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IRELAND, NUCLEAR POWER, THE DOLE

TAKE HEED

Kinnock prepares the noose

A clear message from Blackpool

THE BLACKPOOL Labour Party conference provides a warning to every worker and member of the middle class in this country.

Labour is preparing for government — but it will be a government of betrayal. Kinnock's sole purpose at Blackpool was to convince the British and foreign bankers that their capital is safe under Labour.

This is not a confused leadership but one which, on every issue, seeks to subordinate the interests of the working class to those of the capitalist master.

Kinnock gave complete reassurance to Reagan and the leaders of American imperialism that their affairs will be safe in the hands of any Labour government.

Consider the facts:
● The burning question of Ireland was forced off the agenda by the Kinnock leadership.

The NEC could not even produce its long promised statement on Ireland.

Under Labour, the brutal British occupation of the six counties will continue.

Labour sent in the troops in 1969; they will remain should Kinnock become Prime Minister.

● The right-wing witch hunted the leaders of the Militant tendency out of the Labour Party.

The attack on Militant is a preparation for an attack on the entire working class.

The majority of the constituency Labour Parties lined up with the bureaucracy to drive out Hatton and company.

BY GEOFF PILLING

● Eric Heffer was thrown off the NEC for defending the Liverpool councillors.

Despite all the past fine words, an incoming Labour government will not reimburse or re-instate those councillors in Lambeth, Liverpool and elsewhere who have tried to fight the Tory government.

● The Justice for Miners campaign had to fight even to get into the conference hall.

As far as Kinnock and Hattersley are concerned, those miners now in jail can rot there even when they get to Downing Street.

The thousands of miners sacked for defending their jobs, families and communities will remain on the streets.

● On nuclear policy, the right-wing leadership rejected the call for a ban on all nuclear power stations.

Millions of lives will remain at risk under a Labour government.

The profits of the monopolies who control nuclear power will be placed before the safety of ordinary people.

It was Labour Foreign Affairs spokesman Dennis Healey who let the cat out of the bag.

Under Labour, nuclear bases will remain and a Labour government will remain completely subservient to the war aims of US imperialism.

Nobody, least of all the American general staff, was fooled by Kinnock's 'radical'

stance on the nuclear war issue.

Labour will face an intensified economic crisis if it assumes office.

Blackpool spells out yet again that its answer will be to attack the living standards of workers and the unemployed.

● All proposals for nationalisation have been sunk without trace.

Large sections of the working class and the middle class are sick to death of the Tories. The Thatcher government is hated throughout the country.

Alternative

Many workers still look to the Labour and trade union leaders as an alternative to Thatcher.

Kinnock's message to the working class from Black-

pool is:

'Wait for a Labour government and everything will be fine.'

This is a fraud and a deception.

There is no time to waste. Unemployment mounts daily. Millions of youth face a hopeless future under the capitalist system.

Over everybody hangs the threat of nuclear destruction.

The time to hit the Tories is now!

A campaign against the Thatcher government is the preparation the working class must make to deal with any incoming Labour government.

All those who oppose the Labour leaders' betrayal on Ireland, on South Africa, on unemployment must now be united into a powerful movement against the Tories.

SINN FEIN'S SCOTTISH TOUR CALLS ON TU SUPPORT

TRADE UNIONISTS and Labour Party members discussed the need for the British working class to support the Irish struggle at a number of successful meetings in Scotland last week.

Gerard McGuigan, Sinn Fein councillor from Ardoyne, north Belfast, told the meetings of the increased repression and sectarian assassinations which had followed the signing of the Anglo-Irish deal at Hillsborough.

McGuigan was invited to the Stirling Trades Council where his speech was followed by nearly an hour of questions and answers.

Delegates asked about Sinn Fein's social and economic policies, its attitude to religion, women, and the Protestant working class.

Defence

Most controversial was McGuigan's defence of the IRA's policy of executing people who collaborate with the British army.

'If builders helped to build fortresses and torture centres, or if telephone engineers place listening de-

vides for the army, they are no different for our struggle than the British soldier in uniform,' he said.

At a public meeting in Glasgow, McGuigan spoke alongside Gerry Doherty of the National Union of Railwaymen.

Again, a lengthy and serious discussion followed; emphasis was placed on the need for British trade unionists to fight against those treacherous Labour leaders whose role in supporting the occupation of the six counties is central.

A call was made for union

members to challenge leaders who went along with loyalist intimidation and discrimination in workplaces in the six counties.

McGuigan also addressed meetings in Glasgow University, Aberdeen, Dundee and Edinburgh.

Teachers

The tour was supported by the Labour Committee on Ireland, the Clydeside Troops Out movement, Scottish Teachers for a United Ireland, the NALGO Campaign for a United Ireland and the WRP/Workers Press.

● Further activity in support of Irish self-determination is planned. In particular, contingents from Scotland will be travelling to the north-east of England on Saturday November 8 to demonstrate at Durham and Frankland jails to demand the repatriation of Irish Republican prisoners. (Look out for more details, etc).

Free Eleuterio Gutierrez!



ELEUTERIO Gutierrez is a militant miner and local trade union leader from the Bolivar pit in Antequeral Canyon, Oruro, Bolivia.

He has been incarcerated in the San Pedro prison for 12 months with no sign of his case coming to trial.

He was arrested at the time of the September general Strike, accused of stealing mining equipment — a ridiculous charge for which no evidence exists beyond the word of a known local criminal.

The real reason for the frame up is that Eleuterio was a leading militant in the general strike and also in the March 1985 miners' march on La Paz.

He has also been active in organising

private sector miners to resist the closure of their mines and to demand their nationalisation. But he was not simply a trade union militant, he was also a member of the Revolutionary Workers Party (POR) lead by Guillermo Lora.

His imprisonment is part of a pattern of persecution of militants in the aftermath of last year's defeats.

He has a wife and children; worker militants like him can expect to rot in jail indefinitely unless pressure is brought to bear on the Bolivian government at home and internationally.

The picture shows a picket of the Bolivian embassy by Workers Power, WRP/Workers Press and others on September 30.

Workers Press at the Labour Party Conference fringe meetings

One year out on Broadwater Farm

OCTOBER FIFTH is anniversary of the Broadwater Farm riot; October 4th of Cynthia Jarrett's death.

Martha Osamoor, a resident of Broadwater Farm, told the Labour Campaign for Criminal Justice fringe meeting at the Labour Party conference of the background to the events of last October which culminated in the death of Cynthia Jarrett and PC Blakelock.

Martha told the meeting the problems faced by blacks arriving in England in the early 60s.

She arrived from Nigeria in 1963. Her husband had a small one-room flat in a very run-down area of Haringey.

The search for a better place to live was made almost impossible by the racism of landlords who frequently displayed signs which said: 'No Irish, No Dogs, No Niggers'.

She didn't know what the word 'nigger' meant.

When she first saw it, she knocked on a door which was slammed in her face by an

irate landlady asking if she couldn't understand English.

The black community of Haringey was forced to confine itself to poor quality overcrowded housing.

They needed Council housing because private housing was denied them outright.

The racism of Council housing officials meant that black families were only given one offer and again forced to accept sub-standard housing.

Places like Broadwater Farm were built — but without any consideration for the residents' needs or background.

REPORTS BY LYNN BEATON

The estate provided nowhere for anyone to meet, nowhere for the children to play — only the corridors.

As soon as the residents moved in, the police moved in after them.

Harassment of children led to their criminalisation, which increased the police presence.

The residents had come from a number of different backgrounds and Martha said: 'Our colonial masters made sure that the different cultures were divided.'

A group was set up to overcome the cultural divisions and to work together for improvements in the conditions.

As the group met it became obvious that the children were nearly always arrested for the first time on 'sus' (suspicion that the arrested is going to commit

a crime). Arrest led to criminalisation.

At the end of 1980, the police decided to establish a mini-police station on the Farm because the Haringey station couldn't handle it.

The local media published the story with a headline: 'Mini Police Station For Crime Estate'.

The community group at the farm called a meeting. People were incensed at this description; Demands were taken to the Haringey council.

The community group proceeded to set up a youth club, a nursery, many projects were developed offering training for the youth and co-ops such as a shop, a laundry and a hairdressing salon provided employment.

The residents of Broadwater took their environment into their own hands and

moulded it to meet their own needs.

Nothing happened on the Farm without the community group being consulted.

As a result, the crime rate decreased. The police continued their harassment.

A visit was arranged to the West Indies so the youth could see where they came from. Several of the community group leaders went too.

When they returned, drugs had been pushed all around the estate and had become a real problem.

The residents asked the police why they hadn't stopped this.

In turn, they started a rumour that there would be riots at Broadwater Farm.

On October 3, 1985, Floyd Jarrett, one of the youth leaders, was picked up by police for a regular car check.

He was handcuffed, taken to the police station and the key to his mother's flat was taken by police.

The rest of the story is well known. Martha said that, since October 5, the police harassment is worse than ever.

Using the excuse that they were looking for Blakelock's murderers, police smashed in people's doors.

They could easily have acquired keys from the community group if they had had warrants.

Martha asked why people don't listen to the cries for help that come from groups suffering police intimidation and oppression.

She said: 'Why did the miners have to go through it, why did the printers have to go through it before they knew that it was happening to us?'

Social chauvinism — alive and well in the Labour Party

THE PARLIAMENTARY report-back on the north of Ireland was reminiscent of a group of elders discussing what to do about their wayward sons.

Party spokesman on Ireland Stuart Bell sent his apologies and said he might arrive late, but didn't. It was therefore left to Peter Archer to make the main apologies of the meeting — that the Parliamentary Committee on Ireland had still not produced a statement.

He assured us that this was due only to secretarial difficulties and he was prepared to 'stick his neck out' and say that there would be a statement — within six months.

The Labour Party obviously has very severe secretarial problems.

Archer thought we shouldn't waste our time talking about the Anglo-Irish accord because it has been talked about a great deal already.

He said that the British presence, of course, must be ended, but that any solution must be a process.

Because the Labour Party cares so much, they want to make sure they get it right and develop the right policy

to make the transition.

More debates and receiving more submissions was the way ahead. There must be no commitment to a rigid timetable.

He called for a reserve of ideas which would ensure that the Labour Party retained the initiative!

Archer condemned equally the violence of both sides. He said nothing about the organised violence of the capitalist state.

No mention of the tragedy of children and innocent adults being killed by plastic and rubber bullets. No mention of the brutality of strip-searching and the torture of prisoners.

Or of the continued harassment and intimidation of the

entire nationalist community by the British army and the RUC.

Archer said that if the Labour Party was accused of being just hot air, just talk, he would agree because that is what we need right now to solve the situation. Lots of talk.

Alvin McGuinness, SDLP chairman, spent his allocated time justifying the Anglo-Irish Agreement and assured us that the SDLP was making inroads into Protestant groups. He said nothing about the recent gains of Sinn Fein.

These have shown that many of the Nationalist community see Sinn Fein as their political representatives.

At question time many frustrated Labour Party delegates raised objections to the handling of the Irish question by the speakers.

But no one dared to mention openly, let alone support, the right of the Irish people to determine their own future or to take up arms against the imperialist state which oppresses them.

Salford family faces deportation

A SALFORD FAMILY faces deportation to Iran. The Mashadimirza family came to Britain for medical treatment.

Before leaving Iran they sheltered a leading opponent of the Ayatollah Khomeini regime, who has since been imprisoned and tortured.

Penalty

The penalty for harbouring opponents of the regime is death without trial.

Although the family are now living in fear of their lives, the Home Office has refused their application for political asylum.

They were due to be deported on September 23 but considerable public pressure

and new evidence has now forced the Home Office to reconsider the case.

Confirms

This evidence, conveyed by Stan Orme the family's MP, confirms the danger they would face if deported to Tehran.

The family believes that there is other evidence against the deportation order but this has to remain confidential for the moment.

The case is far from won and the Support Group are appealing for help from any individual or organisation.

● Please write to Mizra Family Support Campaign, c/o South Manchester Law Centre, 584 Stockport Road, Manchester, M13 0RQ.

LONDON STUDENT MARXIST FORUM Sunday October 5: 'A Marxist Analysis of Money' — trip around 'Money' exhibition at British Museum. Meet on the Museum steps, 3.30 pm. Organised by N London WRP

EL SALVADOR SOLIDARITY CAMPAIGN Sixth Anniversary of formation of FMLN. LSE, Houghton Street, WC2, 7PM. Friday October 10. FILM: 'In the Name of the People' followed by Rally and a 'Fiesta' with food, drinks and LA music

LPYS MASS DEMONSTRATION 'TORIES OUT' Saturday October 18. Assemble: 11.30am Southwark Park for March to Trafalgar Square — Rally and Bands.

MANCHESTER IMMIGRATION WIVES AND FIANCEES CAMPAIGN National Demonstration and Rally against Racist Immigration Laws. October 11, Assemble: Long-site Library, Stockport Road, Manchester at 12.30 pm. (For further information ring Loretta Loach, 061-225 5111.)

SWAPO calls for trade unions to impose sanctions but Labourites hedge bets at AAM's closet meeting

DENNIS Healey's address to the Anti-Apartheid fringe meeting at the Labour Party conference was significant for what it did not say.

None of the expected great promises of what a Labour government would do. There was little in the way of Tory-bashing.

In fact, Healey shifted the responsibility for imposing sanctions from the British government to the United Nations and then to big business.

His speech ended by saying that the most pressing demand must be that comprehensive mandatory sanctions be passed in the Security Council of the UN.

Earlier he had put the responsibility on the US government for their vetoing of the UN sanction motion already moved.

He also lampooned the US for not selling off its gold stocks, saying that, if America put some of its gold onto the open market, it would bring down the price of gold and affect the apartheid regime far more than any sanction campaign.

British big business must refuse to trade with South Africa.

he said nothing about the Labour party's responsibility. Nor that of the trade union movement.

His speech was a preparation for the betrayal of the South African working class

from a future Labour government.

However, Diane Abbott, prospective Labour Party candidate for Hackney and Stoke Newington, pledged that the six Black Labour MPs would 'not stop until we see the next Labour government deliver on South Africa.'

She was obviously attacking Healey, when she said that it was easy to score points off Thatcher while the Labour Party was in opposition but that when it was in government it would be hard to move from the moral stand to actually taking action.

But she didn't indicate the sort of action she had in mind, or for what she considered would be a 'delivery'.

She ended by saying that she 'sincerely hopes that the next Labour government pledges its commitment.' Clearly, she has her doubts.

Only the Namibian speaker from SWAPO made a clear call for sanctions which he directed to the British working class.

He asked that the transport workers and the miners refuse to handle South African imports or exports.

He also called on the Labour Party to support SWAPO in its own right and asked that the Labour Party conference came out with a clear position.

● Footnote: While most fringe meetings battle it out for audiences, Anti-Apartheid appeared not to want one.

Only conference delegates or official visitors were allowed into the meeting without a special ticket.

When we went to get a special ticket we were told that the meeting was full and there were no more left.

In fact, the meeting was half empty from the beginning — and more so after Denis Healey had spoken.

Bolton support for Guildford 4

BY RICHARD KNOTT

ONE OF the Appeal Court judges who dealt with the Guildford Four case was a leading Black-shirt in the 1930's, a meeting in Bolton, Lancs, was told last week.

A motion to form a 'Free the Guildford Four' Campaign in Bolton was passed with an important amend-

ment — to take on board the case of the Birmingham Six, framed for the Birmingham pub bombings.

A speaker from the Campaign told the meeting that, after the IRA's bomb campaign in the early 'seventies, the Irish community began undergoing a 'sentence of silence and fear': many families settled in England had to uproot and return to Ireland.

The speaker urged people to write to the Home Office.

the Irish Embassy and the Irish government in Dublin to demand these gross miscarriages of justice be overturned.

The meeting was reminded that in November an important television documentary concerning the Guildford Four and the Birmingham Six will be shown on Channel 4 to coincide with the publication of Robert Kee's book on the trials.

Take a firm stand NOW against Kinnock!

FROM DOT GIBSON AND BILL HUNTER IN BLACKPOOL

LEFT, right and centre — they are all expecting a Labour victory at the general election in 1987.

The Labour Party conference has been swung behind Kinnock with the prospect of a Labour victory.

But Kinnock is preparing for the general election with the biggest ever witchhunt. The expulsion of eight members was confirmed at this conference — this is just for starters.

In the NEC report under the section on Disciplinary Procedures, the leadership explains that: 'Our recent decisions... indicate that, if challenged, our basic rules and long-standing procedures may well be deemed by the court to be incompatible with natural justice in certain respects.'

How do they intend to institute natural justice? They have had their legal advisors working overtime.

The rules are amended to include: 'No member of the Labour Party shall engage in a sustained course of conduct prejudicial to the Party.'

Who will decide whether this is so?

A National Constitutional Committee has been set up with eleven members — its decision is final.

To speed up operations, this committee can divide itself into panels of not less than three members, with full powers of the whole committee.

Ernie Roberts MP, speaking at a 'Labour Against Witchhunts '86' campaign meeting made the point that the expulsions at the conference are not the end of the witchhunt but only the beginning.

He said: 'Today it is Militant, tomorrow it will be the campaign group of MPs, then Tribune, followed by the centre group of Labour Party members; then all

pretence of socialism will go and the right wing will move on the militants in the trade unions.'

We are obliged to take Roberts' statement further. It is not possible for the Kinnock-Hattersley leadership to be carrying out such a ferocious witchhunt inside the Labour Party and not be preparing a massive onslaught on the whole working class — the Labour voters themselves.

A leadership which can spend over £150,000 of Labour Party members' money on the witchhunt — as Kinnock has — must be preparing massive attacks.

Indeed, Kinnock is already talking about identity cards for the unemployed and making it clear that any policies for improvement in unemployment, social services, the health service, etc., can only be carried out if they can be afforded!

The only solution to the problems facing the working class is to take the power out of the hands of the banks and multi-nationals.

Cash is needed now for the health service, housing, education, the old and the young, as well as an international plan to overcome poverty and starvation.

The number of fringe meetings at this conference and leaflets covering national and international questions with a real sense of urgency underlines the multitude of issues facing us all.

The Thatcher Tory government has laws on the Statute Book which, if fully implemented, would take away every basic right of the working class.

This situation is bad enough but actually the Tories are still holding back.

Their attacks are met by growing militancy in the working class. Riots in the inner cities could erupt and spread like a forest fire if the Tories turn on more heat against the unemployed, old age pensioners and those living on social security.

A Labour government would be armed with those same laws, but would also have a working class lulled into a sense of false security if the Tories were defeated.

Such a Kinnock Labour government would be a government of the multi-nationals. Neither would it break with US imperialism.

Kinnock made noises at the beginning of the week in opposition to nuclear weapons, but Healey soon made it clear that a Labour government would not ban US nuclear bases in Britain.

History shows that at

set to carry through the expulsions with the trade union block vote.

Hand in hand with the expulsions goes the cult of the individual. In an unprecedented bid to grab leadership positions, Kinnock intends to be chairman of the Labour Party as well as leader of the Parliamentary Labour Party.

And the conference has been dominated by a professional security firm with special passes, screening, searches and a virtual army of police on duty at every entrance and exit.

Some delegates waited over two hours and the international delegation from Malta waited over three hours on the pavement before they could obtain admittance to the conference.

On Monday night Eric Hefner was stopped by police while trying to attend a meeting where he was the main speaker. There was a near stand-up fight before he was able to gain admittance.

Bob Clay MP, speaking at a meeting of the Eastern European Solidarity Cam-

WE INVITE discussion on our letter pages on this important question and on our Manifesto.

times of acute economic and political crisis like this, such a Labour government is welcomed by the banking fraternity.

A hard core of delegates from the Constituency Labour Parties voted against the expulsions taking an objective stand against the right wing witch-hunters.

But throughout the year delegates to the trade union conferences have been called upon to support Kinnock in the name of unity for a future Labour government to solve their problems.

In this way the stage was

paid for by NUPE, made the point:

A party that organises for the chairman to be the same person as the leader of its Parliamentary Party — a party that has such security arrangements that there is near arrest of people attending meetings at this conference — a party that mysteriously re-organises the conference platform so that certain leaders are nearer the TV cameras, is a party that is heading for the cult of the individual.

It is now vital to campaign against the false 'socialist' unity to carry us into the



NEIL KINNOCK

next General Election for which an important number of delegates are arguing.

The struggle to defeat the right-wing does not end just because a general election is on the horizon.

Kinnock is preparing to send his kangaroo court to expel Militant readers — but leading Militants are urging their young readers to be the best workers for a Labour victory and to support Kinnock now because their time will come later.

They seem to think that their readers in the constituencies are safe — because they are needed to run a general election.

But the Kinnock leadership has started a high-powered election campaign through the media, backed up by sections of big business.

They are already mobilising the trade union full-time officials to organise the election machine.

The Labour Party in Australia did just this. The local party organisations were virtually closed down.

Workers, youth and the unemployed must be warned

that the witch-hunt is a prelude to attacks on them.

How far removed from arch witch-hunter Eric Hammond of the EETPU is Neil Kinnock?

Hammond exploits high unemployment and the Tory anti-union laws to organise scabs at Wapping. Kinnock takes advantage of hatred of the Tories and fear of unemployment to swing the Labour Party conference behind the witch-hunt.

Support for a Labour victory against the Tories must be a class stand. It must not imply support for a Kinnock leadership.

In fact it must be the opposite.

Trade union branches, local Labour parties and the Campaign group of MPs should stand firm against preparations to make the working class pay for the crisis of the capitalist system.

There is nothing to lose and everything to gain for a campaign to expose Kinnock now. The future of the working class is far more important than a single general election.

A witch-hunt in the Labour Party ... prepares an attack on workers later

'JARROW '86' - On the road again - 50 years later

'JARROW — the town that has been murdered', were the famous words of Ellen Wilkinson, Jarrow's Labour MP, at the Hyde Park rally of the Jarrow march in 1936.

'It has been murdered on the one hand by the shipping combine and on the other by the iron and steel combines.'

Wilkinson was decrying the criminal treatment of Jarrow by capitalism, which saw the closure of Palmers' shipyard, the main employer in a largely one-industry town, leaving 80 per cent of the town's working population jobless.

Fifty years on, nothing much has changed. That is why once again, the plight of Jarrow and south Tyneside is being brought into the limelight by workers taking to the road.

The metropolitan district of South Tyneside now has the highest unemployment rate in Britain, 26 per cent. In some pockets of the community there is 60, 70 and 80 per cent unemployment.

BY KEVIN TOWNSEND

On October 5, a national march called 'Jarrow '86' will set out from the town, retracing the steps of the original march and ending in a final rally on November 2 in Trafalgar Square.

The march aims to spotlight the social deprivation that Jarrow and towns like it have suffered under the Thatcher government.

Accompanying the march will be a touring theatre show, performing each night a play called 'Heads Held High'.

It's about a modern-day Jarrowian family who move to Nottingham, their links

with Jarrow and the original march.

The 'Jarrow '86' march is organised and sponsored by the TUC and Labour Party.

At a meeting of activists from Tyne and Wear's unemployed, a number of questions were raised about the march's objectives.

The main demands on a future Labour government would be to:

- Carry out a massive programme of public expenditure for job creation
- Work towards full benefits for the jobless
- Introduce a comprehensive medical care programme for all
- Give everyone the right to a home

As well as these demands, the march will call for repeal of Tory DHSS regulations and repeal of the Housing Act.

Doubts were expressed at the meeting whether an in-



A SHOT from the original Jarrow march

coming Labour government would introduce full benefits for the unemployed or

whether the massive programme of public expenditure on job creation would

mean extension of MSC and Community Programmes or proper jobs.

Limbfiters in bitter jobs struggle

New technology behind sackings

THE WORKERS at the artificial limb-making factory, J Hangers, are now out on strike. On September 16, the entire production workforce at the Roehampton factory in South London was sacked.

A couple of weeks ago, the management suddenly demanded times for all jobs and the unions were informed that all previous agreements were ripped up. 30 men were wheeled into the office and warned about their work rate.

BY BOB MYERS

The shop committees decided to post men at the gates the following day (Saturday) to ask the men not to work overtime. On Monday, the management sacked four members of the committee for this, including the Furniture Trades steward, Pat Austridge.

At a mass meeting the men voted to take action and all 300 TASS and FTAT members were immediately sacked.

A secret ballot subsequently voted overwhelmingly to continue the strike which has now been made official by both unions.

Mass pickets have been held at the Lower Richmond Road site where a few men have gone back on a promise to come out when it was made official.

During the miners' strike, a meeting of the metal workers at the factory discussed a resolution calling for action in support of the miners.

Commenting on the growing attack on the unions one of the men said,

'There's a wind blowing through that door. If the miners are beaten, it will become a gale.'

Two years later that gale is now blowing at Hangers.

The British Tyre and Rubber Company (BTR), who own the Roehampton factory, took control of a major part of the limb-making industry in Britain a few years ago when they bought the

Inter-med Group. They immediately began laying the plans for the present attack on the Trade Unions at Roehampton.

The Government carried out an 'inquiry' into the industry under Professor McColl to cut down its own expenditure on the National Health limb sector.

Meanwhile, the private companies which supply all the limbs to the DHSS looked to new technology to cut costs.

The gradual replacement of leather, wood and metal by draped plastic sockets and modular assembly limbs opened the way for the use of semi-skilled and unskilled labour.

The only barrier to this attack was trade unionism.

Management began by establishing production facilities at all its small repair workshops dotted round the country.

Manpower was increased there and at its Scottish firm, Kellies, while running down the numbers in London by natural wastage and transfers.

At the same time, they began undermining the Roehampton union influence over small branches. Their negotiations began to take place locally and not through the Roehampton stewards.

The Union officials did lit-



FTAT limbfiters mounted pickets as soon as management staged their provocation

tle to stop this dismantling of the negotiating structure.

They seemed more interested in making sure that they maintained the same number of members even if they were in little branches.

These branches are now working, some on overtime, undermining the Roehampton strike.

Over the last two years, BTR have used this build-up of the branches constantly to threaten and blackmail the Roehampton workforce.

The union leadership's response was to try and outbid the branches in efficiency. First they offered the management a bonus scheme.

This was thrown out by the workforce. Then came the offer to do away with trade demarcation lines, a real prize for the management, as it offered the key to ending the skilled rate of pay for the new technology.

Despite the management

running down work in the factory and the union officials' support for the scheme, the metal workers threw out the ending of demarcation.

The management hit back a week later, in April, with the sackings of all men with less than two years' employment.

With the Union officials help, they bulldozed the scheme into being.

The Roehampton factory is a long-established closed shop with full-time stewards, union office etc. All these rights are now threatened.

While management planned for this confrontation, union officials did nothing.

Apprenticeships virtually disappeared while union officials talked about new concepts of 'modular training', i.e. YOP schemes.

Redundancies were accepted with the officials

claiming the men had brought it on themselves by maintain demarcation lines.

The list goes on.

One thing is now clear. This is an attack on the whole limb industry. Either the whole industry is brought out in support of Roehampton or the strike will be beaten.

BTR controls most of the limb industry and works in close co-operation with the other smaller firms. It will close Roehampton if it has to.

The union officials, like their counterparts in the printing industry, will do everything to stop the spreading of this dispute, claiming either that it is tactically wrong or that the other men will not support it.

A conference of all the Hanger branches in March showed their desire to maintain close links with Roehampton. That spirit

must be built on now by the strike committee.

A year ago BTR sacked a thousand metal workers in one of their factories in South Africa. These men were fighting for union recognition.

BTR security men shot several of them dead and to this day the others remain sacked. When one of their representatives came over to Britain, union leaders at Roehampton refused to meet him claiming it was none of their business.

No-one has yet been shot here, but clearly the aim of BTR is the same everywhere — the elimination of trade unionism and the introduction of cheap labour.

● All support, financial and otherwise, should be sent to: Steve Blease, Strike Committee Treasurer, c/o TASS, 520 London Rd, Mitcham, Surrey

Silentnight strike: Lambeth's Week of Action

LABOUR MPs, councillors and trade unionists in the south London borough of Lambeth are to picket two furniture stores in solidarity with Silentnight strikers — who have been out for over a year.

The picket has been organised by Lambeth Trades Council as part of a Week of Action.

Two stores on Brixton Road, Morley's Department Store and Times Furnishing, are to be picketed on Saturday, October 11. Both are selling Silentnight beds produced by scab labour.

The Silentnight workers, all members of the Furniture workers union FTATU, have been on strike since June 10, 1985, when they came out in support of colleagues victimised for working to rule against forced redundancies.

The management had ear-

lier broken an agreement guaranteeing no redundancies if workers postponed a nationally negotiated pay increase.

On July 22, 1985, the intransigent management sacked 500 workers for striking.

Some 200 men and women are continuing to picket Silentnight's Sutton and Barnoldswick factories.

Lambeth Trades Council Secretary Allen MacPherson said the Week of Action was

an act of solidarity with workers who had been fighting for 15 months for their jobs and rights as trade unionists.

'The Silentnight workers have given a lead to the whole trade union movement in their determined fight against a boss who has shown his contempt for his workforce.'

'Their fight is about the right to take action as trade unionists in defence of working conditions... it is a fight which concerns the whole of the labour and trade union movement.'

Labour MPs Stuart Holland (Vauxhall) and John Fraser (Norwood) and Labour MEP Richard Balfe (South London) have promised to join trade unionists

and local councillors on the picket.

● PICKET — Meet outside Morley's Dept Store, 472 Brixton Rd. 11 a.m. onwards. Bring your banners!

For information, meetings etc., contact Lambeth Trade Union Resource Centre — Unit 117, Bon Marche Building, Brixton — 01-274 4000 ex 372 or 01-733 5670.

DONATIONS to Silentnight strikers to Anne King, Treasurer, FTAT Cravendale Branch, 10 Rainhall Crescent, Barnoldswick, Colne, Lancs BB8 5AE. (Mark cheques 'Strike Fund')

Peace Services, 13, Goodwin St. N4. (01-226-7050) for brochure.

BROCKS FIREWORKS PICKET by the United Campaign on Plastic Bullets, October 6, Dumfries (address and time to follow).

'ACTION DAY'BREAK THE CHAINS! Saturday October 11 — Political Prisoners Day. City of London Anti-Apartheid Group. 12-6pm, outside South African Embassy in Trafalgar Square.

OPEN EYE WORKSHOP catalogue of work now available. Film, Video and Animation. Videotapes on Women & trade unions, International issues, Media representations. ACTT Franchised, 90-92 Whitechapel, Liverpool L1 6EN (051-709 9460)

LISTINGS

Listings are published free by WORKERS PRESS for organisations within the Labour movement. Please send details of any function or event you want to advertise to arrive by mid-day Monday for publication the following Friday.

NON-STOP PICKET OF SOUTH AFRICA HOUSE. For the release of Nelson Mandela and all political prisoners in South Africa. For sanctions against the racist South African government. Outside South Africa House in Trafalgar Square, London. Organised by City of London Anti-Apartheid.

FREE THE GUILDFORD FOUR PICKET OF THE HOME OFFICE. Monday

October 6, 5pm-6pm. Outside the Home Office, Queen Anne's Gate, London SW1.

SOLIDARITY WITH SILENTNIGHT STRIKERS. Picket 11 a.m. Morley's, 472 Brixton Rd. SW9. Saturday October 11.

SOCIAL Organised by Lambeth Trades Council in support of SILENTNIGHT STRIKERS. Disco, Cabaret, food and late bar. Saturday October 11, 8pm, Town Hall Social Club, Brixton. Tickets £1.50 or 50p unwaged (from Lambeth TJ Resource Centre, Unit 117, Bon Marche Building, Brixton).

MARCH AGAINST THE PUBLIC ORDER LAWS Taking place the Saturday after the Government's Public Order Bill becomes law. Contact Box CAPR, 83 Blackstock Road,

London N4 (01-881 2938) Creche available.

INTERNATIONAL SYMPOSIUM. Workshops and forums on the theme of an alternative socialist strategy in Europe. October 17-19, Kingsway Princeton College, Sidmouth Street, London WC1. Details from Symposium, PO Box 503, London N1 1YH.

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE: RACISM. The spectre haunting Europe. Aston University, Birmingham, November 2, 1986. Speakers from anti-racist organisations in France, Germany and other European countries, as well as Workers Against Racism and other British anti-racists.

PALESTINE AND ISRAEL See for yourself, and meet the people. Join a tour with a difference. Jerusalem and

Workers Revolutionary Party
West of Scotland branch

LECTURE SERIES

MARXISM AND THE WORKING CLASS TODAY

Tuesday October 14th. 7:30 pm:
The family and the struggle for socialism

All lectures at the McLellan Galleries, Sauchiehall Street, Glasgow

WORKERS REVOLUTIONARY PARTY
West of Scotland branch

PUBLIC DISCUSSION

The tasks of the Fourth International, the degeneration of the International Committee and the 1971 split

Tuesday October 28, 7.30pm
McLellan Galleries
Sauchiehall Street, Glasgow

All welcome Admission 50p, unemployed 25p

SOUTH AFRICA:

'Rethinking' the role of the Communist Party

WORKERS PRESS reprints the following article by MOELETSI MBEKI from the 'Journal on Social Change' published in Harare, Zimbabwe, last December. Mbeki, a journalist on the 'Herald' in Harare, is an ANC member and son of Govan Mbeki who was jailed for life in the 1964 Rivonia Trial along with Nelson Mandela.

Moeletsi Mbeki accuses the South African Communist Party (SACP) of having abandoned the perspective for the working class to lead the struggle for power. With this we have complete agreement.

In future articles, however, we will discuss his call for a return to the policies of the SACP in the 1940s. Mbeki and others may see in this period a SACP that did not subordinate the working class to the bourgeois nationalists of the ANC. However, a study of the Comintern's policies in the 1920s for the Chinese CP will show that the origins of today's class collaborationist policies go back much further than Mbeki seems to think.

We welcome further discussion on the future of the South African revolution from those fighting in the liberation movement or in the solidarity movement here in Britain. (The article has been slightly edited and we have replaced commentaries referring to polemics in the Harare press with summaries as they would make little sense to readers unfamiliar with the material. These are enclosed in parentheses.)

'BEFORE the passing of the Suppression of Communism Act, Congress (i.e. ANC) and the Communist Party, though they had several meeting points, had been fundamentally out of sympathy.

'The Communists denounced Congress as bourgeois reformist, while Congress regarded the CP as a foreign racket led by non-Africans.

'The ANC Youth League was predominantly anti-communist and some of its members had even put forward a resolution that all Communists should be expelled.

'But the Suppression of Communism Act of 1950 was so palpably a threat to African liberties that the Youth Leaguers decided to collaborate with the Communists in protesting against it.

'To understand the history and politics of a party or movement it is not sufficient merely to read statements by its spokesmen.'

(Anthony Sampson, 'The Treason Cage: The Opposition on Trial in South Africa'.)

To gain a deeper understanding, it is more important to examine and analyse the actions of the party or movement — after all, we all

South Africa and, if not, what kind of alliances it should forge with the black bourgeoisie, petty bourgeoisie and peasants.

(My opponents' concern... on the other hand was to defend the SACP, claiming that there had been no change in its outlook and practices from before it was banned in 1950 and since 1962 when it issued its new programme, 'The Road to South African Freedom', which remains the SACP programme today.

In the background part of my article, I had written that, from the 1920s until it was banned in 1950, the SACP had 'argued that the

called for an "independent native South African Republic as a stage towards a workers' and peasants' republic with full equal rights for all races".

'South African Communists have never deviated from this basic position.

'Socialism has not been shelved but the national liberation struggle is seen according to the acknowledged principles of Marxist-Leninism as the immediate goal and as a stage on the road to socialism in the context of colonialism of a special type and the national democratic revolution.'

This is correct. But what are the other facts?

The simple fact is that, from its foundation in 1921 but especially after being prodded by the Communist International in 1928 to 'head the revolutionary movement of the black masses for liberation (and) become the leader of the national agrarian revolutionary movement of the native masses', the SACP had tried to understand the class forces at work in South Africa among both the blacks and whites.

It tried to use that understanding to attempt to de-



Part of 20,000-strong crowd which travelled from all over South Africa to the Guguletu Stadium in 1985 to pay their respects to victims of the state slaughter.

'As a national liberation organisation,' said the 1962 programme, 'the ANC does not represent any single class, or one ideology.'

'It is representative of all the classes and strata which make up African society.'

By this characterisation of the ANC, the SACP achieved many things, all of which added up, in my opinion, to shelving or removing from the agenda for an indefinite period the issue of class struggle, and therefore of the socialist revolution, in South Africa.

The above characterisation of the ANC ignored the fact that South Africa had probably the longest history of African middle class organisations in Africa.

This goes back to the 1880s when Imbumba zaBantu, black independent churches, the vernacular press and many other black middle class organisations came into being.

What then became the character of the national democratic revolution?

'The main content of (the national democratic) revolution', said the 1962 programme, 'its fulfillment, is at the same time in the deepest interest of the other non-white groups for, in achieving their liberty, the African people will at the same time put an end to all forms of racial discrimination.'

'It is in the interests also of the white workers, middle class and professional groups to whom the establishment of genuine democracy and the elimination of fascism and monopoly rule offers the only prospect of a decent and stable future.'

To my opponents, the society being described above may look like 'a stage on the road to socialism'. To me this looks like an old fashioned bourgeois democracy of the type found in Western Europe, etc.

Bourgeois democracy would no doubt be a great improvement on the apartheid system.

It would represent a major reform but it would not amount to a social revolution or even a necessary stage to socialism.

It would be such a stage only if bourgeois democracy were achieved under the leadership of a class conscious working class — but

that is not what the 1962 programme envisages.

Before it was banned, the SACP saw things differently. It saw national liberation as essentially an outcome of a class struggle.

In the report of the Central Committee of the SACP in 1949 there was no ambiguity on this score:

'The nature of (the national) struggle has been analysed at length by Marxist writers, especially by Stalin in the essays published under the title "Marxism and the National and Colonial Question".'

Briefly stated, this analysis leads to the conclusion that, however much the national struggle assumes the character of a mass movement drawing the working class and the peasantry into the fight, it is essentially a struggle of the capitalist classes among themselves, one that is chiefly to the advantage of the bourgeoisie and under its leadership.

The notion that African nationalist parties can, or are, parties of all oppressed classes is wishful thinking.

It was this characterisation of the national liberation movements that so incensed the ANC Youth League in the 1940s.

In the eyes of the Youth Leaguers, the SACP — promoting a foreign ideology — was working to develop class consciousness among African workers.

The effects of such a consciousness would be to distance these workers from following the ANC, which the Youth Leaguers were transforming into a mass movement.

The Youth League was in no doubt the African worker would not follow the Communists.

'Since the workers in this country are Africans and since these are oppressed primarily because they are Africans and only secondarily because they are workers, it is clear that the exotic plant of communism cannot flourish on African soil.' (ANC Youth League, 1950.)

A far more important question that those in South Africa and in Africa generally who want to follow 'acknowledged principles of Marxism-Leninism' should ask is:

Why was the SACP, at one time the most developed workers' party in Africa theoretically and organisationally, forced to retreat behind a nationalist movement?

This is a very involved question that holds many lessons for would-be African Marxists.

Very briefly, in 1950, the SACP found itself, precisely because of the great influence it had built among black workers during the 1940s, with too many powerful forces ranged against it.

First, there was the newly elected Malan government, the neo-fascist pioneers of the apartheid doctrine who were spoiling for a fight with the Party in order to demonstrate their anti-communist and therefore pro-Western credentials to the capitalist countries, especially Britain and the US.

Second, the British Government, faced with the rapid disintegration of the Empire, was prepared to go to any length to defend Britain's economic interest in South Africa.

The SACP presented a very real threat to those interests because of its support from black workers.

According to the SACP's paper (December 29, 1949), the then head of the British secret police Sir Percy Sillitoe was working jointly with Malan and the Americans in a 'co-ordinated Empire anti-communist campaign'.

Apparently, this was the price Britain had to pay the US for nuclear technology.

Third, there was the tension between the SACP and the ANC.

This list is by no means exhaustive.

The point, however, is that the Communist Party was compelled by forces far more powerful than itself to retreat from the road to socialism and instead take a detour along the road to 'freedom'.

● The fact that some people decades later cannot see the difference between these two roads is evidence enough how far back Marxism has been thrown in South Africa since Moses Kotane's brilliant analysis of the national question in 1949.



SOUTH African gold miners — clear CLASS divisions in SA says Mbeki

know about leaders who preach socialism by day while practising capitalism by night...

(Those who attacked my previous article missed the point...)

My article was essentially aimed at bringing to Zimbabweans the debate now taking place within the growing labour movement in South Africa.

It aimed to place in its historic context the debate on whether the working class should lead the struggle in

working class should lead the struggle against minority rule and that that way capitalism would therefore be abolished with the overthrow of minority rule.'

I had gone further to say that, since 1962, the SACP had 'shelved the issue of socialism and instead declared the SACP's support for the ANC'.

My opponents wrote 'The facts are that, as far back as 1928, the Sixth Congress of the Communist International held in Moscow

develop class consciousness and class organisations among the the black workers.

The 1962 programme on the other hand 'emptied' the black community of all class divisions and re-christened the blacks as oppressed people in general.

By this device, organisations of the blacks, at least those friendly to the party, therefore lost their class character and became people's organisations at the stroke of a pen.

INHUMANE BY ANY STANDARDS

DESPITE a ruling by the European Convention for Human Rights that prisoners should be incarcerated as close to their homes and families as possible, the British government has a policy to hold all Irish Republican prisoners who have been tried in Britain in British jails instead of sending them to Long Kesh, in the north of Ireland.

This policy flies in the face of the European convention which they have endorsed. The Convention is very clear in its intent.

It is only humane to imprison those convicted in a prison close to their families. Otherwise, the families, who have nothing to do with the events which have led to imprisonment, are punished along with the 'offender'.

When a person is convicted by a court of law that court decides, in its so-called wisdom, what appropriate sentence should be handed out for the crime committed.

When this involves imprisonment, it is the number of years of imprisonment which determine the greater or lesser punishment the court considers appropriate.

In the terms of this penal system, that is considered appropriate and adequate punishment. Once the convicted serves the awarded number of years, it is considered they have 'paid their price'.

The geographical location of a prison is not relevant. Nowhere does the penal system of Britain recognise that the question of the location of a prison is a factor which can be used to increase or decrease the amount of punishment required.

However, when it comes to Republican prisoners, the British Government takes it upon itself to increase the punishment handed out by the court by denying prisoners the right to be imprisoned close to their families and also extends the punishment to the unconvicted, and therefore innocent, families of the prisoners.

This practice is consistent with their handling of every aspect of the nationalist communities in the north of Ireland.

It is consistent with the strip searching and torture of prisoners, and the use of plastic and rubber bullets against innocent civilians. It is part of a reign of terror which seeks to intimidate, repress and deny a whole community their right to determine their own future.

It is part of maintaining the geographical division of Ireland and the sectarian divisions of the six counties to render the Irish working class vulnerable to the exploitation of British imperialism.

The other factor to be considered is that all of the prisoners are only in jail in any case because they have fought against their oppressors for the freedom of their people.

These are the same oppressors who are presently attacking the British working class with anti-union legislation, increased police powers and decreased social services.

WORKERS PRESS recently spoke in Belfast to a number of people who are fighting for the repatriation of Irish Republican prisoners held in British jails.



MARCHERS carry the names of all the Irish POWs held in British jails in this years Anti-Internment rally in Belfast as part of a campaign to have them repatriated.

THE TORTURE of the families of Irish political prisoners held in British jails is so severe that they have formed an organisation, the Irish Political Prisoners in English Jails Relatives Committee.

The main aim of the committee is to fight for the repatriation of prisoners to Long Kesh so that, while sentences are being served, families and relatives will not have to suffer punishment as well.

JIM McMULLIN, Sinn Fein's representative on the committee, told Workers Press:

'We believe that all Irish political prisoners in British jails and in jail in the six counties are innocent because they were tried on the pages of the Sun and the Telegraph, so it's impossible to find a jury that won't have read those articles.'

'People are suffering because Irish political prisoners are being held and they're being held in Britain as political hostages as a guarantee for Irish good behaviour.'

'But this is not a factor, the bombs continue in England.'

'We believe that the pris-

oners should be repatriated because the families are suffering.'

'Any British soldiers found guilty of offences in this country for rape, murder or petty theft are transferred to England to serve their sentences.'

'That highlights the hypocritical attitude of the British government to the relatives of Irish prisoners and is typical of the hypocrisy of the British government in its dealings with Ireland.'

'Most of the prisoners have made the point in their letters that they ask for nothing for themselves, they are prepared to do their time, they don't want to push for better facilities for themselves.'

'The point that they have made is that they recognise the torture their families are put through.'

Because the prisoners are moved around jails in England so frequently, families often arrive, after a long journey, to find that their relative has been moved.

It is not always easy to find out where they have been moved to because it is always supposed to be done in the interests of security.

Even when they do find out, they have then to travel further.

All this takes time which infringes on the visiting time and puts pressure on which increases the stress involved in such visits.

Relatives often face harassment from security forces when they are in Britain away from their homes and friends, as in the case of Geraldine Quigley.

After visiting her husband, Geraldine Quigley was standing on her own, waiting for a train at Paddington Station in London when she was surrounded by plain clothes police.

They forced her into a car and took her to Paddington Station where they proceeded to question her about her husband and about her family.

She was strip searched and examined by a man who claimed to be a doctor but who refused to give his name and insisted on examining her front and back passages and the soles of her feet.

After six hours she was released.

Jim McMullin said: 'She was deliberately held so she would miss her flight home.'

'As it happened there had been a late plane put on that night, but normally she wouldn't have been able to get home that night and would have had to find somewhere to stay without money.'

'This is typical of what happens to relatives.'

For the 'sins' of their fathers...

ANN-MARIE KENNAN, the Secretary of the Irish Political Prisoners in English Jails Relatives Committee, is the daughter of Brian Keenan who has been incarcerated in Britain since 1978.

When Ann-Marie was a young girl, her father was arrested in Britain and charged with conspiracy to cause an explosion.

She told Workers Press: 'We were all little, it left my Mummy with six children, which was very hard for her because we were all so young'.

In 1979 Mrs. Keenan went to Britain to visit her husband in Brixton prison.

After the visit she was arrested, charged with conspiracy to plan an escape, held in Brixton jail for seven months and then acquitted.

In the meantime her six children were left in Belfast without either of their parents to provide for or nur-

ture them.

Ann-Marie said: 'Mummy was given bail, but her bail conditions were that she was not allowed to live here.'

So we could only see her on visits to England, even though she wasn't in jail.'

'There were six of us in the house. I was seventeen and pregnant at the time so my Mummy was going out of her mind.'

'We were old enough to look after the house ourselves, but someone had to come over and check that everything was OK and we had to have home help.'

'Every few months one of my aunts or somebody would have to take us over to England to visit our parents.'

'When my baby was three weeks old, I brought him over for my Mummy to see him. They used to pay for a plane then, but now you have to go on the boat.'

'It affected my Mummy's health, it effected our family life, at effected everything.'



The British government is using the families of POWs to try and break the resistance of Irish prisoners in the same way they used the families to break the Hunger Strikes in 1981.



THE IRISH Political Prisoners in English Jails Relatives Committee made a strong plea at this years Anti-internment in Belfast.

Another problem for the relatives is the cost of visits. An indication of the hypocrisy of the situation is that the Northern Ireland Office pays for the trip.

It therefore increases the costs to the British government to keep these prisoners in Britain.

However, Ann-Marie Keenan, secretary of the Relatives Committee said:

'They don't give you enough money. It costs about £100 or more than what they give you.

'You don't get the money until you come back with the tickets and receipts, so you have to raise it yourself.

'I am going over tomorrow to see my Daddy. I will have to travel on the bus, the boat and the train with my two young children who are going over to see their grandad.

'There's no guarantee that when we arrive he will even still be in Leicester.

'And we aren't sure how much time we'll have to spend with him. He has accumulated visits but they only allow one prisoner at a time to have visitors.

'So if someone else has visitors we will have to share the time with them.'

Gerry Young, who was in prison in England for ten years, talked about the penal system and the way Irish prisoners are constantly moved from one jail to another.

He said: 'It's more about families than anything. The prisoners are strong people

— they will serve their sentences no matter where they are — but it's the plight of the families themselves, travelling and bringing kids over, the expense involved and the mental torture involved especially if somebody's moved before a visit.

'The relatives themselves have to give three days notice to the prison authorities that they are coming.

'On the day of your visit, you're waiting, you're all tensed up to see how they're going to arrive, or is anything going to happen, is anything going to prevent them arriving.

'Then you worry about whether you'll be moved, because you never get any notice, and that pressure never goes away, ever when they do arrive. One prisoner was moved in the middle of a visit.

'They just cancelled the visit and moved him.

'Then when they arrive, you breath a sigh of relief. You're having maybe three or four visits.

'Relatives come over maybe twice a year if there're lucky.

'Then on the day they're going to leave you're all tensed up again. Waiting to hear if they got home alright, if the kids are alright.'

Gerry went on to talk about the hypocrisy of the British Government in refusing to repatriate Irish political prisoners. He said:

'Repatriation is a political issue, our people in England are political hostages, it a

political issue for the British government.

'We're thinking more in terms of the effect it has on the families. It doesn't really matter if you support the armed struggle, the problems are about people having to travel to see their fathers, their sons, their husbands.

'There's nothing in the present rules in Britain or the European rules that say you can't be repatriated.

'And it's in the British prison rules that they will be accommodated in a prison near their families, but this is just not happening in the case of Irish prisoners.

'Year ago, Billy Whitelaw gave the excuse that, if the Irish were repatriated, they would go home as heroes.'

'That is a joke, if it's a question of heroes, there's plenty in Long Kesh.

Prisoners were told that if they renounced their Republicanism any application for repatriation would be looked on favourably.

'Well there's no way that any Irish Republican POW is going to sever his links with the Republican movement, because it's not just a question of joining a group and leaving a group, it's a commitment to build a democratic socialist republic in Ireland.

If the British government thinks that they're going to change Republican POWs' principles, they can think again.

'There's no way that they will sever any links. In fact they said themselves to the Internment March on August 8 that they would work harder to ensure the freedom of the Irish people while they're in England.

'We're talking about repatriation for the families.'

There are many precedents for repatriation.

● Eighty-two British soldiers convicted for civil offences including murder in Northern Ireland have all been repatriated to English jails.

● In 1973/74 the Price sisters were repatriated after a hunger strike.

● Shane-Paul O'Dohery was repatriated after he renounced his Republican ties.

● Last year, a Loyalist in prison for political activity in Britain was repatriated.

Jim McMullin said: 'The British government have a very cynical attitude, they believe that they can break the resistance of the prisoners by getting at their families and that if they can break the resistance of the prisoners they will break the resistance outside the prisons.

'This is the reason they took such a hard line on the

Hunger Strikes and again they got at the prisoners families.

'They used the church to do it, who intervened to end the Hunger Strike.

'It was proven to the whole world that we were political prisoners and the British Government could have resolved it years before.

'But they believed that they could break the resistance of the prisoners by torturing their relatives quite deliberately.'

The relatives committee is preparing a case to take to Strasburg, based on Britain's signing of the convention and asking why it is not being extended to Irish prisoners.

Jim McMullin said: 'We

want a support base in Britain, Scotland and Wales. We believe that British public opinion can be a vital factor in winning this issue.

'Irish public opinion doesn't account for anything as far as the British government is concerned — it's a foregone conclusion.

'If there was a census in the thirty-two counties asking if these prisoners should be released in the morning, they would be released. The support is already here.

'At the end of the day we get 100,000 people marching in the streets and the government just doesn't acknowledge it.

'This was proven in the Hunger Strikes, we have people elected to Westminster

and it still doesn't account for anything, so we believe that British public opinion can, to a certain extent influence British policy on Ireland.

'We cannot achieve socialism in this country, neither can it be achieved in Britain without using force.

'But we also must not just employ violence, it must be a revolutionary violence, it must not be indiscriminate, it must be part of a broad strategy applied as a lever, because there is no such thing as democracy, not in Ireland and certainly not in Britain.

'The repatriation issue is an important part of our struggle — it raises the whole question of the myth of democracy in Britain.'

REPUBLICAN PRISONERS OF WAR

LONG LARTIN HM Prison Long Lartin, South Littleton, Evesham, Worcs, WR11 5TZ

LIAM BAKER: 20-year sentence, 464984.
JAMES BENNETT: 20-year sentence, 464989.
EDDIE BUTLER: Life sentence, 338637.
ROBERT CUNNINGHAM: 20-year sentence, 131877.
GERRY CUNNINGHAM: 20-year sentence, 132016.
JOHN McCOMB: 17-year sentence, B51715.
ANDY MULRYAN: 20-year sentence, 461576.
PATRICK MULRYAN: 20-year sentence, 461575.

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

NOEL GIBSON: Life sentence 879225.
PATRICK HACKETT: 20-year sentence, 342603.
TOMMY QUIGLEY: Life sentence 69204.
PETER SHERRY: Life sentence, B75880.

WAKEFIELD HM Prison Love Lane, Wakefield, W Yorks. WF2 9AG

HUGH DOHERTY: Life sentence, 338636.
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.
HARRY DUGGAN: Life sentence, 338638.
BILLY GRIMES:
SEAN HAYES: 20-year sentence, 341418.
STEPHEN NORDONE: Life sentence 758663.

GARTREE HM Prison Gartree, Leicester Rd, Market Harborough, Leics, LE16 7RP

ROBERT CAMPBELL: 10-year sentence, B32954.
RONNIE McCARTNEY: Life sentence, 463799.
JOE O'CONNELL: Life sentence, 338635

FRANKLAND HM Prison Finchale Ave, Brasside, Durham

WILLIAM ARMSTRONG: Life sentence, 119085
MARTIN BRADY: Life sentence, 119087.
BRENDAN DOWD: Life sentence, 758662.
PAUL HOLMES: Life sentence, 119034.
EDDIE O'NEILL: 20-year sentence, 135722.

LEICESTER HM Prison Welford Rd, Leicester, LE2 7AJ

PAUL KAVANAGH: Life sentence, 1888.
BRIAN KEENAN: 21-year sentence, B26380.
GERRY McDONNELL: Life sentence, B75882.
PATRICK McGEE: Life sentence, B75881.

HULL HM Prison Hedon Rd, Hull, Humberside

ROY WALSH: Life sentence, 119083.

DURHAM HM Prison Durham, Old Elvert Street, Durham.

MARTINA ANDERSON: Life sentence, D25134.
ELLA O'DWYER: Life sentence, D25135.

INNOCENT MEN AND WOMEN FRAMED BY THE BRITISH POLICE:

CAROLE RICHARDSON: 290719, HM Prison Styal, Wilmslow, Cheshire
PATRICK ARMSTRONG: HM Prison Gartree.
PAUL HILL: 462778. HM Prison Wormwood Scrubs.
GERARD CONLON: 462779, HM Prison Long Lartin.
JUDITH WARD, HM Prison Durham.
HUGH CALLAGHAN, 509499, HM Prison Gartree.
JOHN WALKER, 509494, HM Prison, Long Lartin.
BILLY POWER, 509498, HM Prison Wormwood Scrubs.
GERARD HUNTER, 509495, HM Prison Frankland.
RICHARD McILKENNY, 509498, HM Prison Wormwood Scrubs
PADDY HILL, 509496, HM Prison Gartree.

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

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



EVERYWHERE in Belfast are reminders of the Hunger Strikes.

For a discussion on the history CHINESE TROTS

THE FATE of the Chinese Trotskyists, one of the oldest and most battle-hardened sections of our movement, was settled in large part by Mao Tse-tung's jailers and executioners in 1952-53.

Hundreds of Trotskyists were arrested in nation-wide round-ups on December 22, 1952 and January 8, 1953, bringing to a head a campaign of repression against them which began when Mao came to power in 1949.

'No sooner did the Chinese Communist Party overthrow the reactionary Kuomintang regime and establish the People's Government of China than several local organisations of the Chinese Trotskyist party were raided,' stated an appeal smuggled out of Shanghai on January 28, 1953 by five Trotskyists who had escaped the purge.

'In August 1949 most members of the Kiangsu-Chekiang Emergency Committee of our party and several other responsible comrades were arrested, but were later instructed to cease political activity and released.

'Meanwhile, the CP mobilised an anti-Trotskyist campaign in two districts, Wenchow of Chekiang Province and Shunshan of Kwangtung Province — where the Trotskyists had a long tradition of broad activities and had considerable strength in numbers — and arrested many of them.

'Some were shot on the false charge of being "Kuomintang agents".

'When they were bound and dragged to the execution grounds, they demanded that the signboard hung on their backs should be marked with the name "Trotskyist", but this just demand was denied to them. Their mouths were stuffed with cotton to prevent them from shouting at the moment of execution.

The two waves of arrests of 1952-53 were organised simultaneously in cities hundreds of miles apart.

'Such a simultaneous action on a national scale clearly indicates that it was by no means a "local incident", but a planned action conducted directly by the supreme authority of the CP.'

Several hundred had been arrested, said the appeal.

'The victims are not limited to official members of the Trotskyist party, but include sympathisers and even those who do not have any organisational relations with the party itself except as wives or brothers of Trotskyists.'

Stalin

The Chinese Trotskyist movement was born out of the revolutionary struggle of 1927, during which Communist Party members were instructed by Stalin to liquidate their organisation into the bourgeois nationalist Kuomintang of Chiang Kai-shek, only to be massacred in their thousands by Chiang's troops at Canton.

A powerful section of the Chinese CP supported Trotsky's struggle against the 'popular front' and 'stagist' conceptions which had guided Stalin's opportunist — and deadly — alliance with Chiang.

Among the 81 signatories of the first manifesto of the Chinese Left Opposition were CCP general secretary Chen Tu-hsiu, Chen Chao-lin, a veteran workers' leader from Wuhan, and CC member Peng Shu-tse.

The 1953 appeal, published in the United States Socialist Workers' Party paper 'Militant' at the time, detailed the honorable record of the Trotskyists in China's revolutionary struggles.

They participated in the war of resistance against Japan during the 1930's as guerrilla fighters or underground organisers.

During the 1949 revolution they participated actively in the struggles to destroy landlordism and campaigns for industrialisation and work-

ers' control in the factories.

They were active in CP-organised campaigns against corruption, waste and theft of state property, while maintaining an independent political line.

From 1949, the CP attempted to preserve Chinese capitalism and to include bourgeois representatives in the government; they only expropriated the remaining holdings of the Chinese bourgeoisie and began to construct a planned economy in 1952 when faced with pro-imperialist sabotage during the Korean war.

The main plank of the Trotskyists' programme was to break with the bourgeoisie and carry through far-reaching nationalisation measures.

The 1953 appeal states: 'Many of the comrades of the arrested Trotskyists died under the bayonets of the hangman Chiang Kai-shek, or spent years in prison during the period of reaction of 1928 to 1937.

'Among them were the well-known Lee Ping, Ownfan, Chen I-mo, Chan Shir, Peng Tao-tze, etc.

'Many others died in the Resistance War against Japan, like Chen Shun-shi, member of the Central Committee of the party and a guerrilla leader in Kwangtung province, Cheng Chichang, an old militant of the party, and Chao Tse-ching, a young leader in the south of China, etc.

Prisons

'Still others, who spent long years in Wang Ching-wei's prisons and Chiang Kai-shek's concentration camps, died in the civil war, or (like comrade Wang and his wife in Chungking) were buried alive together with CP revolutionists on the eve

THE DISCUSSION following the break-up of the 'International Committee of the Fourth International' — now boasting two sections each claiming primogeniture rights to the heritage of Trotskyism but denying the need to discuss anything — has inevitably centred on the history of Trotskyism, especially since the end of the second World War.

It would be true to say that ICFI members were almost totally ignorant even of the existence of Trotskyist movements outside of Europe, the US and Ceylon (the WASP theory of Trotskyism), never mind being conversant with their history. WRP members have joined with Trotskyists from other traditions and with their comrades e.g. in Australia to uncover the story of the Vietnamese Trotskyist opposition to the stalinist policies of Ho Chi Minh and its brutal suppression.

WORKERS PRESS hopes in the near future to feature some hitherto unpublished material discovered in Paris archives as a preliminary to the publication of a wider range of source material. We are convinced that this work is seminal to an appraisal of the movement's history as a whole.

Meanwhile, we publish an introductory article on the question of Trotskyism in China, focussing on its suppression in 1952/1953.

of the liberation, or were assassinated by landlords and autocrats in the land-reform movement.

'Yet today the companions of these heroes, who consecrated their lives in revolutionary struggles, are arrested by the present leadership of the revolution — the Chinese CP.'

Further on the appeal stated: 'The arrests took place after the delegation of the Chinese CP headed by Liu Shao-chi participated in the Nineteenth Congress of the CPSU in Moscow, after the Chinese CP decided to carry out a "democratic" general election, and on the eve of the inauguration of economic construction on a grand scale endorsed by the People's Government.

'And it was immediately after the Trotskyist delegates from Ceylon pronounced their revolutionary speeches at the Peace Conference in Peking.'

Having overthrown the Kuomintang regime, said the appeal, revolutionaries 'are urged to contribute their forces in the endeavour to industrialise the country and build up socialism, and thus to contribute more to the anti-imperialist world revolutionary movement.

'But the Chinese CP, the

leadership of the revolution, tolerates the crimes of the Kremlin, complies with them, and "co-operates" with such types as Li Chin-sun, the hangman of the Canton revolt of 1927.

'On the other hand, it suppresses workers' and peasants' democracy, and in particular persecutes and slaughters Trotskyist revolutionists.'

Break

An 'Open Letter to the CP' by Peng Shu-tse, who escaped arrest, attacked the CP's collaboration with the Kuomintang leaders from 1937 and pointed out that the 1949 revolution was made possible after the Stalinists' empirical break with that policy.

Peng states: 'On the land problem, you have carried out confiscation of the land and distributed it to the peasants.

'You have also secured considerable political independence from imperialism. These are important gains on the revolutionary road.

'But, through your decrees, landlords and rich peasants are still legally entitled to preserve their "industrial and commercial properties" and you have openly declared that imperialist properties in China will be protected.

'Not only is this not thoroughgoing; it has become a great obstacle to further development of the revolution.'

The Chinese CP have never until this day stated what the Trotskyists were charged with or why they were jailed, still less brought them to any kind of court.

We can only assume that they were victims of a purge no different in substance from Stalin's purges in the 1930s.

Where are these heroic fighters now? Are they still alive? As yet we have only partial answers to these questions.

In 1979 news reached the west that veteran Chinese Trotskyist Chen Chao-lin had been released from prison at the age of 78, along with his wife and fellow-revolutionary Wu Ching-ju.

Chen had worked in Paris with Chou En-lai during the first world war, and went to Moscow where he studied at the Communist University of the Toilers of the East.

He returned to China in 1925, working on the CP Central Committee and — hav-

ing become proficient in English, French, German and Russian — translated many communist books into Chinese.

Chen was arrested by the Kuomintang in 1931 and spent seven years in their jails, joining the anti-Japanese underground resistance on his release.

According to an article in the American SWP's Intercontinental Press on Chen's release, CCP leader Li Weihan, who knew Chen in Paris, had contacted him in 1949 and asked him to cooperate with the Mao regime but he refused.

From 1952 he was confined to prisons and labour camps; in 1972 his wife Wu, a political outcast and unable to obtain medical treatment for her severe illness, voluntarily joined Chen in prison.

Chen outdistanced 19th-century anarchist August Blanqui, traditionally regarded as the longest-serving political prisoner after spending 34 years behind bars, by a year.

There is no easily-obtainable information on the other Trotskyist leaders jailed in 1952-3, but it is known that they include:

Chiang Tseng-tung, leader of the 1925 Shanghai general strike, joined the Trotskyist movement in the 30s. If alive, he is 76.

Chou Jen-sen, revolutionary intellectual and teacher by profession. Believed during the 1970s to be imprisoned in Shanghai.

Ho Chi-sen, student leader in Peking in the early 1920's; played a leading role, together with Mao Tse-tung, in the military struggle in 1925-7, taking part in the Northern Expedition of the Kwangtung revolutionary army.

Massacre

After the massacre of communists at Shanghai, worked to rebuild the CP. Joined the 'Proletarian Trotskyist tendency in 1929, which in 1931 fused with three other groups and laid the basis for the Chinese section of the Fourth International when it was founded in 1938.

He is unlikely to be alive today. He would be in his late 80s.

Ling Hwer-hua, former member of the executive committee of the printers' union of Canton and a veteran revolutionary.

He was sentenced to an

Philippines — Army scuppers cease-fire

PHILIPPINES: THE National Democratic Front (NDF), an alliance of 17 organisations including the Communist Party (CP) and the New People's Army (NPA), had offered to discuss a 30 day ceasefire with the Aquino government, despite having earlier rejected such a proposal.

But the military has moved to force Aquino's hand against the forces on the left, including the NPA.

On Monday September 29, without sanction from the presidential palace, military authorities arrested Rodolfo Salas, known as Commander Bilog, his wife and his bodyguard as they left a hospital.

Salas is reputed to be the CP chairman and was acting as a consultant to ceasefire negotiators.

Ceasefire

In an apparent move to spike ceasefire talks, the military have presented Aquino the option of releasing the former guerilla lead-

er — and of antagonising the military — or detaining him and provoking a break-off of talks.

Mrs Aquino is under increasing pressure from the military and US officials to use the full strength of the 250,000 strong army against the NPA fighters.

Since February, when Aquino came to power, 2,000 have been killed in fighting.

Aquino's government balances between the military and the masses. Over 450 political prisoners remain in jail and it is feared that many others have been arrested but do not appear on official lists.

At the end of July the De-

fence Minister ordered troops to disperse strikers at Royalty Garments near Manila.

They were all arrested and detained at the Philippine Constabulary HQ — barely a week after Labour Minister Sanchez told police and military not to intervene in strikes unless there was actual violence.

Forces

Pro-Marcos forces hold regular Sunday rallies in Manila in spite of a ban following Arturo Tolentino's abortive coup attempt on July 8th.

In Negros, four sugar plantation workers were murdered by plantation owners' private armies following a 17 day strike against near-starvation wages.

Five members of the Constitutional Commission walked out on August 23 in disgust over what they called a 'constitutionalisation of foreign economic domination'.

One member, Villacorta, said there had been a sell-out to foreign interests.

Over half export earnings has to be paid on servicing the foreign debt and a call has come from a section of the Cabinet for a repudiation of part of this debt.

The old Trades Union Congress of the Philippines, backed by the British TUC and the AFL-CIO, was pro-Marcos and is now the centre of 'yellow' trade unionism.

The KMV (May First Movement) was formed as a federation of militant trades unions when Marcos was still in power and is now the largest union federation.

The CP has now admitted that it made a 'major political blunder' when it decided to boycott the February presidential elections and that it found itself on the sidelines during the revolt which overthrew Marcos.

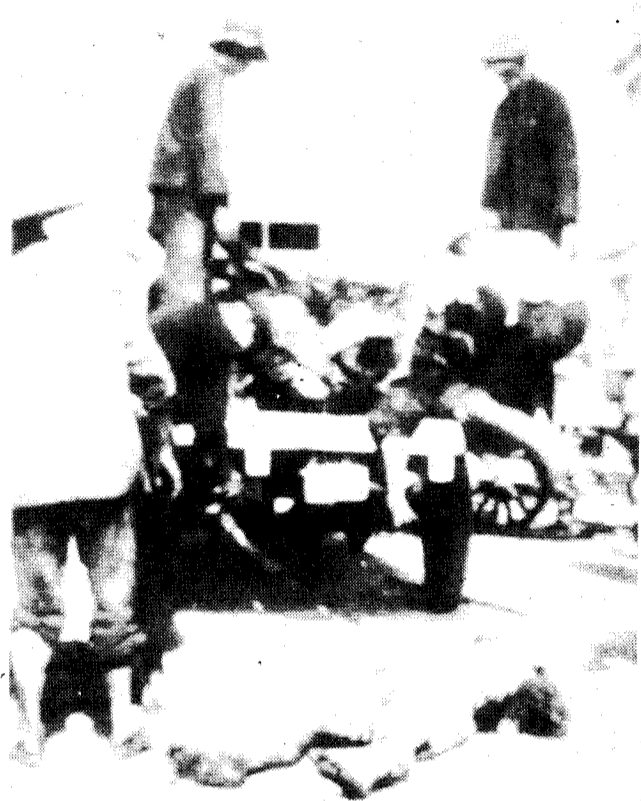
● Source: KASAMA: Philippines Support Group Newsletter

of KYISM

By
**Simon
Pirani**



Mao Tse-tung announces the founding of the People's Republic of China



Martyrs of the Canton uprising

indefinite term in a hard labour camp, if alive he is in his late 60s.

Ling Sun-chi, a lecturer at Sun Yat-sen university in Canton; arrested in 1953 a little later than the mass round-ups.

Unify

There has been no word of his fate.

Wang Kuo-lung, a school teacher, arrested in Wenchow and is believed to be imprisoned in Shanghai.

Ying Kwan, a student in Paris in the early 20s and active in the Chinese Socialist Youth in France; studied in Moscow, went to China in 1924, served as CCP secretary for Shantung province, played a leading role in the 1925-7 revolution in Anhwei province, joined the Trotskyist movement in 1929 and

worked to unify the four groups; jailed by the Kuomintang 1932-4. Unlikely to be alive, he would now be 86.

In addition to these veterans, many younger Trotskyists were seized in 1952-3, most of them given hard labour terms of five to ten years.

The history of the Chinese Trotskyist movement is of the greatest importance in the present discussion about the re-building of the Fourth International.

The lessons of their first-hand experience of revolutionary struggle, and principled opposition to Stalinism, must be assimilated and developed if the crisis of the Trotskyist movement is to be resolved.

The problems posed by the Chinese and Yugoslav revolutions were one of the

causes of the 1953 split in the Fourth International.

The International Committee, while ready to condemn 'Pabloism' at the drop of a hat, never had a perspective for the Trotskyist movement in any of the Stalinist-ruled countries — and did not even publicise the fate of the Chinese Trotskyists, as organisations of the United Secretariat did at different times.

Maoism

The Workers Revolutionary Party leadership, affected by Healy's narrow Anglo-centrism on one hand and Banda's admiration for Maoism on the other, produced virtually no analysis of China over the last 15 years.

Banda's 'Twenty-Seven Reasons' shows — among

other signs of 'softening' on Stalinism — a lying contempt for the Chinese and Indo-Chinese Trotskyists.

They 'projected a strategy that ran counter to the armed struggle', Banda lyingly claims, echoing the criminal slander of the 50s that they were 'fugitives from revolution'.

Of course, knowledge of the fate of the Chinese Trotskyists will not in itself give us answers to political problems.

But defence of their memory, and the demand for their rehabilitation by the Peking regime, is an indispensable pre-condition for a serious discussion on these questions.

To all those who defend the Chinese revolution and its gains against imperialism we say: demand the truth about these revolutionary fighters; demand the release

from imprisonment of those still living; clear the names of those who have died.

● Much of the factual information in this article comes from **Revolutionaries in Mao's Prisons: the case of the Chinese Trotskyists** by Li Fu-jen and Peng Shu-tse, Pathfinder Press.

We appeal to any com-

rades who have information that we do not know about to pass it on to us.

Due to pressure of time, all names have been rendered in the old style, as they were found in the source material. In future, Workers Press will use the modern style of spelling as conventions dictate. (Editorial Board note).



Chinese peasants greet the victory of the revolution.

Crawley Branch WRP

Day School

Political Economy — Geoff Pilling

Sunday, October 5

10.30am - 4.30pm

Ifield Community Centre

Ifield Drive, Crawley

Entrance £1, Creche and refreshments available

MARXIST DISCUSSION GROUP

Bryant Street Methodist Centre

off West Ham Lane

(nearest Underground: Stratford)

Sunday October 5, 7.30pm

'Background to the Hungarian Revolution'

Speaker: Adrian Swaine

Sunday October 12, 7.30pm

'The Events of 1956 in Hungary'

Speaker: Phil Edwards

Sunday October 19, 7.30pm

'The Lessons of the Hungarian Revolution'

MARXIST DISCUSSION GROUP

Organised by Workers Power

Every other Wednesday, 7.30pm

Upstairs at the Landor Hotel

Landor Road, SW2 (Clapham North ⊕)

October 8: Cable Street 1936

October 22: The Popular Front in France 1936

November 5: The Moscow Trials 1936

STALINISM IN

I JOINED the Trotskyist movement — the Revolutionary Communist Party — in 1944.

I was moved primarily by the fusion of the two Trotskyist groups — the Workers International League and the Revolutionary Socialist League — out of which the RCP was formed, and by the arrests of four Trotskyist leaders.

They were charged with conspiracy and furthering a strike under the Trades Dispute Act of 1927 — an act which was passed after the General Strike.

The Communist Parties were openly opposing workers' struggles, colonial struggles and revolution.

They had accepted money from the state in India and became a recruiting agency for British imperialism.

In my own case, they had conducted a campaign — and failed miserably — to take away my credentials as convener of the Chrysler factory in Kew, on the basis that I had 'a policy of opposing the war and supporting strikes'.

The British CP opposed the campaign in defence of the four Trotskyists who were arrested and tried in 1944, a campaign which gained wide support in the Labour movement.

The four were accused of conspiracy under the Trades Disputes Act of 1927 and of furthering an illegal strike.

The Trades Dispute Act had been passed as a punitive measure after the General Strike.

In view of the opposition of

the labour movement to this Act, the CP declared that the government should not have used the Trades Dispute Act but that there was enough other legislation which could have been used.

That Stalinism was counter-revolutionary was something that was clearly before us.

Its policies were clearly dictated by the interests of the Soviet bureaucracy in its agreements with the western imperialist powers.

In 1945 they openly declared that, in Britain, in the interests of the Yalta agreement, a Labour government should invite Churchill and Eden into the Cabinet.

I felt, with other Trotskyists at the time, that the movements of proletarian revolution and colonial revolt, which were dominating the world at the end of the war, could only intensify

their collision with Stalinism and it would be completely exposed.

With the masses colliding with its counter-revolutionary role, then the road would be opened immediately for the rapid expansion of the real communist alternative to Stalinism.

Now, history did not proceed as mechanically as this. There was more on the ground than there was on our map.

We were, in any case, applying Trotsky's analysis of the nature of Stalinism without his Marxist skill, experience or maturity.

The conflict between the revolutionary strivings of the masses and the Soviet bureaucracy did not reach the climax of the type we expected immediately after the war.

However, and let me underline this, it is this conflict and the other contradictions within Stalinism that have dominated the post-war world.

When one considers seriously the world since the end of the war, in these forty years, the crises in the Stalinist movement stand out as a dominating feature.

If not in the way we young Trotskyists of 1944 expected, the fundamental contradictions between the Soviet bureaucracy on the one side, and, on the other, the revolutionary origins of the Soviet Union and world revolutionary movements, have led to a rapid time scale of explosions.

Three years after the war came the Yugoslav-Soviet break and the opposition of Stalin to the extension of the Chinese revolution.

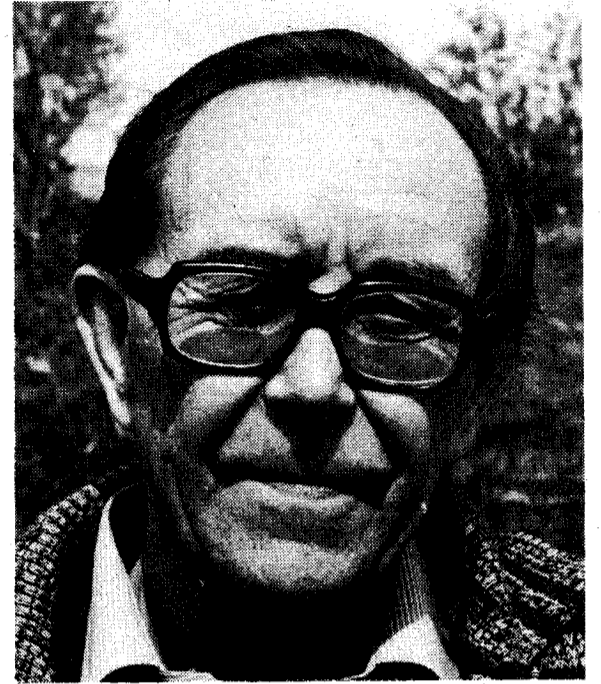
In 1953, a mass movement broke out openly against the Stalinist regimes.

In June, there was an up-

THIS week's article in our series 'Stalinism in Crisis', part of the celebration of the thirtieth anniversary of the Hungarian revolution of 1956, is by BILL HUNTER, a life-long Trotskyist and member of the Central Committee of the Workers Revolutionary Party.

Bill is known throughout the world movement as author of the 1957 document 'Under A Stolen Flag', criticising the policies of the then International Secretariat of the Fourth International, and more recently as the author of 'Mike Banda and the Bad Men theory of history'.

Like Norman Harding, he views the crisis in the Stalinist movement from the standpoint of one who, when the crisis erupted in 1956, had long been a fighter against Stalinism and for the programme of the Fourth International.



BILL HUNTER

rising of East German workers.

In July, in the Soviet Union, came the great strike of slave labourers in the Vorkuta camp, where 250,000 downed tools.

Three years later were the Polish disturbances and the Hungarian Revolution.

Only a decade after the crushing of Hungary, there was the revolt in Czechoslovakia.

The beginning and then the end of the '70s saw Poland erupt again.

Little over a decade after the end of the war, Khrushchev made his speech at the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU.

It reflected a great discontent under the surface.

It was an attempt to meet fundamental problems with a partial adjustment, to deflect the hostility to bureaucratic rule as such, against the 'Stalin cult'.

The speech only helped to stoke up and widen throughout the world the very fires it was meant to dampen down.

For us it was as if a black

fog had been riven apart. The truth now had to be listened to, the lying slanders had to be repudiated.

To be sure, Khrushchev only went so far; but he declared that 'honest Communists were slandered, accusations against them were fabricated, and revolutionary legality was gravely undermined'.

Communist Party members awoke to the shock of Khrushchev revealing 'mass repression' and 'barbaric tortures'.

Congress

They had to read of 'indignation in the hall' as the Twentieth Congress was told of the 17th Party Congress which took place in 1934.

Of the 139 members and candidates of the party's Central Committee who were elected at the 17th Congress, 98 people (70 per cent) were arrested and shot, mostly in 1937/38.

Of 1,966 delegates with either voting or advisory rights, no less than 1,108 were later arrested on

charges of anti-revolutionary crimes — an overwhelming majority.

Communist Party members were reeling in anger and dismay, their whole world turned upside down.

Ten feet tall, we knocked on their doors, with *Revolution Betrayed* in one hand, a leaflet with the pictures of Lenin's Central Committee in the other hand, all but a handful of whom were destroyed by Stalin.

We were determined they should hear about the Left Opposition and Trotsky and the roots of the Stalinist crisis.

'Treat a Trotskyist as you would a Nazi; Clear out Hitler's Agents' (1942).

'The despicable agent provocateur, the tool of the enemy who worms his way into progressive movements in order to create disunity and incite illegal acts.' (1944.)

The Communist Party in Britain had tried to mount a witch-hunting pogrom against the Trotskyists.

Now we went in with confi-

PUBLIC MEETINGS 30th Anniversary of the HUNGARIAN REVOLUTION

Speaker at all meetings: **Peter Fryer** correspondent for the **Daily Worker**, eye-witness to the events in Hungary and author of 'Hungarian Tragedy'

London

October 26, 1pm - 9pm
Kingsway-Princeton College
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with speakers:

Michael Varga (Balasz Nagy): Hungarian Trotskyist, one of the former secretaries of the Petofi Circle

Cliff Slaughter: Expelled from the Communist Party for Opposition to Stalinism after the Khrushchev speech, and the Hungarian events in 1956; A Trotskyist for the last 30 years; Member of the Central Committee of the Workers Revolutionary Party

Bob Pennington: A Trotskyist for 35 years; Member of the Editorial Board of International
Bill Hunter: Long-standing Trotskyist; Member of the Central Committee of the Workers Revolutionary Party

Also exhibition and workshops. Refreshments and Creche. Tickets £2

Organised and sponsored by the Workers Revolutionary Party, International, Workers Power and Socialist Viewpoint

Glasgow
Sunday October 19, 300pm
Ingram Hotel, Ingram Street
Manchester
Tuesday October 21, 7.30pm
Basement Theatre
Manchester Town Hall
St Peters Square

Lenin's General Staff of 1917

STALIN, THE EXECUTIONER, ALONE REMAINS



The Central Committee of the Workers Revolutionary Party in 1917

The Trotskyists fought to vindicate Lenin's comrades who had fallen victim to Stalin.

CRISIS

The challenge for the Trotskyist movement



Andrew Rothstein slanders the Hungarian Revolution on page 2 of the 'Daily Worker', Tuesday November 20, 1956.

dence everywhere, keeping a close watch on the Daily Worker, following through all critical letters, all the names we heard of people who spoke up.

We distributed leaflets at all meetings, internal and public.

In the attempt to make a breakthrough we would interrupt the Communist Party leaders trying to excuse away Stalin and the repression in the Soviet Union.

We interrupted Gollan from the gallery of the Philharmonic Hall, Liverpool, as he lost his vigorous style of speaking and droned on.

'Where were you, Gollan? Tell them what you knew Gollan.'

'What about Rose Cohen, Gollan?' Rose Cohen was a relative of Gollan who disappeared in the Soviet Union when her husband — who had worked with Pollit and CP leaders in Britain — was framed up and executed.

Recruit

Our very first recruit was a long-time member of the CP, Frank Parkinson.

We had distributed leaflets at a Merseyside aggregate of the Communist Party — I believe, at that time, the CP claimed a membership of 750 on Merseyside.

This old man — he was just over 60 and seemed old to me at the time — came stumping down the stairs of the Walton Cooperative Hall and said to me: 'I'm finished with that shower; where do you live, I'll call and see you.'

He became a staunch member of ours; about ten years later he collapsed while distributing the Newsletter to old age pensioners who had allotments near his, and died soon after.

The opposition which developed in the Communist Party and was highly critical of the leadership's attempts to explain away the repression and anti-socialist crimes in the Soviet Union, divided broadly into two tendencies.

There were those who were moving to social democracy and beyond, who generally accepted the right opportunist, 'people's front' aspects of Stalinist policy, and the parliamentary and British road to socialism.

They put forward ideas, later described as Euro-Communism, which essen-

DID FASCISM THREATEN HUNGARY? (1)

The Truth Came Out in Bits and Pieces

By Andrew Rothstein

THE spokesmen and dupes of reaction are streaming every nerve to persuade the British people that there was no threat of fascism seizing power in Hungary.

The Right Wing Labour leaders told the Soviet Ambassador that reference to this threat is an "odious pretext" and that the Nagy Government could have kept reactionary forces "firmly under control" (November 9).

Next month The Times editorial spoke of "the approved rigmarole about saving Hungary from a fascist dictatorship," and the Economist called it a "wicked travesty of the facts."

These are the demands and the programme of the political revolution in the Soviet Union. As soon as we possibly could — by February, 1957 — we reprinted this speech of Cannon together with Khrushchev's speech to the Twentieth Congress. Also, in this little book, *The 20th Congress and World Trotskyism, a documented analysis*, we published 18 documents circulated privately at the Twentieth Congress.

tially accepted bourgeois ideology on democracy and the state.

This tendency coalesced mainly around the *New Reasoner* and later, *University and Left Review*.

The other stream strove to understand the degeneration and corruption they now had to face in terms of communist struggle, in terms of the Marxist teaching they had sought in the Communist Party.

Of course, it would be very wrong to put rigid boundaries on these definitions.

Both tendencies had a genuine thirst for the truth behind Khrushchev's revelations, as can for example be seen from some of the work of those around the *New Reasoner* group as well as those who moved to Trotskyism.

Our aim was always to encourage the movement of the discussion to fundamentals.

We were convinced that only those who really understand the Soviet Union and its degeneration who built on the struggle of Trotsky and the Left Opposition.

In a sense, all the oppositions to Stalinism can only make a real step forward if they make that struggle their own.

Is it necessary to say that does not mean accepting it as correct in every detail?

In the Communist Manifesto, Marx described Communists as representing the future in the present and we saw this as our task in relation to the opposition to Stalinism.

Here was represented the stirrings of political revolution against the Stalinist bureaucracy.

We brought out the fundamental questions this revolution must solve.

In the words of James P. Cannon speaking on the death of the Stalin cult on March 9, 1956:

'The goal of this revolution is the unconditional repudiation of the Stalinist theory of "socialism in one country" which was the motivation of all the crimes and betrayals, and the re-affirmation of the Lenin-Trotsky programme of proletarian internationalism; the overthrow of the Stalinist police-state in the Soviet Union and the restoration of Soviet democracy; the abolition of the privileged caste; a complete review of the frame-up trials and purges and a vindication of their victims.'

These are the demands and the programme of the political revolution in the Soviet Union.

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Also, in this little book, *The 20th Congress and World Trotskyism, a documented analysis*, we published 18 documents circulated privately at the Twentieth Congress.

These included Lenin's letters on the national question — one asking Trotsky to take up the case of Georgia against Stalin and Dzerzhinsky, in March 1923.

Here also was Lenin's 'Testament'.

All these documents had been denounced viciously by Stalinists in the past as part of the Trotskyist arsenal of fabrications and slanderous lies spread by anti-Soviet elements.

In Liverpool we won the active members of the YCL.

Two two young miners in the Trotskyist group were working at Cronton pit on the outskirts of Liverpool.

They were discussing with a member of the YCL, John Connor, a plumber who had opted to become a miner when he was called up for his 'national service'.

Through him we made contact with other members of the YCL in Liverpool.

Copies of *Revolution Betrayed* and *Trotsky's In Defence of Marxism* circulated around until they were falling to pieces.

These YCLers wanted to discuss everything — the history of the Left Opposition, socialism in one country, Communist Party history, the Internationals, the trade unions, the Labour Party.

Membership

The entire active membership of the Granby branch of the YCL quickly became Trotskyists, as well as others throughout Liverpool and the Thompson brothers in Wigan, one of whom was a member of the National Committee of the YCL.

We won a group of CP building workers as well.

After the revelations of Khrushchev came the Hungarian Revolution. The YCL Congress was in the

middle of it.

There was already an opposition to YCL policies, particularly its line of 'cut the call up'.

The opposition demanded an outright campaign against conscription.

Hungary exposed the complete insincerity of the party leadership's condemnation of Stalin's crimes.

Slanders

First came the slanders of workers and students, the smearing by these leaders and the *Daily Worker* of the spontaneous eruption as a counter-revolution instigated by fascists.

Then, when Soviet troops began to withdraw it became according to them an uprising with genuine grievances.

Finally, after a few short days, when Kadar treacherously announced his 'Workers and Peasants Government' with no support and Soviet troops moved back to crush the revolution, there came the sophisticated arguments.

Yes, there had been very grave crimes against the Hungarian people.

Yes, there were very genuine grievances.

Yes, perhaps, the first Soviet intervention had been a blunder and had encouraged nationalism.

But now there were sinister elements able to exploit the situation.

The Soviet Union now had no alternative but to send in its troops otherwise all the socialist gains could be lost.

It was an educative time.

French and British imperialism launched the invasion of Egypt.

It was clear that there was agreement between the Soviet bureaucracy and these imperialist governments to look the other way while each other's invasion forces advanced.

There was a big feeling against the Suez War in the Liverpool Labour movement and, together with youth from the YCL, we sold enormous amounts of the Trotskyist pamphlet on the Suez crisis, particularly around Labour clubs.

That activity itself spurred forward the discussions on Trotskyism and Stalinism.

It was this group from the YCL which began to build a mass youth movement in the Young Socialists.

LASZLO RAJK ON CHANNEL FOUR

ON OCTOBER 6, 1956, 200,000 mourners attended the funeral of Laszlo Rajk.

In 1949, Rajk, then Hungarian foreign minister, had been arrested and executed as a CIA spy.

The bureaucracy staged this show funeral to head off popular discontent but in fact it heralded the Hungarian revolution which followed two weeks later.

Next Tuesday, in Yorkshire Television's 'When Did You Last See my Father', Rajk's son, (Also called Laszlo), traces the circumstances of the trial and execution, interviewing his father's friends and enemies.

His quest is intensely personal.

After his father's execution, he was taken away from his mother to an orphanage. Julia Rajk fought a courageous campaign for the return of her son and for his father's rehabilitation.

He wants to know what sort of man his father was.

Why was a veteran of the International Brigade and an underground fighter against the Horthy regime denounced comrades? Why did he confess to non-existent crimes?

As Peter Fryer points out, he was one of thousands.

'When Did You Last See My Father?' probes to the very nature of stalinism as it was then and as it still is today.

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HUNGARIAN TRAGEDY

PETER FRYER



The Hungarian revolution of 1956 and its brutal suppression by Russian tanks was a watershed in the history of socialism.

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Peter Fryer's eye-witness account, first published in December 1956, had an immediate impact, bringing home to many things which they wished were not true.

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LETTERS

Your letters are welcome at Workers Press,
21b Old Town, London SW4 OJT.

An afterthought on Marxism and world history

COMMENTING on my insistence that the French Revolution was a French revolution, R. Bobinska sagely points out that an event has to happen somewhere.

Yes, indeed, and what is important is to discover why it happened there and not elsewhere.

Since the events we are discussing were not earthquakes or volcanic eruptions, but the work of men and women, we need to know what it was that caused, or enabled them to do what they did.

Generalisations of a 'world-wide' and 'all-time' order make a strange appeal to a certain type of mind.

Relevant here is Engels's remark in a letter to Conrad Schmidt, August 5, 1890: 'The materialist conception of history has a lot of friends nowadays to whom it serves as an excuse for not studying history.'

'Just as Marx used to say of the French Marxists of the 1870's: "All I know is that I am not a Marxist."'

Stalin imposed on his followers belief in a universally-valid 'succession of stages' in the history of all peoples.

Any actual history which did not fit into this framework had to be rejected.

In Stalin's time it was unhealthy in Russia to raise the question of what Marx meant by 'the Asiatic mode of production' or to discuss the implications of some changes made by Marx when he revised, in 1872, the French translation of *Capital, Volume One*, which, incidentally, ought to be better known here.

At the end of chapter 26, after writing about the creation of the proletariat, Marx wrote, originally, 'The history of this expropriation assumes different aspects in different countries, and runs through its various phases in different orders of succession and at different historical epochs.'

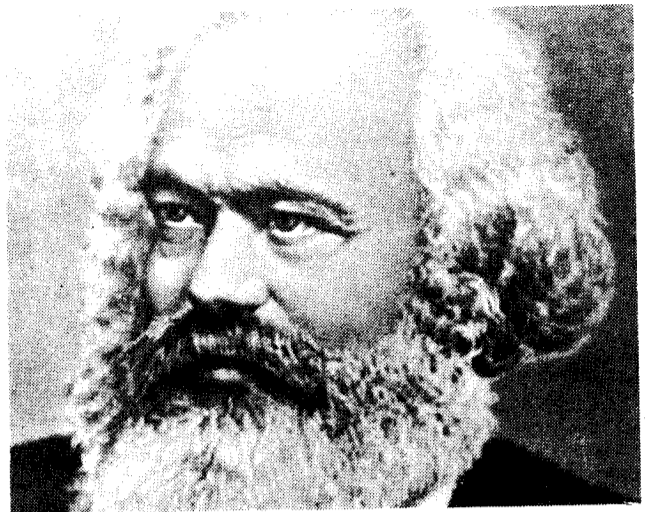
'Only in England, which we therefore take as our example, has it the classic form.'

When he revised his work for the French edition, Marx put the sentence about England first and went on: 'But all the other countries of Western Europe pass through the same change.'

And early in Chapter 27, when he had generalised about the feudal production 'in all countries of Europe,' he altered this to 'all countries of Western Europe.'

Query: does this mean that Marx was a methodological occidentalist?

Brian Pearce



Marx... Methodological occidentalist?

The Wapping great errors of Thomism

A LETTER in Workers Press (September 20) from comrade Brian Thomas of Workers Power took strong issue with a previous article of mine ('Wapping and Marxism', Workers Press, September 6) as well as with an earlier contribution by comrade Kemp.

I would like to make a few points of reply in regard to my own work and make a comment on the form that comrade Thomas's criticism takes.

Firstly, my article was not an abstract dissertation on Marxist theory. It was an examination of the position in the News International dispute.

I expressed concern that the 'low key' battle being fought by Union leaders indicated that a sell-out was on the way to save the Labour Party from pre-election embarrassment.

At the same time I made the general point that, as Marxists, all our involvements must combine an expression and development of Marxist theory, however difficult this may be in any particular circumstance.

In taking up what he considers to be my incorrect formulations in this latter respect it is significant that, or the contrary, it is the questions of practice which entirely disappear.

Wapping, new technology, modern management techniques all vanish to leave a discussion on 'theory' alone.

Absolutely nothing wrong with that of course, providing there is an eventual return to the issues under discussion with an improved understanding for us and, hopefully, for the workers currently embattled.

This doesn't happen. Theory is checked against theory. And what checking!

Comrade Thomas accuses me of mistakes and confusion. I have to make the more serious charge against him of blatant falsification to make his points.

He states of my article: 'It makes the statement that the capitalist crisis is caused by over-production of commodities'.

Nowhere do I make any such remark or imply any such thing.

My main concern was in the conflict between the revolutionising of the means of production and the inability of capitalism to utilise such processes to benefit the vast majority of the population.

I wrote of 'over-production' as 'the result' not as any kind of cause — I would not in any case use the word 'cause' in this way as its meaning leaves out all the implications of the inter-relationship of the origins of processes to their subse-



SACKED NoW/SUN printers lobby this year's TUC

quent development.

If comrade Thomas is so strong on theory and I am so weak, why does he need to resort to deceit in this way?

It is certainly true, taking up his second criticism, that I referred to too much production chasing too few markets.

I also, incidentally, only used the term 'over-production' in inverted commas.

However, this is not because, as comrade Thomas seems to think, I subscribe to an under-consumption theory of crisis, but because I recognize over-production as a relative, not an absolute, category.

Not that too many of the necessities of life are produced in proportion to the existing population and its needs, not that too many means of production are created to employ the active working class, but that too many means of production are produced to allow them to serve as a means of exploitation at a certain rate of profit and too many commodities are produced to permit a realisation and conversion into new capital.

I am also taken to task in the realm of price theory; which I must have entered without noticing because my only concern, in a reference to a fall in prices (in just two short sentences), was to warn that a decline in inflation did not mean — as the Thatcherites claim — that capitalism has established itself.

On the contrary, it could well indicate that the crisis is worsening as protective price-rings, agreements, common agricultural policies or whatever are breaking up.

I gave an example of current accusations of computer chip 'dumping' i.e. selling below cost price.

Comrade Thomas admonishes me for a wrong analysis of price origins which I did not make anyway, but then has the cheek to rephrase the remarks I did make and lecture me with them.

I am told of a 'price war' as capitalists seek to move unsold stocks. Hence recessionary periods are always characterised by price contraction.

Well, thank you!

So what are comrade Thomas's criticisms really all about?

In my view they are an attempt to draw the WRP away from our primary concern with practice and to involve us all in an unending academic discussion of theory in abstraction.

In showing this, and to avoid any question of taking quotes out of context, here are the opening remarks of Cde. Thomas's letter in total:

'Workers Power has always been accused by the WRP of being weak on philosophy.'

'We are rebuked for not studying the great philosophers nor dialectics in general.'

'For our part we have stressed the question of programme.'

'Not because this enables us to avoid the question of theory. Quite the contrary.'

'An incorrect programme has its origins in incorrect theory.'

'In fact programme is the best way of illuminating differences in theory.'

'In other words, a discussion on dialectics and method in general may reveal no differences.'

'It is only when method is applied that differences, if they are there, really appear.'

So programme is the best

test of theory! But programme is also apparently distilled theory.

So the best test of theory is — theory.

So whatever happened to practice? No wonder News International, new technology etc. disappear without trace. They are redundant to the Workers Power system.

True, the comrade mentions a situation in which 'method' is applied.

But reading carefully, this only seems to imply application in drawing up a programme, not in actually doing anything.

Luckily, as if to avoid any possible misunderstanding

on the issue, the same points are remade at the end of the letter:

'In conclusion: it is high time we brought our dispute over method to a head.'

'The real test of method is not whether one had studied and understood Aristotle, Kant etc. It is whether one understands Marx's method as elaborated in Capital.'

'The reason is clear. Contained in Marx's method is the most developed social science.'

'To understand it is a test of the highest level.'

'A test which unfortunately the leading theoreticians of the WRP fail.'

So that's the problem! It is not that we have failed to properly relate Marxist theory to practice.

It's that we have failed our Workers Power Certificate of Educational Social Science exams!

But didn't someone write somewhere about all hitherto existing philosophers merely interpreting the world?

But that wasn't in Capital, so possibly it's not relevant.

No, comrades. I think we have to stick by our original criticism of the Workers Power method.

Marx was not a dry-as-dust academic setting exam papers. He was a living revolutionary involved in a struggle.

Capital takes all the abstract concepts and explains the underlying processes of capitalism but in the context

of the real struggles of his day.

Food adulteration, the Factory Acts, the struggle to protect women and children from exploitation, wages and conditions in lacemaking, mining, the steel industry, shipbuilding, shipping, shoemaking, bleaching, bookbinding and printing are all in Capital.

So are discussions of low pay, Sunday working, shift-work, meal breaks, overtime, housing and slum clearance, education, sanitation, diet, automation effects and not least, the poor laws, 'the welfare state' of his day.

Wherever possible the abstract becomes concrete.

Incidentally, I am extremely relieved that we don't have to bother reading Aristotle, Hegel, Kant etc., although I have an uneasy feeling that this is rather like wiring up a kettle, say, and attaching only the positive lead but leaving the negative dangling.

Revolutionary and socialist consciousness is developed in the working class in the course of its conflicts with the ruling class, not through evangelistic processes.

Those who work to learn, apply and develop Marxist theory and advance the revolutionary struggle in the context of today's real issues will always earn the disapproval of those who prefer to play safe and derive sterile programmes from a political equivalent of bible study.

Bernard Franks

Old Banda, new bottles?

SOME weeks ago there was a short statement on the front page of Workers Press announcing the expulsion of Mike Banda and promising a more extensive statement in the following issue.

To my knowledge this has not appeared.

It seems to me that the demise of the General Secretary of the WRP cannot be dismissed like this.

Perhaps the event has resulted in considerable discussion within the ranks of the WRP and its supporters but this should also be extended to the pages of your press.

Coming out of the Socialist Labour League, I vowed that never again would I blindly accept the official version of what happened.

I, and many others, accepted the official line on Thornett, Wohlforth and many others who came and

went over the years, without seeing any original documents, without hearing the arguments or polemics, without questioning.

I for one vowed I would never again be part of this.

Yet we are now expected to accept the 'official' WRP version of what has happened to Mike Banda.

I have waited for Mike Banda to substantiate his '27 Reasons' article, to provide facts and a Marxist analysis instead of the sceptical opinion he did.

I do not know whether he had more to say, whether he drew the conclusion that everything since the founding of the Fourth International had been futile, and abandoned revolutionary politics or whether he is developing his position further.

Where is Banda, the former General Secretary of the WRP? What is he saying and doing?

It is not enough to say, 'We have it on good authority that Mike Banda has now attacked the Military Writings of Trotsky' etc.

That is the old way, the old method.

Whose authority? What did he say, write; when, where and to whom did he say it?

This is not an argument for Banda's position.

It is an argument for open discussion in the pages of Workers Press on this question, which you have so correctly and courageously opened up on others.

Derek Moore
New South Wales,
Australia

● Editor's note: We fully accept Cde Moore's criticism, but would plead that the sin is omission, not commission. We shall publish a full statement very shortly.

LETTERS

Regroupment of FI — clarity on basic issues

CYRIL SMITH'S REPLY (WP September 13) to my letter on the history of the FI and Trotskyist regroupment, and especially the question of the United Secretariat which the International Group supports, is serious and well-reasoned.

It is particularly welcome that he states unequivocally that the characterisation of Cuba as a bourgeois state by the Healy-WRP was wrong; and that the WRP should put aside such epithets as 'Pabloite' and 'revisionist' when discussing the Usec.

On the questions on which he takes issue with me, in relation to the role of the FI and the basis of Trotskyist regroupment, I think that Cyril Smith will find that there is more in common between us than he suspects.

Cde Smith says he was 'particularly struck' by a phrase in my letter in which I said it was fundamentally sectarian that only a section of the FI could overthrow capitalism.

He replies that '... it cannot be denied that capitalist property forms have been overthrown and states set up to prevent their return, under Stalinist parties, and in the case of Cuba, a petit bourgeois nationalist one... (but) none of these overthrows constitutes a proletarian revolution like the Russian.'

'In not one case has the proletariat been led to take state power through independent class action since the year 1917.'

On this point I would agree with what Cyril Smith says.

Yes, since 1917 there have been bureaucratic overturns of capitalist social relations, bureaucratically deformed revolutions if you want to describe them that way, but in any case the establish-

ment of deformed workers states under non-Trotskyist leadership.

The only point I was making was that the Healy theory tended to deny that Cuba was a workers state precisely because there were no soviets or a Bolshevik party.

There is a second point where there seems to be agreement with Cyril Smith, when he says:

'Call me a sectarian if you want, but I contend that the transition to a socialist world demands the independent, conscious movement of the working class and that this is impossible without the construction of Bolshevik parties, based on the most advanced theory.'

'Only the Fourth International fighting to take forward the theoretical work of Marx, Lenin and Trotsky, can accomplish that task.'

Well, I don't want to call Cyril a sectarian because there is agreement that the transition to socialism requires the construction of a mass revolutionary international, and that the only way to fight for it is building Bolshevik parties in every country as part of the Fourth International.

I really don't see where we have a difference on this.

On the final point though, I am still not sure how much agreement we have.

This is the question of whether complete agreement on the history of the Trotskyist movement and its development is essential for Trotskyist regroupment.

Cyril Smith says that an unkind observer might say my position was one of 'find the lowest common denominator and let bygones be bygones.'

Well, an unkind commen-

tator might, but not with much justice. The point I was making is that complete agreement on the history of the movement is unlikely to be achieved.

Why should complete agreement about the 1953 split be essential to regroupment, if basic programmatic agreement on the major issues of the world revolution and the building of Marxist parties is achieved?

The history of our own movement is one which of course should be studied, to help enrich our understanding of building mass revolutionary parties; and its is a history upon which it may well be possible to draw some preliminary common assessments.

But complete agreement? That is, to say the least, unlikely, just as much as even complete agreement about the history of the Third International is unlikely.

Let's give some examples. Were Rosa Luxemburg and the Spartacists right to split from the centrist USPD in December 1918, or should they have stayed in longer to win more rapidly the USPD majority to the Comintern?

Did Trotsky always adopt the correct tactics to fight the degeneration of the Bolshevik party between 1923 and 1926?

Was he too slow in taking up the fight against the Stalin-Kamenev-Zinoviev triumvirate?

And did he make too many concessions on the China question in the early stages of the controversy?

Surely there is room for disagreement inside the Trotskyist movement on these questions?

But there is no room for disagreement that Luxemburg and the Spartacists



TITO and Castro review troops in Havana — complete agreement amongst Trotskyists unlikely...

were right to fight to win the USPD centrists to communism, or that Trotsky's fight against the degeneration of the Bolshevik Party and the Comintern was historically correct.

These basic points inform the central programmatic questions (the fight against centrism, the struggle for revolutionary Marxism against Stalinism).

We have, therefore, to sort out the basic historical questions from the secondary ones; the historical questions which are central from the point of view of determining programme and those which can be discussed by those who share the same basic programme.

My original letter was given an unfortunate title by the editors of Workers Press — 'Historical agreement not necessary for Trotskyist regroupment.' Posed that way the statement is an absurdity.

In a certain sense, the Trotskyist programme is nothing else but the summing up of the history of the international working class movement.

But the criterion of separating out basic questions which affect programme from secondary ones has to be applied to the history of the Trotskyist movement itself.

For example, it surely must be agreed, as a basis for regroupment, that the Trotskyist movement was correct when it gave unwavering support to the Hungarian Revolution.

This question affects a basic programmatic question, the struggle against Stalinism and for the political revolution.

But is complete agreement on the 'Open Letter' of Cannon in 1953 a question of the same order?

Or that the tactics of Healy towards the Bevanites were

absolutely right, wrong, or partially right or wrong, a necessary basis for regroupment?

Of course there have to be programmatic disputes inside the Trotskyist movement.

But it is a feature of sectarian 'Trotskyism' that it has raised each and every dispute in the Trotskyist movement to one of world historical principle, thus failing to distinguish between programmatic questions and secondary questions of tactics and assessment, and in the process grossly inflating the influence and ability to change the real world of the Trotskyist movement.

By all means, Cde Smith, let's trace the development of the movement.

But let's make sure in the process that we sort out the basic historical wood from the secondary historical trees.

Paul Stevens

Never has so much been owed to so few . . .

THE ASSERTION by Brian Thomas in Workers Press 42, that Marx's method can be theoretically reduced to an understanding of it 'as elaborated in Capital' may appear to be superficially attractive in that narrow theoretical grounds are established, apparently simplifying the problem of defining exactly what is Marx's method.

The condensation of method to a single text is however of little avail in enabling one to understand the method of Marx as it soon becomes patently obvious that only Thomas and, presumably, his co-thinkers in Workers Power, have the analytical nuance to comprehend fully the methodology of Capital.

In fact, even on his own terms of explaining Capital to us, Thomas simply omits mention of Marx's most profound insight into the potential process of capitalist decline — the tendency of the rate of profit to fall.

I refer, however, only in passing to Thomas's pre-Yaffe crisis theory because the main point which I want to make is that the view that Marx's method can be divined solely from Capital, important though that work undoubtedly is, chronically underestimates the immense scope and depth of Marx's methodological insights.

It is not that one or two points Thomas makes are incorrect, it is that the grounds he occupies is without foundation.

Many left groups swear formal allegiance to 'Marx's method' mentioning, that whilst they have actually done no theoretical explanation of this method, it permeates all their writings etc,

etc; the formal adherence better to mask an implicit rejection of it.

Thomas is essentially similar, if rather more sophisticated, in locating method solely in Capital.

Burnham was at least honest in his outright rejection of Marxist method.

Mention of Burnham reminds us to cut out Thomas's weasel words and call Marx's method what it is: dialectical materialism.

What 'dialectics and method in general' is — apart from dualism — can only be surmised.

Dialectical materialism can approach the truth precisely because it is a partisan philosophy which is capable of expressing the interests of historically the most progressive class.

Conflict

It follows then that dialectical materialism is in conflict with all manner of bourgeois world outlooks.

Such terms as 'method in general' can only express an uncertainty in, or misunderstanding of, the dialectical method which will inevitably lead to capitulation to an outlook hostile to communism.

We can now move on to note that Thomas's perspective actually moves us backwards in time to pre-1932 when the 'Paris Manuscripts' and the complete text of the 'German Ideology' were posthumously published. (The 'Critique of Hegel's Doctrine of the State' being published in 1927.)

In his introduction to 'Marx — Early Writings', Colletti states the obvious

theoretical implications arising from this historical time lag:

'A whole generation of Marxist theorists knew next to nothing (through no fault of their own) of Marx's early philosophical writings: it is vital to keep this fact firmly in mind, if one wishes to understand one decisively important circumstance.'

'The first generation of Marxists approached Marx via Capital and his other published writings (mainly economic, historical or political), and were unable to understand fully the philosophical precedents underlying them.'

Thomas knows about these works but he wants us to ignore them.

A conception more alien to Marxist epistemology would be hard to conceive!

It may be that Capital embodies Marx's most polished example of his method but to approach the work directly without serving an adequate philosophical apprenticeship would be as futile as it would be pretentious.

Indeed Lenin prescribed a particularly severe training when he advised a thorough study of Hegel's 'Logic' in order fully to understand Capital.

Fortunately we now have access to Marx's works mentioned above to help in the task of grasping Marx's masterpiece.

In my opinion a proper study of dialectical materialism means that an historical study of at least the following areas is undertaken:

1. The non-publication of some of Marx's theoretical works in his lifetime meant that Engels played a vital

part in disseminating his interpretation of Marxist philosophy.

However it was his interpretation and the arguments presented, albeit later reconsidered by Lukacs in 'History and Class Consciousness', that Engels explicated dialectics with insufficient regard to social life and indeed that dialectics is altogether inapplicable to non-social phenomena needs to be seriously considered.

My own view is that the concept of praxis is essential fully to understand dialectical movement.

2. The transmutation of the dialectical method under the auspices of the Stalinist regime into a rigid and codified set of 'laws' which transformed the dialectic from a critical analytical tool into a dogma whose sole purpose was to support the status quo.

Complex

This is a complex subject and I can really say no more than express agreement with many of the propositions Herbert Marcuse announces in his book 'Soviet Marxism'.

3. In the case of the WRP, Gerry Healy, at his peak anyway, appears to have had a similar level of influence over the party as Stalin had over a state.

A criticism of Healy's dialectics is then called for and the obvious starting point is David North's 'A Contribution to a Critique of G. Healy's "Studies in Dialectical Materialism".'

with commentary and supplementary material.

Personally, even with a training in Marxist philosophy, I find sections of Healy crushingly difficult to grasp and have come to the conclusion that this is a deliberate policy of the writer.

Two points however strike me: firstly that the author is incapable of breaking from Hegel and secondly that it is incorrect to seek crude correspondences between philosophy and political practice, for example Labour Party entrism ascribed to bad philosophy.

A definitive critique of Healy remains to be done and certainly this could be most authoritatively carried out by the party itself.

Thomas is correct to say that a discussion focused on method may reveal no differences.

Then again neither may a discussion based on programme, for it is only when programme interfaces with, and is tested by, the process of class struggle that its veracity or lack of same is clarified.

Also because the linkage between theory and programme is dialectical and not mechanical it cannot be taken that correct theory necessarily and automatically leads to correct programme or, conversely, that correct programme automatically emanates from correct theory.

Certainly the two may tend to converge but a host of mediations are interspersed, not the least of which is revolutionary leadership!

Thomas wants to bring the 'dispute over method to a head', this will decisively occur in the battle for lead-

ership of the class rather than in discussion, although discussion is an important prefigurative element for revolutionaries in relation to building a vanguard to exercise this leadership.

I do not know whether the WRP does not understand Das Kapital and therefore (!) Marx's method' although one can detect an element of 'catastrophe theory' in past WRP statements, vestiges of which perhaps still remain but it is equally as easy to detect the formalism which is 'Workers Power's' methodology.

Letter

A belief only strengthened by Thomas's letter.

To initiate the break from formalism one could do a lot worse than to comprehensively study 'In Defence of Trotskyism' by the ICFI. (Cliff Slaughter?) with a critical mind and a recollection of the disparity between this brilliant piece of theoretical work and the WRP's then political practice.

A disparity by the way which excellently illustrates the comments made above re possible linkage between theory and practice.

Is it naive to suggest that it was precisely the Workers Revolutionary Party's adherence to, albeit dislocated, elements of revolutionary Marxist theory which enabled them to emerge from a period as political odalisques under Healy with a significant cadre orientated towards revolutionary Marxist politics?

Ted Talbot
Nottingham

REVIEWS

PHOTOGRAPHIC STUDY OF PALESTINIANS

We are more than someone's object...



OLD woman in camp near Ramah, Galilee, 1979

After the Last Sky. Edward W. Said. Photographs by Jean Mohr. Faber paperback £6.95

LEAFING through a photo-library file headed 'Palestinians' the other week, I found face after face hidden by keffiyeh headscarf, pic after pic of persons posed with Kalashnikovs.

Both keffiyeh and automatic weapon have a practical and necessary part in the Palestinian people's struggle. Both have therefore taken on a legitimate symbolism.

Faces

But the Kalashnikov, instrument of death, is carried to insist on a people's right to live, and the people do have faces.

'We are more than some-

one's object', Edward Said insists.

Said's previous books, besides studies on Joseph Conrad and 'Literature and Society' (he is a professor of English at Columbia) include 'Orientalism', 'The Question of Palestine', and 'Covering Islam'. All sharply dissecting Western academic and media treatment of the Arab east.

In this latest, he unashamedly and rightly expresses his personal feelings and reflections as a Palestinian exile, fully committed to his people. The book loses nothing in objectivity, depth of thought or breadth of vision.

Jean Mohr is known for his studies of Swiss peasants and immigrant workers, and his work with John Berger (A Seventh Man, Another Way of Telling, etc.).

He brings alive the Palestinian people as children, farmers, students, workers, mothers, old people, scholars, militants.

Said's writing is not just a commentary on Mohr's photographs, Mohr's pictures not just decorative illustrations for Said's words. They come together as a whole.

Mohr's photography is politically informed and literate, Said's writing sensitive to images and with a keen eye for the original little detail full of meaning.

Human

Whether you consider yourself a 'Middle East expert' or wish you knew what it was all about, this book is well worth getting. It has fresh things to say, and communicates in a direct, very human yet thoughtful way.

An interesting thought proposed by Edward Said when he says his people do not just wish to be 'objects', is that we must regard the people in the pictures as looking at us.

Charlie Pottins



JUNE 1967. Release of Palestinian civilians by Israeli military



ACRE 1979. Carpenter/cabinet maker

Stars, stripes and the chip

Micro-chip: The story of a revolution and the men who made it. By T. R. Reid. Pan, £3.95.

HOW DID TECHNOLOGY develop so that 250,000 electronic components fit on a piece of silicon no larger than the word 'chip'?

This book gives a popular account of the American version.

For anyone who wants an empirical account of the ex-

plusive developments of the semi-conductor industry this is fine.

It is far more readable than the many school and college books that give dry accounts of the history of computers.

Invention

The excitement of invention is conveyed well.

Yet it was military needs, especially in the fields of missiles and satellites, that gave the microchip its first boost.

All orders in the beginning, the early 1960s, came from the military users.

The computer capitalist had taken over by the 1970s.

We never find out what parallel developments were taking place elsewhere in the world: Reid (staff reporter on the Washington Post) im-

plies that it was all American.

Taste

Besides that, it gives a readable taste to learn more while leaving the reader thinking that they have a grasp of the history and working of one of the essentials of modern life.

Martin Ralph

NHS Accommodation Crisis

A Conference

Jointly called by London Health Emergency and the Association of London Authorities

Saturday November 1, 10.30 am — 3.30 pm
CAMDEN TOWN HALL, Judd St, WC1

Creche available; Access for people with disabilities; Nearest tube Kings Cross

● All Welcome.
Contact London Health Emergency, 335 Grays Inn Rd, WC1

REVIEWS

French imperialism then and now:

The French working class in the First World War

The Great War and the French People by Jean-Jacques Becker. 1985, Berg Publishers Ltd, £25

THIS 1980 publication, originally in French and recently translated by Arnold Pomerans, makes an important contribution to the history of the French working class during the 1914-1918 war.

The betrayals of the Second International in Europe preceding the war are well known to the Trotskyist movement.

Here we have a more in-depth account of the movement of the peasants and workers in France in this period.

Becker's sources are the wealth of local documentation on strike activity in working-class districts and the replies of rural schoolmasters to government calls for accounts of agricultural production and morale at the outbreak of war.

Struggling

He outlines the changing economic conditions of workers struggling for wage demands as prices increased and the fluctuations in morale of the peasants and farmers whose profits increased as the rate of price rises accelerated after 1916.

Most important of all, the book deals with the response of the Socialist Party and the CGT (Confederation Generale du Travail) to the growing militancy of workers in different areas between 1917 and 1918 and attempts to explain why events in France did not culminate in revolution following the Bolshevik seizure of power.

On the outbreak of war 'L'Humanite', organ of the Socialist Party, and 'Guerre Sociale', whose contributors included anarchists and

'socialists', quickly succumbed to anti-German war hysteria.

Trotsky arrived in Paris in 1914 to become the chief inspirer of 'La Vie Ouvriere', a trade union journal which spoke out against the war, supported by leading figures in the anti-war minority of the CGT, including Merheim, Secretary of the Metalworkers Union.

But the revolutionary movement was only a small nucleus, theoretically ill-equipped and rarely proclaiming itself defeatist.

A vocal minority supported the anti-war resolution of the Zimmerwald Conference and suffered imprisonment and intimidation for their pains.

Genevieve Colin contributes a chapter on French writers. Amongst the minority who opposed the war were Romain Rolland and Henri Barbusse.

Barbusse proclaimed in 1917: 'We must fight German militarism, not to substitute our own, or to destroy Germany, but to smash militarism.'

By 1916 Rolland had entered the 'Internationalist camp' from a safe haven in Switzerland, but drew back from the October revolution and opposed Russia's withdrawal from the war.

How did the working class respond to the revolutions in Russia?

In 1915 the departement of Haute-Vienne was one of the first to question the leadership of the central committee of the Socialist Party for failing to carry out the resolution of the 1907 Stuttgart Congress and ignoring the 1912 Basle Congress, but Guesde and other French 'socialists' replied they would not meet any German socialists.

In more than one instance the Socialist Party showed

itself unable or unwilling to lead the struggles which mobilised large numbers of workers in 1917 and 1918, and in some cases exhorted the workers to return to work.

On May Day 1917, 10,000 workers stayed off work in Paris in response to a call, not from the Socialist Party, but from the building workers.

The minority anti-war section of the CGT mobilised 5-10,000 workers who could be heard singing the Internationale and chanting 'Down with war! Down with the Republic!'

By June, 100,000 workers were on strike in Paris in the munitions factories, 75 per cent of them women.

Collective

There were 250 cases of collective insubordination affecting half the infantry divisions following the halt to a major offensive in April 1917.

In June 1917 the Prefect of Gironde wrote: 'The word revolution is on everyone's lips, people of all classes speak of it as inevitable.'

The Prefect of Allier claimed that discontent was being stoked up by the demand for 'land to the peasants'.

The 1917 strike demands were largely limited to wage demands but after November 1917 the working class entered the political arena.

A resolution at a meeting in St Etienne called on workers 'to take to the streets well armed, and to foment uprisings so that the ruling class will recognise the firm intention of the proletariat to put an end to the carnage which has gone on for far too long as it is.'

The major wave of strikes which hit munition factories in Paris fizzled out, according to Becker because they



The battlefields of the First World War. Socialist leaders never questioned participation in the war

surprised the trade union movement as much as the government since they operated independently of the CGT.

Becker concludes that the 1917 strikes were neutralised by the authorities who, aided by the Socialist Party, forced the employers to meet their demands.

The 1918 wave of strikes involved different sections of workers in different localities

making political demands, chiefly for an end to the war.

These strikes were coordinated by a nucleus of militants, some openly calling for a general strike and revolution, but no revolutionary movement as such emerged before the end of the war.

The leadership was unable to break the 'national sentiment' of the working class.

They never questioned French participation in the war and were unwilling to concede territories to the German armies, even to the point of opposing the Bolshevik Treaty of Brest Litovsk with the Germans.

Becker's answers to important questions are incomplete, but I would still recommend the book.

Phil Edwards

The terrorism of the French state

Death of the Rainbow Warrior, Michael King. Penguin £3.95.

HEARING a BBC radio commentary recently on how the French government needed to deal with terrorism, I was struck — though not too surprised — by the fact that no-one mentioned the French state's own ventures in terrorism.

The couple jailed in New Zealand for the 'Rainbow Warrior' attack have been released to the French authorities. A new book out in France points firmly at President Mitterand's direct responsibility for the decision to bomb the Greenpeace ship.

Affair

So before the affair is forgotten, we can only welcome another book on it.

The blurb on the front cover of this Penguin says 'At last, the full inside story'.

Actually, I found Arrow Books 'Rainbow Warrior' by the Insight team (reviewed in Workers Press a while back) more informative, at

least on the French secret service aspect, though the 'full inside story' will probably have to come from a French writer.

The earlier book also had photographs, which the Penguin lacks.

However, where Michael King's book is particularly good is on the New Zealand end of the story.

He is a N.Z. writer, apparently highly-regarded, and he provides an interesting epilogue on reactions in a Maori community to Greenpeace.

His ability to write sympathetically and movingly on the experience and feelings of Pacific peoples, the victims of total disregard by the imperialist powers, gives some depth.

He begins with a graphic account of the suffering inflicted on Rongelap islanders by the American nuclear test in 1954.

This sets the tone and context of the Rainbow Warrior episode, of what it's all about.

As a footnote — literally — he points out that the radio-

active contamination of Japanese fishermen by the test helped spark the beginning of CND.

King also indicates an aspect of the affair that the press here has not cared to investigate — that Thatcher's Britain and Reagan's America were for their own reasons ready to gang-up with France against New Zealand.

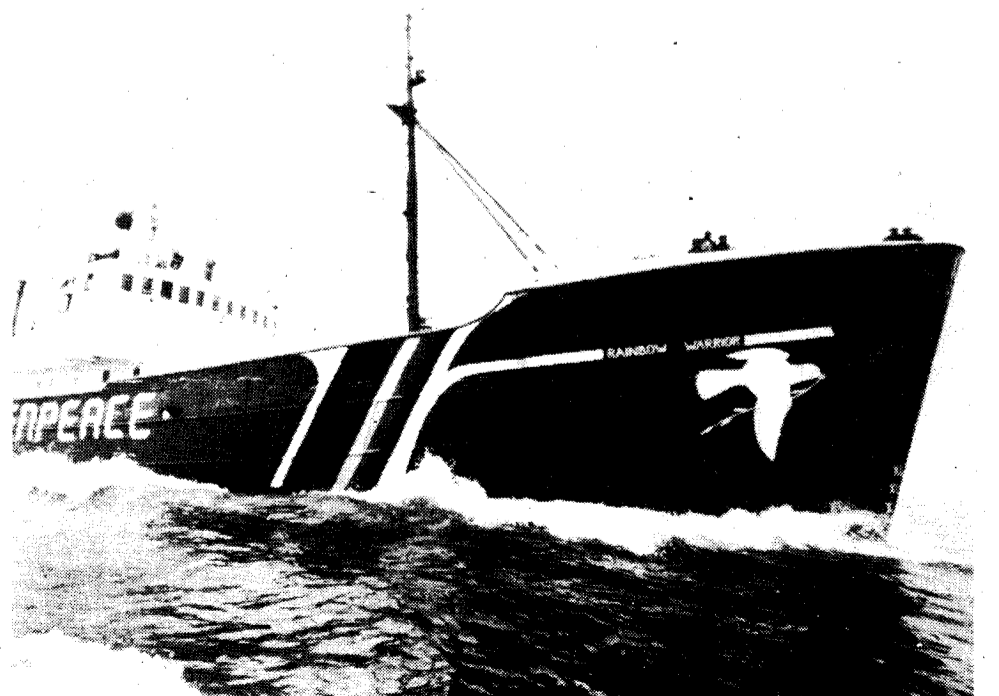
French intelligence may well have calculated on this, hence their government's confidence in going ahead with the terrorist act.

Agents

King's remark towards the end, on the jailed French agents, now seems unfortunate. He says: 'David Lange affirmed neither they nor the New Zealand judicial system were up for sale.'

French imperialism's economic bullying, backed by US and British weight, appears to have written a different postscript.

The working class, the Pacific peoples, and the anti-nuclear movement must see they don't have the last word.



'Rainbow Warrior' in happier days

VIETNAM: VETS DEMAND COMPENSATION

'MY visits were to meet people fighting for liberty,' NUM vice-president Peter Heathfield said about his 1967 visit to Vietnam.

He was addressing a fringe meeting held by the Compensation for Vietnam Veterans Campaign to publicise US imperialism's atrocities in using chemical weapons during the Vietnam war. The US government used Vietnam as a 'laboratory for improving war weapons' in the

1960s, Heathfield said.

The meeting discussed a campaign to force the US government to take full compensation responsibility for all those affected by the dioxin chemicals used in a last-ditch attempt to win the war — they still refuse responsibility for the thousands of birth abnormalities and food crop destruction today in Vietnam.

During the 1973 Paris Peace talks \$3.25 million in compensation was promised

by President Nixon but has never been paid. Money is also needed for research on overcoming chemical land contamination by the defoliant Agent Orange provided by Dow Chemicals for the US military.

The campaign calls on trade unions to help raise £1,000 for a Channel 4 video and is asking the Labour Party NEC to take action to claim the compensation.

SOGAT'S 'NO!' TO N.I. DEAL

AN OVERWHELMING majority of the sacked News International printworkers will be giving a decisive 'No' vote against the latest offer from Rupert Murdoch worked out between senior management and union leaders.

Printworkers see the deal as a stab in the back for the eight month old dispute. They are saying loud and clear, 'No jobs! No deal!'

At a rally at the Central Halls, Westminster on September 25, over 1,500 sacked printers voted unanimously, on a show of hands, to reject the offer.

The latest deal offers no more than the first did four months ago, which was also rejected. Many wanted to know why a ballot was being conducted at all.

The offer gives no jobs or union recognition inside Wapping and leaves the printworkers out on the street with no future.

But if printworkers were looking for answers at the meeting, they got none.

The London leadership of SOGAT have continuously held back from escalating the dispute.

They have preferred to rely on individual acts of heroism and the boycott campaign, very much as the national leadership have done.

With no real perspective to carry on the dispute after the ballot result is known, printworkers will begin to ask, 'Which way now?'

They are prepared to carry on picketing through another winter if necessary, but they must be able to win at the end of it.

The running of the dispute must now be put directly into the hands of a proper elected strike committee of printworkers in dispute.

BY ALAN CLARK

They must be allowed to work out a perspective for the strike.

They must plan to get the rest of Fleet Street involved.

The sacked printworkers have been out now for over 38 weeks.

Not once has Fleet Street been stopped in support of the dispute, yet many chapels in Fleet Street have been decimated during this time with thousands of jobs lost forever.

The trade union movement must be brought back into this dispute and not turned away and discouraged from supporting as they have been by the national leadership.

A strike committee must cease all collaboration with the strike breaking police force on demonstrations.

New methods of picketing and demonstrating must be worked out by the committee.

The flying picket must be stepped up with more people, being encouraged to participate.

Demands for effective support must be placed on the union leadership.

If they refuse support, procedures for dealing with them must be adopted and used.

The responsibility for winning this dispute, not only for the sacked printworkers but



NUR and Mersey dockers' banners down at Wapping last Saturday.

for the trade union movement as a whole, must be in the hands of people committed to this aim — for the defence of jobs and union recognition, but most of all to defend the right to have a union at all.

Murdoch set out to smash the print unions with help from Thatcher and the state.

The EETPU have much to answer for. They worked with Murdoch on the setting up of the deal to get rid of 5,500 of the workforce and claimed the jobs for themselves under the pretext of new technology.

They will be dealt with.

Printworkers have no doubt about that.

Printworkers have stood firm during the dispute, despite the treacherous leadership of SOGAT's Brenda Dean.

Tony Dubbins, General Secretary of the NGA, has not been blameless, as certain London leaders seem to forget.

He has restricted his demands for victory to the boycott campaign only.

His motion at the Brighton TUC congress on the Wapping dispute turned out to be a watered-down weak affair.

The strike must also be raised to a new political level

otherwise it will fade very rapidly.

The strikers and strike committee must be allowed to go through the experiences of organising the dispute. It will greatly strengthen them politically.

New ideas will be fought for at mass rallies organised and run by the strike committee. In this way a new leadership will emerge out of the struggle.

There is little doubt that printworkers' consciousness has already been raised in this dispute to levels that they never imagined.

New friends have been made, new links have been forged forever, support has come from quarters that printworkers might never have had anything to do with before.

Support groups were formed up and down the country, mainly on the backs of the old Miners Support Groups, but nevertheless they have played an important part in this dispute.

All this must not be allowed to go for nothing.

It is now the responsibility of the militants and rank and file printworkers to push for a strike committee, especially those involved in the Fleet Street Support Unit (FSSU) and the Union of Printworkers Support Groups (UPSG).

The FSSU and the UPSG must jointly call a conference to unite all those forces up and down the country who want to defend trade unions in a common struggle against betrayals of reformism and stalinism.

1936 - 86

THEY SHALL NOT PASS

March, rally and festival in commemoration of The Battle of Cable Street

SATURDAY 4th OCTOBER 1986

Assemble 12 noon, St. Mary's Churchyard, (Opp Aldgate East tube)

SPEAKERS: Jeremy Corbyn, David Kitson, Tony Benn, Eric Heffer, Dennis Skinner, Phil Parratin & others

Sponsored by SE Regio, TUC, Greater London Labour Party, Campaign Group of Labour MPs, Tower Hamlets Trades Council, Bethnal Green & Stepney Labour Party, Anti-Fascist Action, Searchlight, Tower Hamlets Unemployed Centre

PUBLIC MEETING 1974

The events surrounding the expulsion of Alan Thornett from the WRP

October 12, 1pm - 6pm

East Oxford Community Centre
Princes Street, Cowley Road
OXFORD

Session 1. MEETING 1pm - 3pm

Speakers: Alan Thornett

From WRP (to be announced)

Chair: Steve Howgate (Oxford & Swindon WRP)

Break

Session 2. DISCUSSION 4pm - 6pm

WORKERS REVOLUTIONARY PARTY PUBLIC LECTURES

All on Friday evenings start 8.00pm sharp
Conway Hall

Red Lion Square London WC1
PHILOSOPHY AND SOCIALISM

Marxist Political Economy - G Pilling
The State and Revolution - B Archer
The Revolutionary Party - D Bruce