

# Workers Press

25p

Saturday January 31 1987  
WEEKLY PAPER OF THE WORKERS REVOLUTIONARY PARTY

Number 60

## NAHUEL MORENO 1924-1987

### MEMORIAL MEETING

Monday 2 February — 7p.m.-9.30p.m.

Friends Meeting House, Euston Road, London W1  
Chair: Bill Hunter (WRP Central Committee)  
Speakers: Cliff Slaughter (WRP Central Committee), Leon Perez (Workers International League — LIT) and speakers from other Trotskyist organisations.



SEE PAGE 5

# FULL SUPPORT FOR TELECOM STRIKE!

**BRITISH Telecom has thrown down the gauntlet to their 140,000 engineers and clerical workers now on strike. There will be no formal talks until the mounting strike action is called off, said BT.**

This threat came after BT's 28,000 clerical staff joined the engineers for a three-day strike action against the attempted strings-imposed wage deal and the suspension of their colleagues.

Talks aimed at settling the dispute which took place on Monday and Wednesday proved futile.

With the backing of the government, the requirement on BT to inspect all new installations has been dropped for the strike's duration.

The strike is beginning to hit the City of London and big business and will soon affect the government's communication system.

Monday's call for an indefinite strike was greeted with 100-per-cent national support.

In Liverpool BT managers are refusing to carry out work normally done by engineers and have donated £1,000 to the strike fund.

Since the strike began the National Communications Union (NCU) Strike Control Room has received a stream of calls from non-NCU members eager to join the union and the strike.

The determination of the rank and file contrasts sharply with the NCU leadership. On Tuesday, NCU General Secretary John Golding announced that the union is ready for negotiations with BT management at any time.

The NCU told Workers Press that telephone operators were reporting great difficulty in getting calls through in quite a few parts of the country. Large numbers of telephone boxes are either totally out of order or operating 999 calls only.

Asked about the effects after a week of the strike, they said: 'The phone system will get very messy. BT is shifting the staff that it has off non-urgent and non-profitable work, basically the City and business work in Manchester and Glasgow.'

'The family customer can expect things to get worse and carry on getting worse.'

Some regions of the union have voted not to cover any emergency work because management are putting conditions on how it should be carried out.

The attempt to impose

### BY THE EDITOR

harsher conditions on BT engineers is the first result of Tory privatisation of the phone service. Working conditions and quality of service are to be sacrificed to profit.

A campaign must be launched to win the maximum support for the strike amongst the rest of the working class, especially amongst the locked out printers at Wapping. Their struggle, like the telephone engineers', is against the Thatcher government.



London Telecom Engineers leaving Wednesday's meeting which organised picketing

## Morale is high in Glasgow. . .

**'IT LOOKS from the way that BT management is speaking that this will be a long dispute. It's the first time we have come out on a national stoppage in the 100-year history of the union.'**

That's the perspective according to Lawrie McMennamin, Glasgow branch official of the National Communications Union.

'We had a left-wing executive until last summer, which was ousted by the right. The fact that they have been forced to call this action shows how bad the management of the privatised company is. They'll be calling John Golding "militant" in the press next!' says Lawrie.

'They want to break us before they bring in their modernisation plans. They are talking about 24,000 job losses in the next three years.'

Considering the outcome of the miners' fight with Thatcher, what were the prospects? Could the NCU stand up to her?

'I would never have believed that we would see our membership so solidly for industrial action. We couldn't have started with a better morale. We had a "consultative" ballot, and then a ballot on industrial action which was a 5-1 majority "yes" vote.

That judgement is confirmed by a Glasgow NCU leaflet which states: 'The effects of picketing are being felt by BT. We know from the spread of "emergencies" reported to us for clearance that the fault situation is immense . . .

'Non-members are flocking to join the action. Many are re-joining the NCU.'

No one doubts that the hand of this anti-union government is in this dispute. The Glasgow leaflet says:

'BT have escalated this dispute to a trial of strength . . . We may be faced with sacrifice now. However serfdom, compulsory redundancy and low differentiated wages would be our reward for losing.'

Like the teachers, BT workers are resisting 'package deals' which use pay deals as a Trojan horse for destroying trade union rights and conditions. 'No Strings!' read the posters and leaflets in Glasgow. Both sides are digging in.

## and Wales

TELECOM workers in South Wales are preparing for a long dispute. Spirits were boosted on the picket line when they were joined by clerical workers, out for three days.

The 25 clerical workers in Merthyr want to join the action but feel their executive should get their act together.

Some engineers want them to stay out on strike together, but at the Merthyr Tydfil depot picket line the feeling is to let them go back into work on Friday to see if management will suspend them for taking industrial action.

If the clerical workers are not suspended, then the engineers intend to step up the picket to prevent the office staff going in on Monday.

## JUST OUT!

Workers Revolutionary Party

### MANIFESTO

**'A Programme for the Crisis'**

50p (65p including postage)

Available from: WRP, PO Box 735, London SW9 7QS.

## BLOODY SUNDAY COMMEMORATION

SHEFFIELD

1pm Saturday 31 January  
Carlisle Street  
Rally at City Hall

### £10,000 Special Fund

**IN SO FAR: £9,166.37 TARGET: £10,000**

The Workers Revolutionary Party urgently needs the last £833.63 of the Special Fund. International visits to Ireland, Europe, Australia and the Americas have cost a great deal. We agreed to spend £5,000 on international work. Already a large part of it has gone. We are sure you support this work politically but we need you to support it financially as well. We have been spending the fund — on the international work and moving the party offices and printing facilities.

Please continue to send contributions, large or small.  
● Please send donations to: WRP, PO Box 735, London SW9 7QS

## INSIDE

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Re-organisation of the Fourth International  
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**Bloody Sunday Commemoration**  
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# Workers Press

## A witch-hunt

OUR attention has been drawn to a vicious witch-hunt launched in the scab 'Times' (Thursday January 29). Clearly rattled by last Saturday's huge demonstration at Wapping, Murdoch has responded with a scurrilous attack on the Workers Revolutionary Party and its paper Workers Press.

Speaking of Workers Press and other groups represented on Saturday the 'Times' claimed:

'The Metropolitan Police . . . faced those whose very creed is violence, who are contemptuous of the law, whose purpose is to provoke the forces of order into violent retaliation, by petrol bomb, paving stone or cudgel.'

There is no word of truth in this statement and the 'Times' can produce not a shred of evidence to substantiate its lying allegation.

Unlike the Stalinists, we are not advocates of the 'peaceful road to socialism'. The source of violence in capitalist society comes from the ruling class, which will use any means, including the systematic use of force, to defend its system. In their year-long struggle the miners discovered this every single day. Now the Wapping printers are having the same lesson dished out to them.

We stand for a socialist programme to mobilise the strength of the working class for the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of the dictatorship of the working class. It is the working class alone, led by a revolutionary party based on the science of Marxism, that can liberate humanity from the violence of capitalism. We have never made any secret of this.

Murdoch has been defended week in and week out by a specially trained and armed police force which has so far cost £14 million. The action at Wapping was the response of the printers and their supporters after a year of bitter confrontation with the state in which they have been abandoned by their so-called 'leaders'.

The 'Times' witch-hunt was prepared by the reformist Labour leaders. Speaking in the House of Lords last week former TUC general secretary Lord Murray said Wapping had become a 'Roman holiday for hooligans and Trotskyists'. Labour front bench spokesman Gerald Kaufman had earlier spoken of 'the leeches who fix themselves to a cause they do not assist and actively discourage.'

As usual, the Stalinists joined hands with these class traitors. Throughout the week the 'Morning Star' presented last Saturday's events at Wapping in the following idyllic terms:

'Songs and jokes were the order of the day as children marched alongside their parents, all demonstrators utterly overjoyed by the massive turn-out.'

The trouble, according to this paper, was caused by a tiny group of police provocateurs who led the crowd into anti-police violence. The 'Morning Star' implies that the working class is a passive object, to be manipulated at will by such agents.

**We repeat: last Saturday's Wapping march expressed the bitter and entirely legitimate frustration in the working class at the betrayal of the Wapping fight by the TUC and Labour leadership, a betrayal in which the Stalinists have played their full part.**

Unlike these advocates of the 'peaceful road to socialism' we unconditionally defend the right of the working class to take any action necessary to secure its jobs, rights and living standards.

No wonder Murdoch's editorial declares that the Communist Party should be placed 'on the moderate wing' of the Wapping demonstrators.

The Stalinists were merely anticipating last week's meeting of the TUC general council which condemned 'those undesirable elements among the demonstrators whose violence endangers and detracts from the legitimate action taken by the democratic and trade union movement.'

Every serious worker will reject these statements with the contempt they deserve. Workers Press has supported the Wapping printers from day one of their struggle.

Despite our serious political differences with the other working class organisations witch-hunted by Murdoch's scab paper we will come together with them in a common campaign against this crude frame-up attempt against the Trotskyist movement.

The ruling class tried to silence all those who supported the miners' strike. They played the same vile anti-Trotskyist card on that occasion. It failed to silence us then. It will fail to silence us now.

The statements of Murray and Kaufman — and the similar ones made by TUC general secretary Norman Willis and Labour leader Neil Kinnock — are designed to break the resistance of the Wapping printers. Their immediate purpose is to encourage the Tories to rush their new Public Order Act into law — a measure which will further erode the rights of every worker in this country.

We call upon all workers and socialists to repudiate these scurrilous attacks. Unite with us in a campaign throughout the working class movement to expose Murdoch's reactionary lies.

## WAPPING ANNIVERSARY

# Nothing like a carnival



Police manhandle an injured demonstrator at Wapping

BY DAVE SMITH

**HAVING been through the miners' strike as an NUM official, experiencing many violent clashes with the police on picket lines including Orgreave and the Mansfield rally, I went to Wapping knowing what to expect from the Metropolitan police maniac squads.**

So, when they were running berserk, beating everyone up on sight and ripping up trade union banners, I was not the least bit surprised. But I must say I was surprised when I saw the stage, mobile toilets and snack bars set up by the unions about 100 yards from the fortress gates.

As we approached, a pop group was playing, giving the whole thing a carnival atmosphere. Nothing wrong with this, of course, except no one told the pigs that it was a carnival.

Then the greatest spectacle of all happened. Union leader after union leader came on stage. All were making great demagogic speeches. They were pledging their support as usual, reading out birthday telegrams and telling the printworkers they will win.

It was a fine speech from Ron Todd, whose members were constantly driving armoured lorries through the pickets. Even 'Lofty' from the television programme Eastenders was wheeled on.

Whilst all this was happening on the stage, less than 100 yards away, within sight of the plant gates, the police were running amok.

They were beating up old and young alike, it made no difference to these thugs.

The only acknowledgment by the leadership of what the police were doing, was when one moron said from the stage: 'We understand that the police are hitting our people. Will they please stop doing this.'

On the Sunday I discussed with several people the events of the previous night. What kept coming up was: Why don't the pickets arm themselves against the

**AN eyewitness report from inside the SOGAT bus, which was being used as a makeshift ambulance, told Workers Press demonstrators were being brought in with serious head and facial wounds and were being ferried away in fleets of ambulances. At one point the bus was surrounded by riot police and police on horseback who prevented people from leaving or getting in to have wounds attended.**

police, why don't they organise themselves properly in order to take on the police?

All this led in turn to the question: Who is going to organise these workers, and who is going to lead them?

Having witnessed the great show of leadership coming from the platform the night before, it was obvious that these cowards were not prepared to do it.

Kinnock has stood side-by-side with Willis in condemning the workers for defending themselves against the state thugs, so it is clear that the Labour Party and the TUC are not going to lead the struggle.

The TUC refuses to expel the EETPU, which has organised its members to scab for Murdoch.

Wapping on Saturday night spelt out clearly that there is a crisis of leadership within the working class. It also proved that it is absolutely imperative that a leadership is built.

It is no good talking about the printworkers arming themselves against the state at Wapping because the state machinery will crush them. The leadership that has to be built is a leadership for the mobilisation of the whole of the working class against the state.

The only answer for the workers at Wapping is the same as it was for the miners and the same as it is for the British Telecom workers.

A revolutionary Trotskyist party has to be built in order to lead the working class to smash the capitalist state.

This does not mean that 'nothing can happen until the revolution'.

Trotskyists participate in every action of the working class, always from the standpoint of strengthening the working class in its combativity against the class enemy and enabling it to break from its treacherous leaders, building the revolutionary party.

Murdoch could be defeated, but that requires a struggle by us in the unions as a whole to bring about actions of solidarity which could make it impossible for the scabs to work.

**Murdoch depends on telephone lines, electricity, gas and water supplies, and transport. All of these are supplied by workers with 'strong' unions. Action by these unions to break Murdoch is what is needed.**

What Murdoch has done to the printworkers is what the employing class is doing or preparing to do to all trade unionists.

It follows that it is essential to mobilise all possible working class action to beat Murdoch — and the others.

### Vietnam: a correction

BECAUSE of a printing error, some paragraphs in the article 'The Fourth International and the Stalinist Ho' (last week's Workers Press) were

### Wapping is our home

JOHN REES, chair of Tower Hamlets Residents Support Group, was arrested last Saturday night at Wapping leading a march of local residents who support the sacked printworkers.

The residents' march was stopped in Wapping Lane. Police in riot gear herded them between high walls so that they were trapped and unable to move. With not a brick thrown, the police then used the same tactics against the residents (some very young and some elderly) as they were using against the printworkers and their supporters just down the road outside Murdoch's plant.

Some of the residents prevented police snatch squads from making further arrests against a young punk and a black youth, by shouting at the police: 'If you arrest them you will have to arrest us.' The police retreated.

Despite the arrest of Rees and others, the march was eventually allowed to move off along The Highway to be greeted by hundreds of printers when they reached Wellclose Square.

John Rees told Workers Press: 'The solidarity and discipline of the residents showed that working-class people, in the face of brutality and death (the crushing of Michael Delaney by a TNT truck), will not go down on their knees.'

'Our dignity remained intact in the face of provocation. We will not go away, Wapping is our home,' Rees said.

in the wrong place.

The last section of the article, 'Vietnamese Trotskyism today', began by referring to Trotskyist activity 'throughout the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s in Saigon.'

The article should then have continued: 'In 1954, when Ho signed the Geneva accords . . .'. But unfortunately three paragraphs, beginning with these words, appear at the bottom of the second column on page 11, instead of the top.

### On TV licences . . .

FRED JONES, 84, spent six hours in prison last week for a campaign for free TV licences for pensioners. This was the second time in a year that Fred, of Felling, Tyne and Wear, has been jailed at Gateshead, after refusing to pay

a £60 fine for not having a TV licence. The previous week Thatcher opposed a Bill to exempt all pensioners from the licence fee. The same week she admitted that she has 13 televisions at Downing Street and does not pay a penny licence fee for them. Because No.10 is Crown property, no fee is payable.

## New Bills to crush inner-city councils

BY EDWARD HUTT

THE HUGE Tory majority in Parliament is to be used this year to crush the recently elected inner-city councils by railroading through two new pieces of legislation.

Those who lose their livelihoods — and those who lose their services — will have the comfort of knowing that it has been achieved by law: the Local Government Finance Bill; and the Competition in the Provision of Local Government Services (in other words, Privatisation) Bill.

The forerunner to these two Bills will be the report of the government's Audit Commission, due to be published early next month.

This report will try to expose and ridicule Labour-controlled authorities, in London in particular. The government has already geared the publicity for its launch.

Provision and maintenance of new and rehabilitated homes is already the subject of legislation against Direct Labour Organisations, and of control by the housing investment programme, which Thatcher has slashed.

Housing management is to be destroyed by the Housing and Planning Act, which seeks to privatise estates. And the 'right to buy' legislation continues the sale of public assets.

The retrospective legislation contained in the Local Government Finance Bill highlights both the grand scale of the measures to end local government in its present form, and the confidence the government clearly feels in this election year.

It turns out that all rate limitation since 1981, including rate-capping, was illegal.

What's more, the removal from office of 31 Lambeth councillors on April 2, 1986 — they had refused to set a rate in 1986 because of 'insufficient funds at this time' — may well have been illegal, too.

Greenwich has already won a court case, and the Liverpool councillors' appeal still has to be heard by the House of Lords. So the Local Government Finance Bill seeks to 'validate things already done for rate limitation purposes'.

This is a major scandal, ignored by the media. The state is fast abandoning the checks and balances once at the heart of the democratic process.

Gone are the Metropolitan authorities. Gone is the power of local citizens to assess their own needs. A sinister apparatus is already half-formed.

Local government trade unions have an awesome responsibility, since local councils will be surcharged individually if run from public funds, and local pay agreements may be subject to law, as we saw in the teachers' case.

Both nationally and through branches and joint shop stewards' committees, the unions must organise their membership and launch positive and well-informed campaigns.

They have to make their independent voice heard in the struggle to defend local government and the thousands of jobs it provides. They mustn't tail after the employing councils.

Above all, they must shake off any weariness from last year and be honest enough to correct their own shortcomings where necessary.

# Teachers fight Baker and Rule 8



Teachers lobby the NUT executive in support of suspended Inner London leaders

BY ED PHILLIPS

EXECUTIVE members of the teachers' union NUT were jeered when they arrived at union headquarters in London last Saturday.

About 500 teachers were there to support 70 ILTA (Inner London Teachers Association) council members suspended from membership of the NUT by their national executive.

At 5p.m. the proceedings were adjourned for three weeks. It seems that Doug McAvoy (vice president of the NUT) was keen to go ahead, though the disciplinary com-

mittee were unable to give an adequate reply to Ken Jones, who presented the case for the defendants.

Whether or not the suspensions or expulsions go ahead, the executive will have made the point that Rule 8, outlawing unofficial action, will be used to police the more militant in the run-up to a possible election.

ILTA has been prominent in opposition to the negotiated sell-out at Coventry, and also in Nottingham at the end of last year.

The NUT executive have not used Rule 8 previously in unofficial disputes. It has

chosen to do so now when teachers face a state-imposed settlement which will deny the teachers' union negotiating rights and put the final say in the hands of an advisory body answerable to the Secretary of State for Education.

NUT members in Avon have issued a circular in support of ILTA and opposition to Rule 8. All union members should support the call for the repeal of such undemocratic rules.

The deadline for amendments to the Baker Bill was Wednesday. No amendments have been proposed, exposing the bankruptcy of the executive's 'strategy'.

The defence of union democracy and hard-won conditions of service cannot be carried out without challenging and ultimately throwing out this rotten leadership.

Those tendencies seeking to differentiate between the 'new realists' and other supposed groupings in the trade union and labour bureaucracy confuse the issues.

What is there to choose between a self-proclaimed 'new realist' who subordinates everything to the election of a Kinnock-led Labour government and those like Jarvis and McAvoy in the NUT who are swept into leadership only

to turn on their own members?

The NUT executive must mobilise teachers and students in an effective campaign against the Baker Bill. This includes strike action on February 19 agreed unanimously by a meeting on January 13.

But teachers must prepare to challenge the present leadership:

- Demand a special conference to discuss the Baker Bill
- Demand the repeal of Rule 8!

## Croydon homeless

CROYDON Council have voted by 31 to 21 not to invest in a six-bedroom home for the borough's homeless because it would cost £477,000 to buy and £18,000 per year to run.

The Tory housing councillor Leslie Aarons is quoted as saying: 'Clearly the council had a duty to weigh up this aspect before plunging into such a project. I don't think the council should provide it. I would like to see the voluntary sector involved.'

Leading local churchmen have now called on Christians to consider whether they can vote for the Tory Council, and local Tory MP H.Malins is supporting the local vicar.

Croydon is one of London's biggest boroughs where massive office development has been encouraged by the Tory Council over the last 20 years. The Council boasts of the lowest rates in London.

It has nowhere for the

homeless and its housing benefit department recently admitted that it had 17,000 outstanding claims and was taking up to two years to pay housing benefit applications.

Because of a policy of selling off school sites for private housing development, children in the north of the borough are being taught in cloakrooms because of a shortage of classrooms.

The leader of Croydon Tories Peter Bowness received a knighthood in the New Year Honours.

Croydon has 665 families registered as homeless. Last year 22 houses and 112 flats were built and 145 are due to be built by March 1987.

Never was there a stronger case for the requisitioning of empty houses and flats and their allocation to the homeless.

Croydon has 2,000,000 sq ft of empty office space, much of which could be converted into housing.

## Merthyr steel to end

THE iron- and steel-making tradition of 128 years is to be severed in Merthyr Tydfil with the announcement that the BSC works in Dowlais will close at the end of the year.

The 140 workers who make ingot moulds for Llanwern steel works will lose their jobs.

The workforce at the plants have not decided on any action regarding the closure. They are awaiting a full-time officials' meeting of all the unions involved next Wednesday, which will demand BSC provide alternative work on the site if the present operation is to be wound up.

AEU district secretary for Merthyr Fred Sullivan told Workers Press: 'Steel making and BSC owe a tremendous debt to the workforce at Dowlais and to

the whole community.'

Coal and steel developed simultaneously in the valley towns. In Merthyr the Guests and Crawshays ruled like barons.

Coal was developed to feed the furnaces and one of the first pits in Wales was the Navigation colliery in the Merthyr valley. It was also one of the first to sell coal commercially.

Steel and coal was taken to the rapidly expanding Cardiff docks by canal, and in 1805 Trevethic developed the first steam driven engine in the world which ran on tracks from Merthyr to Pontypridd.

The 1831 Merthyr riots where 24 workers were shot dead and where Dick Penderyn was later martyred, was a precursor to the major Chartist struggle in Wales and England.

## A year on strike

IN January last year 12 young workers began a strike at a small animal feeds processing factory in Bootle. Two of their colleagues had been sacked because their work 'did not reach the standard required by A-One Feeds'.

The workers had joined the Transport and General Workers Union in January 1986. Co-incidentally about the same time the two workers failed to 'match' the standards of the company. One of them also happened to be involved in organising the workers at A-One Feeds into the union.

The 12 workers have manned a picket line outside the

factory to stop scab labour, brought in from Yorkshire, doing their work. During their struggle for union recognition these trade unionists have been beaten up, hospitalised, imprisoned, fined and penalised, along with their families, by the DHSS.

During a recent occupation of the factory factual evidence was uncovered indicating the scabs employed by A-One Feeds had criminal records. These scabs are living in the factory premises.

After a year on strike these trade unionists are now more determined than ever to fight for their right to join a trade union.

## AEU cuts

THE executive of the AEU has plans to scrap around 50 of its 200 full time posts, blaming this on financial difficulties. Three elected officials, all left wingers, have already been told that their posts are to be abolished. The financial crisis has occurred with the dramatic fall in paying membership. The union has reduced its contributions to the TUC and will be entitled to a smaller block vote and representation.

## Hackney clothing strike

BY WAYNE POULSON

A STRIKE against wage cuts by 120 clothing workers has begun in Hackney. The garment workers' union (NUTGW) members last week rejected an attempt by their employer to cut wages and price rates by 30 per cent.

The company, ERTUG-RUL TEKIN, employs Turkish and Bangladeshi men and women under conditions widespread in East London garment sweatshops. Holiday pay, sick pay or overtime is not paid and up to 70-80 hours are worked per week.

A ballot agreed to continue the strike. A picket is maintained every day and the workers are organising support in the Turkish, Pakistani and Bangladeshi communities.

In the garment industry 'unauthorised' workers are

particularly exploited with the constant threat of deportation. They also lose out when companies go into liquidation overnight to evade VAT and PAYE taxes, continuing to operate with only a change in name.

## Seafood strike

FOUR Chinese chefs at Wheelers restaurant in Market Street, Brighton, were sacked in November last year. They have been picketing the restaurant ever since and the transport union has declared the dispute official.

Wheeler's popularity throughout the country as seafood restaurants was built up since the 1950s on the backs of its Chinese chefs. The quality of its cuisine was cut back after a take-over in 1983 by the Kennedy Brooke group.

Boosting profits has meant breaking up established working practices in their kitchens and the systematic harassment of staff who refused to co-operate.

The new owners are virulently anti-union. Union membership is strongest in Brighton, where the denial of a 5-per-cent pay rise and the subsequent sackings took place.

The strikers are demanding union recognition, reinstatement and proper negotiations on pay and conditions.

## Ilford jobs go

LAST Tuesday Plessey announced a further 300 jobs were to be lost at its Ilford plant, blaming the job losses on the world-wide depression in the military-radio market.

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# BLOODY SUNDAY COMMEMORATION

## Powerful Derry march

### REPUBLICAN PRISONERS OF WAR

#### LONG LARTIN

HM Prison Long Lartin, South Litleton, 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.

GERRY McDONNELL: Life sentence, B75882.

PAUL NORNEY: Life sentence, 863532.

TOMMY QUIGLEY: Life sentence, 69204.

PETER SHERRY: Life sentence, B75880.

#### WAKEFIELD

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

NATALINO VELLA: 15-year sentence, B71644.

#### ALBANY

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

MARTIN BRADY: Life sentence, 119087.

HARRY DUGGAN: Life sentence, 338638.

BILLY GRIMES: Life sentence, 758661.

SEAN KINSELLA: Life sentence, 341418.

#### GARTREE

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

RONNIE McCARTNEY: Life sentence, 463799.

STEPHEN NORDONE: Life sentence, 758663.

JOE O'CONNELL: Life sentence, 338635.

ROY WALSH: Life sentence, 119083.

#### FRANKLAND

HM Prison Finchale Ave, Brasside, Durham

WILLIAM ARMSTRONG: Life sentence, 119085.

BRENDAN DOWD: Life sentence, 758662.

PAUL HOLMES: Life sentence, 119034.

CON McFADDEN: 20-year sentence, 130662.

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.

PATRICK McGEE: Life sentence, B75881.

#### WORMWOOD SCRUBS

HM Prison, PO Box 757, Du Cane Road, London W12 0AE

DONAL CRAIG: 4 years.

#### LIVERPOOL

HUGH DOHERTY: Life sentence, 338636.

#### WANDSWORTH

VINCE DONNELLY: Life sentence, 274064.

#### DURHAM

HM Prison Durham, Old Elvert Street, Durham

MARTINA ANDERSON: Life sentence, D25134.

ELLA O'DWYER: Life sentence, D25135.

#### REMAND PRISONERS:

#### BRIXTON

HM Prison, Jebb Avenue, Brixton, London SW2 5XF.

MICHAEL J McKENNEY: L46486

G. (DANNY) McNAMEE: L48616

#### WORMWOOD SCRUBS

LIAM QUINN: L49930

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

CAROLE RICHARDSON: 290719, HM Prison Syal, 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.

We thank An Cumann Cabhrach, British section, for supplying and updating this information.

BY JOHN BALLANTYNE and MICK BURKE

OVER 3,000 people assembled last Saturday at the Creggan shops to march through the Bog-side to Free Derry Corner — 15 years to the day since British paratroopers massacred 13 people. The march swelled to near 4,000.

A British army helicopter flew overhead while at points along the route the RUC were noting down the names of people and demanding that the march disband.

In the morning family and friends of those killed, along with Sinn Fein's Martin McGuinness and John Noonan, held a service at the place where they were shot.

At Free Derry Corner scaffolding had been erected for the speaker John Noonan, an unemployed lorry driver from the Fettercairn area of Dublin. He has been active in the Republican movement since 1969, has spent time as a PoW in the cages of Long Kesh and is standing as a Sinn Fein candidate in the coming Irish general election.

John described the reaction to Bloody Sunday of the people in the 26 Counties: workers downed tools and marched on the British embassy which was eventually burnt down. He said the hunger strikes of 1981 'were a real eye-opener for the Republican movement but in the 26 Counties we failed to tap that movement and develop it.

'We in the Republican movement have had to learn the lessons from that period in order that we can consolidate our strength in the Six Counties and go on to develop and expand our influence amongst the peoples of the south.

'Sinn Fein is preparing the campaign against the collaboration of Fianna Gail and Fianna Fail and the Workers Party. We may not enter Leinster House this time but in the next three years we hope our offensive will prove successful.'

The next speaker was Derry Republican Martin McGuinness. 'Bloody Sunday commemorations have got bigger and bigger each year and the attempts of the British to intimidate and frighten us have failed,' he said.

'All around you can see the so-called might of the British state with their guns and their armoured vehicles and their laws. But let me tell you, Mr Policeman, we do not recognise your laws and we take great delight in breaking them,' he said to loud applause from the crowd.

'They have tried to use the London and Dublin agreement to drive you people off the streets but again they have failed.

'Peter Barry (*Irish foreign secretary*) and (*prime minister*) Fitzgerald tell us that the London-Dublin agreement has improved things for the nationalist people.

'But let me tell you something: since the agreement was signed more people have been arrested and interned, more people have been intimidated, the bigots of the RUC have broken down more doors and terrorised more people than the year before this reactionary agreement was signed.'

McGuinness said the repression of the RUC against the nationalist people and the repression of the blacks in South Africa was one and the same.

'We are the blacks of this



TOP: The Colour Party.

RIGHT: The march on the way to Free Derry Corner

● 'Bloody Sunday' pages 8 & 9

island. Bloody Sunday is one of — if not the most — important demonstrations on this island.

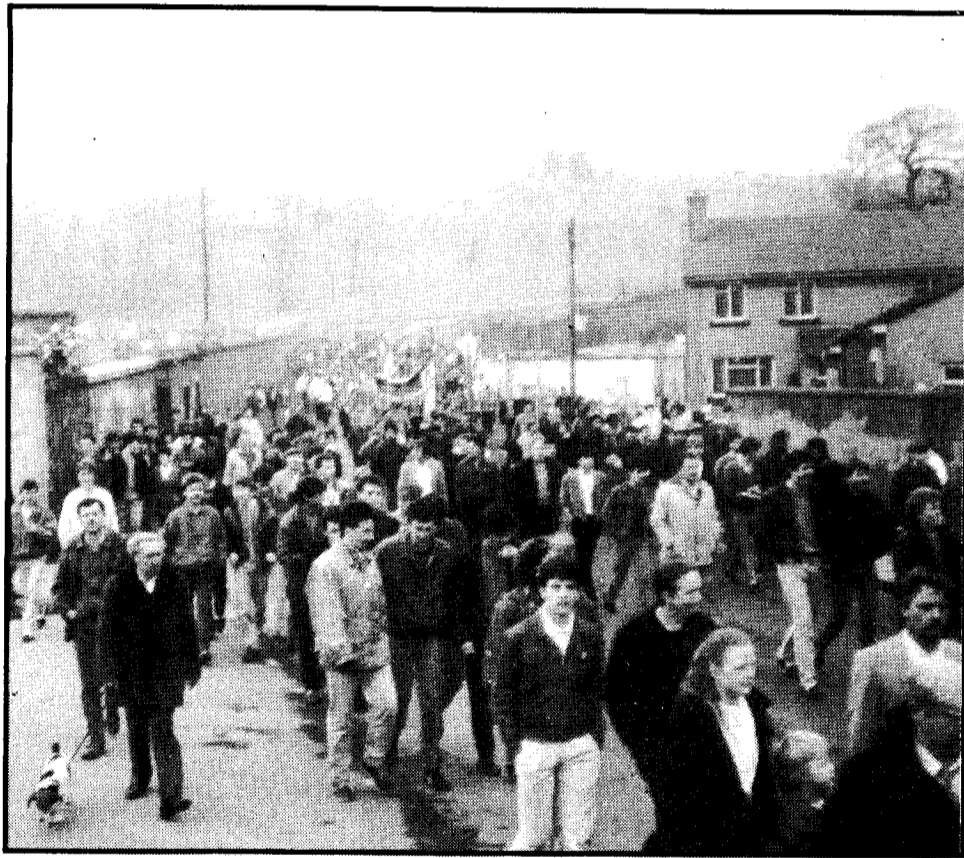
Rather than crushing the Republican spirit, it had become a springboard for the nationalist people to go on the offensive against the British army.

More young people came forward to volunteer for the Irish Republican army, to take up the armed struggle against the superior British army.

'But we place great confidence in the young fighters of the IRA and, along with the political influence of Sinn Fein, we will go forward,' he said to loud applause.

As the march broke up youths engaged the RUC and the army in stone throwing.

● We would like to thank our comrades who helped us in our stay in Ireland.



## Strip searching can continue — says human rights body

BY CHARLIE WALSH

A GOVERNMENT body has insisted that the strip searching of Irish women political prisoners in Maghaberry prison in the occupied Six Counties can go ahead.

According to a report given to Secretary of State Tom King by the Standing Advisory Commission on Human Rights (a government appointed body) strip searching is necessary to safeguard security.

The report calls on the authorities to keep the practice under review to ensure (it glibly says) that the procedures are operated with respect for human dignity within the restraints imposed by security.

In fact, it is an attempt to degrade, humiliate and destroy the women as human beings and to break their resistance as political fighters.

For a so-called human

rights body to condone this barbaric practice is surely to make a mockery out of the very meaning of human rights.

All prisons in Britain and the Six Counties have sophisticated body scanners and metal detectors to find any illicit materials hidden on the prisoners' bodies, yet the prison authorities and the government continue strip searches.

The report claims that Irish women political prisoners in Maghaberry Prison are strip searched more frequently than in England and Wales but not so frequently as in Scotland, although it admits that the lack of statistics makes comparison difficult.

It says that no intimate searches of body cavities have taken place despite evidence over the years that

these type of searches do take place.

It acknowledges that groups opposed to strip searches have indeed made that claim.

The report cynically adds that the majority of prisoners accept the need for 'strict' (sic) searches without any complaint or apparent embarrassment.

The chairman of the report, Mr Jane, a Belfast solicitor, should try telling that to the women in Maghaberry or to Martina Anderson and Ella O'Dwyer, prisoners in Durham. They have been subjected literally hundreds of times to this treatment.

The women feel that they are being raped. The report established that nothing of any security significance was ever found

through the 'strict' (sic) searching of women's prisons.

For the record, the report said that between 1983 and 1985 the only things found were tranquillisers, sleeping tablets, a phial of perfume and a £5 note.

The commission did not feel it appropriate, the report adds, to observe at first hand any 'strict' (sic) searches. They said this was out of respect for prisoners' personal privacy.

What humbug and hypocrisy when the same so-called Commission on Human Rights can support the continuation of this barbaric, degrading and humiliating sexual torture!

All revolutionaries and socialists must be in the forefront of the fight against this torture of women.

# NAHUEL MORENO 1924-1987

NAHUEL MORENO, a life-long Trotskyist, one of the most devoted and outstanding leaders of the Fourth International died on January 25, 1987. Comrade Moreno was leader of the LIT (International Workers Movement). We print below an account of his life.

The Workers Revolutionary Party sent the following cable to the LIT (International Workers Movement) on Monday 26 January.

ON behalf of the Party, the political committee of the Workers Revolutionary Party (Workers Press), wishes to convey to you its condolences on the loss of Comrade Moreno. The loss is ours as well as yours. Comrade Moreno devoted his entire life to Trotskyism. In the last few months he directed his efforts to the present great

possibilities of building the Fourth International, on a principled basis. Despite the state of his health he made the arduous journey to discuss this with us. The fulfilment of that task and the extension of our collaboration would be a true memorial to Comrade Moreno. Please convey our sympathy to Comrade Moreno's family.

BORN on April 21, 1924 in Rivadavia (Buenos Aires), Hugo Moreno joined the Trotskyist movement in 1940. In 1944 he helped to found the Marxist Workers' Group (GOM), which in 1947 changed its name to Workers' Revolutionary Party.

This was the first Trotskyist group in Argentina that included in its programme the need to work inside the working-class movement.

This period saw the rise of the first Peronist unions in Argentina, and Moreno was founder of and adviser to some of the most important of them, such as the Association of Textile Workers and the union of meat-packers (Anglo-CIABASA), the biggest in Argentina.

He was general secretary of the Socialist Youth of Avellaneda (Buenos Aires), until 1947.

From 1952 to 1956 he was one of the foremost leaders of the Socialist Party (National Revolution), a group that broke with the old Socialist Party because it supported American imperialism.

Moreno led the 1956 metalworkers' strike, the first important mobilisation of the Argentinian workers since Peron's downfall.

In the same period Moreno helped to produce the weekly 'Palabra Obrera' (Workers' Word), which had a wide circulation in the working-class movement.

Later he founded the

Workers' Revolutionary Party (PRT), which split in 1968 when a section influenced by the Cuban revolution went over to the guerrillas and formed the People's Revolutionary Army (ERP).

The section led by Moreno (called PRT - The Truth, from the name of its paper) merged with another socialist group to form the Workers' Socialist Party (PST). It was legalised and took part in the 1973 elections.

But it was outlawed and fiercely persecuted by the dictatorship that came to power in the 1976 coup. Many activists suffered torture and long terms of imprisonment, and over 100 were assassinated. The PST took part in the revolutionary struggles that led to the restoration of democracy in 1982.

In the same year the Movement for Socialism (MAS) was founded under Moreno's leadership.

Moreno's work in the international movement began in 1948, when his party sent him as its delegate to the second congress of the Fourth International. He was also a delegate to its third congress, in 1951.

When the line known as 'entrism sui generis' ('entry of a special type' into the Stalinist parties) was imposed on the world Trotskyist movement, Moreno — together with the leaders of the biggest Trotskyist parties — broke with the leadership of Mandel and Pablo

and formed the International Committee of the Fourth International.

This Committee held an international congress in Leeds in 1958, and Moreno was a prominent participant.

He was founder and leader of the Latin American Secretariat of Orthodox Trotskyism (SLATO), that led to the formation of Trotskyist parties in various Latin American countries, notably Chile, Peru, and Bolivia.

In 1963 the Fourth International was reunified. SLATO delayed entering because it considered the leadership around Ernest Mandel to be impressionistic and petty bourgeois.

When it did join, in 1964, it became a leading part of the Unified Secretariat.

It struggled theoretically and politically against revisionist elements and at the same time provided the impulse for the formation of Trotskyist parties in Colombia, Venezuela, Brazil, Peru, Central America, and various European countries.

In 1979 the movement led by Moreno was responsible for creating the Simon Bolivar Brigade, in which many revolutionaries from Latin American countries participated, and which went to Nicaragua to fight alongside the Sandinista National Liberation Front.

Three volunteers were killed and many were wounded in action. This unit — the



NAHUEL MORENO

## Tribute By Peter Fryer

I GOT to know Nahuel Moreno when he was in London in the summer of 1958. Then we lost touch, and I was not to see him again until he invited me to Latin America last year.

The outward aspect had changed little. The hair had greyed; the large frame was perhaps a shade stouter; but the shrewd eyes still twinkled, sometimes quizzically, sometimes mischievously, behind the spectacles.

The intelligence, the thorough political grasp, the lively, informed interest in all aspects of life: these were not merely intact, but working overtime.

We had three long meetings, one with just the two of us and an interpreter. Moreno understood spoken English but preferred to speak in Spanish.

Our discussions ranged from the origin of the tango to the contraceptive practices of the Incas; from the economic roots of racism to the role of pit support groups, and of women, in the British miners' strike; from the explosion in the Workers Revolutionary Party to the rebuilding of an international revolutionary leadership.

At every point Moreno had something interesting, and often something original and profound, to say. His knowledge of history, especially Latin American history, was encyclopedic.

He was a kind and attentive host. He went to immense trouble to take me to a tango recital that he knew I would appreciate and enjoy, as he did.

For all his eminence as theoretician and leader — an eminence acknowledged even by those who sharply disagreed with him — Moreno never played the 'great man' and, I think, rather pitied those who felt their authority in the working-class movement depended on projecting their egos in that way.

When he lunched at the

first of its kind since the International Brigades that participated in the Spanish revolution — carried the anti-Somoza revolution to the Atlantic coast and was one of the first to enter Managua.

After splitting with the Unified Secretariat, the international movement led by Moreno fused briefly with the tendency led by Pierre Lambert to form the International Committee (Fourth International). The IC(FI) split when the Lambertist current supported the Mitterrand government in France.

The movement built and led by Moreno — the International Workers' League (Fourth International) — is currently in the forefront of the campaign to re-organise the Fourth International.

Moreno was jailed many times, in Argentina, Peru, and Bolivia, for his political activities.

In 1978 he was arrested in Brazil. Amnesty International took up his defence and many well-known figures demanded his release.

The Portuguese parliament — in whose country his book on Marxist logic is used as a standard textbook — unanimously called for his release. His other publications include a history of Argentina, 'The Revolutionary Dictatorship of the Proletariat' (1979), and the recent 'Conversations with Nahuel Moreno', an excerpt from which appears below.

## Revolutionary all my life

INTERVIEWED last year for the book 'Conversations with Nahuel Moreno' (Buenos Aires, Antidoto, 1986), Moreno was asked: 'How would you weigh up your life as an activist?' He made the following reply:

Well, since Trotsky wrote his beautiful testament, it's common for Trotskyists to say: 'If I lived my life over again I would do exactly the same, but correcting the errors.'

I can state plainly that I have been a professional revolutionary all my life, dedicated wholly to the party and the revolution.

However, I believe we have committed many more errors than Trotsky and the Bolsheviks. When I say that ours has been a barbaric form of Trotskyism it is because I mean just that, not

because I wish to be demagogic.

We made ourselves, without the help of a real international. And so, in summing up my life, without grief but with very little glory, I see an enormous number of errors, some of them very serious, some positively ridiculous.

We had to pay the price for there not being an international, just as we had to pay the price for Trotsky's death. If you want an example, in 1947 the party went into the elections with the programme of the Paris Commune, which had nothing to do with the Argentine situation.

If we had not committed an infinite number of errors like that one, I am convinced that we would be much better off than we are today. Another very serious error was having had so many full-

time paid workers in the party. If I could turn the clock back I think it would be necessary to avoid that.

Many of the comrades who worked full-time for the party should have gone out and got a job and taken their place in society. Full-time party work generates the tendency to live a cloistered life, on the margin of society.

But my most serious problem was the leadership team: how to look after it, to make all the necessary sacrifices to ensure that leaders have good relations among themselves. For a long time I didn't understand this problem.

When I finally understood it, thanks to the leadership of the Socialist Workers Party, and Joe Hansen in particular, it was already late.

Some comrades of the old guard maintain that rupture with the old leadership team,

with Bengochea, Lagar, Fucitto and others — the very best the party had in its entire history — was inevitable given the political influence of Castroism.

That factor existed. But I think that added to it were elements of a subjective kind, contributed by me. I preferred to discuss and apply the truth in the abstract, instead of devoting all possible care to maintaining the team.

Maybe it wasn't like that, but I shall die with that doubt and grief.

### NAHUEL MORENO: MEMORIAL MEETING

Monday 2 February — 7 pm

Friends Meeting House, Euston Road, London W1

Buenos Aires headquarters of the Movement to Socialism (MAS) he took his place at the back of the queue and waited his turn like everyone else.

Yet, without histrionics or tantrums, he left his indelible stamp on the parties of the International Workers' League (LIT).

Patiently, over the years, he argued for, and trained his colleagues in, a method of analysis and discussion that he felt to be in the true Marxist tradition.

Basically it consisted in the pooling of intelligence. Sharp divisions of opinion, yes, but explored with mutual respect and without rancour.

During my visit to Latin America I saw this method in operation many times. It certainly made for long meetings sometimes; but it was fascinating to see how often consensus emerged in an atmosphere where comrades felt free to speak their minds without being bullied or humiliated.

'A Trotskyist is always a rebel.' With us, the leaders propose, the members decide.

'We train our members to think for themselves.' 'Democratic centralism isn't a rigid formula. There's very little centralism in the LIT — and in any case we don't see this as a formal problem, but as a matter of building mutual trust and confidence among comrades.'

These were Moreno's deeply held convictions. I heard them from his own lips, and I saw for myself that the LIT had been built on this bedrock of party democracy.

The growth of the MAS as a mass Trotskyist party deeply rooted in the Argentinian trade unions was the supreme realisation of Moreno's vision. His dearest wish was to see such a movement built on a world scale.

It is painful to say goodbye for ever to a friend who died tragically while he still had so much to give.

Having seen something of his living monument, the LIT, I am confident that his life's work will be fittingly continued — and not only in Latin America.

## INTERNATIONAL NEWS

## 'STOP THIS WAR' - CALL

AS the six-year long war between Iran and Iraq was stepped-up this month, with thousands of casualties in the latest Iranian offensive, calls have been made for an end to the bloody conflict.

Since launching their push against the Iraqi port of Basra on January 8, the Iraqis have lost 17,000 killed and 34,000 wounded. Iraqi losses have been on the same scale.

Each side boasts of the enemy corpses littering the battlefield. Correspondents describe scenes reminiscent of the First World War, muddy trenches full of rotting dead.

Civilians have suffered in Tehran, Qoms, Baghdad and Basra, from air and missile attacks. Fifty handicapped young people were killed by a direct hit on their home. At least a thousand people have been killed in Basra in the past fortnight.

What began as a defensive war following Iran's revolution now appears endless

BY CHARLIE POTTINS

carnage.

Ayatollah Khomeini tells youth they are 'marching to el Qods (Jerusalem)'. With Iranian forces still but a few miles inside Iraq, the Israeli Zionists feel safe enough to continue arming Iran.

The Ayatollah's regime also proclaims its wish to bring down Iraq's Saddam Hussein. The Iraqi masses, who alone can do that, are bearing the brunt of the war, and do not regard the Iraqis as their liberators.

Among those now calling for an end to the fighting is Libya's Muammar Gadhafi, who told the Kuwaiti daily 'al-Watar' last week: 'This war is meaningless. Iran is not an occupied country for Iraq to liberate, and Iraq is not an occupied country for Iran to liberate.'

Previously regarded as pro-Iran, Gadhafi said the war was 'an affront to Islamic ethics and Arab values.'

The Soviet Union, in an

official statement on January 9, attacked the 'waste' of the war, the use of chemical weapons, and bombing of 'populated localities with no military installations in them.'

The Soviet statement added that it was 'no secret that the continuation of the Iran-Iraq conflict is being used by the imperialist forces for increasing their military presence in the Persian Gulf area.'

It accused the United States of deliberately provoking continuation of the bloodshed.

From inside Iran, as with Iraq, left-wing opposition to the war has grown. First to defend the Iranian revolution against attack, left-wing groups driven underground by Khomeini's regime now say continuation of the war has undermined revolutionary gains, strengthened reaction in both countries, is laying the area open to im-

perialist intervention.

Contrasting Khomeini's claims to an anti-imperialist stance with the way the United States and Israel were arming his regime, the Iranian Marxist HKS warned in a statement recently obtained here that the war had enabled the US to establish military bases in the region and begin joint manoeuvres with reactionary Gulf sheikhdoms.

'The consolidation of the bourgeois state in Iran and the political strengthening of the Iraqi Baathist regime are both the results of the war. The destruction of human lives and economic resources has deeply weakened both countries, while imperialism is reaping the benefits.'

The HKS says a heavy price has been paid for compromises the Left made in the period when the Shah was overthrown, when what was needed was a revolutionary leadership fighting consistently 'for a clear strategy of working class power.'

## GENERAL STRIKE IN ARGENTINE

WORKERS in Argentina have launched a six-weeks action campaign against government austerity plans, beginning with a 24-hour general strike last Monday that halted industry, communications and transport.

Saul Ubaldini, secretary-general of the CGT union federation, estimated that 98 per cent of members had responded to the strike call. The federation has about 4 million members.

Unions have demanded a monthly minimum wage for workers of 165 australs (Argentina's new currency), equivalent to \$127 US. The government offered 150 australs.

Monday's strike halted commuter trains, most buses, docks and industry, particularly around Buenos Aires.

The post offices were not working. Telecommunications were also hit. In the banks, managers were working at the counters in place of absent clerks.

The state-run Argentinian airline had to cancel international flights to Rome, Rio Janeiro, Miami, New York and Los Angeles.

The government's attempt to curb pay is part of an austerity policy called the 'Austral Plan', named after the new currency, aimed at cutting record inflation inherited from the military junta and satisfying Argentina's creditors, like the International Monetary Fund (IMF).

Among poorer countries with huge foreign debts, Argentina ranks third after Brazil and Mexico.

In the twelve months ending June 1985, when the plan was introduced, inflation averaged 1,182 per cent. In 1986, inflation fell to 82 per cent, according to official figures.

After brutal repression under the military in the 1970s, Argentine trade unionists have recovered their strength. Since December 1983, when Alfonsín's government took over, there have been eight nationwide strikes.

According to Ubaldini of the CGT, last week's strike was just the first blow in a six-weeks 'Plan of Action' to press wage demands. Unions said it was also a referendum on the government's IMF-dictated policies.

## PHILIPPINES

## We assumed Uncle Sam was listening

A TOP Philippines government official was unable to say last week whether or not the United States has nuclear weapons based there.

Philippines president Corazon Aquino discussed over the phone how new constitutional proposals might affect US nuclear bases, on the assumption that US intelligence would be listening in.

With Filipinos due to vote February 2 on a new constitution, tapes leaked to right-wing opposition leaders led them to echo what left-wing critics had said: that the Aquino government had been interfering with the drafting.

Denying this, a top presidential aide said the conversation revealed in leaked tapes had been intended for American ears.

'The conversation was for American consumption, on the assumption that it would have been bugged', executive secretary Joker Arroyo told reporters. 'If anyone on the American side was listening they would know we were doing something' to look after US interests.

Asked whether the taped conversation indicated that the US has got nuclear weapons in the Philippines, Arroyo would only observe that US policy was neither to confirm nor deny the presence of such weapons at overseas bases.

The tapes, received and publicised by right-wing politician Homobono Adaza, show phone-tapping took place on September 19, the day after Mrs. Aquino had addressed the US Congress

during her goodwill mission to Washington.

Joker Arroyo telephoned Aquino and Information Minister Teodoro Locsin at their hotel. They discussed a clause which the constitutional commission had adopted, saying: 'The Philippines, consistent with the national interest, adopts and pursues a policy of freedom from nuclear weapons on its territory.'

Mrs Aquino complains that the clause would make it hard for her to get US aid.

Arroyo says he will tell commissioners that the clause would 'negate' US bases in the Philippines, since 'the Americans will not care about maintaining those bases if they are not allowed to store nuclear weapons.'

## Surprise

Switching from English to Tagalog, he then expresses surprise that commissioners close to the US embassy had not voiced objections to the anti-nuclear clause.

The president and her executive secretary then turn to discussing the rise in Manila share prices after her Washington speech, she asking 'Why didn't we buy shares?', him joking about 'inside information'.

Arroyo later arranged for the Philippines consul-general in New York to telephone his father, one of the constitutional commissioners, about the anti-nuclear clause. The commissioner, Mr Rodrigo, says he assured his son that the clause was 'not a hard-and-fast prohibition on nuclear weapons, but a general policy statement.'

## Mrs Aquino under fire

BY KEITH SCOTCHER

PHILIPPINES forces crushed an attempted rightist putsch last week, staged by soldiers said to be followers of exiled dictator Marcos, and supported by a few hundred civilian Marcos supporters.

Fighting took place as the pro-Marcos troops seized two TV stations. Apparently inspired by rumours that Marcos was planning a homecoming in time for February 2 voting on a new constitution, the troops were led by a senior officer who heads a masonic-style order within the army.

In his Honolulu exile, the deposed Marcos denied a hand in the coup attempt, and would not say whether he contemplated a return.

Earlier in the week peasants angry over the massacre of 15 farmers during a land reform demonstration in Manila had blocked main roads in central Luzon province with barricades of timber and burning tires.

Peasants were joined by trade unionists and students in a 'Day of Indignation' over the killings, which had happened when marines opened fire as demonstrators tried to cross the Meniola bridge to reach Aquino's presidential palace.

This time the massive demonstration of 15,000 was allowed to march to the palace.

Aquino did not appear before the crowd. She has consistently refused to meet the peasants who are demanding land reform, one of the main demands of the 'People's Power' uprising against Marcos in February 1986.

Many of the marchers carried placards denouncing the new constitution and demanding the dismissal of army chief Ramos and defence minister Ilet.

Ilet, a US-trained 'counter-insurgency' specialist, had said after the massacre that 'sometimes it is necessary to show force'.

The influential Cardinal Jaime Sin, who helped Mrs. Aquino become president, had urged the government to treat the land issue as urgent in the interest of 'national unity'.

About three-quarters of the population in the Philippines live in rural areas. At a rally in Bonifacio Plaza, just before the massacre, peasant union leader Jimmy Tadeo told the crowd that they should accept the truth that Mrs Aquino was a landlord who could not go against her class.

Ceasefire talks between the government and the 23,000-strong New People's Army were immediately suspended after the killings, and may break down permanently.

The Moro Islamic Liberation Front on Mindanao island had already resumed hostilities against the government. With 80,000 men under arms it is better equipped than the NPA, and it has links with Islamic forces internationally.

Aquino wants the new constitution to be accepted in order to install herself as president for the next six years. There have been no elections since Marcos was overthrown.

The corrupt pro-Marcos National Assembly was closed down and Aquino has ruled in a 'junta' with the army chiefs. The new constitution is widely opposed because it sanctions continued domination by imperialist finance, is vague on the closure of the strategic US bases - Clark Airfield and Subic Bay - and has nothing to say about the country's basic problems, such as land reform.

The proposed constitution is opposed by both right and left. On the left, the still illegal Communist Party, the KMM trade unions and the peasants' union are campaigning for a 'No' vote.

Without backing from the USA in the form of massive loans, Aquino couldn't have survived for a year.



## YOUNG TURKISH WORKERS

BY TRUDI JACKSON

YOUNG Turkish workers in West Germany are caught up in a vicious circle.

The Turkish military government demands 15,000dm (£5,357) from every youth who wants to serve only eight weeks instead of the 18 month compulsory military service.

This high price presents an unbearable condition.

Take for example Ali Camuz. Out of his 300dm (£107) weekly wage packet, half of it goes on rent. 'It is impossible to get this money together,' he says.

'If I don't pay, the embassy will refuse to extend my visa. This would make my stay illegal and the police could arrest me at any time.'

The 'alternatives' open to Ali are equally oppressive. The first one is for him to take out a bank loan to pay off the 'headtax' which would entitle him to do only the two month military service.

With additional expenses for the return fare, regular incoming bills for his rent and the upkeep of himself, his wife and small son, plus interest payments on the loan; this would amount to 25,000dm (£8,214).

To accumulate a debt of this size creates a financial burden which a young worker like Ali could spend the rest of his working life repaying. It would literally enslave him to the state.

His other so-called

alternative is to serve the full eighteen month military service, which will leaving him in an equally disastrous situation.

First of all he would lose his job in West Germany and therefore his prospective resident permit. He would not be allowed to re-join his wife and child because of that.

Approximately 400,000 Turkish youth are confronted with the same problem, a figure which of course increases year by year.

## Position

Faced with this unbearable position the youth are beginning a fight-back.

In North Rhine-Westphalia, where most of the Turkish immigrants are living, they have put forward the following demands: 'Reduce the "headtax" by a third; pay back those youth who have had to pay the full amount, and use the headtax in Turkey to create jobs for the youth and not spend it on arms.'

Even such minimum demands are bound to have an enormous politicising effect of these youth.

The West German TUC want the government to negotiate with the Turkish military dictatorship. Since 1980 approximately 500m dm (£170m) headtax has helped the regime pay off many of its foreign debts.

## GUERRILLA ATTACK IN LIMA

PERU'S Maoist-inspired Sendero Luminoso guerrillas brought their war to the capital, Lima, last week, with an attack on the Indian embassy, killing two police guards and wounding another.

The machine-gun raid from a passing pick-up truck followed bombings the pre-

vious week which hit power supplies and four offices of the ruling Aprista party.

Armed guerrillas who entered news agency offices issued a communique saying the embassy had been attacked to sabotage President Alan Garcia's official visit to India. They said it was just an image-building

trip.

The Peruvian government has extended a state of emergency and overnight curfew in the capital.

In Huancayo, eastern Peru, guerrillas blew up a power station, blacking out the city, then bombed four banks, two stores and a policeman's house.



Queue outside Dun Laoghaire dole office in Ireland

# UNEMPLOYMENT MAIN ISSUE IN IRISH ELECTION

**UNEMPLOYMENT will be the main issue in the Irish general election on February 17.**

There are now officially 250,178 out of work in the Irish Republic (26 Counties) — an all-time record in the history of that state.

It represents 19.3 per cent of the population.

In the last five weeks of 1986, unemployment went up by 13,000, which is also the worst ever.

And when you consider that up to 25,000 people, mostly the young and talented are leaving the country each year, it paints a bleak and frightening picture indeed.

On top of that the American immigration authorities are now beginning to clamp down on illegal Irish immigration to the USA, said to number some 70,000 people, and this could result in thousands of Irish people having to come home.

But despite this the US, like Canada and Australia, have increased their entry of quotas for Irish emigrants.

Without emigration the unemployment figures in Ireland would be in the region of 400,000.

It is being forecast that between 1986 and 1990 a total of 125,000 people will have left the country.

The Irish economy is at an all-time low from the heady days of economic boom in the early 1970s, benefiting as it did from the high agricultural prices of the EEC along with the millions paid out in grants to the different regions of the country.

Recent changes in the Common Agricultural Policy (CAP), which reduced production in milk and dairy produce with a corresponding reduction in prices hit hard the small Irish farmer and those workers in the industry who need guaranteed high prices in order to be

BY CHARLIE WALSH

able to survive.

The multinational-dominated Common Market benefits the big industrial countries more than it does Ireland.

Membership of the rich man's club of Europe is going to affect the Irish economy even more severely now that the economic prosperity of the earlier years of membership has turned into nightmare and a crisis in the Irish economy that could well surpass that suffered by the country in the 1940s and 1950s.

Agriculture is anything but popular in the EEC at the moment, especially among the mainly industrial countries of Britain, Germany, France and Italy.

And as the countries have more votes than Ireland in the European Parliament the complete break-up of the CAP is a real possibility in the near future.

All the warnings made by the critics of Ireland's entry are now being fulfilled. So what is the answer or answers to Ireland's plight? One a complete withdrawal from the EEC, the nationalisation of the land, banks and natural resources such as oil, gas, lead and zinc.

And by constructing a socialist planned economy begin to resolve the catastrophic social and economic problems which are already at crisis point.

A socialist planned economy under workers control and in the interests of the working class and small farmers.

Ireland, like all ex-colonial countries, is the victim of transnational capitalism which is ruthless in its drive for cheap labour and high profits.

It only invests in countries like Ireland when given the greatest possible incentive to do so.

The Irish Industrial Au-

thority responsible for bringing industry into Ireland hands out hundreds of millions of pounds each year to subsidiaries of multinational companies in order to get them to set up operations in Ireland.

(Let it be noted that these companies took £1.5 billion out of Ireland last year.)

Those companies are given a 20 year tax free holiday provided what they produce is for export. They also receive grants for factory buildings, machinery and for other facilities.

Some of these companies only remain in Ireland for short periods of time, sometimes even for only a matter of months. And it hasn't been unknown for some of the fly-by-night operators to do a quick disappearing act, having got millions from IDA.

And it has been known to happen that a company after a brief period in operation has shut up shop and removed the factory machinery and other assets out of the country.

An example of the generosity of the IDA can be gauged from a recent statement made by John Bruton, finance minister in the Coalition government.

He announced a plan to create 1,000 jobs 'for the young educated and internationally minded' in a Dublin-based international stock market costing £10 million.

This must be heartening for the workers in Clandalkin paper mills who are seeking £4 million from the government to save their plant.

Not only do the multinational subsidiaries leave Ireland with the benefits of IDA generosity but many companies have left Ireland owing thousands of pounds to Irish workers and thousands in National Insurance and pension contributions to the Irish government.

As soon as these companies find countries with cheaper labour than in Ireland (non-union labour is preferable of course) they

move leaving Irish workers and their families to rot on the dole.

Economic patchwork by successive Irish governments has done nothing to solve the problems of unemployment or emigration and their socially related problems.

Attempts at creating jobs have done nothing except create disaster and confusion for Irish workers and youth.

It is a fraud perpetrated on the growing numbers of unemployed people in the same way that the EEC has been a fraud for Irish agriculture but especially now and in particular for the small farmer who is being squeezed out of existence.

Until and unless these policies are reversed a real and lasting solution to unemployment and emigration cannot be found.

## French CP row

THE French Communist Party was last week plunged into its biggest crisis since 1968 following the resignations of political bureau member Claude Poperon and one its most influential veterans, Marcel Rigout.

Poperon's resignation was the first by a political bureau member since the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968. Both Rigout and Poperon favoured closer links with the Socialist Party.

They were denounced as 'liquidators' by general secretary Georges Marchais, himself architect of the Stalinist-socialist alliance from 1972 to 1979.

In the last ten years electoral support for the French CP has been cut in half, and these latest resignations are bound to intensify the crisis of Stalinism in France.

## GERMANY

### Voters Upset Party Leaders

WEST German Chancellor Kohl's conservative coalition remains in office, but his Christian Democrat party had its worst vote since 1949, losing heavily to the liberal Free Democrats.

Kohl's hard-line anti-communist speeches and talk of 'concentration camps' in East Germany frightened many otherwise contented middle class voters into seeing him as a warmonger.

Kohl is blaming Bavarian ally Joseph Strauss, who stomped the beer halls with nationalistic speeches, assuring followers they should forget the Nazi past.

Strauss lost votes heavily, and is expected now to lose his chance of a cabinet post.

The Social Democrats did better than the bourgeois press had anticipated, but probably not good enough to save party leader Johannes Rau. Many former or potential Social Democrat voters went to the anti-nuclear and environmentalist Greens, who went from 26 seats in the Bundestag in 1983 to 42 seats now.

## Gorbachev Promises 'Democracy'

SOVIET leader Mikhail Gorbachev has accused predecessors of failing to see the need for changes in Soviet society, and promised inner-party democracy so people could exert 'control from below.'

Opening a long-delayed full central committee meeting, the Communist Party general secretary referred to the bitter experiences of the Stalin era as well as attacking Brezhnev's record.

He said the latter's rule had ended in shortages, corruption, soaring alcoholism and drug problems.

'Democratisation is not just a slogan but the very essence of the reconstruction our society is going through,' Gorbachev declared, linking his call to proposed economic reforms.

'We see that change for the better is taking place slowly, and our social problems are more deeply rooted than we thought', the Soviet leader said.

Besides promising free election of top party officials by secret ballot, he urged 'the development of democracy in production' so that citizens could feel the changes in their own experience, and participate more willingly in public affairs.

## US LIFTS BAN

US FIRMS desperate for orders have made their first breach in a Pentagon-backed barrier to trade with the Soviet Union. The US Commerce Department has lifted the ban on sales of oil and gas equipment.

Senators from Texas and other states hit by the oil recession had urged this on Secretary of State Schultz, Commerce Secretary Malcolm Badridge and National Security adviser Frank Carlucci.

They said trade restrictions imposed by the Carter administration in 1978, and tightened by Reagan in 1980, had done more damage to US industry than to the USSR.

Alexander Trowbridge, head of the National Association of Manufacturers, recently quoted a figure of \$2 billion in lost deals, and said

these could have saved 46,000 jobs in America's oil industry.

In the early 1960s, when the Soviet Union was laying pipelines to export oil and gas to Europe, the big oil companies and the US government succeeded in preventing British engineering companies' accepting Soviet contracts.

More recent restrictions have resulted in frustrated US firms watching big export deals taken by West German, Japanese and Canadian suppliers.

The Reagan administration's restrictions on high-tech exports, applied also to countries using US computers etc., have led to European companies turning away from US suppliers, according to a recent report by the US National Academy of Sciences.

## Ex-wife halts bank rip-off

AT the request of the ex-wife of disgraced Israeli banker Ernst Japhet, Tel Aviv district court has slapped an attachment order on half of a \$5 million controversial golden handshake taken by him, and on other assets.

The troubled affairs of the bank he headed have also led to a major row at the top of the world Zionist movement.

Japhet's \$5 million, and a \$30,000 monthly pension, aroused anger among bank staffs and the Israeli public when they were revealed. He was forced to retire from the chair of Bank Leumi in disgrace last year, as were chairmen of other big Israeli banks.

This was after official reports blamed the 1983 shares collapse — the state had to intervene to rescue thousands of small investors — on the irresponsibility of top bank chiefs.

Hearing of Japhet's 'handshake', angry bank workers stormed into his office and demanded that he hand the money back. Many had taken pay cuts to help the bank out of its difficulties.

Echoes of the bank row are still spreading. Dr Avraham Avihai, chairman of an important Zionist financial institution, the Keren

Hayesod, quit the World Zionist Organisation (WZO) executive because they ignored his demand for the resignation of Arye Dultzin, who chairs both the WZO and the Jewish Agency.

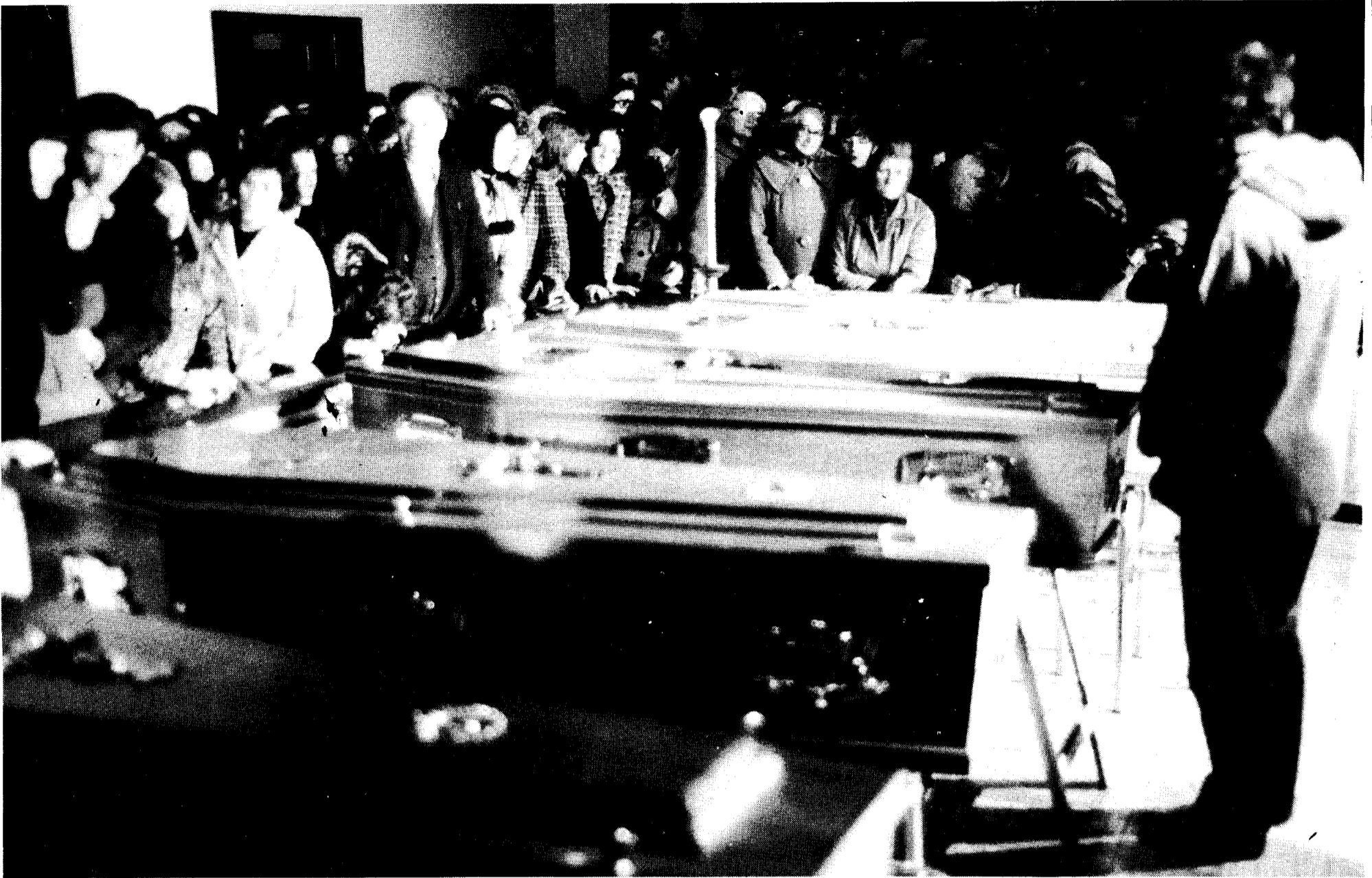
Dultzin's role as head of the Jewish Colonial Trust, parent body and majority shareholder of Bank Leumi, had been brought into question, Avihai charged. Dultzin had 'done untold damage to the Zionist organisation', which had become 'the butt of contempt and ridicule'.

### Fund

Keren Hayesod (Foundation Fund) centralises money collected by various Zionist fund-raising appeals in Britain, the United States and elsewhere. The Jewish Agency helps spend it — i.e. finances and supervises a variety of Zionist activities, such as promoting Jewish immigration and running youth and student groups abroad, to supplement the work of the Israeli government.

When he stepped down Japhet wrote to his ex-wife saying that now he was retiring he would have to cut her monthly allowance, agreed when they were divorced three years ago.

# BLOODY SUNDAY



Mourners at the Coffins of the victims

**'I WILL never forget standing in the Creggan chapel staring at the brown wooden boxes. We mourned, and Ireland mourned with us. That sight more than anything convinced me that there will never be peace in Ireland while Britain remains.'**

THE 18-year-old who mourned the murder of his contemporaries and fellow Derry men on 30 January 1972 was himself to die at the hands of the British state nine years later.

His name was Micky Devine — he was the last of ten prisoners-of-war who starved to death in Long Kesh concentration camp in 1981.

They chose a long and painful death rather than suffer any more barbarities in the name of 'normalisation' — a policy that was the brainchild of Labour Northern Ireland Minister, Roy Mason.

A common theme in the politicisation of the hunger strikers was the memory of Bloody Sunday\*. The callous and cold-blooded murder of men and boys during a peaceful demonstration was a turning point in their lives.

The paratroopers had by all accounts taken a twisted pleasure in firing into the crowds of unarmed people who had joined the 20,000-strong protest that fateful Sunday. A 'Times' reporter recalled:

*'I found the reaction of the paratroopers in this situation interesting. They seemed to relish their work, and their eagerness manifested itself, to me, mainly in their shouting, cursing and ribald language. Most of them seemed to regard the Bogside and people who took part in the parade as legitimate targets.'* ('Times', February 1, 1972)

The Land Forces Commander, General Ford, was heard to say:

BY SARAH HANNIGAN

'Go on the paras, go and get them,' the same eyewitness recalled.

Years later this account was borne out by tape recordings obtained by Sinn Fein of conversations during the operation itself between a British army officer and a soldier.

The officer was in the army's press office at Victoria Barracks in Derry and the soldier was identified as Bombadier Phillips.

**PHILLIPS:** I think it's gone badly wrong in the Rossville (flats where many of the victims were gunned down). The doctors have been at the hospital and they're pulling stiffs out of there as fast as they can get them out.

**OFFICER:** There's nothing wrong with that, eh?

**PHILLIPS:** Well there is, because they're the wrong people. There

are about nine, between nine and 15, killed by the paratroopers in the Rossville area. There are old women, children . . . The padre has been upset and he's going to see the commander about the ill-treatment.

**OFFICER:** General Ford?

**PHILLIPS:** Yes.

**OFFICER:** But he was lapping it up.

**PHILLIPS:** Who was?

**OFFICER:** Ford.

**PHILLIPS:** Was he?

**OFFICER:** Yes; said it was the best thing he had seen in a long time. He says this is what should happen. We've been far too passive.

**PHILLIPS:** Interesting. . .

**OFFICER:** Well, he said: 'You can have 24 and no loss.'

Phillips' reference to the dead being the 'wrong people' may indicate that there is some truth in the theory that the army top brass had set in motion an undercover operation aimed at 'flushing out' the IRA from the Rossville Street flats, but when it didn't work had consoled themselves with firing at unarmed bystanders.

But the subsequent Widgery Tribunal was forced to conclude that

not a single one of the dead or injured had any signs of being in contact with any explosives or firearms, other than the bullets that killed them.

## Exonerating

These findings did not prevent Lord Widgery from exonerating the army, although it was admitted that most of the victims were shot in the back! The Derry City coroner, Major Hubert O'Neill, himself a former British officer, was not so blind. He commented at the inquest on the victims:

*'The army ran amok . . . They were shooting innocent people. I would say without hesitation that it was sheer unadulterated murder. It was murder.'*

Yet none of the members of the 1st Battalion of the Parachute Regiment on 'duty' that day was ever charged or even reprimanded for their action.

Major O'Neill was, however, removed from his post.

In 1974, Lt Colonel Derek Wilford, who had commanded the paratroopers on Bloody Sunday, was

awarded an OBE for 'gallant services'.

In September 1976, the British authorities quietly made out of court settlements, a paltry sum of £95,000, to the relatives of those killed on Bloody Sunday and to those injured, but the Attorney General still declined to authorise prosecution any of the soldiers involved.

The Widgery Tribunal had effectively silenced public inquiry into the murders to get the army off the hook.

Throughout Ireland the response to the Bloody Sunday killings was shock and anger — thousands took to the streets and the British Embassy in Dublin was burned. The Irish government was forced to declare the day of the funerals a day of national mourning.

In the Six Counties the anger was expressed in a wave of attacks on the army — by mid-March, 56 soldiers had been killed — and the centres of Belfast, Derry and other towns were hit by a series of bombings.

In March, Tory Prime Minister Edward Heath ordered the suspension of the Stormont government and declared direct rule from Westminster over the Six Counties.

Three months later the Provisional IRA ordered its units to ceasefire and to suspend offensive

## VICTIMS OF THE



The Victims (left to right) Gerry McKinney, John Young, Jack Duddy, Michael Kelly, William McKinney, Jim Wray, Michael McDaid, William Nash, Kevin McCloskey



# 30 JANUARY 1972

UNTIL a few weeks before Bloody Sunday, Micky Devine had been an enthusiastic and loyal member of the Young Socialists, selling Workers Press and Keep Left regularly on Saturday afternoons in the shopping centre at William Street.

He quit at the end of 1971 because he was no longer prepared to defend the Socialist Labour League's policy of demanding that the barricades defending Catholic areas be pulled down: it was argued from the safety of Clapham High Street in London that the barricades were a 'sectarian act' because they separated Catholic from Protestant working class areas.

When he left the Young Socialists, Micky Devine first joined the Official IRA, and when they abandoned the armed struggle, he joined the newly formed Irish National Liberation Army and its political wing, the Irish Republican Socialist Party.

It was as INLA Officer Commanding in Long Kesh that Micky Devine went on hunger strike in June 1981. He had already undergone three years of the blanket and dirt protest when in a letter to one of his friends he explained why he supported the hunger strike against the regime of criminalisation in Long Kesh:

'A death of dignity is infinitely preferable to indefinite torture . . . vicious beatings, starvation diets, deprivation . . . obscene searching . . . 24 hours a day every day in cells described by the . . . Cardinal as resembling the sewers of Calcutta.'

By 20 August 1981, Micky Devine was dead. He had resisted all the efforts of the two states — Britain and the Dublin government — the Church and prison officials to persuade him to cave in and abandon his fast.



Army and demonstrators face each other across the barricade

## ● See Derry march report page 4



One of the massacre victims

operations if the British government would negotiate on a number of demands. These were:

- a) the British government to recognise the right of Irish people to decide the future of their country
- b) to declare its intention of withdrawing its forces from Ireland
- c) to declare a general amnesty for all political prisoners in British and Irish jails

The British cynically used the ceasefire to prepare to move more troops into the Six Counties and allowed Loyalist paramilitaries to initiate a wave of sectarian assassinations and intimidation in Catholic areas; then they broke the truce, staged 'Operation Motorman' with thousands of extra soldiers swamping the Six Counties, and took over 'no-go' areas like Free Derry and in Belfast.

Then they instituted a series of discussions aimed at isolating the IRA and switching support to the 'respectable' reformists of the Social Democratic and Labour Party — these were the power-sharing talks which culminated in the Sunningdale Agreement of 1973.

By May 1974, however, the power-sharing executive had collapsed after a series of strikes led by the Ulster Workers Council — the Loyalists were not prepared to

give up any of their privileges in the north of Ireland and were not going to pretend to share anything with a group of nationalists, no matter how craven.

From the moment the Wilson Labour government came to power, it was apparent that the British social democrats were eager defenders of imperial rule in Ireland — no matter what the price in terms of repression and state violence against the nationalist community.

It was under Wilson with Roy Mason as Northern Ireland supreme that the machine of torture and repression was institutionalised into a 'conveyor belt system of justice'.

Special category status for Republican prisoners was withdrawn in 1976 and a policy of criminalisation introduced.

But the IRA and INLA prisoners would have none of it and refused to wear prison uniform or do work ordered by the authorities; the state responded with a series of barbarities which led to the escalation of the protest by a group of men desperate to retain their dignity.

Bobby Sands, the first of the Long Kesh prisoners to die on the 66th day of hunger strike in May 1983, recorded vividly what they suffered\*\* as the Blanket men;

during the protests which lasted four years:

"Things remain the same — torturous."

"Those are the seemingly perpetual words that inevitably filter out each day from the H-Blocks of Long Kesh on miserable scraps of stamped government property toilet roll to our comrades on the outside world.

'Our smuggled messages today told of the vicious and callous beatings meted out by dozens of sadistic and sectarian-natured screws upon naked and very vulnerable Republican Prisoners of war; of how last night we fought at our cell doors with blankets to try and stop the freezing jet of the high powered hose from saturating our pale skeletal bodies and

our filthy already damp mutilated mattresses that lie upon the dirty, cold, concrete floor.

'And how we gave up, drenched, to retire to the furthest corner, up to our ankles in water, to fight back with all we really have, "Our Spirit of Resistance".

From allowing the cold-blooded murder of innocent civilians to the systematic torture of prisoners to obtain 'confessions', to the callous decision to allow the hunger strikers to die rather than grant even minimal prison conditions, the record of successive British governments in the north of Ireland over the past 18 years has been a repeated statement of just how far the state is prepared to go to defend its power.

It is a lesson that must never be underestimated, or forgotten, in Britain.

## BRITISH ARMY



ey, Hugh Gilmore, Gerard Donaghy, Patsy Doherty, Barry McGuigan.

\*'The Irish Hunger Strikers' by Tom Collins; White Island Book Company, £6.95 (1986)

\*\*'Skylark Sing Your Lonely Song — an anthology of the writings of Bobby Sands'; Mercier Press, £4.95 (1982)

**THE Workers Revolutionary Party proposes to all Trotskyists an international conference to discuss the responsibilities of Trotskyist organisations in resolving the continuing crisis of the Fourth International.**

The resolution of the crisis is an inescapable necessity and responsibility in the face of the decisive changes which have begun in the relationship of class forces on the world arena, changes embracing the political revolution in the degenerated and deformed workers' states as well as the struggles of the working class and oppressed masses against imperialism in the advanced capitalist countries and in the colonial and semi-colonial countries.

It is these great changes which have both exposed clearly the nature of the crisis in the Fourth International and created the conditions for overcoming that same crisis.

The WRP does not in any way consider itself to be in any 'privileged' position in initiating the preparation of the International Conference. We make this call as the result of joint work and discussion with Trotskyists in a number of countries.

In 1985 and 1986 the WRP experienced the practical and theoretical results of political degeneration and revisionism in the Fourth International in an extreme form.

In rejecting the opportunist politics of Healy, Banda and the North fragment of the old International Committee, the WRP has been compelled to recognise the necessity of a return to fundamentals, to the continuity of the struggle of Marx and Engels, Lenin and Trotsky, Bolshevism, the October Revolution, the Left Opposition, and the founding of the Fourth International.

The explosion in the WRP was part of the historical crisis of working-class revolutionary leadership of the Fourth International. The crisis can be overcome only in that framework.

But the same mighty class forces which lay behind the explosion in the WRP dominate the development of all those organisations deriving from the Fourth International. The challenge is to overcome the isolation of the Trotskyist movement from the working class, as the working class now comes directly into conflict with the capitalist state and with the Stalinist bureaucracy in the USSR and the deformed workers' states.

As it enters this stage of the world revolution, with the new generation of youth to the fore in both the capitalist countries and the degenerated and deformed workers' states, the working class is forced to tackle the question of breaking from its treacherous reformist and Stalinist leaderships.

Already these leaderships are undergoing profound crises and splits. Either they are successfully broken in these new and favourable conditions or they will once again viciously betray.

The split in the WRP concerned the most profound abuse of party members, the abandonment of political principles even to the point of betrayal, and the degeneration of Marxist 'theory' into a crude pragmatic apology for these practices.

What became clear in a year of internal struggle on these principled questions was that the shell containing the internal corrosion and corruption of the WRP and the International Committee had been shattered totally by the demands of the miners' strike of 1984-1985, the demands of the working class for revolutionary leadership as a new phase of the world revolution found its expression in Britain.

This is an indispensable lesson. The miners, in their unprecedented year-long strike, confronted directly the capitalist

# For an International Conference in 1987 for the Re-organisation of the Fourth International

state. They were forced to return to work by the betrayals of the reformist bureaucracy and the Stalinists.

Trade unionism had clearly reached its utmost limits. Revolutionary tasks were posed. Those who characterise the miners' strike as a defeat for the working class, one of many such defeats, are wrong.

The WRP was forced, in the struggle against Healy, Banda and North, to recognise that this upsurge of the working class in a situation with no way out except proletarian revolution and the successful struggle for revolutionary leadership, was the root of the WRP crisis; and that only by a revolutionary turn to these class forces, international forces, could our theory and practice be developed to overcome the crisis exposed by the struggle of the working class.

This meant breaking with every vestige of 'national Trotskyism' and turning to the struggle to resolve the crisis of the Fourth International, at the level of international experience, past and present.

This dialectic is essentially international. We can find the resources to overcome the crisis only at the international level, through a cadre trained at the level of the struggle of all the forces now coming forward from 50 years of experience of the fight to build the Fourth International, against the Stalinist attempt to exterminate it and against the revisionist capitulations to that same Stalinism, capitulations which have always sought to liquidate the Fourth International.

In the advanced capitalist countries, the strike movement in



France is a powerful continuation of the struggle taken up by the British miners. As soon as the French railway workers struck, they provoked a government crisis and a crisis for the Stalinist and reformist bureaucracy.

The mass student demonstrations had already threatened the government, forced a retreat, and heralded a series of mass struggles in which the question of revolutionary leadership is the central one.

But these lightning flashes of revolutionary struggle come together with the new upsurge of the political revolution in Poland, the USSR, China and all countries in which the state power of the working class has been usurped by the Stalinist bureaucracy. There too it is the task of constructing an alternative revolutionary leadership to the Stalinists which predominates.

The workers of South Africa are facing the same necessity of the building of revolutionary proletarian leadership and breaking from the treacherous Stalinist and petty-bourgeois leaderships. In all Africa, the Middle East, Latin Amer-

ica, India and all south-east Asia, the limits of purely 'national' struggles for independence, balancing between imperialism and the reactionary Soviet bureaucracy, have now become thoroughly exposed in bitter experience.

It is because the working class is, in these struggles, at the first stage of a new rise of the world revolution, that the WRP crisis must now take its place as part of the struggle to overcome the long-drawn-out crisis of the Fourth International.

The working class, characterised by revisionists and centrists as being quiescent or in retreat, is in fact out in front of the conscious struggle to rebuild the Fourth International. This poses urgently to all Trotskyists the historic responsibility of overcoming the crisis of the Fourth International.

This requires an intensive struggle to clarify the present tasks of Trotskyism, the nature of the objective situation, and the balance-sheet of our past experiences in the material context of the international class struggle in its development. This is the basis of the necessary development of the theoretical positions of our movement.

We propose an International Conference as a necessary step in that process, from which the urgent task of re-organisation of the Fourth International can go forward on a principled foundation. This is the process which was begun by the International Committee in 1953.

We consider that the political fight for this re-organisation starts from the following principles, and these we will fight to defend and

develop before and during the Conference:

**1.** The resolutions and theses of the first four Congresses of the Third (Communist) International in all its essential strategic principles, in relation to: imperialism, the bourgeois state, democracy and reformism; problems of the taking of power and the dictatorship of the proletariat; the leading role of the proletariat in relation to the peasantry and struggles of the oppressed masses; soviets; work in trade unions; parliamentarism; united front policy.

**2.** The Transitional Programme and the Founding Conference of the Fourth International, based on the development of Bolshevik organisation and programme, made necessary by the 'definitive passage of Stalinism to the side of the bourgeois order'.

We reaffirm on this basis the necessity of building the Fourth International, in opposition to all those who pronounce the Fourth International dead and proclaim the need for a 'Fifth' or 'new' International.

The continuity of the Fourth International has been a contradictory process, but it consists in the struggle for the continuity of Bolshevism against Stalinism, and against the liquidationist revisionism which has transmitted this Stalinist pressure into the Trotskyist movement.

The same struggle has been necessary against liquidationism into social-democracy and petty-bourgeois national movements. Social-democracy has only retained any force in the working-class movement because of the destruction of the Communist International by Stalinism.

**3.** The theory of permanent revolution, with the hegemony of the proletariat as its essential content. This means the leadership of the working class in the revolution in countries where revolutionary-democratic tasks are posed, as well as in the advanced capitalist countries and the degenerated and deformed workers' states.

It means that the democratic revolution 'grows over' into the socialist revolution under proletarian leadership. It means the recognition that the taking of working-class power in any country is the basis of a social formation which is transitional to socialism, a transition which requires the victory of the socialist revolution in a number of advanced capitalist countries.

It means leadership of the working class by Bolshevik-type parties. It means rejection of revisionist theories which give priority to the national revolutionary struggles in the colonial and semi-colonial countries, or which have a perspective of different 'epicentres' of the world revolution — 'sectors' of the world revolution with separate programmes.

**4.** Defence of the conquests of the 1917 October revolution. Defence of the USSR and defence of the states of Eastern Europe, China, Vietnam, etc., against imperialism and capitalist restoration. Definition of the USSR as a degenerated workers' state and of the Eastern European states, China and Vietnam as deformed workers' states. (The WRP's position on Cuba to be urgently reviewed).

These states are not identified in their class nature with the Stalinist bureaucracy. This bureaucracy has no 'dual nature' but is parasitic on the workers' state and is 'counter-revolutionary through and through.'

Its international policy, executed through the Stalinist parties of the world as well as through the bureaucracy's state agencies, betrays the proletarian revolution, perpetuates the imperialist encirclement, and thus endangers the conquests of October. Against this, defence of the gains of October coincides directly with the world socialist revolution, a necessity flowing from the international nature of today's economy and the struggles of the oppressed masses all over the world.

From this derives the necessity of the Fourth International. Only the Fourth International, building on the struggle to continue and develop Bolshevism against the betrayals of Stalinism and its 'socialism in one country', can carry forward this task.

The defeat of imperialism re-



'Condemnation of the method, inherited from Stalinism, of slanders, violence and frame-ups': LEFT TO RIGHT, slander victims Joe Hansen, Tim Wohlforth and Michel Varga (B.Nagy)

quires a strategy and tactics of breaking the working class from the existing Stalinist and reformist leaderships, uniting it on the programme developed through a century of struggle for Marxism as the theory and practice of the proletarian revolution. That can not be carried out by spontaneously and empirically developing leaderships.

The development of the degenerated and deformed workers' states, their bureaucracies and their national policies — even leading to war between them — and the increasing pressure of imperialism upon them, have already given abundant proof of the falseness of the Stalinist illusions that imperialism would be driven into a corner and collapse, through the steady growth of strength of 'socialist' states within their own borders, accompanied by the growth of 'progressive forces'.

**5.** Defence of all national-liberation movements and of states which have won their independence from imperialism, against the attacks of imperialism, despite the fundamental political differences between Trotskyism and all bourgeois national and petty-bourgeois national movements.

In particular, defence of those under direct military attack or threat of military intervention from imperialism (Nicaragua, Cuba, Libya, Mozambique, Angola, etc.).

At the same time, rejection of any formulas which imply a leadership role for bourgeois or petty-bourgeois forces, or equality between them and the working class in the tradition of Stalin's 'bloc of four classes', as a liquidation of the political independence and hegemony of the working class.

Rejection of any permanent or strategic alliances with bourgeois or petty-bourgeois forces. This does not exclude joint actions against imperialism, which are essential.

**6.** The struggle for the defeat of Stalinism and the bureaucracy, and the rejection of all forms of capitulation to and compromise with Stalinism, and the necessity for political revolution in the degenerated and deformed workers' states.

Recognition of the Polish struggles of 1980-1981 as the renewal of the struggle for the political revolution, which reached high points in East Germany (1953), Hungary and Poland (1956) and Czechoslovakia (1968). Defence of the revolutionary spontaneity of the Polish working class and of Solidarity, which it produced.

Against all conceptions such as 'national unity' (the Walesa leadership), 'self-management' (Mandel), social-democracy (Lambert), which mean reconciling the working class to the Stalinist bureaucracy.

**7.** Reaffirmation of the Transitional Programme's demand for 'workers' and peasants' government'. The essence of this demand is to elaborate it as part of a programme of struggle which enables the proletariat to break with the treacherous reformist and Stalinist leaderships in the course of the preparation of the struggle for state power. Only in this sense does the demand addressed to these leaderships: break with the bourgeoisie! have a revolutionary content.

**8.** The struggle to build revolutionary parties of the working class, sections of the Fourth International, in every country, organised on the principles of democratic centralism, and against all theories that the responsibility of revolutionary leadership passes to other, petty-bourgeois or Stalinist, forces or to some 'transitional' form of working-class leadership. Democratic centralism is opposed to all forms of bureaucratic centralisation of the apparatus against the rank and file.

**9.** For methods of political struggle proved in the experience of the working class; against petty-bourgeois substitutes such as guerrilla-ism, individual terrorism, and 'single-issue' politics. We defend those who fight the bourgeoisie with such methods, but we reject these methods.



... Changes embracing the political revolution in the degenerated and deformed workers' states as well as the struggle of the working class and oppressed masses against imperialism in the advanced capitalist countries and in the colonial and semi-colonial countries. TOP: Solidarity demonstration in Poland; CENTRE: Mass demonstration of Peruvian trade unionists; BOTTOM: Striking British miners and their wives march on May Day 1984

**10.** Condemnation of the method, inherited from Stalinism, of slanders, violence and frame-ups designed to silence and drive out political opponents. In particular, condemnation of the slanders used against M. Varga (B. Nagy), J. Hansen, G. Novack, T. Wohlforth, N. Fields and R. Napuri.

The WRP calls upon all Trotskyist organisations to participate in a Conference on this basis later in 1987, at a date to be agreed. To this end, an international discussion bulletin and a series of meetings will be established, for the presentation and discussion of theses, resolutions and discussion materials.

The WRP calls upon all organisations who agree with this call to participate jointly with us in a committee to prepare the Conference itself, its agenda and its arrangements, and to organise the pre-conference discussion and distribution of documents. This preparatory committee will produce documents for the Conference (without in any way excluding pre-

sentation of other documents) and will organise as a matter of urgency the raising of the necessary financial resources.

We ask all such organisations to contact us immediately through:

The Conference Secretary  
Workers Revolutionary Party  
PO Box 735  
London SW9 7QS, ENGLAND

# LETTERS

Letters do not necessarily reflect the view of the Editorial Board. Letters over 500 words will normally be cut. Letters should arrive by first post Monday at: Workers Press, PO Box 735, London SW9 7QS, and should include sender's address.

## Remember Labour and Tories know cold kills:

I WAS unimpressed with the 'Tories Manslaughter' headline on Saturday, January 17 issue of the Workers Press.

Manslaughter is criminal homicide without malice aforethought.

This would mean that Tories were responsible for the deaths of thousands of people due to hypothermia and other cold-related illnesses, but that they were unaware of the consequences of their failure to provide the means that would have saved these people from dying in such miserable circumstances.

The effects of cold weather, on old people especially, is and has been well known to both Tory and Labour governments alike for many years.

The failure of Labour governments to deal with the misery and deaths of thousands of people every winter cannot be overlooked, they carry equal responsibility along with the Tories, and have done little to prevent the yearly cull of the most vulnerable and defenceless members of our society.

There is legislation that covers workers in industry, factories, offices and government establishments such as prisons, etc.

Surely old people, the unemployed and those on low incomes should be given the same consideration.

This government is fully aware of the effects of their refusal to stop this yearly atrocity. Their crime is not manslaughter. It is premeditated.

It is the final solution of a government acting on behalf of the class it represents to rid itself of the people who have come to the end of their working lives and no longer produce a profit and those who are not likely to be in a position to produce a profit, the long term unemployed.

It is the policy of the government led by Thatcher that tried to starve miners' families into submission.

This is the woman that is prepared to spend £1 million per inhabitant, and more if necessary, to ensure that the people of the Malvinas live there if they so wish (that's what she says) and at the same time refuses to mobilise the army of unemployed building workers to tackle the misery of thousands of homeless.

The performance of trade union leaders on this issue is dismal to say the least.

How many trade union leaders, members of parlia-

## says Des Warren

ment or full-time union officials have been found dead in their homes for the want of a bit of warmth?

You say that the elderly and the homeless want policies which guarantee everybody as of right a proper standard of living.

Trade union and Labour leaders must be made to fight for such policies.

They have made it quite clear that they are not prepared to take on the state and win such policies.

So what do we do, given the gravity of the situation?

Knowing our leaders for what they are, we, ourselves, are ducking the issue by suggesting they could lead such a fight.

If we are to put a stop to this atrocity, we must face up to our responsibilities and do the job ourselves.

We must get organised and take those trade union and Labour leaders who are prepared to fight along with us.

At the same time we must keep an eye on them, to make sure they do not try and divert us down a blind alley.

Des Warren

## Transitional demands at Wapping

IN our discussions within the party and in our documents we have many times referred to the Transitional Programme and transitional demands.

In the front page article on Wapping which begins with the paragraph, 'The year long dispute at Wapping has now reached a decisive stage' and ends with 'The fate of every printworker now depends on the outcome of the Wapping struggle', while criticising the existing leaderships, proposed the 'way forward' as extending trade union action but does not put forward any transitional demands that take the printers and their supporters forward in the political struggle.

Why can't we tell the printers that they have to fight for nationalisation under workers control or elaborate demands that lead them in that direction, challenging capitalism itself?

On page two, the editorial on the financial scandals ends with the truism, 'Only a socialist policy which aims to put an end to capitalism can reverse this soaring social crisis,' but not the demand for opening the books and ending business secrets, what Trotsky regarded as amongst the main transitional demands.

How are we going to make that 'bridge' between the present consciousness of the

workers and the consciousness of the necessity of socialist revolution?

We are not doing the printers any favours in the long term by just telling them that more militant trade union action is what is required for victory, vital as it is.

The print unions had established a very powerful position on the national daily papers, to the extent that they controlled employment.

The idea of control is not alien to the print workers.

The print-owners trailblazer, Murdoch, set out to smash the print unions and their control.

We must say to the printers: to defend your jobs and your conditions now you must control the industry totally and fight for socialist nationalisation.

This must complement our demands to extend the action to Fleet Street and other sections of workers in order to bring the Wapping plant to a halt.

The interests and struggles of workers now are more and more in direct conflict with capitalism and private ownership of the means of production.

It is our responsibility to raise these political (transitional) demands in order to build the conscious revolutionary leadership in the working class.

Keith Scotcher

## Fourth International Journal

A NUMBER of considerations arise from Cliff Slaughter's reference to the journal 'Fourth International' (Summer 1986) published by the remnant International Committee of the Fourth International (IC) (Workers Press January 17 1987)

The journal concludes that the 'political decay of the WRP was inseparably bound up with its turn away from the international struggle against revisionism, omitting to mention the turn instead to "Security and the Fourth International", with North leading the turn' writes Cliff.

Yet elsewhere he suggests Healy led this turn; perhaps Cliff could clarify this contradiction?

He also argues that failure by D. North (Workers League, USA, unaffiliated sympathiser with the IC), to mention 'Security' in the journal, 'discredits' its con-

tents consisting of 'dozens of lies and distortions' in '120 pages of denunciations'.

Such views fail to take into account the many useful insights and correct analyses so far as they go, of many other degenerating policies and features of the Healy leadership between 1973-1985.

Undoubtedly, as Cliff says, North is at pains to deny any responsibility for the theoretical and political morass into which all sections and sympathisers of the IC fell.

But his failure to relate the turn away from theory towards 'Security' instead, is rooted in matters more fundamental than that of denying responsibility.

'Security' is omitted from the journal because the IC is unable to explain the contradiction (in their terms) between the Healy WRP and IC leadership which led to total degeneration between 1973-

1985, yet launched and pursued 'Security' which the IC totally defends.

Instead of acknowledging and resolving that contradiction, the IC suppressed it; hence the omission of 'Security'.

And 'Security' dominates in this way because historically, degeneration in the theoretical sphere fed into, and led to a degeneration in the struggle for investigation of possible state agent penetration of the SWP (USA), where the entire matter has ended up in the bourgeois courts.

Proceeding with the idea that workers' political democratic rights of organisation (here — the right to be free from state agent interference), can be fought for and won in the bourgeois courts, the IC reveals a petit-bourgeois conception of the state.

Recognised not as an in-

strument of capitalist class rule for the suppression of class conflict, the IC treats the bourgeois state as a neutral arbiter and defender of those rights.

This revisionist theory therefore subordinates the political rights and its class independence to the legal judgements of a bourgeois state, which placed agents in the workers' movement in the first place, instead of fighting the matter out in the working class.

Consequently North's refusal to relate the turn to 'Security' from theory and to acknowledge partial responsibility for this transition is the consequence of defending a degenerated struggle for 'Security' in the courts, which turns fundamentally upon a petit-bourgeois democratic revision of the Marxist theory of the state.

In contradiction to that development however, North's struggle on a number of issues between 1982-1984, including philosophy was an attempt to struggle against revisionism, a matter Cliff obscures rather than clarifies.

Norah Wilde

## Norah Wilde & parliamentary democracy

I WISH to comment on the slanderous and malicious letter by Comrade Norah Wilde in last week's Workers Press (January 24).

Her letter is so badly written that some parts of it are almost unintelligible.

However, one aspect of it exposes her political position with great clarity. This is her attitude towards parliament.

She states that: 'It (parliament) houses democratically elected governments through the working class exercising its... democratic right to vote, won in struggle against the bourgeoisie and aristocracy.'

(This reminds one of the Communist Party's reformist programme 'The British Road to Socialism'!)

She then goes on to argue that although the state may

be 'unelected' and hence 'undemocratic', we should not confuse 'democratically elected governments' with the capitalist state.

This attitude towards parliamentary democracy is of course that of social-democracy and reformism. It has nothing to do with Marxism at all.

The Marxist, Trotskyist view of parliamentary democracy and its relation to the state is perfectly clear. Parliament constitutes an integral part of the capitalist state.

Its function is to act as a 'safety valve' by giving workers the illusion that by putting a cross against a name every five years or so they have some say in the running of capitalism.

Power in Britain is not held by Parliament at all. Rather it is in the hands of an

old school tie network composed of royalty, senior military and police officers, higher civil servants, big bankers and industrialists, higher members of the judiciary and other viciously anti-working class reactionaries.

Experience has shown that when it suits their purpose the capitalist class will dispense with the charade of parliament and rule by means of direct force. Witness Spain 1936-39 and Chile 1973. Also Germany 1933, when Hitler actually used parliamentary democracy to seize power.

All this, of course, is well understood by Trotskyists. But obviously Comrade Wilde does not share this view.

It is good that the Workers Press publishes letters from comrades in the working

class movement who may disagree with us on certain points but who are interested in a serious discussion.

Comrade Wilde describes our own comrades as being 'demagogic' and 'influenced by Stalinist ultra-leftism'. She further accuses them of being 'mysticism', and of being 'God-believers' and of using 'old Healyite device(s)'.

Such terms are certainly not those used by anyone interested in a serious political discussion of differences.

I understand that Workers Press receives more contributions than it has space to print. Surely preference should be given to items that represent more important contributions than those of Comrade Wilde.

John Robinson

## Public Transport

A FEW points in defence of Roy Thomas's article on public transport (Workers Press 17 January 1987) which was commented upon by Ian Willmore in the 24 January edition.

Ian Willmore is correct the Labour Party does have a 'Front Bench Spokesman on Transport' in the form of Bob Hughes. The fact that he is no longer in the Shadow Cabinet. This reflects the Labour Party's failure to understand the importance of public transport, is the point which I'm sure Cde Thomas was trying to make.

In fact, such is the low priority of public transport in the eyes of the parliamentary Labour Party that last year when Bob Hughes was still in the Shadow Cabinet the Labour MP for Norwood — John Fraser — was unable to name him at a local public meeting.

Ian Willmore states that the Labour Party transport policy statement refers 'to public ownership at local authority level, and to statutory planning of bus services' and that this sounds like the community control which Cde Thomas claims is sending shivers down the spines of Labour leaders.

It does not sound like it to me. What Cde Thomas was referring to is similar to the calls for passenger/worker control which I described the previous week in an article on the future of London's public transport.

Certainly in bus queues and garages in London the passengers and busworkers are saying that they can operate the services better than central and local politicians. It is up to us as socialists to give those spontaneous thoughts some political basis.

Ian Willmore says that we should question whether the (Labour) Party is prepared to spend resources required to implement its policy.

As public transport is not even warranted a position in its Shadow Cabinet it is hardly likely that a Labour government would spend the resources needed to put even its own limited plans into operation. And even if it did it's not necessarily what passengers and transport workers want, or deserve. For socialists it's worth repeating Cde Thomas's last two paragraphs:

● The growing opposition to the profit-making orientation must not be taken for granted, but organised.

● The growing hostility to the dismantling of the health service, the worsening housing shortage, inadequate education and disappearing bus service must not be allowed to become the basis for parish pump politics but must instead be the spur to the urgent reorganisation of society on a socialist basis.

From my own experience I know this is winnable on public transport issues. I'm sure it's winnable on the others. Public transport workers and users have no more faith in Labour providing the services wanted than the Tories doing it. It's our job to show who can.

Dave Dowsett

## Not all rosaries

IF Brian Pearce ever wants to visit Ireland we can fix up for him to meet some people without rosaries.

Aine Devlin

# LETTERS

## Republicanism and Trotskyism

THE high profile Workers Press has been giving to the Irish struggle is one of the most positive results of the upheavals in the Workers Revolutionary Party.

Gerry Downing (Workers Press, 10 January 1987) rightly emphasised the central role of the working class in the Irish revolution, and that the struggle for Irish liberation can only be seen in the context of Trotsky's theory of permanent revolution.

While Trotskyists should engage in active solidarity with those fighting British imperialism, and our unconditional support should be regardless of differences we may have with republicanism, we also have a responsibility to make constructive criticisms of republicanism's programme, strategy and tactics, where appropriate.

An example is the recent decision by Sinn Fein to take seats in the Dail if elected. This is an attempt by the new, more radical leadership to end Sinn Fein's isolation in the 26 counties and to come to terms with the political reality of the Free State.

But Sinn Fein is not going into the Dail with an adequate programme for the 26 counties.

Sinn Fein calls for a 'democratic socialist Ireland' with a 'planned economy' without answering: 'Democracy, for what class?' and 'Which class is to carry out the planning?'

It is a reformist programme, lacking an understanding of the state, and therefore such institutions as the Dail.

Sinn Fein has a reformist programme for the 26 counties and yet still supports armed struggle against the British state in the Six Counties, the contradiction that arises out of being based in both the Six and 26 counties.

A Trotskyist programme for Ireland based on the method of the Transitional Programme must combine national liberation with socialist revolution and have as its point of departure the

leading role of the Irish working class.

This programme must do what the ICTU (Irish Confederation of Trade Unions) leadership as well as British based unions have refused to do: link the everyday struggles in defence of jobs, services and living standards with Ireland's position in the world, a country exploited and oppressed by imperialism, subject to IMF sponsored 'austerity' and debt, and divided in the interests of imperialism and against the wishes of the majority of its people.

It must link the struggles of the specially oppressed with partition, which has resulted in a 'carnival of reaction' on both sides of the border.

Demands for immediate divorce at the request of either party, free abortion on demand and the decriminalisation of gay men have to be linked to the struggle to destroy both reactionary, clerical states.

If a multinational says it is pulling out of Ireland, the demand should be the opening up of its books to elected committees of workers, small farmers and housewives who can see how much profit is being made, and plan production according to need, under workers control.

It is the responsibility of British socialists to be in unconditional solidarity with the republican movement, notwithstanding any political differences.

The WRP's solidarity work will be hampered by a one-sided approach to the labour movement which includes the trade unions but excludes the Labour party.

This will insulate comrades in the WRP from the work conducted by the Labour Committee on Ireland, which recently organised a very successful tour of Britain by Sinn Fein councillors.

By ignoring the Labour party the WRP will make it more easy for Kinnock and Co. to wriggle off the hook on the question of Ireland.

Nick Davies  
Revolutionary  
Internationalist League

## Role of the Irish working class

IT WILL not do to assert that David Reed 'denies the fact that the working class has a central role to play in the liberation of Ireland.'

One of the most striking elements of his book (Ireland — The Key to the British Revolution) is the recognition that in Ireland it has been the oppressed who have fought most consistently for Irish freedom.

From Wolfe Tone, who fought for the people of no property, to the nationalist of the Northern Six Counties it has been the oppressed, the poorest sections of the working class who have sustained the struggle.

When the oppressed youth of Dublin fought against the Gardai a 'new revolutionary force' had emerged. It seems then that the working class have played a primary role in the struggle against imperialism.

Now either you take the

absurd line of the Socialist Workers Party and tell the Irish working class (who are already fighting!) that they should abandon their methods and begin waging a struggle for that ideal end of working class unity, using of course all the traditional methods of the British labour movement.

Or you come fully down to earth and realise that the Irish working class can't wait any longer for the world revolution and have already set out on the road to liberation.

The Irish working class, as Reed's book demonstrates, from the Dublin Lockout of 1913 to the IRA of today have paid their dues.

History does and will show them to be a revolutionary force. Nowhere in the book is this central fact denied.

M. Taylor  
Fight Racism!  
Fight Imperialism!

## Lessons of Vietnam Sri Lanka, Bolivia

I READ with great interest your articles on 'Vietnam and Trotskyism', particularly as this is at least the third country (the other two being Sri Lanka and Bolivia) where the Trotskyist movement has had considerable influence amongst the masses during a revolutionary situation, where the Trotskyist leadership has predominated in vital spheres of the workers movement.

On each occasion the Trotskyists and the vanguard workers have been massacred by reactionary forces.

Is not a critical examination overdue, with a special study to seek causes for these defeats and endeavour to find a link between all three?

One common tactical approach which should be examined is the 'critical support' given to 'left' bourgeois forces and governments, ostensibly as a means of exposing these forces to the masses of the workers and so freeing the masses from illusions.

The LSSP in Sri Lanka, Lora's Bolivian Party and the Vietnamese Trotskyists all advocated critical support to left bourgeois governments of the day — the governments that blocked the path of the masses to overthrowing the capitalist system, i.e. the Kerenskys of their countries.

It was these governments that led the attacks upon the workers, massacring the vanguard workers. Is there not a lesson to be learnt from this?

What does 'critical support' mean and how could it contribute to the defeat of the revolutionary forces?

Firstly, the tactic abdicates the vanguard role to that which one 'critically supports'.

One cannot prepare for revolutionary struggle against the forces to which one is giving in practice support with verbal criticism.

How can one, particularly in a revolutionary situation, tell the masses to prepare

their forces for the overthrow of the capitalist government, and at the same time call for support for the same government? This is a centrist position: revolutionary words to cover up reformist practice.

It is contradictory and can only create confusion and division within the ranks of both vanguard and ordinary worker. One cannot lead the workers to power by supporting the power of its enemy.

Secondly, critical support for 'left' bourgeois forces, including our own Labourite variety, creates illusion that under pressure of the revolutionary masses these 'lefts' can carry out progressive and at times even revolutionary acts.

This creates illusions but also subordinates the revolutionary energy and temper of the masses to influencing or forcing bourgeois 'lefts' to carry out a role they are incapable of, instead of struggling for their overthrow.

It denies the need for a vanguard revolutionary party to lead the masses and is in essence liquidationary — as witnessed by the history of entryism.

Advocates of the 'critical support' line should study Lenin's position in relation to Kerensky. He considered such support to be not a tactical error but an unprincipled act.

To lead the masses to revolution the vanguard party must unambiguously declare itself the leadership party, to the exclusion of all others; it must not vacillate or concede its role to another even for temporary non-tactical reasons.

To do so undermines the confidence of its members and supporters and gives the enemy the initiative, which as we have witnessed in the above countries proves fatal for the working class vanguard and the revolutionary struggle as a whole.

We can and must strike with temporary allies against the immediate and main enemy, but never under any circumstances allow temporary allies of today, who are our enemies of tomorrow, to assume the leadership of the revolutionary movement, or to infringe upon its independence in either ideology or organisation.

P. Conlon

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TARGET: £2,000

WE HOPE you like the new columns in Workers Press. Please carry on sending letters with comments, criticisms and suggestions for improvements.

We are trying to make our paper more readable, reflecting the policy of the Workers Revolutionary Party and open to views and comments from all sections of the working class, its parties and organisations.

Without our monthly fund we cannot maintain and develop the paper. We therefore ask our members and supporters to contribute to the monthly fund of £2,000. Last month's total was short of what we need to pay our bills — but we must push ahead with February's Fund.

January total closed at: £1,433.37

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Please send me information about the Workers Revolutionary Party.

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### 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.

**A STRIKING EDUCATION** The story of the SILENTNIGHT strike in photographs taken by the strikers themselves. Available for hire as a portable exhibition. To hire, contact: Josephine Kelly, FTAT Strike HQ, 9 Frank Street, Barnoldswick, Lancs., BB8 5AE (0282-816709)

**CAMPAIGN AGAINST POLICE REPRESSION (CAPR)** Weekly planning meetings are held every Tuesday, 7.30pm, Stoke Newington Community Centre, Leswin Road, N16. All are welcome. Contact: Box CAPR, 83 Blackstock Road, London N4 (01-881 2938)

**JOINT MEETING AGAINST MASS VICTIMIZATION** Organised by SE Region Justice for Mineworkers Campaign; sacked workers from Silent Night, Hangers and News International. Speakers: Peter Heathfield (NUM), Liz Short (Printworkers), Alan Barnes (Hangers), Irene Scott (Silent Night). Friday

7.30pm, January 30 at Conway Hall, Red Lion Square.

**IRELAND: A SOCIALIST SOLUTION** A debate jointly called by Workers Power, Socialist Organiser and Workers Press at Conway Hall (small hall), Red Lion Square (near Holborn tube), Friday January 30, 7.30pm. Admission 50p.

**GRENADA: Invasion, Occupation and Show Trials. Now the Truth.** A Conference on the flagrant denial of legal rights, at St Mathews Meeting Place, Brixton Hill, London SW2, Saturday January 31, 2.00pm - 5.30pm. Further details from New Jewel 19 Committee, 216 Lambeth Road, SE1 (Tel: 01-733-379, 800-1097)

**WOMEN AND IRELAND NETWORK** Together with other organisations for the British withdrawal of troops in Ireland. Women and Ireland Network is calling for demonstrators to meet on Saturday January 31 — the 15th anniversary of Bloody Sunday. Assemble 1.00pm at Carlisle Street, Sheffield for a march to City Hall.

**SUPPORT THE WHEELER'S 4 — Public Meeting** Monday February 2, 7.00-9.00pm, Community Centre, Covent Garden, 46 Earlham Street, WC2

**A1 FEEDS — ONE YEAR ON STRIKE** Rally and Picket, Friday January 30 at 2.00pm. Assemble A1 Feeds, Lyster Road, Bootle, Liverpool. Merseyside TGWU Co-ordinating Committee — for further information ring 051-207 3388.

**TOWER HAMLETS PRINTWORKERS SUPPORT GROUP** Public Protest Meeting, Highway Club, Dellow Street, London E1 7.30pm. Speakers to include local councillors.

**TOWER HAMLETS PRINTWORKERS SUPPORT GROUP** Reclaim the Streets Meeting, February 14, 8.30pm Glamis Road, London E1.

# NO PRINT SELL-OUT!

**JOHN LANG, Deputy FoC 'Times' Clerical Chapel, Support Group Co-ordinator and Newham Councillor, spoke to Workers Press on the first anniversary of the dispute at Wapping**

● **AFTER** a year in struggle, you cannot fail to be educated about the things going on around you.

● **Firstly** the use of the law by the state to assist in the employers' attempts to break the unions.

This has been obvious for many years, most recently in the miners' dispute. Unfortunately, many chose to ignore it and others actually didn't believe it.

The printworkers have now discovered the role of the police and the judiciary. Thousands have been criminalised by that conveyor-belt system known as the courts.

Many others have been brutalised and harassed by the police in an attempt to break their spirits and make them feel beaten both physically and mentally. They have seen the real meaning of community policing.

Some are at last opening their eyes to what the anti-union laws and laws such as the Police and Criminal Evidence Act and Public Order Bill are really meant for — to break the backs of the workers.

● **Unfortunately**, we have also learnt about the weakness of the labour movement, especially at national level, where we see pathetic attempts to change the sys-

tem whilst still playing by the rules of that very same system they are supposedly against.

We have seen that many of the bureaucrats within the union and Labour party set-ups are barely distinguishable from the bosses and are more concerned with their image than winning a victory at all costs for the movement.

Regrettably, we have allowed the dispute to remain in their hands rather than the strikers actually pushing them aside to run their dispute.

We have become one in a long line of victims of the 'new realism' which is plaguing the movement.

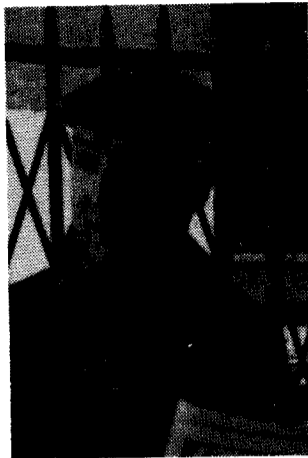
Finally, many printers because of their conditions began to think that they were middle class. They quickly realised differently.

● **On the first weekend** that Murdoch's papers rolled off the presses and were distributed, I felt that Fleet Street should have been called out to support the News International workers.

Since that time we have had the union 'fighting' from

a position of weakness. The effect of a Fleet Street strike would have been many fold.

This is a class dispute and



JOHN LANG

the likes of Maxwell, Black and Stevens would not have allowed Murdoch a free run (an argument often used by those against 'Fleet Street Out') while their newspapers remained paralysed.

The egos of the proprietors in this country far outweighs their loyalty to each other.

The number of pickets available to blockade the plant, remembering they would be fighting for their own jobs, would have been swelled.

Most important, the col-

lapse of our industry would not have occurred. Since the Wapping dispute, thousands of jobs have gone along with the conditions built up by a strong shopfloor base.

Newspapers are now being contract-printed and flexibility is the key management phrase.

Many of the Support Groups were reformed from the Miners' Support Groups. Many of us in the rank and file feel that they have been the backbone of the dispute.

Some groups have had many more initiatives than the unions themselves.

They have organised endless events in the way of public meetings, benefits, police monitoring videos, kids' parties, demonstrations, etc., etc.

Unfortunately, unlike the miners' dispute where many groups took their lead from the fact that there was a will to win, the groups in some cases have found it very difficult to keep a momentum where they have witnessed a persistent walking away from the dispute.

Problems that have arisen among the support groups include the lack of printworkers in their own local groups, which has again had a demoralising effect on some of the groups.

There have been a couple of attempts to unite the

groups under one banner to assist in prosecuting the dispute. This has failed because of differences about whether the groups are there for giving the support the printworkers request or if the groups should actually be given some say in the running of the dispute.

Both attempts to unite the groups have unfortunately (after good initial attendances) failed.

● **The TUC** have failed because many of the people who go into the running of that body do not have any comprehension of what workers' struggle is about.

Many regard them in the same light as the bosses. I've always felt that if many had not made a 'career' in the unions they would have been managers somewhere else.

The TUC's mentality needs to be changed from that of giving finance (however welcome that is) to the point where a dispute becomes a cause for what is really needed — calling for industrial action to actually obtain the victories required.

The role of the EETPU in this dispute and the actions taken against them has not only embittered the printers but has also allowed the bosses to see the very flimsy credibility of the TUC.

The fact that the General

Council voted that the EETPU did not have a case to answer despite the Congress saying otherwise is a very worrying sign about the future path of the TUC.

The TUC will soon become an insurance company rather than a Trade Union parliament!

● **The main dangers** facing the printworkers at the moment — that the National Unions along with the TUC might inflict a sell-out on us — look as though they might be occurring.

We have faced a demoralisation exercise for many months, but with the SOGAT national levy recently being lost and the constant fear of sequestration, it now looks as if we will soon have the excuse of finances used against us.

Willis has already stated that he feels the NECs of the print unions might have to make a decision without consulting the members.

All those moves paint a very gloomy future.

The print unions' attitude seems to be: 'Let's get this one out of the way, keep our heads down and hope things get better'.

This cannot be allowed after the sacrifice of thousands of people who have shown such bravery despite the obstacles put in front of them over the previous year. ♪

## FTAT WITHDRAWS



IRENE SCOTT

THE SILENTNIGHT dispute is now entering its 20th month. While rallying support for the strikers from London trade unionists, IRENE SCOTT, Silentnight shop steward, spoke to Workers Press.

IRENE was furious about the decision of the furniture makers' union FTAT National Executive to officially withdraw support for the strikers.

'They've had enough of us,' said Irene. 'They want out so that they can sit on a negotiating council with the management. They couldn't sit on it negotiating other things while the dispute was on.'

'They were quite anxious to get on this Board and the only way they could do that was by the strike being over, which is what they've done.'

FTAT General Secretary Colin Christopher gave out the orders for the District Organiser to strip the strike office of any petty cash, the cheque book and equipment

needed to keep the strike going.

All he managed to get his hands on was the telephone answering machine.

'Any cheques that arrived, we were told to return because the strike was no longer on,' Irene explained.

### Strike

Irene has a 15-year-old daughter Melanie. Irene explained that the strike has been good for her.

'It's given her such a political education! She has been involved for the last 12 months.'

She emphasised that the strength of the trade unions comes from 'grass roots' level — and not trade union head offices.

## The way forward for the anti-apartheid struggle

# Unity and struggle

This further article following the Anti-Apartheid Movement's annual general meeting is by ANDY HIGGINBOTTOM, secretary City of London Anti-Apartheid.

'UNITY is something we have to achieve in order to be able to do something else. . . Unity is also a means, not an end.'

We might have struggled a little for unity, but if we achieve it, it does not mean the struggle is over.

There are many persons in this struggle of the colonies against colonialism who up till now are still struggling merely for unity. Because they are unable to wage the struggle they confuse unity with struggle.

Now, taken together, unity and struggle means that for struggle unity is necessary, but to have unity it is also necessary to struggle. And this means that, even among ourselves, we are struggling. . .

The insight of the great African revolutionary Amilcar Cabral illuminates our own recent experiences and helps chart the way forward.

Since its inception five years ago City Anti-Apartheid have struggled for unity in the Anti-Apartheid Movement as a means to carry forward the struggle against apartheid.

We soon learnt from our campaigning work that it is impossible to oppose apartheid in reality without confronting British collaboration with the racist regime.

The AAM leaders have renounced this struggle against British collaboration. As a consequence the AAM annual general meeting was the greatest display of disunity the movement had ever known.

The movement leaders abandoned the very principle and the boycott on which the AAM was founded.

It was a remarkable event, not least for the clarity of choice before it.

Unite with the scab Hughes, and behind him Kin-

nock, or with the struggle against apartheid? Do not confuse unity with struggle.

City AA is engaged in struggle. For nine months our young comrades have fought hardship, police brutality and press censorship.

We have struggled against our own weaknesses in political organisation to find new methods that unite all those committed to the non-stop picket.

For struggle unity is necessary.

Our way forward is to unite all those prepared to make a stand against British collaboration. We call a mass demonstration on March 14.

We encourage the broadest mobilisation, and have set up women's, lesbians and gays', youth and student, black and anti-racist, trade union and political organisations' co-ordinating groups.

If you are outside London, set up a 'non-stop against apartheid' group. Book transport now. Hold public meetings, sponsor March 14 (£10 organisations; £5 individuals).

Send donations to help pay for publicity. Whenever you can, join us on the picket line.

Come to the mobilising committee, every Wednesday at 7.30p.m., Conway Hall, Red Lion Square (near Holborn tube).

To have unity it is necessary to struggle. The leaders of the AAM and their allies will fight to prevent the emergence of a movement outside the control of the labour aristocracy.

There will be two campaigns centring on March 14: one to build it, the other to destroy it. The battle lines of the AGM will be re-drawn across the country. Fight with us, for it is your struggle too.

Even among ourselves we are struggling. Are trade union sanctions central to our concerns? Yes!

City AA gives its full support to the Dunnes Stores strikers, technicians at Grampian TV, Hatfield Main NUM, and all workers' sanctions. But we believe these are not the only necessary forms of struggle.

Perhaps we can all learn from the movement inside South Africa, where the greatest challenge has come from the co-operative organisations of the student and community organisations with trade unions.

To further the struggle we cannot remain solely a left opposition within existing structures. These structures have been specifically fashioned to hold back the struggle.

A new unity in struggle, a new democracy and new structures are required. It is a difficult way forward. Could revolutionaries expect less?

● **National Demonstration Saturday March 14 1987, 'We are here till Mandela is free! Release all South African and Namibian political prisoners! Close down the racist embassy! Assemble 1p.m. Whittington Park, Holway Road, London N19 (nearest tube Archway, proceed to rally in Trafalgar Square).**

### CORRECTION

The article 'Key is workers' sanctions' by Ann Wackett was written in response to a request from Workers Press for an article from Workers Power on the Anti-Apartheid AGM. Ann Wackett, who is on the Steering Committee of the Campaign for Trade Union Sanctions, wrote this article as a supporter of Workers Power on behalf of Workers Power. Secondly the reference in paragraph 3 of column 2 of the article should have been to Motion 17, not motion 18.



Rather a lot of stewards were protecting the platform at this year's Anti Apartheid Annual General Meeting!

## PERSONAL COLUMN

## Promises, promises

'PROMISE, large promise, is the soul of an advertisement', wrote Samuel Johnson. And large promise is evidently the soul of the Restart scheme.

Readers who have seen the leaflet sent to people called in for interview will agree that it must have cost a packet to produce.

It has colour photographs of beaming ex-jobless folk testifying that Restart saved their lives by putting them on the straight and narrow path to a job and happiness. Since when they haven't looked back.

Expert help is offered to hone the job-hunting skills of the long-term unemployed. The sting comes in the tail of the letter sent out with this piece of expensive publicity:

'Under the benefit office rules people who do not attend interviews without good cause may lose their benefit.'

A very old friend of mine who has been unemployed for five years — let's call him Frank Peters — was summoned to a Restart interview last week.

It took him 90 minutes to get to his 9.10a.m. appointment in a far-flung corner of north London. He tells me the Restart offices are spacious and smartly furnished, in striking contrast to the cramped hell-hole where he signs on.

He was interviewed by a gentleman who began confidently enough: 'Now then, you are Mr John Petter, and —' It turned out that the interviewer had the wrong file on his desk.

My friend, who will be 60 next month, ventured to ask what the success rate was in finding jobs for men in their late fifties. The interviewer looked embarrassed and at length mumbled: 'Not very good, I'm afraid.'

'I think this whole scheme is a fraud', my friend observed mildly. 'You call people in without any hope at all of finding them a job, and you threaten them with loss of benefit if they don't come.'

'Oh, there's no threat of loss of benefit', insisted the interviewer. My friend pointed to the sentence doing just that in the letter — which it turned out that the interviewer hadn't even read.

Needless to say, there was neither job nor advice forthcoming — just a mournful invitation to attend a 'job-club' providing free use of telephones, paper, pens, envelopes, and stamps, for all those job applications.

Sounds promising.

## More about poodles

A CORRESPONDENT who prefers to be nameless objects strenuously to my reply (Workers Press, January 10) to Michael Banda's attack on the Hungarian Revolution.

Though he stresses that he doesn't share Banda's view of last year's commemoration of 1956 — that it was a 'reactionary campaign . . . to sell bourgeois democracy to the Hungarian people' — my correspondent takes exception to the 'tone' of my reply.

He objects, in the first place, to phrases like 'this creature' and 'Stalinism's fawning poodle'. He finds in them an echo of the Stalinist tradition, which dehumanised people with 'zoological abuse', relegating them to the political menagerie as a prelude to the firing-squad.

As it happens, the phrase 'Stalinism's fawning poodle' was a headline gloss on what I wrote: 'Banda behaves with all the fawning devotion a well-trained poodle shows to a new master.'

In any case, the rhetorical device my correspondent finds so sinister has been a part of the English radical tradition for at least 500 years.

*The Cat, the Rat and Lovell our Dog Rulen all England under an Hog*

was the comment on Richard III and his State officials written on the door of St Paul's in July 1484.

In the 17th century Sir Francis Windebank referred to 'that pig of a Henry VIII', and William Cobbett wrote in his 'Political Register' in 1823 of 'these dirty creatures' who call themselves 'country gentlemen'.

As for 'poodle', it was Lloyd George, hardly a Stalinist, who in

1908 called the entire House of Lords 'Mr Balfour's poodle', adding: 'It fetches and carries for him. It barks for him. It bites anybody that he sets it on to!'

My correspondent calls this device, used by me, offensive. Good. I meant it to be.

My correspondent has a second string to his bow. He points out that other people besides Banda did Gerry Healy's dirty work for him.

Quite so. But they haven't suddenly and capriciously revised their estimate of the Hungarian Revolution.

Banda has done just that, without one word of explanation or analysis, simply to please his new political associates.

Brave men, women, and children gave their lives in 1956 in an effort to establish workers' democracy, not bourgeois democracy, in Hungary. Banda despicably insults their memory.

I have no apology to make to anyone for voicing, as offensively as possible, my contempt for someone who can so easily turn his coat on this of all questions.

## Libertarian label

ERIC HOBSBAWM, whose work as a historian I greatly respect, recently described me in 'Marxism Today' as having ended up a libertarian journalist specialising in sexual themes.

We can, I think, leave sexual themes aside for the time being. 'Libertarian' has of course many meanings, not all of them political.

Often it's a mere poison label, useful since it vaguely suggests 'liberal' on the one hand, 'libertine' on the other.

Hobsbawm, to whom libertarianism and libertinism are alike anathema, has a soft spot for liberalism. He's a Euro-Stalinist and, I believe, an adviser to Neil Kinnock. I can't say I greatly respect him in either of those capacities.

But the value of a piece of historical writing doesn't depend on the historian's political position. You don't judge the pudding by the cloth it's wrapped in.

There's a lot of history written in the Stalinist tradition — and in the libertarian tradition, come to that — which is superbly researched, well presented, and firmly on the side of the poor against the rich.

Like all historical writing without exception, it has to be read with a critical eye. But there's often much to be learnt from it.

An example of useful historical writing in the libertarian tradition came my way the other day in the shape of 'Mutinies: 1917-1920' by Dave Lamb, published by 'Solidarity'.

Here you can read gripping accounts of mutinies by British workers in uniform during a period when this country was closer to revolution than at any other time this century.

There are fascinating details about the way the troops organised themselves — 'the Soldiers', Sailors' and Airmen's Councils forged many links both within the Armed forces and with workers in struggle' — and about the consternation, not to say panic, their militancy caused in the ranks of the ruling class.

Having thus led the Trojan horse of libertarianism into the chaste stable of Workers Press, I will take the further liberty of concluding this note like a gossip columnist.

Eric Hobsbawm ended up quite a decent writer on jazz. But he chose to do so under a different name.

## Elliptical correction

TWO SETS of ellipses — the three dots used to show that something's been omitted from a quotation — were dropped from the quote by Edward Norman at the beginning of this column last week.

Let me say at once that the fault was wholly mine. I haven't yet mastered the wonderful machine on which I typed last week's piece.

Those who, like me, are sticklers for accuracy in quotations might like to know where the ellipses should have come: in line 5, after 'races' (in place of the comma); in line 10, between 'their' and 'concepts'.

PETER FRYER

## ROBSON'S CHOICE



Coco and Frances in 'A Tale of Two Sisters', Thursday, 11.15p.m., Channel Four — pick of the week

THE interview with Baron Murray of Epping Forest and Telford in the County of Shropshire last Tuesday was, above all else, boring in the extreme. He affirmed that he is not for peers, so long as they are not of the hereditary variety, hence his alacrity in accepting a seat in the House of Lords.

The only remotely interesting thing he had to say, as far as I could tell, was that he had no regrets at having joined the Communist Party, after being radicalised by the army, because the party taught him self-discipline. Next week we may learn what the Labour Party taught him.

\* \* \*

Opera lovers should tune in to BBC2 on Saturday at 7.25p.m. for the *Maria Callas Gala Concert*. Later that evening, also on BBC2 starting at 9.55p.m., two more films by Nicholas Ray of which the first, *Johnny Guitar*, is by far the best known.

The season of films by Turkish director Yilmaz Guney, on Channel Four, continues with *The Enemy* at 11.00p.m.

Radio 3 at 9.30p.m. presents *A Canal Too Far*, a fresh look at the Suez crisis of 1956, made possible by the release of hitherto classified government documents.

If it has loosened a few ageing tongues the programme could be quite useful in revealing some of the deep divisions that existed within the ruling class at the time on how to deal with the rising tide of 'Arab nationalism'.

Sunday morning has a very special treat in store for children and adults alike. Don't miss *Beautiful People*, 10.40am (BBC2), one of the most entertaining and humorous wildlife films ever made.

In the evening, another chance to see the battle of Stalingrad in part nine of the series *World at War* (7.15p.m., C4), and Woody Allen in *A Midsummer Night's Sex Comedy* (11.00p.m., C4).

Aside from an 'experimental' film on C4 at 10.55p.m. and *Wildlife on One* (8.00p.m., BBC1), Monday looks pretty barren. Whenever you choose to switch on you will be confronted with much the same thing in slightly different wrapping.

Tuesday is better. Radio 3 transmits the first of a trilogy by the Greek dramatist Sophocles: *Oedipus the King* (7.30p.m.), followed by Schubert's song cycle 'Winterreise' in a classic 1955 performance by Fischer-Dieskau and Gerald Moore.

If you like monkeys watch *Any Which Way You Can* at 8p.m. (ITV). Clint Eastwood is the organ grinder.

If you still like monkeys, of the Jimmy Thomas variety, at 10.50p.m. BBC1 presents the second of four programmes featuring Lord Murray of Epping Forest. This week he explains how Edward Heath lost the 1973 miners strike. With this kind of exposure I wonder how long it will be before he is advertising Goodyear tyres.

On Wednesday there are two documentaries worth a look on Channel Four: *Whoever Says The Truth Shall Die* (9.00p.m.) and *The Wind And The Bomb* (11.00p.m.). The first makes a case for murdered Italian film director, Pasolini, having been the victim of a right-wing conspiracy; the second is about the making of the animated film 'When the Wind Blows'.

Anyone with a passion for fossils should look at QED (9.35p.m., BBC1), an account of how a plumber found a Baryonyx — a man-eating dinosaur — in Dorset.

Thursday offers a wider variety and includes my 'pick of the week'. BBC2's *Bookmark* at 8.10p.m. introduces the work of Nuruddin Farah, whose books are banned in his native Somalia, and South African poet Don Maters.

At 8p.m. on Channel Four Professor Robert Skidelsky argues that 'democratic socialists are destined to fail' in his critical appraisal of past Labour governments.

Franco Rosso's documentary about the Harlesden People's Community Council, *Struggle for Stonebridge*, is on BBC2 at 9.30p.m.

My 'pick of the week' is *A Tale of Two Sisters*, 11.15p.m. (Channel 4), which is living proof, if proof were needed, that the simplest idea can exude enormous vitality and have an impact to match. Neil Gibson's first

documentary is a bare essential, kind, disarmingly simple (which virtually by definition implies a hidden complexity), moving and funny, often at the same time, and relentlessly watchable.

Reduced to its bare essentials, it presents two elderly Eurasian sisters in conversation with their daughter/niece. They talk about their lives, especially their early lives in China, through the period of the Russian revolution, the Japanese invasion of mainland China, and — only vaguely remembered as something outside their privileged existence — the Chinese revolution itself.

My only criticism is that Channel Four saw fit to show this little gem so close to midnight. Maybe they don't recognise its worth.

Friday: a chance to hear the second Theban play by Sophocles, *Oedipus at Colonus* at 7.30p.m. (Radio 3).

Arena, 9.30p.m. (BBC2), tells the story of Martin Chambi, an Indian born into a peasant family in the remote Peruvian countryside, turned photographer.

And finally, to round off the week, Raoul Walsh's *High Sierra*, starring Humphrey Bogart and Ida Lupino (BBC2, 11.15p.m.).

● If you are interested in painting and drawing, and you have the good fortune to live in Manchester, don't fail to visit the Degas exhibition at the Whitworth Gallery.

TOM SCOTT ROBSON

# BOOKS

**28 Charlotte Street, London W1P 1HP**  
Tel: 01 636 3532

**10/12 Atlantic Road, Brixton, SW9**  
Tel: 01 274 8342

**389 Green Street, London E13**  
Tel: 01 470 1388

**321 Hope Street, Glasgow G2 3PT**  
Tel: 041 332 8881

# BUUNS

# Workers Press

Saturday January 31 1987. Newsdesk 01-733 3058

## Step up the action

### Gigantic cash collection shows potential

**SUPPORT from trades unionists and the local community flooded into the occupied Caterpillar factory in Uddingston, Lanarkshire, last week as the company's determination to shut down hardened.**

'Local people have turned up at the gate with £1 notes, delegations from the local communities with hundreds of pounds,' a shop stewards' spokesman explained.

Teams covering shopping centres, supermarkets, Glasgow's two major football clubs and the miners' welfares last Saturday returned with over £5000. There was a big collection at the printworkers' march to Wapping.

Opposite the Caterpillar factory on Old Edinburgh Road, the Tannochside and Bredisholm Miners' Welfare Club are serving soup and sandwiches to the occupation force each dinnertime.

### Heart

Is it remarkable that workers in Lanarkshire, heart of Scotland's industrial revolution and once a honeycomb of pits and iron foundries, instinctively adopt the methods of the striking miners?

It confirms that while the pits have gone, the struggle for jobs begun in the 1984-1085 strike goes on at Caterpillar and elsewhere.

'I was in one of the local clubs for a drink the other night, and local people were coming up one after the other expressing shock and anger at the company's attitude,' said shop steward Andy Hotchkiss.

'It will be disastrous for the community if we lose.' The Caterpillar workers must be congratulated for their firm action in occupy-

### Lobby the CSEU executive

'Engineering Gazette', the rank-and-file engineering bulletin, has called for a lobby of the CSEU executive on Thursday February 5, from 8.30a.m. at the Imperial Hotel, Russell Square, London WC1. The Workers Revolutionary Party calls on all members and supporters to organise the maximum participation in this lobby.

BY SIMON PIRANI

ing the plant. Now the working-class movement must take the campaign forward.

'The fate of the occupation depends not on Tory ministers or other politicians but on mobilising working-class support,' stated a Workers Revolutionary Party leaflet issued at the factory.

'Working class action — demonstrations, strikes and occupations of other factories threatened with closure — should be organised and linked up with Caterpillar. The fight for jobs in the west of Scotland could become the start of a campaign of industrial and political action by the working-class movement to force this hated Tory government to resign.'

● **Caterpillar have now cut off supplies to the plant and the prospects of the 'work-in' tactic must be doubtful. Six tractors now on the production line are to be finished. One new one will be built, dubbed 'The Pink Panther' by workers, and donated to Bob Geldof's 'Band Aid' campaign.**

By this action the Caterpillar workers are highlighting the fact that work could be guaranteed in Uddingston for years to come, providing

earth-moving equipment which could help reclaim desert areas for agriculture. What stands between the tractor supply and the desperate demand in the poor countries are the profit-seeking multi-nationals like Caterpillar and the capitalist system in general.

The working-class movement should take a lead from Caterpillar in this respect. If the industrial and technical power of all the recession-stricken western nations was put to use, blows could be struck against poverty and starvation in the poor countries; the expertise of workers at Uddingston and similar closure-threatened factories, could be used to the benefit of the working class world wide.

### Plan

But this can only be done if an international plan is worked out by the working class itself; such a plan could only be carried through when workers themselves control the means of production: that is, under socialism.

The working-out of such a plan should begin immediately. Concrete discussions should be organised in the trade union movement; contacts should be made with trades unionists overseas.

● **WORKERS PRESS public meeting: MOBILISE SUPPORT FOR CATERPILLAR: HOW TO TAKE THE FIGHT FORWARD.** Thursday 12 February, 7.30p.m. Tannochside Olde Club, Old Edinburgh Road. Speakers (personal capacity) from NUM, EIS and other unions, followed by discussion. All welcome.

## RELEASE JAILED TRADE UNIONISTS

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

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

**KENT MINER**  
TERRY FRENCH: Betteshanger — Four year sentence

from January 1985. B73383, Northeye Prison, Bexhill on Sea, East Sussex

### PRINTERS

**STEPHEN SAVAGE:** SOGAT Casuals — Three months from October 1986, Sheerness Prison.

**MIKE HICKS:** SOGAT NEC, Imperial FoC London Wholesalers — Four months plus eight months suspended. Wormwood Scrubs, from December 5 1986.

## MARKIST DISCUSSION GROUP

Bryant Street Methodist Centre  
Bryant Street, off West Ham Lane  
Nearest Underground Stratford  
Sunday February 1, 7.30pm  
**TROTSKYISM AND VIETNAM**  
Speaker: Simon Pirani

## CATERPILLAR OCCUPATION



## Our fight for the future — women workers

**'IT'S THE future generations I'm worried about,' says Rose Slaven, one of Caterpillar's 80 women workers. 'This part of the country is becoming an industrial wasteland: our youth are moving south to get jobs.'**

'My son did two YTS schemes which lasted a year and had no future attached to them. Now he's moved to London, where there are jobs — but no housing. He's staying in a terrible place.'

'I've no doubt that after the next election, Ravenscraig will close as well. This will be one of the ghettos of the future. People will be stuck with houses they won't be able to sell.'

Eileen O'Kane, who has six children, said: 'My husband works here too: he was previously made redundant and then re-employed. Now we may be looking to our older children to help us out.'

Along with most of Caterpillar's women staff, Eileen and Rose work in the large open-plan office known as PWAFF — the Plant With A Future department.

Here plans were made for a major expansion of the factory: now, with that expansion junked and closure threatened, it's occupied.

Secretary to the head of department is Morag Thomson, Caterpillar's longest-serving female employee. In March Morag will celebrate 30 years' service at Uddingston — but not the way she expected.

'I'm too old to get another job and too young to retire. It's annoying to think that you have worked for 30 years, and nothing to show for it.'

'I have been a good employee to Caterpillar and I feel they have betrayed me.'

The closure threat affects the whole surrounding area, said Morag. Shops would close; firms that invested all their money to become certified suppliers to the giant tractor factory would go to the wall.

'No wonder I have had phone calls from friends, and people walking up to me in the street, expressing support.'

Another long-serving Caterpillar employee, Nan McDonald, underlined the urgency of financial support from the trade union movement. 'No way can people like Morag and I keep going

without that support,' she said. 'Both our husbands work here. The DHSS won't help at all.'

Nan expects a tough battle against the US multinational: she recalled the union recognition strike in 1956, which dragged on over Christmas and the New Year and took 12 weeks to force Caterpillar to back down.

There's one more thing the women workers at Caterpillar are agreed on. They are throwing their full weight behind the jobs struggle, working at organising rotas, raising finance etc.

'In years past, women would sit at home moaning while men were out on strike,' said Nan McDonald. 'Now there are more women working in industry and getting more politicised. So you can be sure, we'll play our part.'

## The golden pin and the iron axe

SIX o'clock on a Wednesday morning. Larry Lenzi, computerised boring machine operator, is going off night shift.

The personnel manager has come in early to see him: to present him with a lapel pin, his thanks for 25 years working at Caterpillar.

Larry's committed more to the company than many. Four years ago they made him redundant, and he found a new job, driving, in the health service. Then 18 months ago a phone call from Caterpillar's personnel manager brought him back to the plant, with a promise of training on the new CNC computerised boring equipment.

Like others, Larry believed it was a 'Plant With A Future'. He gave up his driving job and gave his old employer a second chance.

So did his three closest work-mates who left good jobs in the railway, Cummins

Engines and as a self-employed businessman. In fact according to Caterpillar shop stewards at least 60 workers abandoned other jobs to return to the 'Plant With A Future'.

By half past six on the Wednesday morning, the personnel manager has presented Larry with his pin. 'He spoke as though he didn't know the factory was closing. He talked about the changes I'd seen in the factory and all that stuff.'

'Then the guy who escorted me up to his office, another manager, said: "You'll not get a 30-year pin". He told me the place was closing.'

Two o'clock that afternoon, the closure was announced. Although rumours had been circulating, it was like a thunderbolt.

'I was totally shattered', says Larry. 'I was bitter. They brought me out of another job to come back here. Now I'll fight along with the rest.'