, it seemed, had found the five guilty — untroubled by legal niceties such as people being innocent until proven guilty.

Torture

In the run up to the trial itself, Ella O'Dwyer and Martina Anderson faced the continual torture and sexual degradation of strip-searching.

Month after month, both women were repeatedly, almost daily, strip-searched.

In addition, they faced frequent body searched, cell searches and cell changes.

All this amounted not only to sexual torture but also a deliberate interference with the women's ability to organise their defence.

At the beginning of May, Dr Derek Davies of Bristol University told the High Court that Ella and Martina

had suffered severe distress and a significant impairment of concentration, undermining their ability to prepare their defence.

Justice Hodgson refused to take any notice of this and refused to rule the torturous practice of strip-searching illegal.

The trial began on Tuesday May 6 with the now routine theatrical display of 'security'.

Armed police ostentatiously dotted about on rooftops and walking the pavements around the court.

Searched

Jurors, lawyers, press, public all repeatedly searched going into and out of the building.

The still innocent defendants brought to court in a massive police convoy.

All this 'security' is intended to convince the jury that the defendants — if not all Irish people — are very dangerous people who should be locked away for as long as possible as quickly as possible.

Media access to the trial has been very closely controlled. I have been refused access to the trial for all but three days of the hearing.

This is because I have not been issued with an Old Bailey 'press pass'. The excuse for these press passes is to control space.

In reality they allow the court and the police to control media access and keep out any journalist who might challenge the rigid character of these political trials.

Outside the court, the process of control and censorship continues. Since May 12, there have been 54 arrests of demonstrators



THE TIME is 9.30 am and the traffic in the centre of the City of London has suddenly come to a standstill.

A two-hundred yard exclusion zone is quickly established around the entrance to the Old Bailey.

A helicopter hovers low overhead. A police officer stands with his finger on the trigger of his gun which, although still inside its holder, is clearly in view.

The convoy bringing the defendants to court appears, sirens wailing and lights flashing.

The front cars stop and police wearing blue berets jump out, taking cover behind car doors.

After the two armoured trucks carrying the defendants have disappeared inside, they wait another five minutes and then drive off.

As I take a photograph of this scene I hear a man next to me say, 'What's this all about?' Someone says, 'It's the Brighton Bombers, it happens every morning like this'.

As the traffic begins to move again, a police officer comes over to me and says, 'I would prefer it if you did not take photographs of our convoy'.

When I ask why, he says 'In a word, security. In those photographs there will be registration numbers, the number of vehicles in the convoy, the formation.'

I want to ask him if he is aware that it has just travelled nearly five miles from Brixton through one of the most heavily populated areas in England. I think better of it and leave.

protesting against the strip-searching and the censorship surrounding the trial.

City of London police have decided to break up any protest on the grounds that the trial is 'politically sensitive'.

The truth is that they do not want British people alerted to the true character of British justice against the Irish.

Lambeth Labour leader, Linda Bellos, supporters of Workers Press and Fight Racism! Fight Imperialism! are among the people arrested supporting the protests organised by the Irish Prisoners Appeal.

Jo Tully, the only one of the 54 so far charged, appears in court on July 24 for obstructing the highway.

In the trial, only Ella and Martina have given evidence

in their defence. They told the court how they were asked to help escort escaped Long Kesh prisoners to safe destinations on the continent.

Martina Anderson, asked how she felt about such a request, said 'I was honoured to be asked.'

Both women said that they agreed without hesitation to aid escaped Republican prisoners.

Escaped

One of the defendants, Gerry McDonnell, is one of the 38 Republican prisoners of war who escaped from Long Kesh in September 1983.

Ella and Martina have both denied any knowledge of, or part in, any conspiracy

to cause explosions.

The other defendants — Patrick Magee, Gerry McDonnell and Peter Sherry — have offered no defence evidence.

Patrick Magee's barrister, Richard Ferguson, has argued that Patrick's finger and palm prints found on a registration card in the Grand Hotel were planted by the police.

The opening days of the trial, with a bloodcurdling speech from prosecuting counsel, Roy Amlot, and detailed accounts from Grand Hotel survivors, were heavily reported in the most prejudicial manner.

Ella and Martina's defence evidence has not been so widely reported. The British media are not interested in telling anyone about two young Irish women prepared

to sacrifice their liberty to help escaped Irish POWs.

This trial displays all the elements that Irish people have come to expect in a British court: prejudice, censored media reporting, and torture.

The British ruling class decided on the verdict long before the 'trial' began.

Right

All five are Irish. All five support the right of the Irish people to self-determination.

This is more than sufficient evidence for the British ruling class, its police courts and media.

As the IRA pickets have pointed out, the real conspiracy in this trial is the British state conspiracy against the Irish people.

One year out for Morris strikers

From SIMON PIRANI
in GLASGOW

Young workers at a Morris Furniture factory in Glasgow celebrated one year on strike with a mass picket last Friday.

Miners from Ayrshire and Stirlingshire, printers, teachers, students, shipyard workers, engineers from Alexanders coachworks, Wills Tobacco and other Glasgow factories were present.

Furniture workers from other factories were there and FTAT national executive member David Maxwell addressed the pickets.

Delegations were present from the Glasgow trades council, Labour Party YS and the Workers Revolutionary Party.

A contingent from British Rail Engineering Ltd, where hundreds of sackings are threatened, marched on to the picket with their banner.

BREL deputy convenor John McFadyen led the chanting.

The two hundred pickets shouted furiously when the Morris scabs — down to a

miserable 35 in number — emerged.

They had just completed a 41-and-a-half hour week: when it was imposed without negotiation a year ago, the Morris FTAT members consulted their union and were sacked for questioning it.

Most of the scabs slunk away; one who abused the pickets was only saved from their anger by the police.

The Morris strikers are living testimony to the fact that, far from being simply defeated by Thatcher in the miners' strike, the working class learned many important lessons and gained confidence from the miners' stance.

Financial support for the Morris strikers has grown throughout the year and now it is more important than ever.

But we should be aiming not only to sustain the strike, but to inflict a defeat on Morris, the model Thatcherite employer who sacked his workers for being in a trade union and hopes to show that they will pay for this with their livelihood.

He must not be allowed to get away with this. Picketing and blacking of his products should be stepped up.

● The trade union movement must do something about the advertising display he has opened up at Glasgow's new Briggat shopping precinct — where he hopes to make good the losses inflicted by the strike by selling double-glazing.



Morris workers celebrate one year on strike — seen here with supporters

FREE THE GUILDFORD FOUR!

Part 4: The story of Carole Richardson:

BY PHIL PENN

CAROLE RICHARDSON was only 17 when she was arrested. She was interrogated for two days before she was allowed to telephone her mother.

It was nine days before she was able to see a solicitor.

As a result of a confession made under frightening conditions, and for no other reason, she has now served twelve years of an indefinite sentence.

When she was first arrested, Carole Richardson was asked where she was on October 5 1974, the day of the Guildford pub bombings.

It was some months before, and not unnaturally she said that she did not remember.

Diary

She told the police that there might be a reference to where she had been on that day in her diary.

The diary was never found.

Once she had been charged, the friend she had been with on October 5 phoned the court to ask the name and address of the solicitor acting on behalf of Carole Richardson.

No-one would tell him, so he walked into a Newcastle police station and asked them to help him to get in touch with her solicitor.

Those following this series will not be surprised to hear

that the reaction of the police was to arrest the young man and hold him until officers of the Surrey Constabulary arrived in Newcastle to interview him.

He told them that Carole had been with him on October 5 at London's South Bank Polytechnic, attending a concert at which a Newcastle group was playing.

Up to this point Carole had said nothing about this whatsoever.

The man was later released only to be rearrested later and flown to Guildford by private aircraft.

He was then detained at Guildford police station for two days for interrogation.

He said in court that the police threatened to throw him off a roof in order to make him change his statement.

He said that he did change it after they hit him and threatened to kill his invalid mother.

This evidence was ignored but the press and Sir Michael Havers, for the prosecution, made great play of the fact that the young man had been on an anti-internment march.

CAROLE RICHARDSON was picked up by the police and framed as one of the 'Guildford Bombers.' She has spent twelve of the best years of her life in jail because the police, under pressure to produce results, were prepared to ignore any evidence that contradicted what they wanted to hear. In this week's Workers Press, PHIL PENN recounts some of the glaring contradictions in the police story.

Unable to discredit his evidence, they contented themselves with trying to discredit the man in the eyes of both the public and the jury.

The Surrey police found that the group had indeed played at the South Bank Polytechnic.

Moreover, a member of the group had taken photographs of Carole and another girl who had been with her that night.

The doorman remembered her being there and said she arrived at 7.30 pm.

This threw the Surrey constabulary into a crisis.

In their opening statement at the committal proceedings and in the deposition documents which formed the evidence against the accused, they had said that Carole Richardson and Patrick Armstrong planted the bomb between 6.30 pm and 7.00 pm in the Horse and Groom public house.

Minutes

This meant that the earliest time that Carole could have left the Horse and Groom was a few minutes before 7.00 pm.

She had then to get from Guildford to the South Bank Polytechnic by 7.30 pm — a journey of about 24 miles, 10 of which would be through South London's built up area.

The solicitor acting on behalf of Carole Richardson employed a car hire firm to run the journey.

The best times that they were able to do were one hour and four minutes and one hour and six minutes.

The police did it in 52 minutes — in a 2.5 litre Triumph police car in the early hours of the morning.

They claimed that this made it just possible for Carole to have left the public house just before 7.00 pm, picked up the car that was said to have been left there by the IRA and driven at a fast speed to arrive at the Polytechnic at 7.45 pm.

Ignoring the small fact that none of the defendants can drive, this scenario has a certain number of logical difficulties attached to it.

Alibi

Would the IRA go to the trouble of rigging an alibi for only one member of the group? Why would they not extend the alibi to the others?

Would anyone who had just planted a bomb risk attracting attention by driving at high speed along major roads which were well patrolled by the police?

If Carole Richardson had been part of a bombing team she would surely have been aware of the creation of this alibi on her behalf by the IRA.

But she did not say to the police, immediately upon her arrest, that she knew where she was on October 5.

Both Carole Richardson and Patrick Armstrong were living in a squat at the time.

The press hailed this revelation as being a new tactic adopted by the IRA as a cover.

In fact anyone who has lived in a squat will know that they are regarded as legitimate targets for the police at any time day or night — with or without a warrant.

Indeed the squat that Carole and Patrick were living in was entered by the police on no less than three occasions just before the Guildford and Woolwich bombings.

On each occasion Armstrong was interviewed and gave his correct name.

It would have been impossible to be armed or store arms, explosives or any other equipment necessary for a bombing campaign.

Armstrong stated that he was in the squat with a number of other people on the night of the bombings.

He went on to say that he and Carole had been hitchhiking some two weeks after the Guildford bombing when Carole was assaulted by a drunk in a telephone box in Folkestone.

Armstrong called the police who arrested the man and took all three of them to

Folkestone police station where they were interviewed.

Carole's injuries were such that it became a matter of common assault, which the police would not normally prosecute.

During that interview both Armstrong and Richardson gave their correct names. Armstrong had a strong Belfast accent.

Would a couple who had just been out on a bombing campaign, knowing the anti-Irish hysteria being created, put themselves in the hands of the police shortly after, with Armstrong being unmistakably Irish?

Armstrong's contacts with police did not stop there.

Approximately a week before the Woolwich bombing, for which he was also tried and convicted, the meters in the flat where he was living were broken into.

He called the police, he was interviewed and gave his correct name.

Another feature of the case is that the police and the prison service continued to call him Patrick Joseph Armstrong even after a birth certificate was produced showing that his names were only Patrick Armstrong.

Patrick Joseph Armstrong was apparently a known member of the IRA.



Carole Richardson

At the trial the evidence of the police officers involved in both the Folkestone incident and the meter breaking incident were produced.

In the atmosphere that prevailed at the time they had little effect on the jury.

The evidence of those who were living in the squat and came forward to give evidence on behalf of Armstrong was said by the prosecution, because of their lifestyle, to be unreliable.

Staged

Carole Richardson was put on 30 identity parades and never picked out by anyone.

The conditions under which these parades are staged was described by Liz Hill in the first part of this series. The defendant is made to stick out like a sore thumb.

Carole Richardson has now spent her entire youth behind bars.

She has recently been refused parole because of a change in the law instituted by Leon Brittan.

In June 1980, The Hibernian reported that she is prescribed drugs daily.

'The reason for the drugs would be apparent', the newspaper said, to anyone who had seen 'Carole's face in deepest black despair when she heard three years ago that her appeal was rejected' — despite the Balcombe Street Four claiming responsibility for the Guildford and Woolwich Bombings.

● The information in this article came from the Fact Pack which is available from the Free the Guildford Four campaign, BM BOX 6944, London WC1N3XX. price 50p+postage. (Donations, which are much needed, should be sent to the same address.) It is also available from Paper Backs Centres.

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.

NOEL GIBSON: Life sentence, 879225.

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.

VINCE DONNELLY: Life sentence, 274064.

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

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

ROY WALSH: Life sentence, 119083.

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.



Patrick Armstrong

Folkestone police station where they were interviewed.

Carole's injuries were such that it became a matter of common assault, which the police would not normally prosecute.

During that interview both Armstrong and Richardson gave their correct names. Armstrong had a strong Belfast accent.

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Patrick Joseph Armstrong was apparently a known member of the IRA.

Manchester Irish Solidarity Committee

PUBLIC MEETING

The Anglo-Irish Agreement

— Is it the answer?

Tuesday June 3, 7.00pm

Longsight Library

Stockport Road

Manchester

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

WORLD NEWS

China revives 'One hundred flowers' slogan

But political criticism stays shackled

CHINESE leaders and scholars are quoting again Mao Tse Tung's famous 1956 call to 'let a hundred flowers blossom, let a hundred schools of thought contend', an invitation to intellectuals to speak out freely and hold different views.

Nineteen prominent writers have issued a call for the intellectual freedom policy to be guaranteed by law.

They say only the law can draw the line between proper and improper expression and that the policy needs to be institutionalised to keep it secure.

The 'Hundred Flowers' movement in 1956 brought widespread criticism of official policies and leaders and this led Mao to cut it short the following year.

After 1957, there came an 'Anti-Rightist Campaign' in which many people lost their posts and were sent off to the countryside for 'reform through labour'.

Recent articles in the Chinese press have called for a 'Hundred Flowers' policy in science, the law, arts and academic work, but

stressed it should not apply in politics.

Lu Dingyi, former Mao propaganda chief who backed the 'Hundred Flowers' movement initially, turning against the intellectuals later, said recently that the policy should be applied in the social and natural sciences.

In the 'Guangming Ribao' daily on May 7, Lu said a few rightists had tried to whip-up counter-revolutionary opinion in the 1950s, but many people had been wrongly persecuted.

He instanced a former Peking University president, the economist Ma Yinchu, persecuted for having warned against over-

population.

(During the period, China's policy was to use masses of labourers in construction projects etc. rather than machinery.)

It was said China was under-populated.

Now the government has very strict birth control policies.

The writer Wang Meng, expected to become Culture Minister, has been quoted as saying the policy represented cultural and artistic democracy.

The official Writers' Association's 'Literary Gazette' warned in March however that there is no such thing as absolute creative freedom.

It accused some writers of indifference to China's modernization drive.

The present Chinese leadership argues that besides leading to excesses against individuals, the 'Cultural Revolution' of the 1960's undermined management and scientific development and

stressed ideology at the expense of expertise.

Deng Xiaoping's reform policy has allowed more experiment in cultural work, abstract art and imports of Western material, from Shakespeare to rock music.

But a play that poked fun at the government was discontinued last year.

Behind the cautious relaxation in cultural life is a policy, coupling greater intellectual freedom with material incentives, of encouraging the intellectuals and scientists to come forward with more research and ideas for technological and economic development.

At the same time as going for more capitalist trade and investment, even taking steps to resurrect the Shanghai stock exchange, the bureaucracy has been deliberately increasing pay differentials and individual incentives.

To cope with the risk of new social conflicts and political unrest, the Chinese Stalinists hope to 'buy' the intellectuals with both material rewards to compete for and privileges, including that of greater freedom — within their own fields.

Real freedom of political discussion, especially if it threatens to develop among the working class and youth, is not part of the plan.

Mao's portrait — not so common in China today. This one hangs over entrance to Peking's 'Forbidden City'

China has been labour-intensive. On a Canton building site, workers breaking stones with hammers. The Government wants to modernise technology, raise labour productivity.

(Photos JD, Leeds)



CITY OF LONDON ANTI-APARTHEID GROUP

Monday June 16

10th anniversary of Soweto

join the

Day for the Youth

at the non-stop picket of the
South African Embassy
(with mass picket from 6pm)

24 hour picket

South African Embassy

Black Consciousness Movement/AZAPO
is commemorating the Tenth Anniversary of

Soweto 1976

Meet at 7pm at Trafalgar Square
on June 15, 1986

also rally at 4pm June 15
at Teatro Technics,

26 Crowndale Road, London NW1

Supported by: Turkey Solidarity Campaign
Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam
Chile Democratica

Black Unity and Freedom Party Migrants Action Group

Federation of Bangladeshi Youth Organisations

Azania Solidarity Campaign

British Friends of Palestine

All London Teachers Against Racism and Fascism

City Anti-Apartheid Group

Sudan People Liberation Movement

Kurdish Solidarity Campaign

Revolutionary Communist League

Hackney Black People's Association

Hackney Asian Association

Communist Organisation of England and Scotland

World Bank loans for Hungary

US cash for 'Liberalisation'

THE WORLD BANK is stepping into Hungary's economy and financing a five-year programme aimed at changing methods and management in state-owned industry to make it more 'competitive'.

Details of the plan have not yet been announced, but the big capitalist involvement is significant.

The Bank has announced two big loans to the Hungarian government, first being \$64 million for the country's electricity supply.

Hungary has a \$620 million plan to improve power stations and distribution between now and 1994.

The second loan, announced last week, will provide \$100 million to a \$317

million economic project, part of which aims at reforming management and production methods throughout Hungarian industry.

The loan, going to the National Bank of Hungary to provide working capital, will also back specific changes in Hungary's plastics industry, aimed at improving quality control, testing, research and development.

The loans are to be repayable over a 15 year period, with interest starting at 8.5 per cent a year.

There will be a three-year period of grace when only interest need be paid.

The Hungarian bureaucracy under Kadar adopted a policy of 'liberalisation' in the economy, including joint ventures with foreign private capital and borrowed from European and

Japanese banks to boost development.

Hungary's exports of raw materials and agricultural produce did well in the 1960s, but manufacturers have not done so well, especially under conditions of recession and trade war.

Set up like the I.M.F. as part of post-war attempts to control world capitalism, the World Bank is owned by 149 member-governments, with the United States holding the lion's share — 27 per cent of voting rights.

All its presidents have been Americans.

The Soviet Union and most workers' states are not members.

In 1981, former General Motors chief and US Defence Secretary Robert McNamara was replaced as World

Bank president by A.W. Clausen, ex-president of the Bank of America.

His view of its role was indicated in a 1982 speech:

'It is not in the business of redistributing wealth from one set of countries to another set of countries.'

It is not the Robin Hood of the international financial set, nor a giant global welfare agency.

The World Bank is a hard-headed, unsentimental institution that takes a very pragmatic and nonpolitical view of what it is trying to do.

With huge sums to be raised in difficult world capital markets to back its lending and a president close to Reagan's policies, the World Bank's 'non-political' hard-headedness is likely to get harder.

What promises the Hungarian bureaucracy have made for their loans have yet to be disclosed.

But besides the World Bank's stated preference for private enterprise, there is the Polish experience as a warning to hand for Hungarian workers.

As Clausen said, the banks are no 'welfare agency'.

When they want their return, it's the workers who'll be expected to pay.

Deadwood Sheriff

Voters in San Mateo county, California had a dead man as one of their candidates for sheriff in elections this week.

A report from Redwood (or should it be Deadwood?) City says incumbent Brendan Maguire died last month aged 53 from natural

causes.

Supporters kept his name on the ballot paper in the hope of keeping out his only opponent, Jim White.

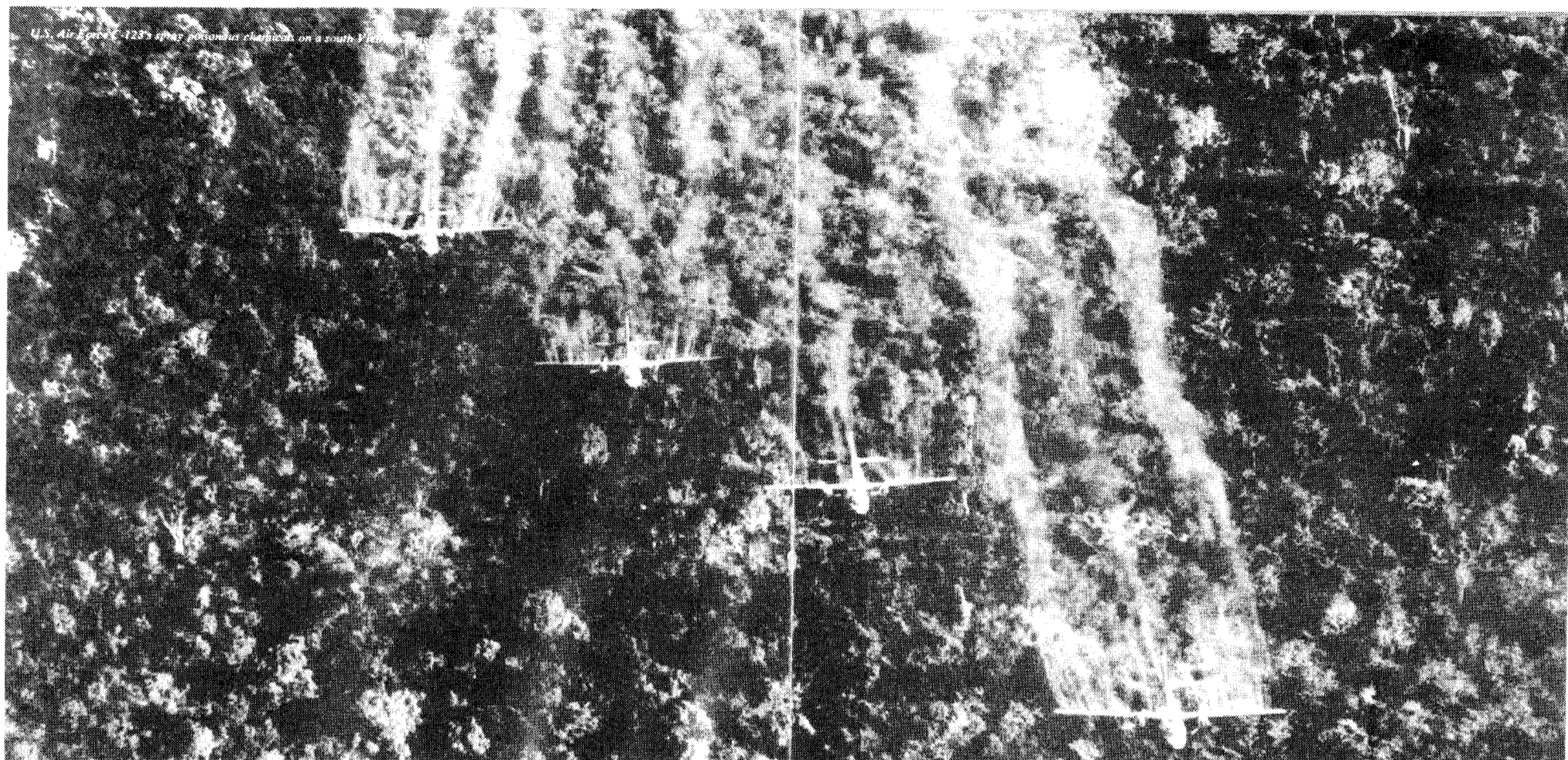
If the dead man wins, a temporary sheriff will be appointed and fresh elections held next March.

Maguire supporters have

also filed a court application to have the election postponed to August — presumably to find another candidate.

There is no truth in the rumour that the Conservative Party in Britain is having some of its backwoods MPs checked out.

WORLD NEWS



VIETNAMESE CONFRONT 'AGENT ORANGE' HORROR DIOXIN DEATH TOLL MOUNTS

VIETNAMESE SCIENTISTS have found that liver cancer and birth defects in Vietnam were caused by the US spraying huge quantities of the herbicide Agent Orange in the war that ended in 1974.

They also say the chemical has denuded forest lands where there are now only large numbers of rats.

The Vietnamese researchers blame the chemical for serious medical problems, unlike studies done on US war veterans, which played down the effects.

The Vietnamese admit that their work needs to be checked because they lack sophisticated facilities, but the evidence is strong.

From 1961 to 1971, the United States sprayed an estimated 19 million gallons of

herbicide on South Vietnam to prevent the Vietnamese liberation forces from sheltering in the forest and to deny them food.

About 60 per cent of the herbicide was Agent Orange, which contains dioxin, a highly toxic impurity which has been shown to cause cancer, birth defects and genetic damage in laboratory animals.

Scientists say that 10 per cent of south Vietnam was sprayed, some of it more than once.

Dr Le Cao Dai, general secretary of the Committee which coordinates Vietnamese research on the effects of Agent Orange, said they do not know how many people were in the areas, but a survey found that almost 2

million people — 7.3 per cent of Vietnam's population — lived in the affected areas in 1979.

In 1983, Vietnamese scientists presented their work at an international symposium in Ho Chi Minh City.

They showed that Agent Orange was linked with hepatitis, liver cancer, neurological and gastrointestinal disorders, birth defects and other problem pregnancies.

Today some 150 researchers at 15 institutions are researching the problem and getting similar results.

One researcher, Dr Ton Duc Lang of Viet Duc Hospital in Hanoi, says the incidence of primary liver cancer — tumours that begin in the liver — is four times what it was before the war.

'We cannot say dioxin causes the cancer, but we can say there is a close connection between dioxin and cancer of the liver,' Lang says.

Lang said he found higher rates and more severe birth defects among children of veterans who had fought in the south than in children of those stationed in the north.

Of 800 who remained in the north, less than half a per cent of their 2,000 children were deformed.

But of 1,200 who had fought in the south, 2.7 per cent of their 5,000 children had birth defects.

Other studies have found similar results.

'I believe the cause of the higher rate is Agent Orange, but I am trying to demonstrate it,' said Lang.

'Mathematically, it is very significant, but it is not easy to prove.'

Vietnamese scientists say dioxin also may have caused increases in miscarriages, stillbirths and molar pregnancies (in which a normal foetus fails to develop).

The damage done to the environment has been easier to document.

Biologist Vo Quy of the University of Hanoi has shown that the American spraying was a major cause of the deforestation crisis in Vietnam, along with slash and burn agriculture, forest fires and chopping for firewood.

Long after they were sprayed, forest and fields remain deserted savannahs where only wild grass grows.

Only about 10 per cent of the sprayed areas are returning to normal vegetation, and Quy's opinion is that areas sprayed more than once will never recover.

Even if the Vietnamese had the resources to replant, only about half of the affected areas could recover, he says.

Entire species of wildlife have disappeared from the sprayed areas.

Before the war, 150 species of birds and 40-50 species of animals inhabited one area, Aluoi in Binh Tri Tien province.

Now there are only 25 species of birds and 5 species of other animals in the same area — and this includes three types of rat, which flourish in the areas.

Two-pronged attack on PLO Hussein manoeuvres as Amal tanks roll

By CHARLIE POTTINS

PALESTINIANS and their national movement, the PLO, have come under a two-pronged attack as Syria's Assad regime and King Hussein of Jordan move closer in aims.

Dozens of people have been killed and hundreds wounded in fighting in Lebanon, where the Syrian-backed Amal militia besieged Palestinian camps.

It was the second time the supposedly devout Shi'ites of Amal have chosen Ramadan to make their attack.

Last week, Syrian-supplied Soviet-made T54 tanks — not much in evidence when they were needed to fight Israeli invasion — were in action against Palestinians defending Chatilla and Bourj el Barajneh camps, in south Beirut.

Elsewhere, Amal militia-men broke into Palestinian

homes forcing families to flee for their lives.

PLO chairman Yasser Arafat demanded the Arab world intervene to stop the new onslaught.

He said Amal forces were shooting indiscriminately into Palestinian camps.

Shi'ite leader and Justice Minister Nabih Berri has been echoing Israeli Zionist complaints that the PLO and particularly Fatah forces supporting Arafat have been rebuilding their strength in Lebanon.

He also remarked not long ago that units of the Syrian-backed 'Palestine Salvation Front' set up to oppose Ara-

fat tended to become pro-Arafat as soon as they crossed the Shtoura demarcation line from Syrian-held areas.

Berri wants to use his role as Syrian protege not to end religious sectarianism in Lebanon but to maintain a bigger share in the spoils.

Syrian leader Hafez el Assad, having failed to destroy Palestinian independent organisation, still wants to pose as policeman of the area to prepare for deals with the US and Israelis.

It is probably no coincidence that the latest attacks come after more talks between Jordan's Hussein and Assad.

The Jordanian monarch, who reneged on an agreement with the PLO in February, flew to Damascus on May 25 for private talks with Assad, the second time they'd met in three weeks.

On June 1, renegade Palestinian Atallah Atallah, aka 'Abu Zaim', claimed in Amman that he had replaced Arafat as general commander of Fatah and relieved Palestinian military commander Khalil el Wazir — Abu Jihad — of his post.

Atallah is generally regarded as a right-wing stooge being backed by the Jordanian monarchy.

Abu Jihad dismissed his posturing as 'illegal and insignificant.'

British Prime Minister Thatcher's recent arrogant attacks on the PLO indicate the hopes US and British imperialism are placing on a new conspiracy against the Palestinians.

● The Arab masses and the international working class must solidarise with the Palestinians to defeat this latest conspiracy.

APARTHEID POLICE BACKED THUGS

SO-CALLED 'vigilante' gangs who attacked anti-racist militants and burned homes in Black townships were armed and organised by South African security police.

The 'vigilantes' destroyed thousands of homes and killed many people in the Crossroads squatter camp near Cape Town, where the racist regime was determined to evict people.

Several Black activists were murdered last month in Alexandra township, outside Johannesburg.

Church people in the Cape have reported that police stood by while the 'vigilantes' looted and burned shacks in Crossroads.

Lawyers have obtained

sworn statements from witnesses that police provided incendiary devices, and that troops and police took part in the attacks.

In the Transvaal, the East Rand People's Organisation produced two men who confessed to having taken part in petrol bomb attacks on homes of anti-Apartheid activists and shooting people — and said they had been paid for it.

One man said he had been part of a squad of five security police and 13 'vigilantes'.

There is 'overwhelming evidence that the latest round of violence and killing was planned and executed by policemen and their friends', white opposition MP Dave Dalling said in parliament.

COMMENT

by Cyril Smith

'SOCIALIST WORKER' AND CHERNOBYL

'SOCIALIST WORKER', the weekly paper published by the Socialist Workers Party can be relied upon each week to produce superficial and trivial comments on any subject it touches.

Those who write it are convinced that their readers are a bunch of ignorant yobs and they aim to provide them with material which will keep them like that.

For example, the Chernobyl nuclear disaster evoked a centre spread on May 17 entitled, predictably, 'Is Russia Different?'. It began:

'East and West, the demand of our rulers is for greater productivity . . .

and ended: ' . . . which is why Socialist Worker repeats every week, "Neither Washington nor Moscow, but International Socialism".'

Author Ian Taylor presents a catalogue of features which, he says, Russian and Western societies have in common.

'The economy over which Gorbachev presides is like one huge industrial monopoly — Russia Ltd.'

Workers are badly paid. They are made to work hard. Their housing is poor. Health facilities are inadequate. There are insufficient educational resources. And so on.

If the nuclear reactor blew up at Chernobyl, this was 'the result of a worldwide system that dictates that corners be cut, unthinkable risks be taken and workers' lives sacrificed.'

Anyone who asks why things are like that is given a few mumbled phrases about 'the accumulation of capital' being the driving force of the system.

And how is international socialism going to replace the existing state of affairs? The overthrow of capitalism is apparently going to come about when workers get fed up with their poor conditions.

The group calling itself the Socialist Workers Party originated as a faction within the Trotskyist movement which broke from Trotsky's conception of the Soviet Union.

Trotsky held that the USSR remained as a conquest of the international working class, and that the 1917 revolution, which Marxists understood as the first stage in the world revolutionary overthrow of imperialism, had been betrayed by the Stalinist bureaucracy, but not destroyed.

Trotsky had explained this bureaucratic layer as a cancerous growth on the body of the workers' state, analogous to the bureaucrats who dominate a trade union. This cancer would be removed by a political revolution, restoring the workers' democracy.

In the meantime, the working class internationally had to defend the nationalised property relations which had enabled modern industry to develop in this most backward country, despite the bungling, inhuman methods of the bureaucratic planners.

But this opposition group announced that the USSR was just another form of capitalism — 'State Capitalism' — under which the bureaucrats exploited the Soviet workers. Nothing at all was left of 1917.

As strongly as the crudest of Stalinists, the believers in 'State Capitalism' held that the bureaucracy was not a disease, but an essential feature of the Soviet state.

In 1950, during the war of US imperialism against North Korea, the Trotskyists argued for the defence of the Korean and Chinese workers' states against the imperialist forces, who had assumed the cover of the United Nations.

In this country, where US imperialism was backed by the Labour government of Alee, the 'State Capitalist' group declared that they were 'neutral' and were expelled from the movement.

This was not a dispute about theoretical terminology, of course. In writing off 1917, they were also throwing away the materialist conception of the fight for socialism.

Marxism is a science. It is the essential foundation for the leadership of the workers' revolution, establishing its independence from the ideology of the ruling class.

Those who pick out bits and pieces of it must soon find themselves adapting their political activity to the existing order of things.

Trying to make their ideas as palatable as possible, the SWP tells us that Russia is just a different kind of capitalism — and get rid of Marx's entire conception of capital.

Capital is not 'factories and machinery', as Taylor says, but a social relation of production, developed under specific historical conditions.

The development of technology and of the productive forces as a whole, come into conflict with this social relation. This is the basis for its revolutionary overthrow and replacement with socialism.

The SWP must explain the fight for socialism in terms of how individual workers feel about their exploitation and its effects on their lives.

Without Marx's conception of capital, they are unable to conceive of economic crisis as providing the conditions for revolutionary struggle.

The Chernobyl disaster cannot be understood in the crude terms in which Taylor and his friends see politics.

If the Soviet bureaucrats were driven to develop nuclear power, with all the dangers that this entails, this has nothing to do with a drive for 'profits'.

Nuclear reactors were developed for military reasons. If Russian scientists and technologists were forced into this business, it is a reflection of the threat to the existence of the Soviet state which the continued existence of imperialism implies.

The crime of the bureaucracy is that its reactionary relationship with the Russian working class is reflected in its reactionary international politics.

In its attempts to buy off imperialism and achieve 'peaceful coexistence' with it, the bureaucracy is counter-revolutionary and prolongs the life of this decaying world order.

Chernobyl represents the starkest reminder that ridding the world of capitalism is a matter of life and death for humanity.

But for this to be accomplished, Marxism as a scientific world outlook must be developed in the building of the Fourth International to extend the October Revolution to the advanced capitalist countries, and to overthrow the Stalinist bureaucracy.

VIETNAM

IN 1938, TROTSKY and his co-thinkers — who had fought to continue the heritage of Lenin and the Russian Revolution against counter-revolutionary Stalinism — founded the Fourth International.

Its founding document declared that 'outside of these cadres there does not exist a single revolutionary current on this planet really meriting the name'.

At that time one of the biggest sections of the Trotskyist movement was engaged in a life and death struggle in French Indo-China (Vietnam).

That struggle in the main was against counter-revolutionary Stalinism under the leadership of Ho Chi Minh.

Stalinism does not have revolutionary sections and counter-revolutionary sections.

Revolutionary Trotskyist parties must be built in opposition to Stalinism (counter-revolutionary everywhere!) if the working class is to take power and establish socialism on the face of the planet.

That the history of the Vietnamese Trotskyists has been totally ignored by all the main Trotskyist groups is not surprising.

After all, what happened to the Cuban Trotskyists and the Chinese?

Peng Shu-tse (Chinese Trotskyist leader) complained bitterly in a report to the Unified Secretariat in 1969 that no one wanted to hear of Mao's torture and murder of the Chinese Trotskyists and the USEC adaptation to guerillaism and abandonment of the working class.

The great theoretical problems for Trotskyism of the nature of the events in China, Vietnam and Cuba resulted in so severe a disorientation that history was consciously falsified both by the International Committee and by the United Secretariat going back to the Pablo split.

True, Pablo began this falsification, vet. despite a formal adherence to orthodox Trotskyism, Healy and Cannon did not understand the post-war events in Yugoslavia and China any better.

Both major sections ignored this history.

For instance, Trotsky's Open Letter to the Workers of India, July 25, 1939, was censored by the Indian section to exclude the para-

graph where Trotsky praises the sections in French Indo-China as holding the first place among the sections in the colonial and semi-colonial countries.

'In a number of colonial and semi-colonial countries sections of the Fourth International already exist and are making successful progress.

'First place among them is unquestionably held by our section in French Indo-China, which is conducting an irreconcilable struggle against French imperialism and "People's Front" mystifications.

' "The Stalinist leaders", it is stated in the newspaper of the Saigon workers (The Struggle, La Lutte) of April 7th, 1939, 'have taken yet another step on the road of betrayal.

'Throwing off their masks as revolutionists, they have become champions of imperialism and openly speak out against emancipation of the oppressed colonial peoples'.

'Owing to their bold revolutionary politics, the Saigon proletarians, members of the Fourth Interna-



Pablo

tional, scored a brilliant victory over the bloc of the ruling party and the Stalinists at the elections to the Colonial Council held in April of this year.

(Open Letter to the Workers of India, July 25th, 1939.

The current debate on the history of the Fourth International has provoked heated discussion. In this Workers Press feature, GERRY DOWNING argues that the history of the Trotskyists in Vietnam has been suppressed in the mainstream of the movement for years — and that this conceals a fundamental revision of the Trotskyist conception of Stalinism, denying its counter-revolutionary role.

Drawing on a pamphlet published by Chartist International in 1972, he outlines the story of this movement and of its brutal suppression by Ho Chi Minh.

Further material confirming the general line of the argument is outlined at the end of the article.

in Writings of Leon Trotsky, 1938-9.)

In similar fashion, Stephen Johns, writing on the tenth anniversary of the liberation of Saigon gives all the praise to the Vietnamese Stalinists and blackguards and falsifies the positions of the Trotskyists.

To cap it all, he then quotes Trotsky's criticism of the party in 1932, presenting it as if it were written in the late thirties and totally ignoring the quotations referred to above.

Needless to say, in that article, Trotsky makes no differentiation between national Vietnamese Stalinism and its international role of counter-revolution.

Also in May 1985, a Labour Review editorial, obviously written by Mike Banda, never mentions Ta Thu Thau, or what Ho Chi Minh did in murdering him and the entire Trotskyist cadre in order to welcome back French and British imperialism and bedeck Hanoi with the stars and stripes.

Did Mike Banda not know these details? If not, this speaks of criminal negligence and total subservience to Stalinism.

If he did, it speaks of something far worse.

To give a brief history of what happened:

The Vietnamese Trotskyist movement was founded by Ta Thu Thau in 1932.

It suffered almost immediate oppression but began to revive in Saigon and the south in 1933.

By brilliant adoption of Trotsky's advice (which

Johns so deftly misdates; they formed a united front with the Stalinists in the newspaper, 'La Lutte'.

Again and again they forced the Stalinists into leading struggles which they betrayed.

When the Popular Front became Stalinist policy, their alliance with right-wing nationalists destroyed their credibility in the eyes of the workers.

In the municipal elections in Saigon in April 1939, Ta Thu Thau and Tran Van Trech were elected with 80 per cent of the votes.

The Stalinists and the right-wing shared the remainder.

In September 1939 Ta Thu Thau was arrested and not released until the end of the Japanese occupation, half paralysed.

In 1941 the Viet Minh was formed from the Trotskyists, the Stalinists and bourgeois nationalist groups.

At the end of the war and with the collapse of Japan, great revolutionary ferment opened up.

Peoples Committees (Soviets) were organised in the South.

The north was under the Chinese nationalist army of Chiang Kai Shek.

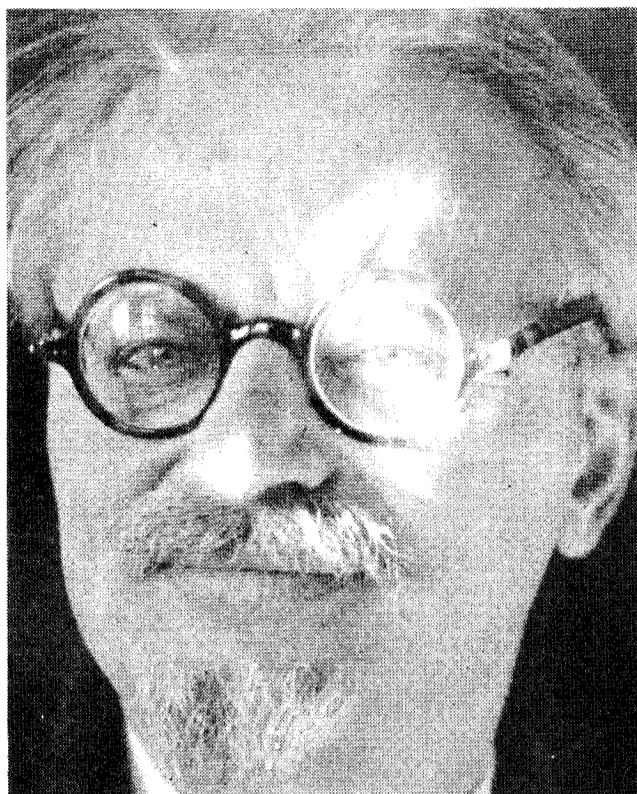
The right-wing nationalist groups organised a demonstration for national independence.

The Trotskyists of the International Communist League joined in and demanded 'Land to the peasants, nationalisation of industry under workers' control'.

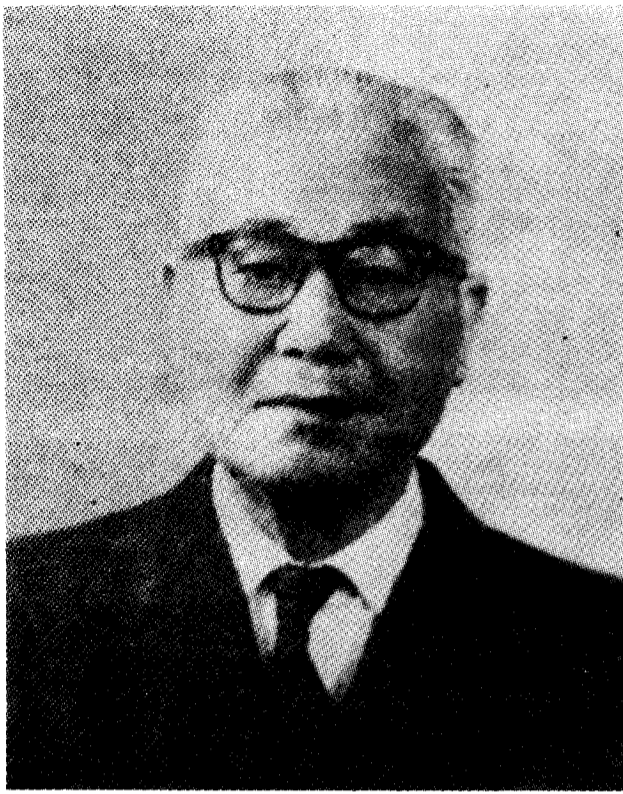


In 1940, the Japanese invaded Vietnam. On orders from the Vichy government, the French in Vietnam offered no resistance and, for the first years of the war, administered the colony for the Japanese. Here, the Japanese commander takes the French salute (1940). By the end of the war, Ho Chi Minh had appealed to the French administrators for support against the Japanese

AND TROTSKYISM



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Peng Shu-tse (Chinese Trotskyist leader) — complained bitterly in a report to the Unified Secretariat in 1969 that no one wanted to hear of Mao's torture and murder of the Chinese Trotskyists and the USEC adaption to guerillaism and abandonment of the working class.



Ho Chi Minh — talking of Trotskyist Ta Thu Thau, arrested and shot on Ho's orders: 'He was a great patriot and we mourn him'. . . but 'All those who do not follow the line I have laid down will be broken.'

Several tens of thousands of workers joined under the Trotskyist banners.

A provisional central committee was set up for the Peoples' Committees with a militia under the leadership of Nguyen Hai An.

The Stalinists struck back. They formed an alliance with the right-wing nationalists and launched a coup.

'La Lutte' commented that 'The Viet Minh came to power with all the leading classes of society behind it and with the whole bourgeois state apparatus'.

The first declaration was 'Those who incite the peasants to take over the estates will be severely and mercilessly punished' and 'Those who incite the people to take up arms will be considered as saboteurs and provocateurs, enemies of national independence'.

This was in response to the

return of French imperialism.

The Peoples Committees spread all over the south.

The government of the Stalinists surrounded the centre of the Peoples' Committees on September 14th, tore down the red flags and imprisoned the delegates.

General Gracy, the British commander, recounts that he was welcomed into Saigon on September 22, 1945 by the Viet Minh.

'I promptly kicked them out'.

As the Stalinists fled, the working class and peasants under Trotskyist leadership fought the invaders with terrible slaughter.

The Viet Minh negotiated a truce and then committed one of the foulest crimes in the black history of Stalinism.

They surrounded a meeting of the 'La Lutte' group

organising the People's Committees to fight the invading army and arrested and massacred all present.

Ta Thu Thau was arrested on the orders of Ho Chi Minh on his way back from the north to organise famine relief.

A tribunal of the People's Committees found him innocent three times before the Stalinists shot him anyway.

Ho Chi Minh was forced to say of Ta that 'He was a great patriot and we mourn him' but 'All those who do not follow the line I have laid down will be broken'.

This was as he embraced the over-decorated generals of French imperialism in Paris in accordance with the Popular Front glorifying of the 'French union'.

The invading French liquidated the remaining Trotskyist cadre and continued their invasion with no

resistance from the Viet Minh.

Again in 1954, Ho Chi Minh conceded all the territory south of the seventeenth parallel after Dien Bien Phu for the sake of 'peaceful co-existence' after a crushing victory over French imperialism.

Indeed it is clear that the Vietnamese revolution was successful only insofar as the working class could be kept from the leadership, the property relationships could be overturned under a Stalinist bureaucratic clique and the vital Stalinist policy of peaceful co-existence on a world arena could be preserved.

It therefore could only happen by a guerilla war, surrounding the cities from the countryside and viciously putting down the independent movement of the working class under Trotskyist leadership even if this meant

the loss of the revolution itself.

Only the proximity of China and the Soviet Union enabled Ho Chi Minh to carry out a bourgeois nationalist anti-imperialist revolution and then to overturn bureaucratically the property relations whilst excluding the working class from power and halting the international advance of the revolution.

In 1975, socialism in a single country triumphed although imperialism suffered its greatest blow since 1945.

Mike Banda's article in the May 1985 Labour Review gives a totally false picture of an objectively evolving world revolution which Healy explicitly expounds in a recent News Line article.

The world revolution is an objective process which will happen with or without the Fourth International.

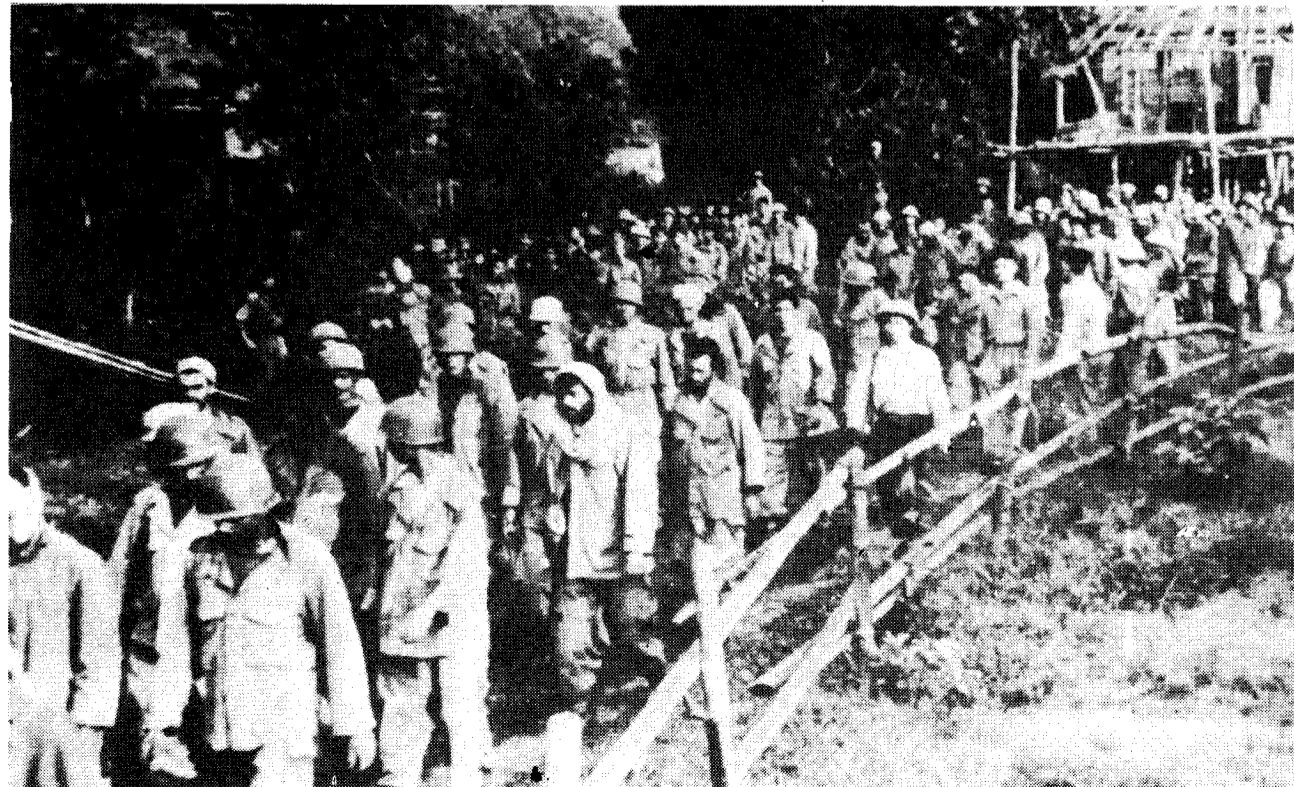
No. Banda. No. Healy. That party and that International must be built and there is no substitute!

Neither Mao Tse-tung, Ho Chi Minh, Giap and the Vietnamese Stalinists of Banda, nor the 'objective processes' of Healy.

This liquidationist position finds its ideological rationale in Banda's documents.

It represents a petty-bourgeois abstentionism from the class struggle which cannot abide the discipline of a revolutionary party without the bureaucratic compulsion of Torrance/Healy to substitute for their own political judgment.

Acknowledgement to Richard Stephenson's pamphlet, 'Vietnam: Stalinism v Revolutionary Socialism'. A Chartist International Publication. 1972.



On May 7, 1954, after eight weeks of bitter fighting, the French garrison in Dien Ben Phu surrendered. With this defeat, French influence in Southeast Asia came to an end. Here, French troops leave the battlefield

FURTHER READING

1. A discussion within the SWP (US) on Vietnamese Stalinism and Trotskyism: 'Contribution to a debate: On the nature of the Vietnamese Communist Party', by George Johnson and Fred Feldman, International Socialist Review (USA) Jul-Aug 1973; 'The Vietnamese Revolution and the Role of the Party' by Pierre Rousset and 'Vietnam, Stalinism and the Postwar Socialist Revolutions' by George Johnson and Fred Feldman, ISR April 1974; 'The Vietnamese CP and its leadership' by Louis Couturier, ISR Feb 1975.
 2. A detailed account of Vietnamese Trotskyism and Stalinism from the 1920s, written apparently for US imperialist military and government circles: 'Marxism in South East Asia' edited by F Trager, Stanford University Press 1960.
 3. The pamphlet 'Vietnam: Stalinism v. Revolutionary Socialism' by Richard Stephenson covers the subject fully. A brief reference to the role of the Vietnamese Trotskyists in the 1945 August revolution is in 'Communism Since World War II', by A Westoby.
 4. The ICFI's version of Vietnamese history is summed up in 'Stalinism and the Liberation of Vietnam' by S Johns, 'Fourth International' Autumn 1975 and Winter 1975, and 'Vietnam and the World Revolution' by M. McLaughlin of the Workers League (US), 1985. (Not affiliated to the ICFI because of the Voorhis Act).
- Comrades who want to go in to more detail will have to look up: 'Quatrieme Internationale' Nov-Dec 1938, Sept-Nov 1945, Jan-Feb 1947, Nov-Dec 1947, July 1948, Feb-Apr 1950. A Trotskyist pamphlet (also in French) with useful background material, is 'Mouvements Nationaux et Lutte de Classes au Vietnam' by Anh-Van and Jacqueline Roussel. Photocopies of this could be supplied by the WRP education department.

BURGLARS, BOOKS AND BANDAS

A Report from the Workers Revolutionary Party Political Committee, June 5, 1986

READERS of Workers Press will know that the May 24 issue carried a report that a group around T Banda had given copies of a document, claiming to be from the North West District Committee of the Workers Revolutionary Party, to a Communist Party bookshop in Liverpool.

This document accused members of the WRP of breaking into Merseybooks, owned by New Park Publications Limited — which trades with the support of the party.

Later a report of a press conference appeared in the Morning Star, talking of 'raiders from London' breaking into a district office of the WRP and forcing entry into the premises of Merseybooks.

It is worth mentioning that this led to a long statement from the Healyite 'WRP Political Committee' published in the News Line.

It was accompanied by pictures of their 'ATUA' Conference, their 'YS' Conference and their participation in a demonstration with 'WRP' and 'YS' banners.

The statement itself, filled with routine slanders, expresses the usual Healyite arrogance and lack of understanding of the politics of the split.

The pictures are designed to fool their readers, boost their ego — and give their leader the impression that the reports he is getting about their size and influence are true!

We now take the opportunity to put the record straight on this particular chapter in events which have followed the expulsion of G Healy from the WRP last October.

Next week, we will print a political analysis of these experiences.

On Sunday May 11, 1986, Geoff Thurley, manager of New Park Publications Limited, went to Liverpool

from London to investigate reports that stocks of books were being illegally removed from the shop — in plastic bags and through the back door.

He had been informed that customers were being told that they did not need to pay for books.

When Thurley arrived, members of the Liverpool WRP were already in Merseybooks at 34-36 Manchester Street.

They had been admitted by a member who lived in a flat above the shop. They wanted to ensure the safety of the remaining stocks of books.

Keys

They were there with the authority of a Political Committee member, Bill Hunter, who is also the official keyholder of the premises.

Geoff Thurley discovered, amongst other things, that the locks had been changed by T Banda and C Downs (manageress), but that Bill Hunter did not have the new keys.

New Park Publications Limited had already decided to cease trading at Merseybooks on the recommendation of the Party's Finance Sub-Committee.

Thurley therefore removed the remaining stocks. Also, since there could be a

problem of vandalism now that the premises were empty, he removed for safekeeping the contents of the office upstairs used by the WRP District Committee.

Although there were WRP records, the main contents turned out to be T Banda's books and notes.

T Banda denounced this in a scurrilous attack, alleging burglary!

He even reported the matter to the police but was told that 'this appears to be an inter-Company problem'.

The question is — how can you burgle your own premises?

Merseybooks, like all our assets, was established as a result of the sacrifice of the members of the WRP and its supporters over many years.

The main reason for T Banda getting hot under the collar is that on the table in the District Committee office were some notes in his handwriting.

These reported discussion at a meeting in Liverpool of specially invited members of the WRP from around the country.

This meeting had discussed the publication of a journal to be supported by a combination of members working 'inside and out' of the Party; the necessity to 'smash' the Party and the need to 'exploit' the New Park Publications Limited 'shares agreement'.

As Geoff Thurley was removing the stocks from Merseybooks, enabling the



Mike Banda — 27 reasons why political retirement seems imminent

WRP members to go home, T Banda was by this time at another meeting in Nottingham.

This had been organised by some WRP members to discuss the political questions raised in M Banda's '27 Points' document, but it was used by T Banda to call upon members to support his intention to 'smash the Party'.

It is necessary to outline the background to these events to explain why members of the WRP were so determined to take the necessary action to protect the bookstocks in Merseybooks on May 11.

Members of the WRP have been acting non-stop since October 1985 to safeguard the assets built up through their sacrifice over generations.

1. On October 19, 1985, G Healy was expelled for physical and sexual abuse of members and malicious accusations that a leading member of the International Committee of the Fourth International was a CIA agent.

2. On 21 October 1985, a letter was received from Vanessa Redgrave Enterprises Limited (Vanessa Redgrave is a Healy supporter), demanding the return of £50,000 from Astmoor Litho Limited and New Park Publications Limited (the WRP's printer and publisher).

This was followed, on October 25 and October 31, 1985 by solicitors' letters and

petitions to wind up the companies.

3. On October 26, while members of the WRP were at their Special Conference, Healy supporters held their own Conference and decided to call themselves the WRP and launch a paper called News Line.

4. Vanessa and Corin Redgrave circulated copies of the winding-up petitions to important creditors, including our newsprint suppliers, landlords and bankers.

An injunction preventing advertisement of the winding-up petition by New Park Publications Limited was later granted by the court.

5. Healy supporters who left full-time work launched 13 actions in the Industrial Relations Court, for constructive dismissal (later, 12 were withdrawn, one was fought but lost).

6. On December 8, Astmoor Litho Limited was wound up and put in the hands of a liquidator.

7. M Banda, then General Secretary of the WRP, left for Sri Lanka with the agreement of the Central Committee.

8. Although New Park Publications could prove itself to be a going-concern, it still faced liquidation. It was only because the court had granted the injunction to stop advertisement of the petition that the hearing was delayed.

Resolution

9. At the second session of the 8th Congress of the WRP, a Central Committee of over 50 members was elected, representing different generations and sections of the Party from every district. T Banda refused to stand for election.

10. On March 20, 1986 this Committee, guided by a resolution referred to it by the 8th Congress, called upon all Party members holding shares in the companies to relinquish them so they could be re-distributed in trust for the Party.

11. T Banda and J Banda refused to relinquish their shares in New Park Publications Limited.

They issued a statement, read to the Central Committee Finance Sub-Committee, that they intended to 'separate the company from the movement', to cut off all connection between New Park Publications Limited and the WRP.

12. On March 25, 1986, administration of the Company was handed over to T Banda and J Banda. The Party withdrew its support.

The Company could not now be a going-concern — it was faced with liquidation. The legal case, in which the Healyites were attempting to wind up the company through Vanessa Redgrave Enterprises Limited was still in the courts.

13. New Park Publications Limited owns printing machinery, bookshops, vehicles and premises.

Although the Party had fought tooth and nail against the Healyite winding-up petition, it would rather let everything go than compromise Central Committee and Party Congress decisions.

T Banda and J Banda then agreed to discuss their position and mediated partly through two Party members but mainly through the company's accountant and solicitor.

Finally they signed a document on April 30, 1986.

ROGUES GALLERY

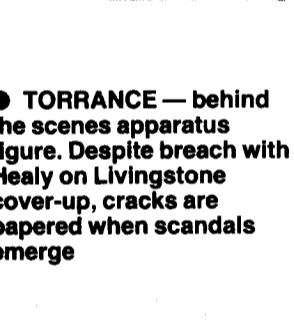


● HEALY — charged with sexual abuse, slander. Would not face party he claimed to lead for decades, planned back-door split with small band of loyalists as rank and file demanded answers to scandal charges

● REDGRAVE — supported her guru, launched court offensive to wreck party companies. Creditors' circular fails as court forbids breach of winding up protocol. Creditors ignore her anyway



● MITCHELL — ace Healy snoop and his top hand-shaker. Master-minded disgraceful 'Security & FI' with North, justified killing of Iraqi CPers to anxious party members. Mid-east link man, widely mis-trusted



● TORRANCE — behind the scenes apparatus figure. Despite breach with Healy on Livingstone cover-up, cracks are papered when scandals emerge



This meant their resignation as directors of the company and their undertaking to transfer shares.

There was a ten-point statement relating to administration of the company and the allocation of loans agreed by the Party.

14. In the meantime an out-of-court settlement was reached with Vanessa Redgrave Enterprises Limited. The winding-up petition was struck out.

The Healyite plan to smash the company had failed.

15. T Banda had called the meeting of members in Liverpool to which his notes referred. Other members of the Party in Liverpool were refused admittance to the Merseybooks premises when the District Secretary told them that 'there is a liquidator in here.'

16. May 10: a Liverpool WRP member reported the removal of books referred to above. Geoff Thurley acted.

17. May 12: T Banda instructed the company's solicitor that he wanted his agreement of April 30 withdrawn.

18. May 17: The Central Committee of the WRP charged T Banda and a number of others.

It gave T Banda and J Banda 48 hours to change their minds. The following resolution was carried overwhelmingly:

'This Central Committee thanks comrade PM for her prompt action in relation to her discovery that stocks of books were being removed from Merseybooks and in these circumstances we fully support the action of Comrade Bill Hunter in organising members to go to the bookshop.

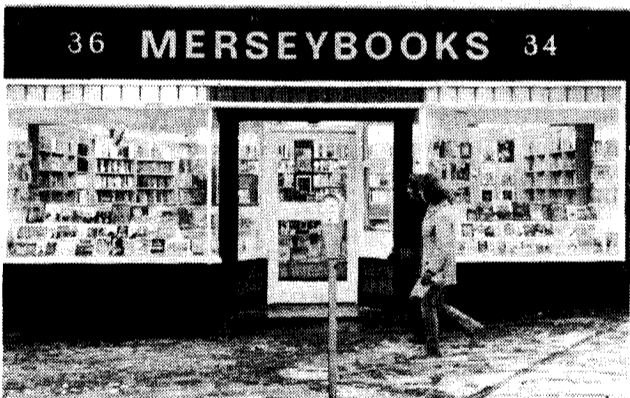
'Furthermore we endorse Comrade Geoff Thurley's decision to secure the remaining stocks by removing them from the bookshop and understand the reasons for also removing Comrade Tony Banda's library.

'We now resolve to return this library to Tony Banda's private address in Runcorn on Sunday May 18 in the most convenient way.'

19. May 19: T Banda and J Banda backed down and accepted the agreement they had made on April 30.

20. May 21: T Banda and his supporters called a select meeting of the North West District Committee, carried a series of resolutions against the 'removal' of the books and handed a report of the meeting to the Progressive Bookshop in Liverpool for distribution to the public at large.

21. May 29: T Banda organised a 'briefing' meeting in Liverpool to protest. In the best Healy tradition, he refused entry to members of the Workers Revolutionary Party.



The Liverpool shop: Merseybooks — associated with WRP

■ 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

AUSTRALIA'S ABORIGINES

AUSTRALIAN ABORIGINES suffer the highest levels of unemployment, the worst health status, the lowest incomes, the worst education and the highest imprisonment rate of any section of the Australian population.

A report issued by the Australian Government last year shows the full magnitude of their social and economic impoverishment.

White capitalist Australia prides itself on its 'high standard of living' and the 'equality' of all its citizens to share the nation's wealth.

It is true that the strength of the white working class and their ability to organise early in Australia's history in the face of an immature ruling class, forced to give enormous concessions to attract and keep white labour, has meant that Australian workers have some of the best pay and conditions of any country in the world.

These developments took place on the spilt blood of the indigenous Australians, the Aborigines, who were denied their lives and their livelihood.

Those Aborigines left after the near genocide by the early imperialists have lived a fringe existence.

Excluded from the land on which their traditional mode of existence was centred and denied access to the capitalist means of production they were only granted the vote in 1966 in a country which prides itself on being the first in the world to introduce universal franchise.

The Government report contains data which shows the extent to which systematic and barbaric denial of basic services to Aborigines still exists.

The report states that in 1981 Aboriginal unemployment rates were 24.6 per cent, four times the national average.

Catastrophic as these already outdated figures are, they conceal the enormity of Aboriginal joblessness that is widely recognised to exist.

There are large numbers of 'hidden jobless', and unemployment rates of up to 90 per cent are found in many large outback communities.

THE PLIGHT of Australia's Aboriginal population is often acknowledged in Britain, but seldom understood. This Workers Press feature, supplied by a supporter of the COMMUNIST LEAGUE of Australia discusses a recent Australian government report which gave a statistical background to an historical pattern of systematic brutality and near genocide.

The Communist League is an organisation in political solidarity with the WRP. An account of its formation will appear in next week's issue.

rural towns and fringe camps.

To be 'counted' as unemployed in Australia means to have registered as 'unemployed' and be receiving benefits.

A vast number of Aborigines are too alienated from the system to register for benefits.

Figures show that 52.7 per cent of Aborigines aged 15 and over are deemed 'not in the labour' force, which means not registered.

Of those who are employed, 1981 figures showed that 32 per cent were tradesmen and production workers, 11 per cent stockmen, farm workers, fishermen and timbergetters, 8 per cent clerical workers and 5 per cent transport and communications workers.

Most of the others in employment are described as 'occupation not stated'.

Not only are Aborigines denied access to employment but also to health care as the report makes clear.

Diseases

Aborigines spend more time in hospital and suffer poverty related diseases in epidemic proportions.

An epidemic of trachoma, an eye disease that can lead to blindness is raging through rural Aboriginal communities.

In 1980, nearly a third of rural Aboriginal children under the age of nine contracted some form of trachoma compared with less than 2 per cent of non-Aboriginal children living in the same areas.

Beyond the age of sixty the trachoma rate amongst Aborigines reaches a devastating 69 per cent.

Trachoma is directly linked to inadequate and unhealthy water supplies in Aboriginal communities.

While Aborigines live in

areas where they have been left with non-existent or insufficient water catchments, heavily mineralised water bores and contaminated storage tanks, the mining and pastoral industries in the same region are assured of World Health Organisation standards of water supply.

In the Western Desert region of Western Australia, nearly two thirds of children under ten have trachoma.

Middle ear disease is also epidemic with nearly 20 per cent of all two to three year old Aboriginal children affected in at least one ear.

The disease can result in permanent damage to the ear drum and the hearing bones.

The report details a higher incidence of tuberculosis among Aborigines, higher rates of hospitalisation for Aborigines and a national infant mortality rate which is 3.6 times higher than for the rest of the population and the figures for individual states are much higher.

As recently as 1971 the infant mortality rate for Aboriginal babies in the Northern Territory was 14.35 per cent.

The average life expectancy for an Aborigine in Australia is 53 years, 20 years less than that of other Australians.

The report fails to give an accurate picture of the extent of the housing crisis facing Aboriginal families.

Its figures relate exclusively to government financed Aboriginal housing organisations outside the major cities.

No data is given for Aborigines on state housing waiting lists, those living in city shelters, hostels or crowded into the homes of relatives.

The extent of Aboriginal homelessness is evident in



An Aboriginal family in the late 1930s. To this day, many Aborigines suffer from preventable illness because they have been made to live in poor conditions

every Australian city.

Despite these shortcomings the figures given are in themselves an indictment of Australian government neglect.

Some 5670 Aboriginal families were on non-state housing waiting lists in 1981. 14,424 Aboriginal people were living in 'improvised homes' (shacks, humpies, car-bodies, tarpaulins) representing 50 per cent of all Australians living in such conditions.

The vast majority of Aboriginal dwellings are classified as 'fair, poor or bad', with one third needing major repairs or complete replacement.

In Queensland in 1981, 50 per cent of homes were without sewerage connection, 24 per cent had no electricity and 21 per cent had no water supply.

The Aboriginal Development Commission's construction programme is totally unable to meet the need of Aboriginal housing. At its present rate it will not meet the demand before 1999.

The denial of services to Aborigines is again reflected when their educational standards are reviewed.

In 1981 12 per cent of adult Aborigines were found never to have attended school. This compares with a figure of 2.5 per cent for non-Aboriginals.

Only 4 per cent had any level of academic qualifications compared to 24 per cent of the total population.

The depth of Aboriginal poverty is brought to light when we realise that Aboriginal families are forced to survive on an income less than half that received by other Australian families.

Furthermore Aborigines are singled out for particular police harassment. They are routinely framed, usually have poor legal representation and are often only slightly familiar with the English language and justice system with which to defend themselves in court. Aborigines are thrown into jails at a rate 14 times that of any other section of the population.

This is particularly so in Western Australia where Aborigines, while only 2.5 per cent of the total population, make up 30 per cent of the prison population.

The clearest evidence of the genocidal drive to extinguish the Aboriginal race is revealed in their plunging population figures since British colonisation.

From an estimated population of 314,000 in 1788, Aborigines were shot, starved and diseased to a low of only 70,000 in the 1930s.

Recent anthropological studies estimate that there were even more Aborigines

before 1788, possibly as many as a million.

Since then Aborigines have recovered from impending extinction to climb back to the current population — 160,000 — still only half the lowest estimate for the pre-colonisation period.

The Hawke Labor government released this report at the same time as they were foreshadowing expenditure cuts to Aboriginal programmes, betraying their own Australian Labor Party commitments to land rights for Aborigines and contriving to stifle organised black political activity by axing the National Aboriginal Conference.

This was a body to which Aborigines from every region in the country elected their own delegates. It no longer exists.

Involved in the Aboriginal people's struggle for land rights, which has brought them into conflict with Labor governments, both state and federal, is the urgent need to resolve the immediate crisis in health, housing, unemployment, education and essential services to Aboriginal communities.

The statistics speak for themselves; in a country with one of the highest standards of living in the world, the original inhabitants live in conditions reminiscent of the poorest peoples of the world.



1946: Aborigines were still dependent on rations of flour, tea and sugar. Many still live on reserves forced on them by the White settler



June 1982: Jimmy Biendurri (right) and Shorty O'Neill, of the Australian National Federation of Land Councils, outside the Rio Tinto Zinc Annual General Meeting in London



Papua ya, Northern Territories: Renowned mural painter Tuta-ma

The Workers Press Youth Page

Youth and the Transitional Programme

WE ARE writing in reply to the letter by Kevin Townsend which appeared in Workers Press (May 17).

Comrade Kevin argues that the Transitional Programme was never intended as a guide to entry work.

He argues that the subjective factor is not the programme but the party, that the Transitional Programme is a method whose demands are of 'a defensive character and not offensive', written to relate to a period of 'catastrophic defeats'.

There are some serious errors here.

It is true to say that the Programme was never written as a guide to entry work.

It was written as a guide to action and intervention.

What was stressed in a previous letter from a Red Youth member was that the

SLL's turn away from work in the Labour Party was part of its abandonment of a fight for the Transitional Programme.

Denunciation from outside replaced a fight within.

As Trotsky points out in the Transitional Programme; (Sectarians) 'remains indifferent to the inner struggle within reformist organisations — as if one could win the masses without intervening in their daily strife'.

What characterises the subjective factor? Is it that it calls itself revolutionary, or

that it has serious militants or a working class base? Trotsky asserts: 'Programme first! Mass Paper? Revolutionary action? Reorganisation? Communism everywhere? ... Very well, very well ... But programme first!'.

(Crisis of the French Section p119.)

Healy saw programme as subordinate to organisation (e.g. fetishism of the daily press).

The subjective factor is the party's fight for the programme, for the party is the programme.

Content subordinates form.

When describing the World Party of Socialist Revolution, Trotsky said: 'The

Fourth International is a programme, a strategy, an international leadership nucleus'. (Conversation with Maurice Spector, Feb 1936.)

If the Transitional Programme is relevant to defensive struggles then is it irrelevant when the working class is on the offensive?

Where then is the programme that is relevant?

Does Kevin's argument mean that the WRP was correct to not utilise transitional demands in the early seventies?

We would argue, the Transitional Programme was not written for an episodic period in the class's militancy, but for the epoch in which we live, that of wars and revolutions.

Comrade Kevin's false

view leads him to conclude that workers join reformist organisations because they believe the reformists are fighting for transitional demands.

Workers join the Labour Party for a variety of reasons, but they do so with a trade union consciousness, not one which appreciates the validity of transitional demands.

How could workers join the Labour Party with such a consciousness without the intervention of a revolutionary organisation to raise that consciousness?

On YTS, Kevin's demand to smash YTS/YES is wrong.

Demands should relate to the immediate needs, struggles and consciousness of the

working class.

Our starting point in relation to YTS/YES should be demands that mobilise the youth in action.

Demands such as trade union rights, trade union wages, guaranteed jobs, safety precautions and workers' control.

In our propaganda we point out the role of the YTS/YES and their need for abolition, linked to the securing of a workers' government.

Red Youth is prepared to do joint work with the WRP around YTS/YES and test the validity of our position in practice.

Dale Ackroyd (Bradford Red Youth Group)

John Walsh (Leeds Red Youth Group)

NEW LABOUR RESEARCH PAMPHLET REVEALS: Low pay trap ensnares women

ONE IN FIVE workers are now part-timers and the vast majority of these are women.

They have fewer legal rights, lower relative pay and worse working conditions than their full-time counterparts.

These problems and many others are discussed in a new pamphlet 'Part Time Workers' from the Labour Research Department.

As unemployment has grown, there has been a huge increase in part-time work. There were 800,000 part-timers in 1951 and there are 4.4 million today.

This increase has largely concentrated in services.

Just four industries account for 57 per cent of all part-time women workers — retailing, hotels and catering, education and health services.

These are not people earning pin money, but members of low-income families balanced between home commitments and the need to meet bills.

Many are women with children under 16 or with elderly dependent relatives.

The average hourly payment for part-time women workers in April 1985 was

£2.43, compared with £3.32 for full-time women and £4.49 for full-time men.

Even this may overestimate part-timers' pay since one female worker in three is excluded from the figures due to having earnings below the insurance contribution level of £35.50 per week.

Part-time work suits employers. They get flexibility, fitting workers to job hours and working times. They get greater ease of hire and fire.

Workers get reduced rights and employment benefits — and less likelihood of union membership.

Privatisation will tighten the screw especially in local authorities and health services.

At Barking Hospital in 1984 private contractors Crothall got their cleaning contract renewed by cutting not only pay and benefits but also hours by 40 per cent.

This sparked the strike

BY BERNARD FRANKS

which lasted nearly two years.

The definition of part-time is vague and different levels of rights go with different numbers of hours worked.

All workers are supposed to have contractual rights, depending on their terms of employment.

There are also statutory minimum standards on dismissal procedures, redundancy, Health & Safety at work and discrimination.

Workers doing under eight hours a week, approximately six per cent of women part-timers, have very few rights.

Pay

Those between 8 and 16 hours a week, around 21 per cent of part-time women workers, have the same rights as full-time workers to redundancy money, lay-off pay, unfair dismissal claims and maternity pay.

They are entitled to an itemised pay-slip and time off for trade union work — but only provided they have five years continuous service with one employer.

Those working above 16 hours a week should have the same rights as full-time workers from their first day at work.

For supplementary benefit purposes, the threshold is 30 hours a week, also for Family Income Supplement, except in the case of single parents, when it is 24 hours.

European Community Directives on part-time working, which were supposed to become effective from January 1 1984, have been obstructed by the Tory government.

A House of Lords Committee, which saw this delay as 'misconceived', was told by the Secretary of State, 'There is no clear evidence that part-time workers are being unjustly treated.'

'Many of them already enjoy a satisfactory degree of protection under our legislation and there are sound economic or commercial reasons for applying different terms of employment to part-time workers as compared with full-time workers.'

In fact, the Labour Research pamphlet reveals that part-timers in Britain have less legal protection than those of nearly all European countries.

Part-time workers are



March 1984: Barking hospital workers fight Crothall's pay-cutting exercise. The Health Service relies on low-paid part-time workers, whose employment rights in Britain are amongst the least protected in Europe

often covering peak working periods in catering, shops, etc. or unsocial hours at normal pay rates, where full-timers would receive special shift-premiums or unsocial hours payments.

Part-timers can lose out on sick pay, holidays, pension rights and maternity leave. Other countries provide these on a strictly pro-rata basis.

Many firms also have a redundancy policy of part-timers out first, irrespective of the length of service — or the importance of the job to its holder.

Part-time

The Labour Research Department says that there are grounds for believing that this is illegal.

Many unions have high proportions of part-time workers as members. USDAW has 25 per cent and NUPE has 50 per cent.

Many have reduced subscription rates in such cases and have aimed recruitment campaigns specifically at part-time workers.

The pamphlet reproduces a NUPE women's working party recommendation for ensuring greater involvement by women in union affairs:

1. Time off with pay to attend branch meetings;
2. Creche facilities at branch meetings;

3. Branches avoid meeting in pubs and clubs;

4. The development of sectional work-places;

5. Provision of transport to meetings from work-places where necessary;

6. A changed format for meetings to ensure greater understanding of proceedings and greater women's involvement;

7. A rotating chair so that more women can gain confidence in chairing and conducting meetings;

8. Election of a women's liaison officer in each branch;

9. An equality committee in each branch.

While outlining the meaning of the terms job-sharing and job-splitting, the LRD pamphlet does not sufficiently warn of the danger of these schemes for breaking down high-paying full-time occupations into piecemeal and possibly cheap labour operations.

For all that, it contains a mass of valuable information for all those fighting for the rights of part-timers.

Part-time Workers (£1.15 inc P&P), LRD Publications Ltd, 78 Blackfriars Road, London, SE1 8HS

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PIT POET'S GRAVE

AN APPEAL has been launched to raise cash to renovate the grave of pitman poet Tommy Armstrong.

Over £3,500 is needed to repair the poet's grave at Tanfield Lea cemetery, near Stanley, Co Durham.

Armstrong's resting place was found in very bad repair by ex-miner Derek Little, who says that an important part of North East mining history is being ignored by failing to respect the poet's memory.

Derek — along with Huw Beynon, sociology lecturer at Durham University and historian of the Durham

miners — has set out to raise funds to renovate the grave and have Armstrong's poems republished.

They have already attracted some support from trade unionists and the Northumbria Tourist Authority, but much more is needed if the project is to be a success.

Derek said: 'Armstrong wrote some of the finest poetry of the North East. His work included the Trimdon Grange Disaster and other poems which are part of the region's heritage.'

For further details contact Derek on Stanley 233568.

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.

Engels, knowledge — and contradiction

THIS IS written in reply to Comrade Paul Henderson, whose letter was published under the heading 'The Reactionary Nature of Ethology' (Workers Press, May 24).

Paul says many correct things.

He shows that the views of some contemporary ethologists, together with those of the sociobiologists, are in direct conflict with the scientific world outlook developed by Marx and Engels.

However, I would suggest that what he totally ignores is the contradictory nature of the development of knowledge.

This includes, in my opinion, the contradictory attitude of Engels towards certain aspects of the development of human history.

In 'The Part Played by Labour in the Transition from Ape to Man', 'Dialectics of Nature' and other works, Engels of course makes very significant contributions to the development of the world scientific outlook of Marxism.

However, I would suggest

that these great contributions are contradicted by Engels' views on a number of topics.

For example, his belief that the whole development of the family up to about five thousand years ago was due to factors that were not social, his view that the advent of class society about five thousand years ago was due in part to man's inherited 'bestial nature' ('Anti-Duhring' 1954 edition, pages 251,140) and his belief that in working class families there is not only no adultery, but also no oppression of women ('Origin' 1972 edition p135).

It is totally idealist to believe that, if a certain individual is correct on a number of important issues, then everything he or she says or writes should be accepted uncritically.

The development of every individual's knowledge — and indeed of human knowledge as a whole — must always proceed in a contradictory manner.

Surely one of the lessons of the degeneration of the WRP is that, since G Healy had

been able in the past to make positive contributions, many of us failed to recognise the contradictory nature of his politics.

Let us not make the same sort of mistake again.

The failure of Paul to appreciate the contradictory nature of the development of knowledge is, I believe, shown in his attitude to ethology.

Ethology is a perfectly genuine science which studies the behaviour of animals in their natural habitat.

Its contradictory nature is revealed by the fact that on the one hand, much valuable knowledge about animal behaviour has been given to us by ethologists such as Lorenz, Tinbergen and Goodall.

On the other hand, some (but by no means all) ethologists use their knowledge to attribute falsely animal-like 'instincts' to human beings.

It is totally wrong to write off ethology, as Paul does, without seeing the positive side of the contradiction.

Likewise it is totally false

to equate ethology with socio-biology.

The latter is a reactionary doctrine which attributes most complex behaviours to innate biological factors (rather as Engels does when he attributes the development of the family in pre-class society to biological rather than social factors).

The failure to appreciate the contradictory nature of the science of ethology is revealed in the heading of Paul's letter: 'The Reactionary Nature of Ethology' (I do not know if it is Paul's own heading or that of the Workers Press editorial staff).

Simply to write off a genuine science because some of its scientists draw reactionary conclusions is an action which is deplorable.

It represents a caricature of the Marxist method.

John Robinson

● The heading was written by Workers Press staff. Headings are chosen to try and reflect the contents of the letter — not the particular views of the editorial board.



Engels

Unlike some papers we could mention, the letters page is a forum for genuine debate, not a compendium of badly written diatribes confirming the prejudices of our staff.

Acknowledging the contradictory nature of knowledge, the WRP has nothing to fear from such debate.

If the heading distorted the contents of Paul's letter, we can only apologise — Editor.



Merseyside workers are mobilising against right-wing policies

A Question of tactics

LAST WEEK, in his letter to Workers Press, Simon Burgess put his finger on a weak point in my article on Liverpool's municipal elections. (Workers Press, May 12th).

I wrote: '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'.

Simon Burgess commented on this: 'The implication of this is that the Labour Party lost this seat because of the action of the Communist Party.'

Is this true?

First, it is true that the immediate reason why the Labour Party failed to win the seat was because the CP stood a candidate.

Dingle was a marginal seat. It is a solid working class area although with a traditional Orange enclave.

Two elections ago, the seat was won back from the Liberals who held it because of discontent with the Labour Party.

There can be no denying the Communist Party's right to stand a candidate.

To use an analogy of

Lenin: We are for the right of divorce — which does not mean we support a particular divorce.

That depends on the concrete circumstances. The decision whether to stand in an election or in a given area depends also on the particular circumstances.

The question is a tactical one, relating to the stage of the struggle and the development of consciousness of the working class.

The municipal election in Liverpool took place in the middle of a witch hunt by Tories, Liberals and Labour leaders against the Liverpool council.

That witch hunt, as I've tried to stress in articles in Workers Press, was directed against the opposition among Liverpool's communities and the rank and file in the trade unions and Labour Party to right-wing policies.

The most serious and thinking workers wanted a victory for the Labour Council as a blow particularly against the right wing in the Labour Party, even though in the past year they have become more critical of the Militant tendency.

To support a blow against

Kinnock and capitalist political representatives, despite the crass opportunism of the Militant leadership, denotes a higher level of consciousness among these workers than there is among some sectarians who have a bagful of revolutionary phrases.

In this election, Marxists were for the return of the Labour council and would not have stood candidates in a marginal seat.

Of course, the Communist Party is not a Marxist party and that raises a most important question.

Its policies are to the right of the Labour council. Like those of Blunkett, these policies assist Kinnock.

We have in the past reported how both sections of the Communist Party opposed the struggle of the Labour Council. Both have called for 'popular front' non-class alliances to solve the problems of Liverpool.

To sum up: the article was inadequate insofar as I should have said that I was opposed to the Communist Party's policies in the election and opposed to its tactics in standing in a marginal seat.

Bill Hunter

Organisation of the unemployed — the danger of false analogy

I AM always sceptical of letters written about unemployed groups or movements with references to the unemployment situation in the 1920s and 1930s.

I do not entirely disagree with the letter written by Stuart King (Workers Press May 17) but in my experience anyone who tries to compare the 1920s and 1930s to the present period cannot have been involved in organising the unemployed.

If they had, they would soon realise that there is little comparison between the two eras.

In the 1930s, the unemployed were destitute and stood around on street corners.

Although unemployed people nowadays do not have much money, they can still have a social life, albeit limited.

It was possible in the 30s to invite people to a wooden hut and give them a cup of tea

and a game of darts or table tennis and in this way organise groups and eventually a national movement.

Since the second world war, the working class has been given more and more concessions until we have a situation where unemployed people in a lot of areas are able to have half-price travel, free entry into swimming baths and leisure centres etc.

They are able to watch TV all day long, watching week-long snooker tournaments and other entertainment.

Added to this, people are given welfare rights advice and this acts as a crutch and can prevent people from organising themselves.

Obviously, unemployed people should have these concessions but it can create problems in organising the unemployed.

For these reasons and many others, I think it is premature to talk about

organising a mass movement of the unemployed.

There are only a tiny handful of campaigning unemployed groups in Britain.

A lot of work needs to be done to increase this number.

The groups should unite with the employed in trade unions and trades councils to fight unemployment.

Obviously, we have to study the past and draw lessons.

But we cannot keep harking back to the 1930s without also studying the situation in the 1980s and 90s to develop a strategy of uniting the left to fight together.

In order to do this, the sectarian barriers would have to be torn down.

If this can be done then, and only then, will it be possible to build a NUWM.

Mick Donnelly
Secretary, Gateshead Unemployed Action Group



Goodbye to the family — setting out on the Jarrow march, 1936

WORKERS PRESS REVIEW

1936-1986: Fifty ye



NO PASARAN! An Exhibition of posters and photographs from the Spanish Civil War, from the Bristol Arnolfini

BY BRONWEN HANDYSIDE

At The Camden Community Arts Centre, until June 17 1986 IS the 50th Anniversary of the aborted Spanish Revolution, but these photographs of the struggle make it look like yesterday.

The anguish in the faces of refugees hurrying along dusty roads, the face of a dead soldier — the camera here does not distance the subject, it makes it real and draws us in to the lives of the human beings who flee or shoot or fall under the bullet.

The revolutionary struggle transforms these still pictures into windows onto a passionately vivid world.

The range of posters has an impact that is different, speaking to us of an eagerness for battle and a conviction of victory.

In their way they are more painful than the photographs, because of our consciousness of the betrayals which smashed the Spanish people's aspirations towards revolution.

No note of defeat shadows their bright colours and fervent exhortations.

Left: On the Cordoba Front, September 5, 1936. One of the most famous war photographs of all time, by Robert Capa. Below left, Hans Namuth/George Reisner, Refugees; below right, The Grand Court of the Alcazar, taken by Franco after a two-month siege



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1917: Feminists framed by state

Friends of Alice Wheeldon. By Sheila Rowbotham. Pluto, £4.95.

EARLY IN 1917, Alice Wheeldon, her two daughters and son-in-law, were charged with plotting to assassinate Lloyd George.

Sheila Rowbotham's book shows that they were victims of a fantastic frame-up in which state-paid agents provocateurs had been used to discredit the feminist and anti-conscription movement.

Alice Wheeldon ran a secondhand clothes shop in Derby. She was at the centre of networks of syndicalists from the shop stewards movement, and the militant feminists from within whose ranks the early anti-war organisations had grown.

Men evading conscription could find a welcome at her house.

The book includes the script of Sheila Rowbotham's play about the case, first performed in 1980, together with additional historical material.

It seems likely that the real target of the frame-up was Arthur MacManus, a leading Scottish shop steward who was a friend of, and later married, Alice Wheeldon's daughter Hettie.

He had been deported from Glasgow early in the war for organising Clydeside shop stewards, and went to work in Liverpool.

He was then a member of the Socialist Labour Party, but he was later a founder-member of the British Communist Party, and, incidentally, one of the first witch-hunters of Trotskyists.

A man calling himself Alex Gordon, an agent of the Ministry of Munitions, working for a department which was later to become part of MI5 and the Special Branch, went to the Wheeldons' home.

He was claiming to be a conscientious objector on the run.

When he brought another agent, whom he claimed was a member of the Industrial

Workers of the World ('Wobblies') they had no reason to doubt him.

When he asked for poison to kill dogs guarding the internment camps where objectors were held, they helped obtain it.

The Wheeldons were sympathetic to him because Alice's own son was interned for refusing conscription.

At the trial, Gordon did not appear, but Sheila Rowbotham says that in 1917, 'the political climate meant that the word of an absent agent provocateur was more respectable than the testimony of socialist feminist opponents of the war.'

Alice Wheeldon got ten years, her daughter Winnie seven, and Winnie's husband Alf five.

After two years, the war over, they were released.

Alice was so weakened by hunger-striking and the rigours of hard labour that she died soon after in the influenza epidemic.

Sheila Rowbotham's pain-

staking reconstruction shows the way in which ordinary people came into struggle, and the way in which they expressed their ideas.

They were prepared to carry things through, and indeed in court Alice Wheeldon did not conceal her political views.

She was convicted as much for this frankness as for her use of the code phrase in their clumsy plot to poison dogs 'We'll hang Lloyd George on a sour apple tree.'

For Sheila Rowbotham, there are questions raised by the case which have a present relevance, not just in relation to understanding the nature of the state, but also because of what we can learn of the concerns of the early socialist movement, and particularly the women.

She says it shows what the 'rebellious clamour of the human spirit against the confinements and indignity of oppression.'

Bridget Dixon

ars since the Spanish Civil War



Above left: Agusti Centelles, Anarchist (FAI) Militia man and family, Barcelona, July 28, 1935 and above right, Assault guards fire at insurgents, Barcelona, July 19, 1936. Below, Zaragoza, August 1936



THE EXHIBITION brings the work of photographers whose images have come to symbolise the struggle of the Republican movement in Spain together with that of some unknown photographers and postermakers.

In some cases the work was kept underground all the years that Franco was in power.

Campana, Centelles and Fontsero were three native Catalans and their sympathies lay with the Republicans.

All three were either imprisoned or exiled after the war.

Fontsero's posters in stark black and red plastered the walls of Spanish cities like Barcelona, urging the people 'Avant!' (Forward!)

After the military defeat in 1939, the poster artists were

treated as outlaws — until then they had been soldiers.

Robert Capa, the most famous photographer in the exhibition, left Berlin when the Nazis came to power and went to Spain in 1936.

At the Spanish front he lost his greatest friend — Gerda Taro, who was probably the first woman photographer ever to be killed in action.

Capa became a disillusioned humanist by the end of the war.

'All you could do was to try and help individuals caught up in the war . . . things would always be essentially the same and there would always be terrible wars.'

Centelles was the only press photographer present at the 1936 uprising in Barcelona. He was called up to the front as a reporter with the popular militias.

In February 1939 he entered France as an exile carrying an enormous suitcase full of photographic material.

Georg Reisner and Hans Namuth arrived in Barcelona to photograph the Olympic games for a French magazine.

Like many who joined the International Brigades, they found themselves committed to staying on.

'We did not stay in Spain because we were press photographers. We stayed because Franco was the enemy and it was also our war . . .

'Out in the street we carried a white handkerchief and a crude handmade sign that said 'Prensa extranjera.'

All the photographers took their pictures in the thick of the battle, risking death, and at least one of them found it.

TV Preview

Saturday June 7

7.30 pm, Channel 4. **Africa: The Rise of Nationalism.** This week's episode looks at the major independence struggles within Africa, why Nigeria was allowed to progress towards self-determination, the developments in Kenya, Algeria, the Belgian Congo and the attempts towards African unity. From Guinea Bissau to Mozambique and Zimbabwe, the final explosion is, of course South Africa.

8.30 pm, Channel 4. **Pottery Ladies: Miss Cliff, Miss Read, and all the Forgotten Girls.** Second in the series of four programmes that examines the contribution that women made to the flourishing and artistically outstanding Staffordshire pottery industry between the wars. Features the reunion between the 13-year old girls who carried out the work — some 50 years later.

Sunday June 8

7.15 pm, Channel 4. **World**

Wise 86: The Fancy. A lyrical study of that peculiar and peculiarly English sport, pigeon racing. The climax is the mass liberation of 30,000 young pigeons. If you are one of those people who think pigeons are just feathered rats, then you have to watch this programme.

9.30 pm, BBC2. **Timewatch: The Road to War.** Peter France rediscovers a classic documentary made in 1938 about the growth of fascism in Europe and Asia. The film is shown for the first time in Europe.

Monday June 9

10.45 pm, Channel 4. **The Eleventh Hour: Bombay Our City.** An Indian film-maker takes his camera into the urban wasteland of Bombay. He tells the plight of slum-dwellers living on land owned by the city. Their homes destroyed when the bulldozers roll in, they are forced into living on the streets.

Wednesday June 11

6.30 pm, Channel 4. **Flash-**

back: Reporting the Falklands. When the first set of correspondents left with the Task Force, they were told 'The essence of successful warfare is secrecy: the essence of successful journalism is publicity'. As all forms of communication with the Malvinas was controlled by the military during the war, inevitably conflict arose. In this world of instantaneous satellite transmissions of news around the world, we are only now finding out the facts of what happened during the Malvinas War.

Thursday June 12

7.15 pm, ITV. **Raiders of the Lost Ark.** (1981) Film directed by Steven Spielberg: glossy, professional and commercial, nonetheless a ripping good yarn, the likes of which we have not seen since Buchan and Haggard cashed in their chips.

Friday June 13

10.30 pm, Channel 4. **Care in the Community: Care on the Cheap.** Five individuals tell the

story of their battles to achieve independence in spite of their handicaps. Life is a constant struggle to avoid being incarcerated in institutions, because of the lack of assistance from the authorities which would enable them to survive in the 'normal' community.

11.25 pm, Channel 4. The Life and Times of Rosie the River.

(1980) Famous film-documentary about the life and times of five stalwart women. Swept up in the American war drive they did the jobs the men left behind them. They rapidly invaded traditionally masculine jobs, riveting, ship-building etc., joined unions, and the black women amongst them gained entry for the first time into major industries. The joy however was short-lived, as the men returned and reclaimed their jobs. Inter-cut material from archival recruiting films, stills, posters, advertisements and music of the period makes this riveting viewing.



Michael Gaughan 1950-1974

By CHARLIE WALSH

MICHAEL GAUGHAN, aged 24, died on hunger strike on June 3 1974 in Parkhurst Prison, Isle of Wight after fasting for 64 days.

His hunger strike, which began on April 11, 1974 was in support of a demand to serve his sentence in a prison in the north of Ireland.

Michael Gaughan had been sentenced to seven years in 1971 for an armed robbery in London.

He was convicted as a Republican activist and Sinn Fein member: he was a political prisoner.

At around the same time, Frank Stagg, Marion and Delores Price, Hugh Feeney and Gerard Kelly were also on hunger strikes in English prisons.

They were demanding to be allowed to serve their sentences in prisons in the north of Ireland. All six were force fed.

Soon after the death of Michael Gaughan, an agreement was made to transfer the other hunger-strikers to prisons in northern Ireland, although this did not save the life of Frank Stagg.

Unlike the others, Gaughan and Stagg were born in Co. Mayo, southern Ireland and had lived in England for many years.

The then Home Secretary of the Labour government, Roy Jenkins, refused the demands of Michael Gaughan and Frank Stagg on the grounds that, as they did not come from the north of Ireland, he could not allow them to serve their time there.

It was also considered out of the question that they be allowed to serve their time in one of the Republic's prisons.

This was in spite of the fact that British soldiers and loyalists convicted of offences were and still are allowed to serve their sentences in prisons near their families.

When it came to Republican prisoners, the Labour Government showed its true imperial arrogance towards Ireland and Irish prisoners

It was only after much pressure that Jenkins gave in to the demands of the Belfast four.

Mr Patrick Gaughan, at the time of his son's death, said he recognised his son from his hair, adding: 'He looked like a victim of a concentration camp,' his mouth was cut, his bottom teeth missing, his wind pipe 'lacerated by the force feeding tubes'.

Michael Gaughan and Frank Stagg, who died within a short period of each other, were both brave and courageous men, heroic to the last in pursuing their goal — the right of Irish Republican prisoners to serve their time in an Irish prison.

It was a very simple demand, yet British imperialism refused to give in and condemned the two Irish men to death.

To give one's life for a principle is the bravest thing any person can do. Both men died in support of the struggle for a socialist, united Ireland, free from British imperialism.

Gaughan and Stagg will never be forgotten. Their names will join all those great men and women in Irish history and among all oppressed peoples as those who were prepared to give everything including their lives so that others could live and be free.

POLICE CALLED TO MERSEY BAR

BAR STAFF have been on strike for over 10 weeks at the British Legion Reigate Club, Halewood, Liverpool, after management sacked the steward there.

Sacked T&GWU steward Dave Constance said: 'The management and the unions are not talking to each other now. Negotiations have

reached a deadlock. They have sacked all eight of the staff who joined the picket.

'Our position is "all back or none back".'

The Wilsons Brewery draymen are refusing to cross the picket lines to supply the club, so the management now bring in their own, with police protection.

POLISH STALINISTS ARREST WORKERS'

LEADER THE SCARLET PIMPERNEL IS FINALLY CAUGHT

POLICE BLOOD MONEY FINDS A TAKER

By ZBIGNIEW WOJCIK

The Polish police last week arrested the underground leader of Solidarity in Warsaw, Zbigniew Bujak.

For the last five years Bujak has been in continual hiding from the Zomo (Polish political police), carrying on his trade union activities against the stalinist regime.

The government of General Wojciech Jaruzelsky offered the sum of half a million zlotys prize money for his arrest (roughly a year's wages for a worker).

Bujak was a former electrical worker at the Ursus Tractor plant.

He is now charged under Article 123, which covers 'attempting to overthrow the state'.

For this, Bujak who was arrested at his flat in Warsaw, could receive a life sentence.

Bujak, nicknamed the scarlet pimpernel because of his ability to disguise himself, has been a constant thorn in the side of the stalinist government.

The flat where Bujak was arrested had been surrounded by the security police. The police commended the public-spirited action of the informer.

His five years of underground liberty are an indication of his popular support.

With the declaration of martial law in December 1981, he organised strikes in opposition to stalinist attacks on Solidarity.

Problems in the Polish economy are still acute. Shortages of food persist and basic raw materials are still

in short supply in factories.

Strikes, mostly of short duration, take place daily. They are mainly over economic demands, although protests over the victimisation of people for political activity are not uncommon.

Solidarity was driven underground in 1981, but it still operates clandestinely.

There has been a substantial increase in the number of working class families living in absolute poverty.

Since 1982 there has been an inflation of 20 per cent to 30 per cent every year.

Figure

In 1981, the membership of Solidarity exploded to a final figure of approximately ten million members.

Virtually every enterprise and every trade set up trade union commissions.

The stalinist party, the Polish United Workers Party (PUWP) retaliated, setting up government trade unions. This project, today, has failed dismally.

Most Polish workers still relate to Solidarity. However, the workers' discontent expresses itself even in the official stalinist trade union structure.



BUJAK

A report from the Executive Commission of the Alliance of the Workers Opposition (which will be analysed fully in next week's Workers Press), declares: 'What we are now seeing is a revival of the combativity of the working class, although this process is just beginning.'

Another element in the situation that should be mentioned, is the activity of the workers' councils that enjoy the confidence of their workforce, i.e. in those factories where the party executive did not and could not manage to rig the elections.

These councils have often become the form for opposition within the factory and

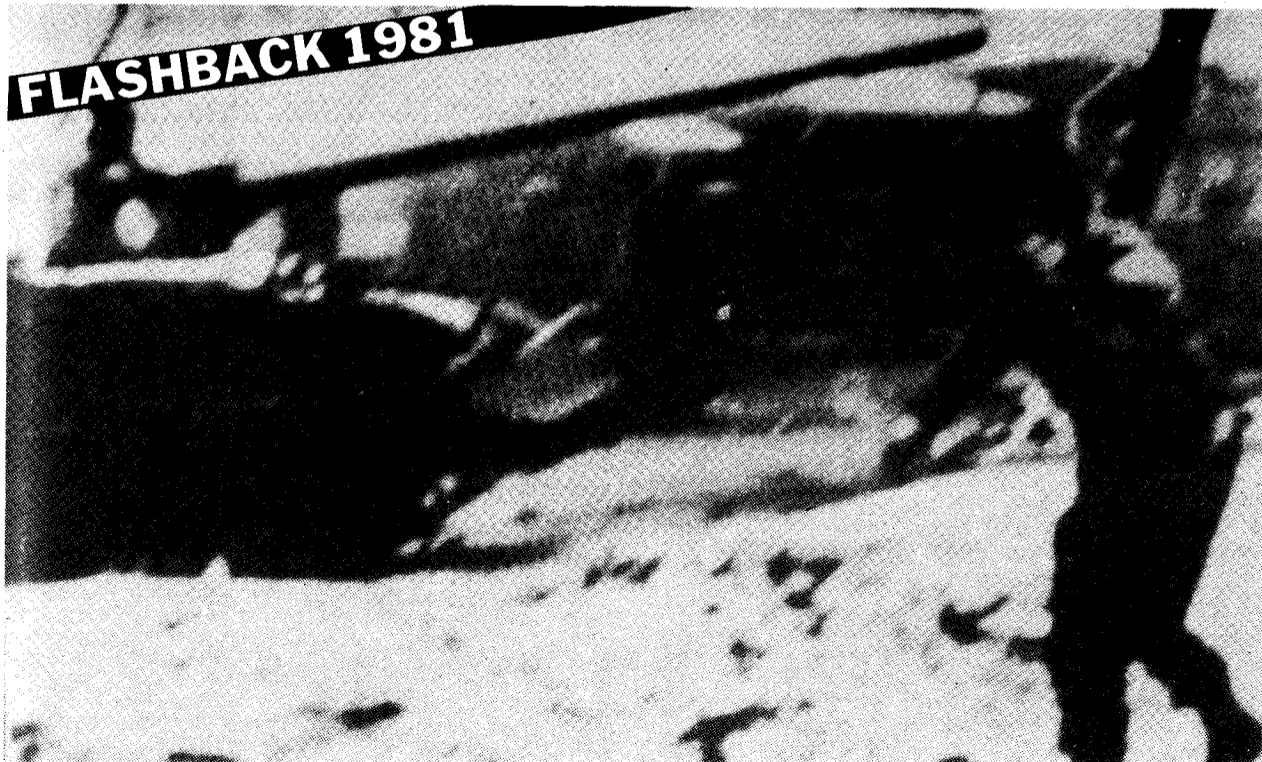
many have taken a firm stand in the defence of workers' interests and basic rights.

One relevant question must be raised for workers here in Britain.

Scabbing

That is the question of the scabbing of the so-called socialist government of Poland in the British miners' strike, by the export of Polish coal.

We will print next week statements released by sections of Solidarity, including Silesian miners, in support of British miners and condemning their own governments.



DECEMBER 1981: Solidarity workers occupied coalmines in Wlajka, in Silesia southern Poland. Within three days, the military intervened to break the occupation. Eight miners died in the resulting clashes. Within 30 months, the same stalinist government was exporting coal to break the strike of the miners in Britain. Jaruzelski's friend was Thatcher — not the working class

ADVANCE NOTICE

FREEDOM FOR IMPRISONED POLISH TRADE UNIONISTS! FREE JAILED BRITISH MINERS! REINSTATE SACKED MEN!

Come and hear Polish trade unionist STEFAN BEKIER speak on the struggle for international solidarity of the working class.

In 1985, Polish miners, supporters of Free Trade Union 'Solidarnosc', fought for a boycott of all scab coal shipments to Britain.

Now that the Polish government plans a new frame-up trial of underground 'Solidarnosc' leader Zbigniew Bujak, real action of revolutionary international solidarity is more vital than ever.

EDINBURGH

(During the Scottish Miner's Gala)

Saturday June 14 3.00pm

Royal Mile Primary School

Near Holyrood Park

Organised by Scottish Labour Briefing

Sunday June 15, 7.30pm

Stirling Miner's Welfare

Organised by

Stirling Miners' Support Group.

Monday June 16, 7.30pm

McLellan Galleries,

Sauchiehall Street.

Organised by Glasgow Polish Solidarity Committee.