

# Workers Press

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WEEKLY PAPER OF THE WORKERS REVOLUTIONARY PARTY

## TRADE UNIONISTS MUST ACT:



# BLOCKADE SOUTH AFRICA!

BY  
BOB  
MYERS

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Workers Press

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AT MIDNIGHT on June 12 South Africa's present State of Emergency came into force.

Within hours, the offices of the black trade unions and political parties were empty, the officials and leaders either in detention or in hiding.

The state-organised terror campaign against the black population has now been freed from all restrictions. The policeman's word is law.

A press blackout has been imposed to allow the Botha regime to murder, fire-bomb, detain and torture away from the eyes of the world.

The response from the oppressed masses has been heard loud and clear, press blackout or no.

Strikes, especially in the retail trade, and demonstrations have followed the massive one day General Strike on June 16, the tenth anniversary of the Soweto uprising.

Funerals and church services have turned into political rallies.

Explosions have ripped through Johannesburg.

In Winterveldt, Brigadier Andrew Molohe was shot dead.

He commanded the police force that murdered 11 blacks on March 26 when they fired on demonstrators at the local football stadium.

This courageous resistance to the white ruling class tyranny demands that trade unionists and supporters of anti-apartheid here in Britain take immediate and decisive action.

The days of empty speeches and resolutions are over.

Oliver Tambo, chairman of the African National Congress (ANC) was a thousand times right when he said that the world trade union movement had the power to overthrow the apartheid system.

Speaking on June 19 in Geneva to the International Labour Organisation he called for the trade union movement to bring all trade with Pretoria to a halt, instead of waiting for the US and British governments to take action.

This call must be taken up and acted upon by all trade unionists.

No more pleading with Thatcher: impose a union blockade now!

The British and US ruling class who have billions invested in South Africa and who have always supported the apartheid slave labour system are now desperately trying to save their cash.

There are fears that in Botha's bid to block any move to black rule, they may lose the lot.

South African industrialists and the British and US governments are meeting with the ANC leaders in an attempt to do a deal to preserve their investments while granting some form of black rule.

### Masses

These negotiations will not benefit the South African masses one bit.

Both the Labour leaders (who are already softening their calls for sanctions) and the Tories showed in the years of talks over Rhodesia and dealings with Ian Smith's regime that they have only one concern — the continued plundering of Africa by the City of London.

The ANC, dominated by the Communist Party, say the South African revolution will have two stages, the first to end apartheid, the second to overthrow capitalism.

With this perspective they seek alliances with 'progressive capitalists' who oppose apartheid.

The history of Africa has shown that such alliances will only lead to continued enslavement and poverty for the working people and peasants.

As Moses Moyekiso, secretary of the South African Metal and Allied Workers Union, said 'The Charter

(ANC Charter) is a capitalist charter.

'We need a workers' charter that will say clearly who will own the farms... who will control the mines, the factories and so on.

'There must be a change of the whole society.

'Through the shop stewards' council people are opposed to this idea that there will be two stages towards liberation, that we must first clean up capitalism and then socialism.

'It's a waste of time, a waste of energy and a waste of peoples' blood.'

The struggle in South Africa is a struggle for power, for control of the wealth of Africa

by the working class.

The task in South Africa, as in Britain, is to build a revolutionary party to unite all those in struggle in the battle for socialism.

The same City of London that supports Botha backs Thatcher's attacks on the rights and jobs of trade unionists here.

It is one war on two fronts.

That is why the British working class must act now.

Every solidarity action here must be supported and encouraged.

In union branches, stewards' committees and anti-apartheid groups the ANC's call for a union blockade must be discussed and acted upon.

All those union leaders like Ken Gill of TASS, this year's TUC chairman, who have stated their support for the

ANC must be made to back their call for action.

Gill and the TASS executive have given their total support for ANC as the excuse for ending financial aid to Dave Kitson.

Kitson, a TASS member who spent 20 years in South African jails for fighting apartheid, has been suspended from ANC for unstated reasons.

● Young shopworkers in Dublin who refused to handle South African goods have shown the way.

Those who want to support their fellow trade unionists and workers in South Africa must not wait either for Thatcher or the union bureaucrats to move.

● A trade union blockade of South Africa!

● Victory to the Azanian socialist revolution!



LAST WEEK, miners' wives in Dinnington, South Yorkshire, presented a plate commemorating the heroic year-long British miners' strike to Polish oppositionist Stefan Bekier.

Bekier was on his way to the Yorkshire Miners' march and Gala.

He is in Britain campaigning for the release both of Polish 'Solidarnosc' prisoners of the Jaruzelski military regime and for freedom for miners jailed in Britain following the strike.

For a full report and pictures, see pages 6 and 7.

## FREE THE GUILDFORD FOUR! PAGES 4&5

# OUR DAY WILL COME!

## RECORD SENTENCES FOR REPUBLICANS

THE LIFE sentencing of Gerard McDonald, Peter Sherry, Ella O'Dwyer and Martina Anderson who were found guilty of conspiracy, and Patrick Magee, found guilty of the Brighton bombing shows once again the determination of the Government and the courts to enforce its imperialist rule in Northern Ireland.

The Trial itself was scant on evidence of either the Brighton bombing or the so-called 'seaside reign of terror' but it did provide an opportunity for the press to drag up the emotional whinings of Tory leaders and to heighten their anti-Irish campaign.

During the sentencing of Magee the judge must have exhausted his vocabulary of insulting adjectives in his thirty-six minutes of condemnation.

Magee's sentence of eight life sentences and the recommendation that he is not to be released before serving at least 35 years equals the stiffest terrorist punishment

By LYN BEATON

'Up the Republican movement' as these sentences were passed and as prisoners left the dock.

Ella O'Dwyer and Martina Anderson wore the Irish colours, green, white and gold and as Ella O'Dwyer was led away to the cells her sister shouted from the gallery, 'Ireland unfree shall never be at peace.'

'That's right' O'Dwyer responded.

Francie Molloy, a Sinn Fein councillor, said the prisoners were convicted some months ago and should now be allowed to serve their sentences in Ireland.

The Irish Prisoners' Appeal condemned the sentences meted out on the prisoners, the remand conditions under which they were held

and the press coverage to the trial, the sentencing and the circumstances of their arrest.

The IPA will continue to campaign against strip-searching, to fund-raise for the costs of an appeal in the British courts against the refusal by the High Court to grant an injunction against the hom office to stop strip-searching and to continue to expose this degrading practice.

The Workers Revolutionary Party will continue to fight for the rights of Irish people to fight for a free and united Ireland.

As we go to press, we have just received copies of letters written by Martina Anderson, Ella O'Dwyer and Gearoid Mac Domhnaill from Brixton prison. We shall reprint them in next week's Workers Press.

## WORKERS PRESS COMMUNITY NEWS

### MINERS CASH APPEAL

VICTIMISED miners' families, who still need financial support, will be helped by a sponsored walk on July 19 in the north east.

Four trade unionists will walk 190 miles, campaigning for the reinstatement of the 500 sacked men at the same time as collecting cash for their families.

The walkers are Billy Etherington, general secretary of the Durham Mechanics, Brian Gibson, secretary of Spennymoor and District Trades Council, Paul Thompson, NALGO, and Tom Stephenson, NUM.

Union branches are asked to sponsor the march, and take round forms for individual sponsors.

Sponsorship forms can be obtained from Spennymoor and District Trades Council, 27 Lyndhurst Road, Chilton, Ferryhill, Co. Durham. Telephone Bishop Auckland 720733.

HUGHIE NICOL

### NORTHERN APARTHEID BAN

THE NORTHERN regional health authority has agreed to a boycott of South African fruit and vegetables. Newcastle hospitals spend approximately £30,000 a year on these items.

But COHSE, the health union, estimate that well over £100,000 in trade could be involved for the whole northern region.

Kuma Sandy, the union's regional officer, told Workers Press: 'COHSE wrote to the northern regional health authority two weeks ago and we are delighted that they are supporting COHSE members who are displaying their abhorrence of apartheid by refusing to handle South African goods.'

'We hope this will be a beginning and that a lot more people in the north east of England will be saying no to anything to do with South Africa until apartheid is dismantled and human rights restored.'

HUGHIE NICOL

### JAMAICA FLOODS APPEAL

FUNDS are being raised in Hackney, east London, for the victims of the worst flooding Jamaica has seen since Hurricane Charlie in 1951.

Two weeks of devastating flooding have left 20,000 homeless and at least 60 dead.

Community groups and black councillors set up the appeal, and it is being officially supported by Hackney Council.

Donations can be sent to: Jamaican Floods Appeal, Race Relations Unit, Hackney Town Hall, Mare Street, London E8 1EA.

BRIDGET DIXON

### TENANTS NO! COUNCIL BODGE

RESIDENTS from a housing estate in Halewood in Liverpool have been picketing the roads into the estate, to prevent a superficial repair job taking place.

New Hutte Community Association, who organised the picketing, are protesting over the lack of repairs to housing on the estate.

An open air meeting of about 60 residents was held on Tuesday (June 24).

They were told by Gerry Smith, a spokesman for the Association, that of £4 million Urban Aid grant, they were only going to get £200,000 which would be used to repair washing areas, stairways to the blocks, landings and fixing rooftops.

There would not be any money for doing essential repairs to the interior faults of the flats.

Residents are annoyed at the high rent of £30 per week while no proper repairs are being done.

The reason they picketed was because the council was planning an official visit on July 3 and were sprucing up the estate in the meanwhile.

Plans to stop refuse services operating on the estate were discussed pending a meeting on Friday. A public meeting on July 3 between residents and the Knowsley Borough Council has been organised.

JOHN OWEN

### SILENTNIGHT CO-OP BLACK

AS THE SILENTNIGHT dispute enters its second year attention is turned towards the blacking of retail outlets.

The Co-op, the pseudo-labour movement capitalist outlets account for 33 per cent of all sales and action to stop these outlets is now needed.

The 'Building Worker' group of rank and file builders have decided to picket the Co-op stores at Walworth Road and Stratford every Saturday.

Supporters should get there at 10am although it will be a short picket this Saturday due to the Anti-Apartheid demonstration. These pickets are leading up to mass pickets at the two stores on Saturday July 26.

Meanwhile Labour Party wards and CLPs should seek every avenue of putting pressure on the Co-ops to stop this disgraceful scabbing.

Contact 223/6 Queens Road, London SE15 2NG for details. GERRY DOWNING

## AS PRESS GAGS IRA DENIALS

A STATEMENT from the Irish Republican Army, answering the massive media slander that it aimed to create 'carnage and destruction' at British holiday resorts, has been passed over in silence by the capitalist press.

The liars of Fleet Street found no room, in between huge feature articles about 'cruel bombers' and 'wanton killing', to report the IRA statement.

Since it denies that the IRA planned a major campaign aimed at British civilians — the sort of lie that British imperialism requires to sustain anti-Republican feeling — it is not surprising the statement has been ignored.

The statement, issued through P. O'Neill of the Irish Republican Publicity Bureau in Dublin, reads:

By SIMON PIRANI

'Contrary to the hysteria in the British media, there was no IRA plot to create "carnage and massive destruction" at British holiday resorts last summer.

'Apart from the bomb at the Reubens Hotel in London, about which the British police know full well that a warning was to be given, no final decision to plant a series of small bombs around the English coast, with the purpose of diverting and embarrassing British

forces, had been taken.

'Again, had such a tactic been adopted, warnings would have been given, for, despite all that has been said, it is not our purpose or in our interests to kill or injure innocent civilians.'

The statement points out that stories about the Brighton bomb have 'ranged from the sublime to the ridiculous'.

It refutes claims by ITN and some newspapers that a 'Brighton bomb planning meeting' was held in Carrickmore, under surveillance by the RUC.

The statement scorns 'fantasies' that the IRA aimed to assassinate the Queen, the Queen Mother, and Mark Thatcher, to bomb the Grand National, the London

Marathon, Royal Ascot and the Boat and Motor Shows.

It points out that on two occasions when bombs had been placed near the Queen, warnings had been given.

'This media-generated hysteria is aimed at suppressing the most relevant point of all: IRA attacks in Britain and elsewhere are in response to the British territorial claims — backed up by violence and government repression — over the north of Ireland, a claim which is rejected by the majority of people in Ireland.'

The statement appeals to British people to put pressure on their government to 'withdraw from our country and allow Ireland to determine its own political future'.

# PERUVIAN BLOODBATH

## 2nd International meets in Lima

A CIVIL war has been raging with increasing ferocity in Peru for the past six years.

The main guerrilla group is the Sandro Tuminoso (Shining Path). This group is inspired by the Maoist Communist Party of Peru and has all the classical features of Stalinist ultra-leftism combined with a peasant-based conservative fear of the working class.

It is based on Maoist guerrillas surrounding the city from the countryside.

They regarded the election of Alan Garcia to the Presidency as just another social fascist come to power.

However, a socialist president reflects the weakness of imperialism, its fear of the organised working class and a leftward movement in the masses.

Trotskyist groups based in the Metropolitan working class have begun to grow rapidly as Garcia perpetrates crime after crime on the workers and peasants.

As a defender of the capitalist state, he has again and again defended the most appalling massacres carried out against the guerrilla movement and peasantry by the army.

Whole villages in the foothills of the Andes have been wiped out. He has desperately sought to hide this lest the struggle of workers and peasants link up.

As the Socialist International meets in Lima, the full tale of the army's barbarism has emerged.

Some 268 prison inmates, supporters of the Sendero

By GERRY DOWNING

Luminoso have been done to death in quelling prison riots.

In Lurigancha, all 126 Senderos died. In Santo Barbara and El Fronters there were similar massacres.

Garcia has promised a full investigation to assuage the conscience of his 'socialist' guests but immediately back out Peru's remaining independent current affairs programme as it attempted to report the riots.

In the light of all this, what are we to make of the Guardian's leader comment of June 24?

Garcia is 'an enterprising young man doing a difficult job in trying circumstances, and his period of office has so far been helpful'.

He has been hostage to reactionary armed forces who are a 'law unto themselves' in 'destroying physically the Sendero Luminoso'.

To give the Devil his due though — 'To be fair to the military they are in an unenviable position'.

What price socialism in the face of revolution?

**VIRAJ MENDIS MUST STAY**  
FIGHT THE IMMIGRATION LAWS

Manchester  
JULY 5

Stockport 6  
Macclesfield 6  
Alsager / Crewe 7  
Stoke on Trent 8  
Stafford 9  
Wolverhampton 10  
Handsworth 11  
East Birmingham 12  
Coventry 13  
Leicester 14  
Rugby 15  
Northampton 16  
Milton Keynes 17  
Luton 18  
St Albans 19  
Watford 20

10am - 5pm

Contact VMDC  
061 - 795 3870

# WORKERS PRESS UNION CONFERENCE NEWS

## COHSE stands firm on YTS policy

THE ANNUAL conference of the Confederation of Health Service Employees took place this week in Blackpool.

COHSE has a tradition of being towards the right of the trade union movement.

However it is one of the few unions to oppose completely all YTS schemes and to call on the TUC to withdraw its support.

An attempt to overturn this policy was overwhelmingly defeated.

Speaking in the debate, Neil Nimmo (Dumfries and Galloway) said he was proud to oppose this resolution because 'these schemes pro-

duce cheap labour and scab labour...

'The "union approval" needed to introduce these schemes can include the National Farmers Union and the Royal College of Nurses, but the youth want real jobs and are saying "stuff the two-year YTS".'

On Tuesday a strong resolution on South Africa was passed with the support of the NEC.

By MICK DALY

Speakers emphasised the inadequacies of the ANC and called for closer links with COSATU.

Tony Ventham said: 'Sanctions yes, by all means, but revolution — workers' revolution — is the only answer.'

Later conference rejected attempts to call on the union to accept government money for union ballots.

They did agree to accept money from a future Labour government.

Sid Ambler's presidential address was a good performance, condemning the cut in

the nurses' pay increase by a quarter, the eviction of nurses, hospital cuts and closures, privatisation etc.

However he finished off giving the impression that under a Kinnock Labour government the NHS would be safe.

On a number of important issues the leadership was challenged.

General Secretary David Williams came under attack in a very heated debate over the case of Paddy Henry, chairman of Haywards Heath branch.

Paddy Henry was victimised and sacked by his Authority.

When he refused a miserly offer of £9,000 compensation for not being reinstated, David Williams removed all legal assistance.

Speaker after speaker condemned this action and demanded that the union back all victimised trade unionists.

But after some dubious manoeuvres by the president and general secretary the motion for censure was lost.

The General Secretary and National Executive Committee came under attack again on Wednesday morning when the Addenbrookes Hospital dispute was debated.

COHSE and NUPE withdrew all support for this fight against privatisation in February.

Their action was condemned by many delegates as a stab in the back for the whole struggle against privatisation, but after a card vote the resolution to condemn the General Secretary and to reinstate support for the Addenbrookes workers was defeated.

Support was given for a massive anti-cuts campaign for the fight against closure of St James's Hospital, Wandsworth, and to support the affiliation of COHSE to the London Health Emergency Campaign.

### LISTINGS

**TROOPS OUT MOVEMENT DELEGATION TO THE NORTH OF IRELAND.** Belfast, 8-11 August. Delegates invited from individuals and groups, to stay as guests of local people and discuss the Irish labour movement, Irish culture, plastic bullets, strip-searching and show-trials with political and community activists. Join the Belfast Internment commemoration march and rally, Sunday August 10. Details from: Delegation Orga-

nising Committee, PO Box 353, London NW5 4NH  
**THIRD WORLD FIRST.** Conference on Third World Aid, Saturday July 12, 10.00 am, University of London Union  
**VIRAJ MENDIS DEFENCE CAMPAIGN** March 'Viraj Mendis must stay! Fight the Immigration laws' begins Manchester, Saturday July 5. Contact the campaign at VMDC, c/o North Hulme Centre, Jackson Crescent, Hulme, Manchester M15 5AL. Telephone 061.795.3870. Meetings every

Sunday at Manchester Town Hall, Albert Square, Lloyd St entrance, 7.30 pm.  
**LESBIAN AND GAY FESTIVAL CARNIVAL PARADE.** Saturday July 5, Hyde Park, London, to Kennington Park, Lambeth, for live entertainment and open-air events. Plus 400 events throughout the country between June 19 and July 6.  
**GREENHAM WOODRUNNERS FINANCIAL APPEAL.** Donations urgently needed to buy a van for the 'Greenham

Woodrunners', who keep in daily contact with and supply wood to the Greenham Common Peace Camp. Contributions should be sent to J Lethbridge, Account No 12249286 type 00, Co-operative Bank, 23a St Aldgate St, Gloucester.  
**CROYDON-NABLUS TWINNING.** Reception/social to celebrate the twinning of Croydon Trades Council with the General Federation of Trades Unions in Nablus. Palestinian folk group, Palestinian food, bar. Friday July 4,

7.30 pm. Ruskin House, 23 Coombe Road, Croydon, Surrey, CR0 1BD.  
**NALGO WOMEN'S HEALTH FAIR.** Come and see what the NHS, trade unions, voluntary organisations and women's groups are doing about fertility, childbirth, contraception, smoking, alcohol, tranquillisers, diet, sexual harassment, self defence, cancer screening, health at work and new technology, on the anniversary of the NHS. July 5, 10 am — 4 pm. Carrs Lane Centre, Birm-

ingham. Phone Linda Pennell or Ann Lee, 021-643-6084.  
**FREE THE GUILDFORD FOUR PUBLIC MEETING.** Wednesday July 9, 7.30 Holborn Library. For donations and details of the campaign write to Free the Guildford Four Campaign BM Box 6944 WC1 N3XX.  
Please send details of your meetings and events to Workers Press, 21b Old Town, London SW4 0JT, to arrive not later than the Monday before publication

## KEEP WEST LONDON HOSPITAL OPEN!

HUNDREDS turned up last Tuesday June 24 for a public meeting called by the Hammersmith and Fulham council to fight the planned closure of the West London Hospital.

The closure is one of the draconian cuts planned by the Riverside District Health Authority by 1994 — £33 million is to be cut off its annual budget of £127 million.

The meeting was addressed by mothers, consultants, trade unionists and Labour councillors, many of whom were involved in the 1981 campaign which was successful in keeping the hospital open.

West London Hospital has a reputation as a 'family hospital' where mothers are treated not just as sick people.

Val Gorten took part in the last campaign. All her children were born in the West London.

She said that the threat to close the hospital would have a dreadful affect on staff morale and would lead to a fall in standards, shorter

stays and overcrowding.

Mike House, Senior Consultant at the hospital, said closure would mean no choice for mothers.

The meeting organised a steering committee to involve the local community, mothers and trade unionists.

This is to link up with a campaign called by the Joint Shop Stewards Committee to oppose both the planned closure of the West London Hospital and threatened cuts of £1.7 million at nearby Charing Cross hospital.

One ward is to close immediately and a further 40 beds to go, possibly in October. There are planned cuts in all departments.

The joint shop stewards committee has called a day of action on July 24 backed by the Trades Council and the Labour Group.

They have called on the local community to join the campaign and take part in a lunch time rally outside Charing Cross Hospital and a lobby of the District Health Authority in the evening.

By JOHN SIMMANCE

### 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.
- GARTREE**  
HM Prison Gartree, Leicester Rd, Market Harborough, Leics, LE16 7RP  
ROBERT CAMPBELL: 10-year sentence, B32954.  
JOE O'CONNELL: Life sentence, 338635  
RONNIE McCARTNEY: Life sentence, 463799.
- FRANKLAND**  
HM Prison Finchale Ave, Brasside, Durham  
PAUL HOLMES: Life sentence, 119034.  
EDDIE O'NEILL: 20-year sentence, 135722.  
WILLIAM ARMSTRONG: Life sentence, 119085
- LEICESTER**  
HM Prison Welford Rd, Leicester, LE2 7AJ  
BRENDAN DOWD: Life sentence, 758662.  
BRIAN KEENAN: 21-year sentence, B26380.  
PAUL KAVANAGH: Life sentence, 1888.
- HULL**  
HM Prison Hedon Rd, Hull, Humberside  
MARTIN BRADY: Life sentence, 119087.  
ROY WALSH: Life sentence, 119083.
- ON REMAND AWAITING SENTENCE 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.
- 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  
VINCE DONNELLY: Life sentence, 274064.  
SEAN HAYES: 20-year sentence, 341418.

The information on this list is supplied and updated by An Cumann Cabhrach, British section, for which we thank them.

## MARCH FOR FREEDOM IN NAMIBIA & SOUTH AFRICA!

ANTI APARTHEID MOVEMENT 13 MARSDALE ST LONDON NW11 0J-387 7966



LONDON SATURDAY JUNE 28 RALLY HYDE PARK 11-12 FESTIVAL CLAPHAM COMMON 3PM

## NF SPLITS IN 'TERROR' ROW

By CHRIS McBRIDE

NATIONAL FRONT chairman Martin Wingfield has given an ultimatum to the NF Directorate declaring that if the organisation's leaders refuse to break off links with right wing terrorists in Italy, he will resign and make public his reasons for doing so, according to a report contained in 'Searchlight'.

His threat was aimed at directorate members Nick Griffin and Derek Holland who have created strong relations with the Front and the London-based 'Armed Revolutionary Nuclei' (NAR) who are sheltering in London from the Italian police.

Most of the NF directorate were said to have been supporting Wingfield.

### Mismanagement

But after an internal battle Griffin and Holland managed to win a majority and proceeded to suspend Wingfield, ex-chairman Ian Anderson, Tom Acton and Paul Nash on charges including 'incompetence' and 'financial mismanagement'.

Leading NF member Joe Pearce who is currently serving a six month jail sentence for Race Relations Act offences, has pledged his full support for the Wingfield faction.

Pearce is said to be the only NF leader with any personal following. He could determine which faction large sections of the membership will follow as the split situation gets sharper.

The National Front's campaign to 'free Joe Pearce' is falling miserably due to the fact that the NF are being driven from the streets by young anti-fascists, anarchists and Trotskyists whenever they march or hold meetings in Pearce's support.

# GUILDFORD FOUR

# HOSTAGES OF



Mrs Eileen Armstrong, mother of Patrick Armstrong (left), and Mrs Sarah Conlon holding a letter from her son Gerard, as they appear in the Yorkshire Television documentary 'The Guildford Time Bomb'. The Guildford Four were framed for bombings in Guildford and Woolwich — and have now served 12 years in jail. The programme can be seen in ITV's First Tuesday slot on July 1, at 10.30 pm. Readers of Workers Press who have been following the Guildford Four campaign won't want to miss the programme — and might want to video it.

## A letter from Paul Hill

Paul Hill, Number 462778, HM Prison, Hedon Road, Hull, North Humberside, HU9 5LS.

Dear Phil,  
Received your welcome letter and enclosed snaps.

The Workers Press series has been very good, to say the least.

As you know the 'gutter press' have avoided the issue of these frame-ups, and at long last things would appear to be moving.

I think there are a couple of aspects that you could put forward in order that the ordinary person in the street (who, in spite of Wapping, the miners' strike and the like) can understand why totally innocent people have been imprisoned.

The anti-Irish hysteria generated by the so-called popular press, created a climate which enabled the police to be in a position to railroad innocents into prison, at a time when they were under immense pressure to produce results.

They did not have a clue, which is borne out by the fact that it was over one year after our arrest that they captured the Balcombe Street Four, and only then by a sheer fluke.

Our arrest and conviction served three purposes:

1. it appeased the public;
2. it let the police claim credit;
3. and possibly most important, it was a warning to the Irish community in this country not to get involved in any part of the war in Northern Ireland (the PTA was designed to do this).

The Irish community were well aware that we were innocent.

This served the state's purpose.

It terrified the Irish community and the police hoped that rather than face protests over our convictions that the Irish community would round on those responsible for these attacks.

Every repressive state uses this ploy; it's been used in every aspect of the Irish war.

One example of this is the soldier or policeman who can fire his plastic bullet point blank into the face of a woman or child.

To say this is pure hate is to stretch hate beyond bounds that a normal person cannot conceive.

They do so in order to round the people against the IRA and instil the fear in them.

They hope to say to the community these people would not die if there was no resistance. (Bloody Sunday is the greatest example of this).

The PTA was a mere extension of that policy and hence to meet that extension innocent people would suffer.

Another matter I view as of bearing is the case of Brendan Dowd, who was arrested in Liverpool.

One would think that if the Balcombe Street Unit wished to conspire and invent a story, the last person they would conspire with would be Dowd, whom they could not speak to as he was in prison in Liverpool.

He received a sentence for attempted murder, yet he comes forward to say he was involved in Guildford and Woolwich, which (if charged) would have earned him six life sentences!!

He was in the normal long term dispersal system until he gave evidence at our appeal — evidence which was not accepted by the Crown. They simply say he was lying.

Yet the moment he left the witness box, he was put in the special security block.

This is the highest level of security, so someone in a high position believed Dowd's evidence.

So here we have a man who is serving a sentence for attempted murder who comes forward and says he killed six other people, is disbelieved, but then upgraded to the highest level of security, whilst myself and others who the Crown say killed 21 people are also in the normal long term dispersal system!!

Because my mail is limited it's impossible to write to everyone I'd like to.

I hope that you would be as kind as to thank everyone who has been of help, especially all at Workers Press.

I'm fine myself and have been lifted by all the great work being done.

No-one knows as I do after 12 years in a 'brutal' prison system, that progress is slow but I thank you from my heart.

Reading material is always gratefully received.

Would you when you have any good photos, forward them.

They grace my picture board — though I notice you seem to be unlucky taking them in Leicester, smile!

I shall close. Once again many thanks to all, God bless you and yours.

My mind is free, whilst the minds of my keepers are in chains!!

Fraternal greetings, Paul

# 1,410 DAYS SOLITARY CONFINEMENT

PAUL HILL was the first person to be held under the notorious Prevention of Terrorism Act.

He was held incommunicado, intimidated, beaten and framed along with three other young people, for the Guildford and Woolwich bombings in 1974.

These bombings were subsequently claimed by the 'Balcombe Street Unit' who explained in detail how they did it.

Unimpressed with this new evidence the no-jury appeal court upheld the sentences. Paul's was the longest prison term ever handed down by a British court.

Although known to be innocent, all four have received inhuman treatment at the hands of the state under both Tory and Labour governments.

But it is accepted by all those involved in the case that the worst treatment has been reserved for Paul Hill.

There are various ways in which political prisoners are 'controlled'. Drugs such as the 'liquid cosh' (largactyl), beatings, strip searches and frequent moves are just a few.

The prison authorities have at their disposal one of the most draconian rules ever invented which allows them to torture prisoner and thereby break their will using sensory deprivation, rule '10/74, Good Order and Discipline'.

This is the main method which has been used on Paul Hill whose treatment is documented by a special correspondent in the sixth and final part of this series.

The prison rules state (Rule 43, Good Order and Discipline):

(2) A prisoner shall not be removed under this rule for a period of more than 24 hours without the authority of the Board of Visitors or of the Secretary of State.

When Paul Hill was taken to Wormwood Scrubs from Manchester (to enable him to have visits) during a sustained period of solitary confinement between May 1983 and February 1984, on arriving at The Scrubs he was put on 'normal location'.

But he was not told by the Governor or the Board of Visitors that he was off Rule 43.

### Returned

Three weeks later, when he was returned to Manchester, he was not told by the Board of Visitors or the Governor at either The Scrubs or Manchester that he was back on Rule 43.

This helps to show the gross misuse of Rule 43 and this is a mere example. If this is the concern of the Board of Visitors then they show it in an odd way.

During numerous 'lie downs', he was never visited in his cell by the Board of Visitors.

In fact when he asked to see them, or happened to catch them in passing, they appeared totally perplexed, asking how long he had been there, what his name was, and why he was in solitary confinement.

These are the people on

whose authority he is in solitary and whose duty it is to act as a watchdog to those in solitary confinement.

The fact is Rule 43 is used not as a means of discipline (there is a disciplinary procedure in every prison) but as a means of mentally destroying prisoners.

In-depth studies have been carried out in the USA by professors and doctors who state that after 10 or 12 years in normal prison conditions a prisoner's mental facilities suffer irreversible damage and the fastest and shortest way to achieve this is solitary confinement.

This and this alone is the reason for solitary confinement.

Paul Hill never had it explained by any Governor or Board of Visitors why he had been given a lie down 10/74 (this Order started October 1974, hence 10/74).

Unlike the adjudication procedure — which itself is a farce, a kangaroo court, but at least a prisoner knows the nature of the allegations against him and by whom they have been made — 10/74 is a secret trial where a prisoner does not know what has been said and by whom.

So it follows that no defence can be offered. This of course goes much further because if 'A' can say what he wishes about 'B', 'B' has no recourse at all.

It must be in 'A's' favour to invent whatever he may wish as it cannot be disproved. And to do so enhances his chances of parole.

As it is entered on his file that he has supplied information, it must also dam-

age 'B's' chances because it is said on his file '10/74 subversive' (this is against every fundamental principle of law).

So for whatever reason — dislike, debt ('A' may owe 'B' tobacco) 'B' may have a job 'A' wants, 'A' could be Irish — there are a multitude of reasons — 'B' will suffer 28 days in solitary confinement in harsh conditions.

Prison staff are only too eager to believe whatever is said.

That 10/74 is punitive is beyond dispute. Paul has sometimes been moved very rapidly, when he was not in his cell and had no belongings with him.

He would be taken to the punishment block of a local prison, sometimes hundreds of miles away.

If he happened to have a visit that day and his family had come hundreds of miles it would be a case of hard luck.

But for the next 28 days his visits, if he had them, would almost always be through a glass window which in a dispersal prison is awarded as a punishment!

In some prisons he was given a denim suit with a yellow stripe down one side — an escapee's suit.

This again was a punishment. He would have to put this suit in a box, which would be taken out each night at 6-6.30 pm, and left with only a pair of pyjamas until 7 the next morning.

A red light would be left burning all night. So for 28 days his cell would be continuously bright.

Almost without fail 'staff'

in punishment blocks are hostile.

They see a prisoner by virtue of the fact that he is on Good Order and Discipline as a subversive and so delight in making things as hard as possible.

Like most groups in uniform who would like to be viewed as 'macho', they almost vie amongst themselves to see who can be the worst (the most hated by the inmates) as this 'status' goes hand in hand with the pseudo-macho image.

Paul had one hour's exercise a day which in winter could be cancelled on a whim.

He was given a safety razor and a mirror made from silver paper.

This would be left in his cell when he was slopping out before breakfast and taken out when he slopped out after breakfast. There was no conversation.

### Octopus

So it was not unusual to go 28 days without speaking to anyone. In one period he went 60 days and had no verbal exchange with anyone.

Slopping out, if one is an octopus is no problem.

As in most prisons, Paul was only allowed one trip to the recess.

How this can be achieved is another matter when you have a chamber pot, hot water bowl, drinking water jug, plastic plate, cup, soup bowl, sweet bowl, knife, fork and spoon.

If you can achieve this don't apply to MENSA but

Billy Smart's circus.

During slopping out, there can be as many as eight to ten screws who position themselves in a manner so as to intimidate.

They stare and once one stood beside the toilet door (which was only about two feet high) to look over whilst it was in use.

Prison staff suffer more than most from boredom.

A prison officer's job means he simply uses a key to open a door and if, as has often been the case, Paul was the only one in the block and in solitary, a key was seldom in use. So eight to ten men, bored out of their minuscule minds, have only one source of amusement, the prisoner — a man in solitary confinement who does not know for what.

A day in solitary confinement can be described thus: 6.30 they put your box of clothes in.

7.00 slop out (one trip) mirror and razor in, breakfast brought to door (normally cold, if not eaten whilst hot, so let hot water for wash and shave go cold).

7.30 slop out, mirror and razor out and, depending on why you are in solitary and where, bed out.

12.00 noon dinner brought to cell (normally cold).

1.45 slop out (one trip).

2.30 one hour exercise (weather permitting!)

5.00 supper brought to cell (normally cold).

6.30 slop out (one trip) bed-in, pyjamas on and clothes box out.

For all the rest of the time

# HOW MUCH CAN A PERSON

# IMPERIALISM BIRMINGHAM SIX



WILLIAM POWER



HUGH CALLAGHAN



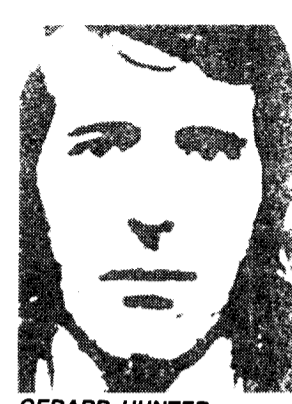
RICHARD McILKENNY



PATRICK HILL



JOHN WALKER



GERARD HUNTER

## A MATTER OF EMERGENCY

OVER 300 people attended a meeting in Dublin last week to launch a campaign to free the 'Birmingham Six'.

The Birmingham Six — Billy Power, Gerard Hunter, Richard McIlkenny, Paddy Hill, (no relation to Paul Hill), John Walker and Hugh Callaghan — were picked up by the British police and framed in very much the same way as the Guildford Four, but for the Birmingham bombing which happened in 1974.

Speakers included Nobel Peace Prize holder Sean McBride, Bishop Kavanagh, Gareth Pierce (the solicitor of one of those framed), the American civil rights campaigner Paul O'Dwyer, author and journalist Michael Farrell and Chair of the Bar Council Paddy MacEntee.

A resolution adopted at the meeting called upon the Irish government to 'raise, as a matter of emergency, the case of the Birmingham Six and the Guildford Four with the British government at

the earliest opportunity, with a view to obtaining their release and clearing their names.'

Gareth Pierce, Paddy Hill's solicitor, described the case as a 'travesty of justice.' She went on:

'Every one concerned with their arrest, trial, detention, questioning and subsequent incarceration must take the blame for them still being in prison today.

'They have been in prison for eleven years. Each of the

men is serving 21 life sentences.

'Unless there is continued and significant pressure, I believe that the British government would be content to let them serve out the rest of their natural lives in prison.

'It is inconvenient, embarrassing and has implications for many other cases for them to admit that something has gone scandalously wrong.'

She said that in a telephone conversation with Paddy Hill just before the meeting began, he had asked her not to say that it was a miscarriage of justice.

'I do not want any one at the meeting to use weasel words like that,' he had said, 'it was not a miscarriage of justice. I was tortured and I was framed.'

'I don't just want to be released: I want another trial and I want to prove my innocence.'

Explaining some of the details of the case Ms Pierce said that the Six were beaten by police officers, were subjected to extreme violence and brutality.

### Untrue

'They signed untrue admissions to have participated in a bombing which killed 21 people in Birmingham in 1974.

'But it was not just beatings which led to them being convicted.

'They were stopped in the first place on their way onto a ferry for only one reason — and that was because they were Irish.

'The second culpable figure of authority was Doctor Skuse the Forensic Scientist.

'He did tests called Griess

tests where swabs are taken of the accused's fingers.

'This is intended to be a rudimentary screening which indicates whether it is necessary to do further, more precise tests.

'Utterly irresponsibly he rushed out of the room where he was doing this test and said to the police officers "they are covered all over with gelignite!"

'From then on, the police saw that the end would justify the means.

'The men were beaten, threatened, tortured and terrorised.

'There is the clearest possible evidence of this — it was not a sophisticated beating, it was brutal. It left marks and scars.

### Statements

'Statements were then obtained from all but Paddy Hill who never did sign a confession.

'Like confidence tricksters the police took down these statements as quickly as they possibly could. That is why they were contradictory and garbled.

'At no stage did a responsible prosecutor seriously look at the evidence, because if he had he would have said that this thing stinks from beginning to end.'

Michael Farrell said they should never have been put on trial, and that they are the victims of hysterical anti-Irish racism.

'They were ordinary working class men with no powerful or influential friends.

'The police picked on them because they thought they would do.

'This was done under a Labour government, which had thrown concern for civil liberties and the rights of suspects to the wind.

'If they can produce a piece of draconian legisla-

tion like the PTA overnight then it is hardly surprising that the police are given carte blanche to beat up suspects in order to get a conviction.

'It did not just happen to them.

'Four young people were convicted on similarly inadequate evidence in December 1974 for the Guildford and Woolwich Bombings.

'The same kind of discredited forensic evidence was used against them.

'Because of the hysteria, people in Britain at that time were unwilling to speak out and as a result civil liberties were suspended.

'We had a climate of opinion very similar to that in Ireland about two years later.

'A state of emergency was declared, there was a climate of McCarthyism.

'Anyone who said that the police may be beating people up, that people may have been wrongfully convicted, that they may not be getting a fair trial in the Special Criminal Court was called a Provo.

'People here were not prepared to stick their necks out.

'This is what has led to these people spending 12 years in prison in the Guildford and Woolwich case and 11 years in the case of the Birmingham Six.'

Sean McBride quoted a statement made by Lord Denning on the case.

Lord Denning, rejecting the right of the Birmingham Six to take out a case against the police, had said that if the Six had done so and won it would mean that the police were guilty of perjury, violence and threats.

It would mean that the confessions were involuntary and improperly admitted in evidence.

The convictions would be

clearly erroneous, and the Home Secretary would either have to recommend pardon or send the case to the House of Lords.

McBride said that pressure should be brought to bear on TDs (members of the Irish parliament) and the Irish government to take up the case with the British government.

Bishop Kavanagh spoke of 'these poor men' being tortured and terrified, but said:

'We know that torture has been used but we must leave a way out for the British government.

'So in our diplomatic dealings with the British we should concentrate on the forensic evidence.'

Paul O'Dwyer said that for the use of the bases against Libya Margaret Thatcher had made a deal with president Reagan for a Treaty of Extradition, although it has been delayed and disrupted by American senators.

Thatcher's pursuance of this treaty, he argued, shows how much she hates Irish people wherever they may be. He concluded:

### Freedom

'We should try to gain their freedom diplomatically but if that does not work then it should not end there.

'If these people are not released then Northern Ireland should be declared the colony which it is.

'This will put restrictions upon the United States.'

Paddy MacEntee referred to the great reluctance on the part of the British judiciary to do anything about the case.

'The problem that we are now facing cannot be approached honestly unless we see it in the context of the explosions that killed 21 people and maimed 161.

'Those explosions in turn cannot be seen in context unless we examine in depth why violence has been endemic over the centuries in the relationship between Britain and Northern Ireland.'

Patrick McIlkenny, brother of Richard McIlkenny, read out a letter which he had received from his brother earlier in the week.

He reported the support building up for the Six, including the setting up of support groups in Bolton in Lancashire and Boston in Massachusetts.

A jurist in the International Court of Human Rights has also taken up the case.

Members of the Free the Guildford Four campaign, which was launched in Kilburn, west London in May, were present at the meeting and displayed their literature.

Dr. Maire O'Shea, a member of that committee, spoke at the press conference the previous day.

FROM PHIL PENN IN DUBLIN

## NEMENT!

he walks the cell or sits in a corner!!

A prisoner in a dispersal prison is better off than on 10/74 which is not considered a punishment.

1. In a dispersal you exercise with other punishments — on 10/74 you exercise alone.

2. In a dispersal you have unlimited trips to recess — on 10/74 you have one.

3. You can only be put in escapee's suit in a dispersal for escaping or trying to — not so on 10/74.

4. You only get 'close glass' visits in a dispersal for an offence committed on a visit (eg smuggling) — on 10/74 all your visits are like this.

5. No red light in dispersal — on 10/74 always.

These are simply a few of the differences.

### Petition

Of course in the prison system, being as humane as it is, there are remedies. If a prisoner should be so 'subversive' as to complain he can petition which is a great help, when you consider you are only there for 28 days and the normal petition reply takes three months. The standard reply comes back: 'We cannot take action as you are now out of solitary'.

Or of course he can, if he is lucky enough, see the Board of Visitors under whose authority he is being held in solitary, who are not only

unaware of the reasons he is in solitary but don't even know he is in the prison they are overseeing.

Several times in the past when Paul raised matters with them at his cell door, they turned to a screw and asked for his advice!!

Paul has spent a total of one thousand four hundred and ten days in solitary confinement.

### postscript

Shortly after this report was written Paul Hill was moved again and given another twenty eight days in solitary confinement. How much can a person endure?

Paul Hill, Carole Richardson, Patrick Armstrong and Gerard Conlon are innocent, cent.

The Workers Revolutionary Party are amongst a growing number of organisations and concerned individuals which sponsor the campaign for their release.

We believe that it is the duty of the labour and trade union movement to do the same.

Don't be intimidated, raise the case in your organisation, stand up and be counted. Help to end their ordeal.

Donations, which are much needed, and requests for sponsorship forms or information packs should be sent to 'Free the Guildford Four Campaign' BM Box 6944 London WC1 N3XX. Information Packs are also available from Paperbacks Centres.



GARETH PIERCE, Paddy Hill's solicitor, addressing the meeting

## ENDURE?

# RELEASE THE JAILED MINERS!

This week **WORKERS PRESS** continues its coverage of the tour by Polish oppositionist Stefan Bekier. We also carry information about the repression in Poland and short notes on the most prominent prisoners.

The aim of the campaign is to build solidarity between trade unionists fighting to defend their rights in both Britain and Poland

That is why the issue of the jailed and sacked miners in Britain is to the forefront in the campaign.

Due to shortage of space, we have held over the second part of the interview with a leading member of the Alliance of Workers' Opposition in Poland for the moment.

**THE HIGHLY successful speaking tour by Polish oppositionist Stefan Bekier continued to the Tyne-Tees region last week.**

**The tour is campaigning to link the struggle for the release of 'Solidarnosc' prisoners in Poland with the fight to free jailed miners in Britain and reinstate the sacked men.**

On arriving in the area last Wednesday, Bekier took part in the Ruth First Memorial Lecture at Durham University.

He read out extracts from an Open Letter from the underground Polish newspaper 'Front Robotniczy' (Workers Front) to the workers of Azania and Namibia.

The letter calls for the international solidarity of workers all over the world and the overthrow of the regimes of Botha and Jaruzelski.

'Front Robotniczy' is part of the Alliance of the Workers' Opposition.

The following day, Bekier was invited by the Durham Mechanics branch committee at Westoe colliery, South Shields, to visit the colliery and discuss the joint campaign.

During the meeting, branch officials raised the problems of workers in the British coal industry under the Thatcher government.

They expressed the need for an incoming Labour government to plan the development of the mining industry.

That night Bekier spoke at a well-attended public meeting in Newcastle organised by the Workers Revolutionary Party.

There were shipyard workers, miners, members of Women Against Pit Closures and Labour Party members in the audience.

There was also a delegation from the Contracts factory in South Shields where women clothing workers were recently on strike for a six and a half months to defend trade union rights.

Billy Etherington, General Secretary of the Durham Mechanics section of the NUM, was one of the main speakers at the meeting.

'I'm reminded, speaking here in support of "Solidarity", that a while ago Mrs Thatcher was shouting for trade union rights for "Solidarnosc", but she could have done more for our trade union rights', Etherington said.

'Long before Mrs Thatcher, the trade union movement had forgotten what it was. It was ripe for the attack by Thatcher.

'She attacked our solidarity. You couldn't fight for action outside your own workplace. Solidarity action is the only way to fight'.

Etherington said it was a tragedy that many of the things the Tory government had brought in were ideas they gleaned from certain individuals in the Parliamentary Labour Party.

'I think you are better off with leaders like Arthur Scargill and Peter Heathfield who would rather fight it through to the end than compromise', he added.

He said 'I hope our colleagues from Poland get free trade unions. Whatever gov-

By **BOB ARCHER**

ernment a country has, you must have free trade unions'.

Etherington went on to report on the struggle of the Justice for Miners Campaign and urged all present to fight for the Labour Party Conference and the TUC to take up the struggle for the jailed and sacked miners.

Stefan Bekier, of the Revolutionary Workers League of Poland, greeted the meeting in the name of his organisation and the newspaper 'Walka Klas' (Class Struggle) of which he is an editor.

He said the meeting was part of the campaign to free miners jailed after the miners strike in Britain and to win the release of Polish trade unionists jailed by Jaruzelski's regime.

He went on: 'The forces who supported the miners' strike were the Miners' Coordinating Commission of "Solidarnosc" in Upper Silesia.

## Opposition

'They form part of the Alliance of Workers' Opposition recently set up in Poland.

'There are different wings of the opposition in Poland', Bekier explained. 'All Poland is covered by a very strong network of underground "Solidarnosc" commissions.

'There are about 800 underground newspapers appearing regularly.

'In the last 18 months there have been a lot of spectacular strikes', he went on.

'For the first time the strikes have started to be successful. Last autumn, 22,000 miners at the 'Manifest Lipcowy' mine in Silesia went on strike against price increases.

'Women workers at the "Rosa Luxemburg" electrical goods factory won a 22 per cent wage increase after a long campaign of rolling strikes.

'The big repression shows that "Solidarnosc" lives and fights', Bekier continued. 'About 260 trade unionists have been jailed for distributing papers or organising strikes.

'Over 100 have been killed in the Argentinian way, kidnapped and beaten to death with batons'.

Bekier explained that new labour regulations shortly to be adopted by the PUWP (Polish stalinist party) congress would increase the working week from 42 hours to 46.

'This is not an invention of the bureaucracy', he said. 'Poland has just been accepted into the IMF. The

## LETTERS FROM POLISH MINERS

TO THE STRIKING MINERS OF GREAT BRITAIN

June 1984

**THE LEADERSHIP** of the provisional co-ordinating committee (of Solidarnosc) of the region of Upper Silesia has been mandated to send you a motion of support for your struggle and your fight in defence of an elementary human right — the right to work.

After discussion and an exchange of points of view, our organisation sends you full support for your struggle. We are full of admiration for your stance and your unfailing willingness to struggle.

We believe you will achieve your goals.

Neither the British government's mounted police charges nor its truncheon blows, any more than the Polish Junta's tanks or rifle fire, can break our common struggle for a better future

for the working class.

We appeal to all members of Solidarnosc to support your struggle. Only the international struggle of the mass of workers can decide our fate.

David Jastrzebski  
(President)

For the Underground Provisional Co-ordinating Committee of Solidarnosc Miners in the Region of Upper Silesia

(Upper Silesia is the chief coal mining region of Poland — Editor)

To the President of the National Union of Mineworkers on Strike in Great Britain

Dear Comrade,

I send you the expression of my support and my enthusiasm. For many weeks you

have represented the interests of your trade union with dignity.

At the same time I ask you to consider our own difficult situation — activity which is clandestine and under totalitarian threats — which means there are many things we cannot resolve rapidly, often for security reasons. In the coming weeks we will send you greetings from other organisations (of Solidarnosc) which support your struggle.

I wish you the best, and above all victory. I ask you to send our greetings to all British miners and our best wishes.

Personally I am convinced that thanks to the attitude of your trade union victory is within your grasp.

With best wishes  
David Jastrzebski



The branch committee of the Durham Colliery Mechanics (NUM) at Westoe Colliery, South Shields, held a special meeting with Stefan Bekier to discuss the struggle of the underground 'Solidarnosc' trade union in Poland. In our picture, standing in front of the branch banner, Stefan Bekier, Jim Perry (Area President and Westoe Branch Secretary, DCMA), Interpreter, Howard Linklater (Branch Chairman, DCMA)

IMF has made loans to Poland. Poland is a workers' state.

'In 1980-1981 the workers fought for control of the economy. These attacks on the workers are an immediate consequence of the bureaucracy's alliance with US and other finance capital.

'Four years of underground struggle is an unprecedented thing', Bekier added. 'It is the reply to the unprecedented attack by the bureaucracy on the planned economy.

'Here in Britain, workers see Reagan and Thatcher supporting "Solidarnosc" and they hear propaganda from the friends of Gorbachev and Jaruzelski that "Solidarnosc" is pro-capitalist.

'How can you say "Solidarnosc" is anti-socialist

when it was based on workers' methods of struggle, on strikes and general strikes?' Bekier asked.

'It was based on elected workers councils, each one a little workers' republic.

'How is it anti-socialist to fight for national independence?'

'Thanks to Jaruzelski you have the middle class getting richer and richer', Bekier explained. 'There is a penetration of foreign capital and a re-privatisation of small industry.

## Factories

'Nearly 400 companies have set up small factories.

'Jaruzelski is creating the conditions for a new capitalist class of compradores.'

Jane Kingsland, who led the six and a half month

strike at Contracts Ltd in South Shields, explained that women clothing workers there had gone on strike for a day over wages and conditions.

When they returned to work, 11 people were sacked.

She told how, when union officials lost a secret ballot to obtain a return to work, they withdrew their support for the strike.

'Our fight was for the basic right to be democratically represented by representatives of our choice', she said.

The following morning Bekier addressed a meeting of shop stewards at the Austin and Pickersgill shipyard at Sunderland and later spoke at a meeting of the Executive Committee of the Durham Colliery Mechanics Association.

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

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

### DURHAM

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

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

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

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

### YORKSHIRE

**JOHN ROBSON:** 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.

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

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

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

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

### N. DERBYSHIRE

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

# FREE SOLIDARNOSC MILITANTS!

# Solidarność



## MEN WHO HAVE BEEN JAILED BY JARUZELSKI



● ZBIGNIEW BUJAK, (32)

One of the main leaders of the underground leadership of 'Solidarnosc' (TKK — Provisional Co-ordinating Commission) between 1982 and his arrest on May 31 this year. Worker in the Warsaw 'Ursus' tractor factory (25,000 workers). It was this factory which, in June 1976, led a successful general strike together with engineering workers in the Radom district which forced the Stalinist authorities to re-

verse abruptly the 30 per cent increase in food prices.

During the big strikes of August 1980, elected president of the Ursus strike committee, then president of 'Solidarnosc' in the Warsaw region embracing 911,000 workers.

Elected member of the 'Solidarnosc' National Commission and Presidium at the First Congress in autumn 1981.

After the coup d'etat of December 1981, escaped on several occasions from Jaruzelski's police.

Together with others such as Frasiński in Lower Silesia and Lis in Gdansk reorganised the underground bodies and became one of the most popular leading workers in the country.

One of the organisers of the underground weekly 'Tygodnik Mazowse', printing 50,000 copies in four A4 pages.

● HENRYK WUJEC, (37)

Physicist. Former member of ex-KOR and one of the most active organisers of the intellectual democratic opposition between 1976 and 1981.

After the formation of 'Solidarnosc' served first as advis-



● ADAM MICHNIK, (40)

Historian. Between 1976 and 1981 one of the principal inspirers and theoreticians, together with Jacek Kuron, of the intellec-

er to the union in Warsaw, was then elected member of the regional leadership and, at the First Congress at Gdansk, elected member of the National Commission of 'Solidarnosc'.

Imprisoned at the time of the coup d'etat in December 1981

● WLADYSLAW FRASYNIUK, (32)

Mechanic and HGV and bus driver.

One of the most legendary workers' leaders in the country.

In August 1980 organised the city transport strike in Wroclaw (Lower Silesia), elected president of the transport strike committee and then of the regional Inter-Factory Committee (MKS).

President of the regional leadership of 'Solidarnosc' from the birth of the union, elected member of the union's pres-

idential democratic opposition grouped around the KOR (Committee for Workers Defence) until it wound itself up in autumn 1981.

Often imprisoned.

and freed in 1984.

Since then, like many leaders and militants freed in 1984-1985, has written in the underground press and participated in protest actions.

Has just been re-arrested, on May 31, at the same time as Zbigniew Bujak.

idium at the First Congress in Gdansk.

Escaped arrest at the time of the Jaruzelski coup d'etat, returning to his region with the assistance of railway workers and taking charge of the defence of the factories in the face of police and tanks.

The Lower Silesia region rapidly became the most combative bastion of the underground union.

With other leaders, Frasiński became the spokesman of the 'line of the factories' within the TKK (underground national leadership), advocating the

preparation of the general strike and workers' control of the factories.

Arrested in autumn 1982, he was freed in 1984.

Once more very active, he was re-arrested with Lis and Michnik and sentenced to three and a half years in prison at the Stalinist trial in Gdansk.

Recently proclaimed Political Prisoner no. 1 by the underground press for his extraordinary courage and his resistance in the face of frequent attempts to break him morally and physically.

Adviser to 'Solidarnosc' during the period of its legal existence in 1980-1981.

Imprisoned during the coup d'etat, freed in 1985 and immediately re-arrested.

Condemned to three years in prison together with Lis and Frasiński in a typically Stalinist trial at Gdansk.

His many letters from prison and his ferocious criticisms of Stalinist policemen, generals and judges have made him the bete noir of the Jaruzelski regime despite his relatively moderate politics.



MICHNIK

# HOW POLISH WORKERS FIGHT STALINISM

THE RECENT arrests of Zbigniew Bujak, Konrad Bielinski, Ewa Kulik and Henryk Wujec bring the number of political prisoners in Poland to about 280.

On top of this, hundreds of activists have been arrested and fined up to 20 times their monthly wages in summary proceedings without legal representation — for 'crimes' such as possessing clandestine newspapers.

Thousands have been sacked and blacklisted for crimes of opinion.

The Jaruzelski authorities have decreed laws on 'parasitism' aimed directly against blacklisted activists and leaders.

Prison sentences range from a few months (often 'renewable' as it was for the Gdansk leader Andrzej Gwiazda) to six years.

Distributing underground newspapers carries the threat of two years in prison.

In prison, there are determined hunger-strikes demanding political prisoner status. The architect Czeslaw Bielecki has been on hunger strike since October 1985 and is being force-fed.

Since the declaration of the state of emergency four and a half years ago, more than 100 trade union activists and leaders have been assassinated, kidnapped and found beaten to death 'by persons unknown'.

This is done by squads of

the Political Police (SB), certain of whom have even adopted the name 'OAS' (Anti-Solidarnosc Organisation), the abbreviation used by French fascists during the Algerian war.

To all appearances it was they who brutally murdered the priest Father Popieluszko in 1984.

The factories are still militarised, with a constant presence of the SB political police.

Since 1982, the TKK (national underground leadership of the union) has taken severe blows with the successive arrests of Wladyslaw Frasiński, Jozef Piniór and Piotr Bednarz (all from the Lower Silesia region), Janusz Palubicki (Poznan region), Wladyslaw Hardek (Cracow region), Bogdan Lis and Bogdan Borusewicz (Gdansk region), Tadeusz Jedynek (Upper Silesia region) and on May 31 Zbigniew Bujak (Warsaw region).

Despite this, the TKK continues to function, led by

Marek Muszynski (Lower Silesia), Jan Andrzej Gorny (Upper Silesia) and six other regional leaders who remain anonymous.

There are more than 800 newspapers produced by factory co-ordinating committees or political tendencies published regularly since the state of emergency was announced.

They appear monthly, quarterly or weekly and even some daily, as in Lower Silesia.

### Monthlies

They are 2 or 4 page publications (or even 50 or 100 pages for the monthlies and quarterlies) either duplicated or printed by offset.

Most print runs are between 1,000 and 10,000; 50,000 copies are produced of the 'Mazowse Weekly' in Warsaw.

Underground publishing houses bring out several hundred books and pamphlets a year, centring on Polish history and banned literature.

The best known is NOWA, whose publications include

well-known authors banned by censorship.

Every large factory has its own underground workers commission (TKZ) which usually publishes an underground newspaper of struggle and information.

In large cities there are several inter-factory co-ordinating committees depending on the local levels of technical ability and political sensibilities. In the same way there are many regional co-ordinating committees.

The TKZs inspire daily resistance and secure the flow of information to the workers, collect trade union dues and organise protest action including strikes and go-slows.

Since last February there has been a very slow upturn in the number of strikes, atomised and contradictory, but very perceptible all over the country.

They have been directed against price increases (prices have increased six times in the last four years, by 20 to 30 per cent each occasion) and against the growing pauperisation of the population.

These very localised and

By STEFAN BEKIER

partial strikes are usually successful.

In the 'Rosa Luxemburg' electrical factory in Warsaw, the big 'Manifest Lipcowy' mine in Silesia and the 'Pafawag' railway factory in Wroclaw, a strike or the threat of a strike has driven back the management and forced them to raise wages, sometimes by 20 to 30 per cent.

### Organise

The resistance movement is now trying to organise against the new reactionary laws. They are:

● Law lengthening the working week from 42 hours to 46;

● Law preventing workers from changing jobs from factory to factory. From now on the worker will pay the management a sum in damages amounting to four months' pay. He will also lose all his pay increments and other benefits acquired during his working life;

● Law allowing the management to sack workers practically without warning and doing away with the right to re-instatement if the industrial tribunal finds the management at fault.

These measures, and many others (such as obligatory night work for women), are to be incorporated into the new Labour Code to be adopted by the forthcoming Stalinist party congress.

These 'reforms' are directly tied to Poland's entry into the International Monetary Fund and the demands of the imperialist banks and governments for the reimbursement of Poland's external debt (\$30 bn).

At least half of Poland's exports go to pay the interest on this debt alone, that is to say the imperialists' net profits.

Coal is one of the main raw material exports. The pits are under military control and the conditions of exploitation are reminiscent of the nineteenth century.

There is continuous shift working over nights and weekends.

The unbridled and anarchic way in which the coal is ripped out causes frequent accidents, often fatal. (Thirty per cent of the coal is produced in so-called 'danger zones').

This is how the pseudo-communist bureaucrats force the miners to pay the profits of the capitalist banks (above all American, West German and... British banks).

# ARGENTINA IN FOCUS

## PART ONE:

# THE DIRTY WAR

WORKERS PRESS is starting an occasional series on Argentina covering the struggle of the working class for basic democratic rights with interviews and pictures.

Future articles will begin an analysis of the phenomenon of Peronism: this week we interview JUANA DE PARGAMENT founder member and treasurer of the Madres de Plaza de Mayo, an organisation devoted to campaigning on behalf of those who 'disappeared' (desaparecidos) during the military dictatorship in Argentina.

Over 30,000 opponents of the regime from all walks of life are estimated to have fallen victim to state terrorism during what has been become known as the 'dirty war' (1976-1983).



JUANA DE PARGAMENT

**WHAT was it like during the worst days of the repression?**

From the moment they enter the house, smash in the doors and snatch someone, you're in a state of shock.

At first it's like a vacuum in your chest, you cannot breathe.

What to do, where shall I look for my child? He said 'see you later'; they said 'he'll be back'.

The hours pass and night falls, the anguish of the night.

What to do first, where to go? We turn first to our own friends, then to the friends of the military, and we go to the bishops who insult us, slam the door in our faces, don't understand us.

Why? Because there has always been the closest bond between the church and the army.

Nevertheless we continue to weep and they witness our tears.

That's how a special office for 'desaparecidos' came into being in the Ministry of the Interior.

We would all go there to register our lost ones.

We got to recognise each other and one day one of the mothers exclaimed 'This cannot be.'

'We simply have to know where they took our children!' and added, 'To Plaza de Mayo, all of those who can, all those we know, all those we can contact.'

'When we are many we will demand to know the truth'.

And so, one April 30th nine years ago, we met at the square opposite government house, fourteen of us.

It was a Saturday afternoon and we soon realised that offices and banks were closed, no-one was around.

At the request of a mother who believed in witches and who knows what else we eventually switched to Thursdays.

Every Thursday at the plaza, since April 1977.

**HOW did the authorities react?**

They pointed rifles at our breasts, at our heads.

Huge numbers of police surrounded us. 'You cannot enter here' they would shout.

'We will suppress you for illegal association, there are too many of you, you have to keep walking'.

So, under the motto 'keep walking', we started to march in a huge circle in front of Government house.

And walking, we signed letters, walking, we chanted our demands, walking, we got to know each other.

We counted the faces and spotted a new one; her daughter had been taken from her.

But one year we were not allowed to set foot in the square.

We turned up at the usual time to find that they had erected iron barriers and proceeded to arrest us.

They sent us to jail ten, fifteen, sixty-eight of us, but it didn't matter.

### Forced

They emptied buses on the spot and forced us to climb in.

We did so stoically, one after another.

They detained us for 12 and 24 hours and took down our particulars. But we made our demands known.

We didn't stand on ceremony because we were committed to this fight.

Barred from the square, we turned to the church. Our pretext was to recite a rosary.

But usually we wrote our own which spoke of our anguish.

We raised our demands, kept up the pressure, picketed the door for hours, stayed the night, stood outside St Michael's where we knew the bishops were meeting, even if they set the dogs on us, or the police, even in the rain with the water up to our knees.

We compiled a list of 2,500 names of sons and daughters and reproduced their birth certificates so all could see this was no fiction — that child had disappeared, we march with its mother. . . .

Orders were given that the cathedral doors be shut on Thursdays at 3 o'clock in the

afternoon.

Why?

Because at that time we mothers entered to sign letters for mailing all over the world.

I personally was dragged from the cathedral by the hair and slung into a police car.

We have lived through these and many other experiences since 1976, since the military took power based on a programme elaborated ten years earlier which they were then able to implement.

Why did they do such things?

The military had to impose their economic system.

By making 'disappear' that wall of youth, that wall of resistance our children represented, they were able to reach their goal, at least for a time.

And now we suffer the consequences.

But we mothers, despite years of anguish and years of struggle, continue to march as we did on the very first day.

We demand to know what happened to our sons and daughters; we demand the return 'with life' of all those who disappeared.

If the authorities tell us they are dead we know they were assassinated.

Give us the names of those who ordered their deaths! What were their motives? Who were the doctors who signed their death certificates?

We demand to know, we demand a real trial, we demand justice that is not compromised!

**We do not accept amnesty for these genocides.**

Thousands of known assassins roam the streets free men, even named individuals intimately connected with the torture centres.

We must safeguard the next generation, youth in the factories and in the universities who were born during the dictatorship.

We want a free country for them, with no political prisoners, with real justice and

no return to economic monetarism — that is why we continue to march.

**WHAT assurances, if any, have you received from president Raul Alfonsin?**

We spoke with him and asked him to ensure that no military personnel left the country.

We didn't want to spend forty years tracking them down in order to bring them to justice.

Beyond that, Alfonsin has not touched them, ostensibly for want of concrete evidence.

'But Dr Alfonsin' we protested, 'you are supreme commander of the armed forces, the solution is in your grasp.'

We know they recorded their crimes, probably on microfilm; demand that they release them to you!'

'What do you want' he retorted, 'would you have me torture them?'

### Assassins

'No, Dr Alfonsin' we said, 'you and them are fast friends, you are proud of having spent five years at the military academy. Till the very last moment you were having coffee with them, even with assassins like General Albano Harguindeguy.'

He has everything and you can get it from him.

Give us your reply or we will march forever'.

But for all this, the criminals still walk the streets.

We know he finds us bothersome, we bother him terribly.

There is no escaping the fact that the position of the mothers is a political one, after all, politics was the reason they took our children in the first place.

While we stand resolutely by our demand, he cannot ignore us, so he bad-mouthes us instead, calling us provocateurs.

He said no such thing during the run up to the elections!

Everything that Alfonsin gathered in the way of evidence he acquired from inde-

pendent organisations who had spent eight years collecting it.

He parcelled it up and handed it over to the military so that they could judge themselves.

But the military would not comply.

Alfonsin wanted them to purge themselves, but how can an assassin judge a fellow assassin?

So he transfers the trial to the civil courts, but their justice is equally compromised because 90 per cent of the judges in Argentina served under the military government.

Our president's boastful claim that he is bringing the criminals to justice is farcical.

What is just about bringing half-a-dozen to book when thousands are involved?

What is just about condemning two of them to a life of unbridled privilege? These creatures live in chalets with swimming pools, they live there with their families and engage freely in sports of their choice.

From this 'jail' they are permitted to send petitions to the unions when demonstrations are being organised, visit TV stations and call press conferences — what kind of a jail is this?

This kind of jail could only exist in the Republic of Argentina.

We have yet to build democracy here.

Alfonsin relied heavily on the issue of human rights when he fought for the presidency, but once in power he did nothing.

So we insist that he returns our children.

We will not accept their corpses.

Let them rest next to their comrades who gave up their most treasured possession — their youth.

When you accept a corpse, after a determinate period of time and in the absence of witnesses to the tortures and the assassinations, the case is formally closed.

Our children would not have accepted that, and neither will we.



# WORKERS REVOLUTIONARY PARTY

# MANIFESTO

## A programme of action for the crisis

**1. BEHIND** all the pressing problems facing the working class in Britain today — mass unemployment, decaying living conditions, the dismantling of medical care and the right to education, the threat of war, attacks on trade unions by the state and big business — is the unresolved crisis of revolutionary leadership in the working class.

Faced with the need to defend itself against a government and employers who will not stop at destroying whole communities and century-old hard-won conditions, the working class resists and fights: the year-long miners' strike, the struggle at Wapping, the many strikes and occupations against closures.

But these struggles require a leadership able to unite the whole strength of the class to defeat the enemy, seeing all these struggles as one, pulling behind the working class all those people whose fate is threatened by capitalism and the Tory government.

Such a leadership would enable the working class to go forward to put an end to the destructive capitalist system.

Instead, the working class is saddled with Labour and trade union leaders who are defenders of the capitalist system.

They subordinate the interests of the working class to their own parliamentary and bureaucratic positions and thereby to the capitalist state.

They have the perspective only of holding the highest political positions within the rotting capitalist system.

They deliberately restrict the struggle of each section of the working class — miners, printers, nurses, teachers, the unemployed, the youth — opposing even elementary solidarity action, di-

viding the day-to-day economic struggles of the working class from the political struggle to bring down the Tory government.

Yes, every struggle in the working class today requires a strategy and tactics, a mobilisation of the strength of the working class to bring down the government.

Not only that. None of the great problems of the working class can be resolved within the framework of decaying capitalism.

That is an international problem for the working class, just as the crisis of leadership is.

Labourite reformism and the bureaucratic opportunism of the Stalinists have gone over to the other side long ago.

At the centre of any programme of action for the working class is the challenge to prove in struggle a new leadership, built on the foundations of Marxist theory which can win the allegiance of the working class, recruiting thousands of members from the working class and breaking the grip of reformism, the trade union bureaucracy and Stalinism.



The miners had to take on the state — a great test on questions of leadership in the working class

**THE EIGHTH** Congress of the Workers Revolutionary Party, meeting on June 21 and 22, discussed this manifesto, 'A Programme of Action for the Crisis'.

A prolonged debate considered over 60 amendments and additions. Most were accepted, some were rejected and others referred back for further discussion.

The final draft was accepted by unanimous vote.

Last October, the party charged long-standing leader, G Healy, with sexual and physical abuse of members and slandering international co-thinkers.

Healy, with a small group of supporters, ran away to set up a bogus 'WRP' and launch a series of court actions to destroy the party. They could not face the movement they claimed to lead.

The corruption of the leadership was both a cause and a symptom of political degeneration over many years. The reorientation of the WRP has proved a difficult task, with further splits and tendencies leaving our ranks.

At the same time, many of those who have left the party have felt inspired to come back into political activity and have played a seminal role in the discussion since last autumn.

It is a manifesto for action, for building the developing movement against the Thatcher government. It is open for discussion in Workers Press; the party will be organising meetings nationally to discuss it.

It is for these purposes that the Workers Revolutionary Party puts forward this programme of action for discussion and work in the labour movement.

The miners' strike was a great test on all these questions.

The more we saw the day-by-day

mounting struggle of thousands of miners not just against the NCB but against the state's armed police, judges and jailers, the more the TUC ran away from the fight.

Kinnock and the Labour leaders ran further to the right and the so-called Communist Party looked for ways of ending the strike.

The more whole communities and especially the women of the mining villages organised themselves as fighting bodies, the more all these traitors turned away from any solidarity action, thereby ensuring the isolation of the miners.

The miners were therefore defeated in their immediate aims.

The working class suffered a setback but it was not defeated, as it was all but kept out of the struggle by its leadership.

The miners' struggle raised the consciousness of the working class on the nature of the state and brought new layers into the struggle, particularly the women's support groups organised by the women in the community.

The Party must join and fight in all miners' support groups and campaigns such as the Women Against Pit Closures.

But the great battles of the class as a class are in front! The miners' strike was one, the first and the biggest so far, of a series of mass struggles in which the working class is forced up against the need of the capitalist state to destroy all the gains won in past struggles.

The Workers Revolutionary Party itself was profoundly affected by the miners' strike and what it implied.

We were forced to realise that instead of a party of men and women trained in Marxist theory developed through a conscious struggle in the working class, we had allowed our party to come under the control of a small corrupt clique.

This clique had reduced our political work to tail-ending reformist trade union and Labour leaders, the repetition of ultimatum slogans and the maintenance of a newspaper and party machine far beyond our real political and human resources.

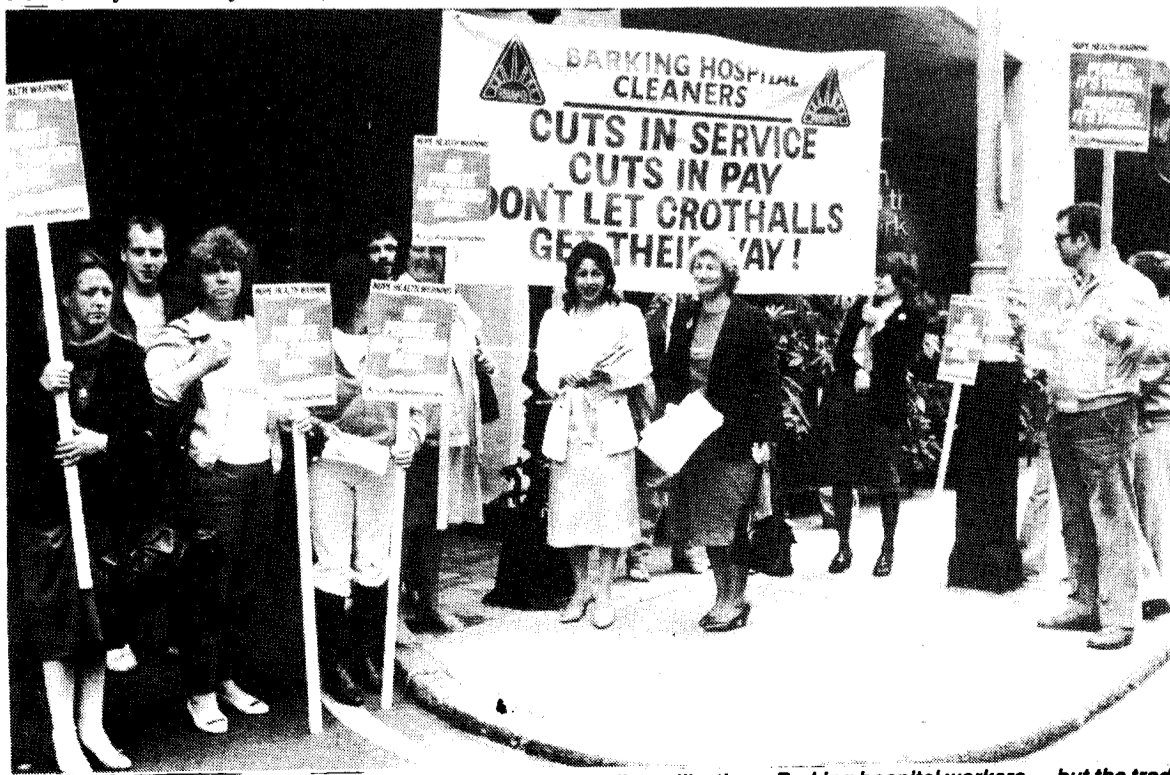
Through confronting the new needs of the struggle forced on the working class, and on us, by the miners' strike, we were able to begin the process of clearing out bureaucratic and corrupt leaders and of making an objective accounting of our mistakes.

The clique of leaders around Healy exploded. Some went immediately with the Healy rump.

Since October 1985, those who could not face an honest accounting with the political degeneration within the WRP and the International Committee of the Fourth International also deserted.

The Workers Revolutionary Party has announced the formation of a History Commission to investigate thoroughly the whole history of our movement. This work will proceed.

In that spirit, of training our own forces, of intervening and participating in every struggle of the working class and of learning from



Other workers were faced with struggle during the miners strike — like these Barking hospital workers — but the trade union and labour leaders try to isolate each section

# WORKERS REVOLUTIONARY PARTY

# M A

our mistakes not to substitute ultimatums and slogan-shouting for real work, learning from experience, we put forward this programme of action for the widest discussion in the working class movement and in our newspaper, Workers Press.

**2. IN BRITAIN** today the working class and middle class face their gravest ever crisis in increasing attacks on living standards and rights.

**Unemployment**, even on official figures, stands at 3.3 million. It has increased by over 800,000 over the last four years.

One in six men and one in ten women are now without work.

These are official figures which deliberately hide the true levels.

Many unemployed women are not registered and many others are not eligible for unemployment money and are therefore not recorded in the figures.

Unemployed men aged 60 and over are not included; nor are unemployed women over 55.

The real level of unemployment now approaches five million.

Youth unemployment is a record 85,000.

The true figure is hidden by the fact that 265,000 young people are currently absorbed on YTS cheap labour schemes, forced to eke out an existence on £27 a week.

Low pay and part-time work are on the increase; these particularly affect women and young people and deprive them not only of a living wage but also of certain rights and benefits.

## A PROGRAMME OF ACTION FOR THE CRISIS

Some of the great industrial centres face virtual destitution.

On Merseyside 140,000 are out of work; in the Greater Manchester area 180,000; on Tyne and Wear over 103,000. In the city of Glasgow, 77,000 are unemployed.

In the previously relatively prosperous south east unemployment has increased by a fifth since 1982, to over 10 per cent.

One in five are out of work in the north.

In some towns in these regions three quarters of the population are forced to live on the dole.

The welfare state is menaced with total destruction.

Hospitals are closed, waiting lists for operations grow. The entire education system is deteriorating through cuts in resources and loss of jobs.

Even the present inadequate level of benefits and services is kept going only by North Sea oil and the strength of the working class.

Hanging over everybody, employed and unemployed alike, is the threat of world war.

American imperialism's brutal attack on Libya marks the true face of imperialism throughout the world.

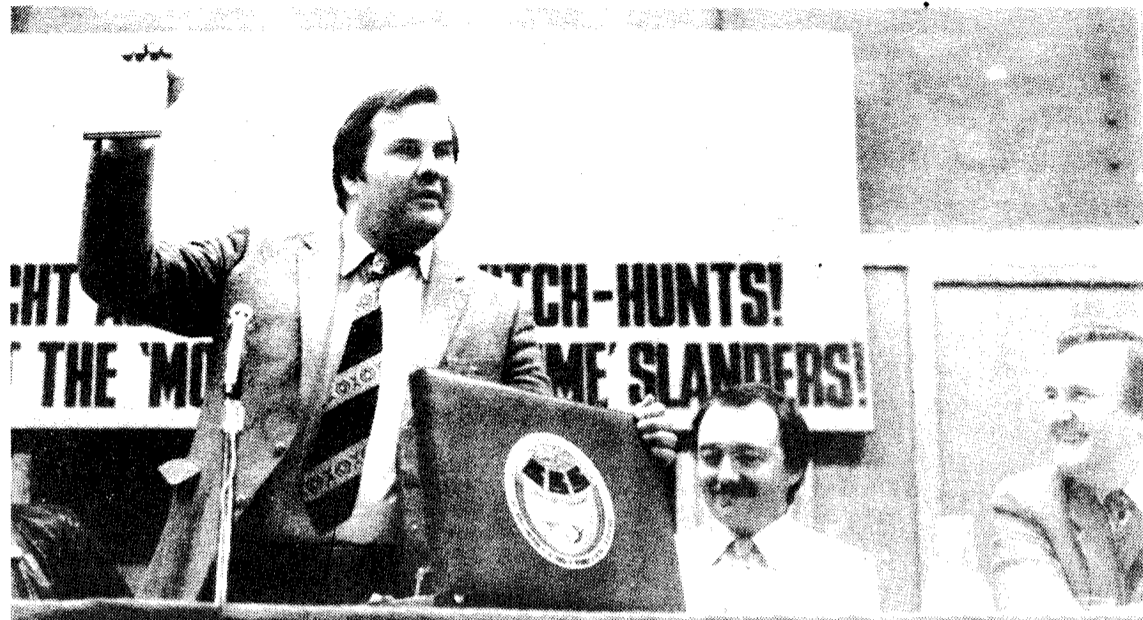
The Thatcher government's complicity in the bombing of Libya concentrated the rapidly-developing opposition to this government in the working class and large sections of the middle class.

Twice already this century capitalism has plunged humanity into barbaric world war. Imperialism first used the atomic bomb for war in 1945.

Its effects on the people of Hiroshima and Nagasaki are still being felt some 40 years on.

The unprecedented potential of science and technology, frustrated and distorted by the narrow needs of private profit, are inescapably drawn into the vortex of imperialist war preparations.

Chemicals and horrendous nerve gasses are actively developed for war against colonial peoples and the Soviet union.



A clique of corrupt leaders had reduced the WRP's political work in the period before October 1985 to a tail-ending of reformist leaders and nestling up to the leadership of national liberation movements. A. Mitchell is seen here holding aloft a copy of Gadaffi's Green Book with the seeming approval of Ken Livingstone and Ted Knight

**3. THE CRISIS** does not result from Tory policy.

Unemployment, the destruction of living standards and the preparation of war are endemic to capitalism in this century.

The outbreak of World War I signalled the break-up of world imperialism.

In 1929 capitalism plunged the world into world slump from which, with the betrayals of social democracy and Stalinism, issued fascism and world war.

It is impelled in the same direction today.

Thatcher and the Tories merely express the needs of the system in advanced decay.

In all the big capitalist countries unemployment mounts while production and investment stagnate or grow at only a snail's pace.

In the United States a slump is temporarily held off only by a mounting budget deficit.

Meanwhile the American ruling class actively prepares for a trade war which will devastate much of European and Japanese economy.

To preserve its own wealth and privileges, the ruling class internationally is forced to destroy the wealth built up by the collective labour of millions over past generations.

Here is an irreconcilable conflict.

Only a socialist policy which reorganises the world economy on new foundations, abolishing production for profit and replacing it with production for need, can resolve this crisis in the interests of the working class and humanity generally.

The crisis cannot be overcome by reformist Labour leaders.

We remind every worker: the way for the Tories was prepared by the last Labour governments of Wilson and Callaghan.

Under these governments, unemployment went up from 600,000 to 1.2 million, systematic attacks were launched on the welfare state



Thatcher

and the first efforts were made to destroy the hard-won rights of workers to organise in their trade unions.

The lessons of France must be seriously considered by all workers.

After five years of attacks on the working class the 'socialist' government of Mitterrand has been thrown out.

The French Stalinists, after openly collaborating with Mitterrand and then giving tacit support

to his government, are in their deepest ever crisis.

Meanwhile the forces of reaction gain ground among the French middle class, with the fascists gaining more votes than the Communist Party.

Involved in the crisis is the wholesale destruction of the productive forces, the working class above all.

Over the last five years, production in every major sector of the British economy has been at best stagnant.

Manufacturing industry has expanded by a miserable three per cent during this time.

Industries such as construction have declined in absolute size.

Since 1981 the number of jobs in every key manufacturing industry has collapsed dramatically.

In coal, oil and natural gas employment has slumped by 100,000; in metal manufacturing by 107,000; in chemicals by 40,000; in motor vehicles by 82,000; in textiles by 105,000; in the construction industry by 175,000.

During the seven years of the Tory government a massive 2.4 million workers have been made redundant under the impact of the deepening capitalist slump.

Industries such as shipbuilding are threatened with complete extinction.

While much basic industry has collapsed, the monopolies, speculators and banks have amassed millions out of take-overs and mergers.

Meanwhile investment in real productive resources stagnates or declines.



265,000 youth on YTS are faced to eke out an existence on £27 a week

During the life of the Thatcher government money spent on take-over bids has shot up from 1.1 billion to over 7 billion a year.

None of the fortunes made in these activities represents any real increase in the productive wealth of the country.

Only the fortunes of the rich grow while millions face poverty.

**4. THE RESPONSE** of the Tory government has been to privatise large sectors of the nationalised industries.

Wealth built up by the collective labour, skills and enterprise of the working class over generations is being given to the monopolies, bankers and their hangers-on at knock-down prices.

Leading circles in the Tory party actively co-operate in arranging these sales.

Fortunes are being made in the City out of the sale of these nationalised assets.

Since the Tories came into office British Telecom, British Aerospace, British Shipbuilders, Sealink and Inmos have been handed back to private owners.

Plans are in hand to sell off the the Naval Dockyards, the British Airports Authority and Rolls Royce.

So great is the privatisation mania that the Tories now intend to return even the supply of water to private hands.

Here is what Thatcher means by the restoration of Victorian values.

For their all-round, harmonious development, the productive forces of modern industry demand imperatively a conscious socialist plan which will use them for the needs of all who contribute to the wealth of society.

On this basis alone can a proper standard of life for the aged, the sick and the infirm be assured.

The laws of capital in this period of deepening crisis demand the very opposite path: the return of state-owned industries to private hands.

In reality this means to the big banks, where in the name of 'rationalisation' they can be exploited for the benefit of a parasitic tiny few, or closed if this is more profitable to the financiers.

Such capitalist rationalisation means one thing: the threat to millions of further jobs.

The future facing shipyard workers on the Clyde, Tyne and Wear is a dire warning to every worker of the real meaning of this Tory privatisation drive.

Everything must be subjected to the laws of commodity production.

Nothing — the material needs of millions, their health and safety, the future of their children — must be allowed to stand in the way of the needs of private profit.

**5. THE CAPITALIST** class has no solution to this crisis except to plunge the working class as a whole into poverty and to destroy its basic rights.

It is a ruling class deeply divided.

Some leading Tories (the 'wets') advocate an inflationary policy along Keynesian lines which would force down the level of real wages, drive up the cost of living, undermine the savings of the middle class and impoverish the millions unemployed.

Other sections of big business (supporters of 'monetarism') want yet more deflation to drive up still further the level of unemployment.

Under either capitalist policy, the working class can face only more misery and exploitation.

The Westland scandal alone indicated the intense friction which exists between the bankers and those with their capital in industry, between those who strive for closer agreement with American imperialism and those who see in

# MANIFESTO

Europe a solution to their desperate crisis.

After six years and more of brutal deflation, the ruling class is quite prepared if need be to turn to inflation as a weapon against the working class.

A future Labour government could be the willing instrument of this phase of capitalist policy.

Workers must be under no illusions. There is no 'progressive' section of the capitalist class as the Stalinists and others lyingly claim.

The ruling class as a whole is driven not by 'policy' but by necessity.

It has to intensify its attacks on

It was the refusal of the TUC, aided by the Stalinists in the NUM leadership, to build up this kind of mass movement in support of the miners which isolated them and forced them back to work.

The miners' strike exposed the limitations of even the most militant reformist leadership, epitomised by Scargill.

Even so the miners inflicted considerable damage on Thatcher, shattering the illusions created after the Malvinas war that she was somehow 'invincible.'

The united strength of the working class has yet to be seen in real struggle with the Tory enemy: the

Parliament is only one aspect of this struggle, and a secondary one.

The power of the working class resides in its organisations as it comes into struggle: trade unions and the power of strike action; mass movements and the building of a revolutionary party and its own organs of workers' power.

It is a lie that the working class depends on parliamentary representatives.

Since 1924 the working class has elected eight Labour governments, some with considerable majorities.

They have taken the working

forms of any significance are not on the agenda for capitalism.

But we warn the reformists and Stalinists in advance: when such a government comes into conflict with the working class, as it will, we will give it no support.

The venom and hatred which Kinnock and Willis showed towards the miners will be turned against every section of the working class that tries to defend its standard of living and its basic rights.

As a party we will use all our political and material resources to mobilise the working class to defend itself, and we welcome the

**7. THE WORKING** class cannot and will not wait for action until Thatcher decides to call an election.

This is the treacherous policy of the Labour and trade union leaders.

The working class must be mobilised for action now.

Every moment's delay serves only to strengthen the class enemy!

In particular the imprisoned miners cannot be allowed to rot in jail in the uncertain hope that a future Labour government would release them.

There must be a campaign throughout the length and breadth of the trade union movement demanding their immediate freedom.

This issue must be raised at the coming TUC Conference and the spineless inactivity of the trade union leaders exposed.

The cowardly retreat of the TUC leaders, both right and 'left', in front of the anti-union laws must be fought.

The decision of the 1982 TUC Special Conference to fight the laws and against collaboration must be reaffirmed.

Those union leaders who want to collaborate with the Tory laws must be forced out of their positions and replaced with those who will fight.

Those unions who stand firm against the laws, as the NUM did, must receive the support of the entire trade union movement.

## A PROGRAMME OF ACTION FOR THE CRISIS

The miners' strike saw for the first time not only unparalleled heroism by the mining communities in the face of state repression, but also a section of trade union officials working together with the capitalist state and the big employers to set up a scab union, the UDM.

In the printers' struggle at Wapping, EETPU leaders have taken this one step further, organising scabbing from within the TUC and Labour Party.

With single-union and no-strike deals they are systematically weakening trade union organisation.

We call for the expulsion of the EETPU from the TUC; no concessions to scabs; full support for those EETPU members fighting for union organisation.

The struggle to win members back from the scab UDM into the NUM is central to strengthening union organisation in the mining industry.

We support the NUM campaign to win members back; we are totally opposed to moves made by the Stalinists aiming at an approach to the scab UDM as an organisation by the TUC and Labour leaders.

Workers facing redundancy cannot halt their fight for jobs until Kinnock comes into government.

All sections of the working class threatened with the loss of jobs and livelihood must immediately occupy their places of work: factories, mines, shipyards, engineering workshops.

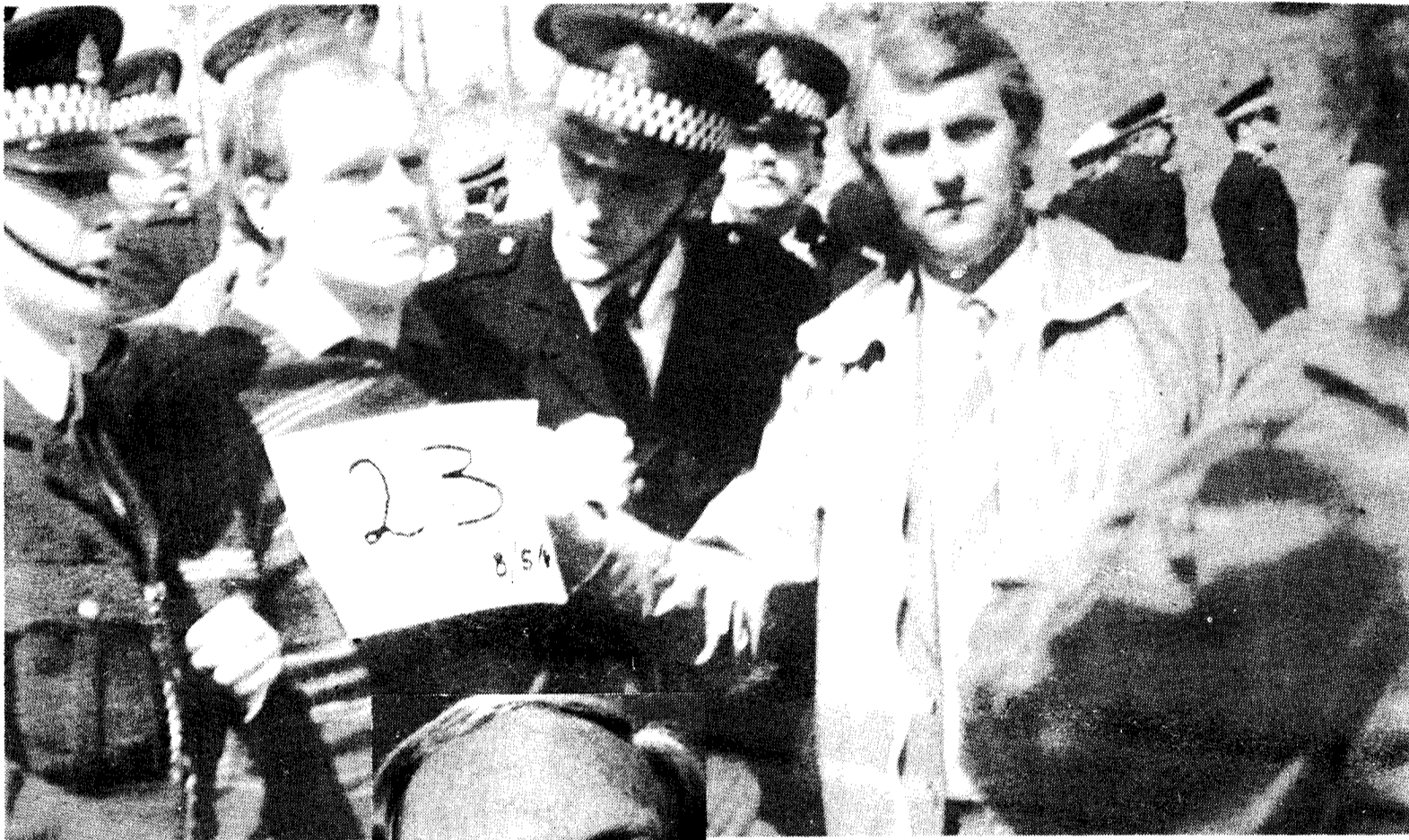
The lessons of the miners' strike must be learned.

Such occupations must be supported on the widest possible basis.

Committees representing every section of the working class including women workers, the unemployed, housewives and students must be set up to fight for such support.

Every effort must be bent towards building up the maximum class action against the Tory government and forcing it out of office.

● TURN TO PAGE 12



the working class, destroy the welfare state and prepare for war if it is to survive.

That is why the demand of the hour is drive out this Tory government!

The working class must take the leadership in the mass movement building up against this government on questions of war, imperialist alliances, nuclear energy, as well as on attacks on trade union rights, jobs, communities, state benefits, education, the health service and basic democratic rights.

The working class must rely on its own industrial and political strength; talk of 'exploiting divisions in the Tory ranks' or 'pressurising the Tories' is put forward by the Labour right wing and the Stalinists to avoid a fight.

Likewise the working class must reject the pleas of Labour and trade union leaders to wait passively for a Labour government brought in whenever Thatcher decides to call an election.

Their refusal to wage a campaign against the Tory government today reflects their fear of the working class: tomorrow that fear could lead them into a coalition, or a Labour government carrying out the very capitalist policies which have engendered the mass anti-Tory feeling.

The more the mass movement is built up against the Tories now, the greater will be its ability to deal with a Labour leadership carrying out capitalist policies.

All sections of the working class, the youth, the unemployed, women's and community groups, and also sympathetic layers of the middle class, must be united in this mass movement to bring down Thatcher.



Putting in a Labour government will not be enough to release jailed miners

task of every activist, every trade union militant, and every socialist is to demand the mobilisation of that strength by their organisations.

**6. WE REPEAT:** capitalism has no solution to this crisis except through war and slump.

Nor has a future Labour government.

The Labour and trade union leaders are committed to preserving the decaying capitalist system.

Their policy for a 'mixed economy' is a fraud. A Labour government will run British capitalism and will therefore be faced with its sharpening contradictions.

The Thatcher government remains in office only because the Labour and trade union leaders refuse to mobilise the working class into united action against it.

The future of the working class, and all its life-and-death questions, are settled in this struggle against the capitalist class.

class not a single step nearer to socialism.

Each of them has ended with the return to power of the Tories.

The Workers Revolutionary Party is a separate party based upon the principles of scientific socialism as elaborated by Marx and Engels and developed by their leading followers, especially Lenin and Trotsky.

We are organised in such an independent party precisely because socialism can be established only through the struggle of the working class to smash the capitalist state.

We know that many workers do not necessarily agree with us on the question of a Labour government.

Layers in the working class still retain illusions in the Labour and trade union leaders.

Many young workers have yet to see and experience a Labour government in office, but they have experienced the Labour Party in opposition.

Kinnock has shown his position: for British imperialism in Ireland, for the police in the miners' strike, for keeping the jailed miners behind bars, for the MSC schemes, for NATO and for nuclear power.

The Workers Revolutionary Party will go through the living experience of millions of workers in putting another Labour government into office.

We call for a vote for Labour in the next election — but only as part of the struggle to expose reformism in the eyes of the working class!

Socialism cannot be achieved through parliament.

Not only that. In our epoch, re-

test of the leadership of our party against that of the reformists and the Stalinists.

We will also take the lead in mobilising workers behind urgent concrete demands on any future Labour government.

The working class must demand that such a government immediately release every single jailed miner imprisoned by Thatcher for fighting for basic working class rights and every Republican political prisoner now in jail.

It will demand that a future Labour government restore to state ownership all those industries handed back to the capitalists under Thatcher's privatisation measures.

All miners sacked as a result of the 1984-85 strike must be reinstated.

We oppose the witch-hunting of 'Militant'. This witch-hunting is part of a conscious attempt to stifle all opposition to the class collaboration of the right-wing Labour Party leaders.

Every Labour councillor in Liverpool, Lambeth and elsewhere who has been dragged before the courts, banned from office and threatened with bankruptcy for their fight against the Tories must be indemnified.

No repetition of the shameful Clay Cross experience where Labour councillors were betrayed by the last Labour government.

The Metropolitan councils and the GLC must be restored.

Rate-capping legislation must be repealed. Local authority jobs and services must be defended and improved.

# WORKERS REVOLUTIONARY PARTY

# M A



*'We stand for the victory of the African masses in the revolutionary defeat of apartheid*

**8.** WE WILL support the fight of workers to defend and extend every gain and right they have won from the past, no matter which government is in office — Tory, Labour or Coalition.

Our aim is openly declared: to build up the scope and depth of the struggle to the point where the working class confronts the question of taking state power and to build the revolutionary party which can provide the alternative leadership which the working class requires.

The first step along this road must be to draw up an inventory of the national wealth.

Our first demand is therefore **open the books!**

The wages of all workers are recorded in company accounts.

The income and wealth of the capitalists remains a closely guarded secret.

Here is the blackest of all black economies!

Open the books of the monopolies! Down with all big business secrets!

But we know that this cannot alone provide the basis for a socialist plan.

Through a series of tax fiddles, financial manoeuvres and outright fraud the tiny clique of industrialists and bankers who today control this country seek to hide the extent of the vast resources under their command.

Industrial production is being strangled by the blood-sucking bankers and financiers who dominate the wealth of this country.

For this reason we issue an urgent appeal to all those with particular skills in accounting, computing and financial management.

Thatcher has spelled it out for you, there is no future for the middle class under this rotting system.

Your skills are vital in the drawing up of any plans for the re-organisation of production for the benefit of everybody.

Assist the workers to establish a true balance sheet of national resources and expose the plunder of the bankers, stock exchange dealers, property speculators and all their hangers-on.

Where capitalist firms are found to be broke they must be immediately nationalised under workers' control.

Their bankruptcy is not the responsibility of the working class.

It expresses the bankruptcy of the entire capitalist system.

Britain is one of the richest countries in the world. Its wealth has been built up over generations of British and colonial labour.

It is expressed most concretely in the great reservoir of skills embodied in the working class and sections of the middle class.

The collapse of industry, the break-up of the education system, the threatened closure of universities, imperil the very human and material resources on which a socialist plan will be based.

The great wealth of this country can and will be used to provide a decent job for everybody able to work, to provide for everybody in old age and sickness, to provide an education for all which will open up for them the entire cultural conquests of the past.

As an immediate step we demand the reduction of the working week without loss of pay and conditions, reduction in retirement age with full pension rights for those who wish it, not as 'natural wastage' but to provide jobs for younger workers.

Pensions must be equal to the average weekly wage.

Only in this way can the mounting tide of unemployment be halted, the fighting capacity of the working class be preserved and the divisions between the employed and unemployed be overcome.

**9.** THE HOUSING crisis expresses in the most graphic manner the need for a socialist plan.

There are over 94,000 families officially registered as homeless.

In London, one of the richest cities in the world, 4,000 families are forced to live in squalid bed and breakfast accommodation.

Since 1980, under the Tory law, three quarters of a million council houses have been sold.

Meanwhile council house building has all but dried up.

New housing 'starts' by councils last year dropped to 33,000.

At this rate it would take 20 years just to replace the council houses sold under the Tory government!

The number of council houses built has fallen each year of Tory rule from the miserably inadequate level of 80,000 during the last year of the Labour government.

Thousands of building workers are unemployed while cities throughout the country decay, and houses, schools and hospitals fall into disrepair.

In each area, committees of workers and tenants must survey the housing stock and make proposals to requisition unused office premises which can be used for temporary accommodation for homeless families.

Luxury property must be taken over by these committees and dis-

tributed to the families on the basis of need.

But there can be no solution to the housing crisis while financial resources remain in the grip of bankers and landlords.

The nationalisation of the banks, insurance companies and the land is the only sure foundation on which every worker can have a decent home.

As an immediate programme of action in the building industry we put forward the following demands.

De-casualise the building industry, 100 per cent unionisation!

No MSC schemes, only proper apprenticeships!

Open the books of the big building firms to show where the profits go to make the case for workers control.

Expand the local authority direct labour organisations; abolish the anti-DLO legislation.

No sub-contracting out; nationalise the building industry without compensation under workers control!

**10.** THE BASIS of the programme to meet the crisis must be the **nationalisation of all basic industries, the banks and the land under workers' control.**

No compensation will be paid to the big capitalists.

They have been compensated time and time again under previous nationalisations carried out by Labour governments.

In the past, under Labour governments, nationalisation was used to prop up a moribund capitalism.

After 1945 the mines for instance were taken over and the former owners were lavishly compensated for a bankrupt industry which was then run along capitalist lines. We say — never again!

All the major industries, including those 'privatised' and handed over to their friends by the Tories, must be placed under the control of the workers whose labour has built them up.

Committees of workers at national and local level must draw up plans for the development of these industries as part of an overall co-ordinated national plan designed to use every resource for the benefit of the working people and not the profits of the privileged few.

Workers' control is a burning matter.

Only under the control of the working class can the productive forces be used for the benefit of all.

Left in the hands of the capitalist

class humanity will perish.

In its rapacious drive for profit capitalism pays no heed to the safety of millions, to destruction of the environment, to the health and well-being of future generations.

The Chernobyl disaster has graphically demonstrated the threat to millions of lives which modern technology can bring if it is not controlled by the working class.

The Thatcher government, as well as previous Labour governments, have lied about the enormous danger of a nuclear power industry which is run for war and profit.

Nuclear power has been built up by the capitalist class since the end

well as those engaged in battle with the Stalinist bureaucracies like the Soviet Union, Poland, Eastern Europe, China and Vietnam.

The wealth of the British ruling class has been accumulated not just on the basis of the exploitation of workers in this country but on the backs of millions held in near-slavery in the colonial and semi-colonial countries.

We demand the unconditional right of all oppressed nations to self-determination.

In the forefront here must be the struggle for the right of the Irish people to their independence.

One of the principal sources of the British ruling class's crisis is



*A Trotskyist party must be built in Ireland*

of the last war for one overriding purpose: the preparation for war.

Under capitalism the development of atomic energy for peaceful purposes is an illusion.

As an immediate step we demand a halt to all nuclear power generation.

Close down all nuclear stations and reprocessing plants until committees of workers, scientists and technicians have investigated them thoroughly and reported to the working class movement!

Demand unilateral nuclear disarmament, remove all imperialist bases.

**11.** CAPITALISM is a world system. We live in the epoch of world economy and world politics.

The working class is an international class. The Workers Revolutionary Party rejects the reactionary Stalinist theory of socialism in one country.

The struggle for socialism in Britain is bound inseparably with the struggle of workers and oppressed peoples throughout the world as

the war in the north of Ireland, a war they are quite incapable of winning.

It is the duty of every class-conscious worker to assist the struggle of the Irish working class for a united socialist Ireland.

The party fights in all the organisations of the working class to expose the chauvinistic policies of the Labour and trade union leaders.

Their support is essential for British imperialism to continue the murder and torture of the fighters in the Irish national liberation movement.

This exposure is central to building a revolutionary leadership in Britain.

We assert the right of the IRA and the INLA to wage war on British imperialism by their own methods.

We give them unconditional support in their struggle. We stand for the defeat of British imperialism.

Only a socialist revolution which will also remove Irish capitalism will be capable of defeating British imperialism.

# MANIFESTO

Therefore a Trotskyist party, a section of the Fourth International, must be built in Ireland.

This will take as its starting point the class struggle and will fight alongside all those who are in struggle against British imperialism.

Only in this way can the reactionary ideological hold of loyalism over the Protestant working class be broken.

We must demand: troops out now, defeat British imperialism! No to the Anglo-Irish Accord! End strip searches; free all Irish prisoners of war!

The party will in addition campaign on particular issues such as the release of the prisoners who have been framed — the Guildford Four, the Birmingham Six etc — and the repatriation of Irish prisoners of war in British jails.

Dominating the international scene is the huge revolutionary mass movement in South Africa fighting fearlessly against the apartheid state; its police, army laws and all its instruments of oppression.

We stand for the victory of the African masses in the revolutionary defeat of apartheid.

This means overthrowing the capitalist state, not a reformist perspective to get rid of the apartheid government, leaving capitalism intact.

While the Communist Party tries to stifle those who call for the fight against apartheid to be turned into the fight against capitalism, we will campaign for every voice of the African revolution to be heard.

Victory in South Africa for the working class will send our own ruling class in Britain reeling.

The fight against apartheid in South Africa must be supported by the entire working class.

All actions in support of the liberation movements must be encouraged.

Pickets, boycotts and demonstrations, but above all trade unionists must demand their unions impose a blockade of South Africa.

Unilateral boycott action by groups of workers must be fought for to set a lead.

The working class holds the key to sanctions against South Africa.

The working class must show its support for the struggle of the South African masses against apartheid.

Thatcher cannot impose real sanctions against South Africa.

The working class must take action to isolate the Botha regime.

Workers' sanctions are central — dockers, no imports/exports to South Africa; shopworkers, no sales of South African goods; postal workers, no communications be-



'In Poland we support Solidarity, the free trade union against the sham Stalinist trade unions'

tween British capitalists and the racist state!

Capitalism in its decay inflicts starvation, disease and grinding poverty on millions.

The plight of the peoples of Africa and elsewhere has evoked the sympathy of millions.

But these problems can never be solved on the basis of individual charity, however well-intentioned.

The resources of a socialist Britain will be mobilised to tackle these problems.

The material and human assets of Britain must be integrated as part of an international plan with those of the colonial and semi-colonial countries.

The productive forces of Britain and Europe must be synchronised with the enormous, largely untapped, potential of the colonial and semi-colonial countries to lay the foundations for a world planned economy.

Down with the reactionary Common Market dominated by finance capital and huge parasitic bureaucracy! Forward to the Un-

ited Socialist States of Europe!

The economies of Eastern Europe and the USSR are not founded on capitalist property relations.

Such relations were overthrown by the 1917 Russian Revolution and the removal of capitalism from large parts of Eastern Europe and China after 1945.

Despite the socialised property relations, post-revolutionary Russia underwent profound bureaucratic degeneration arising out of economic isolation, backwardness and the defeat of the international working class.

Under these conditions, a bureaucratic caste emerged, parasitic on the working class, and consolidating in the process a deformed workers state.

The Workers Revolutionary Party stands for the unconditional defence of the gains of the USSR, Eastern Europe and China in the face of intensifying preparations by imperialism for war against these countries.

We stress that this defence can-

not be secured through the policy of 'peaceful co-existence' practised by the Stalinist bureaucracy.

In Poland, we support Solidarity, the free trade union, against the sham Stalinist trade unions.

As Trotsky foresaw, this struggle for workers' democracy and the crisis of Stalinism prepares the ground for building a revolutionary Trotskyist party within Solidarity against the influence of Stalinism, the Catholic church and Lech Walesa.

It can be carried out only through the mobilisation of the working class in struggle against imperialism.

The bureaucracy endangers the property relations in these countries and has already allowed private ownership forms to return in Yugoslavia and China.

## A PROGRAMME OF ACTION FOR THE CRISIS

The great potential resources of these countries are strangled by bureaucratic privilege and mismanagement.

We call on the working class of Russia and Eastern Europe: throw off your bureaucratic masters and join us in a plan which can really develop our common resources for the benefit of all!

Only on such a basis can the dangers expressed in Chernobyl be avoided.

In the past 15 years at least 65 people had been murdered in racist attacks in Britain. In the London Borough of Newham alone, racist attacks have increased by 80 per cent in a year and have taken on an increasingly violent form.

At a time of rising unemployment and worsening conditions, the Tory press deliberately encourages racism.

Meanwhile the overt racism of the Tory government backed by the forces of the state (police and courts) is seen in tightening immigration laws, deportation orders and the brutal treatment of female Asian immigrants.

It has created conditions under which fascist groups not only incite racist attacks but organise them.

Within the last ten years the number of deportation orders has increased five-fold.

Sixty people each week are deported to at least three continents.

We defend all those fighting against deportation. The only way deportations can be stopped is by the action of the Labour and trade union movement.

We demand that a future Labour government stops all deportations and revokes all immigration laws.

We assert the right of those attacked to demand protection, and to organise for self-protection, since the police have shown themselves either unwilling or unable to stop racist and fascist violence (and indeed have been responsible for several racial attacks).

We place no confidence in the forces of 'law and order'.

The Workers Revolutionary Party supports those Asian and black youth who have organised to defend their communities.

We pledge ourselves to oppose the immigration laws and resolutely fight against deportations.

We will campaign to alert the whole labour movement to the need for workers' defence squads, in solidarity with those fighting racist attacks, and for the protection of the working class movement itself against the fascist threat.

All spheres of culture are increasingly threatened by the reactionary policies of the Tory government.

Support and subsidies for the arts and entertainment industry are being cut to the bone, raising unemployment amongst workers and professionals in these spheres.

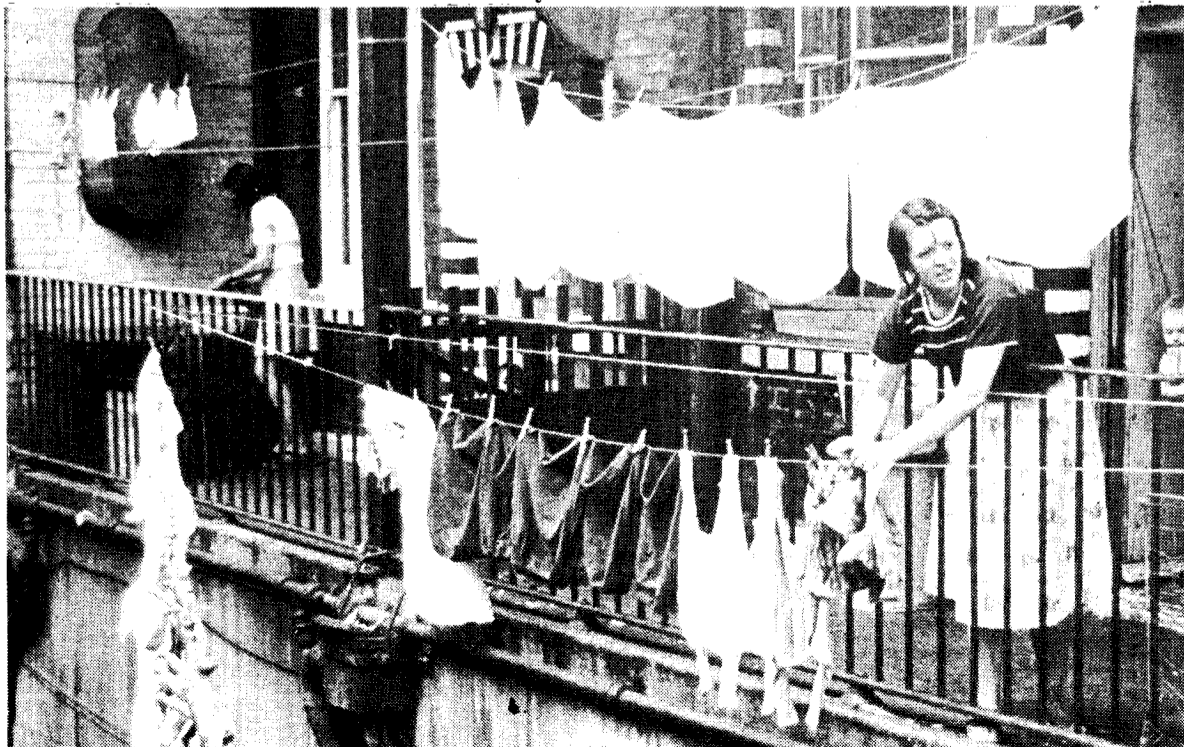
Greater numbers of orchestras, small acting companies and establishment theatres face the spectre of bankruptcy along with community centres, cinemas, dance and opera houses.

Meanwhile art galleries and museums are being driven to charge for entry, undermining the principle of free access to the cultural treasures of the past.

The development of social labour is the pre-condition for all cultural life, whilst the quality of life can only be raised through the development of the productive forces.

In this, all the scientific, technical and artistic discoveries of generations of workers and intellec-

● TURN TO PAGE 14



'Decaying capitalism has shown that women suffer double oppression as women in the family and women workers'

# WORKERS REVOLUTIONARY PARTY

# MANIFESTO



'There can be no peaceful transition to socialism', the military coup in Chile in 1973 was a forceful reminder

tuals have to be brought to bear.

But this essentially forward movement is now being driven back through a deepening world economic crisis, with Thatcher's monetarist policies destroying industries, and creating rising unemployment.

Such devastation of creativity in industry, film and theatre, and in music, art and dance, undermines the quality of life.

We demand therefore a restoration of all subsidies and jobs.

We support all struggles against redundancies and urge all workers to occupy institutions facing bankruptcy.

We demand that they be nationalised and placed under workers' control since they represent the accumulated repositories of past creative labour.

We also support every demand for the unconditional return to their country of origin of artistic and cultural artefacts plundered and stolen by British imperialism.

Workers abroad have a right to their own cultural conquests just as workers and intellectuals have a right to theirs in Britain today.

The WRP says to all workers and professionals involved in the cultural sphere that only a planned economy under workers' control can safeguard the future and interests of the arts, providing the conditions necessary for the free and all-sided development and creativity of socialised human individuality.

Growing unemployment and attacks on the welfare state and the closure of hospitals and run-down of the NHS have a specific impact upon the lives of women.

Decaying capitalism has shown that women suffer double oppression as women in the family and as women workers which is rooted in patriarchal capitalist property relations.

This dual role and oppression of women is central to the Tory tactic of linking unemployment, particularly amongst women, to attacks on the welfare state.

The Tories calculate on driving women back into the home to look after unemployed youth, the sick and the elderly, previously the responsibility of the state.

Against reactionary attacks on

the limited gains of the welfare state which has benefitted women most of all through socialising previously isolated and individual responsibilities, we fight for the defence and expansion of all state welfare facilities, housing and education.

We also fight for free 24 hour nurseries based in, and controlled by the community; for nurseries at the workplace controlled by the workers. This is of particular importance for single parent families.

We are for free abortion on demand.

We defend women's right to choose in matters of contraception and childbirth; maternity and paternity leave on full pay with no loss of job and promotion prospects; for gay and lesbian rights including parental rights; state funding of rape crisis centres, battered women's homes, extend health screening; the illegalisation of marital rape; the ending of the DHSS cohabitation law.

We defend Wage Councils threatened with abolition whilst recognising their limitations.

These councils give limited protection for youth and the lowest paid workers, chiefly women, in industries such as shop and office work, the clothing and catering industry.

Whilst we oppose the railroading of women into these industries of intensive exploitation, poor conditions and minimal unionisation, we support workers' struggles for higher pay, equal pay, unionisation, against racism and sexism.

We are for nationalisation under workers' control of industries threatened with closure.

Central to the struggle against the employers is the struggle against trade union bureaucracy and its anti-democratic practices.

We demand that the trade union movement seriously undertake the unionisation of the army of part-time, mainly women workers.

We fight for the right of workers to hold meetings during working hours, a matter specially affecting part-time workers and women with domestic responsibilities.

We oppose racial and sexual discrimination and harassment in trade unions and demand the

greatest representation of women, black and young workers in the trade union structure to facilitate closer attention to, and the resolution of their special needs.

The WRP bases itself on the great fighting capacity and initiative of women as shown internationally, in the miners' strike, at Greenham Common, amongst women engaged in the Irish national liberation and socialist struggle, women workers locked in battle against bosses and trade union bureaucracy and those unsung struggles of women fighting in the communities in defence of welfare facilities.

It was no accident that the real reactionary class character of the Healy clique was exposed in the treatment of women, and in the backward hostility towards gays.

## A PROGRAMME OF ACTION FOR THE CRISIS

The working class upsurge in the miners' strike, in which women played such a tremendous part, and to which gay and lesbian groups showed their solidarity, gave an impetus to the necessary explosion in which this clique was ousted.

We are determined to gain all the lessons from this in building a real workers' revolutionary party.

The WRP says to all women that none of the specific problems confronting women are separate, as bourgeois feminists claim, from the struggle of the working class.

They are part of the great class struggles now unfolding in Britain in which our movement, armed with Marxist theory and its programme, will struggle for leadership.

We say to all women that we will fight alongside them in their struggle to realise legitimate demands and demonstrate in practice the need for, and our ability to provide revolutionary leadership against Stalinism and social democracy.

The WRP insists that the safeguarding and further development of these essentially human needs and the ending of double oppression require the revolutionary overthrow of exploitative capitalist property relations.

The Tories have deliberately introduced their fraudulent 'Community Care Programme' in relation to the disabled as the excuse for further cuts in hospitals, schools and other welfare institutions.

We demand the right of the disabled to full integration into the community without loss of existing resources and facilities.

We demand that additional funding be made available for this end.

**12.** The realisation of this plan depends above all on the answer to a single concrete question: **who holds state power?**

The ruling class backed by its army, police force, secret service and international allies, will never allow the implementation of a socialist plan.

The state ('special bodies of armed men') is an instrument of capitalist rule.

Under Thatcher it has been greatly strengthened and centralised.

A nationalist paramilitary police force now exists and was used throughout the miners' strike.

The army, trained over long years of bloody fighting in the north of Ireland, has also been prepared for battle against the working class.

Nor is the state any longer able to live with a free and independent trade union movement.

The capitalist class demands unions completely subordinate to its reactionary needs.

Under Thatcher, building on the legislation of earlier Labour governments, the Tories have struggled desperately to smash the unions.

The fight with the National Graphical Association, the banning of unions at GCHQ, the efforts to destroy the National Union of Mineworkers and now Murdoch's state-backed drive to destroy the print unions are key steps along this road.

We demand: no state interference in the unions! Down with state-financed ballots!

We demand the TUC immediately break off all relations with the Tory government, the TUC and similar corporatist bodies.

We say frankly and openly to every worker: the ruling class will

not peacefully give up its power and privileges to its enemy the working class.

It will destroy humanity rather than see this happen.

There can be no peaceful transition to socialism.

The Workers Revolutionary Party rejects the Stalinist policy of the 'parliamentary road to socialism'.

As the capitalist crisis deepens and the struggle of the working class intensifies, the danger of a right-wing coup organised in top army and police circles must grow.

We demand the disbanding of the police and army.

Workers must defend themselves against the growing violence of the capitalist state through defence organisations which draw in every section of the working class.

Such organisations, which must represent all shades of working class opinion, are the basis for a new soviet state.

Only when the working class has the power firmly in its own hands can the plan we have outlined here be fully implemented.

**13.** WE COMMEND this programme of action to every worker, whichever party you belong to or support.

It is addressed to every youth who is bearing the brunt of the onslaught on the working class.

It is directed at every student, denied the opportunity for a proper education by decaying capitalism.

It appeals to every unemployed worker.

It is the only programme which can deal with your mounting problems and needs! We invite and welcome the maximum discussion on it.

Above all we urge all those in agreement with its principles and aims to join with us in building the Workers Revolutionary Party as part of the Fourth International.

We are a party founded on the theory and principles of Marxism as developed in this century by Lenin and Trotsky.

We must now broaden the party's influence in every section of the working class.

Only in this way can the greatest question of all — the revolutionary leadership of the working class — be tackled and resolved.

**JOIN**  
**THE WORKERS**  
**REVOLUTIONARY**  
**PARTY**

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

NAME	_____
ADDRESS	_____
TRADE UNION	_____
AGE	_____
DATE SENT	_____

# A TRIBUTE TO: JACK GALE (1931-1980)



JACK — sensitive as always to the feelings of the working class — seen here on the left of the picture, reporting a strike at Longbridge, Birmingham in 1979

SIX YEARS AGO this week, on July 1, 1980 Comrade Jack Gale died in Leeds after 27 years of fighting for Trotskyism.

At Leeds University shortly after the war, Jack began to take an active interest in socialist politics.

Later, as a teacher and a member of the Labour Party, he met, and quickly responded to, the policies of Trotskyism.

He joined the movement in 1953, following close collaboration with comrades to whom many of us still have cause to be grateful: John and Mary Archer, Dulcie and Charlie Yelland, Lance and Lily Lake, John Walls and many more comrades in Leeds and other parts of the country.

Jack taught for a period in the mining area of Castleford.

It was a job he enjoyed and at which he was exceptionally proficient — yet he was prepared to turn his back on it for the party.

He became a full-time party worker, first as an organiser and later as a journalist on the Workers Press.

He was convinced that the gains of the 1917 revolution had to be defended and that the Trotskyist analysis of the Soviet state was correct.

This enabled him not only to do battle with the Stalinists but at the same time to fight for the continuation of the revolution.

His working class background and his intellectual

ability meant he was able to help worker comrades to understand the Stalinist policies of peaceful coexistence and socialism in one country.

This was before Krushchev's speech and the Hungarian revolution; those days of isolation when the difference between Trotskyism and Stalinism seemed abstract questions to so many.

This theoretical understanding was essential to fight the Stalinists and the Labour Party right wing in trades councils, trade unions and factories.

## Activities

Jack always took a keen interest in the activities of our comrades in the trade unions.

He would tirelessly explain questions of principle to workers like myself, showing, for example, why we had to defend the right of Communist Party members to sell the Daily Worker in the factories despite the way they slandered the Trotskyists.

In 1956 Jack became a comrade to be reckoned with when thousands of Commun-

ist Party members left their Party.

Many left to escape the stigma of Stalinism — or even 'communism' — after the Hungarian revolution and Krushchev's exposures of Stalin's crimes.

Some dived head-first into the Labour Party and were never seen again — until they emerged as fully-fledged bureaucrats.

Others left politics altogether or joined a variety of movements like the ILP or the Co-operative movement.

A minority joined the Trotskyist movement. Barbara and Cliff Slaughter and Tom Kemp were won to our movement as a direct result of this work.

Jack insisted on daily contact with me to check the work in my factory, the biggest clothing factory in Leeds with one of the largest Communist Party factory branches and a correspondingly large Daily Worker sale.

We were able to make many inroads into the Communist Party.

This was one of the two periods in my life when I

have been more than ever convinced of the correctness of our fight. The other was when I have had recently to defend what we gained all those years ago.

In the early 1960s he took an active role in working with the youth in Yorkshire and the North east, where he went often to give lectures.

His work was invaluable in winning the majority of the Young Socialists from the Labour Party for Trotskyism.

Jack was fearless when it came to defending our party and its press.

By NORMAN HARDING

things down — and asked us if we would give the pub a miss.

Jack said yes — but we would be back because the miners would come to recognise our position when the Wilson government betrayed.

We did return to the area: to lead big campaigns on rents and conditions in the mining villages of Normanton and Pontefract.

There are many other things that Jack will be remembered for, particularly his writings on Ireland and the Lebanon.

On his last assignment for the party in 1979, he helped comrades in Australia to produce a book 'Betrayal', the story of the CP of Australia.

The book was dedicated to him.

Above all, Jack had the ability to sink roots into working class areas. He was active especially in the Yorkshire coalfield, the seamen's reform movement and the dockers fight around the 'Blue' union in the late 1950s.

Following the foundation of the SLL in 1959, Jack was quick to take up the fight against the syndicalism of a group around Brian Behan.

He did this by calling on

his firm and solid understanding of how and why the Bolshevik revolution had taken place in 1917.

He never swerved from the necessity to build the revolutionary party.

What we value most in our relationship with comrades and friends is the understanding that we work together for a common goal: the freeing of humanity from the chains of capitalism so that we can live a purposeful life.

## Historical

We treasure our memories of Jack and other comrades from the standpoint of historical materialism: an understanding of why they lived and fought for communism — not because of their individual ability.

Their contribution is sublated into the development of the party.

This is a tribute to comrade Jack Gale, and all the comrades who may never have their names printed and spoken, but who have taken part in the battle to take mankind forward in the greatest struggle on this planet, to achieve the next step in man's fight against nature, to the world communist society.

Our best wishes and thoughts today go to Celia, Ruth and Cathy.

## Newsletter

I remember one occasion when we were selling our paper the Newsletter in a pub in Normanton in the mining area of Yorkshire.

I was in one room, Jack in another. I heard an almighty racket from the other room.

I rushed in to find Jack in the corner holding a chair over his shoulder, threatening to belt the first person who came anywhere near — with good reason.

This was because we had a story on the front page criticising Harold Wilson.

The landlord quietened

# GREET THE COMMUNIST LEAGUE!

## AUSTRALIAN TROTSKYISTS BUILD NEW MOVEMENT

THE EXPULSION of G. Healy from the Workers Revolutionary Party and the consequent split with D. North of the American Workers' League and the majority of the International Committee of the Fourth International has necessarily had repercussions in Australia.

Following the expulsion, in October last year, the Socialist Labour League, the Australian section of the International Committee, made a public commitment to examine its history in the light of what Healyism had done to the SLL.

But after discussions between Nick Beams, SLL National secretary, and Dave North of the Workers League (in political sympathy with but not affiliated to the ICFI), the SLL leadership began to backtrack on that commitment.

From the start they had been opposed to Healy's expulsion; from that point on they bureaucratically squashed any attempt to continue the discussion that was a necessary political consequence.

They claimed that the SLL was politically healthy and that only the WRP had suffered from Healyism.

This was justified by reference to the removal of Jim Mulgrew as National Secretary of the SLL in 1985, a position he had held for 14 years.

They said that where the SLL had made mistakes it was because they were only in 'political short pants' and merely followed the political line of the WRP.

The WRP was suspended by the IC for carrying out a class betrayal in the Middle East, but other beneficiaries of money from the Middle East, such as the SLL, were not.

A clear indication of how determined North and Beams were not to break with Healyism!

The SLL Central Committee, after the WRP's suspension, directed all members to have no contact with the WRP, Workers Press or any ex-member of the SLL.

BY GERRY BEATON

This was a desperate attempt by Beams and his supporters to avoid any discussion on the numerous issues being raised in the pages of Workers Press and by supporters, members and ex-members of the SLL.

In opposition to this suppression, a minority faction was formed in the SLL.

The political differences between the majority and the minority became clear at a special conference held at Christmas.

## Supporters

Beams was formally censured — with even some of his ardent supporters voting against him — for failing to report to the December 17 meeting of IC leaders, held in London, on the SLL's role in carrying out Healy's betrayals especially in the Middle East.

He stated that the SLL did not sell its principles for cash.

It followed the political line of the leadership of the

WRP and the IC. That is that.

Beams' view of the SLL's role is interesting. It gives an insight into the thinking of one of the leaders that have fought tooth and nail to avoid their political responsibility by preventing the investigation into the gross betrayals of Healyism in Australia.

At a further conference held on March 1 and 2 the majority could not even agree whether a betrayal had occurred when the SLL supported the execution of the 21 Iraqi communists.

Beams maintained that there had been no betrayal, while Mike Head, Workers News editor, told the conference that there had.

It was at this conference that the membership was told that if any member of the SLL did not accept the political authority of the IC they would be expelled at a conference to be held at Easter.

The minority then decided to split and called a conference of all those committed to building a Trotskyist par-

ty in Australia and internationally.

The Communist League was formed at this meeting and the first issue of 'Socialist Press' was published.

The Communist League held a series of meetings where the record was set straight on the betrayals of Healyism.

They were addressed by speakers from the Communist League and Dave Bruce, a member of the WRP Central Committee.

## League

There was widespread discussion involving members and supporters of the Communist League and other Trotskyist groups.

The Communist League is currently working on perspectives both nationally and internationally and examining the history of the Fourth International with special reference to the history of Trotskyism in Australia.

On the immediate practical level the CL faces a deteriorating Australian economy where the capitalist

class is calling for the attacks on the working class to be intensified.

The Hawke Labour Government with the support of the ACTU (the equivalent of the TUC) have embarked upon a sharp attack on the working class.

A militant union of building workers, the Builders Labourers Federation (BLF) has been declared illegal in New South Wales, Victoria and the Australian Capital Territory, with the assistance of the Stalinist officials of the Building Workers Industrial Union (BWIU), the Labour governments of the areas and the police.

The May trade figures, which showed a trade deficit of \$1.5 billion, have led to the Hawke Labour government stating that they are going to bring in a tough budget in August.

This means a further round of cuts in health, education, social welfare and housing.

The Communist League will be in the forefront of the fight to defend and improve all workers' conditions.

# The Workers Press Youth Page

# WHAT IS THE MSC?

By KEVIN TOWNSEND

**A NUMBER of questions have to be asked about the nature of the Manpower Services Commission.**

**What is the function of MSC?**

**What are the implications for the trade union movement if the TUC continues participating in MSC? Can the MSC be separated from the crisis and decline of capitalism?**

The MSC emerged in 1973 as a tripartite body set up by the Heath government. It was initially intended to replace the Industrial Training Boards (ITBs).

In 1973, 23 ITBs covered different sections of industry, raising funds for apprentice training independently of the state.

Due to mass opposition from the trade union movement and the education establishment, Heath was forced into a compromise.

The effectiveness of ITBs would be gradually run down while the MSC would gain more powers over the supply of labour.

The 1981 Employment and Training Bill gave the Employment Secretary unilateral powers to abolish or merge ITBs without consultation with the trade unions or educationalists.

The incoming Callaghan/Wilson Labour government lost no time in extending the influence of the MSC in their 1974-79 period in office. The MSC was seen as a body that could centralise labour market policy.

## Economic

The Wilson/Callaghan administration, faced with a growing world economic crisis, decided, in the best traditions of reformism, to put the interests of the capitalist class before those of the working class.

As Labour gravitated towards monetarist policies, all kinds of grants, subsidies and tax concessions were handed out to private enterprises, in the hope that big business would increase production and competitiveness and reduce costs.

This policy led to minimal returns in relation to the vast

amounts of capital invested (squandered) in capitalist enterprises.

The world slump began to set in. For the first time since the 1930s, Britain saw the re-emergence of mass unemployment.

Labour's answer to mass unemployment only helped fuel unemployment.

The creation of the six months Youth Opportunities Programmes (YOPS) encouraged employers to lay off full-time workers in favour of an expendable cost reducing non-unionised workforce.

When the Tories came to power they made no pretensions about their monetarist policies or hatred for the working class.

## Market

The laws of free market enterprise would determine wage costs, and the survival of industry.

The problem facing the Tories was and still is how to break the organised working class and the closed shop.

What tactics were necessary to undermine the strength and combativity of a working class that had just forced out a Labour government in the winter of discontent?

The main problem of British capitalism in its crisis and decline is its inability to compete in a global economy, because its secondary sector of labour is not as well developed or structured as in other countries.

South Africa is the most evident and barbaric in the exploitation of black cheap labour.

On the continent, West Germany and France have far exceeded Britain in this



The attempt to bring YTS into schools was widely opposed last year

field, exploiting Turkish, Spanish, Arab and Italian labour.

This secondary sector of labour is so well developed that, to a certain extent, some sections of the workforce are classified as guest labour.

When the order book is full he is welcome, but in times of slump and recession those workers become immigrants and are expected to be the first to go.

This secondary sector is based on branches of industry which require labour intensive practices.

The Thatcher government were quick to realise that the six months YOP's was inadequate and conflicted with their strategy of undermining the gains that the working class had won over three decades of class struggle.

The MSC, despite the claims of the TUC, was never an independent body.

Whenever a major policy was passed by the Thatcher government, the TUC, local authorities and education service representatives on the MSC and AMBs (Area Manpower Boards) were bypassed.

Under Thatcher, the MSC has adopted a more far sighted policy towards the development of cheap labour, with the extension of YOPs from 6 months to the one year Youth Training Scheme.

## Control

The MSC now encroaches upon nearly everyone who has any control of training (secondary education, further education and what remains of the ITBs).

It totally monopolises the supply of youth cheap labour to industry.

When YTS was first introduced in 1983, Norman Tebbit said in Parliament, that any school-leaver who refused a place on YTS would be ineligible to claim any form of unemployment benefit for a full year.

This idea was publicly dropped, but the policy of cutting dole money or obstructing young people's rights to dole money is carried out through more covert methods.

The DHSS has become more and more clearly incorporated into the state and quite often manipulates or misinforms young claimants about their rights to benefits.

Despite TUC claims, the YTS is forced labour. Young people lose 40 per cent of

their benefits for 13 weeks if they refuse a YTS placement.

The next stage in the Tories plan is to force young people from job-starved areas like the North and Scotland and bus them down to areas like the South East of England, where the take-up on YTS has been comparatively less, because of better job opportunities.

The MSC have already proposed a pilot scheme of this nature for school-leavers on Teesside.

The Career Service on Teesside highlighted the pathetic situation facing school-leavers in this area.

At the end of May 5,100 were still without any form of work, 4,900 were on YTS schemes and one full time job was available.

In other words 1,000 school-leavers were competing for one full-time job.

In South Tyneside unemployment is running at 26 per cent, one of the highest out of work rates in the country.

There is also a 14 per cent increase on last year's figures in unemployment amongst the under 18-year-olds and an overall increase of 100 per cent on 18-year-olds' unemployment since 1983.

A programme of transitional demands must also be directed towards these layers of unemployed youth as well as those on the YTS.

The government's ideology is one of education and training related to and suited to the needs of industry.

● 14 to 16-year-olds considered non-academic or under achievers will be sent out to factories as free labour on the TVEI (Technical and Vocational Education Initiative).

This will mean the end of the comprehensive system and the return of the three-tier system.

● 16 to 18-year-olds will spend two years of exploitation on YTS. Those that refuse will have their dole cut to 40 per cent for 13 weeks if they turn down a YTS placement.

● 16 to 21-year-olds will be taken from the protection of wage councils, which set the legal minimum rate for the job. This in effect means 16 to 21-year-olds will not be classified as adult workers.

● 18 to 24-year-olds will be deprived of any economic independence. They will be expected to live on a new supplementary benefit rate of £24.00

On top of this, the new Fowler Review — to come into effect in 1988 — makes no mention of what will be the supplementary benefit rate for 16 to 18-year-olds.

This obviously means that dole money for out of work 16 to 18-year-olds will be abolished.

A report by the Newcastle MSC Forum, a study of YTS in the northern region, revealed that 62 per cent of YTS courses were related purely to secondary sector labour intensive industries.

Only 28 per cent of courses related to training for manufacturing and construction industries (semi-skilled).

From these figures it is perfectly clear that only a



WILSON

fraction of schemes will give youth any real kind of specific training, albeit a jack of all trades, master of none.

The majority of schemes are aimed towards training youth for work in the soon-to-be-privatised service sector (in shops, cafes, hotels etc. working long hours and in poor conditions).

The Forum report goes on to say that the new two-year YTS will ensure that a greater number of trainees return to the dole queue on completion of their training.

Evidence of the real lack of training for skills was highlighted in a recent memorandum to the Austin and Pickersgill shipyard union negotiating committee on Wearside last month.

At the same time as announcing 925 redundancies on the Wear, management spoke of recruiting 113 youth on YTS in September.

The memorandum says that no line will be drawn between the two-year YTS and the apprenticeship programme.

However, it will be left to the management's discretion, whether two-year module training is sufficient.

Wages related to age, tra-

ditionally associated with apprentice training, will be abolished in favour of an increase upon achievement of each years module.

This means the MSC rates of £28 for 1st year trainees and £35 for second year trainees will be introduced for the first time into the nationalised industries.

British Shipbuilders intend retraining basic skills but the new modular training system will be expected to reflect the requirements and the state of the industry.

In other words, the end of demarcation practices and the burden of the world capitalist slump in shipbuilding placed on the back of the working class and the youth.

British Shipbuilders say that, of those 113 trainees hired out to them by the MSC, only a small fraction will be kept on at the end of their course.

If the figures produced by the Newcastle MSC Forum of 28 per cent of YTS courses related to the manufacturing and construction industries were divided by the amount of up-take of skilled trainees, then the figures for skilled youth employment in the northern region would average out at roughly between nil per cent and two per cent.

## Anti-Union

The recent attacks on youth and the working class by the state in the form of MSC, anti-union Laws, the police and the courts should not be separated from the real driving force for socialism: the crisis and decline of capitalism.

This is the foundation of the class struggle.

Whole generations of young people are being deprived of the most basic rights, because Tory reaction is forced to turn back history.

A thousand injuries on YTS in the North East alone last year, points to the real reactionary nature of YTS.

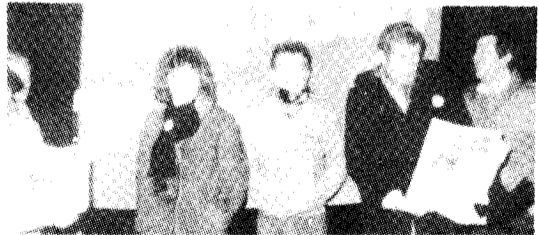
The struggle to end YTS cannot wait for the return of a Labour government.

None of even the minimal demands of the youth can be met while faced with the ruthless class enemy Tory government.

Only the mobilisation of the entire labour and trade union movement to force out the Tory government can begin to tackle the basic problems confronting the working class and youth.

Kevin Townsend

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# After the LCP debate: Study the politics of the PLO



ARAFAT

MANY WRP members are taking a serious and critical attitude to their past. In the course of the long and, perhaps, painful reevaluation and thorough shake-up on numerous issues. Healy's shameful capitulation to Arab petty-bourgeois nationalism must be exposed as a matter of urgency.

In Charlie Pottin's reply to the LMCP (WP 26) and his regular reports and analyses of events in the Middle East this has yet to take place.

Pottin's continues instead to cling to the wooden formulae inherited from Healy as he limps along lamely behind every twist and turn of the PLO leadership.

This position is an echo of Newsline's own, back in May 1978 for instance, it sided with Arafat against the PFLP and other Palestinian organisations who challenged Arafat's capitulation to the United Nations and the Arab bourgeoisie. . . . 'To attempt to undermine this leadership which has proved its tenacity and courage in years of struggle against Zionism and imperialism, is to play into the hands of the enemies of the Palestinian revolution'. (Newsline 27.5.78)

Likewise, in his response to the LMC. . . Pottin's vigorous tongue-lashing of 'rejectionists' and their supporters remains within Newsline's die-hard tradition of heroworship of Arafat and the right wing of the PLO.

Surely, it is time to start dissecting many of the long-held formulations in order to rearm the movement, rather than erect barriers and regurgitate Healy's old sophistry? While Healy and his acolytes never hesitated to bowdlerize Lenin's and Trotsky's speeches in order to justify their uncritical support for Arafat, our initial steps must be to take up a serious study of the nature of the PLO and its military and political components, their programmes, their strengths and weaknesses. Of course, our duty and the duty of every revolutionary is to unconditionally support the PLO. However, this does not mean an uncritical stance.

In the world of Healy and Mitchell, the PLO is made of 'goodies' led by Arafat, sanctified as a head of state — unimpeachably infallible — and 'the rest', a mishmash of rowdy groups called 'dissenders' or 'rejectionists', mostly excrecences of Arab regimes, armed and abetted by Syria and behind it all Moscow, whose sins are 'to play into the hands of the enemy by splitting the unity of the Palestinian revolution'.

If we are to put forward an alternative analysis of the nature of the PLO and its components, we will find primarily that its leadership could not have emerged from the workers' movement which in most cases, has been historically represented by Stalinist parties. The reason is simple, these parties, following the CPSU line, recognised the existence of the Zionist state of Israel as a legitimate state within safe and guaranteed border. The PLO leadership could only come from petty bourgeois nationalist movements dominant in the Arab world. We will also find that it is a highly differentiated leadership.

Apart from groupings that are a direct extension of some Arab regimes (such as Saïqua, Palestinian section of the Syrian Baath), the main organisations have emerged around district political currents, or represent the interest of a specific combination of social strata. The most influential group — the leadership of Fatah — has always been the most right wing. Drowned in subsidies, Fatah — led by Arafat — has built a huge bureaucracy as big as in many bourgeois Arab States. Despite this and because of the objectively anti-imperialist character of the Palestinian struggle, the radicalising pressure of the mass movement allowed it a certain measure of autonomy.

The PLO, which acts as an umbrella for all the revolutionary tendencies that arose in the Arab region after the June 67 War, reflects that paradox. Disillusioned with the so-called 'progressive' Arab regimes and inspired by the example of Vietnam, tendencies claim-

ing to be Marxist-Leninists formed in the Palestinian section of the Movement of Arab Nationalists repudiating their Nasserite allegiances and evolving towards a confused Marxism. Rejecting the Stalinist movement, they were unable to develop a coherent revolutionary strategy that could stand as an alternative to Stalinism and instead oscillated between a reformism close to Stalinism (for example on revolution by stages) and ultra-left eclecticism.

This is, as briefly as this letter would allow me to explain, the political origin of what is generally perceived as the 'left' within the PLO (PFLP, DFLP).

To see them solely as 'splitters doing the dirty work on behalf of the soviet bureaucracy' is wholly wrong and muddleheaded, and can only serve to further confuse and disorientate WRP members. While it is true that the PFLP, DFLP, PCP and PSF have each one of them built a separate relationship with the soviet bureaucracy, these relations remain specific for each group which, by and large, developed a distinctive stance and a different autonomy vis-a-vis that bureaucracy based on their particular nature and programme.

It is also a gross error to see the Palestinian revolution as a process continuously unfolding in a vacuum. Every event of the last forty years (Arab-Israeli wars in particular) that shook the entire Arab world, had automatically far-reaching consequences for the PLO.

The Zionist invasion of Lebanon in 1982, has been the most traumatic, leaving the movement hopelessly split and fuelling mood of pessimism and defeat. It is under these conditions that the capitulationist Palestinian bourgeoisie took the leadership of the movement and started their drive towards accommodating imperialism's dictated plans.

Arafat played a masterful role in this. His visit to Mubarak broke 4 years of boycott of Egypt by other Arab countries, signalling his preparedness for a deal. To be useful to the Arab regimes, Arafat needed to appear to be the legitimate leadership. He then pro-



REDGRAVE, V in south Lebanon. Cde Roberts argues that the WRP continues an uncritical support, although agreeing that any support must be unconditional. Charlie Pottin will answer in due course. Meanwhile, Redgrave artillery has been confined to a barrage of court writs — which all missed their target

ceeded with the 17th Palestine National Council convened in Amman — in the heart of the field of butcher Hussein — and boycotted by a great number of Palestinian organisations, who until today do not recognise its legitimacy. The PNC not surprisingly rubber-stamped the new orientation of the movement, and Arafat was freed to pursue collaboration with Hussein which led to the signing of the Amman Accord.

Of course, as we know, Healy never raised a single objection to the Accord. He knew full well that the settlement offers nothing to the Palestinian people and that the US and Israel will refuse to deal with the PLO. This refusal will give reactionaries the excuse for disposing of the PLO all together, in order to enter direct negotiations with Israel.

Workers Press must break this shameful silence and come clean on the capitulations of the PLO rightwing bourgeoisie which has proved that it is incapable of continuing the Palestinian Revolution.

Hand in hand with a thorough study of the nature of the PLO and its varied components, a detailed analysis of the Amman Accord and the reasons why Arafat and the right of the PLO ended up steering the Palestinian Resistance towards capitulation is also necessary. Of course this does not mean whitewashing the 'left', their record and programme must also stand scrutiny. Prior to Hussein's butchery of Palestinians in Jordan in

September 1970, the Palestinian left, under the illusion of 'patriotic unity' did not distinguish itself from Fatah in practice. Incapable of gaining a significant base among the working masses, they were unable to resolve in their favour the dual power situation that existed for almost two years in Jordan.

Far from putting forward a transitional program capable of mobilising the Jordanian masses, they raised at times regionalist slogans without class contents. (All power to the Palestinian Resistance) and at other times ultraleftist slogans (All power to the people's councils).

The Palestinian 'left' has always failed to understand the need for a revolutionary class party leading the military organisation and which alone could root itself in the productive classes. Further, they linked themselves to the so-called 'progressive' Arab regimes, providing them with a left cover and betraying the interest of the

revolutionary struggle against these regimes.

Far from 'splitting the unity of the PLO', the 'left' were marginalised and outflanked by Arafat at every twist and turn. Their call for tactical alliances rather than a powerful mobilisation of the Palestinian masses to stop Arafat in his tracks has once more proved their programmatic limitation. Today, as the Amman Accord bit the dust and a new imperialist offensive start taking shape, proposals for unity of all PLO groups start gaining ground. President Chadli Bendjedid of Algeria is bringing all the groups together and championing a swift reunification. But behind the scenes, a powerful hand is helping him achieve this long-sought unity. Guess who? Comrade Gorbachov!

Perhaps it is time for the WRP to send Comrade Pottin back to the drawing board?

Jim Roberts

Socialist Viewpoint

## ... and a 'Dear John'

Dear Sir,  
Geoffrey Thurley (Letters, June 21) may think he has scored a factional point by linking my name with Alex Mitchell's.

However, his recollection is at fault.

If I booed or hissed anyone at the conference of the

Labour Committee on Palestine it certainly wasn't Alan Bott.

He attended at Mitchell's urging and as I recall the three of us sat together amicably throughout the meeting.

yours faithfully  
John Spencer

## Amnesty asked for an explanation

AFTER reading the article (Workers Press, May 31) 'A message from Des Warren on Amnesty International's 25 years celebration, I raised the question of his adoption by Amnesty with our local Amnesty Group.

They supported the sending of a letter to Amnesty International demanding an explanation (a copy follows):

I should also clarify one point which may have caused confusion in Charlie Walsh's article in the same issue.

Each section of Amnesty has its own national headquarters but the International Secretariat, which deals with all research of Prisoners of Conscience (POCs), covers the world-wide movement.

The British Section cannot deal with British prisoners, as agreed in Amnesty's mandate.

No country works for its own POCs.

The International Secretariat is in London but there is some discussion at the mo-

ment as to whether it should be moved — perhaps to France or Germany.

Gill Oxley  
Sympathiser, East London

To The Secretary General  
The International Secretariat  
Amnesty International

Dear Thomas Hammersberg  
I am writing to you on behalf of Newham Amnesty Group (London) regarding an article which appeared in a copy of Workers Press (May 31) by Des Warren.

In this he states that, while in prison following his arrest and conviction after organising the first 'Flying Pickets' during the 1972 Building Strike over 'The Lump', he was officially adopted by Amnesty International as a Prisoner of Conscience.

He confirms this in his book 'The Key to my Cell', published by New Park Publications in 1982, and quotes an extract from the letter officially adopting him, writ-

ten by Angela Wright, then in the Western European Research Department.

In this letter he was told: 'We are giving the case to a European Amnesty Group, who will appeal to the British Government for Des Warren's release, help support the family and publicise the case in their country . . . .'

This letter was addressed to Campbell Malone, Warren's solicitor, and dated July 14, 1975.

The news of Des Warren's adoption appeared in every major national newspaper, including the Daily Telegraph. Three months later this adoption was denied, in the House of Commons, by Shirley Summerskill MP.

Warren's solicitor knew nothing of the denial until he wrote to Amnesty after hearing of this statement.

He pointed out the morale boost Warren had received from his adoption and that Amnesty had not informed him of any change.

The book alludes to senior members of the then Con-

servative Government, including Sir Keith Joseph, and senior Labour MPs, linking their names with Amnesty, and includes a photograph of Sir Keith Joseph leaving Amnesty's London office in July 1975.

The reason for the matter arising at this particular time is linked with the campaign in Workers Press against strip-searching in British prisons both here and in Northern Ireland.

You will be aware that a motion on strip-searching is going to the International Section from the Irish Section of Amnesty.

Our group feels that this whole episode has very serious implications for the credibility of Amnesty International and that we are entitled to a full explanation.

I would appreciate a detailed and prompt reply.

Yours sincerely  
Gill Oxley (Group Member)  
I shall be sending copies of this letter to Workers Press and other publications.

## Crawley Branch WRP Day Schools

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

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# Ideological chaos in Economics

ALTHOUGH this book is mainly addressed to an audience of economists, its subject is one which is important for the workers movement.

If readers of Workers Press bear with some of its more technical passages, they will find a great deal of interest in it.

In the period after World War II, we were assured by politicians, academics and labour leaders that we would never return to the bad old days of mass unemployment.

Poverty, ill-health and bad housing would no longer be the lot of the working class.

State intervention in economic and social life was going to ensure a decent future for all.

Revolution was neither possible nor necessary any more.

If you enquired why all this hadn't happened before, you were told that John Maynard Keynes had written a book, which had told the powers that be just where they had gone wrong in the past.

In the old days, a fall in the demand for the things people made led to them being sacked, so they had less money to spend, and even less things could be bought.

At the same time, the government, receiving less in taxes, cut its spending, so things got worse and worse.

What was needed was the exact opposite: the government should spend more money, investing it in industry, building houses, schools, roads, hospitals.

Then the money would be spent by those who earned it, and everything would be fine again.

I could never understand why nobody had thought of this before.

For nearly three decades,

**The Crisis of Keynesian Economics: a Marxist View.** By Geoff Pilling. Croom Helm, £17.95.

unemployment did, in fact, remain at much lower levels than in pre-war days in a number of advanced countries and production was increasing for much of this time.

State welfare schemes were introduced, and living standards for many sections of workers in these countries did advance considerably.

So the economists, who, by that time were nearly all Keynesians, seemed to have been right.

Then, in the 1970s, everything went wrong.

Unemployment rose by millions, production stagnated, governments, especially here and in the US, cut their expenditure drastically.

## Fashion

Housing, education, health suffered.

And in the universities, Keynes went out of fashion. Today, ideological chaos reigns in the economics departments.

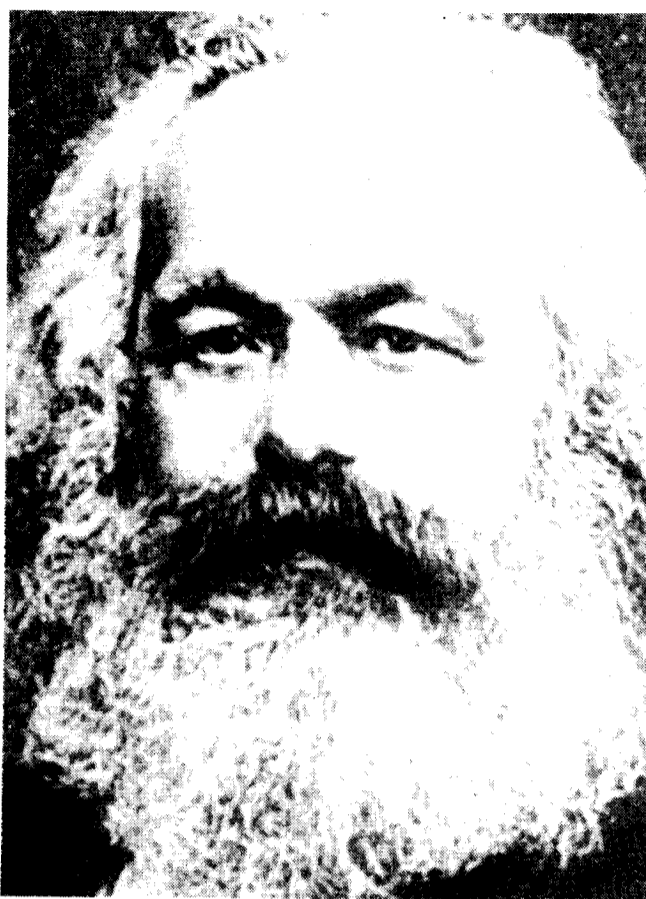
Of course, there are the monetarists, but they are about as scientific as advocates of the use of hammer and chisel in open-heart surgery.

Obviously, the ideas of Keynes were of great importance for Marxists.

To put it bluntly, if action by government really could 'make capitalism work', Marx would have been wrong to see in this system essential contradictions which could not be resolved without the social revolution.

Capital would go on exploiting happy workers forever.

But, as Pilling shows, there was very little real analysis of Keynes' work from a Marxist standpoint.



MARX

Instead, many of those who professed to be Marxists rather tried to adapt Marx to Keynes.

In the process, of course, every basic conception of Marxism was discarded.

Even the elementary notion that capitalism aimed, not at the production of things to be used, but at the extraction of rent, interest and profit from the labour of the working class, was lost.

In this book, Pilling does several important jobs.

First, he reviews 'the historical and theoretical background to the current crisis

of Keynesian economics.'

Then, in Chapter 2, he looks at the assumption that Keynesian policies had actually been applied with success after 1945, and shows this to be a myth.

'The increasing intervention of the state in post-war economy owed little, if anything, to a conversion to Keynesian ideas,' he says.

Rather, it 'was a reflection of the economic-political and social problems of capitalism at a definite historical point.'

Anyway, for most of the boom period, governments

were actually taking in more money than they spent.

Then comes perhaps the most difficult chapter, which analyses the theoretical foundations of Keynes' General Theory.

Particularly important here is the concept capital, and the antagonism between its use by Marx to refer to a social relation and its confused meaning in bourgeois economics.

Chapter 4 examines the 'post-war inflationary boom'.

An important part of it deals with the 'theory' of the 'Permanent Arms Economy', originated by the US Schachtmanites, but brought to us by courtesy of the Socialist Workers Party.

Pilling shows that this account of the post-war state of international capitalism is only another version of Keynes' theory, but given a 'revolutionary' coloration, and couched in pseudo-Marxist phraseology.

Finally, Chapter 5, 'The Collapse of International Keynesianism', the disintegration of the post-war monetary arrangements is discussed.

It is here that a note of caution is needed.

We must remember that his work was completed while the author, like the rest of us, was under the influence of the Healy leadership and outlook, which dominated the WRP until October, 1985.

## Analysis

The economic analysis which we had made in the 1970s, and which had never been changed, was based on the idea that the basic form of the international economic crisis was a 'liquidity', centred on the role of the dollar in the world monetary system, and its relationship with gold.

That is why we were led to see August 14, 1971, when Nixon ended convertibility of the dollar into gold, as the beginning of some kind of 'final breakdown'.

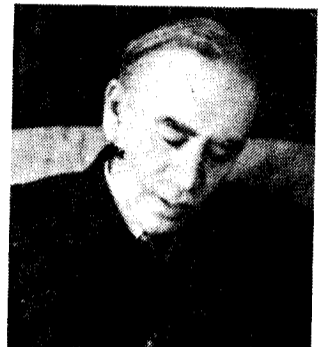
Not surprisingly, this outlook does find some express-

ion in Chapter 5 of this book, and elsewhere.

However, what is pleasantly surprising, is the small degree of this influence.

This is more important, I think, because we are now beginning to re-examine our entire analysis of the post-war economic situation, and it is worth noting that this by no means involves throwing away everything that we did in the past.

The prevailing influence of Keynesianism did have its



KEYNES

effect on the analysis of the Workers Revolutionary Party/International Committee, I believe.

It took the form of asserting that the adoption of full-employment policies was somehow a deliberate decision by the ruling class in the immediate aftermath of the war, in order, we said, to de-fuse the movement to revolution in Europe.

It was as though the operation of the laws of motion of capital was switched off for a few decades.

In this way, we lost sight of the major question, the crisis of revolutionary leadership and the betrayals of Stalinism in particular.

This book provides us with a basis on which we can continue the task of correcting these errors.

Instead of awaiting the second coming of 1929, we can develop an all-sided understanding of the contradictions of the past period, and their revolutionary consequences.

Cyril Smith

# Police: Fabians and Fables

**Democratic Policing — Towards a Labour Party Policy on Police Accountability.** By David Downes and Tony Ward. Labour Campaign for Criminal Justice, 12 Cromwell Road, Alorton, Middlesex HA0 1JS, £3.

NUMEROUS deaths in police custody, the killing of Blair Peach, racism, the steel strike, the riots of 1981 and 1985, the miners' strike and now the battles at Wapping: the role of the police seems easily identifiable.

The facade of bourgeois democracy has been torn away to reveal the sewer that always existed underneath.

However, it is not seen in this way by the professional dream merchants of reform-

ism whose job it is to chloroform the working class just when the ruling class is sharpening its knife.

The learned Fabian authors of this new pamphlet inform us that 'the police forces' worst enemies are arguably not their overt critics but their apparent benefactors — a law and order government which is concerned about destroying the social pre-conditions of consensus policing and the virtues of the British police tradition.'

Oh really? The Tories are the worst enemies of the police, are they?

And why — because the police just want to be like Dixon of Dock Green!

For reformists the state has to exist in order that it can be reformed.

Once the state is challenged and its existence

actually threatened the reformists run to its aid.

In this short pamphlet we have all the patronising junk of the 'social sciences' that passes for analysis.

Here is a gem that will no doubt endear these authors to the miners in particular:

... support for the police is in many ways stronger in the working class than middle class areas ... demands for more and tougher policing are likely to emanate from the "respectable" (the what?) working class

... 'what is needed is a change of strategies and methods that takes account of existing best practices'.

Although the authors pay lip service to the police being the coercive arm of the state they maintain that the police can be tied to some vague 'justice, fair play or rule of law' by means of subjecting

chief constables to elected authorities.

The question of whose justice and whose rule of law does not arise precisely because the state is seen as somehow independent of the class struggle.

It is for them a question of having a Labour government elected.

The desperate need of capital to contrive to exploit the working class and to harness its state to tolerate no opposition does not figure in this reformist outlook.

As for Messrs Downes and Ward's theory that the police are being asked to do a job they do not want to do, they can frankly go and tell this to the fairies because the working class and youth have learned and are learning that the proper role of the police is that of highly paid thugs for a dying system.

Martin Westwood

# Gay Power — an intelligent Pamphlet

**Buying the Goods: Gay Power in the 80s.** Scottish Sexuality Research Group, £3.

THIS is the first in a series of papers intended to explore aspects of sexuality and encourage constructive dialogue and comments.

Published by the Scottish Sexuality Research Group, it raises interesting points about the implications of limited legalisation, the rise and fall of the Gay Liberation Front and the commercialisation of the 'gay community.'

One very important aspect

is why the 1967 law legalising some aspects of homosexuality did not, indeed could not, improve the position of homosexuals in society.

The politics of the GLF, patriarchal society, gender roles, class relations and AIDS are all looked at in varying depth and provide

starting points for a Marxist understanding of sexuality.

The pamphlet itself is not written from a Marxist perspective, but it offers an intelligent basic understanding and can be recommended.

Brian Dempsey

## MERSEY CENTRE'S HARD-HITTING VIDEO

**The Road to the New Workhouse.** Video available from the Merseyside Trade Union Community and Unemployed Resource Centre, 24 Hardman Street, Liverpool L1 9AX, telephone 051-709-3995.

**NORMAN FOWLER'S Social Security Review** — another word for cuts — are the most fundamental changes affecting the system of social benefits since the war.

The Bill is planned to come into effect after the 1988 elections.

This new video outlines the plans of the Tory government and its butchering of jobs in the DHSS. Over 10,000 have gone since 1979.

In the seven years of Tory government, £13 billion has been cut from social security benefits, while £13 billion was given in tax concessions to the richest 1 per cent of the population.

The video makes a start-

ling contrast with the slump and depression in the 1930s, and shows how steps are being taken to bring back the means test.

The State Earnings Related Pensions Scheme (SERPS) is to be cut in favour of private schemes.

Diseases of the 1930s like rickets are back, along with malnutrition.

Information and interviews with marchers from the 1930s who fought the means test and families on high unemployment estates effectively highlights the need for an urgent campaign against this Review.

A campaign must be organised to link all struggles against attacks on benefits, into a broad unemployed movement which must have links with employed trade unionists — to prevent the TUC and Labour leadership from escaping responsibility.

John Owen

# REVIEWS

## 'THE MOOD OF THE COMMUNITIES'

FOUR WOMEN photographers who played an active part in the miners' strike have captured in this book the mood of the communities, and particularly the women.

They show the active role they played in the food kitchens, the womens' support groups, their domestic life, family scenes — and on the picket line.

The militant, physical role the women played, standing shoulder to shoulder with the men and taking on the police tends to get left out.

By leaving out the police, and just showing the 'mood of the community', the women are presented in a way which is passive and romantic.

What is the relevance of a photograph of a smiling Glenys Kinnock, wife of the man who not only came down on the other side — blaming the miners for the

**Striking Women. Photographs by Izabela Jedrzejczyk, Raisa Page, Brenda Prince and Imogen Young. Pluto, £5.95.**

violence in the communities — but only came once to the area, not telling the local union leaders, only the television and Fleet Street?

But this photograph is not typical of the book.

Imogen Young, whose pictures are of south Wales, has taken some of the best variety, capturing the women both at home and on the picket line.

Each photographer worked in a different area, and some of the Nottingham pictures by Brenda Prince deserve special mention, like the old retired miner helping



'We must have looked like this so often because the talks between MacGregor and Scargill failed so often.' (Photograph of the Penrhilweiber Women's Support Group by Imogen Young)

at the strike centre — and holding the first 'strike baby'.

The postscript by historian

Angela John sets the women's activities in the tradition of mining women.

In 1844, the women resisted

evictions and scabs in the north east. Throughout the nineteenth century they were collecting funds, speaking at meetings — and attacking 'blacklegs' with stones, frying pans and saucepans.

'It was never just the men's strike. From day one, we were on strike as families. The NCB not only threatened our miners but they also threatened our children's future and our dearly loved communities.

The book is introduced by Sian James, chairwoman of the South Wales Women's Support Group. She describes how 'in the strike many mining women like me discovered our true selves' and explains:

'Our lives changed immediately. We were no longer isolated coalfield fighting alone against the NCB and the government. We now became a united mining community fighting for our industry and our future.'

Titch Jones



'The thing that really hurt me and made me really mad was one night while I was standing on the picket line, one of the men going into work turned round and said "I hope you die of cancer and I hope your children die with cancer too."' Iris Wake, Hucknall, Notts. (Photograph by Brenda Prince)

## JADED NOSTALGIA

**Beating Time: Riot 'n' Race 'n' Rock 'n' Roll.** By David Widgery. Chatto and Windus, £6.95.

DAVID WIDGERY'S account of the 'Rock against Racism' / Anti-Nazi League era is full of slick presentation and self-congratulation.

Widgery, otherwise known as a slightly jaded cynical Socialist Worker columnist, is also an east London doctor, and the best parts of the book are his descriptions of the area between Aldgate

and Bow.

Even these, though, have a romanticised character.

He tries to portray some continuity in the struggles of the area, and writes of imagining Sylvia Pankhurst 'sprinting for a number 8 bus to take her to a Workers Dreadnought editorial meeting in Bow.'

The problem is the book falls between being a serious attempt to document this history and a piece of 1970s nostalgia.

## TV Preview

### Sunday June 29

1.35 pm, Channel 4. **The Making of Britain: Britain under Westminster.** Final programme in this series, Professor Louis Cullen explains how and why the British Isles were united into one nation during the 17th and 18th centuries; a process backed by force, which resulted in a dramatic centralization of resources, both manpower and capital.

### Monday June 30

10.00 pm, Channel 4. **Songs of Freedom: Paul Robeson and the Black American Struggle.** This documentary focusses on Robeson's contribution to the black fight for civil rights. Exiled for his political beliefs from America, the land of his birth, he campaigned for colonial independence, joined trade union struggles, was attacked by Soviet Russia, joined the fight with the International Brigade during the Spanish Civil War, and returned to bring the anti-

fascist message to America in 1939. He became a target for the witch-hunts of the 1940s and 1950s — there is even circumstantial evidence that there was a plot to harm his health with lethal drugs — and his health status file at the FBI is top secret to this day.

### Tuesday July 1

10.30 pm, ITV. **First Tuesday: The Guildford Time Bomb.** Workers Press supports the campaign to free the Guildford Four, blatantly framed-up. This programme gives their case a new airing, with fresh evidence of their innocence. The filmmakers went to Belfast and America and pieced together the new and the old evidence.

### Wednesday July 2

10.30 pm, Channel 4. **Rashomon 1950 Classic film by Akira Kurosawa.** The master of the genre, Kurosawa, launches a season of Kurosawa movies, starting his and my favourite actor, Toshiro Mifune. Rasho-

mon burst upon the Western film world like the discovery of America burst upon medieval Europe — you have to see it to understand the tremendous impact that it had.

### Thursday July 3

10.30 pm, Channel 4. **The Wobblies.** Tells the story of the Wobblies, the Industrial Workers of the World, from their founding in 1905 to their virtual demise during World War I. The programme features interviews with surviving members, intercut with archival newsreels, photographs and popular songs of the period.

### Friday July 4

11.30 pm, Channel 4. **Monterey Pop.** British television premiere of Pennebaker's documentary of the International Pop Festival held in June 1967 in Monterey, California. With Janis Joplin, Jimi Hendrix, the Mamas and the Papas, Jefferson Airplane, The Who, Country Joe and the Fish, Otis Redding — join me in a trip down memory lane.



PAUL ROBESON, whose contribution to the struggle for black civil rights is featured in 'Songs of Freedom' on Monday 30 June, Channel 4, 10 pm

## WAR-TIME TROTSKYIST LEADER DIES

JOCK HASTON, former leader of the Trotskyist movement, died last week.

Haston was general secretary of the Revolutionary Communist Party from

its formation in 1944 to its dissolution in 1949.

Before that, he was a leader of the Workers International League, one of the two Trotskyist organisations

which fused to form the RCP.

He broke with Trotskyism in 1950 and developed as an anti-communist mentor of

the trade union bureaucracy.

Next week's Workers Press will carry a full obituary on Haston.

BILL HUNTER

# THE CLARKE-BOLTON DUO

## Scottish NUM Conference calls for UDM approach

THE MINERS' union in Scotland, whose leadership is dominated by the Communist Party, is calling for TUC and Labour leaders to make approaches to the scab UDM.

The National Union of Mineworkers (Scottish Area) conference, held last week in Perth, passed a resolution which would mean talking to the UDM en bloc — as opposed to present NUM policy of winning members back individually.

Scottish area NUM secretary Eric Clarke told journalists that, while UDM leaders like Roy Lynk would obviously not talk to the NUM, Labour politicians could act as 'honest brokers' to start negotiations.

The Scottish area proposal can only weaken the campaign to win members back from the scab union and open the door for backdoor wheeling and dealing with its officials. It must be blocked.

The resolution reaffirmed 'its commitment to secure the complete organisation in the Union of all workers in or connected with the coalmining industry.'

It called on 'those who have left the Union to return to the fold for their own benefit and for the well-being of all miners and their families.'

Then it went on to instruct the miners' National Executive Committee 'to ensure this national unity is achieved as its highest priority at the earliest possible moment by calling on the TUC and the Labour Party to make themselves available

BY SIMON PIRANI

in assisting in the reunification of British mining unionism.'

George Bolton, Scottish area NUM vice-president and national chairman of the Communist Party, moved the resolution.

The danger of a split in the TUC emphasised the importance of healing the NUM/UDM split, he claimed.

The UDM were a 'stalking-horse for the NCB' and had created conditions for the NUM to be denied this year's pay rise; but a NUM wage campaign could be a 'powerful unifying factor'.

For this, said Bolton, the NUM would need to 'break out of court actions'.

In a slanderous attack on the union's present policy of winning back members in Nottinghamshire, he said: 'For my money there is no possibility of unity if this union is saying "you'll get back on your bended knee and take six lashes and confessions".'

Unity might mean 'doing



GEORGE BOLTON



ERIC CLARKE

some things that aren't all that palatable,' said Bolton, to the alarm of some miners present.

He used two false analogies to prove that the UDM was somehow an approachable or acceptable organisation.

Firstly he said that, unlike the Spencer union in the 1930s, the UDM leadership 'have taken Notts out of the NUM but they still want to be part of the labour movement'.

Second, he claimed that a split in the union movement should be avoided at all costs

## FLEET STREET SUPPORT UNIT SAYS 'FLEET ST OUT!'

By ALAN CLARK

This would:

1. Provide a pool of 30,000 extra pickets for Murdoch's Wapping plant — making it impossible to get his papers out.

2. Develop a focal point for the entire trade union movement, giving the impetus needed for solidarity action; the docks, rail, ink-makers, transport as well as international solidarity action.

3. Give the political direction the strike badly needs.

4. Warn all other newspaper proprietors that 'enough is enough — no more job cuts!'

The battle lines are clear. A win for Murdoch will mean a de-unionisation which will affect every worker in the print trade.

● The next meeting of the FSSU will be at St Bride's Institute, off Fleet Street, London, July 1, 7.00 pm.

MEETING last Wednesday, the Union of Printworkers Support Groups (UPSG), together with the Fleet Street Support Unit, called a Fleet Street meeting for early July to clarify their positions and the call, 'Fleet Street Out!'

Their latest leaflet gives four reasons for the rest of Fleet Street to come out in support of the sacked News International men.

because countries like France had low union membership overall because there were several union confederations.

Communist Party member John Neilson, delegate from Seaford colliery, said that those like the EETPU wanted to split the TUC and that a split NUM would play into their hands.

He implied that the existence of the UDM was in some way the fault of the Scargill leadership.

'The press created the image of Scargill the bad man; Arthur and the rest of the national officials should

have involved the whole union in Notts,' said Neilson.

This was particularly ironic coming from an area leadership which bitterly opposed mass picketing at the beginning of the miners' strike.

Doubts about the resolution were voiced by Monktonhall pit delegate David Hamilton.

'Certain people didn't just join the UDM but actively fought against the NUM,' he said. We should 'isolate the UDM leadership'.

The Scottish area NUM conference called for the fight to re-instate sacked

miners to be stepped up.

A resolution moved by Monktonhall branch called for 'the organisation of a 24-hour stoppage in the Scottish area, leading to a one-day national stoppage, giving the National Coal Board notice that unless they start to reinstate all victimised miners, further action will be taken.'

Moving the resolution, David Hamilton proposed a march by sacked miners from Scotland to London, to co-incide with the appointment of Sir Robert Haslam as chief of the mining industry.

## GLASGOW: UNIONS PLAN UNITED JOBS CAMPAIGN BUT:

### BOLTON AND HIS PALS ON THEIR KNEES AGAIN

# STUC LEADERS CRAWL TO TORY MINISTER

## THIS WEEK

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: a Sinn Fein representative, a prisoners' relative, Liz Hill (sister of Paul Hill of the Guildford 4), the general secretary of an Irish trade union, and from the EIS and the 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'. Conference credentials £1; available from Conference Organising Committee, PH3, 340 West Princes Street, Glasgow G4. Creche Available.

A SHOP stewards' conference in Glasgow last week resolved to mobilise trades unionists in a united campaign to defend jobs in the shipyards, railway works and other threatened industries.

A resolution from the Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions was passed, calling for all-out opposition to the latest chapter of Tory devastation on Clydeside.

But Scottish TUC leaders made it quite clear to the 500 shop stewards and union activists — including delegations from Smiths Dock, Austin and Pickersgill and other Tyneside yards, and from the closure-threatened Ferguson Ailsa yard at Troon, Ayrshire — that their first priority was pleading to Tory ministers.

'We can not wait two years until the next election; we have to try and change this government's mind,' said conference chairman Bob Gillespie of the SOGAT print union.

Campbell Christie, Scottish TUC general secretary, told the conference that a meeting was to be held with Tory Scottish secretary Malcolm Rifkind on Friday.

'We will say to Rifkind that the government must allow nationalised industries to compete on an equal basis

with private firms,' said Christie. 'We will say to him: don't allow BREL to close, don't allow the pits to close which will provide cheap coal in the future.'

Christie explained that after the meeting with Rifkind, a lobby of leading Tories in London would be held.

Scottish miners' vice-president George Bolton, national chairman of the Communist Party, called for a day of action to co-incide with the lobby, and the convocation of 'a powerful Scottish assembly', presumably to provide a launch-pad for further time-wasting protests to the Tories.

### Platform

The mobilisation of workers in the fight was, according to the platform, only to support delegations pleading with the Tories to change course.

Speeches from different unions revealed clearly the extent of Tory job-destruction. AEU official

Harry McLevy said that 7,000 of Scotland's 12,000 oil rig construction jobs were facing destruction; A. McIntyre of Babcocks, Renfrew, spoke of the drastic cutbacks in the power generation industry; from the platform, West of Scotland confed chairman Joe Brown drew a grim picture of shipyards without orders.

Speakers from the shipyards expressed their readiness to do battle. A young shop steward from Ferguson Ailsa said the whole town of Troon would be out on June 28 for a rally to oppose closure.

Paul Stockdale of Tyneside CSEU said that over the last few years, excuses had always been found to avoid or put off the fight, but 'now there is nowhere to fall back to, we have to stand and fight.'

He added: 'The communities around the yards are demanding that we take up the fight, that we don't allow the communities to die.'

The time-honoured tactic of the Stalinist-dominated STUC, of meetings with the Scottish secretary, lobbies of prime minister Thatcher and calls for a Scottish assembly, must be rejected.

A heavy price has been paid in the steel industry, at Leyland Vehicles Bathgate, and in the Scottish coalfield, for these protest tactics which simply fritter away the fighting capacity of the working class.

The campaign against the de-industrialisation of Scotland must be turned against this government, not towards trying to change its mind. Calls from Tory-devastated Clydeside to bring down this government would find an echo throughout the working class.

### Occupation

Marches and demonstrations must lead not to dialogue with Tory politicians but to the occupation of the threatened yards and the building of support in the communities.

The purpose of the campaign must be to rouse the working class as a whole against this government.

● We must demand that a future Labour government reverses Tory privatisation and ends sackings — but even these demands mean nothing without the mobilisation of the strength of the class.