

## Kinnock is to blame for the Labour defeat

# THE MAJOR STRUGGLES LIE AHEAD

**THE MASSIVE working-class vote against the Tories in every major industrial town and city outside London was the outstanding feature of the general election.**

All those areas that have carried the brunt of Tory attacks on jobs, on housing and on welfare services voted overwhelmingly against Thatcher.

In **Liverpool** Labour took every seat except Mossley Hill, where there was a near 5-per cent swing to Labour from the Liberals.

In **Manchester** the Tories were wiped out completely, Labour taking every seat on big swings.

The same pattern was repeated in **Glasgow**. Labour swept the board, clearing out Roy Jenkins, founder member of the Social Democratic Party.

The Liverpool results are especially significant. The left in the Liverpool Labour Party has been subjected to a systematic witch-hunt by the Kinnock leadership and the capitalist press alike. Their aim was to break up the fight of the Liverpool Labour councillors against Thatcher.

The workers of Liverpool have given their answer to Labour's right-wing witch-hunters. Every seat in the city saw a big shift to Labour: in Garston 10.5 per cent, in West Derby a swing of 9.6 per cent, in Walton 6.0 per cent, in Riverside 7.1 per cent.

Terry Fields, long associated with the Militant Tendency, was returned for Broadgreen with a huge 12.42-per cent swing to Labour.

The vote reveals not a north-south divide but a sharpening class polarisation throughout Britain. Despite the cowardice of its leadership the working class voted as a class against the Tory enemy.

These results show again that the working class is determined to fight the Tories

### STATEMENT BY THE POLITICAL COMMITTEE of the WORKERS REVOLUTIONARY PARTY, 12 June 1987

and is urgently seeking a political expression for that fight.

Workers rejected with contempt the advice of the Communist Party and others to vote 'tactically'.

Last month's 'Marxism Today' — paper of the Euro-Communists — carried an article by Liberal Michael Meadowcroft calling for tactical voting. He was ejected in West Leeds by the Labour candidate on a swing of 7 per cent. Here was the working class's answer to tactical voting!

The collapse of the SDP to a rump of six in the Commons was a rejection of right-wing Labour policies. Only David Owen remains of the 1981 founders of the SDP.

It was the 1981 split in the Labour leadership and the formation of the SDP by Labour defectors Shirley Williams, Bill Rogers, David Owen and Roy Jenkins that lost Labour the 1983 election. Again in 1987 the right wing lost Labour the election — not the left, as Kinnock has already started to claim.

The Thatcher government is a minority government. It was returned only because the anti-Tory vote was split by the SDP defectors.

What the working class lacked in the election, as it has lacked ever since Thatcher came to office in 1979, was a leadership able and willing to unite it against the common Tory enemy.

**KINNOCK's entire campaign was fought on terms dictated by Thatcher.**

● Every aspect of policy which Kinnock thought would frighten away the middle class was ditched. Renationalisation of the industries privatised by Thatcher was dropped; many of the Tory anti-union laws were accepted by the Labour leaders.

Kinnock's policy was a disaster. Those layers who have gained temporarily from Tory asset-selling and the fraudulent 'peoples' capitalism' remained with Thatcher.

The right-wing will blame the working class for a defeat for which they are entirely responsible. The defeat of notorious right-wing Tory Peter Bruinvels by Keith Vaz in Leicester East shows that it is not alleged racialism in the working class that undermined Labour but the absence of a programme that could rally all those considerable forces who have fought the Thatcher government from 1979 onwards.

● The Labour leaders joined in the Tory screams against the so-called 'loony left' councils in London. The result was the loss of three London seats, including Battersea, a reduced majority for Bernie Grant in Tottenham, and the failure to re-capture Greenwich, held by Labour in every general election since 1945.

● The abolition of the GLC — leaving London the only capital city in the world with no overall government — was dropped from Labour's campaign. Kinnock virtually ignored London throughout the election.

● The scandal surrounding MI5 and MI6 — brought to a head by Peter Wright's revelations — was covered up by Kinnock in a united front with the Tories to prove his loyalty to the capitalist state.

● The TUC leaders vanished during the three-week campaign. There was neither sight nor sound of TUC General Secretary Norman Willis. This was Kinnock's attempt to prove to the middle class that the unions do not control Labour policy.

**THE election result is not a defeat for the working class.**

Workers face major class battles against the Tories, just as they would have done against a Labour government.

● CTD. ON PAGE 2



**ELECTION or no election, hundreds of civil servants marched through Westminster last Tuesday in heavy rain chanting: 'All out now'.**

● SEE story and another picture — page 16

# Workers Press

## Stalinists rally to Kinnock

**THE Communist Party fielded 19 candidates in the General Election, but it was hard to know it by looking at their publications.**

The June issue of 'Marxism Today', the Party's 'theoretical and discussion journal', did publish a list of the candidates, with their campaign slogan: 'How to beat the Tories — and go one better!' But this single page was all the space they got. The rest of the election coverage was divided between ecstatic applause for the Labour Party's campaign, and the debate within the Communist Party about 'tactical voting'.

A call for people to vote Liberal or SDP where they looked as though they stood a better chance than Labour had been launched by Eric Hobsbawm in last month's 'Marxism Today'. The June issue allows Monty Johnstone of the party executive to answer him. This he does in polite and almost apologetic tones. He pays tribute to Hobsbawm's 'profound knowledge of history and the exceptionally strong international dimension in his thinking', but courteously begs to differ with him in his analogy between Britain in 1987 and France in the 1930s.

Hobsbawm had argued that what was needed today was an alliance like that of the Communist Party, the French Socialists and the Radicals in the election of the Blum 'Front Populaire' government in 1936. Johnstone declares: 'Like Eric, I have defended, and will continue to defend, the Popular Front experience of the 1930s against the traditional Trotskyist criticisms. The situation in Britain today is, however, manifestly different.'

So, while the good Professor writes in support of a policy to the right of millions of Labour voters — and, by the way, in opposition to the policy of his own party — Johnstone agrees with him in principle.

But 'Marxism Today' would not like to be hidebound on this subject. So it gave space to Michael Meadowcroft — at that time Liberal MP for West Leeds — to answer Johnstone. It is of some significance that Meadowcroft lost his seat to the Labour candidate, with a swing of 7 per cent. So much for the advice to Labour supporters for tactical voting!

The Party's weekly journal, 'Seven Days', followed a similar line during the election campaign. The Party's candidates barely got mentioned, Labour spokespersons of impeccable respectability were boosted and the devotees of the tactical vote were well to the fore.

Workers in Leeds gave a class vote. And it is this type of vote which showed itself in Scotland, the north east and the north west, despite Kinnock, Hobsbawm, (listed as an adviser to Kinnock) and the Communist Party. Under the guise of meeting the 'new reality' and winning the middle-class vote, they repudiate the class policies which could mean a real struggle against Tory imperialist foreign policy and Tory attacks on the poor, the sick, the unemployed and the unions. This is the same opportunism as that of the Communist Parties in the Popular Fronts of the past.

**SO much for the Euro-Stalinists. How about the pro-Moscow, 'hard-line' group? You'd expect the 'Morning Star', proletarian, class-struggle and all that, to be a bit more beefy, wouldn't you?**

Well, you'd be wrong. Like 'Seven Days', the 'Morning Star' hardly mentioned the Communist Party candidates. It fought an all-out campaign backing Kinnock without a murmur of criticism. A statement by 'Morning Star' editor Tony Chater on polling day was headlined 'Cross out the Tories'. It contained not a single criticism of the Labour leadership.

The election results make one thing painfully clear: there is in Britain a profound hatred of the Tory government and a desire among the working class for a fight back against it, at its intensest among those suffering the most.

**Kinnock and Co., the Euro-Communist Party, and the 'Morning Star' variety of Stalinism are not concerned to offer leadership to these workers. Such opportunism is that of the Communist Parties in the Popular Fronts of the past. History has shown, and the election has once again brought it home, that such opportunism can never win the middle class.**

# Inner London teachers fight redeployment

**INNER London Teachers Association (ILTA) is balloting for an official strike on Tuesday 16 June against the Inner London Education Authority's compulsory redeployment policy.**

This policy involves the movement of 800 teachers, mainly from secondary schools, allegedly to fill the many vacancies in primary schools.

Poorer areas like Hackney and Tower Hamlets are seriously short of primary teachers. This shortage has developed for reasons similar to those that have caused the shortage of nurses in

**BY PAM HENRY**

hospitals: low pay, high housing costs, and more stressful conditions of service.

The authority's policy of identifying secondary-school teachers who are deemed to be surplus has caused chaos.

Large numbers of secondary specialist teachers cannot be moved to junior work without being retrained, even if the teachers concerned are willing.

It is true that secondary schools have a better teacher-pupil ratio than primary schools. The answer is not to worsen the ratio in secondary schools but to improve it in primary schools and thus reduce much of the stress.

The National Union of Teachers executive is formally opposed to ILEA's identification and compulsory redeployment procedures.

But it has helped ILEA enforce those policies by ex-

pressing and suspending the entire ILTA leadership, who were previously the negotiating body.

ILEA has refused to negotiate with ILTA and continues to refuse, though there have been 'discussions' at which the ILEA leaders declared they would only negotiate with the national executive.

The battle against this right-wing and Stalinist executive has been intensifying throughout the union.

### Token

The NUT executive has shown only token opposition to the Baker Bill and the loss of negotiating rights: a major blow to the whole trade union movement by the Tories and a foretaste of future attacks.

It refused to endorse a strike by Inner London teachers on 13 January and suspended the entire ILTA council for organising it.

This bureaucratic body is losing more and more support. Though it was not completely overturned at this year's conference, it was defeated on many issues.

It tried to conceal from the conference its new guidelines, drawn up with the National Association of Schoolmasters/Union of Women Teachers, on working with the Baker Act.

This struggle, which will certainly continue, demands a principled socialist leadership prepared to overthrow the capitalist system and lay the basis for a real education system for all.

# APEX conference backs sanctions against EETPU

**THE clerical union APEX (Association of Professional, Executive, Clerical and Computer Staff) has become the first trade union to support any TUC disciplinary action that may be taken against the EETPU (Electrical, Electronic, Telecommunication and Plumbing Union), including expulsion.**

**BY BOB TOWERS**

was expressed over APEX's financial position. It was decided that the executive carry out a thorough examination of the union's sources of funds and items of expenditure and report to the 1988 conference.

As a first step conference decided that the executive should receive the same level of expenses as the delegates. This should see the end of the five-star treatment for APEX union officials and executive members at conferences up and down the country. (Perhaps other unions could follow suit!)

The rules revision section proved less successful, with the failure to delete or amend the rule relating to proscribed organisations,

which include the Workers Revolutionary Party but not the Tories or Liberals or SDP.

Conference was shortened to two days because of the general election and will reconvene in November, when a decision will be taken on union amalgamation.

This decision by last weekend's annual conference at Scarborough was, needless to say, taken against the executive's advice.

Deeply incensed at the EETPU's attitude at Wapping, APEX members also agreed to the setting up of an independent inquiry into policing, following the demonstration at Wapping on 24 January 1987.

This mood was reflected in the main conference debate on amalgamation.

While the executive's decision to enter into detailed discussions with GMBATU (General, Municipal, Boiler-makers and Allied Trades Union) was upheld, conference also decided not to participate in any merger talks with, or involving, the AEU (Amalgamated Engineering Union) or EETPU.

The AEU has been excluded specifically because of the possibility of its merger with the EETPU.

An attempt to get APEX to withdraw all support from the Youth Training Scheme and other Manpower Services Commission schemes failed. The majority still held to the executive's position that the trade unions had to fight these schemes from within.

**AS IN OTHER TRADE UNIONS**

# Paul Davis campaign

**BY LOUISE CEROVECKI**

**A PUBLIC campaign was launched this week in Wood Green, London, in defence of Paul Davis, a 16-year-old black youth who two months ago was viciously attacked in his own home by three policemen.**

Police had been called to a domestic dispute at a neighbour's house. A vanload of police soon arrived.

They insisted that Paul leave the house, though his neighbours protested that Paul should stay and that the police should leave. Not wanting to cause his neighbours trouble, Paul left of his own accord.

The police followed him home, where he was beaten unconscious. He woke up in hospital with a two-inch gash on his head.

A speaker at the meeting where the campaign was launched stressed that calling the police over domestic incidents is a mistake that no black family should risk.

The speaker from the Black People's Campaign for Justice linked the attacks on members of the black community to attacks on other sections of the working class.

The new campaign's demands are: that the assault charge be dropped and that the police responsible for beating up Paul Davis be brought to justice.

● The Paul Davis campaign can be contacted by phone: 01-326 1397.

# Major struggles ahead

● FROM PAGE 1

Thatcher has made clear that the drive to privatise education and the health service, to continue with the sale of state assets to the gain of the City sharks will intensify.

Collective bargaining rights of 250,000 teachers have been forcibly removed. This is a warning to the entire working class of what is coming down the line from the Thatcher government.

NUPE leader Rodney Bickerstaffe's talk of 'five grim years ahead' is a continuation of the same treacherous talk by the union leaders which since 1983 has urged the working class to lie down until a General Election returned a Labour government.

**Workers must demand**

that their leaders mobilise the entire class against the Tory government or make way for those who will.

The Tories will launch their new round of attacks against the working class, not from a position of strength but in the face of a looming world economic slump that will wipe out even more of Britain's already shrunken manufacturing industry. The Tory government will be a government of crisis, still reliant on the TUC and Labour leaders to control the working class.

The election has highlighted the crisis of leadership in the working class. The urgent task is the building of a new revolutionary socialist leadership in the working class.

We urge all readers of Workers Press to join us in this task.

## THE ISLE OF DOGS

BY PHIL PENN

**HOW** would you feel if an elevated roundabout, the main intersection for a four-lane highway from the capital, landed in the middle of your council estate?

No, this is not the introduction to some weird science-fiction movie. It is the latest proposal for the Isle of Dogs from the London Docklands Development Corporation (LDDC), who have been given the right by parliament to snatch land in the area.

High-cost yuppie apartment blocks and banking complexes are taking over the 'island'.

To enable the upwardly mobile city slicker to get himself and his BMW home from the Stock Exchange in minutes, a freeway and roundabout are to be built.

They will be bigger than Trafalgar Square, and will involve the destruction of Garford House, largest block on a Limehouse council estate.

During the four years it is being built, tenants will have to live with the constant noise, vibration and disruption that such a large construction job brings.

When it is finished there will be the noise of thousands of cars an hour, day and night, and the pollution that goes with it.

Mrs Thompson, who lives on St Vincents estate, is furious about the plan the LDDC is forcing through.

'I know that progress has to be made,' she said, 'but why don't they think of the people who live here before they start?'

'The council have spent a lot of money just recently on Garford House. They put a new roof on it, central heating, all new windows — and now the LDDC are going to demolish it.'

'There are two schools here. I don't know how they will be



Mrs Thompson: 'They're letting this estate become a slum.'

# Yuppie Circus moves in!

affected or what dangers the plan will bring for the many children on the estate.

The new Docklands light railway which is opening soon runs within feet of Mrs Thompson's block.

I asked her how this had affected her.

'The work on the railway has

been going on for three years and no one has ever come around to ask how the dirt and the drilling disturb us', she replied. 'We have never been offered compensation. All we got was a letter saying that they were going to start construction.'

'The vibrations from the trains, which will run every seven minutes, go right through the building. It affects the TV.'

'Can you imagine what it is going to be like if this road goes ahead?'

With the new railway on one side, and the roundabout and flyover on the other, we will be surrounded. The road outside my window is also going to be widened.

'At a meeting with some people from the LDDC we asked them if the work will affect the foundations of the buildings, which are quite old.'

'They said there would be little effect, but I don't agree. Look at the damage being done to that estate in West Ferry Road' (featured in Workers Press, 30 May).

'We asked what hours they would be working and were told that when the work was tendered out they would make a ruling that the work would have to stop at a certain time.'

'Can you imagine that? The con-

tractors will want to get the work done as quickly as possible.'

Since the docks were closed in the 1970s, Limehouse has become an area of high unemployment. Despite Tory propaganda about job creation more jobs have been destroyed in Docklands as a result of the developers than have been created.

Small businesses, which employed some local people, are threatened with compulsory purchase orders and selling up.

Mrs Thompson asked the LDDC why they are not employing local people.

They told her they had employed two or three local people on the railway but were mainly bringing in people from outside.

'I believe that this is part of the plan to run the area down and move the people out', she commented.

'They want to bring people in with the high technology, and they will be looking for somewhere to live.'

'If you go to the estate agents down the road you will find that the cheapest thing that they have in their window is a two-bedroom flat for £120,000. No one on this estate could afford that — they can only

just afford to pay their rent.

'But if this estate was sold and we all had to move out, you can imagine how much they would sell my flat for. They are good flats, you know, but the council has let them get run down.'

'That is what I think they are doing: letting this estate become a slum and then they will sell it off as private apartments.'

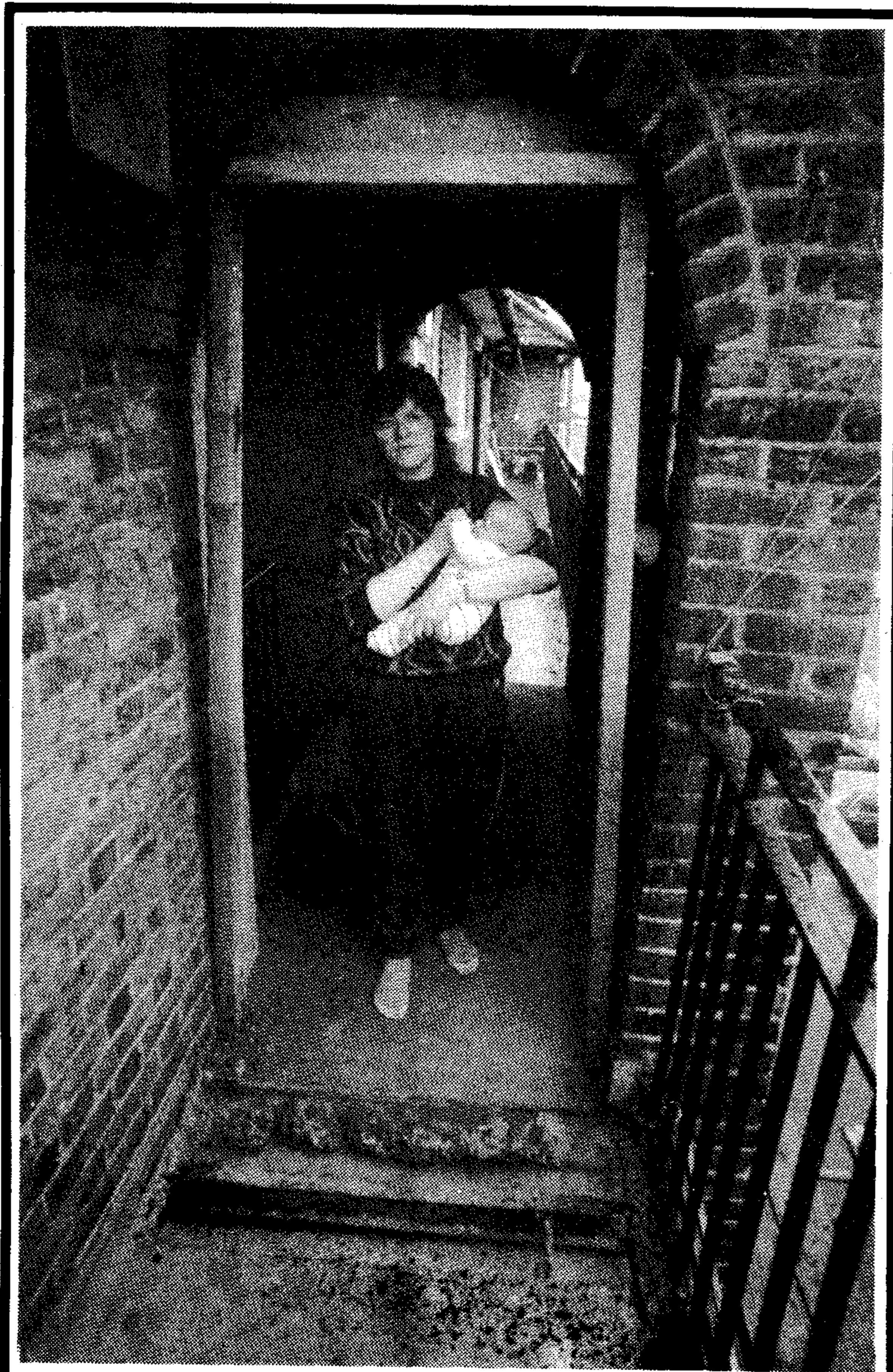
'When I first came here 20 years ago it was a lovely estate. Everyone liked this place.'

'The area in front of the flats was a playground for the kids. There were swings and slides and a separate washing area. The play area was never maintained by the council and when it was damaged they removed the whole lot.'

Now they have removed our washing area as well and replaced it with two portakabins for the housing office, which is an eyesore.'

Mrs Thompson is determined to fight the developers and the Liberal council. She is getting as many people as she can to attend the tenants' association meetings.

A lot of people do not know what is going on, she said. 'Some do not bother going to the meetings but we tenants must get together and fight it!'



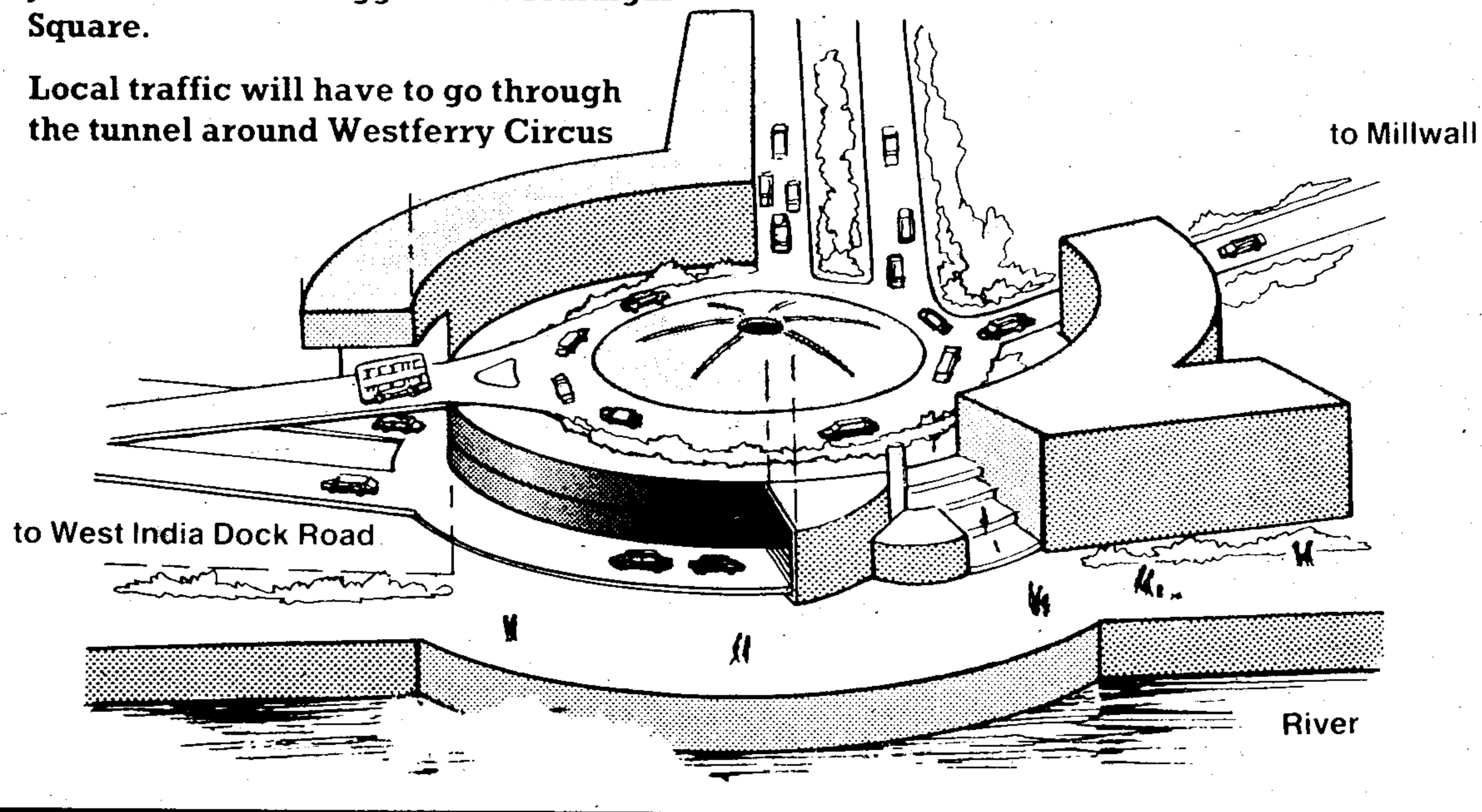
Kay Thompson (no relation), whose estate was featured in the last issue of Workers Press, phoned us after a 3ft hole appeared in her balcony last week.

Kay, who has a month-old baby, is worried about the safety of the block and is trying to get a transfer, but has been refused. Vibration caused by developers who are building an apartment complex a few yards away is causing the block to crack up.

After a particularly large crack appeared in her fourth-floor balcony, Kay was outraged to find that it had been routed out and left, covered by nothing but a flimsy piece of plywood.

The LDDC still haven't worked out how pedestrians are going to get across this junction which is bigger than Trafalgar Square.

Local traffic will have to go through the tunnel around Westferry Circus



An artist's impression of what the new junction will look like.

# New threat to slash Liverpool hospitals and beds

ON TUESDAY 26 May, Liverpool Health Authority met to discuss different options for cutting the local health service. This meeting was lobbied against the cuts, which have hung over Liverpool for a considerable time.

Large-scale closures of hospitals have taken place over the last 12 years but some closures of wards and hospitals have been held up by the protest movement.

Now the crunch has come! From the 26 May meeting a parcel of cuts has gone out for discussion over the next three months — but not discussion with those most affected: potential patients, parents, and the hospital staff who will lose their jobs.

These cuts will be implemented unless a strong opposition is built, uniting the community, hospital workers, and all political parties and bodies that claim to represent workers.

The reason for the threatened cuts is because the Tories are taking £4.2 million off the Liverpool Health Authority over the next eight years. The proposed cuts to meet this financial loss are:

1. CLOSURE of the women's hospital.
2. CLOSURE of Oxford Street and Mill Road maternity hospitals.
3. CLOSURE of St Paul's eye hospital.

The proposition is to open up the old Royal Infirmary — an old, run-down and empty hospital — to deal with the patients from these four hospitals — which will result in a big cuts in beds. Already there are long waiting lists.

4. CLOSURE of Myrtle Street Childrens Hospital as a patient hospital and have it as a community clinic and a 12-hour minor casualty service. All in-patients and serious casualties will go straight to Alder May Childrens Hospital which is situated on the outskirts of Liverpool.

This will make it difficult for inner-area parents to visit and the cost of bus fares is now high since privatisation. The unemployed rate is one of the highest in Britain par-

ticularly in the inner-city area of Liverpool 8.

5. CLOSURE of Sir Alfred Jones Hospital in Garston.
6. CLOSING of orthopaedic back-up beds in Sefton General Hospital which has been turned from a general hospital to a geriatric hospital in the last few years. The cuts in orthopaedic beds will mean a longer wait for hip operations.
7. CUTS in acute medical beds. This will mean that during the winter crisis, hospital admissions will get worse.

The poor — and particularly the women — will suffer the horrific effects of these cuts and closures.

The Women's Hospital had been highly thought of and has served a larger area than Liverpool. Patients came from as far as North Wales.

With the growth of cervical cancer and the need for hysterectomies to be performed, the need for the Women's Hospital is greater — not less.

Since the building has recently been painted and renovated it will undoubtedly be ear-marked for profitable privatisation.

The closure of Myrtle Street Childrens Hospital will be felt very hard, especially in the inner area. It has a very good record for child care, especially heart surgery.

The maternity hospitals also have a very good record and have serviced a much larger area than Liverpool itself.

St. Paul's Eye Hospital, renowned for its care and attention, is an old building and a bit out of the way. But what is then needed is the building of a new eye hospital — not to be dumped in another old building!

The labour movement in

BY RAE HUNTER  
Retired SEN



The Liverpool march against health service cuts in October 1982

Liverpool will undoubtedly oppose these cuts. The Liverpool Trades Council has passed a resolution to the effect that they will fight the cuts.

The prospective Labour MPs promised to raise it in the coming parliament but did not seem eager to make it part of their election campaign.

The Communist Party candidate for Riverside Con-

stituency, in which many of the proposed closures are situated, is Dr Katy Gardner who is campaigning against these cuts. She said:

'Merseyside has suffered the biggest cut in hospital beds since 1979 — 3,518 or 18 per cent of the total.

'Throughput of patients and "efficiency" have been increased to the point where nurses are effectively pro-

viding an intensive care service and have no time to talk with patients.

'Morale is very low, patients are discharged as soon as they can stand up.'

Dr Gardner agrees that we should all get together to mobilise the community for a fight and have an imaginative campaign to publicise what is being proposed.

## Fifty jobs to go at London college

BY BERNARD FRANKS

ACADEMIC staff and technicians at Queen Mary College in London's East End have been told that compulsory redundancies will begin in September.

Initially, 18 to 20 technicians and 30 lecturers are to lose their jobs. But it is claimed that this will cover only half the college's financial deficit, so a total reduction of 100 jobs is implied.

Staff are incensed that college management are pleading poverty — though a vast development programme is currently under way, involving construction of a new college library, medical school, student accommodation complex and shopping area.

### Decision

An arts department is also planned following the recent decision to 'merge' with Westfield College, which is likely to be closed and sold off in a property deal involving its prime Hampstead site.

This attack on QMC jobs is the first post-election assault on higher education, and the first to require compulsory sackings as against voluntary severance, natural wastage, or early retirement.

Earlier this year both Cardiff's University College and London's Birkbeck College were bailed out financially in the run-up to the election.

Cardiff received a £10 million 'one-off' emergency payment from the Department of Education and Science on condition that it sacked its principal and merged with the University of Wales Institute of Science and Technology.

Birkbeck received £250,000 from London University as an interest-free loan, and £600,000 from the University Grants Committee, but this is only enough to hold off its funding crisis for a few months.

The cuts in higher education are in no sense one-off reductions but part of a continuous process of reducing access, undermining quality, and producing chaos.

### Collapse

Students are increasingly meeting with disruption and collapse of their courses.

This applies as much to the science and technology sector — much lauded by the Tories — as to the arts and humanities.

Meanwhile, even those sites where the remaining provision is to be concentrated are to face job destruction and course rationalisation, as the QMC example shows.

Clearly there is an urgent need for students, lecturers and other staff to work for a united defence of higher education courses and jobs and for closer links with the rest of the sector — with teachers and students in primary, secondary, and further education.

● USA part 7 will appear next week

# The working class and the VMDC

THE Workers Revolutionary Party/Workers Press has participated in the Viraj Mendis Defence Campaign for over a year.

We have done so because the right of any worker to sell his or her labour-power anywhere on the planet is a basic tenet of Trotskyism.

The VMDC fights for the right for Viraj Mendis to stay in this country. It wants an end to all deportations and all immigration laws. With this we entirely agree.

However, we disassociate ourselves entirely from the election platform of the VMDC. The platform was similar if not identical to that of the Revolutionary Communist Group's statement

during the election.

The VMDC called for a vote for any MPs who said they would campaign in the next parliament for Viraj Mendis to stay here.

This is not entirely a new policy for the campaign. Before the election there had been the grotesque spectacle of some supporters chasing Winston Churchill for more support after he had said he would 'look into' the case.

Instead of seeing the Viraj campaign as part of a problem facing the working class they see it in individual terms. This is a reactionary position.

To call for a vote for an SDP or Tory candidate under any conditions, and to label the Labour Party racist and call for a boycott of it, is to write off the working class as a revolutionary class. It is to write it off as a class at all.

COMMENT BY MARTIN RALPH

This position is of the highest practical importance. It will undermine the very campaign those who take this position want to win.

It is to be hoped that all Labour members will reject the slander on them and continue to see the campaign for Viraj Mendis as an integral part of the fight against deportation and for the rights of the immigrant working class.

Lenin called the Labour Party a bourgeois Labour Party. It is a contradictory thing. Those who call for a boycott had better re-read Lenin and study the nature of contradiction and the stage the

bourgeoisie and the working class are passing through.

One of the important aspects of the election campaign was the growing movement to oppose the bureaucracy in the working-class movement.

The real effect of what the RCG call the 'coalition of the dispossessed' is to disintegrate the growing unity of the working class in its fight against the employers and the state.

Without a conscious, thought-out turn to the working class, the VMDC can only end up undermining and then destroying the connections it has made.

# DURHAM

NATIONAL DEMONSTRATION TODAY  
Stop strip searching in Maghaberry & Durham

## A letter from Martina Anderson

No.D25134  
'H' Wing  
Durham Prison

A Chairde,

I PEN these few lines in the hope of galvanising some of you to attend the demonstration against strip searching in Maghaberry and Durham, outside Durham's jail.

However, I find myself asking the question: 'What can I say that has not been said already?' If people have not been moved by the events in Armagh, Brixton or Maghaberry, will they be moved about events in Durham? Only you can answer that. After all, there is nothing different about here — we are all just a bunch of oppressed women!

It will be two years in June since Ella and I were arrested and during that period we have been subjected to nearly 450 strip searches each.

The women republican prisoners in Maghaberry have had the degrading practice of strip searches inflicted upon them for nearly five years. How much longer

will this psychological torture continue?

Ella and I are held in Durham's 'H' Wing and despite the fact that we don't leave the building for any reason, we are systematically strip searched at least four times a month.

The British government is using women's nakedness to tyrannise them. We feel that our bodies are used like a weapon to penalise us, with the intention of making us collapse under the pressure.

If we haven't collapsed by now, I don't think that we ever will.

This wing was closed in 1971 after the Mountbatten and Radzinwicz reports were written; at that time it held 20 male prisoners. The crux of the closure centred round the confinement of the wing. This resulted in a claustrophobic atmosphere which stimulated unrest.

Three years later nearly £100,000 was spent making the building more secure (the wing was not closed because of any deficiency in security!).

In 1974 the wing was reopened for 38 women prisoners. The structure of the building from

1970 till this present day has not changed.

In a society where men have been programmed to think that they are superior to women with the aim of annihilating their self-confidence; because of such indoctrination women are being suppressed and treated like second-class citizens.

So far, the government has escaped criticism over the reopening of this unit. After all — it was only for women!

Thankfully, both women and men have begun to question the inclemency of life for women in the society in which we live. A huge question mark hangs over the use of strip searching and why it is being implemented. It is not for security reasons and more people are beginning to realise that.

We would like to take this opportunity to thank all of you who have been involved in organising this demonstration.

We are truly grateful. We look forward to hearing you!

Tiocfaidh ár lá  
Martina nic Aindrea  
Ella nic Dhubhir

# Why we are going

## Statement from organisers

STRIP searching was first brought to public attention after its aggressive introduction in Armagh jail in the North of Ireland in November 1982.

Thousands of strip searches over the years have revealed nothing of a security risk nature whatsoever.

The strip searching of women in prisons in the North of Ireland has continued even though prisoners have been transferred from Armagh to the new maximum security prison at Maghaberry, described as the most secure prison in Europe.

The case of Ella O'Dwyer and Martina Anderson illustrated dramatically how strip searching is being used in English prisons against Irish women.

These two women were subjected to an unprecedented level of strip searching — they were strip searched almost 400 times each during their eleven months on remand.

They are still being strip searched on average six times a month since their transfer to Durham Prison's notoriously repressive 'H' Wing, although they never ever leave the wing.

Virginity testing of Asian women, violence against women on miners' picket lines, and strip searching have all been perpetrated against women by the same British state, for the same

basic reason, to intimidate us and keep us in our place. Strip searching has increased against those held in police custody, at ports of entry, as well as in prisons. Black women are particularly vulnerable, as are political activists and others who the authorities see as a threat.

Ella O'Dwyer and Martina Anderson have sought consistently to highlight the degrading and discriminatory use of strip searching. They condemn its use against all women, but have also brought to our attention the racist and sexist nature of the way this practice is used by the prison authority and their paymasters, the Home Office, against Irish Republican women in prison.

We are demonstrating outside Durham to join with Martina and Ella in solidarity, and with women in Maghaberry, to call for an immediate end to strip searching. We are also in solidarity with all women being subjected to other forms of state and racist violence throughout the world.

● The demonstration is organised by Newcastle Women and Ireland Group, Leicester Women Against Strip Searching, Stop the Strip Searches Campaign - London and supported by: Women and Ireland Network, Anti-strip Searches groups, Labour Women for Ireland, Irish in Britain Representation Group, Southall and Birmingham Black sisters and Police monitoring Groups.



# Support from Dundee workers

BY ANDY McFARLANE

A STRONG contingent from the Dundee Committee for a United Ireland, which has won local trade union backing, will attend this weekend's national demonstration in Durham against strip-searching.

Workers' banners will go with them, even though the Scottish miners' gala is on the same day and is No.1 priority for trade unions in Scotland.

Committee for a United Ireland members on Dundee Trades Council played a leading role in framing the resolution passed at the Scottish TUC in Perth a month ago, which means that trade unions in Scotland now stand for:

● An end to strip-searches of female prisoners;

● An end to the use of plastic bullets by security forces;

● An end to supergrass trials;

● Repeal of the Prevention of Terrorism Act; and

● Introduction of a Bill of Rights to guarantee democratic rights of all sections.

Trade unionists and Ireland activists in Dundee heard something of the affinity between Durham miners and the oppressed people of Ireland when Dave Temple of the executive committee of the Durham Mechanics' NUM, a leader in the 1984-1985 miners' strike, addressed a meeting organised by the Dundee Committee for a United Ireland.

He said one of the lessons to be learned from both the strike and the struggle in Ireland was that the working class in both cases face a state machine with a long experience of suppression — and with willing help (with very few exceptions) from its servants in the labour and trade union

bureaucracy.

But the miners' strike showed the enormous capacity of the British working class for struggle even though one section faced the full force of the state alone.

While on a NUM delegation to the north of Ireland, Temple found that the miners' strike had inspired workers in Belfast.

'We were overawed by the tenacity of Irish workers, who are totally alienated from the state,' he said.

'Youth are prepared to lay down their lives in their struggle.'

The state had mustered its full forces against the miners, including secret use of troops.

A trap was laid at Orgreave, where police let miners come in order to give them a good hiding. When that failed to end the strike the state went on to develop its techniques in the struggle, displaying violence far worse than in the 1926 General Strike.

Arthur Scargill had emphatically condemned the state violence. This was completely different from the attitude of previous trade union leaders and showed that the trade union bureaucracy could not regulate the struggle any more.

'But trade unions alone cannot defeat the state', Temple warned. 'There was a different relationship between rank-and-file miners and Ireland than existed before the strike, and it was shown by their reaction to the Brighton bomb attack on the Tories and Thatcher's narrow escape.'

'In my view the Labour Party has never been a socialist party. Dominant in its ideology is support for the state.'

Temple explained how Labour Party politicians came from the Liberal Party tradition and always supported the capitalist state.

'Kinnock did not sit on the fence during the strike. He was on the other side', he said.

The Labour government of 1945,

perhaps best known to workers for nationalisation, frequently used troops against strikers.

'We have at some time to explain the lessons of the strike and to prepare for an Ireland sit-in here.'

The Durham miners' visit to the north of Ireland had been followed by a visit to the north-east from the United Campaign Against Plastic Bullets. Miners were worried that they could face such suppression here.

Both areas have martyrs murdered by the British capitalist state, such as miner Will Jobling in 1831 and Republican Bobby Sands in 1981. The portraits of Marx, Keir Hardie and James Connolly could be found on the same miners' banner.

Irish prisoners were prisoners of war. 'There should be unconditional support for the struggle against British imperialism', insisted Temple. 'We have to battle with those who place conditions on that support.'

# General strike looms in Brazil

**BRAZILIAN** trade unionists are preparing for a general strike against the country's crushing £110 billion debt to the foreign banks and the International Monetary Fund (IMF).

BY SIMON PIRANI

President Jose Sarney's right-wing nationalist government suspended payment of the debt, but is under massive pressure from the IMF and the Brazilian bourgeoisie to start payments again.

The left-wing United Workers' Centre (Central Unico de Trabajadores — CUT) which organises more than half of Brazil's 20 million trade unionists, has presented an emergency economic plan to the government, including continued non-payment — and has voted for a national strike campaign, culminating in a general stoppage, if the plan is not enacted.

Brazilian Trotskyist Cyro Garcia, a member of the CUT national executive and a leader of the Rio de Janeiro bank workers, told Workers Press how the campaign was building up.

'The Trotskyists of Convergencia Socialista (Socialist Convergence) are fighting to make the campaign against non-payment of the external debt a central one for the CUT,' he said.

'All the main demands of the workers' movement — on jobs, wages, agrarian reform, for the nationalisation of banks and industry under workers' control — can be taken up as part of the fight on the question of the external debt.'

'We are arguing within the CUT for the date to be set for the next general strike on this issue.'

**Convergencia Socialista**, Brazilian section of the International Workers League (Fourth International), have played an important role in the CUT since it was founded in 1979.

Since then the left-wing federation has won the majority of Brazilian trade unionists away from the CGT, which is dominated by bureaucrats who collaborated with the military dictatorship before it was overthrown.

'The CUT is getting stronger while the CGT give support to the government's attacks on the working class.'

'There are a number of political tendencies at work inside the CUT: Trotskyists, Stalinists, centrists, Christians, social-democratic reformists. The biggest problem is that at present the majority of the CUT leadership has no consistent policy for the workers' movement.'

'All the objective conditions exist for a general strike, to enable us to go on the offensive against the government. They have existed since the last general strike in December last year.'

'We have raised this question a number of times inside the CUT and lost the vote,

although rank-and-file support for it is growing stronger from day to day.

'There is dissatisfaction with the government. Workers don't trust them to carry through the fight against imperialism. There is an incredibly high level of exploitation.'

'But there is a contradiction between what the workers need to do — and what they want to do — and what the CUT leadership is doing. We consider the building of a new leadership as a central question.'

Garcia said the Trotskyists were campaigning for the unity of the Latin American working class as a whole against the external debt, which is a major issue throughout the continent.

'The identity of workers throughout Latin America is expressed in the campaign against the foreign debt. Our proposal is that there should be a continent-wide day of strike action on this question.'

The bank workers' union, to which Garcia belongs, has played a central role in the sharp upturn of the trade union movement. The 140,000 Sao Paulo bank workers broke with the right-wing CGT and joined the CUT in 1983, followed two years later by the 70,000 in Rio.

'These are the two most important groups of bank workers in the country,' explained Garcia. 'When we won the leadership in Rio, everything changed. There had never been a national bank workers' strike before; since then there have been three, over wages.'

With last year's reform of the Brazilian currency, the cruzado, and with computerisation, 100,000 bank jobs were destroyed. Now a further bank reform is proposed.

These massive cuts in the workforce, and the use of contract workers who have little stability of employment, have added fuel to the flames of revolt over wages.

The Trotskyists in the bank workers' union fight on a policy of opposition to low wages, against sackings, and for stability of employment. They also advocate the nationalisation of the banks under workers' control.

'From 1977 to 1985 we headed the opposition to the union leadership in Rio, nevertheless playing an important part in the leadership of various strikes and movements.'

'In 1985 we won the elections, which were very difficult, and this tipped the balance, putting the left wing in the leadership of the bank workers' union as a whole. This was important for the whole workers' movement.'



## The man who arrested Barbie

**BOLIVIAN** Gustavo Sanchez Salazar flew to France last month to testify in the trial of ex-Gestapo chief Klaus Barbie. He told the French court how the 'Butcher of Lyons' had continued his murderous career in Latin America.

BY CHARLIE POTTINS

As deputy Interior Minister after the overthrow of the right-wing Garcia Mesa regime, Sanchez arrested Barbie in 1983.

'I think it is very important for a Latin American citizen to be present at the Barbie trial, to show the fascist dictators of Latin America were served by war criminals,' Sanchez told a reporter from the Cuban paper 'Granma'.

He said these Nazis had not arrived in Latin America by chance. 'They were taken there and protected by the US intelligence services and used in various countries in an attempt to halt the struggles of Latin American peoples for a better life.'

Barbie, who tortured and murdered French resistance members and sent Jewish children to their deaths in Auschwitz, was sentenced in absentia by a French court after the war, but protected by US authorities.

US intelligence had used his services against German trade unionists and communists. In 1951, Barbie was helped to go to Latin America via the Nazi 'Rat Line'.

(It has been alleged British intelligence officers assisted. The British Foreign Office has refused to reveal what documents it is holding on the Nazi.)

In 1972, 'Nazi hunters' Beate and Serge Klarsfeld identified businessman 'Klaus Altman', living in La Paz, Bolivia, as being Barbie. He had Bolivian citizenship, links with European arms firms and the Bolivian military, and protection.

'This Nazi continued his dirty

not been used before.

Later Barbie was protected by the right-wing Banzer dictatorship. This was overthrown in 1978. With army intelligence chief Colonel Luis Arce Gomez, the Nazi helped Garcia Mesa's 1980 coup. Arce Gomez became Interior Minister.

Barbie helped introduce Nazi-fascist indoctrination among the troops, organised concentration camps, and a secret police, the DOP, Sanchez says.

The Nazi enlisted foreign fascists, such as the Italian terrorist Stefano Delle Chiaie (now being questioned in Italy about the Bologna station bombing), to run death squads.

Amid the poverty they helped enforce on Bolivia's workers and peasants, the fascists and corrupt army officers ran a lucrative international drugs racket for themselves.

Sanchez accuses Barbie of being involved in the murder of Marcelo Quiroga San Cruz and the entire leadership of the MIR (Movement of the Revolutionary Left) in 1981.

But he was not just going to Lyons 'to demand justice for my dead,' Sanchez told 'Granma'.

'The important thing is that the French court hear the opinion Latin Americans have of the crimes committed by CIA Nazi agents in Latin America.'

Gustavo Sanchez's testimony is a powerful answer to Barbie's 'Left' lawyer Verges, who tried to argue from France's brutal colonial record in Algeria and elsewhere to obscure the charges against his client, and set victim against victim.

Rather than swop 'atrocities' or seek a scale of oppression, the Bolivian is pointing out the continuity between Nazism and present-day imperialism and

reaction.

According to Sanchez, far from wanting to 'use' the Barbie trial, the French state had been in no real hurry to bring the Nazi to justice.

In 1983, as deputy Interior Minister in the elected Siles Zuazo government which replaced Garcia Mesa, and tried to clean out the military fascists, Sanchez managed to hold Barbie on tax fraud charges.

The Bolivian embassy in Bonn found the West German government uninterested in taking Barbie (although the Nazi was theoretically a fugitive from their law, too), he says, so he contacted Regis Debray to ask if France would extradite him.

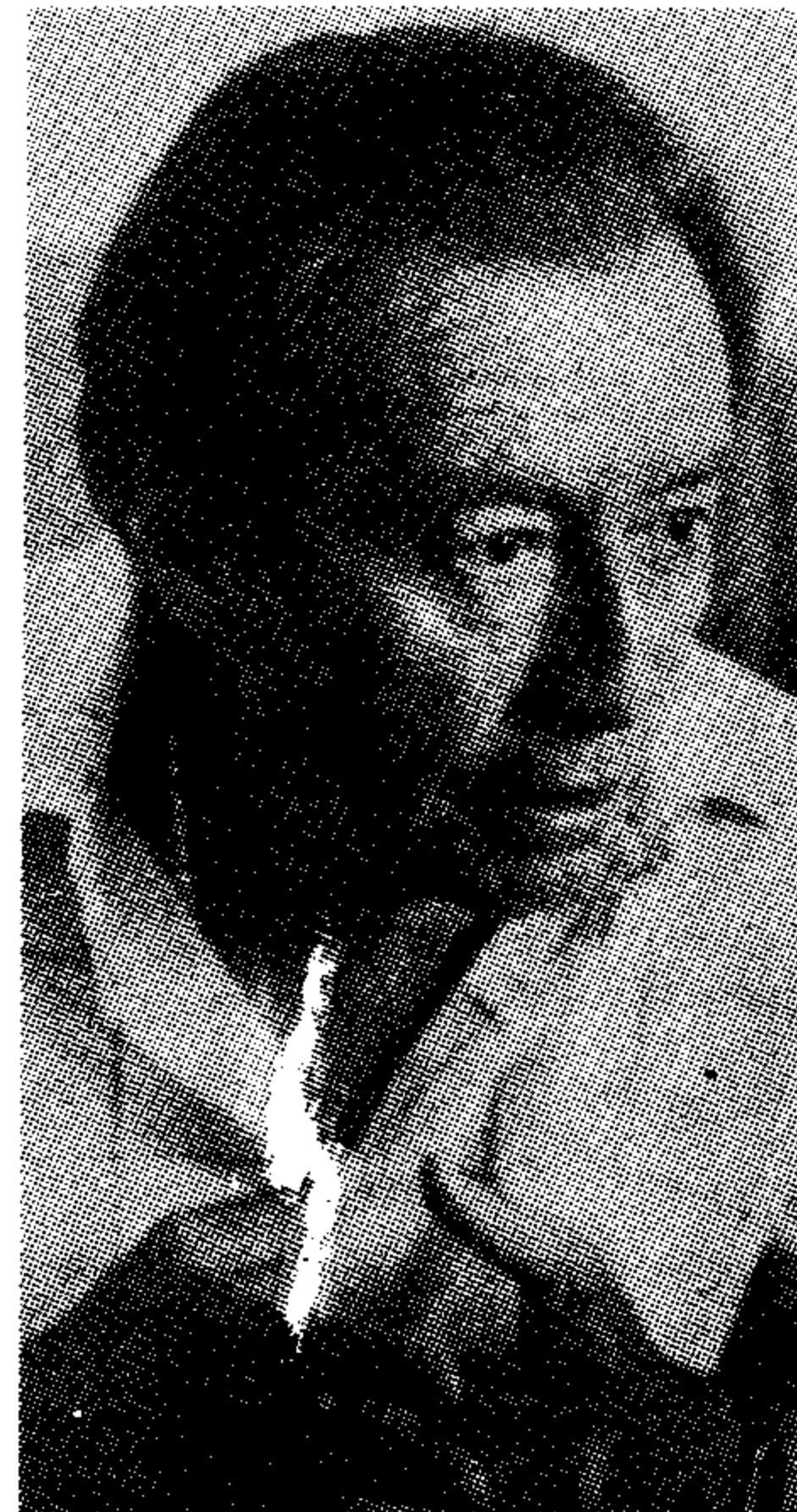
Debray said he would have to ask President Mitterand. Sanchez felt pressed for time, knowing Barbie still had powerful friends. He told Debray that if France didn't take him, he, Sanchez would call a press conference and expose the attitude of the West German and French governments.

On February 4, 1983, a French plane was waiting in French Guiana to pick up Barbie, when the Bolivian air force flew him out there.

Sanchez has written a book, published recently in Buenos Aires, 'Barbie en Bolivia, criminal hasta el final' (Barbie in Bolivia, Criminal to the End').

On his way to France for the trial, he received death threats, as have some French witnesses. But he sees this as all part of the battle against the Nazis and their heirs — he cites the Chilean and South African regimes among the latter.

To Sanchez, the important issue in the Barbie trial was, 'either they condemn fascism or encourage those who look to an ideological comeback in Europe or the New World, to repeat their ploy of extermination.'



Sanchez Salazar

war', Sanchez says. Barbie had become an adviser to General Rene Barrientos, 'and he was in Camiri when Che's guerrillas were active. The information we have is that Barbie suggested changes in the military command... Barbie also gave a crash course on interrogation to a select group of military personnel.'

On June 24, 1967, the Bolivian military stormed mining towns using machine guns, mortar fire, and bombing, 'a classic Nazi-style operation', says Sanchez. They adopted particularly brutal methods of eliminating political opponents which had

# SOWETO

**11 years on JUNE 16 is the anniversary of the 1976 uprising by school youth in Soweto, the massive black 'township' near apartheid's largest city, Johannesburg (left). The events, which escalated into a nationwide movement led everywhere by youth, marked a turning point in the class struggle in South Africa. Today, the defiance and determination of the whole working class continues in the face of the brutal attempts of Botha's military regime to suppress black opposition (see story right).**

# Rail workers claim victory

**BLACK** rail workers in South Africa have beaten the employers and the racist state and scored a 'major victory', according to Ray Naidoo of the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU).

The 16,000 workers, sacked in April after a two-month strike for reinstatement of a victimised colleague, will be returning to work this month, the COSATU secretary-general announced.

The employers, South African Transport Services (SATS), have agreed to changes including permanent status for Black workers — something previously reserved for whites.

Workers will also have the right to elect their own representatives for negotiations on pay and conditions, opening the way to their union, the COSATU-affiliated South African Railways and Harbours' Union.

During the strike, which began at Johannesburg's City Deep container depot and spread rapidly, thousands of workers joined the union, which management refused to recognise.

The railworkers were joined by some airport workers, and postal union members came out both in solidarity and to press their own demands.

The employers were backed by the racist state, which threatened to deport union members and sent in armed

police to occupy COSATU headquarters. The state organised a smear campaign claiming scabs had been tortured in the COSATU building.

Six railworkers were killed by police who attacked union meetings, and there was an attack on the COSATU building with expertly-placed explosives on May 7.

Several rail unionists are still held by the state supposedly in connection with the death of some railworkers said to have opposed the strike. COSATU executive member Mike Roussos has been detained without charges.

Despite hostility and intimidation from management and state, the workers have fought on, and appear to have gained an important victory for all trade unionists and for Black democratic rights.

'Events of the last few months show that democratic trade unions are here to stay,' Ray Naidoo declared last week.



Barbie in South America

# Barbaric attack on Bolivian miners

**BOLIVIAN** miners' leader Cristobal Aranibar has denounced what he called a 'barbaric' attack on miners and their families who had come to La Paz, the capital, to defend jobs and wages.

'The police launched gas in incredible quantities and paid no attention to the presence of women and children, nor even of the children who leave the schools of La Paz at midday and had nothing to do with the demonstrations,' Aranibar said.

About 1,000 tin miners, who had travelled long distances from remote mining areas with their wives and children, were gathered at the centre of La Paz when the police attacked.

Mining communities are desperate because of closure of many tin mines and austerity policies carried out by the Paz Estensoro government, in response to a world tin slump and pressure from the imperialist banks.

# INTERNATIONAL NEWS

## Battles on both sides of the Berlin Wall.

**YOUTH** fought riot police in East Berlin last week — only weeks after clashes in the capitalist western half of the divided city.

About 3,000 youth gathered on Saturday night near Brandenburg Gate to hear a holiday rock concert being relayed over loudspeakers from the west. Trouble started when plainclothes and uniformed cops weighed into the crowd to disperse them.

Youth began chanting: 'The Wall must come

down'. As police pushed them back along the Unter den Linden, near the Soviet embassy, the youth chanted 'Gorbachev, Gorbachev' and 'Rosa Luxemburg'.

Last month there were riots in West Berlin after police stormed into a neighbourhood where young people had been opposing the census. And last week, in Freiburg, West Germany, there were clashes as police moved against young squatters.

# Zionists attack refugee camp

**ARMED** Zionist settlers invaded Daheisha refugee camp south of Jerusalem last week, smashing windows and assaulting residents.

Although the camp is under constant watch by the Israeli army, it was some time before they stepped in to halt the attack.

Daheisha houses

Palestinians driven from villages near Jerusalem by the Israeli Army in 1948. Last week's pogrom came as Palestinians were marking 20 years under Israeli occupation after the 1967 war.

### Defiantly

Palestinian flags were raised defiantly in many places. In Nablus, 15-year-

old Azzam Arrendi was shot dead when troops opened fire on demonstrators. A 10-year-old child was wounded.

At Bir Zeit, where the university was closed by the Israeli military in April, local people observed a strike call, as did people in nearby Ramallah.

Israeli authorities had prepared for anniversary protests with wide arrests of Palestinian trade unionists, student leaders and others, as well as reinforcing army patrols in the occupied territories.

# Torturer runs airport security

**FORMER** Shin Bet (Israeli secret police) boss Avraham Shalom, who resigned last year after admitting torture and murder of two Arab youth in the Gaza 'hijack' case, is reported now running a security firm in New York.

The company is understood to have won contracts for security at Kennedy airport and on the New Jersey docks, according to a report in 'Israel and Palestine'.

# 'Black Hundreds' for the 1980s?

**A NEW** Russian chauvinist movement attacking 'Jewish influence' in Soviet life may have the backing of reactionary elements within the ruling bureaucracy.

Calling itself 'Pamyat' (Memory), the organisation recently staged a demonstration of 400 members at Moscow City Hall, and sent a deputation to see local party leader Boris Yeltsin, who said later he was appalled by their attitude.

The Young Communist League paper 'Komsomolskaya Pravda' however criticised Yeltsin for receiving Pamyat members. As for Yeltsin's remark that 'thought should be given to granting it legal status', 'Komsomolskaya Pravda' said this was almost incredible.

The YCL paper said Pamyat members 'see Jewish influence everywhere, from a picture of the moon that is often featured on children's clothing to the six-pointed stars which they allege appear in Soviet newspapers as a camouflaged symbol'.

The popular weekly 'Ogonyok' has accused Pamyat of engaging in 'dangerous social demagoguery'. It said such elements outwardly supported Gorbachev's reforms while secretly aiming to thwart them.

Pamyat has reportedly got several thousand members, and claims branches in Moscow, Leningrad, Sverdlovsk,

Novosibirsk and other Russian cities.

The emergence of this movement comes after reports of a 'skinhead' phenomenon among sections of youth in some Moscow suburbs. Earlier this year, the Soviet press blamed so-called 'Lyubers' for a violent attack on Jewish demonstrators in Moscow, which Western correspondents thought was the work of the KGB.

The 'lyubers' have also been reported attacking other youth attending rock concerts. But one of them told 'Komsomolskaya Pravda' in February: 'We don't beat up just anybody; only those we don't like.'

The 'lyubers' violence against more privileged youth may have spontaneously expressed growing bitterness over glaring inequalities in the Soviet capital, its schools, and youth culture.

Such fascist methods were anticipated in Czarist Russia by the infamous 'Black Hundreds', reactionary mobs incited by the secret police and priests to attack Jews and revolutionaries. In the 1930s, Stalin turned to 'Black Hundred' methods.

# Turkish women march

**VIOLENCE** against women is not going to be tolerated by the women of Turkey.

Their anger and determination was aroused by a divorce case last month in which a woman complaining that her husband beat her was told by judge Mustafa Durmus:

'A stick against a woman's back and a baby in her womb is never amiss.'

The judge said that in his view, women 'should be beaten regularly'.

On May 18, over 3,000 people, including 500 men, marched through Kadikoy, an Istanbul suburb, protesting against the oppression of women and sanctioning of wife-beating.

Local people cheered and clapped from their windows as the marchers chanted: 'Protest Against the Beatings!', 'There is no "justified" beating!', 'Enough!', and 'Women in parliament!'

The marchers also called on trade unionists, politicians and the press to support them.

Under a right-wing regime which has locked up thousands of trade unionists and student activists, but failed to silence opposition, this first big women's action since the 1980 coup was seen as a new challenge to reaction.

There was a large police presence. Security police used video cameras to film the demonstration, and took photographs of participants.

A leaflet distributed by the organisers said:

'Beating which represses women economically, politically, culturally and sexually is still legal in Turkey... Violence towards women is seen as a domestic issue and beating is not a crime. This means the only way of escape for a woman who is beaten is through death... We will continue to fight against women's oppression and all violence against women.'

# After 21 weeks, Senior Colman fight goes on

The Senior Colman strike in Sale, Manchester, is now entering its 21st week.

The 97 sacked men are continuing their 24-hour-a-day picket while the scab workforce recruited through the local Job Centre continues to go into the factory.

The strike committee is fighting to spread support and solidarity into the labour movement, with a march and rally in Manchester on 4 July.

AEU convenor Graham Wyatt has made the following appeal to Workers Press readers:

Dear Comrades,

On behalf of the Senior Colman strikers, I would like this opportunity to address your readers on our fight for trade union rights.

We have been in the struggle for five months now and, though we have been intimidated and literally starved into submission by the

management of Senior Colman, we will fight on for what we believe is a true cause in these times of trade union rights being eroded.

The 97 strikers will carry on the fight.

I hope you will carry on with your support, and I invite all trade unionists to attend the demonstration and rally in support of trade union rights on 4 July.

Our fight today may be yours tomorrow.

Yours fraternally,

Graham Whyatt  
AEU convenor  
Senior Colman



## Support Senior Colman Strikers

### Demonstration and Rally

4 July, Manchester

March Assembles 11 a.m. in the G-Mex Car Park

Rally: 12 o'clock

The Mandela Building, Manchester Students Union  
Oxford Road

Speakers: Tony Benn, MP; Terry Fields, MP; Mike Hicks, SOGAT;  
John Tocher, AEU official.

## NATIONAL CONFERENCE

Manchester Town Hall,

25 July, 12 noon.

Called by Ancoats Casualty sit-in, Ardrbride supporters, Senior Coleman strike committee, Gateshead workers' support group, Ardrbride sacked workers and Trader sacked workers.



Determined and defiant workers sacked in December 1986 by the Derby Trader group of newspapers in the Midlands — still campaigning for support months later.

# 'We need rank-and-file ginger groups: that's the lesson of Hangers'

WHEN BTR took over Hangers some of us were aware that they were an asset-stripping combine.

Their attitude to trade unionism was clear from the behaviour of a BTR-owned subsidiary in South Africa, where workers had been trying to organise a trade union for two years.

Later we found that some trade unionists out there had been kidnapped and shot.

We warned our members, but it was bit of a problem preparing them for the inevitable dispute.

The first sign of things to come emerged when some of us organised support for the miners.

We collected £6,000 for them and invited miners to come to Hangers.

This work was sabotaged by some of the trade unionists in the leadership at Hangers at that time.

Warnings were handed out to those who organised the support.

Later a report on the industry, the Cole report, criticised Hangers. Management came out of the report in a bad light, but the workforce were said to be doing their job well.

All the same, the managing director told us that in view of this report we would all have to work harder in order to save our jobs.

Management then produced a programme proposing changes in a number of long-standing agreements on working practices.

This caused a split between the two unions involved, TASS and the Furniture, Timber and Allied Trades Union.

Under pressure from their leadership, the FTAT lads decided to negotiate within the framework of the management document.

The lads in TASS, however, de-

THE eight-month dispute at Hangers, the South London limb-makers, was typical of many recent strikes. The length of these disputes alone shows the fighting capacity of the working class. But the deciding factor in their outcome has proved to be the problem of leadership in the trade union movement, both nationally and locally.

To stimulate discussion of this problem, Workers Press publishes this interview with ALAN BARNES. A member of the J. Hangers Dispute Committee, Alan outlines his view of the problems of the dispute and what he sees as the way forward.

decided to hold on to what had been gained, and would have no truck with the document. But the TASS leadership restricted opposition to the deal.

When management became aware of this 12 TASS lads were given compulsory redundancy notices.

Although we had been asked to do overtime shortly before they were announced, these redundancies were called for on the basis that there was not enough work.

Compulsory redundancies were a part of the BTR programme and although TASS were opposed to it they accepted, asking only for compensation. Two weeks after the 12 lads had gone we were again asked to do overtime.

It soon became obvious to management that anyone prepared to fight to hold on to what they had were going to get no backing from either in-house or outside union officials.

The constant turning of the other cheek by these leaders had only encouraged management to attack again.

The scene was now set for the showdown.

Ignoring the agreed negotiating procedure, management began disciplining anyone not working to

their new times.

We wanted a meeting but management would not allow it to take place in company time or on company premises.

Again the shop stewards' committee backed down, calling a meeting off site and in our time.

Because of this some of the lads slipped away and did not attend the meeting, during which it became clear that the leadership were not going to lead a militant response. They recommended a voluntary overtime ban, which was seen as a joke. Yet another sign of weakness.

At the meeting six men volunteered to stand at the gate to tell those not present of the decision.

The following Monday four of the six were summarily dismissed for alleged intimidation.

One of the four was the convenor. The other three either were or had been on the committee.

The next day we had a meeting, again off site, and we decided that if they were not reinstated we would strike.

Knowing of our decision, management refused to take them back. We stopped work, and within a couple of days everyone had been sacked.



# THE TRADE UNIONS

## Vicious police attacks on Gateshead pickets

BY FIONA NICOL

**ANGRY** scenes erupted on the HFW picket line in Gateshead on Wednesday as four pickets were taken to hospital by ambulance as a result of police violence.

One man was knocked unconscious and three women suffered injuries when police attacked pickets who broke through their cordon to prevent the scab bus entering the factory.

Earlier, vicious police tactics enforced the Public Order Act as three HFW strikers were arrested for the 'offence' of shouting 'scab'.

'This means that we cannot shout or do anything', said picket Sandy Black. 'They will be telling us next that it is an offence to breathe near a scab.'

Michelle Wildsmith said: 'The harassment and treatment we have received from the police makes me realise what other people have been going through. When the miners were on strike I thought the police violence was terrible, but I thought it would never happen to me.'

'Now I know what the Tory laws are about.'

Carole Horne, who was arrested for shouting 'scab' at Paul Jackson, the factory owner, said: 'It is ridiculous. If you cannot shout "scab", what can you shout? I will do it again.'

'When somebody gets arrested it makes us more determined and stronger than ever.'

The strike is in its 12th week. Protected and helped by the police, management are determined to pursue their objectives of massively reducing workers' rates of pay and employing a non-union workforce.



Police have maintained a heavy presence throughout the HFW dispute. Above: previous police action.

Owner Paul Jackson is receiving financial backing from other factory owners to attain his goal.

If this individual is allowed to succeed, the repercussions would be enormous. The floodgates would open for all employers to inflict massive wage cuts and operate dangerous work practices and conditions.

Already one of Jackson's scab workforce, a youth of 19, has had three fingers chopped off while trying to use a guillotine, a machine he was not qualified to operate.

Nobody has left the strike and it is still solid, with all 47 sacked workers maintaining a picket 12 hours a day, seven days a week.

However, strikes cannot be won on the picket line, and unless urgent action is taken to move this dispute into the firms and companies that are being supplied by Jackson — which drastically affects productivity — then the dispute is on the road to nowhere and the strikers' determination and fight will have been in vain.

● HFW supporters have initiated a national conference to link up

strikers and sacked workers from throughout the country. This is an attempt to bring together all those engaged in struggle, who now face not only the anti-trade-union laws but the Public Order Act, which effectively eliminates the right to picket.

The conference, to be held on 25 July at Manchester Town Hall, will discuss methods and tactics of struggle in the face of the employers' offensive and the complete failure of the trade union leadership to mobilise against the Tory anti-union laws.

This firm had been strengthened by the Tory legislation against the unions. It had been further strengthened by the behaviour of the TUC in relation to the miners and print workers.

It was now witnessing the condemnation by the local and in-house union leadership of anyone who stood up and fought.

At the same time the lads were encouraged by the leadership to believe in their own weakness. They were constantly told that they didn't stand a chance.

When the dispute began many of these leaders walked away from the fight. Some took jobs elsewhere, and we had to build a new dispute committee almost from scratch.

The lads who came forward to build the new committee had little previous experience of the trade union bureaucracy, who they assumed would fight on their behalf.

They had not heard about union officials who at the first sign of solidarity action would scream about the union being sequestered; who would tell the men that their dispute pay would be the only thing damaged by such action; who would not organise effective solidarity support; who would refuse to discipline scabs but on the contrary would supply a union card to those taken on at branches of Hangers during the dispute.

What was needed at this time was a group of people with a political perspective, who knew all the tricks of the union bureaucracy and were not going to be misled.

But we did not have this, and the dispute ended with job losses for the entire 300-strong workforce.

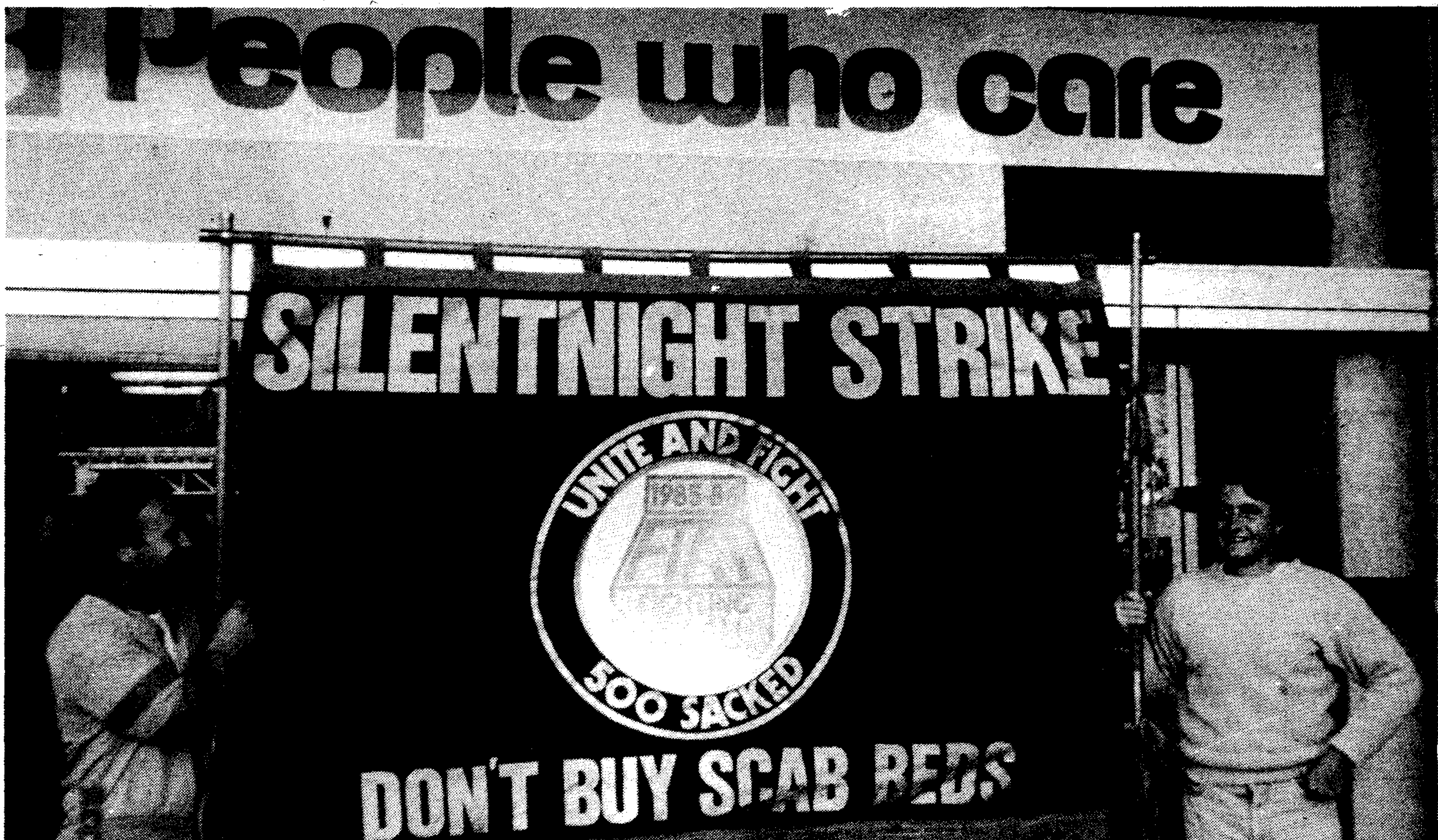
Whatever the result of the election some anti-union legislation will be retained. Labour has made that clear. There is an economic crisis which no longer allows room for reforms.

So what we need is the organisation of sizeable rank-and-file groups in industry — politically aware ginger groups.

These groups would be able to organise at branch level and put pressure on the bureaucrats. They would be able to step in when stewards walk away from the fight as they did at Hangers.

They would be able to see where they were being led by the bureaucracy from day to day. They would lift a dispute from the level of the kind of trade dispute which was successful during the 1960s to a level where there was an industrial-political perspective.

This is what is needed now to make sure that what happened to us at Hangers does not happen again.



The Silentnight strike won support from workers all over the country and was beginning to affect sales as well as production of the scab firm's beds when the union leadership called it off.

# 'FRONT OF THE PEOPLE' — ITS RISE AND FALL

THE ARGENTINE Trotskyists of the Movement Towards Socialism (Movimiento Al Socialismo — MAS) last month launched their 1987 election campaign.

Their central slogans are:

- No to the whitewashing of the assassins and torturers
- Democratization of the armed forces, in such a way as they can no longer turn against the people
- Down with the IMF, the Austral Plan and the Social Pact, and for an Economic Plan worked out and applied with methods of Workers' Democracy
- Against the union bureaucracy
- For the struggle for Socialism on an Argentine, continental and world scale

(*'Solidaridad Socialista'*, the MAS paper, 19 May 1987).

The campaign in Buenos Aires province, which covers the vast working-class suburbs of the Argentine capital, will be directed especially towards the issue of smashing the military murderers and torturers of the 1976-1982 dictatorship.

The MAS candidate there is Luis Zamora, a lawyer who prosecuted Alfredo Astiz, one of the most notorious 'genocidists'. He is demanding the repeal of laws introduced by the Alfonsín government to protect the 'genocidists', including the 'final point' (a law which set a deadline by which prosecutions against the military had to end), and the 'law of due obedience', which exempts middle-ranking torturers who were 'only obeying orders'.

The MAS will aim its campaign at sections of the working class who, they believe, can be broken from the two main bourgeois parties which workers have supported since the downfall of the dictatorship — the Peronists led by Adolfo Cafiero, and President Raul Alfonsín's Radicals.

In the 1985 elections, the MAS formed an electoral front with the Argentine Communist Party (CP) and other smaller parties, the 'Front of the People' (Frente Del Pueblo — FP).

This effectively broke down last Easter with the military rebellion: the CP, along with all the bourgeois parties, signed a 'declaration of democratic compromise' with the military, set up by Alfonsín.

The MAS, alone among the major parties, refused to sign the document, fiercely denounced the CP for doing so, walked out of a joint rally planned for May Day, and held its own rally with the slogan: 'March with those who didn't capitulate to the coup-mongers'. (See Workers Press 16 May 1986.)

The CP has written to the MAS asking for further talks, which will take place in the next few weeks. But the possibility of an electoral front between the two parties is remote because of the deep-going conflict between them at Easter.

To give readers of Workers Press an insight into the electoral and political tactic of the MAS, the largest Trotskyist party in the world, we present the following Questions and Answers:

**1. What was the purpose of the 'Front of the People'? What political reasoning led the MAS to propose it?**

SINCE World War II, the Argentine working class has given its political support to the right-wing bourgeois-nationalist populist party founded by Juan Peron.

That party maintains a ruthless stranglehold on the union bureaucracy: it wins the majority of working-class votes at elections. There is no political force in imperialist Britain remotely comparable to Peronism; a very limited comparison could be made with the Indian Congress Party.)

Since the downfall of the military dictatorship in 1982, Peronism has sunk into crisis. Not only has the party split into 'Orthodox' and 'Renewal' Peronist organisations, but several left-wing splinters have emerged including the 'July 26

## Simon Pirani reports on the Argentine Trotskyists' electoral campaigns

Movement' and the 'Rank and File Peronists'.

Workers breaking from Peronism have also fuelled the growth of the Intransigent Party (Partido Intransigente — PI), led by right-wing populist Oscar Alende, which on account of its 'revolutionary' rhetoric and assimilation of middle-class 'lefts', former supporters of guerrillaism etc, was able to form a large youth movement and had five deputies elected to Congress in 1985.

Central to the PI's popular appeal was a Bill, sponsored by them in Congress, to pay only 15 per cent of the gross national product towards the foreign debt. Thus they became the only force in Congress to raise the foreign debt issue — which has become an anti-imperialist slogan throughout Latin-America. (The first people to wage a campaign on the question were the MAS, who became known in 1982-1984 as the 'Don't-pay-the-debt madmen'.)

The MAS itself also grew rapidly at the end of the dictatorship. Its position of 'Defeat British im-

perialism, the multi-nationals and the oligarchy', reported in the MAS paper 'Solidaridad Socialista' on 7 March 1985.

### 2. What was the reaction when the MAS proposed the front?

THE question of unity against the bourgeois parties had enormous appeal, particularly among rank-and-file CP members. Under this pressure, the CP leadership publicly stated that they would not form a front with the Trotskyists.

But the rank-and-file wanted to know more about the MAS proposal. 'Solidaridad Socialista' of 21 March 1985 made two specific suggestions:

FIRSTLY: an electoral front with a programme including non-payment of the external debt, confrontation with the IMF, a wages campaign to be decided on by methods of working-class democracy, defence of democratic rights, and the unconditional defence of the USSR, Cuba and Nicaragua;



'progressive' sections of Radicalism, and the Intransigent Party — but not the Trotskyists!

'We differentiate between the various bourgeois forces, accepting alliances, albeit temporary ones, with sectors that don't form part of the privileged elite — including Radicalism, almost in its entirety,' said 'Que Pasa' (8 May 1985).

'The MAS does not understand things this way, and systematically attacks the government and the Union of Radical Citizens (Union Civica Radical — UCR, Alfonsín's party) as a whole.'

'Trotskyism,' claimed 'Que Pasa', 'originated as a current hostile to the USSR, real socialism and authentically revolutionary movements.'

The MAS leadership believed that a front with the CP was virtually impossible and were preparing to go to the elections on their

'Front of the People' consisted of 23 points including:

- moratorium on payment of the external debt for ten years and a declaration that the debt was illegal;
- nationalisation of the foreign trade, the banks and multi-nationals;
- complete agrarian reform; an economic plan to be worked out by the trades unions, the working class and the popular masses;
- massive budget increases for education, health, housing etc;
- workers' democracy inside the trades unions;
- trial and imprisonment of all military implicated in the crimes of the dictatorship;
- for the mobilisation of the masses against any attempted coup by the military;
- solidarity with Nicaragua and the struggles against dictatorship in Salvador and Chile;
- against apartheid in South Africa;
- for breaking all dependence on imperialism.

Beside the MAS and the CP, the two most important components of the front, there were two left Peronist organisations, 'July 26 Movement' and 'Rank and File Peronists', and seven smaller left-wing groups. Política Obrera (Workers' Fight), the only other Argentinian organisation claiming to be Trotskyist, denounced the



The MAS congress of 1985 which called for a united left electoral front. Note the lists displayed of 'comrades who have fallen in the struggle'

perialism in the Malvinas! Down with the dictatorship!' during the Malvinas war, and its election campaign of 1983, were the important turning points.

The second congress of the MAS in March 1985 discussed two central issues: what opportunities did the crisis of Peronism create for the political development of the working class independent of the bureaucracy? And how could the MAS intervene?

The Congress document refers to 'the crisis of Peronism and the possibility of a left front gathering around the PI and the CP'. A MAS pamphlet on tactics states: 'We considered this perspective positive for us, that it could mark the break of an important section of workers from the Peronist leadership, and that this posed for us the objective of fighting for the formation of an electoral front' (*'Conceptos Politicos Elementales'*, N. Moreno and M. Petit, Buenos Aires 1980).

The Congress made a call for 'the setting-up of the widest unity

SECONDLY: a workers front to fight on basic working class demands in the unions.

The CP's theoretical magazine, 'Aqui Y Ahora' (Here and Now) entered the fray: an article entitled 'Toward a Front with the MAS?' said that while discussion with the Trotskyists was welcome, 'strategic and tactical differences' made joint action impossible.

The MAS again repeated their call for unity against the bourgeois parties. They invited the CP to join their May Day rally at Atlanta football stadium — and reprinted the 'Aqui Y Ahora' article with a reply.

The CP stayed away from the rally and attended one organised by the Peronist-dominated CGT union confederation. But the size of the MAS rally (over 10,000 people were there) shook the Stalinists: on 8 May their paper 'Que Pasa' (Events) insisted that, if they were to form alliances in the coming election, it would be with sections of Peronism, the social-democracy

own platform. Then, two dramatic changes took place.

Firstly, Fidel Castro made his speech calling on Latin American nations not to pay the external debt; this provoked a massive response from working class and nationalist forces across the continent. The Argentine CP dropped the line of almost uncritical support for Alfonsín and started campaigning against the external debt.

Secondly, the CP's attempts to form an electoral front with the Intransigents and others broke down.

The MAS repeated its call for a united electoral front as the date for registering electoral alliances approached. With four days to go, CP leaders showed up at the MAS offices asking for talks. The 'Front of the People' was formed on the final day of registration.

### 3. What was the programme of the front and its political composition?

THE electoral programme of the

front as 'opportunist' and would not take part.

### 4. How did the front perform in the 3 November 1985 election?

THE front received 330,825 votes. Although this was the fifth-highest vote (behind the Radicals, Renewal Peronists, Union of Christian Democrats, and Intransigent Party) it was not high enough for any deputies to be elected.

In an election survey of the left, the Argentine magazine 'El Economista' showed that the left parties received more than 1.5 million votes, 10.1 per cent of the total. Of these, 930,000 were cast for the Intransigent Party; second of the left electoral lists was the Front of the People, followed by Socialist Unity (social-democratic and 'popular' socialist front), the Partido Obrero, and others.

Other bourgeois newspapers expressed concern not only about the growing support for the Front of the People, but even more about the strength of the Trotskyists in it.

# Interview with Oskar Hippe

**WHEN the war came to an end in 1945 French, English and American imperialism occupied Germany together with the Stalinist bureaucracy.**

These forces supervised the political parties and the German Communist Party (KPD) and Social Democrats (SPD) submitted to them.

Trade unions also had to be formed according to their requirements.

Hippe refused to work under the Stalinists but carried out work amongst the youth. He obtained a job in town planning.

The 'Collective Guilt' for the war by the whole German people was the ruling ideology. It was supported by all the political parties with the exception of the International Communists (IKD). They took a stand against it, particularly in the trade unions.

The IKD had over 300 members but were, of course, obliged to work conspiratorily.

Having come out of the struggle against Stalinism in the 1920s and fought under Hitler in illegality, the IKD were not prepared to bow down before an Inter-Ally Control Council.

Hitler's fascism was not an 'all-German affair' but the dictatorship of German monopoly capitalism over the German working class. The destruction of its organisations and the extinction of its leaders, tortured and murdered in the concentration camps, were the pre-conditions to the start of the World War II.

'It is the very same international capitalists who need to talk of "the guilt of all German people" in order to be able to squeeze war compensation out of them.

'When everyone is made guilty the real guilt of the old Nazis is covered up and their just punishment in most cases denied.'

Tens of thousands of Nazi Party activists were freely incorporated into the 'democratic' parties and many got into leading positions in parliament, the administration and the State Justice Department.

'To take the theoretical discussion into the working class we printed "Der Marxist". Comrades who had emigrated to England who had printed a paper in the German language, "Die Solidarität", helped us enormously.

'From 1948 we got hold of some copies of "Die Internationale" but were unable to get "Our Word". We managed to build some groups in East Germany.

'In September I was arrested for "anti-Soviet activity" and for "forming illegal groups". It made no difference to them that I had been in a high-security Nazi prison for being a resistance fighter.

'Every day from morning to night different people would come to interrogate me. This went on for seven months.

'I was called an agent of American imperialism. They took me to a building built by the Nazis which had been used for interrogating and torturing resistance fighters during the war.

'They had a traffic light system so that no two prisoners came across one another. I told them that my life's activity had been in the fight against fascism, for democracy and socialism.

'I lost 80lb in weight. I was beaten. They put me in an extremely hot prison cell for three days with intensely strong light. It was only possible to wash once a week. My health was ruined. I was put in an isolation cage where I couldn't stand upright and had only a bucket for my toilet.

'Finally came the decisive session. Two interrogators, a row of officers and four young people were present. They took four pistols out of a drawer. "If you do not tell us today, Hippe, tomorrow your wife and daughter will be here. Everything is prepared."

'I couldn't sleep that night and even made an unsuccessful bid to commit suicide by hanging myself with a belt. My wife and daughter had to be kept out of there. It turned out in the end to be a bluff.

'I saw the position now was: Trotskyism against Stalinism. I defended the position of Trotsky and the International against whatever they came up with.

'I said we fought to defend the gains of Red October and told the Stalinists they had dissolved the Third International in 1943 because of the demands of their imperialist allies.

'They attacked the Fourth International. They wanted me to declare it "an American spy organisation". I said they should sooner kill me; I would never sign anything like that.'

The Stalinists had a record on every meeting Hippe had organised, everything he'd said — a complete file of his political activity for the previous three years. They wanted to know every detail about the structure of his national and international organisation. They called him the 'soul' of the International Communists in Germany.

Hippe's comrades who published 'Der Marxist' stopped doing so, thinking it would assist him. It had the opposite effect. He was sentenced to 25 years for anti-Soviet propaganda and a further 25 years to run consecutively for building illegal groups. It was the maximum sentence possible.

One of the many tortures Hippe suffered was to be made to strip naked, showered with water and sit in a freezing draught. When he was caught rubbing his body trying to keep warm, the procedure would begin all over again.

## Cellar

There were 185 prisoners put into a cellar measuring 10 metres by 18 metres and only 2.10 metres high. It was January, 1950. Two thirds of the prisoners were former Nazis and the rest were people who had come into conflict with the Russian military administration. There were also some young people — 16-year-olds — who had discovered arms depots in the woods. They were treated as criminals.

In April 1950 the German Democratic Republic was founded, the KPD and SPD were united into the SED (Socialist Unity Party, Germany). Hippe and his fellow convicts were put under the rule of the 'Peoples' Police'. Hundreds died of TB. Any protest was answered with solitary confinement. Hippe was moved around a lot. On one occasion he had to share a room measuring 12 metres by 25 metres with 386 other prisoners.

'We had to sleep three in the space of two single beds. We could only turn over by all doing so at once!'

For a whole year Hippe had no contact with the outside. His cards and letters were withheld and he was given no opportunity to do any work.

In 1953 the prisoners of the June uprising were made to eat their food on bended knees.

'In 1955 negotiations under Adenauer took place in Moscow which led to an amnesty. Every week I demanded my release. My wife was asked to hand over the names of Trotskyists in exchange for my release. She told them: "Too late — you should have come six or seven years ago. I've got used to living alone and never do anything without my husband's agreement."

Hippe was allocated a room to himself. He was allowed to read Marxist literature and given plenty of good food and cigarettes. Four days later they asked him where he now stood politically and in relation to the SPD. They also offered him £100, which he refused.

'How small and ugly these people had to be to think one could get anything for money in a time of such urgent need!'

**FINAL part of the three-part interview with OSKAR HIPPE, 87-year-old German Trotskyist, by TRUDI JACKSON. Hippe joined the German Communist Party as a young man: he was one of the delegates to the 1932 Copenhagen Conference of the Left Opposition and was referred to by Trotsky during the Dewey Commission inquiry in 1937.**



**A German city, February 1945 . . . after 12 years of fascist rule.**

At the end of 1956 Hippe was finally released.

'Gertrud fainted when she heard I was at home. She was always confident we would one day be reunited but she never thought she would see me again so soon.'

The eight years of separation had also been eight years of struggle during which they had only seen each other three times. In the meantime Gertrud Hippe had fostered two children.

She told the prison officers that the conditions there weren't by any means in accordance with a socialist society.

'Our struggle is against the inhuman system of capitalism, not against individuals the way you handle it,' she told them. She was awarded some compensation for suffering a nine-month prison sentence which had left her permanently crippled.

But she was only granted full recognition as a resistance fighter when Hippe fought for it after his release. Hippe received his due recognition in this respect, too, but not without a great deal of hassle.

'A decision was taken by the Fourth International to organise a socialist wing in the Social Democratic Party. No recruits were won to Trotskyism at the time and there was no attempt to train a revolutionary cadre to combat the capitalist forces.

'The Fourth International split in 1953. I later had the opportunity to study the material from some comrades in Zurich. I read Pablo's document, "Where are We Going?", and its prospect of 200 years of Stalinism. I could never agree with such a perspective and decided to join the International Committee.'

(Hippe had been one of more than 300 delegates who came to a conference in Britain in the very earliest days of the Socialist

Labour League, forerunner of the Workers Revolutionary Party.)

There was an officially-recognised Marxist study-group within the SPD. It included some of Hippe's former comrades. As he became active again they called him 'the socialist conscience in permanence'.

There was no possibility of him becoming a member of a trade union as he had retired for health reasons.

At the end of February 1957, the Stalinists from East Berlin made another unsuccessful attempt to win Hippe as an informer.

'The introduction of the Godesberg programme was in order to turn the SPD into a "Peoples' Party". It was a confirmation of collaboration with bourgeois parties. It did not serve the interests of the working class and we fought it with all our resources.'

As a consequence, in 1961 'membership of the Socialist German Student Federation' (SDS) was declared incompatible with the SPD. With this move all students were automatically expelled. The SPD organised together with the trade union leadership and the other bourgeois parties to fight against communism.

They did not distinguish between Stalinists and their opposition. Social Democrats declared they had nothing in common with communism. Hippe was bureaucratically expelled but fought successfully to remain active.

In 1968 he left the SPD because they had voted to accept emergency laws. The social democrats gave up the state under a rule of law when they voted for these laws thereby making it possible for the bourgeoisie to rule by decree whenever they found it necessary.

It took two years of struggle to get these laws passed because a two-thirds majority was required. The West German working class

and their unions, together with students, intellectuals and teachers, were united in a broad protest movement against them.

'The Communist youth organisation Spartacus's hopes in 1968 that larger groups would join revolutionary socialism were not realised. Our most important base was Trotsky's Transitional Programme which prepared us for a prolonged period of battle.

'The intellectual youth didn't really study Marx and Lenin. They regarded Mao Tse-Tung as their hero. They stood in the tradition of the ultra-left politics of the KPD at the end of the Weimar Republic.

'The young comrades grew very impatient. They worked at a hectic pace as if the world revolution would break out by the next weekend. Many became completely exhausted and overstretched — worn out because they started with a wrong expectation of a quick success.

'I explained to them that they had to learn what conditions had to prevail in order to wage a successful battle against capitalism where millions of workers still believed in the bourgeois democratic leaders.

'We had the advantage of understanding that we didn't have to search for "completely new" ways. We had the experience of all the struggles of workers in many countries who fought under the tested banner of Marxism.

'It is the historic task of the working class on an international scale to prevent the imperialist forces from reaching their aims. And most important is the fight against the counter-revolutionary Stalinist bureaucracy.

'This bureaucracy in the German Democratic Republic learned to deceive the working class. Capitalism is lying. We are fighting every distortion we come across.'

**CONCLUDED**

# 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.

## Finest paper on the left

I HAD the pleasure of reading my political biography published in the 4 April and 18 April issues of Workers Press. My thanks to my interviewer, Comrade Chris Bailey, and to you.

Unfortunately the biography omits the fact that I remain a politically and organisationally active revolutionary as a member of the Internationalist Socialist League (Fourth International), a sympathising section of the International Workers League (Fourth International).

I take part in all activities of the ISL (FI) including, for example, participating in the 25 April demonstration in Washington DC of 25,000 people against US imperialist policies in Central America and South Africa.

Two years ago, I had the honour of attending the first regular Congress of the ISL (FI) as a member of the ISL (FI) delegation.

I want to say also that I consider Workers Press to be one of the finest revolutionary papers in the left today in both form and content.

Leon Goodman  
New York

## The Red Front and the Labour Party

AS A supplement to Cyril Smith's comments on the policies of the Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP) and its Red Front platform ('Lenin and the Labour Party', Workers Press, 30 May), I believe it is necessary to remark on an especially dangerous formulation in the RCP document.

Following on from their view that Labour is just another bourgeois party with no special significance given to its support by workers, they state:

'Finally, while we are fully in favour of trade unionists paying a political levy, we are firmly opposed to such levies being paid to the Labour Party.'

'For the best part of a century the unions have financed Labour, an arrangement which has brought rewards to the bureaucracy, but has constantly held the working class back.'

The relationship between the unions and Labour has fostered a narrow a-political militancy in the unions, while allowing Labour leaders to pursue their pro-

capitalist programme in parliament without undue interruption from the rank and file.

'The different roles assigned to the unions and the Labour Party suit the bureaucracy but incapacitate the rank and file. It is time we put an end to this cosy arrangement and campaigned for unions to spend their political funds on causes that advance the interests of the working class.' (The Red Front, page 25)

While it is one thing to expose and defeat Labour and reformism from a revolutionary standpoint, it is quite another to hand it over to reaction to smash.

This is what destroying its funding base in the trade unions will do. The Tories and the state have worked systematically to end this link since the founding of the Labour Party at the turn of the century.

They will certainly applaud the RCP for their support in this direction. On the other hand such an act will earn only the hatred of the working class when it sees what it regards as a vital part of the labour movement betrayed by a revolutionary organisation.

It will also open the door, not to more funds for revolutionary organisations but to attacks on them in turn.

Recently hundreds of thousands of trade unionists, many who do not pay the levy, rallied round to defend it when it faced attack from Tory laws. Union votes were overwhelming in this respect.

No significant lessons and benefits will derive for workers or revolutionary organisations if Labour is manipulatively aborted in this way. On the contrary its leaders, who the Red Front rightly condemn as bureaucrats, are likely to attain martyrdom.

I believe Marxists should not merely support Labour's right to levy but should always be the foremost in the workplace and union branch to defend that right therefore winning an even greater entitlement to be critical of reformist policy and philosophy.

Of course, at some stage it will arrive that the great majority of workers in Britain will see no more significance in Labour as a workers party and will tell us not to bother.

In which case the most we can be accused of is an excessive concern to maintain a principled defence of the rights of anyone even slightly connected with the Labour movement — which is no bad thing.

Meanwhile our task is to work to ensure that reformism gives way to a mass

party of revolutionary Marxism and socialism, not to disarray and the forces of the right.

Bernard Franks

## The Socialist Workers Party

Recently I have had occasion to meet members of the Socialist Workers Party.

I asked them to sign the petition to release the framed Irish prisoners the Guildford four and the Birmingham six and to clear the names of the Maguire family and their friends.

The first occasion was on the evening of May 1 outside the racist South African embassy in Trafalgar Square on the non-stop picket.

The four SWP members present refused to sign the petition and then started to laugh and snigger when I asked them where they stood on the question of these frame-ups.

They also said that the petition wouldn't help release the prisoners. As an Irish person who has been involved in the campaign to free the prisoners since its inception in May 1986 I took great exception to their attitude and behaviour. And to the fact that these so called socialists not only wouldn't sign the petition but that they thought the whole idea was something to laugh at made my blood boil.

They also made a comments about the singing of African liberation songs which are without doubt the highlight of the non-stop picket.

They felt it seems that the picketers should sing such songs in English. What British chauvinism and arrogance do such SWP members profess! These 'great revolutionaries' have never in my experience stood on the picket except on rare occasions and only then to sell their papers.

Fortunately none of the picketers listen to such gross advice from the sidelines.

The second occasion I met the SWP was outside a bus workers' meeting in Euston. Again I gave them leaflets on the framed Irish prisoners and told them about the next picket on June 24 outside Downing St. One of them replied that it didn't matter anyway as he or the others wouldn't be supporting the picket.

This attitude of the SWP members is I think a shocking and disgraceful example of this group's attitude in general to the struggle in Ireland against British imperialism.

I reminded one of their members that perhaps if he had spent 13 years in jail as an innocent victim of police and judicial frame-up's like

any of the Guildford four and Birmingham six he might not find it something to laugh or sneer at.

I also told him that he would be more than glad if someone got up a petition and a campaign for him.

With such friends as the anti-communist state capitalist Socialist Workers Party the Guildford four, Birmingham six and all the Republican prisoners of war and indeed all those struggling in the occupied six counties of Ireland are in no need of enemies.

Charlie Walsh

## Leopold Trepper

MARGARET RATTER asks (Workers Press, 2 May 1987) whether Leopold Trepper, 'Grand Chief of the World War II "Red Orchestra" espionage network, is still alive.

Unfortunately, the answer is no. He died in Israel on 19 January 1982 at the age of 77.

Although it is impossible to be certain that he would sign the petition calling for the rehabilitation of the Soviet Left Opposition, there can be little doubt that he would.

That this is so becomes quite clear when you read the following extract from his book 'The Great Game':

'All those who did not rise up against the Stalinist regime are responsible, collectively responsible. I am no exception to this verdict. But who did protest at this time? Who rose up to voice their outrage?'

'The Trotskyites can lay claim to this honour. Following the example of their leader, who was rewarded for his obstinacy with the end of an ice-axe, they fought Stalinism to the death, and they were the only ones who did.'

'By the time of the great purges, they could only shout their rebellion in the freezing wastelands where they had been dragged in order to be exterminated. In the camps, their conduct was admirable. But their voices were lost in the tundra.'

'Today, the Trotskyists have a right to accuse those who once howled with the wolves. Let them not forget, however, that they had the enormous political advantage over us of having a coherent political system capable of replacing Stalinism.'

'They had something to cling to in the midst of their profound distress at seeing the revolution betrayed. They did not "confess". For they knew that their confession would serve neither the Party nor socialism.' (as quoted in News Line 19 August 19, 1983.)

Barry Buiterkant  
North London



Leopold Trepper (see Buiterkant letter)

## Lenin and the Labour Party

I AM afraid it is Cyril Smith (Workers Press 30 May) who displays a woeful ignorance of the Leninist tactic of the United Front and the position revolutionary Marxists should take up toward the Labour Party in the present conjuncture.

I would recommend that he reads and studies the article 'Lenin and the Labour Party' on page 4 of the same issue which takes up a much more correct position and with which I am largely in agreement.

In his attack on me, Cyril writes: 'Look again at Trotsky's writings on Germany. They are all directed to members and supporters of the KPD, to "worker bolsheviks".'

Really, Cyril, I think you badly need a refresher course on this.

In the 1930s, Trotsky fought desperately and almost alone for a united front of communists and social democrats against Hitler. The CP (Stalinists) countered this with the slogan 'united front from below' and attacked the Social Democrats as 'social fascists'.

Trotsky fought for a united front at all levels, the leadership as well as the rank and file.

He pointed out that by calling them 'social fascists' you gave the reformist leadership a viable excuse to spurn united action with the Communists.

As I tried to point out in my letter, we face a different situation here today.

We have not got a revolutionary mass party (or even a quasi-revolutionary party like the KPD).

As in France in the 1930s, when Trotsky initiated the so-called 'French turn' we have to find other ways of working out a united front tactic.

Otherwise, to take a quote from Lenin in the page 4 article, we simply become

'windbags'. If we want examples of popular frontism we need look no further than the history of the WRP — the unprincipled uncritical blocs with the petty-bourgeois dictatorships in Libya, Iraq and elsewhere.

If we want examples of betrayal — the collaboration of the WRP leadership in the hounding and murder of the Iraqi Communists is a classic example.

Incidentally, I have for a long time thought that if Lenin was sincere in calling for the CPGB to affiliate to the Labour Party then his public declaration that 'we support the Labour Party as the hangman supports the condemned' gave the LP leadership just the excuse they wanted to refuse the affiliation of the CP.

As I do not question his sincerity I think that this was, at best, an unfortunate turn of phrase.

Of course we do not support the reformist policies of Messrs Kinnock and Co. — policies which are likely to become even less reformist in the years ahead.

We put forward alternative socialist policies; we build a Marxist wing inside the Labour Party as the foundation of a future revolutionary party.

But name-calling ('traitors') is no substitute for this.

I will end with paraphrasing the quotation from Lenin on page 4: 'If we are the party of the revolutionary class, and not merely a revolutionary group and if we want the masses to follow us (and unless we achieve that, we stand the risk of remaining mere windbags), we must, first, help Kinnock, Hattersley to beat Thatcher and Tebbit.'

In his reply to me, Cyril Smith is precisely guilty of that 'leftism' which Lenin condemned in the British CP and which this same Cyril Smith correctly castigates in his criticism of the RCP.

He stands self-condemned as a 'windbag'

Charlie van Gelderen

## Guildford Four: a correction

WE refer to your issue of Saturday 24 May 1986. We are instructed on behalf of Mr Frank Keenan and his wife, Mrs Anne Keenan, who are distressed at references made to them in the article that you printed regarding the experiences of Mrs Theresa Smalley in 1974.

Mr and Mrs Keenan wish to make the following facts plain:

1. At no stage was Mrs Keenan 'thrown' into a cell as you say in the fourth column on page 10 of the

issue referred to above.

2. The assertion that Mrs Smalley was informed by Mr Keenan about what had happened to him, being the second, third and fourth paragraphs under the heading 'Sister', is entirely wrong.

3. Mr Keenan is emphatic that at no time has he ever said that a gun was put to his head, nor that he was told that he was an IRA sympathiser, nor that someone pulled a trigger to an empty gun to his head, if that is what the suggestion is in the fourth paragraph under the heading 'Sister'.

4. At no stage did Mr Keenan think that he was going to be killed.

Mr and Mrs Keenan are most anxious that the correct version of what occurred should be printed. This is for two very important reasons.

The first is that they are truthful people who do not tell lies, and if reports appear in newspapers quoting them as having said something which they have not said they are anxious that the record should be put right as soon as possible, otherwise it might be said that they had acquiesced in the telling of lies.

Secondly, as you know, they are witnesses as to the whereabouts of Paul Hill on 7 November 1974. They may well have to give evidence

again in court in due course, and they would expose themselves to allegations that they had lied in the past about their involvement in this case, which would of course be disastrous both for them and for the case of the Guildford Four.

We must therefore request that this letter is printed in your newspaper and given equal prominence to the article which originally appeared in 1986.

The explanation for the delay in bringing this matter to your attention is the fact that Mr and Mrs Keenan were not aware of the article until very recently.

George E. Baker and Co.

### Workers Revolutionary Party

### PUBLIC MEETING

Tuesday 30 June, 8p.m.  
Highfields Community Centre  
Melbourne Road, Leicester

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Subject: Introduction to Marxism  
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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.

PERSONAL COLUMN

Peter Fryer

# A lesson for us all

I'M CERTAIN I wasn't the only regular reader of Workers Press who felt a real sense of loss when this paper didn't appear last week.

Its alternative voice was never more needed than at a time of bloated electoral rhetoric such as we have just passed through.

To say this is not to claim that Workers Press is perfect from either the journalistic or the political point of view.

But it does represent the only serious attempt currently being made on the British left to produce a newspaper that both contains news of industrial and other struggles, in Britain and elsewhere, and also consistently tries to give a principled and realistic political lead.

The importance of this weekly effort to build a bridge between the Marxist movement and militant workers cannot be overestimated. And, whatever the result of the general election, the continued existence of Workers Press — and its steady improvement in both content and presentation — are going to be more, not less, important in the new period.

Having been a regular reader for a year, I had come to take the paper more or less for granted.

Its skipping an issue was a healthy reminder that readers simply can't afford to take it for granted, and that there is much all of us can do to help — by building sales and financial support, for instance.

# Thatcher's last refuge

PATRIOTISM being the last refuge of a scoundrel, it's hardly surprising that anti-Irish jokes figured prominently during Thatcher's 'family rally' at Wembley last Sunday.

Among the laser beams, the clouds of dry ice, the balloons, and the chants of 'Ten more years', what really pleased the Tory faithful was to hear that the Irish invented the lavatory seat but the British improved it by putting a hole in.

A degraded circus, Terry Coleman called this event in the 'Guardian': 'two hours of cheap smutty jokes, baying, braying, and then a fair old rant'. Nothing he had ever seen in the grubbier of American elections had touched its depths, he added.

The 'stream of . . . anti-Irish jokes'

that shocked Coleman and his colleagues has been flowing, of course, for 800 years. Such jokes are an essential component of the earliest variety of English racism, which may be conveniently labelled Anglo-Saxonism.

The 19th century was the heyday of Anglo-Saxonism. Its leading ideas were that God had fitted precisely the English to rule over others; that the English constitutional and legal systems were the freest, fairest, and most efficient in the world; and that lesser, 'degenerate' races were better dead.

In those days of Victorian values Anglo-Saxonism was expressed in the writings of Thomas Carlyle, Thomas Arnold (headmaster of Rugby 'public' school), Charles ('Water Babies') Kingsley, Sir John Seeley (author of 'The Expansion of England', 1883) — and, of course, that unscrupulous adventurer Cecil Rhodes.

Rhodes, by his own account, was wandering across the South African veld when he was struck by a sudden thought:

'As I walked, I looked up at the sky and down at the earth and I said to myself this should be British, and it came to me in that fine, exhilarating air that the British were the best race to rule the world.'

But Anglo-Saxonism had emerged long before the 19th century, to justify English rule over the Celts and, in particular, over the Irish, who were seen as 'unstable, childish, violent, lazy, reckless, feminine and primitive'.

I quote this summary from an important book by L.P. Curtis, Jr: 'Anglo-Saxons and Celts: A Study of Anti-Irish Prejudice in Victorian England' (Studies in British History and Culture, II, published in Bridgeport, Connecticut, by the Conference on British Studies at the University of Bridgeport, in 1968).

This unfavourable view of the Irish first took shape in England in the 12th century, when only those Irish people willing to become English in speech, dress, and appearance were permitted to live in the area conquered by Henry II and later known as the 'English Pale'.

The rest were hunted down and exterminated like vermin, and they put up a resistance so fierce that by the early 17th century the English thought Ireland as 'savage' as Virginia, and English military maps of Ireland were being produced in great numbers.

This resistance (bearing in mind that, as always, it was passive as well as active) goes a long way to explain five of Curtis's seven epithets.

But feckless? And feminine?

Were the well-documented generosity and hospitality of an older and, in many ways, more advanced culture interpreted as fecklessness? And were the equally well-documented Irish love and practice of the arts interpreted as femininity?

Curtis's book, by the way, is extremely hard to find. For pretty obvious reasons it was never published in Britain.

For reasons that are less obvious there is no copy in the British Library and, though the helpful staff there are always

willing to borrow it for readers through the national inter-library loan service, this is a time-consuming process.

Has any reader of Workers Press a copy? And, if so, could I perhaps borrow it for a few days?

A slightly more accessible, but much more limited, source of information on anti-Irish jokes and their history is a paper by Edward B. Snyder, 'The wild Irish: a study of some English satires against the Irish, Scots, and Welsh', which was published in 'Modern Philology' in 1920.

# A crux for Rhodes scholars

TALKING of Cecil Rhodes reminds me of a quotation attributed to him, in Lenin's 'Imperialism', the verification of which has been causing me a lot of trouble.

As given in Vol. 22 of Lenin's 'Collected Works', the passage in question reads as follows:

'Cecil Rhodes, we are informed by his intimate friend, the journalist Stead, expressed his imperialist views to him in 1895 in the following terms: 'I was in the East End of London [a working-class quarter] yesterday and attended a meeting of the unemployed. I listened to the wild speeches, which were just a cry for "bread! bread!" and on my way home I pondered over the scene and I became more than ever convinced of the importance of imperialism. . . . My cherished idea is a solution for the social problem, i.e., in order to save the 40,000,000 inhabitants of the United Kingdom from a bloody civil war, we colonial statesmen must acquire new lands to settle the surplus population, to provide new markets for the goods produced in the factories and mines. The Empire, as I have always said, is a bread and butter question. If you want to avoid civil war, you must become imperialists.'

This was said in 1895 by Cecil Rhodes, millionaire, a king of finance, the man who was mainly responsible for the Anglo-Boer War.

Now, this passage put into Rhodes's mouth has been translated back into English from a Russian version of a German version of an English original, without translator or editor taking the trouble to look up that English original.

To my surprise, I have discovered that the source of this passage was in fact a work of fiction. What was it? And how does the passage read in the original English?

Answers next week.

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Our fund stands at £732.76.

The election results clearly show the enormous anti-Tory feeling among the working class. Although Thatcher has been returned for a third term, she has achieved this only through the cowardice of the Labour leaders in the face of the Tory enemy. The need to give political expression to the fight which workers are determined to wage gives us the impetus to recruit to our Party in large numbers.

We should take great encouragement from this and go out to build the Party and increase the sales of Workers Press whose role is now more vital than ever for our participation in the class struggle.

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# A newly-translated document from the Vietnamese Trotskyists

AN English translation is now being made of 'National Movements and Class Struggle in Vietnam' by Anh-Van and Jacqueline Roussel, originally published in Paris, in French, by the Fourth International in 1947. (English translation copyright New Park Publications).

This work consists of a Marxist historical analysis of Vietnam before and during the French conquest, the class structure of Vietnam, an outline of the development of nationalist movements from their origins in the 1890s, and of the Stalinist and Trotskyist movements in Vietnam.

It concludes with an estimation by the author, a Vietnamese Trotskyist who work-

ed in Paris after World War II, of the nature of the Indo-Chinese revolution.

We are not able at present to print this material. However, this work is invaluable for the study of the Vietnamese revolution; and of importance for the study of revolution in colonial and semi-colonial countries in general.

We are therefore offering Xeroxed copies of this document (approximately 100 A4 pages) for £5 plus postage (Special offer for WRP members £2.50).

Please return the form below within a month if you want a copy of this document. We need finance in order to complete the work on this project.

To: WRP Education Department, PO Box 735, London SW9 1QS. Please send me a copy: . . . copies of 'National Movements and Class Struggle in Vietnam'.

Name & Address .....

Please enclose £5 per copy (£2.50 for WRP members) plus postage: 50p — Britain and Ireland; 60p Europe; £1.56 — Middle East and north Africa; £2.12 — America, southern Africa, India; £2.40 — Australia, Far East.

## LISTINGS

LISTINGS are published free by WORKERS PRESS each week for organisations in the labour movement. Please send details to arrive by mid-day Monday for publication the following Thursday.

**BOTHAS LAWS COME TO BRITAIN** Non-Stop Picket against Apartheid banned from South African Embassy. Public Order Act used against City of London Anti-Apartheid Group. Join us to challenge unjust police action. Mass Rally every Friday, 5.30p.m.-7.30p.m., Ducannon Street, WC2.

**CAMPAIGN AGAINST POLICE REPRESSION (CAPR)** Weekly planning meetings every Tuesday at 7.30p.m. Stoke Newington Community Centre, Leswin Road, N16. All welcome. Contact: Box CAPR, 83 Blackstock Road, N4 (01-991 2938).

**BRING BACK VICTORIA WILLIAMS!** Campaign meetings, 7.30p.m., second and fourth Wednesdays of every month. UCA, Acton Technical College, Mill Hill Road, W3.

**TALK POLITICS WITH THE RCG** Weekly discussion meetings every Sunday 7p.m. Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, WC1.

**SOLIDARITY WITH MICHEL WARSHAWSKY** Halt political repression in Israel and Occupied territories! Public meeting, 7.30p.m., Tuesday 23 June. Friends House, 23 St Martin's Lane, WC2. Organised by Campaign for Freedom of Expression of Palestinians and Israelis (CFEPI).

**REMEMBER BOBBY SANDS MP!** March and Rally, Saturday 27 June. Assemble 12.30p.m. Finsbury Park. Speakers include representatives from Sinn Fein, Black Liberation, Irish PoW Repatriation Committee.

**VIRAJ MENDIS WILL STAY!** National Demonstration in Manchester Saturday 11 July (For further details ring London Support Group: 837 1688.)

**VIRAJ MENDIS LONDON SUPPORT GROUP** Downing Street Protest every Monday 6-7p.m. Westminster/Charing Cross tubes) Weekly Organisational meetings take place after the picket.

**SOUTH AFRICA FREEDOM DAY** Solidarity with African National Congress! Friday, 26 June 7.30p.m., Friends House, Euston Road, NW1

**Rees** — Sylvia: Born 26 May 1987. Welcome to the revolutionary struggle and congratulations to John, Ros, Tom and Kathie. From Pat and Geraldine: Tíocfaidh ár lá.

## WORKERS REVOLUTIONARY PARTY

Women's Commission Day Seminar:

The Socialist Revolution and Women

Sunday, 21 June 10a.m.-6p.m.

WRP Members Only

For details of meeting telephone: 733 3058

Workers Revolutionary Party

Weekend Youth Conference

Members Only

Saturday 20 June (12.30p.m.-6.30p.m.)

Sunday 21 June (10a.m.-4.30p.m.)

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WORKERS REVOLUTIONARY PARTY

Trade union school

Saturday & Sunday 27&28 June

MANCHESTER

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# ROBSON'S CHOICE

On **Saturday**, at 3.40p.m. (BBC2), another chance to see Howard Hawkes' classic western, **Red River**.

At 8p.m., also on BBC2, **Le Mystere Picasso**, a unique opportunity to see one of the greatest 20th-century painters in action. This documentary was made in 1956 by Henri-George Cluzot.

At 10p.m. (C-4) Alfred Hitchcock's superb **Notorious**. Starting 25 minutes later on BBC2, Sidney Lumet's powerful story of police corruption starring Al Pacino, **Serpico**.

On **Sunday**, at 10a.m. (C-4), **Bandung File: Election Special** visits constituencies fought by black Labour candidates, including Bernie Grant and Diane Abbott.

On Radio 4, at 12.10p.m., **It's Your World**, starring South African Foreign Minister Pik Botha, described by the BBC as 'a vigorous defender of South Africa's right to self-determination... the leader of the most reformist wing of the Pretoria cabinet'. This could well turn out to be a revealing, if nauseating, public relations job for white supremacists. Don't eat lunch before or during the broadcast.

Still on Sunday, at 7.15p.m. (BBC2) Henrik Ibsen's **Ghosts**. At 10p.m. (ITV) **Displaced Person**, a drama set in Germany in the years after World War II. For light relief, the hilarious **Cat Ballou**, starting at 10.15p.m. (BBC2).

On **Monday**, at 7p.m. (ITV), **The Cutting Edge** investigates Swaziland's past in order to predict the ecological future of the area. **Horizon**, at 8.10p.m. (BBC2), looks at the benefits derived from scientific research and the practical effects of the government's 'rationalisation' programme. On Radio 4, at 8.15p.m., Robert Ferguson's award-winning radio play **Dreams, Secrets, Beautiful Lies**.

On **Tuesday**, at 10.30p.m.



Natasha Richardson as Regina and Freddie Jones as Engstrand in Henrik Ibsen's 'Ghosts' on Sunday at 7.15p.m. on BBC2. Judi Dench appears as Mrs Alving.

The play is set in Norway in the late 19th century. Oswald Alving (Kenneth Branagh) returns from Paris to his mother's estate. An orphanage is to be dedicated as a memorial to his father, the late Captain Alving. Pasten Manders (Michael Gambon), Mrs Alving's friend and confessor, has arrived to supervise

the arrangements, but is shocked by Oswald's newly-acquired liberal views and Mrs Alving's apparent agreement with him.

As he tries to set her on the right path again, a series of shattering revelations begins to unfold. Oswald reveals to his mother that he is suffering from an incurable illness — inherited syphilis in fact. Although he doesn't know it, that is what his father died of.

(ITV), the first of a four-part documentary series entitled **Witness: On The Margin**. An ITV team spent a year living and working in a Nottingham backstreet to make this series about 'raw, Inner City' life.

On **Wednesday**, at

7.35p.m., Verdi's **Falstaff** can be heard on Radio 4. At 7.45p.m. (BBC2), **Only One Earth** presents **People of the Desert**, an investigation of a man-made desert in northern Kenya, how it arose and how the process could be reversed. At 9p.m. (ITV),

**Disappearing World** presents **The Lau of Malaita**, a people living on man-made islands in a spectacular South Pacific lagoon.

On **Thursday**, at 8p.m. (BBC2), **Tomorrow's World** at Large shows the degree to which music making has

been affected by modern electronics. At 9p.m. (C-4), Theo Angelopoulos' **Voyage to Cythera**, and at 10.10p.m. (BBC1), **Bulldog Day** looking back at the elections in **Questions Time**.

On **Friday**, at 10.25 (BBC2), Omnibus presents **Big Bang**

in the **Book World**, a look at the spate of transatlantic takeovers and mergers that have plagued the book-publishing trade in recent years. At 11.55p.m. (BBC2), Robert Wise's thriller **Lady of Deceit** rounds off the week on television.

## REVIEWS

voters insist they do so.' They should pay more attention to the work of their own Mick Hamer who knows it is not that simple. His book on transport shows the road lobby had as much influence over Labour's Barbara Castle as the 'Tories' Ernest Marples.

Further from Britain, the FoE write about the thousands of tons of melons exported from Ethiopia while people starved there, and about the £2 coming back to the banks in debt repayment for every £1 'famine relief'.

\* \* \*

**The Easy Way to Stop Smoking.** By Allen Carr. Penguin, £2.95.

BUY this book. Its author's qualification to write it: 20 years' heavy smoking brought to an end.

Carr is sure that heavy smokers can give up, and their family and friends can help them; people who have bought the book have come back for copies to give away.

\* \* \*

**Pandaemonium: the coming of the machine as seen by contemporary observers.** Edited by Humphrey Jennings. Picador, £3.95.

HUMPHREY JENNINGS, documentary film-maker and mass observer of the 1930s and 1940s, assembles word-images of the 17th to 19th centuries: the inhumanity of enclosures, Lunardi's first balloon ascent over London (1784), factory production, the awesome 'silent system' of Victorian prisons.

Jennings spent years on this work, and his daughter Mary-Lou Jennings and his collaborator Charles Madge edited this volume

from his six scrap books of extracts from contemporary literature, journalism and memoirs.

It is arranged chronologically, and then has a 'theme sequence' like a thesaurus as well as an index. It is a thesaurus.

\* \* \*

**Heroes.** By John Pilger. Pan, £4.50

SOME of Pilger's 'heroes' have names, and some do not. For this book is about the people Pilger met while reporting in every continent over 20 years — the people who fought back.

Pilger writes with bite, irony and heart. There is a chapter on the campaign for compensation from Distillers for those born deformed, victims of thalidomide. He writes of those who fought homelessness, like the families who campaigned — with his help, about which he is modest — against the filthy conditions of a private hostel called Princes Lodge, a 'Colditz' east of the city. Each chapter is packed; one is on racist attacks, another on the miners, who humbled Pilger with their vitality and courage in the year-long strike.

In Palestine, Vietnam, Cambodia, the United States and his native Australia, Pilger interviewed those who struggled against heavy odds, particularly minorities, and the book is optimistic, confident in the way people become heroes. The title is by no means cynical.

The book begins and ends with the story of the aboriginal Australians. Yami Lester was a Yankunyatjara boy blinded by nuclear tests in the 1950s; Pilger sees in the growing knowledge of and concern for the suffering of the black Australians signs of the future, just as he says of the miners' strike that 'it was good to be in Britain then'.

**Wheels Within Wheels: a Study of the Roads Lobby.** By Mick Hamer. Routledge and Kegan Paul, £5.95.

'IN THE shadowy world of pressure groups, the road lobby is the most powerful alliance of its kind,' argues Mick Hamer. A few dozen people control transport policy in Britain — on behalf of the car manufacturers, the road builders and their suppliers, and through a compliant government department.

They have ensured the destruction of the comprehensive network of railways and the construction of thousands of miles of motorway — with an annual bill for road building and maintenance of £3 billion a year. Hamer has been unravelling the operations of the road lobbyists for years, and first wrote a report with this title ten years ago for Friends of the Earth.

Hamer gives examples of the lobby at work, how the giants of the road industry push for bigger and heavier lorries, and hold back safety measures like the road humps which cut speeds.

His concern is both environmental — and with the 40 per cent of households who are wholly dependent on public transport.

\* \* \*

**Friends of the Earth Handbook.** Edited by Jonathon Porritt. Macdonald Optima, £4.95.

UNDER the new health and brown rice imprint of Maxwell's Macdonald comes this argument for individual choice (avoid mahogany replacement windows that destroy acres of forest, recycle your bottles, refuse unnecessary packaging).

'Governments only change,' say the Friends of the Earth, 'when

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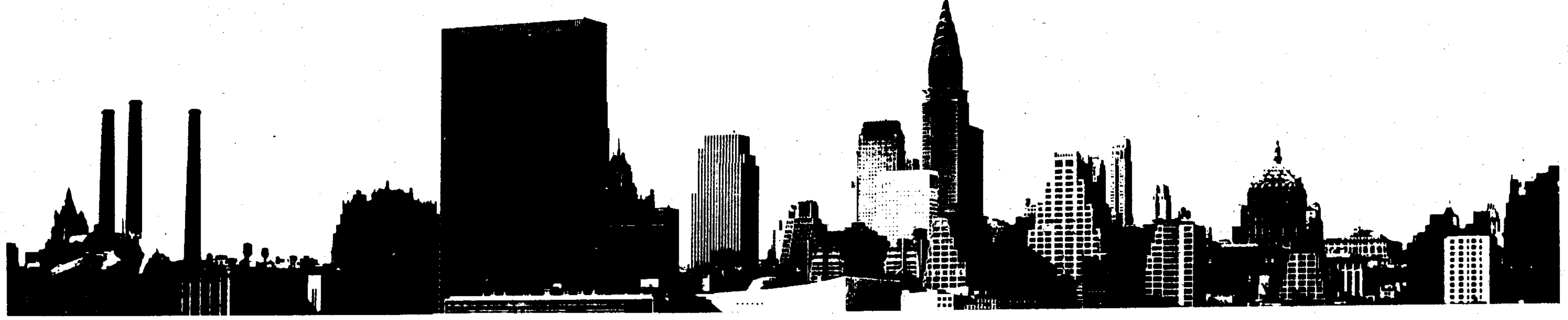
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## Letter from America



# The strange case of Lyndon LaRouche

**OF ALL the aspirants to the Democratic presidential nomination for the 1988 election none is more bizarre than Lyndon LaRouche.**

The main thing that puts him in the news at present is that the Federal government has begun a clamp-down on the right-wing organisations he heads, ostensibly to collect over \$15 million in fines they have accumulated since 1985.

LaRouche was once a member of the US Socialist Workers Party, writing in its theoretical journal under the name of Lynn Marcus.

He left in the early 1960s, about the time that Tim Wohlforth and James Robertson led opposition factions out of the party.

LaRouche set up his own group, which spawned a number of organisations in the United States and Europe.

At first they appeared to be just part of another left tendency, but they soon began to reflect LaRouche's idiosyncratic views about world developments and his

place in them, and veered to the right.

The new political guru elaborated involved conspiracy theories to take the place of Marxist class analysis.

The most disparate bodies — Jewish, Catholic, — were behind the 'secret government' which ran things from Washington and for whom LaRouche was Public Enemy Number One.

These Walter Mitty theories won him a growing and devoted group of followers who claimed to have inside information about what was really going on.

In the early 1970s they phoned Workers Press claiming knowledge about an imminent coup.

LaRouche, who did not want to waste time before getting to the top, directed his supporters into the Democratic Party and put himself forward as presidential candidate in 1980 and 1984.

He claims the support of 15-20 per cent of the membership, but this is certainly a gross exaggeration; it is doubtful whether that many ever knew his name.

LaRouche is said to be a wealthy man (when in the Trotskyist movement he described himself as a 'business consultant') with an estate in Virginia.

In addition, his supporters have raised millions of dollars by dubious and probably illegal means and it is this which has attracted the attention of the Federal government.

In March a dozen of his supporters were rounded up and accused of fraudulently obtaining loans through promissory notes that they did not intend to repay.

New York State Attorney General Robert Abrams claimed that about 140 elderly New Yorkers had been tricked out of \$850,000 by three LaRouche organisations and estimated that the total obtained by fraudulent means amounted to \$30 million.

A month or so later Federal marshalls swooped on the

LaRouche organisations in Leesburg, Virginia, and 17 other locations from New Jersey to California.

This action was aimed at seizing LaRouche assets and driving the organisation into bankruptcy.

In another action a Boston grand jury has indicted LaRouche and 13 of his followers on charges of wire fraud, mail fraud, and conspiracy to obstruct justice in connection with alleged credit card frauds.

A lawyer acting for the LaRouche organisations, Daniel Alcorn, denounced the government action as a violation of the Fifth Amendment.

LaRouche's chief aide, Warren J. Hamer, saw in it evidence of a conspiracy by the 'secret government' which is behind the Iran-Contra affair, to prevent its exposure by LaRouche.

The guru himself has not been seen in the US for some time, though he will soon have to return if he wants to prepare for intervention in the Democratic Party's selection of a presidential

candidate, which has already begun.

In an interview with a French weekly before his departure, LaRouche claimed, amongst other things, to be the inventor of the Strategic Defence Initiative and to have been personally singled out for destruction by Gorbachev as the main barrier against Soviet domination of the US.

According to LaRouche's fantasies there is a worldwide conspiracy based on drug trafficking and terrorism and involving even the British royal family!

Homosexuals are another group that LaRouche sees as preparing to take over the world.

Do you know, for example, that if you play Beatles records backwards you will receive a Satanic subliminal message? Rock music is another devilish invention on LaRouche's hate list, directed as it is by... the mafia (of course).

It would be easy to dismiss LaRouche as a raving lunatic, able to put forward the most outrageous fantasies as

rational theories, but of little political consequence.

In the present state of American society it is not impossible for charlatans of various kinds to whip up mass support — as is shown by the activities of the TV evangelists who raise vast sums of money out of which they pay themselves huge salaries while indulging in sexual antics which they publicly condemn.

In a period of economic collapse millions will be looking for a saviour in this world.

LaRouche's weird theories and sweeping accusations only carry to extremes familiar right-wing attitudes, and may win him more public support than he has at present.

But LaRouche's claim that 'the Democrats will win the next presidential election in 1988 and I will probably be the next President of the United States' is a prediction which can safely be ignored.

GEORGE LORMIN  
NEW YORK

# LaRouche and the International Committee

**IN Sweden, one of LaRouche's supporters was held for questioning in connection with the assassination of Olaf Palme (and another who was reported seen in the cinema Palme had attended is now being sought by US police.)**

In the United States they campaign on such demands as internment of 'AIDS suspects'. Lyndon LaRouche's organisation is regarded today as one of the more bizarre blossoms of the extreme Right.

From his fortified mansion in Virginia, LaRouche spins the grandest conspiracy theories, such as that the Queen of England heads the world's drugs traffic, and that British intelligence is in league with 'Russian chauvinism' to do down the United States.

Mixed in with a lot of detailed 'inside information' — LaRouche claims friends in Western intelligence services — these are served up in a glossy, expensive 'European Intelligence Review' (EIR) for the faithful.

But perhaps the most bizarre thing about LaRouche is where he came from, politically. In the early 1960s, Lyndon LaRouche, aka Lynn Marcus, was active in the radical US Students for a Democratic Society and then the Socialist Workers' Party (SWP).

What is less well-known is that for a time, during 1966, LaRouche, alias Marcus, was among the dissident SWP members who made contact with the International Committee of the Fourth International, specifically with its then leading section, the Socialist Labour League in Britain.

In 1964, the American

Committee for the Fourth International (ACFI) had been formed, by Tim Wohlforth and others expelled from the SWP, and in political solidarity with the International Committee. It was the forerunner of the Workers League, established two years later.

On 13 March, 1966, LaRouche wrote to Gerry Healy outlining what he considered the political developments in the SWP were, and referring to a 'general crisis of the Left'. He confidently predicted the SWP would be expelling him within a few days.

By 17 April, LaRouche was already sharply attacking American comrades, in a 20-page document entitled 'What Makes Tim Wohlforth Run', occasioned by the failure to unify with Robertson's Spartacus League, and the incident at the International Committee meeting in London that month which had led to Robertson being censured for 'breach of discipline'.

LaRouche-Marcus accused Tim Wohlforth of 'political fraud', 'petty-bourgeois Shachtmanism', provocations, and 'sabotage'. He charged Fred Mazelis with lacking political comprehension, and assisting Wohlforth's 'provocations'.

While regretting Robertson's past 'factional attacks' on his tendency, LaRouche concentrated his attack on Wohlforth — even to the exclusion of Healy, who was depicted as being misled by

his American supporter!

... We know that comrade Robertson went to Europe convinced that comrade Wohlforth was up to some slimy scheme — on excellent grounds. We know he was suspicious lest comrade Healy et al be participants in comrade Wohlforth's manouvres'.

After accusing Wohlforth of abandoning Trotskyism for his 'turn towards Pabloism', the great LaRouche builds to his climax:

'Now you, comrade Wohlforth, propose to break politically with me. This is not a new experience for me. I have seen many political weaklings cave in to the revisionists before. I recognise that my struggle with you is an expression of the class struggle — that your political position is that of abandoning the field to the bourgeoisie and going into an impotent sect existence. In your efforts to sabotage our historic task — unification — you have worked to serve the interests of the revisionists and, ultimately, the interests of the enemy ruling class.'

... If need be I will stand alone for a while', LaRouche declared, 'preserving that continuity which is the Fourth International'.

'Dear Comrade ... slimy Uriah Heeps'

At Clapham High Street, the grandiose style might have seemed familiar. It was bound to lead to a clash between the two Napoleons sooner or later. But at this stage, LaRouche was apparently treated as a promising, if precocious pupil. At any rate, Healy's reply on April 20, 1966, was most conciliatory in tone.

'Dear Comrade Marcus,

... Let us say right away that you are entitled to be as harsh as you like with the SLL, (the pretence that it was between LaRouche and Wohlforth was not taken up — nor was the latter defended). The official version of the Robertson affair was given.

Then the letter goes on: 'Whatever may be your disagreements with the ACFI, there are provisions for you to discuss them inside that organisation as in the ranks of the International Committee. If you come to England we will arrange for you to travel to Paris and discuss with all the comrades.'

'Dear Comrade Healy, came the reply, thanking but politely declining the 'extension of hospitality', with 13 pages attacking Wohlforth, the IC's line on Cuba, the treatment of Robertson, and 'your (i.e. Healy's) record on tactics in the American playing-field'.

A sample for flavour: 'You "won" from among the Americans at the conference the slimy Uriah Heeps of ACFI and a frightened girl — the delegation without the essential accoutrements of manliness, if you accept my circumlocution; the delegation lacking the essential temperamental qualities of a revolutionist. You lost the delegation with guts. You carried the crap and lost the viable material.'

Healy's Man

If this is psychologically revealing, LaRouche's concluding remarks are politically so. He told Healy: 'I must remind you that you supported my involvement in the SWP for six months on an absolutely stupid basis; if this is the way you deal with disciplined comrades

who have accepted your discipline, you haven't a chance of building an international.'

You can search in vain for mention of 'Marcus', alias LaRouche, let alone his documents, in the seven volumes of 'Trotskyism Versus Revisionism', published by the WRP under Healy's regime jointly with the Workers League, USA, as a 'documentary history'.

When LaRouche's right-wing outfit was in the news last year, the Healyite 'News Line' did not hesitate to refer to his former membership of 'Joseph Hansen's agent-dominated SWP'.

It is clear from the remark quoted that whatever else LaRouche was doing in the SWP, he claimed to have operated under the discipline of Healy's IC. To put it another way, he had been 'Healy's agent'.

In his reply on 3 May, 1966, Healy took up LaRouche's crudity, conspiracy-theory, personal abuse and subjectivism, and warned him there would be no political concession, particularly if he supported Robertson.

He concluded: 'We say, break with Robertson and take your place inside the forces of the International Committee of the Fourth International. If you try to disrupt the ACFI by collaborating with Robertson we will demand your immediate expulsion.'

Asked the following week by the ACFI whether he was in fact working with the Spartacist group, LaRouche contemptuously dismissed the question, saying it would be foolish to answer it. As for whether he intended to subordinate himself to discipline, 'my letter of resigna-

tion makes my position clear.'

Having broken with the ACFI, LaRouche continued occasionally to address correspondence to the Socialist Labour League. On 18 October: 'Dear comrades, in reply to comrade Healy's series "Problems of the 4th. International", I submit an outline and discussion of my proposed local campaign respecting the issue of New York City income taxes.'

The way Lyndon LaRouche was really headed became evident some years later. He organised his supporters to carry out provocations and physical attacks against other leftwing organisations, including the Communist Party and the SWP.

Still claiming to lead some kind of revolutionary workers' movement, LaRouche denounced those attacked as agencies of imperialism, advocating they be physically smashed.

The WRP, and the Workers League in the United States, condemned this behaviour.

In 1976, reports came of LaRouche's expanding activity in Europe, (his supporters were going under such names as 'European Labour Party'). Evidence from the US showed his entry into the service of reaction.

Alex Mitchell told 'News Line' staff not to use this, warning that attacking the 'Marcusites' in our paper would risk physical retaliation.

We leave it to the reader to ponder this caution, in comparison with the 'Security and the Fourth International' exposes that Mitchell co-authored with Dave North of the US Workers League.

# Resistance to ruthless attacks in South Wales

**SOUTH** Wales miners hold their annual gala in Swansea today for the second time, after last year's successful event at the new venue.

Last time the gala took place on the eve of an overtime ban over pay which boosted morale and helped give a renewed confidence to the lodge leaderships in their daily struggles.

Since then, the pit closure programme has slowed down, with three pits closing, bringing the total since the end of the miners' strike to 14.

However, in the board's ruthless productivity drive, many pits with problems, sometimes minor problems with their faces, find themselves teetering on the knife-edge of closure.

The board have been just as ruthless and provocative with their plan to develop a new mine at Margam.

The issue saw a rapid move to the right on the South Wales NUM's executive with its acquiescence to the board's demand for six-day production.

Various disputes have taken place not directly connected to Margam, but nevertheless showing a resistance by South Wales miners to changes in shift patterns.

With the issue on the agenda at the NUM annual conference in July the fight to open Margam under national union agreement is far from over.

BY TRAVIS GOULD

Scargill, who will be addressing today's gala, has come under bitter attack by the South Wales leaders for his role in rejecting the board's blackmail over Margam and for his apparent intransigence in not negotiating a conciliation agreement.

It must be emphatically stated: it is the board's intransigence and not Scargill's which is responsible for the impasse.

A lot of false arguments are circulating in South Wales which say Scargill's position is to negotiate only if it is on behalf of every miner in Britain, and in so doing he fails to recognise the realities staring him in the face: that the UDM actually exists.

This and similar arguments are false.

Scargill's position, or rather the position of the national executive, is that they maintain the right to negotiate for all their members, even in pits where the UDM are in a majority.

With their 'conciliation agreement' the board are trying to foist on the NUM a type of single-union agreement which would be a tremendous step backwards for the unity of the NUM and would weaken their efforts to win back rank-and-file members of the UDM.

A further weakening of the NUM would come about with the board's recognition of 'units' comprising a few pits, sucking in NUM-dominated pits into units dominated by the UDM.

### Scargill

Clearly Scargill will be looking to spell out carefully what is at stake in the hope of maintaining the South Wales leaders' stand in support of the national executive's policies.

Miners throughout the country are incensed at the board imposing another pay increase.

The unrest in South Wales, which British Coal say could jeopardise investment in the coalfields, including the Margam project, reflects the willingness of the miners to stick with their leadership and fight for a proper and just conciliation agreement.

The most recent dispute, on the eve of today's gala, was over concessionary coal, when 2,800 miners came out in Blaenant, Abernant, Betws, and Cynheidre.

This dispute above all showed the board's scant regard for conciliation when a

long-established concessionary allowance was threatened in this way.

It also shows the men's determination when they know that as a result of any industrial action they take they automatically lose their conciliation bonus of £25 for the quarter and £10 per day for a maximum of five days attendance bonus.

● **THE South Wales miners maintain their commitment to the jailed and sacked miners.**

Regular visits are made by the president Des Duffield and other executive members to Dean Hancock and Russell Shankland, and Workers Press takes the opportunity again this year to send them greetings.

The National Justice Campaign in South Wales has finally got full support of the executive and have had some very successful fundraising events. Their stall at to-day's gala should enjoy everyone's support.

Last year's gala saw a blistering hot day. The weather doesn't look as promising this year but it will take more than that to dampen the spirit and enthusiasm of the mining families and supporters from the labour movement who are looking forward to a great day out.

# Reinstate the sacked men

**NINETY-seven miners, victimised for their courage during the strike, will be at the Scottish miners gala today.**

The demand for their reinstatement remains a vital issue for the working-class movement.

The 97 sacked men are Scotland's hardest-hit victims of Thatcherism — but certainly not the only ones. Since the Tories were elected in 1979, the Scottish mining workforce has sunk from more than 15,000 to only 3,000 today.

Those still in the pits not only face speed-up and anti-union management methods — which were there before the strike — but privatisation too.

NUM officials are hoping to get round the problem of the sacked men by finding them jobs with private contractors like AMCO, which is sinking a new shaft at Bilston Glen pit in Midlothian. But this can be no substitute for the reinstatement campaign, particularly if Labour is elected with miners' and other workers' votes.

● Labour leader Neil Kinnock, the main speaker at the gala, will certainly be expressing praise for National Union of Mineworkers vice-president Mick McGahey, who retires this year.

Many Scottish miners will

be less enthusiastic than Kinnock. During the strike they found Scottish NUM leaders McGahey and George Bolton heading the opposition to NUM president Arthur Scargill's militant tactics of mass picketing and mobilisation.

Since the strike, Communist Party members McGahey and Bolton have tried to push the union towards conciliation with the strike-breaking Union of Democratic Mineworkers.

Last week the UDM advised people not to vote Labour — to which McGahey responded with another appeal to bring the scabs 'back into the fold'. Christians didn't have a monopoly on forgiveness, he said, implying that there should be unity with the scab leaders.

In the coming battles, the last thing the miners and the working class need is 'unity' without principles. We need unity to support the victimised men, unity against all anti-union laws, unity against the scab leaders of the EETPU and UDM, and unity against cheap-labour schemes and unemployment.

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Monthly journal of the Communist League of Australia

Subs: 12 issues £8.50, 6 issues £4.25.  
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# CIVIL SERVICE STRIKE



Civil servants march down Whitehall last Monday

**CIVIL SERVANTS** in the Civil and Public Servants Association (CPSA) and Society of Civil and Public Servants (SCPS) last Monday and Tuesday came out on a two-day national strike.

The strike was in support of a 15-per-cent pay claim. The government has offered 4.25 per cent plus a 'merit' pay deal.

The linking of pay to performance was overwhelmingly defeated at the

recent conferences of both CPSA and SCPS, the two largest Civil Service unions.

The strike was called after a ballot gave an almost 2-to-1 majority in favour. Pickets were out from early morning, closing nearly all unemployment benefit and DHSS offices.

In others work was seriously disrupted as postmen everywhere refused to cross picket lines and there were long tail-backs of lorries at Dover where customs men were out.

Picketing was followed in many towns by marches and rallies.

One notable feature of the strike was

the part played by women, who turned out in large numbers on the picket lines.

A picket at the Manchester Home Office Prison Department, for instance, was exclusively female clerical workers from the CPSA.

Also worth noting was the strong support given to the strike by the many casual workers in the Civil Service, whether union members or not, and also the solidarity shown by claimants, immigrants appealing against deportations etc.

Further regional and national strikes are to be held on a continuous basis.