

City backs Labour Manifesto:

Why vote Labour — see p2

KINNOCK GROVELS TO BIG BUSINESS

BY CYRIL SMITH

THE LABOUR Party manifesto has received rave reviews from the Tory press.

Wednesday's 'Financial Times' put it well: 'The Labour manifesto is a revelation. If Labour had been able to produce documents like "Britain Will Win" in the late 1970s and early 1980s, and so apparently free to dispense with conference resolutions, there would have been no need for the Social Democratic Party to have been formed.'

The city gents who read this leading article were delighted to hear that:

"'Britain Will Win' is far from perfect: the faults, however, are written smaller than they used to be and the document is much shorter.

'Active membership of the European Community is accepted without so much as a blush at the memory that the subject has split the Labour Party for the last three decades. Even the commitment to a non-nuclear defence policy, so controversial when it was adopted last autumn, has been toned down to the point where it is almost an apologetic footnote.

'Widespread public ownership is out along with the old deference to the trades unions. The sale of council houses is not so much accepted as welcomed. The approach to public expenditure is restrained.'

What damning comment on the treachery of the Kinnock leadership!

To the inappropriately heroic strains of Brahms, amidst roses and show-biz extravaganza, the mouse-like Kinnock made clear that his one aim is to convince the ruling class of his utter loyalty to capitalism.

Hattersley, his deputy, commended the document as being more realistic than that of 1983, because it was 'more modest in aspiration and more specific in costing.'

● Even if the promise to find a million jobs in two years were kept, more than three million would be out of work.

● The so-called 'anti-poverty programme' would make little impact on the widespread misery of Thatcher's Britain. Hattersley himself admitted that 'other highly desirable policies' would be implemented 'when and only when economic circumstances allowed'.

TURN TO PAGE 2



LAMBETH NALGO Women's Group celebrates victory on the issue of maternity rights on the steps of the Town Hall.

PHOTO: David Stewart

Under the threat of a one-day strike Lambeth Council implemented an agreement that the union had been trying to negotiate since 1979 — a vastly improved package for women

workers.

It is now much easier for women to combine a career in local government with having children.

Women in Lambeth, like women in Islington, Camden and Haringey will have 40 weeks with some level of payment as opposed to 24.

The qualifying period for maternity rights has been dropped from 18 months to 4 months, the time limit on the right to return to the same job was increased from the legal 29 to 51 weeks, and paid adoption leave was introduced.

Workers Press

Why we say 'Vote Labour'

THE Workers Revolutionary Party's statement in last week's Workers Press called for a Labour vote in the general election. At the same time, we denounced the leaders of the Labour Party as traitors to the working class.

Is this contradictory? Yes, it certainly is. But the contradiction originates, not in what we say, but in the entire history of the British working class movement.

In 1987, a dangerous situation faces the British working class. In the face of the Tory onslaught, its organisations and conditions are menaced by the betrayals of its leaders.

Unlike the position in other countries, where the unions were set up by socialists, the trade unions in Britain arose before the existence of a mass socialist party.

Only at the end of the last century did most trades unionists begin to see the need for political action. When the Labour Party emerged, its aim was to represent the unions in parliament. Socialists fought for their policies inside it, but were nearly always in a minority.

At the time, British imperialism was at the height of its power. With its super-profits from imperialism, the British ruling class had bribed a 'labour aristocracy', whose privileged position formed the basis for pro-capitalist bureaucrats to dominate the unions and the Labour Party.

In 1914, these right-wing leaders had backed imperialism's murderous war for profits and colonial loot, and acted as the recruiting agents for the bosses. After the Russian Revolution, they worked to ensure the continued existence of capitalism and the isolation of the first workers' state.

Workers who fought against these traitors founded and built a Communist Party. Under the direction of the Communist International, they turned to those workers who still saw their future in voting a Labour government into office, to work with them and win them to communism.

But the rise of Stalinism in the Soviet Union led to the destruction of the Communist International as a revolutionary body. The Labour Party leaders were able to maintain their grip on the working class.

They carried capitalism through the General Strike, the slump of the 1930s, into the second imperialist war and through the revolutionary mood which engulfed the world after that war.

Labour leaders have formed governments from 1924 onwards. The 1945 government of Attlee did introduce some reforms which benefitted the working class, at least up to 1949.

But the net result of their actions was to restructure a decrepit British capitalism, using state-intervention. Bankrupt industries were nationalised, their ex-owners were lavishly compensated, bureaucrats put in charge. The result was to confuse and dishearten workers.

The split in the Labour Party in 1981, with the formation of the SDP by some of its leaders, has made it possible for the Tories to foresee yet another term of office, even with four million unemployed.

We fight to build a revolutionary leadership for the working class, without which they cannot finish Toryism and capitalism for good. This means breaking the hold of the Labour Party leaders on the workers' movement, which ties it to capitalism.

Our call for a Labour vote on 11 June is part of this aim. We have absolutely no confidence in the Labour leaders, and say so clearly. However, as the actions of Kinnock and Hattersley break up the unity of the working class in the face of the Tory offensive, we have to unite it against the Tories.

We think those workers who hope that a Labour vote will resolve their problems are mistaken. But just to tell them this, as some groups on the left do, would be to turn our backs on them and abandon our responsibility for their future.

In the course of this election campaign, we intend to fight with them against Thatcher, to win the maximum support for our revolutionary policies, to warn workers about the treachery of the Labour leaders and to build our Party within the working class.

GET TUC OUT OF MSC

Lecturers union to debate JTS cheap labour schemes

BY GEOFF BARR

THE college lecturers' union, NATFHE, holds its conference this weekend. A central debate will be on the government's latest initiative to fake the unemployment figures and use the unemployed as cheap labour — the Job Training Scheme (JTS).

The union will continue to be strongly opposed to the YTS but the question is how to take the fight forward.

The West Midlands and South West regions want NATFHE to tell the TUC to get out of the Manpower Services Commission (MSC). TUC backing for the MSC and its schemes has enabled Lord Young to announce his phoney drop in unemployment.

Many NATFHE members

feel that the time has come for the TUC to say 'enough is enough'.

The lecturers meet during a major dispute with their employers — the Labour-led local authorities. The authorities proposed an increase in the working week and a reduction of college holidays.

This has stirred lecturers, already hard-pressed by rising student numbers and

covering the work of colleagues who have not been replaced, into more militant action than ever before, with a programme of one-day strikes and rallies in each region. The conference will have to consider whether the union's counter proposals have been adequate or if they have given ground to the employers.

The Tory mania for privatisation and cuts will play a

large part in the conference. A resolution from Outer London attacking Kenneth Baker's proposed 'city technical colleges' will be considered.

The Tory proposals for taking the polytechnics away from democratic local control has caused a lot of anger among the lecturers. A resolution attacking them will be high on the agenda.

The union will not be ignoring its international links. Continued support for a boycott of South Africa is demanded in an Inner London resolution. The West Midlands want it toughened up with a call for a trade union boycott of South Africa and for branches to form links with branches of independent education unions in South Africa.

The lecturers will be asked to join other unions in opposition to nuclear energy.

KINNOCK GROVELS

● FROM PAGE 1

Labour's policies are determined by the depth of the capitalist crisis and not the pressing needs of millions of workers and their families.

● 'Britain Will Win' is big on law and order, promising more police.

● Labour's 'defence' policy is played down to the point of inaudibility. 'It was a Labour government which helped to establish the North Atlantic Alliance,' the document proudly reminds the world. 'Labour's defence policy is based squarely and firmly on Britain's membership of NATO.'

● On South Africa, the Labour Party promises no more than to 'ensure that British measures against apartheid embrace those already adopted by the US Congress, the Commonwealth and the EEC.'

As 11 June gets closer, Kinnock's leadership becomes more and more dangerous for the working class. A new world economic crisis, centred on the US, is approaching. The insuperable 'debt crisis' frightens the most powerful of the American banks, and hangs over the British financial institutions even more threateningly.

The latest figures for British manufacturing production show continued stagnation. Instead of warning the working class, Labour helps the Tories to conceal the dangers that lie ahead.

The WRP has called for a Labour vote on 11 June. We have no confidence in the Labour leadership. Our call is part of the struggle to expose the Labour leaders and build a revolutionary socialist alternative to them in the working class.

The policies of Kinnock expose the working class to a third Thatcher government and the misery and suffering this will bring to millions.

This big business manifesto is a clear warning to the working class: even if Labour wins the election the working class can have no confidence in a Labour government.

The need for revolutionary leadership has never been more urgent.

WORKERS REVOLUTIONARY PARTY
Women's Commission Day Seminar
The Socialist Revolution and Women
Sunday 21 June
10a.m.-6p.m.
WRP members only

Repression and resistance in Latin America

BY JOHN OWEN

'HASTA CUANDO?' ('When will it end?') asks a new documentary film on Chile being shown throughout Britain.

This film details daily repression. Mothers collecting food and clothes for victims of a recent earthquake are attacked by water cannon and tear-gas and then arrested.

Riot police regularly come into shanty-town areas, but meet determined resistance from young people who have lost all fear of them.

Bank overtime ban

BIFU, the banking union, has decided at its annual delegate conference at Blackpool to impose an overtime ban on members working in the Federation of English Clearing Banks which includes Barclays, National Westminster and Lloyds, from 8 June.

The overtime ban is against a 5 per cent pay offer imposed on the unions by the banks. The union is to approach the non-TUC Staff Association requesting that their members join in joint industrial action.

So far at the BIFU conference motions have been passed in opposition to pay deals linked to productivity, and not to enter YTS agreements with the banks. Delegates stated that YTS was being used to promote the ethos of low pay in the industry.

The conference was addressed by K.E. Svenson, leader of 50,000 Swedish bank workers. Svenson explained to delegates how Swedish bank workers had recently won a fight against Swedish banks on the issue of performance-related pay.

The leadership of the non-TUC affiliated Bank of England Staff Association have agreed to join BIFU, bringing 3,500 Bank of England workers into the TUC.

A final ballot of Bank of England staff is underway to endorse the decision.

BIFU, despite urgings from delegates, especially from the Manchester area, decided to accept government money for ballots. Stalinists opened the door last year for the acceptance of government money. This year they unsuccessfully attempted to hold the position of accepting government money unless there is a change in TUC policy.

At the film's climax kidnap victims are found, showing signs of brutal torture. The government's security forces disclaim responsibility.

The 14-year-old son of one of the victims pledges that he will continue the fight for his father's ideals.

Alejandro Olivares, president of Chile's National Federation of Independent Trade Unions (FESIT), told a meeting in Liverpool on 8 May: 'To understand the present situation in Chile, it is important to know about 1973.'

'In 1973 all popular organisations — especially workers' organisations — were destroyed.'

'One million people are unemployed or are participating in government cheap-labour schemes. A single worker earns £12 a month, a married worker earns £24 a month.'

'The resistance to the government began again in 1978 amongst copper miners — then the textile workers joined in.'

'In 1983 trade unions started new forms of struggle. The death of Chilean

workers is not stopped by raising your hand and asking for clemency.

'The bullets that are being fired at our shanty-town have to be answered, not with empty hands.'

'We are hoping to raise money to open an office in Valparaiso for the women's movement.'

Carlos Major, a Nicaraguan Sandinista member, said the US was using all forms of attack on the Nicaraguan revolution: economic sabotage of oil industries and factories alongside a policy of social terror.

'Fifty thousand US marines are due to be stationed in central America on 20 May', Major went on. In order to regain popularity Reagan invaded Grenada — today they may invade us, though many political correspondents doubt this move.

'That is why we need international solidarity. This will strengthen our struggle against our own bourgeoisie.'

The meeting ended with a collection of over £80 from an audience of about 100.

Teachers step up action

MEMBERS of the two largest teaching unions decided last week to step up their strikes against the Tory government.

Their decision came in the wake of intense pressure from their leaders to call off their action in the name of unity with the Labour leaders in the run up to the election.

From the start of next month, the National Union of Teachers and the National Association of Schoolmasters/Union of Women Teachers will double the number of half-day strikes in defence of their collective bargaining rights.

Over fifty areas will be affected by the action which will cost four weeks' worth of strike funds.

The unions have de-

decided to suspend their action after polling day in order to seek further discussions with the government.

'It presents us with an opportunity to put our case on our democratic rights to the electorate' said NUT deputy general secretary Doug McAvoy.

The decision is a blow not only to the union leaderships but to Kinnock. He and his fellow right-wingers are desperate that the working class should do nothing which will rock the boat during the election campaign.

Every other section of the working class should follow the teachers' lead: the working class must defend its basic rights at all times, general election or no general election.

Six days' hard labour to win justice for Kurdish refugees

SWIFT ACTION has prevented the deportation of 20 Kurdish refugees, members of five families who arrived in Britain on 2 and 7 May.

Only a protracted struggle in the courts gave the families the right to stay in the country while their cases went through the proper legal processes.

'Normal procedure is for refugees to be interviewed by Immigration officials on arrival. We had to get a judge's ruling to force the Home Office to grant this to these refugees' said Larry Grant, the solicitor who represented them.

In mid-1986 these families crossed the border from Iraq to Iran. They were being subjected to raids by the Iraqi police and could not live normal lives.

They paid money to get to Syria. There they were detained for two to five days and then put on a flight to Frankfurt, then on to Britain.

Deported

Immigration officials told them they would be deported back to Syria at the first opportunity, and they are now in detention centres. Only one family was given anything like a full interview; the other four were not properly interviewed.

Grant told Workers Press: 'These Kurdish families would not be safe in Syria.'

'A recent meeting between the Syrian and Iraqi leaderships shows that, although they are at loggerheads, both are wings of the Ba'ath Party, and a deal between them will probably mean the return of the Kurds to Iraq, and police intimidation.

'The Home Office was not even prepared to refer them to the United Kingdom Immigration Advisory Service, and would not let MPs ask

BY DOT GIBSON

for a stop on their removal from the country.'

At 11a.m. on 14 May Immigration told Grant that one family would be removed by 10a.m. the following day (the courts open at 10.30a.m!).

There was frantic work to prepare the papers; they were put before a judge at 4.15p.m. He granted leave to apply for a judicial review, prohibited the removal of the Kurdish family, and listed the case for 20 May — not a full hearing, but to allow the Home Office to object to his judgment.

The cases of the other four families were identical, so Grant said he would have all the cases ready for the same day, and asked the Home Office to give an undertaking not to remove the other four families.

The Home Office refused to give such an assurance.

It was now 5.30p.m., and there was little chance of finding a judge to deal with the matter.

Assurance

Grant asked whether they could give an assurance not to remove the Kurds before 2p.m. After a short delay this was granted.

At 7p.m. on 18 May a member of Grant's staff phoned Harmondsworth detention centre and found that none of the Kurdish men was there. The men of four of the five families were at Heathrow

Airport for interview by Immigration.

Within an hour he and a member of his staff were at the airport and were allowed to attend the remaining interviews. The next day they attended interviews from 10a.m. to 5p.m.

The cases were heard on 20 May and a judicial review granted. The family can remain in Britain while their cases go through the appropriate legal processes.

After his victory, Grant told Workers Press: 'The Home Office don't like the world to know that the Court has granted an injunction against them because it puts them in a bad light.'

Injunction

'We agreed to the injunction being lifted on the Home Office giving undertakings not to remove my clients until the hearing of the case, which is all I wanted in the first place.'

'The effect is the same — it just looks better for the Home Office.'

'If the Home Office had given me what I asked for initially, it would not have been necessary to attend Court today, and that is why the Court ordered the Home Office to pay the costs of today's hearing.'

'Admittedly, it is all public money but I did not see why the Legal Aid Fund should have to foot this particular bill.'

In open court the barrister for the Home Office said that sympathetic consideration would be given to admitting everyone temporarily, and Grant said: 'The Immigration Service has confirmed that everybody would be released.'

Chancellor's house picketed



AS PART of their pay action Leicester CPSA and SCPS members picketed the home of Nigel Lawson, Tory Chancellor of the Exchequer and MP for Blaby, Leicestershire.

Chris Willars, CPSA vice-chair for the Leicester DHSS, workers explained that the strikers had come to publicise their pay claim.

'We have posted a letter through his door detailing our position,' he told Workers Press.

'Many of our members are on family income supplements and others qualify for free milk and vitamins. A number have had to take other jobs in the evening. The wages are so low we cannot make ends meet. I have a pregnant wife and child and I cannot afford to keep them.'

The dispute was not just about pay, he stressed. It also involved the fact that staff felt they could not do their job properly because of staff cuts after severely deteriorating conditions since the Tories came to power.

'Morale is low because there is less attention to training and the high turnover of staff means they are less experienced. It means that queues build up and we are at the sharp end of claimants' dissatisfaction. We are the front-line troops and sickness records have deteriorated as a result of stress.'

'This is why our main slogan is not for more pay, but for a better civil service. If the Tories get in, there is no doubt that they will bring in all the recommendations of Fowler, which will mean the opposite to a better civil service.'

Hangers workers betrayed by bureaucrats

AFTER eight months on strike the artificial-limb makers at Hangers in Roehampton, south-west London, this week became the latest victims in the recent spate of betrayals by union leaders.

The tried and trusted formula: formal recognition while failing to mobilise any support.

One of the strikers at Monday's mass meeting roundly

condemned this method used by the leaders of TASS and FTAT (Furniture, Timber and Allied Trades Union).

On the executive's recommendation, the meeting voted to accept the company's 'latest offer' — which left them with a small cash payment but no job.

The workers felt strongly that the union leaders were more concerned with getting union dues, even from scabs, than with defending members who were the backbone of the trade union movement.

After the vote to end the dispute the strike committee called for a vote endorsing a report which blamed the branches for lack of support but said nothing of the role of the union leaders during the strike.

This was fiercely opposed by one man who said the leadership had isolated the dispute to the Roehampton works and now wanted to blame the branches for not giving enough support.

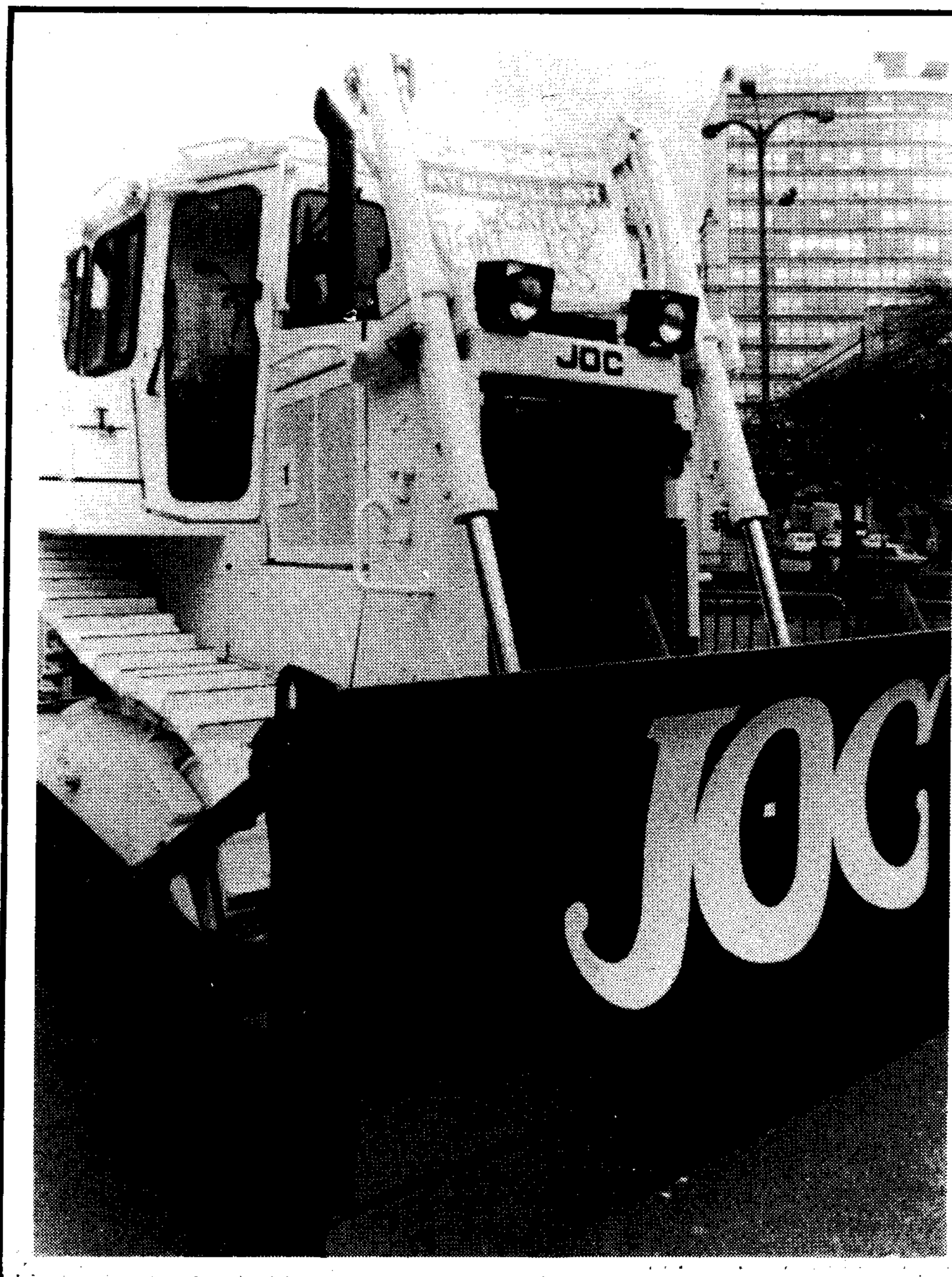
'We came out fighting for basic trade union principles, which our leadership has yet to learn about,' he said. 'We were railroaded by a union leadership who now say that support from the branches is the bottom line.'

'What I want to know is what about the top line?'

Calling for a vote against the report, and the drawing up of a more objective one, he said: 'These people should not be allowed to do again what they have done at Hangers.'

During the meeting Peter Hain, the local Labour candidate, turned up in his Range Rover and delivered a speech on the historic nature of the strike.

Soliciting help for his election campaign, he said the main thing now was to get the Tories out. Significantly he made no rash promises that a future Labour government would nationalise Hangers as part of the health service and restore the 300 jobs.



Pink Panther snatched

BY NEIL DEMPSEY

THE PINK PANTHER has been stolen. The tractor built by Caterpillar workers during their occupation and donated to War on Want, has been snatched from George Square in Glasgow by Caterpillar management.

The tractor was to have been sent to Nicaragua's Atlantic coast. Instead Caterpillar threatened to entangle the charity in an expensive legal battle, which although War on Want is convinced would be winnable, it was not prepared to tie up its much needed funds.

Negotiations were going on to find a compromise solution when on 9 May the tractor was taken by a management snatch squad.

Laurie Gardener, Scottish Organiser for War on Want, said, 'Caterpillar themselves have no use for the Pink Panther, they intend to scrap it. So this symbolic demonstration of the skills of the workers at Uddingston, given with generosity to the people of the Third World to build health centres and schools, is now consigned to the scrapyard.'

'Not only have Caterpillar cheated the Scottish taxpayer and swindled the workers at the Uddingston factory — they have now stolen hope from the poor and the hungry.'

PUBLIC LECTURES

A series of four lectures
by Cyril Smith

4. Theory and revolutionary practice (22 May)

FRIDAY evenings
7.30p.m. sharp

Duke of York, York Way
near Kings Cross Station, London WC1

Write for Workers Press!

WE ARE receiving more material than ever for Workers Press, but we want to hear from even more of our readers. Please send letters, news from your area, reports of the struggles of the work-

ing class, of women and youth, of developments in the Labour Party and Communist Party. . .

We also need photographs — phone us on 01-733 3058 and discuss the best way to get them to us.

Under a stolen flag

BY CLIFF SLAUGHTER

THE Workers Revolutionary Party is not standing candidates in this general election. Through our paper Workers Press, and through our members' work within the working-class movement, we shall be campaigning for the programme we are convinced is necessary to defeat the Tory government.

The key question for the whole working class is this: how to build a truly socialist leadership, a revolutionary party which will replace the existing treacherous Labour and trade union leadership and lead the working class to conquer state power?

The past struggles to build a revolutionary leadership have been based on a deepening Marxist understanding of the necessity of working-class revolution and socialism. The experience of those struggles is embodied in the WRP.

When we have built up the necessary strength, we shall certainly contest future elections — even though we know that putting MPs in parliament cannot solve the problems facing the working class.

In the present general election a bogus organisation falsely calling itself the Workers Revolutionary Party, and publishing a paper called News Line, has announced that it will stand ten candidates.

We warn the working class against these people. They are a bunch of renegades whose leading spokespersons were expelled from our party in October 1985. These were supporters of the for-

mer leader of the WRP: Gerry Healy, expelled for abuse of party members.

In News Line of 12 May the remnants of this group, having parted from Healy and the Redgraves, and still calling themselves the WRP, published their election statement. It is a declaration of bankruptcy by people who have learnt nothing and forgotten nothing.

According to them, 'the Thatcher regime is seeking a major intensification of class conflict'.

On the contrary, British

ing, while the working class suffers ever-greater attacks made necessary by the crisis.

This theme runs right through the News Line statement. They have in fact no policy for the election. For them, it is either Thatcher's 'Bonapartist dictatorship' becoming police-military rule or a socialist revolution, led of course by none other than themselves.

That's why we say they have forgotten nothing. Towards the end of the 1984-1985 miners' strike, Healy

leaders' craven betrayal which isolated the miners and compelled them to return.

The result is a highly dangerous 'stalemate' in the struggle, in which the ruling class retains the initiative to call elections, prepare new legislation, deal with disputes piecemeal, and so on, while the question of working-class leadership remains unresolved.

The election is of importance above all in relation to this question of leadership, of what can be done to ex-

that elections make no difference and that what is at stake is revolution or counter-revolution.

They have never, it seems, heard of transitional demands: i.e. demands, arising out of today's struggles, which take the working class along the road of the struggle for power.

Demands of this kind include: repeal of anti-union laws; abolition of YTS and other slave-labour schemes; disbanding of SAS and M15; immediate withdrawal of troops from the north of Ire-

domination of Labour and Stalinist traitors, such demands should be posed directly to the Labour Party during the election and to any future Labour government.

At the same time we fight for a workers' government which would stand at the head of a mass movement of workers' committees, councils of action, support groups, and so on, to appropriate the capitalist class and smash its whole state machine.

On this basis we make the call to vote Labour, but with no confidence whatever in the Labour leaders.

To defeat the Tory government in an election can help unify the working class for its next step along the road to power. But for that the building of the alternative revolutionary leadership is indispensable.

Patient explanation of these connections is needed, day in and day out, and not the apocalyptic pronouncements of News Line, which speaks of 'either the victory of the socialist revolution... or the descent into police-military dictatorship and the inevitable [?] prospect of a third, and nuclear, world war'.

Everyone knows that, as a characterisation of the present epoch, this has been true for generations. But this will not suffice for policy in an election, or in any other context.

The News Line says 'the Thatcher regime has abrogated parliament and established a Bonapartist dictatorship, ended class compromise and prosecuted a violent class war'.

If you believe that, then of course an election is of no consequence. But for the working class the defeat of this government is a vital question.

And it is no less vital for the working class to deal with its own traitors and organise behind the revolutionary Marxist party.



Women's committees: an important development in the miners' strike. But when the working class steps forward, the Healyites aren't interested. Bogus 'WRP' leaders sneered at 'soup kitchen socialism', told members to get out of Miners' Support Groups.

capitalism relies crucially on the role of the Labour and trade union leaders, assisted by the Stalinists, in preventing the working class from entering into 'intensified' conflict — so that politics is confined to parliamentary and bureaucratic manoeuvr-

declared that a return to work was 'unthinkable' — even though it was already beginning — and would result in fascism.

The fact is, of course, that however much the forces of the state were used against the miners, it was the TUC

pose the Labour leaders and advance the self-confidence and political independence of the working class, first and foremost by building the revolutionary party.

News Line is interested in the election, it seems, only to 'prove' its propaganda point

land; breaking of all links with South Africa; abolition of the racist immigration laws; release of jailed miners and other class-war prisoners; public works under workers' control.

So long as the working class stays under the

The 'Community Care' fraud

BY BERNARD FRANKS

THE Law Lords' decision to sanction the sterilisation of 17 year-old 'Jeanette' set a dangerous precedent.

Courts can now condemn a young woman to sterilisation on the ground that she will always be unable to grasp the connection between conception and pregnancy.

The implications are wide when seen in the context of the Tory government's 'Community Care' policy.

Community Care is said to be about helping institutionalised elderly people and mental patients return to a normal life.

But it is a fraud, aimed at dumping inmates into private institutions, on the streets, or on relatives unable to cope. Facilities can then be run down, hospitals closed, and the freed prime sites sold off cheaply to property developers.

Two recent reports, from the Audit Commission and the British Medical Association, show that funding and facilities are not being made available to run the scheme in any genuine sense.

The BMA says the 'ideal of a dignified life within their own communities for those with special needs demands a radical change in the way public funds are used'.

However, 'the accelerating drift towards residential institutional care financed by social security benefits

defeats the objective of care in the community'.

Government pressure is being applied to get inmates out, irrespective of the clear lack of support services in the localities.

So sterilised 'mentally handicapped' women hospital inmates could be expelled without adequate facilities for their protection.

In the early years of this century a campaign for 'racial purity' was being waged by the Eugenists.

There were plans for preventing the 'feeble-minded' and other 'degenerate' types from breeding by locking them away or by sterilisation.

In the 1920s and 1930s the policy of taking 'mental defectives' away from their families and shutting them up in institutions was vigorously pursued.

Hitler was writing that the state 'must proclaim unfit for procreation all those who are afflicted with some visible hereditary disease or are carriers of it; and practical measures must be adopted to have such people rendered sterile'.

This policy was carried to its logical conclusion with the wholesale sterilisation and subsequently extermination of 'subnormals' in Nazi Germany.

In Britain, official attitudes changed when it be-



came known that the racial theories were rubbish, and this change was reflected in the 1959 Mental Health Act.

Suddenly it could be revealed what had been known all along: that most mental hospitals were Victorian institutions in which no one should have to live or work.

Cases of appalling treatment of patients and shocking living conditions were brought to light.

Many inmates were now found not to have any medical problem, real or supposed, but to have been put away as 'moral defectives'.

These were mostly women who had become pregnant

outside marriage when young and had therefore been locked away for life as 'degenerates'.

During the past 20 years excellent and dedicated work has been done by nursing and medical staff to open up the institutions and rehabilitate inmates into community life.

Terminology has changed too, defining the 'mentally handicapped' as against the 'mentally ill'.

But this term also tends towards being a dehumanising classification: dangerously selective, and possibly wrong.

Even so, a far more en-

lightened attitude to mental conditions and learning problems has developed generally in recent decades.

Local social workers, home help, meals-on-wheels, community nurse and general practitioner services are all facing the same debilitating pressures as the special hospitals and schools.

Former inmates of institutions fall victim to get-rich-quick owners of private 'residential homes', who make fortunes out of the DHSS on the basis of multiple room occupancy.

Other released patients, unable to cope in a world tough even for those without physical and behaviour diffi-

culties, fall back on aged

parents or end up sleeping rough or in prison.

The concern to sterilise mentally incapacitated young women is a policy for saving the state the expense of protecting them from sexual abuse and rape, or of supporting the offspring of those who make a successful relationship.

Trade unions and professional organisations should reject the naive acceptance of 'Community Care' and the associated measures for sterilising dependants which are likely to be part of it.

No more specialist hospitals, homes or schools must be closed and those remaining should be improved and updated. The 'open door' policy has operated both ways and ensured that many of these institutions are already part of the community.

No inmates should be removed without agreement by medical and nursing staff, relatives, and the occupants themselves that satisfactory alternative community provision is available.

Most carers in home conditions labour under enormous difficulties as alleged back-up provision proves erratic or non-existent.

At the same time, those working to rehabilitate institution inmates have been grossly deceived by a Tory government which has assured them that fully comprehensive alternative services will be available.

5,000 mourn the Loughgall volunteers with grief, anger — and pride

BY PHIL PENN

WHEN Gauleiter Tom King sent the SAS death squad to Loughgall his intention was to strike a blow against the morale of the IRA, and he was not much bothered how.

The Loughgall killing zone was set up after a series of successful IRA operations against a large number of state targets.

One of these targets was Judge Maurice Gibson, infamous for his persecution of the nationalist community, who met his end in a particularly well-planned operation.

Gibson's car was blown to bits with him in it while he was crossing the border on return from his holiday.

This had in fact been a big blow to the morale of the state forces, who have tried just about every kind of repression in the six counties to very little avail.

At Loughgall the SAS were ordered to take no prisoners and, after riddling the volunteers with bullets, they finished each one off with a bullet in the head.

Three of the volunteers were sitting in a Toyota Hiace van following a mechanical digger which crashed through the main gate of the RUC barracks. Its front bucket, carrying a 200lb bomb, drove into a wall.

The bomb went off and demolished half the building. The SAS, who had the place surrounded, began a storm of fire.

When they had finished, the Toyota was like a sieve, and the three volunteers still inside were dead.

Others were massacred as they tried to escape from the killing zone. No attempt was made to capture the volunteers alive.

As the SAS lay in wait for them no thought was given to the civilian population who might stray into the zone.

As a result two civilians were hit by the SAS, and one of them died.



The funeral of Jim Lynagh

The question is: did the Gauleiter get his wish?

On my return to Britain after attending the funerals I read an article in the 'Guardian' with the headline 'Loughgall deaths undercut IRA morale'.

The substance of the article was how the author hoped members of the IRA would be feeling.

I think the feelings of the IRA can be judged from the response of the nationalist community — from which, after all, the IRA draws its forces and support.

The people I spoke to and the scenes I witnessed at Volunteer Jim Lynagh's funeral in Monaghan last week expressed many emotions:

Grief, at the loss of so many brave young men;

Anger, at the British forces who occupy the six counties and the Gardaí who pursue the IRA in the south;

Pride, that the nationalist community has produced such courageous and intransigent fighters.

But among all of those I spoke to — and among the 5,000 who attended this funeral — I saw no sign

whatever of demoralisation.

On the contrary the Gardaí, who were supposed to be preventing the IRA salute taking place, received only derision.

When Jim's body was brought across the border an IRA unit fired a volley over the coffin.

The Gardaí Special Branch tried to prevent their departure by blocking the lane with a car.

The Gardaí then lost control of the whole area for over an hour as the Special Branch men, car and all, were thrown into a nearby stream.

One Special Branch man staggered out threatening people with his Uzi sub-machine gun which he fired into the air.

This was met with laughs, jeers, and a few stones. He then found himself back in the stream with his friends.

During a graveside speech Gerry Adams said that Jim, who had an acute sense of humour, would have enjoyed the occasion.

On the morning of the funeral the Gardaí again stood helplessly by as an IRA unit led the 5,000 mourners in a silent salute in the

middle of the town. They were then further humiliated as a section of the mourners linked arms to keep them away from the cortege.

They looked a sorry sight as they shuffled along, even-

tually hiding their shame among the gravestones.

Now there is a morale problem!

Jim Lynagh was fairly typical of the men who died at Loughgall. His mem-

bership of the IRA was a result of past repression of the nationalist community.

A strong factor in the membership of that particular active service unit was the death on hunger strike of Martin Hurson, who came from the area. Many of the members spent periods in prison both in the north and south.

Jim was sentenced to ten years in Long Kesh in the north. He came out and went straight back into service.

He was then sentenced to five years in Portlaoise in the south. When released from Portlaoise he again returned to active service.

His brother Colm is still serving a ten-year sentence there today. His family were a target for constant persecution from the Gardaí, which resulted in his brother Michael taking his own life in Mountjoy jail in Dublin.

It was Gerry Adams who best expressed the mourners' feelings. He received thunderous applause when he declared:

'The British Government understands Charles Haughey and Brian Lenehan, as it understood Fitzgerald and his gang. It has always understood their class and bought them off.

'But it does not understand the plain people of Ireland, it does not understand Jim Lynagh.

'It will never defeat them. Loughgall will become a tombstone for British policy in the north of Ireland.'



Republican supporters tip the Garda car into the river

END IMPERIALIST VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN National Demonstration

DURHAM



Saturday 13 June, 2p.m.
Coaches meet Student Union, Denelm
House, New Elvet
**STOP STRIP SEARCHES IN
MAGHABERRY & DURHAM**

REPUBLICAN PRISONERS OF WAR

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

LIAM BAKER, 20-year sentence, 464984.
JAMES BENNETT, 20-year sentence, 464989.
EDDIE BUTLER, Life sentence, 338637.
ROBERT CUNNINGHAM, 20-year sentence, 131877.
GERRY CUNNINGHAM, 20-year sentence, 132016.
JOHN McCOMB, 17-year sentence, B51715.
ANDY MULRYAN, 20-year sentence, 461576.
PATRICK MULRYAN, 20-year sentence, 461575.
NOEL GIBSON, Life sentence, 879225.

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

field, W Yorks. WF2 9AG
HUGH DOHERTY, Life sentence, 338636.
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,
SEAN HAYES, 20-year sentence, 341418.

WANDSWORTH
SEAN KINSELLA, Life sentence, 758661.

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, Branside, 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.
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 (has now got 16 year sentence)
G. (DANNY) McNAMEE, L48616
LIAM McCOTTER, LB83693
PATRICK McLAUGHLIN, LB83694

INNOCENT MEN AND WOMEN FRAMED BY THE BRITISH POLICE:

CAROLE RICHARDSON, 290719, HM Prison Styal, Wilmslow, Cheshire
PATRICK ARMSTRONG, HM Prison Gartree.
PAUL HILL, 462778, HM Prison Wormwood Scrubs.
GERARD CONLON, 462779, HM Prison Long Lartin.
JUDITH WARD, HM Prison Durham.
HUGH CALLAGHAN, 509499, HM Prison Gartree.
JOHN WALKER, 509494, HM Prison, Long Lartin.
BILLY POWER, 509498, HM Prison Wormwood Scrubs.
GERARD HUNTER, 509495, HM Prison Frankland.
RICHARD McILKENNY, 509497, HM Prison Wormwood Scrubs.
PADDY HILL, 509496, HM Prison Gartree.
PATRICK McLOUGHLIN, HM Prison Wormwood Scrubs.

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.

Big Apple's rotten core

INFLUENCE sold, payrolls padded; more and more worms are crawling out from the Big Apple, New York city, as corruption investigations proceed.

'The practice of politics in New York is a pretty sleazy business', says Federal Prosecutor Rudolph Giuliani, 'and even when it doesn't amount to violations of the law there don't seem to be any ethical rules that prevail.'

The city's senior congressman, Mario Biaggi, has been indicted. Bronx political boss Stanley Friedman has been sentenced to 12 years for selling contracts, and the head of the city's Bureau of Franchises has resigned over a \$25,000 Cadillac bought from a used car dealer who got it from a bus company regulated by the bureau.

Former Brooklyn party leader Meade Esposito has been charged with paying for a Florida vacation for Biaggi in return for help getting Federal contracts for an ailing shipyard company. Both men deny wrongdoing.

Scandals began to come out on 10 January 1986, when police stopped a weaving car and found Queensborough president Donald Manes inside bleeding from a slashed wrist.

Manes said he'd been attacked, but later admitted he'd inflicted the wound himself. He wouldn't say why.

Tales began to come out of crime in the Parking Violations Bureau. A Manes protégé was arrested on extortion charges. A lawyer from a collection agency said Manes had demanded bribes for a Bureau contract.

On 13 March 1986, while on the telephone to his psychiatrist, Manes took a kitchen knife and stabbed himself in the chest, fatally. Two weeks later, he was named in an indictment, along with Friedman and two Bureau officials, accused of running the Bureau as a racket.

Since then, investigators ranging through New York's boroughs have uncovered one case after another, and say it's not a single corrupt scheme but more a systematic infection.

Former 'Miss America' Bess Myerson resigned as Cultural Affairs Commissioner last month after allegations of misconduct in office. The investigators say she is far from the last or most powerful of those they

expect to deal with.

'The cases are going on,' says Giuliani, 'and they are growing rather than diminishing. It extends beyond a few people, and it extends to a lot of institutions.'

Back in the last century, under William Marcy 'Boss' Tweed, New York's Democrat headquarters Tammany Hall became an internationally-known byword for political corruption.

City University professor Richard Wade argues the shock is greater now, because in 'Boss' Tweed's day 'everybody knew that everybody else was on the take.'

'That was the normal way of doing things in the nineteenth century. In the twentieth century, we thought we were through with this kind of thing.'

Ex-Brooklyn leader Esposito's lawyer blames overzealous investigators and prosecutors for his client's difficulties. Mayor Ed Koch claims New York is no worse than other cities, and that the private sector is even more corrupt.

'Ethical conduct has fallen in the country at large,' Koch said. 'There is a greater laxity because of the pursuit of money. It's unacceptable and it's deplorable, but it's a sign of the times.' True, no doubt. But what a defence!

Reagan's terrorists murder US engineer

AMERICAN engineer Benjamin Linder was shot in the head at point-blank range by US-backed Contra terrorists in Nicaragua.

He was already lying severely wounded in the arms and legs when they killed him. The young American may have been deliberately targeted by the CIA-trained Contras.

Besides his help to Nicaragua's development, he had put his name to a lawsuit against the Reagan administration's backing for the Contras.

The engineer's father, David Linder, blames the Reagan administration. 'This is murder. For each crime there is a criminal, and in this case the criminal is the United States government, which has organised the Contras, which has given them \$100 million just this year.'

'It is the US government that provides them arms and wrote the manual that taught the Contras how to murder.'

Benjamin, 27, from Portland, Oregon, was working as a volunteer in northern Nicaragua, directing a hydro-electric project to bring badly-needed electricity to poor villages in the area.

On 28 April, while he was measuring the water flow of a stream, the Contras attacked, throwing grenades and killing two of his fellow workers. Benjamin was wounded in both arms and legs.

David Linder, who is a pathologist, told a Managua press conference: 'The examining physician and I agree that Benjamin was first immobilised by injuries to his legs and arms.'

'He was then killed by a gunshot wound to the head. The powder burns suggest that he was shot at very

close range, possibly two feet or less away.

'What I am telling you is that they blew his brains out at point-blank range as he lay wounded.'

Linder said later his son might have been tortured first. There were signs he had been bound. Nicaraguan worker Pablo Rosales, also wounded by the grenade attack, had been killed by being stabbed in the chest.

More than a thousand people attended Linder's funeral in Matagalpa, northern Nicaragua, on 30 April. President Daniel Ortega walked with the Linder family.

Mothers

A group of Nicaraguan mothers who had also lost sons or daughters to Contra attacks carried a placard reading: 'The US people are not the people of Reagan. They are the people of Benjamin Linder.'

News of the attack sparked demonstrations across the USA against Reagan's policy of backing the Contras. In the Linders' home town of Portland, over 1,500 people attended a rally the night after the murder.

'The Contras that killed Benjamin are just mercenaries,' said brother John Linder. 'The truly guilty are in Washington, enjoying themselves, eating a nice meal or maybe playing golf, while my brother lies dead at the age of 27. They don't say it was murder. They simply send more arms and bullets to replace the ones that killed my brother.'

Mother Elisabeth Linder said the US government had murdered her son 'for bringing electricity to a few, poor people in northern Nicaragua. He was murdered because he had a dream and because he had the courage to make that dream come true.'

Mrs. Linder added bitterly: 'My tax dollars bought the bullet that killed my son.'



Ben Linder working on a hydroelectric project in Nicaragua

Police violence taped

MODERN technology can be put to more than one use, as 'New York's finest' have found with video surveillance, in a recent case.

Cops arresting Alberto Flores, who'd been in a scrap in East Harlem district, threw him across the bonnet of a car. One cop belted Flores across the back with his club, while other cops gave him a good going over with their fists.

Flores was booked on charges of assault and resisting arrest, then taken to hospital. The cops said he'd violently resisted arrest, punched police officers, and so on.

When neighbours who'd witnessed the incident accused the police of brutality, the precinct captain looked into it, and reported that his officers 'were forced to use unnecessary force against a violent, intoxicated subject'.

Unfortunately for the cops,

they hadn't reckoned with Rafael Escano.

Seeing what was happening beneath his fourth floor window, Rafael grabbed his video camera and recorded the whole incident, complete with sound.

His film shows the cop using his nightstick, and records the voices of local passers-by calling to the cops to stop beating the man, and cops shouting back to the people to 'mind your own f... business', etc.

When they heard about the tape, the police wanted Escano to hand it over to them. He refused, but agreed to a copy being made in his presence.

We'd guess the New York police department will be having second thoughts about the advantages of video surveillance on the streets.

Give us a prison!

RED fire engines, sirens wailing, the Flora High School band in black-and-white prison-striped outfits, and the local chapter of the Veterans of Foreign Wars turned out in a 4,000-strong procession through the southern Illinois town of Flora (population 5,400).

'Is We Is, or Is We Isn't Gonna Get Ourselves A Prison?' demanded the slogan on hundreds of tee-shirts worn by local folk.

The march coincided with the release of a video and a single of the 'Is We Is' song, performed by local officials dubbed the 'Barbed Wire Choir'.

Ballyhoo

Behind the ballyhoo, is the belief that crime — or at least its punishment — can be made to pay. Flora is one of 30 towns offering themselves as site for a new \$41 million medium security prison.

They're hoping it could boost business, bringing up to 400 jobs and a \$10 million payroll. Times are not too good in southern Illinois.

Race murder

ASIAN-AMERICANS have been shocked and angered by a Cincinnati court's acquittal of two whites who admitted beating a young Chinese-American to death in a racist attack.

After starting a fight with racist abuse in a bar where Vincent Chin was celebrating his forthcoming wedding, Ronald Eber and Michael Nitz followed him down the road. Nitz grabbed him in a bear hug, while Eber battered his head with a baseball bat.

The two were placed on probation after pleading guilty to manslaughter in 1983. Now both have been acquitted. Although an acquittal cannot be appealed, the Chin family will try a civil suit.

'Today marks one of the darkest days in the history of Asian Americans', Kim Bridges of American Citizens for Justice said after the acquittal.

Justice has not been served in this case. That was a racially motivated murder and nothing will change that fact. We have only begun the fight for justice.

Late pardon

MILITANT trade unionists Morrie Preston and Joseph Smith have finally been pardoned by the State of Nevada. Members of the famous Industrial Workers of the World (IWW), they were framed 80 years ago on a murder charge.

They were supposed to have killed the owner of a restaurant which the IWW was picketing. Witnesses against them were one Gunplay Maxwell, a former member of the Butch Cassidy gang, and Diamondfield Jack Davis.

The Nevada Pardons Board has accepted evidence in a book 'The Ignoble Conspiracy', that the witnesses committed perjury. They were on the payroll of Nevada politician George Wingfield, who was in cahoots with mineowners against the workers.

After the 1907 trial, Federal troops were brought into Nevada to smash the IWW (or 'Wobblies' as they used to be called).

Morrie Preston served seven years of a 25 year sentence, Joseph Smith did five years of a ten year sentence. Both died in California.

Bitter sugar

EVERY year about 10,000 workers, mostly from Jamaica, are brought in to harvest the sugar cane in southern Florida. They are housed in barracks, and the work is hard. Every year about 30 per cent of the workforce get injured.

That's too much for Republican Representative Marian Lewis, from North Palm Beach. Not that this

capitalist politician is pressing for better working conditions and safety.

What worries her is the cost for the state's \$563 million sugar industry of paying industrial injury compensation based on the workers' \$200 average weekly pay.

Lewis has introduced a bill in the Florida State legislature proposing to cut injury

compensation for migrant workers by basing it on an average of Florida wages and those they'd earn back home. It would mean a 25 per cent cut for Jamaican workers.

'They work here for a few weeks, but if they get hurt, they get compensated as if they've been working here for years,' says Lewis — a worthy representative for the rich owners, who don't do a day's honest work from one year to the next.

Colombians strike against death squads

OUTRAGE is turning to hard anger among Colombian workers at a continuing campaign of murders carried out by right-wing death squads.

Latest victims included a 14-year old girl, Sandra Rondon, shot dead on the steps of a church as she came out of Sunday morning mass. The entire town of Barrancabermeja stopped work for two days on 6-7 May in protest.

Around 300 people, mostly trade unionists and supporters of left-wing parties such as the Union Patriótica (UP) have been killed in the past two years, and the party believes the killers are linked with military intelligence.

Local people in Barrancabermeja believe Sandra was killed because she was witness to an earlier attack. On 22 April, Sandra was in an ice cream parlour with her 11-year-old brother, Luis, when she saw a young man enter and throw a grenade at a table where eight UP

members and supporters were watching television. Four were seriously injured.

The day after Sandra Rondon was killed, two gunmen shot dead the UP mayor of the small town of San Jose del Guaviare, in eastern Colombia. Jose Migel Rojas, killed in his home, had escaped unhurt an earlier assassination attempt.

Trade Unionists and members of London's Latin American community have been campaigning for an investigation into the murder of Everth Marin, found lying in a ditch near the city of Cali last year. His body showed signs of torture.

Before returning to visit relatives in Colombia, Everth had been a T&GWU steward in London, organising low-paid workers in the cleaning and catering trades, many of them Spanish-speaking.

Queen's pawn in power play

THE RIGHT-WING Army coup in Fiji appears to have ended in the Queen's representative on the islands effectively taking political control.

As workers demonstrated and prepared general strike action against the military take-over, and soldiers used rifle butts on protesting MPs, Governor-General Ratu Sir Penaia Ganilau negotiated secretly with Colonel Rabuku's junta.

The colonel had sent troops into parliament on May 14, arrested members of the elected government, and proclaimed that never again would the islands' majority Indian population be allowed to determine the government.

Press censorship were imposed, and the army took over strategic workplaces such as the Shell oil refinery. On Tuesday, a state radio broadcast from the Governor-General announced he was taking control. Troops were still on the streets of Suva, the capital, and fired on demonstrators demanding the release of political leaders.

The coup was widely seen as having international ramifications. Fiji's elected Labour government was committed to a nuclear-free Pacific. It was noticed that while Australia and New Zealand condemned the military's action, the US government stayed silent.

Classic British colonial divide-and-rule policies applied to Fiji meant that an Indian proletariat was imported to work the plantation economy while Fijian leaders became landowners and privileged officers in the state machine.

This was what Colonel Rabuku was protecting and reasserting, probably with CIA backing for US strategic reasons.

The judges and the British monarch opposed the prospect of out-and-out military dictatorship on constitutional and legal grounds. It would have been dangerous to drop the parliamentary facade in the face of mass opposition from an aroused populace.

But despite denials from Governor-General Ganilau and former Prime Minister Ratu Sir Kamisese Mara, there have been reports that both knew in advance of the military plan, and acquiesced in it.

Ganilau, a wealthy plantation owner, has personal ties to the opposition leader and the army commanders, and commands the loyalty of coup leader Colonel Rabuka. In the 1960s, Ganilau made his political career as a champion of native Fijian privilege.

By appearing as the 'honest' broker in a constitutional compromise, appearing to order the Army back to barracks and re-establishing 'order', the British Queen's official representative may in effect be able to restore both a suitably tamed, or right-wing, government, and a respectably 'constitutional' facade.

● In a further move in the Pacific power game, AUSTRALIA's Labour Prime Minister Bob Hawke announced on Tuesday that his government was breaking diplomatic relations with Libya, which he accuses of interfering in Pacific islands' affairs.

The children who never grew up



A SUNNY day in southern France, and these children seem happy enough in the garden. But they were not to see another summer.

The trucks arrived from Lyons at 9am on 6 April, 1944. The Nazis rushed into the house at Izieu, and beat up Red Cross nurse Sabina Zlatin. The children were thrown in the back of the lorries.

'This morning the Jewish children's home at Izieu was

cleared out', said the official report.

'In all we arrested 44 children aged from three to 13 years. . . The transport to Drancy will take place 7 April. . .'

It was signed 'Barbie, SS Obersturmführer'.

On 13 April, 1944, the children were taken from Drancy to Auschwitz. They were gassed the same day.

Sentenced to death in absentia by a French court, Klaus Barbie was able to carry on his trade unhindered, thanks to the protection of the US military intelligence, for whom he worked after the war as a police spy reporting on German trade unionists and communists. Later, British counterparts helped him on his way to South America.

In Bolivia Klaus Barbie, alias Altman, was a respected

member of the local business community.

Again, his Gestapo skills were put to work, organising fascist death squads for the right-wing military rulers.

Now, Barbie has finally been brought to trial in Lyons for crimes against humanity. Much of the credit for tracking him down belongs to unofficial 'Nazi-hunters' who persevered when governments

were either uninterested or actively shielding the Nazi butcher.

In 1983, the US Ryan commission established that Barbie had been employed by US intelligence after the war.

But the British Foreign Office continues to hide something. Tory minister Baroness Young has refused to release documents pertaining to Barbie.

Lost in the debt jungle

BY JOHN CRAWFORD

TAKE A look at the business section of any American newspaper, and you're pretty certain to find a story about yet another 'highly leveraged transaction'. For example, it might be about something called a 'leveraged buyout'.

What that would mean is a frenzied multibillion-dollar pursuit of a company's assets. The hunters would be armed with money raised by selling 'junk bonds' — bits of paper inscribed with a promise that they would be redeemed by liquidating the assets of the company after the takeover. Paper gunslings like this now terrorise America's very largest and oldest firms, from US Steel to Mobil Oil.

Perhaps the news story you read will be about the 'futures market'. This is a highly computerised gambling activity, where you bet on the future direction of the entire stock market, or on the price of a commodity which won't be produced for years.

Millions can be made in an afternoon by playing a good hunch, without owning a single share. With a margin

deposit of \$3,000, you can control a contract worth \$100,000. Then, using a security bought on margin as collateral for another loan, debt can be piled on debt. Money seems to be liberated from all constraint.

The uncontrolled juggernaut power of such operations brought on some of the worst shakedowns the US stock market has ever known. One September morning last year, a thunderbolt suddenly struck from a clear blue sky, when \$100 billion vanished from the equity value of corporate America.

Only a week before, Wall Street had hit an all-time high, powered by the volatile futures market. Today, Chicago, the 'futures' capital of the world, sets the pace for Wall Street. Tokyo and London humbly follow in their wake.

It is ironic to recall that this device was invented to cushion the effect of price fluctuation on the American farmer. Today, the farmers' owe their plight to the futures switchback.

What lies hidden in the jungle of Wall Street's exotic financial innovations, each with its fancy brand name, and so at the heart of the Reagan 'boom'? It is a vast, seemingly unlimited, pyra-

mid of IOUs. And it is founded on absolutely nothing. In 1985, the total outstanding debt in the US was twice as large as total US production.

Recently, the usually cautious chairman of the Federal Reserve Board, Paul Volcker, issued a note of alarm. The 'disturbing rate' at which the US economy is accumulating debt, he warned, has no historical precedent, 'except in highly disturbed economic circumstances — depression, war or major inflation'.

It is Washington itself which leads this dance. The all-time high budget deficit now exceeds \$200 billion, and the trade deficit regularly tops \$120 billion. The consumer boom is also a debt boom. According to the Fed, household debt rose at the end of 1985 to 84 percent of income after tax, while 'plastic credit' — instalment debt — has risen 73 percent since 1982.

Furious borrowing, lending and restructuring over the past few years has now placed a debt burden of about \$1.5 trillion on the backs of US non-financial corporations. According to Felix Rohatyn of Lazard Freres, the investment banking firm, this exceeds their total

net worth by about 12 percent.

The cost of servicing corporate debt now makes up 50 percent of total cash flow. Some companies now carry debt-to-assets ratios as high as 80 percent. Take the supermarket chain Safeway Stores. Their balance sheet is weighed down with \$5.6 billion in long term debt, as against only \$130 million in equity.

'The names of executive suites and at factory gates are changing faster than you can phone Carl Icahn', said Business Week. (Icahn is a leading financial evangelist.) American corporations no longer compete on the basis of quality and price of products, but on the price commanded by their shares on the financial market.

They sell like any other commodity — apples or cars or hats. Auction and hostile takeover today allocate America's physical and human resources. Instead of worrying about returns on investment, managers are obsessed with quarterly profits, which will push share prices up or down.

The most dangerous thing for a firm to have is long-term investment. To raiders this smells like 'undervalued assets', and they

would be unable to resist the temptation of quick profits from selling them. The only way to repel these pests is to make your balance sheet smell as bad as possible.

It is a good idea to organise a 'management buyout' — buy your own shares, get into debt, and sell off your profitable assets as fast as you can.

In 1986, some 400 of America's largest companies spent nearly \$200 billion — not in buying plant or machinery, or on research, but in asset-shuffling. A record \$3 billion in junk bonds defaulted last year. But even blue-chip companies, like Prudential of America joined the still-growing scramble for junk.

Debt is habit-forming. Like other forms of addiction, the dose has to continually increase. It might make some people feel good for a short time, but it is inherently unstable. And it drives you mad.

The steadily intensifying insanity resulting from debt-addiction is symptomatic of every aspect of American life today. It is the price paid by the centre of world capitalism for its prolonged active life.

The question is: for how long?

An interview with German

On the call for the re-organisation of the Fourth International:

OUR first responsibility is to work for an international revolutionary party. A way has to be found to bring about the unity of all the forces that are genuinely willing to work for it, not just talk about it. That is the decisive difference.

Small groups are looking after their internal circles and not following scientific Marxism, which is the only method for changing the world.

Small groups don't bother the Stalinist bureaucracy or the CIA because they don't change anything. They let them talk, because talk in itself doesn't endanger the existing social order.

There are about ten groups in Germany, all small sects: mainly movements led by intellectuals who want to keep the party pure. They have lost sight of the essence, which is to find unity in a new revolutionary socialist party, the pre-condition for all political work.

Political differences have to be fought out in factions, but a united cadre has to emerge so that the workers in struggle can hear anew: 'There is no

solution under the present trade union and social-democratic leadership.'

The British miners waged a fight for 12 months and, to their great disappointment, were left isolated by the trade union and labour leaders. So were the printers and other sections of the British working class in struggle.

Kinnock's policies are essentially the same as Thatcher's. Workers know at some level that only socialism will create bread and work. If they could become conscious of that, capitalism would be removed.

We have to take up the struggle against Stalinism in the workers' movement. We are not against violence. A strike is also violence against the domination of capitalism.

It's our duty to wage the struggle with all the means at our disposal. A new revolutionary leadership on an international level is what is needed, otherwise there will be no change. Our fundamental guide to the building of a world revolutionary party is Trotskyism, the Marxism of our time.

IN 1937 Trotsky was asked by the Dewey Commission, charges brought against him in the Moscow Trials, to name associates who had participated in the 1932 Copenhagen trial. Names Trotsky provided, including those of Pierre Frank and Rosenthal, was that of 'Hippe, a German worker'.

Who was Hippe? More to the point, who is he? For Oskar Hippe and Workers Press recently went to visit him. Oskar Hippe lives in a modest flat in West Berlin. Only last month he celebrated his 77th birthday.

In 1979, Hippe published a book, 'And Our Banner is Red', a vivid and unforgettable account of his years in the Workers' Movement, a vivid and unforgettable account of his years in the Workers' Movement, a vivid and unforgettable account of his years in the Workers' Movement. Hippe was imprisoned by both the Nazis and the Stalinists for 25 years; the Stalinists jailed him for 25!



Mass demonstration in front of the Reichstag, January 1920. Army and police fired into the crowd, killing 42 and wounding 105



OSKAR and GERTRUD HIPPE

INTERVIEW BY TRUDI JACKSON

TASKS OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

A Magazine of Marxist Theory
Volume 1 Number 1 March 1987

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Obtainable from

Workers Revolutionary Party
PO Box 735, London SW9 7QS

and

Communist League,
PO Box N93, Petersham NSW 2049,
Australia

(for orders in Australasia and the Far East)

POSTAL RATES

No. of copies	Britain & Ireland	Europe	Middle East & N.Africa (air)	Africa America & India (air)
1	£2.34	£2.49	£2.59	£2.72
5	£10.95	£11.42	£11.97	£12.56
10		£23.00	£23.71	£16.88

*For bulk orders in UK, contact WRP at above address or phone 01-274 7271.

For subscriptions, multiply cost of single issue.

Cheques/postal orders payable to WRP/Communist League as appropriate.

AS WE talk, the memories come flooding back as if it had only happened yesterday. Oskar Hippe is as sharp today as he must have been when confronting the questions for the first time.

Gertrud, his life-long comrade, sits on the arm of his chair while he is speaking. She is bent forward — permanently crippled from the torture she received at the hands of the Nazis.

'I was born in 1900,' Oskar tells us, 'the youngest in a family of 12 children. Most of the time we were hungry.'

'My father supported the monarchy. He saw in my mother only an object of his desires. He never gave her any money.'

'One of my brothers was 18 years older than me and he became an active leader in the Social Democratic Party, which was still revolutionary socialist at the time. There were many turbulent discussions in the family. I always had to go to bed when it became most interesting.'

'The protection my brother gave to my mother when my father attacked her attracted me to the arguments of social democracy.'

'Whenever my father caught me reading socialist literature he took it away and threatened to burn it.'

Hippe became apprenticed to a local carpenter. In July 1914, he went to a massive anti-war demonstration: a crowd of 150,000, in Leipzig.

It left a great impression on him.

The following day the newspapers reported similar demonstrations in all the big cities and industrial areas.

But seven days later the same leaders who called the masses to demonstrate against war were declaring: 'In its hour of danger we do not abandon the Fatherland.'

For Hippe this was the greatest disappointment he had ever experienced.

In 1916 he got a job in a Berlin weapons factory, as a pistol-maker. He joined the metalworkers' union and became active in its youth section.

'The factory toilets served as meeting-places.'

Hippe heard Karl Liebknecht

speak at an illegal anti-war rally of 10,000 people. On May Day of that year Liebknecht was arrested.

He used his trial to speak out against the betrayals of the social democrats and trade union leaders. Liebknecht finished with the words: 'Down with the government! Down with the war!'

Hippe never forgot this.

'It became clear to me that only by changing society from bourgeois capitalist to socialist could we put an end to all forms of exploitation and class antagonism. This could only be achieved by revolutionary means. It was necessary to build a revolutionary party.'

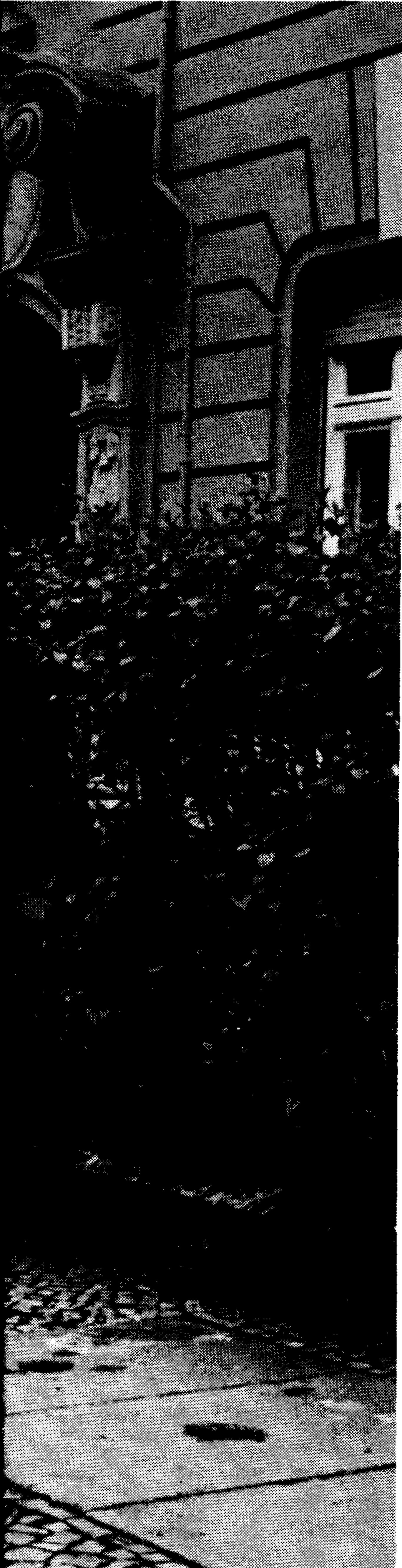
On 2 August 1914, social dem-

... Trotskyist, Oskar Hippe

the body set up to examine the name his comrades and political conference. Among the long list of k, Raymond Molinier and Gerard

kar Hippe is still very much alive, pe and his wife Gertrud live in a ted his 87th birthday.

ed — Memories of 60 Years in the struggle for socialist principles. sts. The Nazis jailed him for two



30,000 others from Berlin alone, he deserted. Thousands did the same elsewhere in Germany.

Luxemburg and Liebknecht were murdered. Hippe and his comrades began to build a Communist Youth League amongst the workers. They recruited many strong groups, some of more than 100 members.

'We had lectures on the fundamentals of scientific socialism. A favourite theme was the Russian revolutions of 1905 and 1917. All members could participate in the discussion.'

In 1920 there were battles every day between workers and putschists. The social-democratic government had failed to remove the former monarchy's bureaucrats and judges. It was their intention to use them against the working class.

Workers' councils demanded that workers should take the decisions about wages and conditions and the socialisation of key industries.

This was promised by the social democrats in return for an end to strikes. The promise, however, was not kept and more than 100,000 workers demonstrated against the government.

The army and police fired into the crowd, killing 42 and injuring hundreds.

It was only after the government was toppled by the putschists that the social democrats called for a general strike. Millions of workers came out, determined to finish off the putschists.

'Anyone who says that that wasn't a revolutionary situation is wrong.'

'We discussed thoroughly why this had ended unvictoriously. We thought Luxemburg and Liebknecht hadn't drawn early enough a clear distinction with social democracy as had been done by the left wing of the Russian Social Democratic Workers Party in 1903.

'It would not have prevented the war but the outcome of the November revolution would have been different.'

Hippe was imprisoned but escaped. The discussion continued.

Splits occurred on whether to form an independent trade union, as the Communist Workers Party did, or to work within the existing organisations.

A United Communist Party was formed with 500,000 members. Later this figure fell to about 375,000 but it still accounted for more votes than all the other parties put together.

There were continuous strikes and battles.

'Our main field of work was in the trade unions.'

By 1923 the government and capitalists, even with the help of the social democrats, had not managed to smash the revolutionary movement.

On the contrary, the influence of the Communist Party had grown. Inflation was at its peak. The bosses would not increase wages fast enough and there were strikes everywhere.

'We did not need much to convince them in the factories that a fight was the only way out. It was a decisive year for the German working class and posed more clearly than ever before the question of power.'

Capitalism had been shaken to its foundations by war and crisis. The working class was able to go through many experiences and struggles. Inflation rose so rapidly it didn't make sense to go to work any more. Political activity went on around the clock.

There were many provocations by the state as well as right-wing organisations.

The July 1923 issue of the Communist Party's paper 'Die Rote Fahne' ('The Red Flag') called on the proletariat to unite under the red banner, and to oppose the fascist white terror by the red terror to bring about the liberation of the working class.

'In the decisive August days Heinrich Brandler of the KPD (German Communist Party) went to Moscow. Nobody found out what was decided there.

'When he came back on 8 Octo-



ROSA LUXEMBURG



KARL LIEBKNECHT

ber, workers wanted more than wages strikes and were prepared to fight it out to the bitter end.

'There was a conference to talk about the situation. The KPD anticipated the demand for a general strike. Everybody knew such a decision would mean an insurrection.

'The demand never came, however. It was called off. KPD couriers were sent out to cancel the original call. They managed to get everywhere in time with the exception of the one sent to Hamburg.

'Here several hundred workers fought alone for three days against the police.'

For the members of the KPD and the sympathising workers this breaking-up of the preparations for a general strike was a huge blow.

'Afterwards we found that a letter from Stalin in the late summer of 1923 had warned: "To call a general strike in Germany would have led to insurrection. Until the revolutionary situation was over the German comrades had to be held back."

'We knew that Brandler had bowed down before Stalin's wishes. He lost all credit in the Party.'

On 23 November the KPD was made illegal.

'We continued almost as if nothing had happened!'

Hippe was blacklisted by the bosses and was unable to find work anywhere except for brief periods.

In 1924 there was a lot of unrest and opposition in the Party against the Brandler-Thalheimer Central Committee.

A secret Party congress condemned the leadership's policies and Brandler and Thalheimer were replaced by Ruth Fischer, Arkadi Maslow and Ernst Thaelmann.

Such was the workers' confi-

dence in the Communist Party's revolutionary policy that it gained 3,700,000 votes in May 1924.

One of its demands was for the arming of the working class. This was given first priority.

'We reorganised the Party, built factory groups, and had regular weekly meetings.

'I built up a newspaper pitch for 'Die Rote Fahne' at the railway station. The first time I sold three copies. A couple of months later it went beyond a hundred.

'Gertrud took over from me when I had to move. She was an active trade unionist and was sympathetic to the KPD.

'She came to Party meetings when invited. If we had to discuss an important problem, I always moved that she should be excluded although she was my companion and colleague. When the other comrades opposed this, I said: "Either she goes or I go."

'This did no harm to our relationship. Quite the opposite: some months later Gertrud applied to join the Party.'

On 12 October 1926 Oskar and Gertrud got married. She told her boss, and was sacked within a few days because of 'lack of work'.

'The Party put a lot of emphasis on education, and the books comrades showed most interest in were Lenin's "State and Revolution" and "Left-wing Communism, an Infantile Disorder".'

After the defeat of 1923 the Stalinist faction and the Group of International Communists were formed.

'Our discussions were on a very high level. I was political leader of the opposition against Stalin's policies. These inner contradictions made the Party very weak.

In 1925 the Fischer/Maslow Cen-

tral Committee was elected by an overwhelming majority. But it couldn't defend this majority against the manipulations of the Stalinist faction, which had massive support from Moscow. That was how they seized control of the Central Committee.

At the Party Congress Ruth Fischer and Ernst Thaelmann spoke increasingly about the Bolshevisation of the Communist Party but in reality it was that Congress which marked the turn to Stalinism.

There was a group out of which the Group of International Communists arose, the Trotskyist faction. There was also an ultra-left group who were not prepared to submit to the majority on the question of the united front tactic and trade union work.

There was also a small Trotskyist faction in Berlin, which the party leaders called a deviation to the right.

The various groups which appeared at the party congress were all different from one another.

'We Marxist internationalists knew already — and history has since proved us right — who the disorganisers were who did not mobilise the strength of the German and international working class.

'We were united, as Leninists, on the trade union question. Everybody was convinced that our readiness to work in the trade unions had to be the same as our readiness to take up arms.'

But the very same people, only a few years later, submitted to the Stalinist position of separate communist trade unions. The CC answered with expulsions those members who demanded freedom of discussion.

TO BE CONTINUED



Stormtroopers occupy the offices of the German Trade Unions in Munich, May 1933

cracy had ceased to represent the interests of the working class.

Hippe joined the illegal Spartakusbund but continued with his trade union work.

In 1917/1918 details of national and international developments appeared in the Spartakus newsletters.

Both Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg were in prison but, with the help of their visitors and sympathetic guards, were able to exchange materials.

'The repercussions of the October Revolution were to be felt in the whole working class. It was discussed everywhere.'

In the autumn of 1918 Hippe was forced to join the army. Along with

THE NORTH OF IRELAND

Class struggle and civil rights — the political background

THE Workers Revolutionary Party was almost destroyed by the anti-communist methods of G. Healy and the small clique who were expelled with him in October 1985.

Over a period of many years, these methods cut off the WRP members from the living struggle for Marxist theory and from the living struggles of the working class internationally and in Britain.

Outside of these struggles, theory, politics, programme and principles cannot develop, and they must degenerate.

That is what happened.

On a number of vital political questions the WRP under Healy's more and more one-man leadership, took up positions which were wrong and which intrinsically were the opposite of what Marxists, Trotskyists, should have been doing. These actions in some cases helped the class enemy.

An outstanding case was policy towards the struggle for the national independence of Ireland, which is a struggle to end British rule in the north of Ireland and abolish the border.

The responsibility of Marxists is to support that national struggle through work in the British working class movement. Especially in the 1970s and 1980s the WRP's organ, News Line, took the line of denouncing the IRA for bombings and other actions. There is little doubt that Healy's principal motive in taking this line was to protect his own apparatus from the British state machine.

This fitted in with the false conception which dominated the national and international work of the WRP: that the building of the Party in Britain took precedence, that the taking of power could come first in Britain and then the International could be built in other countries.

Whatever was said to the contrary by the International Committee representatives (like the present writer) in Congresses of other sections of the IC or in resolutions and discussions, was of little account and indeed served to cover up the real path taken by the WRP.

Only the expulsion of Healy and his clique could open the way to a renewal of truly international work.

The article here reprinted appeared in Workers Press in 1969. It has incorrect things in it. It must be read against the

background of the movement in Ireland at the time. It could be contrasted with other articles and reports which took wrong positions, but it is reprinted to correct that point of view, in recent discussions, which writes off the whole work of the Workers Revolutionary Party (and its predecessor, the Socialist Labour League) on Ireland as always having amounted to a pro-imperialist stance.

That is untrue.

In some articles in Newsletter (the SLL's paper) and Keep Left (the Young Socialists' paper) in 1968-69 appears the demand (among others) for 'A workers' and farmers' government in N. Ireland, breaking from constitution, posing unity of action immediately with the workers of the South and Britain.

'In the present situation such a fight would have the support of workers throughout Britain, who would make impossible intervention by the hated Wilson.' (Newsletter 14 December and 26 April 1969)

There is no doubt that to pose a 'workers' and farmers' government' in the north of Ireland in this way is not correct. It is necessary to put right at the front the rejection and abolition of the border imposed by partition which perpetuates imperialist rule in the North and strengthens imperialism's ally, the Irish national bourgeoisie centred in Dublin, against the workers of Ireland.

But it is not true to say that this was a capitulation to imperialism by the Socialist Labour League. For example the same Political Committee statement of 26 April is entitled 'Withdraw troops from Ulster at once!' and it says:

'Every working class organisation throughout the length and breadth of Britain must act now to force the immediate withdrawal of all troops and all support for O'Neill's government.'

Again

'What the Ulster workers face today, the British workers face tomorrow. We must organise immediate support and above all demand withdrawal of all troops.'

'All transport of troops and military supplies to the Ulster government from ports and airports must be blacked by the workers and unions concerned.'

Also, it was surely correct to say, in the same statement:

'The real threat to the Unionist government is, of course, not the sporadic bomb attacks, which they want to use as a pretext for armed interventions but the mighty upsurge of the workers' movement.'

When 'Keep Left' carried the same demand, it included in the same article (February 1969) the call for the building of a revolutionary leadership, adding:

'Only such a leadership can cut right across the confusion of the religious bigots and unite the working class behind a programme for a socialist Ireland.'

Another Keep Left article (July/August 1969) included the 'workers and farmers' government' slogan. The article ended with the demands:

'Unity of the working class North and South in a revolutionary movement to smash British imperialism and Irish capitalism.'

'Forward to a United Socialist Republic of Ireland within the United Socialist States of Europe.'

Capitulation to British imperialism? No. In these statements and articles, as in the one reproduced below, there are wrong formulations, confusions which no doubt helped to prepare for later profound errors, but not service to imperialism.

In a later issue we should reprint the statement of the International Committee of December 1971 entitled 'Withdraw Troops! No Compromise! Build the Revolutionary Marxist Party!'

This statement concentrated on the building of a Trotskyist party, and attacks the revisionists who set about liquidating into the civil rights and Republican movement. It says at one point:

'Only the working class united behind revolutionary Marxist leadership will abolish the border in Ireland, establish a united Irish Republic, and settle the problem of the democratic rights of religious minorities.'

Right or wrong?

Cliff Slaughter

Reprinted from
Workers Press,
October 1969

BY CLIFF SLAUGHTER

IN THE first part of this article, the present situation in northern Ireland was traced to the Unionist (Tory) conspiracy, beginning in 1912, to prevent national independence by armed force and terrorism.

Sir Edward Carson and the northern Ireland capitalists, supported by the Tories, succeeded in preserving their own interests by partitioning the six

'Ulster' counties from the South and North-West.

Now, in 1969, the 'old' questions have come up in violent forms. History cannot be cheated. In the 20th century, the age of imperialism, only the working class and the socialist revolution can solve the problems of national independence, democratic demands and the land in backward countries.

In northern Ireland, only a working class, socialist programme, with the working class organised for independent action behind a Marxist party, can finish the historic task of ending the rule of the Unionists, capitalist representatives of imperialism. Reformists and middle-class tendencies can-

not do it.

In the Republic, the South, an aborted form of national independence, with various constitutional modifications since 1920, was established.

Since then the Irish native bourgeoisie has ruled the country in defence of its own and foreign capital. The working class of the Irish Republic, leading the small farmers, is breaking from the capitalist parties and moving into action in its own interests.

Prime Minister Lynch and the government party make a few speeches about the North and the need for unity of the nation 'in the long run'!

But this trick, of seeming to represent Irish independence as a way of keeping the people's allegiance, will not work any longer.

The more the struggle against the government in the South grows alongside the violent clashes in the North, the more the working class sees that its traditional 'nationalist' representatives use their nationalism only as a cloak for their class interests.

It is in the interests of the workers of northern and southern Ireland to unite against their own bosses, Unionist and 'nationalist', and against British imperialism which they defend: that

means to aim at a united workers' and small farmers' republic, a Socialist United Ireland.

For the capitalists, North and South, this is the great threat.

They want the present connection with Britain, because they have no real economic independence from British capital and no strength of their own to keep down the working class.

This is what has just been proved in the North. The Unionists' police and 'Special' forces in the North, even when backed by the thousands of armed Orange 'irregulars' could not keep 'law and order', and 7,000 British troops have been called in.

The British Labour government used its troops to defend capitalist property and to defend the Conservative caretakers of British imperialism in Ulster.

These Unionists are part of the ruling class and the Tory establishment in Britain.

By supporting them the Labour government was providing strength to the British ruling class for its economic and political battles with the working class.

All those who do not oppose the sending of troops are collaborating in this imperialist war of intervention.

POBLAcht NA H EIREANN.

THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT

OF THE
IRISH REPUBLIC

TO THE PEOPLE OF IRELAND.

IRISHMEN AND IRISHWOMEN: In the name of God and of the dead generations from which she receives her old tradition of nationhood, Ireland, through us, summons her children to her flag and strikes for her freedom.

Having organised and trained her manhood through her secret revolutionary organisation, the Irish Republican Brotherhood, and through her open military organisations, the Irish Volunteers and the Irish Citizen Army, having patiently perfected her discipline, having resolutely waited for the right moment to reveal itself, she now seizes that moment, and, supported by her exiled children in America and by gallant allies in Europe, but relying in the first on her own strength, she strikes in full confidence of victory.

We declare the right of the people of Ireland to the ownership of Ireland, and to the unfettered control of Irish destinies, to be sovereign and indefeasible. The long usurpation of that right by a foreign people and government has not extinguished the right, nor can it ever be extinguished except by the destruction of the Irish people. In every generation the Irish people have asserted their right to national freedom and sovereignty: six times during the past three hundred years they have asserted it in arms. Standing on that fundamental right and again asserting it in arms in the face of the world, we hereby proclaim the Irish Republic as a Sovereign Independent State, and we pledge our lives and the lives of our comrades-in-arms to the cause of its freedom, of its welfare, and of its exaltation among the nations.

The Irish Republic is entitled to, and hereby claims, the allegiance of every Irishman and Irishwoman. The Republic guarantees religious and civil liberty, equal rights and equal opportunities to all its citizens, and declares its resolve to pursue the happiness and prosperity of the whole nation and of all its parts, cherishing all the children of the nation equally, and oblivious of the differences carefully fostered by an alien government, which have divided a minority from the majority in the past. Until our arms have brought the opportune moment for the establishment of a permanent National Government, representative of the whole people of Ireland and elected by the suffrages of all her men and women, the Provisional Government, hereby constituted, will administer the civil and military affairs of the Republic in trust for the people.

We place the cause of the Irish Republic under the protection of the Most High God, Whose blessing we invoke upon our arms, and we pray that no one who serves that cause will dishonour it by cowardice, inhumanity, or rapine. In this supreme hour the Irish nation must, by its valour and discipline and by the readiness of its children to sacrifice themselves for the common good, prove itself worthy of the august destiny to which it is called.

Signed on Behalf of the Provisional Government,

THOMAS J. CLARKE,
SEAN Mac DIARMADA, THOMAS MacDONAGH,
P. H. PEARSE, EAMONN CENNAT,
JAMES CONNOLLY, JOSEPH PLUNKETT.

This raises the other side of the story which is necessary for working out a programme and strategy for the Irish working class: the connection between the struggle in Ireland and the class struggle in Britain. We shall return to this point.

In the first of these articles we showed how the crisis prospects facing the Protestant majority of Belfast workers (in shipbuilding and engineering) were like a time-bomb underneath the present situation, in which the Catholic workers have been the first to move.

In the South, the situation is coming to a head with inexorable force. This year, despite frantic government appeals for wage-restraint, despite threats of legislation with the Criminal Justice Bill which could jail strikers, the maintenance electricians of the Electricity Supply Board fought a bitter struggle through to the end and won an increase of 25 per cent!

Within a few weeks, following their example, building workers won an approximate increase of 20 per cent, phased over nine months. Other sections are now moving into the fray.

In the west, the Tynagh mining company, having got its hands on very rich silver and other deposits with the prospects of gigantic profits, has been crippled by a two-month strike.

Already the men have refused a £4-a-week increase and the prospects grow of a long and bitter struggle.

In conditions where workers in the west of Ireland gained in recent months a temporary spring and summer improvement in employment, these strikes are bound to increase the militance of other sections.

Under the impact of this revival in the labour movement, and the recent General Election campaign, the government party withdrew its proposed anti-union legislation this year. It will certainly try to re-introduce it, and this will bring a political struggle against the legislation.

Campaigns

In the last three years, the small farmers have mounted considerable campaigns against the government.

After the partition of Ireland, definitively settled in 1923, the division of the land, despite the indemnity conditions attached to it, successfully took the heat out of the century-old agitation in the countryside.

But the pressure of finance capital and the big banks has put an intolerable squeeze on the small farmers. Like the small traders of the town, driven out by the supermarket investors, they are made bankrupt in their thousands every year.

On top of these basic problems in the class struggle sits the powerful Catholic church. Its economic strength and its political influence in high places continue, but the ruling class is fearful of the daily growing rejection of the religious authority by the proletarian youth.

In the recent elections, the Labour Party of the Irish Republic was compelled to put on a 'left' face, talking about 'socialism' being restored to their programme.

Although their programme turned out not to be socialist at all, what they are doing is modifying their statements to comply with the pressure from the working class.

Recent recruits to their parliamentary party, like Conor Cruise O'Brien and other liberals, help them in this deception.

What they hope is this: the old nationalism, helped by Catholicism, will not be able to contain the struggle much longer; in these days of mod-

ern capitalism, we should drop the old nationalist myths, and form a truly modern reformist, social-democratic party for the workers. (See Conor Cruise O'Brien in 'New Left Review', 37, May-June 1966.)

In this way, they are very like the 'lefts' who formed People's Democracy in the North, with their perspective of a 'rationalised' capitalism in the North and an opening for reforms in the shape of civil rights.

Now there is certainly plenty for reformists to get their teeth into (if they had any teeth) in the Republic of Eire.

The standard of living is, on official figures, less than 60 per cent of that in Britain and 20 per cent lower than that of the North.

Even if we consider only the town workers, who are better off than the small farmers and agricultural workers, we find average earnings about £3 10s per week lower than in Britain.

As for the countryside, because of differences in state subsidies and pricing policies, added of course to the poor quality of land in the west, production per acre annually is £19 on grass and milk output, compared with £59 in the North.

It is worth giving a few

the South — on that day the prospect of a united socialist Ireland opens up.

Unemployment benefit, like all welfare benefits, is the same in northern Ireland as in Britain. In the South, an unemployed man with a wife and two children gets £7 18s. 6d.; in the North £9 4s.

In the South, old-age pension is not due until 70, and is only two-thirds of the pension in Britain and the North.

The Health Service hardly exists at all in the South. In 1965 the maternity grant was £4 (and contraception was banned). A widow with two children in the South gets £5 6s. a week, in the North £10.

New houses built in the South in 1965 reached the record figure of 8,146. The North, with less than half the population, and still with a disgraceful housing situation, built 9,516 houses in the same year.

Northern Ireland's education budget last year was £51 million. The South, with double the population, spent £49 million.

These social benefits in the North are supported by a subsidy from the British Exchequer of about £130 million annually. This is always presented in government publicity as some sort of a gift from Britain.

It is of course a great deal

As already outlined, the Fianna Fail government is already preparing anti-union laws, let alone 'democratising' and 'reforming'. Behind these measures are two factors.

In the first place, the low level of capital investment in southern Ireland, compared with any advanced country, cannot provide the basis for any advance in the economy.

Heritage

The heritage of British imperialism, involving generations of literally wholesale destruction of people and of productive forces, ruled out any possibility of a capitalist solution.

And yet the Irish capitalists face a working class whose historical traditions of struggle link up with the international offensive now being mounted by the working class.

Secondly, the international strength of the working class, at the centre of a profound international crisis of capitalism, compels the Irish, like all other capitalists, to seek to increase the rate of exploitation and cripple the trade unions, in order to compete internationally in more competitive conditions — but this must be done in

tain, into the European Common Market.

In any case, of course, the Common Market represents a forlorn attempt by the European capitalists to overcome the contradictions between modern production and the nation-state.

If that contradiction becomes stifling for the advanced countries, what a hopeless situation now exists for the bourgeoisie of a backward country like Ireland.

Since 1958, the Irish bourgeoisie has encouraged an in-flow of foreign investment, and until 1965, as part of the last stages of the world capitalist boom, this brought a reduction of unemployment and the workers were able to increase real wages.

For Ireland, however, this could not be enough.

In every country, the expectations and the strength of the working class built up during these years has intensified capitalism's crisis, and in Ireland that coincides with historical problems.

More people left the land (even with agriculture doing moderately well) between 1958 and 1965 than the number of new jobs provided by the industrial expansion.

If this was the situation during the boom, what are the prospects for workers

Europe. The Irish bourgeoisie has no chance of 'getting into Europe' in time to rejuvenate itself, even if that were possible.

Since the 1967 Free Trade Agreement in Britain, Eire's balance of payments and trade have rapidly deteriorated. The editorial of the Dublin newspaper 'Irish Independent' puts clearly the dilemma of the capitalists:

'Imports have exceeded exports by more than £20 million in each month of this year — a very considerable worsening since 1968.

'It does not seem that a trade deficit of the present size can be tolerated for very much longer. The deficit will be given added impetus by the income increases which are beginning to work their way through the economy. Consumer buying and imports will both be stimulated considerably. The economy is not in a position to withstand this added pressure which looks like developing.' ('Irish Independent', 8 September 1969.)

Entry

The fact is that 70 per cent of the exports of Eire are to the United Kingdom. Like the capitalists of Britain, those of Ireland know very well that entry into the Common Market is not just to get some dream of 'economic integration' and expansion, but to strengthen them against the working class.

In the North, the future for the embattled Catholic workers is in unity with the Protestant majority of workers against their employers, against the Unionist government, and imperialism which sustains them.

The developing world crisis will create such problems for the Northern industries that this unity will be posed in the very near future.

In Britain, the working class is faced with a struggle for socialist policies and revolutionary leadership, the Labour leaders having been exposed with the ending of the boom.

In their struggle against the Tories and their agents in the labour movement, the British workers will need unity with the workers of Ireland against the Unionists.

They will thus need to fight for the ending of imperialist control of Ireland, in order to weaken their own enemy.

These struggles will make the Irish workers in England, Scotland and Wales a strong force in the British working class.

In the South of Ireland, the working class is being forced to recognise the illusory nature of the 'national independence' maintained under bourgeois leadership.

It is brought into battle against a government of capitalists who openly turn to their bourgeois allies in Westminster and the City of London for common policies against the working class. That same government tolerates the British presence in the North for the same reasons.

Never was it more clear that the liberation of Ireland is only to be achieved by the working class struggle for socialism.

It is the international turn to that struggle, the great steps being taken by the European socialist revolution, which have opened up a new phase in the heroic history of the Irish workers and small farmers.

This time there will be no reliance on bourgeois nationalist leaders. This time the struggle in Ireland merges with the historic situation in which the workers of Britain must break from reformism, from imperialism and all it stands for.

The workers of Ireland, North and South, and of Britain are going to strike a mighty blow for the United Socialist States of Europe!



Labour sent in the troops in 1969

other examples, because one big question comes up among northern Irish workers, which will more and more be asked in the South also: what price a united Ireland under Lynch and the 'Green Tories' of the South?

When the Protestant worker in the North asks that question, he is not referring at all only (or even primarily) to the future of religious freedom or discrimination, but to the basic living and welfare standards of the workers.

The Catholic worker in the North asks the same question.

But when they both 'ask' this question politically, and fight for an alternative, jointly with the workers of

smaller than the annual amounts extracted in profits by British and international capital each year, not to mention the advantages gained by British capitalists from the flow of Irish emigrants suffering a 7.5 per cent unemployment rate in Northern Ireland.

We saw in the first part of this article that, with the growing world economic crisis, the reform programme of 'civil rights' could not solve in any way the jobs and housing problems for the workers in the North, which must get worse for the Protestant workers as well as the Catholic.

What is the prospect for any such reform in the South?

the teeth of a rising tide of working-class struggle.

In other words, we have the same basic ingredients for revolutionary struggle, though with all sorts of historical factors which aggravate the situation still further, as we find in Britain, as reformism proves its bankruptcy and its reactionary nature under the Labour government!

One reason why the nationalist demagogy of the Southern capitalist politicians has been wearing thin in recent years is that they have begun to look for a way out of their economic problems by moving, first through closer relations (Free Trade Agreements, etc) with the North and Bri-

and small farmers in a recession?

Already the downturn in the economy in 1965 had a great radicalising effect on the workers, strengthened by the boom, and the recent wave of strikes flows from that period.

Every section of capitalist opinion in the Irish Republic, including the government through official reports, is hitting out at the working class as 'responsible' for the growing crisis and advocating wage-freezing. This is the purpose of the proposed Criminal Justice Bill.

This wages question in Ireland is political dynamite, just as it is throughout

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.

Objective truth and Marxism

KEITH SCOTCHER is correct in seeing Dave Pelman's rejection of objective truth as alien to Marxism.

If Pelman's error is carried to its logical conclusion it would lead to a rejection of the whole of the Marxist method. For as Lenin writes: '...to hold our sensations as images of the external world, to recognise objective truth, to hold the materialist theory of knowledge, these are one and the same thing.'

This is because in the words of Feuerbach: 'the object is not merely the thing sensed but is also the basis, the indispensable condition for my sensation.'

This is the basis of the famous aphorism that it is man's being that determines his consciousness or again in the words of Feuerbach, 'thinking is not the cause of being, but the property of it.'

This for Marx, along with Hegel's dialectic, was the philosophical base of historical materialism. Plekhanov summed this up in 'Fundamental Problems of Marxism' with regard to the base and superstructure as follows:

1. the state of the productive forces
2. the economic relations these forces condition;
3. the socio-political system that has developed on the given economic "basis";
4. the mentality of social man, which is determined in part directly by economic conditions obtaining, and in part by the entire socio-political system that has arisen on that foundation;
5. the various ideologies that reflect the properties of that mentality.'

This is the basis of historical materialism's objectivity. This in no way resembles the 'value-free' so-called objectivity of bourgeois social science, in the sense that it is impartial.

Marxism is objective in the sense that it sees ideas and knowledge as class ideas and class knowledge.

Historical materialism is not contemplative or a quest for truth's sake but arises from the objective task of the Socialist Revolu-

tion as a conscious act on the part of the working class. An act in which the objective understanding on the part of that class is necessary.

How does the philosophical understanding relate to the world of politics?

What is communist action based on? Is Stalinism counter revolutionary because we think it is? Can 'social democracy' not deliver socialism only in our opinion? Is the system we live under called capitalism because we say it is, or can we make this assertion because of our objective knowledge that it is being that determines consciousness?

This was recognised by Marx in the 'Communist Manifesto' when he said: '...the theoretical conclusions of the communists are in no way based on ideas or principles that have been invented, or discovered by this or that would be universal reformer. They merely express, in general terms, actual relations springing from an existing class struggle, from an historical movement going on under our very eyes.'

How do we approach an analysis of the Stalinist bureaucracy from this method? We do not criticise the Stalinists because they have the wrong ideas or because Stalin also spoke of objective reality. No, Stalinism is objectively counter revolutionary because it transforms Marxism from an instrument for the liberation of mankind 'the conscious head of an unconscious process' into an instrument for the control of the working class by the bureaucracy. (In Trotsky's phrase Border Guards for the bureaucracy).

This is also relevant to the bureaucracy's policy on 'openness'. For the bureaucracy, bureaucratic practice is seen as being a bad idea, something to be overcome by a different practice.

For a Trotskyist, bureaucracy and its lack of 'openness' stem from the social being of the bureaucracy. Or, as Trotsky wrote: 'In Soviet political literature you often meet with accusations of "bureaucratism" as a bad custom of thought or method of work... But what you cannot meet is an investigation of the bureaucracy as a ruling stratum — its numbers and structure, its flesh and blood, its privileges and appetites, and the share of the national in-

come which it swallows up.'

The ideas and habits of the bureaucracy can only be destroyed by the overthrow of the bureaucracy itself. This is because the bureaucracy is not a system of bad ideas that exists in the minds of bureaucrats but an objective stratum. That is why, in the words of one East German poet: 'the only thing that really happened in the Soviet Union is Gorbachev's mouth!'

In conclusion, four questions for Dave Pelman.

1. If Marxism is not objective what differentiates it from ideology e.g. religion?
2. Is he denying the fact that objective truth exists?
3. Is he suggesting that objectivity is unknowable?
4. Is he merely complaining that that the word objective has been mis-used by Stalin and others?

Pelman's answers to these questions will enable us to ascertain if his method is Marxist. That Stalin and others have utilised the language of Marxism while emasculating it from its revolutionary content is beyond dispute. The way they have used objectivity is a case in point. However, there is a danger that Pelman could be throwing away the objective baby with the bath water.

Roger McGuinn

Sinister side of the spooks

WHILE I generally agree with the tenor of your editorial ('Dirty Deeds', Workers Press 9 May 1987), I think there is a sinister aspect of the intelligence services that has so far gone undiscussed.

Concerned with their own self-protection, MI5 and the rest want to defuse public criticism when their outrageous conduct sometimes gets known.

In such circumstances, it is helpful to have someone in authority, giving the appearance of 'independence' and 'impartiality', who can help to allay people's misgivings.

A politician like James Callaghan has, in the past, played this role admirably. Who better could be a home secretary? He has already acted as a paid servant of the Police Federation, raising any complaints the police might have with government. He has always maintained a close association with — this might well be a euphemism for membership of — MI5 that continues right down to the present day.

Complaints about shoot-to-kill, illegal use of powers and dirty tricks can easily be brushed aside. Let the intelligence services investigate themselves, produce a report that never sees the light of day, and then receive the home secretary's seal of approval.

It's as easy as eating cake — rather like getting complaints against the Artful Dodger sent to Fagin for his impartial judgement.

When it has now become quite clear, Callaghan failed to see a proper investigation took place into allegations of intelligence service misconduct in 1974, which concerned Harold Wilson, a fellow Labour cabinet minister, with whom he had a lot in common, what chance is there that he saw a full and fair investigation took place into misconduct against his political opponents, such as Irish republicans or trade unionists?

In the present circumstances, I think we should consider re-opening the case of Kenneth Lennon. He was a Vauxhall shop steward from Luton who got involved in the Irish civil rights campaign. In an understandable state of anxiety, he told the singer George Melly and an officer of the National Council for Civil Liberties that the

Special Branch intended to murder him. Shortly afterwards, his crumpled corpse was found.

Was he one of the earlier victims of a shoot-to-kill policy?

Ray Challinor

'Critical support' is not principled

WHILST apparently accepting that the Vietnamese Trotskyists did give critical support to the Stalinists before 1947, Cde. Pirani in Workers Press April 25th, considers that such support, even to counter revolutionary Stalinists who in 1945 were prepared to welcome back the Allied Imperialist forces, was justifiable on condition of course it was accompanied 'by a call to the working class'.

This 'call' consisted of demands for '... action committees, an Indo-Chinese Congress, the arming of the people, a workers and peasants government and a popular army'.

And if by any chance the masses of revolutionary workers who look to Trotskyism through its revolutionary slogans and calls happen to be slightly confused by the demand to support the Stalinists — against whom apparently, the workers support the Trotskyists!! — then all we have to do apparently is to declare 'We... have no illusion... in the Vietminh being able to fight imperialism, and hey presto the contradiction is solved. It's like a Papal dispensation purging 'critical support' of its inherent evil.

More to the point of course is that it is centrism to the core, the likes of which was also pursued in Bolivia by POR (Lora) which led to the massacre of Trotskyists and revolutionary workers by the military reaction, who were shielded by the 'lefts' whom the Trotskyists again 'critically supported'.

Reformist action of support for the Stalinists or bourgeois left, who betray the workers to the capitalist reaction, is not condoned, excused or made revolutionary by high sounding revolutionary words, 'calls' or programmes. One has only to read Lenin on Kautsky to learn this.

Pirani states that 'for him (Conlon) this tactic (supporting the bourgeoisie) is always impermissible. What childish ultraleftism.'

I would go further Cde, Pirani and say, not only is it never permissible, but support for the bourgeoisie left, right or centre is UNPRINCIPLED.

In this era of imperialism there is no such thing as a progressive bourgeoisie be it in the advanced or backward countries; imperialism permeates and corrupts all the national bourgeoisie and their agents. The greatest fear of all the wealthy classes is the proletarian revolution.

To stave off the day of reckoning, the bourgeoisie will lie, cheat, bribe and even espouse the cause of 'socialism'; they will at times introduce populist measures and thump the drum of anti-imperialism.

It is precisely under these circumstances Cde, Pirani where we as Marxists must place the workers on their guard and prevent the infringement of the working class independence in both ideology and organisation, by refusing to bow to mass pressure and submit to giving support to such popular movements. Accepting the Kerensky case raised by Cde, Pirani as an excellent



KERENSKY

example Pirani declares that the Bolsheviks '... prepared the November 1917 revolution by supporting the bourgeois government of Kerensky. ...' (My emphasis P.C.)

Let us now quote a participant in that very same revolution: '... those who become unprincipled are people who slide... into supporting the provisional government.'

And again: 'Even now' — during the Kornilov revolt — 'we must not support the Kerensky government. That is unprincipled.'

And once more: 'We shall fight, we are fighting against Kornilov, just as Kerensky's troops do, but we do not support Kerensky.'

The witness? V.I. Lenin (Works Vol 25 p.285) To 'March separately and strike together' is the essence of this Leninist tactic whereby we can fight Kornilov as Kerensky does — but this by no means even suggests that we support Kerensky.

One strikes with a temporary ally against a common threat through independent class action which will destroy both forces.

'Critical support' strengthens the ally of today — who is our enemy of tomorrow. P. Conlon

Bourgeois terms and the party

I HAVE had recent discussions with female comrades in the WRP concerning the use of bourgeois (sexist) terminology.

Does it matter if the April conference of the WRP sends its message of solidarity to Comrade Phil Penn signed 'yours fraternally'?

Why do we have a chairman of the WRP?

What are the responsibilities of the revolutionary party on these questions?

In my opinion the WRP should stop using bourgeois terminology when describing or referring to women.

This is not a question of principle. Nor will it do anything fundamental about existing conditions of double oppression of women under capitalism.

Only changing the material conditions of human life, by abolishing private property, will free women from double oppression and allow humankind truly human relationships. To achieve this it is necessary to build an international Trotskyist organisation to smash and dispossess Imperialism.

In Britain we are struggling to build the WRP as the revolutionary leadership in the working class, to smash capital and establish the dictatorship of the proletariat.

When women broke through capital's fetters during the miners' strike, Healy and his fraternal gang were catapulted out of the Trotskyist movement.

Healyism reflects and incorporates the historical process of the violent sexual abuse and oppression of women in class society.

In 1985 this outmoded tendency came into collision with the forces of humankind's potential liberation.

This shows clearly the vital importance for Trotskyism of paying attention to the question of women in the movement and in the international working class. Without these female forces we won't do the job.

As Trotskyists we don't 'jump over' questions: e.g. religion cannot be abolished, it will go when the material conditions that nourish it no longer prevail.

Precisely because the question of bourgeois terminology and women is not a matter of principle we can impose a change of practice.

In doing this we will be frequently reminded of the present relations between men and women, the future, communist, relations for which we strive, and the need to develop methods to achieve communist relations.

This is not a question of a semantic tinkering that then absolves us from the struggle to achieve truly human relations, it is a tactic to further that struggle.

Adrian Blakelock, SE London Branch WRP

The British crisis and the crisis of the left

A joint day school organised by the Revolutionary Communist Party and the Workers Revolutionary Party/Workers Press

Sunday 31 May
9.30a.m. — 5p.m.

Red Rose Club, Seven Sisters Road (Finsbury Park tube) (Creche available)
£2 employed, 1 unemployed

CLASS STRUGGLE ... USA ... CLASS STRUGGLE ... USA ...

The promised land

THE DREAM of liberty and social justice attracted five and a half million immigrants to America in the ten years 1880-1890.

For many of them it started when contractors were sent by the employers to recruit in all the major cities of Europe. They painted a rosy picture of full employment, big wages and opportunity.

Millions believed them. They sold up what meagre possessions they had and signed contracts of employment — contracts they were later to discover virtually enslaved them.

They started their journey herded like cattle on the ships. With sickness and disease rife many died on the journey.

The vast proportion of those who did arrive found themselves starting life as industrial serfs earning little or nothing until they had paid for the cost of their transport and food.

Thousands of Hungarian immigrants were imported to Pennsylvania to work in the coke region of Connellsville.

Using the employers' most treasured commodity, cheap labour, the young Mr Frick was making millions.

The workers, men and women, were forced to live in shacks where 17 or 18 workers shared a space 12 feet long and 8 feet wide.

They worked long hours and were paid a pittance that left many worse off than they had been back home.

The operators pitted one immigrant group against another — Irish against English, Germans against them both, west Europeans against east Europeans — hoping that this would keep up a constant war and provide what they hoped would be a source of scab labour.

Since the 1877 railroad strike the employers had prepared themselves with company armouries.

The National Guard and the state militia were provided with new weaponry.

But most of the violence and murders were to be carried out by the Pinkerton Agency, now big business.

The Pinkerton Agency offered a strike-breaking service of scabs, spies and agents provocateurs.

The latter were often used to good advantage by the employers to frame workers and their leaders.

Pinkerton provided a private army divided into detachments of infantry, cavalry and artillery — and all for hire.

Employers were prepared to spend far more to break strikes than it would have cost to meet the demands of the strikers.

The Knights of Labor had grown from 28,000 in 1880 to 700,000 in 1886.

On the other hand the bankers and industrialists had never been more aggressive. Their influence extended from the government and the two major parties to the pulpit.

Protestant America had a great respect for big business and donated princely sums of money to the churches and their colleges.

In return they produced preachers who proved that big profits and the vast fortunes of the trusts fulfilled God's law, as did the violence used to keep those who created the wealth from getting even a small share.

The preachers never did

**PART V OF A
FEATURE SERIES
BY NORMAN HARDING**

explain what had happened to the rich man, the camel, the eye of the needle and heaven.

John D Rockefeller, father of the modern trusts, firmly believed he had been put on earth for the sole purpose of making money.

Anyone who got in his way was 'obstructing God's will'. The big banker in the sky must have been proud of Rocky I as he proceeded to smash his opponents, consolidate and increase his power and wealth. He was a fan of those preachers who proclaimed wealthiness was next to godliness.

To the worker, money is the means of purchasing the necessities of life. To the rich it meant power and corruption.

Money poured into their banks and it was really 'pennies from heaven'. They amused themselves by competing to find the most exotic way of spending a few thousand dollars.

At elaborate parties dancing girls jumped from giant cakes; their favourite horses drank champagne. If that seemed a waste of good bubbly, they bathed in it.

One industrialist bought his daughter a \$600,000 necklace, a dressing table costing \$65,000 — and a pair of opera glasses costing a mere \$75,000.

Cigarettes were wrapped in hundred dollar bills. Black pearls were served with the oysters.

Pet monkeys, suitably attired, sat between the dinner guests — and no doubt showed better table manners.



Albert & Lucy Parsons



A pet dog wore a \$15,000 diamond collar, and private carriages and valets were provided for pet monkeys.

The parade of vulgarity was never-ending.

It made no difference which of the two main parties was in power; they owned both.

They made no secret of the fact that they planned to smash the Knights of Labour and the demand for the eight hour day.

The average working day in industry was 16 hours.

In Minnesota a law stopped railroads from forcing firemen and engineers from working more than 18 hours a day.



Children protesting against child labour

John Swinton, chief editorial writer on the 'New York Times' from 1860 to 1870, was brought to the labour movement after he had seen the police brutally break up a mass meeting of unemployed in Tompkin Square, New York, in 1874.

He gave up his job and started his own paper, devoted to the campaign for the eight hour day and exposing the Pinkerton thugs. Swinton, an admirer of Karl Marx, had once been sent to England to interview him.

After a walk on the beach at Ramsgate, Swinton asked Marx what he thought the future had to offer.

The answer was simple

let this deter him.

In spite of further threats, he kept going a whole year until his money ran out.

Parsons continued his campaign for the rights of the liberated slaves but eventually was forced to leave Waco and make his way to north west Texas.

There, in Johnson county, he met Lucy Gonzales, a Mexican Indian girl who became his wife and comrade to the end.

Albert and Lucy arrived in Chicago just before the big depression and were to witness a different world.

Families, evicted and homeless, stood in the bitter cold. Children cried as the wind tore through their thin clothing.

The SDP advocated the abolition of capitalism and replacing it with socialism.

The Parsons were active in the 1877 railroad strike. The Chief of Police advised them to leave town. They refused to be intimidated and stayed.

Albert Parsons became known not only in Chicago but nationally as a trade union organiser speaking to thousands of workers from Nebraska in the west to New York in the east.

Parsons, who was now influenced by anarchism, organised the International Working Peoples Association with August Spies and others.

The IWPA had previously ignored the eight-hour day movement, saying it did not matter how many hours were worked as the only way was to end capitalist exploitation.

However, the eight-hour demand became so popular that the IWPA was thrown into the fight and the anarchists became the foremost leaders of the eight-hour movement.

This and the growth of the Knights of Labor (in spite of its opportunist leadership) scared the living daylight out of the bosses.

They saw it as a threat to their god-sent right to rule over the workers.

Terence V. Powderly, the Grand Master of the Knights of Labor, tried desperately to halt this movement for strike action.

He wanted to go no further than demanding negotiation. He was just as scared as the bosses.

He was chef in a kitchen that was getting too hot for him.

The movement had other leaders too. Frank Farrell, New York negro leader, brought 60,000 into the ranks.

Leonora Barry was recruiting thousands of woman workers.

And to put a little more heat into the kitchen there was an organisation developing that was to become the American Federation of Labor, destined to outlive the Knights of Labor.

It was founded in 1881 as the Federation of Organised Trades and Labor Unions

At its convention a call was made for the 'Nation's

workers to rally on 1 May 1886 for the eight hour day'.

The financial barons condemned the 1 May plans as a communist plot for insurrection. The Paris Commune of 1871 was fresh in their minds.

As the day drew close the bosses tightened up their organisations.

Their guards were trained in the use of breech-loading rifles and the Pinkerton army was hired.

In the face of this Powderly tried even harder to sabotage the 1 May call.

But his attempts failed.

All over America conferences, meetings and rallies were giving their support. The movement grew and grew.

Some employers had already agreed to the shorter working day and workers were wearing eight-hour shoes and smoking eight-hour cigarettes.

In Chicago on Sunday 25 April Albert Parsons and August Spies addressed a meeting of 25,000.

The 'Tribune' and the Chicago newspapers concentrated their fire on these two.

'A communist carcass for every lamp post' was the demand of the ruling class.

The 'Alarm' and the 'Arbeiter-Zeitung' called on the workers of Chicago to prepare to defend themselves.

The 'Alarm' in its last issue before 1 May issued the following call:

**WORKING MEN TO ARMS!
WAR TO THE PALACE,
PEACE TO THE COTTAGE,
AND DEATH TO LUXURIOUS IDLENESS.**

The wage system is the only cause of the world's misery. It is supported by the rich classes, and to destroy it, they must be either made to work or DIE.

One pound of DYNAMITE is better than a bushel of BALLOTS!

MAKE YOUR DEMAND FOR EIGHT HOURS with weapons in your hands to meet the capitalistic bloodhounds — police and militia — in proper manner.

Next week: The First May Day, Chicago 1886 & The Haymarket Martyrs

REVIEWS

It's the same old story

It's the same old story. By Steve Cohen. Manchester City Council Public Relations Office, £1.00

BUILDING WORKER George Roucou has won his battle against deportation. Viraj Mendis is still fighting. Inspired by these and others — such as Anwar Ditta from Rochdale, Nasira Begum from Manchester — immigrants' grandsons and Mancunian Steve Cohen has written a timely booklet, as he says 'to retrieve the hidden history of immigration control... more importantly in terms of resistance to control.'

Tory media hysteria against immigrants, racist slurs? It's the same old story.

'The Unwanted, the Unfed and the Unemployed' was the 'Manchester Evening Chronicle' editorial on 19 April 1905, supporting the Aliens Act because it would exclude 'the dirty, destitute, diseased, verminous and criminal foreigner.'

Talking about Jewish immigrant workers in Manchester, 'Spy' magazine 1892: '... these filthy, miserly vermin, these rats who are content to abide in their dirt and rags in the cesspool of humanity known as the slums and to exist at making trousers at 4s 12d a pair to the exclusion of the British workmen.'

'These creatures, these loathsome things, are not few. They swarm like rats in the sewers...'

That the immigrant workers were far from 'content', but fought for better condi-

tions, only made things worse.

'It is from the competition of these pauper aliens that the British labourer is reduced to want and it is by their anarchical and socialistic opinions that his lot in life becomes further unsettled', asserted the 'Stockport Advertiser' in 1891.

Cohen draws telling comparisons between immigration cases then and now.

In 1905, a couple and their son were refused entry from Russia to join another son already in Manchester, even though relatives assured the authorities they would see the old couple did not become a 'burden' on the rates. In 1985, a Bangladeshi was refused permission to join his wife.

A tailor who had worked in Manchester for four years returned to Russia to bury his father. He stayed there another four years, until he had saved the money to return. He was refused re-entry, on the grounds that he had been away too long.

That was in 1907. Under today's immigration laws, non-British citizens, even if permanently resident here, can be refused re-entry if away more than two years.

A Bolshevik wanted by the Tsarist police was sent back to Russia, just as Viraj Mendis is threatened with deportation to Sri Lanka.

Cohen says immigration controls are racist. The 1905 law was preceded by agitation from the antisemitic British Brothers League and Tory MPs.

Fascists and right-wing Tories campaigned, particularly in London and the Midlands, to bring about the 1962 Commonwealth Immigrants Act — and haven't stopped since.

While pointing out that Tory governments passed both laws, Steve doesn't leave any room for illusions about Labour governments, or attitudes in the labour

migration of coloured people from the British Colonial Territories.'

Although Labour in opposition attacked the 1962 Act, three years later a Labour government was introducing tighter controls.

In 1892, the Trades Union Congress demanded immigration controls against fellow-workers.

In 1958, TUC officials

RIGHT OF ENTRY.



ALIEY CABIN PASSENGER: "I am criminal, diththead, and leneetic, but I haf my passport—Ha, ha!"
A cabin passenger might be a lunatic, he might have been sentenced for some offence for which he would be excluded, he might be dangerous, but he might be a worker, the provisions of the Bill did not apply to him. —Mr Winston Churchill, 1905

Manchester Evening Chronicle, 29th June, 1905

movement.

In 1950, Tory MP Cyril Osborne was demanding 'separate figures for coloured immigration'. But it was the Labour Cabinet which set up a Committee to review 'means which might be adopted to check the im-

migration of coloured people from the British Colonial Territories.'

Cohen reminds us also that among anti-immigrant and

viciously antisemitic writers at the turn of the century were such 'socialists' as H.M. Hyndman of the Social Democratic Federation, and Robert Blatchford of the 'Clarion'.

Labour historians have tended to omit mention of such things. It is a fitting reproach that in 1980 it was

the National Front's 'Spearhead' that was able to evoke 'the obvious patriotism and candid racialism of these early socialists'.

There was a fightback. In 1904, a mass rally in Stevenson Square, Manchester, heard Salford councillor Thompson declare that 'being a socialist, he recognised no nationality.'

In Manchester, the Jewish Tailors' Union, the Trades Council and the Independent Labour Party were particularly active against controls.

Margaret Bondfield of the Shop Assistants and Frank Brien of the Dockers' Union were among speakers at a 3,000-strong meeting called by the Jewish Tailors' Union in London in 1902.

Much of the credit for tearing down the racist argument among trade unionists may rest with a pamphlet, 'The Voice of the Aliens', written by immigrant trade unionist Joseph Finn, attacking the TUC anti-immigrant resolutions.

Endorsed by several unions, the pamphlet was launched at simultaneous mass rallies in Leeds and Mile End, London. A star speaker at the London rally was Eleanor Marx.

While acknowledging differences between yester-

day's struggles and today's, and between different forms of racism, Steve Cohen's main purpose is to stress the way immigrant workers are continuing a fight for their rights, and the importance of such struggles as that of Viraj Mendis.

Although he has been researching his subject for some time, (alongside his practical work as a lawyer immigration cases), Steve has clearly rushed to produce this particular little book as a contribution to the fight now going on in his home city.

So I'll excuse him some faults in style and errors such as calling the British Brothers' League 'neo-fascist' (proto-fascist would be more correct), as I'm sure he'll forgive me for mentioning them.

There is also a need for more analysis than Steve Cohen provides. Maybe some more professional historians around the Left will feel stimulated enough to tackle it, and we Marxists will develop the necessary revolutionary perspective.

Meanwhile, Steve has made a contribution to current struggles, and as one who frequently disagrees with him, I'll give credit where due.

Reproduced at the end of the book, in its entirety, 'The Voice of the Aliens' still rings out today, telling in argument, proud in spirit, class-conscious, ably exposing and indicting the links between racism and opportunism in the labour movement. The book would be worth getting for that alone.

Charlie Pottins

ROBSON'S CHOICE

ELECTION fever, which invariably grips television channels long before it touches the electorate at large, is with us again in all its numbing unreality.

Robin Day, master of the phoney war, will have a work-out with the Alliance's Tweedle Dum and Tweedle Dee on Tuesday. On Thursday, one-time-'left' Jonathan Dimbleby, will waltz with one of the last men to give physical support to the miners and their families during the year-long strike, the one and only Neil Kinnoch.

Starting on Tuesday, party political broadcasts, that most institutionalised form of dissembling, will get to work on yesterday's broken promises and replace them with new ones better suited for today. Cynics from Wardour Street are rumouring that John Cleese may be issued with three different paper hats this time, and invited to represent the three main parties by rote.

However, what is no rumour, is that last-minute of the Communist Party to stand T.G. Healy in the safe Tory constituency of Beaconsfield, Berkshire, have been abandoned without any official explanation. (People in the know think it may have something to do with the non-payment of subs for over 50 years.)

On Saturday, at 2.30p.m. on Radio 4, you can listen to Luigi Pirandello's play 'The Rules of the Game' and, on Saturday Night Theatre, at 7p.m., Henrik Ibsen's 'An

Enemy of the People, both of them in stereo sound.

Still with Radio 4, the Saturday Night Feature at 10.15p.m. could be of interest. It is entitled **The Day London Lost Its Nerve** and it deals with an incident in 1886 when a meeting called to protest against the plight of the destitute and the homeless led to mayhem and charges of sedition.

On television, the first of a 13 part film series from Poland, called **Nights and Days** (9p.m., C4), and the Australian film **Gallipoli**, by Peter Weir (10.50p.m., ITV). If you have already seen it watch **The Drowning Pool** at 11.15p.m. on BBC2.

On Sunday, at 2.30p.m. on Channel Four, Ibsen's Uncle Vanya with a splendid cast. Survival Special presents **Perspectives of Paradise** on ITV at 5.30p.m., a close look at the unique wildlife on the Galapagos Islands. Joe Orton's **What the Butler Saw** is on BBC2 at 7.30p.m.

On Monday, on Radio 4 at 3p.m., Arthur Miller's **All My Sons**. On television, with stereo radio support, Puccini's opera **Turandot** can be seen in a live broadcast from Covent Garden, starting at 7.25p.m. (BBC2).

Eleventh Hour Cinema (10.20p.m., C4) presents **A Kind of English**, the story of a nine-year-old Bengali boy living in the East End of London.

Tuesday reminds me of a remark made to me many years ago by an elderly lady who had agreed to contribute to a programme I was making about the BBC. I asked her what she thought of the programmes, generally, and



Jadwiga Baranska plays Barbara in *Nights and Days* on Channel Four Saturday

she replied, specifically: 'Pap, pap and more pap.'

The interview ended there.

But if you are a glutton for punishment, watch **Panorama's** treatment of the Owen-Steel soft-shoe shuffle at 8p.m. on BBC1.

On Wednesday, at 8.25p.m. on BBC2, the next programme in the fascinating series, **Painting with Light** which on this occasion features the Australian painter Sydney Nolan.

On Thursday, at 8p.m. (ITV) **This Week** interviews Neil Kinnoch — bound to be a show-stopper. At 9.10p.m. on Radio 3, **What Books I**

Please examines the extensive changes Solzhenitsyn has made to his justly famous novel, **The First Circle**, since he joined us in the 'free world'.

At 10.50p.m. (C4), **Soldier Girls**, a documentary about the training of women recruits in the US army.

On Friday, at 10.55p.m. (BBC1), **Omnibus** presents **Michelangelo Revealed**, a documentary about the restoration of Italian master's fresco paintings on the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel in the Vatican, one of the highest achievements of the Renaissance.

TOM SCOTT ROBSON

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John Maclean's

Speech from the dock, May 9th 1918

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Workers Press

Saturday May 23 1987. Newsdesk 01-733 3058

BY A CENTRAL LONDON BUSWORKER

IN THE Central London bus garage where I work we carry out maintenance work on about 80 buses. Some of them are very old — 20 years old in some cases.

Some have been through six engines in their life on the road. They need constant attention. The newer ones, the Titans and the Metros, are eight or nine years old.

Eight of us work a normal working week (middle shift) Monday to Friday, and a further eight men are on what we call running shift. Three of them are on duty at any one time.

We are responsible for changing engines, gear boxes, tyres and brake shoes, and seeing that every vehicle is tested once every four weeks by rote, four buses per day.

Passenger platforms, handrails and seats are tested for safety, in addition to the usual tests you would expect with an MOT.

Over years of struggle with the bosses we have achieved better working conditions and rates of pay. We won a 38-hour week with no compulsory overtime.

Four years ago we established our right to be paid London Weighting. We also won a claim for extra pay for unscheduled work — collective overtime worked at the garage which is assessed as a lump sum and shared equally among all the engineering staff.

But today, as Thatcher implements her plan to establish colonial conditions in the

old heartland of empire, all our hard-won rights are threatened.

We are being blackmailed with privatisation unless we agree to:

1. Return to a 45-hour working week (including compulsory overtime) which in real terms means a wage cut of £7 per week.
2. Loss of London Weighting.
3. Compulsory shift work irrespective of how old one is.
4. Actively subsidise our 'competitors' in the private sector.

The first three points speak for themselves, but

the last one deserves a fuller explanation.

Nine months ago we were ordered to recondition an eight-year-old Metro. We fitted a new engine, a new gear-box, new brake shoes, new tyres. The coachmakers resurfaced the interior flooring, the seats were recovered, and the bus was hand-painted inside and out.

The original idea was to make it available to private operators for approximately £10,000, but after they had judged the mood of the men in the garage, they cancelled the plan.

But the implications of such a plan are extremely revealing. Consider the arithmetic:

The new engine we fitted cost £4,000, the gear-box almost £2,000. Each seat cost £120 (42 seats to a bus). Each tyre cost over 100. Shoes and drums cost not less than £800. To paint the bus must have cost as much as painting the front of a three-floored terrace house.

This means that our bosses were prepared to spend at least £13,240 to prepare a bus for sale to private operators who, having paid only £10,000 for it, would then have put it on the road to compete against us!

Three years ago most garages sold off many reconditioned Routemasters to the private sector on a similar basis. Has the capitalist

Office of Fair Trading nothing to say about this? A brand new bus would have cost the private sector cowboys at least £90,000!

The truth is that we are being robbed blind. There is as yet no record of who is receiving backhanders for these underhand deals, but it is inconceivable that the private operators are the only beneficiaries.)

For these reasons London's bus workers fully support the campaign against wage cuts, longer hours and compulsory overtime.

Everyone knows this is a fight to the finish. That's why we voted nine to one for industrial action.

FIGHT TO FINISH ON LONDON BUSES

T&G takes London Buses to court

BY ROY THOMAS

TRANSPORT union leaders served injunctions on London Buses last Monday evening, seeking to prevent London Buses from forcing lower wages and longer hours on the drivers at Norbiton garage.

This legal move taken by the T&GWU follows the action of its London Bus Committee, who went over the heads of their regional and national full-time officers and visited Ron Todd, the union's general secretary, in his office last week.

At a long and heated session of the Central District Committee on Friday, it was agreed to suspend the industrial action planned for the week until the legal action had begun.

In garage after garage the drivers and engineers are pressing for the industrial action to be stepped up.

They are also urging lightning guerrilla action aimed at London's main shopping centres, which have already lost millions of pounds as a result of the London bus crews' strike action.

Bus workers must be warned of the dangers of suspending industrial action while they wait for the judges to come to their aid.

The only weapon they can rely on is the organised strength of the busworkers themselves and of those millions of other workers in London who rely on effective and safe public transport.

Alongside those fighting to defend the health service, education, welfare and local government services, London bus workers must forge a united front to face the common enemy.

Public Order ban on Picket



SHORTLY after one year's non-stop picketing, the police have moved the picket off the pavement outside the South African Embassy under the 'Public Order Act'.

The pickets are defying the ban which

is resulting in multiple arrests. As we go to press, Tunde Forrest, a black anti-apartheid activist has been in prison for over a week for allegedly defying a ban on his presence outside the embassy.

Every trade unionist and those who oppose apartheid must defend the right

of the historic Non-Stop-Picket to demonstrate outside the embassy.

Where does the Anti-Apartheid Movement and the London region ANC stand?

For further information telephone 837-6050.

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ASTMS members support David Kitson

A LARGE attendance at a fringe meeting during last weekend's annual conference of the Association of Scientific, Technical and Managerial Staffs (ASTMS) condemned the leadership of TASS (Technical and Supervisory Staffs) for victimising South African liberation fighter David Kitson.

Kitson spent 20 years in apartheid jails for his role in the armed wing of the African National Congress, Umkhonto We Sizwe.

Kitson's trade union, TASS, promised that he would be funded for the rest of his days through a scholarship at Ruskin College.

Kitson told the 80-strong meeting: 'I was asked at a London ANC meeting to denounce the activities of City Group (Non Stop Picket) but I wouldn't.

'The machinery was soon put into operation and I was suspended from the ANC.'

Kitson described those who suspended him as 'privileged white South African exiles'.

He said that an ideological conflict existed inside the ANC.

He was right.

The ANC in London, with

BY CHRIS McBRIDE

their fellow bureaucrats in the leadership of the official Anti-Apartheid Movement, are on the side of this conflict which strives to liquidate independent working class action against apartheid.

Ugly examples of this include opposition to the Non-Stop Picket of the South African Embassy which is at present confronting the state and its 'Public Order Act' after being moved off the pavement outside the embassy.

They show hostility to the Trade Union Sanctions Campaign because they are opposed to independent working class leadership and anything which they cannot keep under their bureaucratic control.

Doing the dirty work against Kitson for the ANC and the Anti-Apartheid

Movement are various British Stalinist organisations, chiefly the 'Morning Star' supporters in the 'Communist Campaign Group'.

The anti-Kitson campaign is headed by a 'Morning Star' supporter — the general secretary of TASS, Ken Gill.

Behind a barrage of lies and slanders against the Kitson family, Gill and his supporters have ditched all trade union principles by letting supposed differences between the ANC and Kitson determine whether Kitson's livelihood is maintained as promised.

Kitson told last week's meeting: 'Ken Gill told my union organiser that he opposed my funding because of my support for City Group.'

He said there is no universal support for the actions of the London ANC and in South Africa members were un-

satisfied about it but at present are toeing the line.

The forthcoming merger between TASS and ASTMS poses a threat to Gill and company's decision against Kitson. This was clearly demonstrated by the anger of participants in the fringe meeting at the actions of the Stalinist leaders in TASS.

Although ASTMS leader Clive Jenkins is united with Gill on the Kitson issue, members of ASTMS will have a better chance of opposing the actions of TASS leaders, unlike members of TASS, whose 1987 annual conference housed only 165 delegates.

Kitson finished off his speech by saying: 'What we need is a democratic union and I hope that ASTMS will see to implementing justice. This is a violation of union policy by TASS and it must be opposed.'